

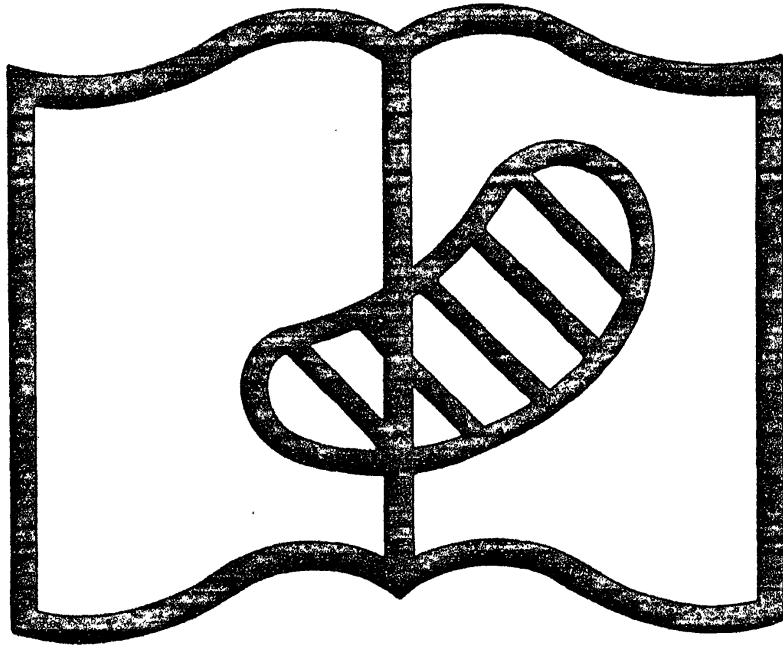
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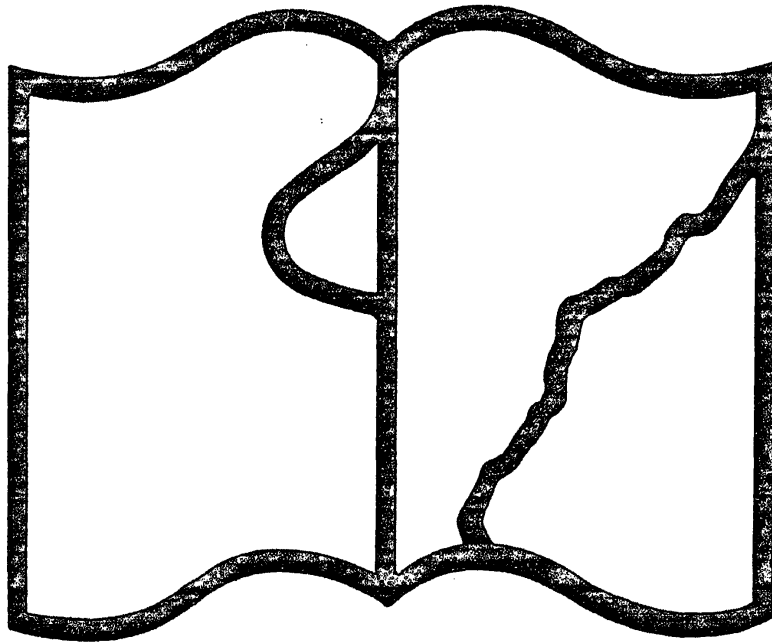
*Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und
Altertumskunde*

Vedic Grammar



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H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL

VEDIC GRAMMAR

BY

A. A. MACDONELL

STRASSBURG

VERLAG VON KARL J. TRÜBNER

1910.

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VON

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

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

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

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

Strassburg, im Februar 1910

Die Verlagsbuchhandlung

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

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

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

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

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GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE

(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)

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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL.

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VEDIC GRAMMAR



BY

A. A. MACDONELL.



STRASSBURG

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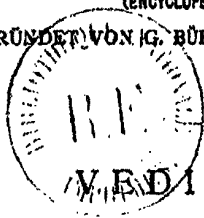
The printing was commenced in May, 1907, and afterwards delayed by the death of the editor Prof. Kielhorn.

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VEDIC GRAMMAR

BY

A. A. MACDONELL.

INTRODUCTION.

1. **General Scope of this Work.**—Vedic grammar has never till now been treated separately and as a whole. Both in India and in the West the subject has hitherto been handled only in connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Hundreds of Pāṇini's Sūtras deal with the language of the Vedas; but the account they give of it is anything but comprehensive. In the West, BENFEY was the first, more than half a century ago (1852), to combine a description of the linguistic peculiarities of the Vedas with an account of the traditional matter of Pāṇini; but as Vedic studies were at that time still in their infancy, only the Sāmaveda¹ and about one-fourth of the R̥gveda² having as yet been published, the Vedic material utilized in his large grammar³ was necessarily very limited in extent. In WHITNEY's work⁴ the language of the Vedas, which is much more fully represented, is treated in its historical connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Partly for this reason, his work does not supply a definite account of the grammar of the Saṃhitās as compared with that of the later phases of the language; thus what is peculiar to the Brāhmaṇas or to a particular Saṃhitā is often not apparent. Professor WACKERNAGEL's grammar⁵, which when finished will present the ancient language of India more completely than any other work on the subject, deals with the combined Vedic and post-Vedic material from the point of view of Comparative Philology. Different sections or individual points of Vedic grammar have been the subject of separately published treatises or of special articles scattered in various Oriental and philological journals or other works of a miscellaneous character. It is advisable that all this as well as additional material⁶ should now be brought together so as to afford a general survey of the subject.

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

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

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

³ Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache, Leipzig 1852.

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

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

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

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

represents the foundation of the subsequent strata, it seems important for the sake of clearness and definiteness that the earliest phase should be treated as a whole independently of later developments. The present work will therefore deal with the grammar of only the Mantra portions of the Saṃhitās; that is to say, it will embrace the whole of the R̥gveda, the Atharvaveda¹, the Sāmaveda², and the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā³, but will exclude those portions of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā⁴, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā⁵ and the Kāṭhaka⁶ which have the character of Brāhmaṇas⁷. Reference will also be made to Mantra material not found in the canonical texts of the Saṃhitās, that is, to the Khilas⁸ of the R̥gveda and the occasional Mantras of this type occurring in the Brāhmaṇas⁹ and Sūtras. As the linguistic material of the R̥gveda is more ancient, extensive and authentic than that of the other Saṃhitās, all of which borrow largely from that text¹⁰, it is taken as the basis of the present work. Hence all forms stated without comment belong to the R̥gveda, though they may occur in other Saṃhitās as well. From the other Vedas, such matter only is added as occurs in their independent parts or, if borrowed from the R̥gveda, appears in an altered form, the source being in such cases indicated by an abbreviation in parentheses (as VS., TS., AV.). The addition of the abbreviation 'RV.' means that the form in question occurs in the R̥gveda only.

2. Verbal Authenticity of the Texts¹¹.--In dealing with the linguistic material of the Saṃhitās the question of the authenticity of the forms which it embraces is of great importance. What guarantees then do we possess that the original form of the texts handed down by tradition has not in the course of ages undergone modification and modernization in respect to vocabulary, phonetics, and grammatical forms? This question must first be applied to the R̥gveda, the oldest of the Saṃhitās, which forms the very foundation of Vedic tradition. The evidence of the Sarvānukramaṇī¹², which states the number of stanzas, the metre, and the deity for every hymn of the RV., shows that in general extent, form, and matter, this Saṃhitā was in the Sūtra period the same as now. The Prātiśākhya¹³ demonstrates that its phonetic character was also the same. Yaska's commentary¹⁴ proves that,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., chapter III (271—369) Der R̥k̥text und der Text der jüngeren Saṃhitās und der Brāhmaṇas; LUDWIG, Ueber die Kritik des R̥gveda-Textes, Abhandlungen d. k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Prag 1839.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of DURGA, Calcutta 1832—91 (Bibliotheca Indica)

¹ See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 352.
² See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 380 f.

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

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

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

² See WHITNEY'S Introduction to the Atharvaveda, p. CXXVII; BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda, Grundriss II, 18, § 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 16.

¹⁰ The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Baltimore 1901.

¹¹ BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 15;

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

I. PHONOLOGY.

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

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

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

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

A. Vocalic sounds.

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

B. Consonantal sounds.

1. Twenty-two mutes, divided into five classes, each of which has its class nasal, making a group of twenty-seven:
 - a) five gutturals: *k kh g gh ŋ*,
 - b) five palatals: *c ch j jh ṅ*,
 - c) seven cerebrals: *t th d dh* and *t⁵ th and th⁵ ṅ*,
 - d) five dentals: *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh n*,
 - e) five labials: *p ph b bh m*.

cp. WHITNEY's Translation of the Atharva-veda p. 1013—23.

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

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

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

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

⁵ These sounds take the place of *ḍ dh* respectively between vowels; e. g. *īḍe* (but *īḍya*), *mīḍiḥse* (but *mīḍvān*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. The simple vowels.

6. The vowel *a*. — This is by far the commonest vowel, being much more than twice as frequent as *ā*; while these two *a*-vowels combined occur as often as all the rest (including diphthongs) taken together³. According to the modern Indian pronunciation, *a* has the sound of a very short close neutral vowel like the English *u* in *but*. That such was its character as early as the time of Pāṇini appears from his last Sūtra, according to which *a* is not the short sound corresponding to *ā*. To the same effect are the statements of the Prātiśākhya⁴, which describe *a* as a 'close' (*saṃvṛta*) sound. This pronunciation is borne out by the reproduction of Indian words in Greek, where the vowel, though usually represented by *a*, appears as *i* or *o* also; on the other hand, the frequent reproduction of the Greek *a* by the Indian *ā* indicates that, to the Indian ear, that vowel was both longer and had more distinctively the sound of *a*. Similarly, Hindus of the present day make the observation that the English pronunciation of *ā* in Sanskrit words sounds long (*dirgha*) to them. As the ancient Iranian languages have the normal *ā* throughout, the close pronunciation must be an Indian innovation. But whether it already prevailed in the period when the Saṃhitās were composed is uncertain. The fact, however, that in the RV. the metre hardly ever admits of the *ā* being elided after *e* or *o*, though the written text drops it in about 75 per cent of its occurrences, seems to indicate that when the hymns of the RV. were composed, the pronunciation of *ā* was still open, but that at

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

² Op. cit. 233.

³ Cp. WHITNEY, 22 and 75.

⁴ APr. I. 36; VPr. I. 72.

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

a. Though *a* ordinarily represents IE. *ā* & *ā*, it also often replaces an original sonant nasal² representing the reduced form of the unaccented Vedic syllables *a*+nasal: 1) *an* in derivative and inflexional syllables; e. g. *sat-ā* beside the stem *śant-* 'being'; *jñh-ati* 'they sacrifice' (suffix otherwise *-anti*); 2) *a*+nasal in radical syllables; e. g. *ta-ā-* 'stretched'; *ṽtan-*; *pa-ā-* 'gone'; *ṽgam-*; *dar-mā-* 'wondrous'; *ṽtan-*; stem *pathi-* 'path', beside *pāthā-*; 3) in words as shown by comparative philology; e. g. *śatām* 'hundred' (Lat. *centum*), *dāśa* 'ten' (Lat. *decem*).

Very rarely *a* is a Prakritic representative of *r*, as in *vikāṭa-* 'monstrous', beside *vikṛṭa-* 'deformed'.

7. The vowel *ā*. — This sound represents both a simple long vowel³ and a contraction; e. g. *ā-sthā-t* 'he has stood'; *āsam* 'I was' (= *ā-as-am*), *bhīrāti* 'may he bear' (= *bhīra-a-ti*).

a. Like *a*, the long vowel *ā* frequently corresponds to or is derived from a syllable containing a nasal; e. g. *khā-ti-* 'dug'; *ṽkhan-*; *ā-tmān-* 'soul'; *an-* 'breathe'. In very rare instances the nasal is retained in the RV.; *jighāṃsati* 'desires to strike'; *ṽhan-*; *śrāntā-* 'wearied'; *ṽśram-*; *dhvānti-* 'dark'; *ṽdhan-*; there are six or eight more instances in the later Saphitās⁶. Here the reappearance of the nasal in a weak radical syllable is an innovation due to the influence of other forms with nasals⁷.

8. The vowel *i*. — This sound in the first place is an original vowel; e. g. *div-i* 'in heaven'. It also frequently represents the low grade of *e* and *ya* both in roots⁸ and suffixes; e. g. *vid-mi* 'we know', beside *vid-a* 'I know'; *nāv-iṣṭha-* 'newest', beside *nāv-ya-* 'newer'. It further appears as the low grade of *ā* in roots containing that vowel: e. g. *siddhyati* 'succeeds', beside *siddhati*; *śiṣṭi-* 'taught', beside *śiṣti* 'teaches'; especially when the vowel is final, as in *sthi-tā-* 'stood'; *ṽstha-*. From the latter use it came to assume the function of a 'connecting' vowel; e. g. *jan-i-t-* 'begetter'; *ṽjan-*; after heavy syllables also in the ending *-ire* of 3 pl. pf. mid. *vavan-ire* (beside *nunud-*). In *sithiri-* 'loose' *i* would be a Prakritic representative of *r*, if the word is derived from *ṽsrath-*⁹.

9. The vowel *ī*. — This sound is an original vowel, e. g. in *jivā-* 'living'¹⁰. It also often represents the low grade of *yā* both in roots and suffixes; e. g. *ī-ti-* (AV.), 'overcome'; *ṽjya-*; *as-i-māhi* 'we would attain', beside *as-yām* 'I would attain'. It further seems to represent the low grade of both radical and suffixal *ā*; but this can probably in all instances be explained as either a low grade of *ai* or a later substitution for *i*; e. g. *gī-tha-* (AV.) beside *gā-thā-* 'song', is from the root *gai-*; *adī-māhi* (VS.) and *dī-śva* (VS.), from *ṽ2 dā-* and *ṽ3 dā-*, occur beside forms in *i* from the three roots *dā-* which have *i* only in the RV.; *hīnd-* 'forsaken', from *ṽhī-*, occurs once in RV. x beside forms with *i* only in RV. I-IX. A similar explanation probably applies to the *-ni-* of the ninth class of verbs beside *-nā-*, e. g. *grbhni-*: *grbhā-*¹¹.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 92, 104, 116.

² Cp. BRUGMANN 184.

³ See WACKERNAGEL I, 7 (p. 7-10).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 146.

⁵ It represents IE. *ā* & *ā*: cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 98, 110, 122. It also appears for IE. *ā* before single consonants: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 10.

⁶ See below, past passive participles 574.

⁷ a.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL I, 13.

⁹ This term will be retained in the present

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

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 16 (p. 19, note).

¹¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 73.

¹² See WACKERNAGEL I, 18.

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

11. The vowel *ū*.—This sound is an original vowel; e. g. *bhrū-* 'brow'; *sāra-* 'hero'. It is also the low grade for *avi*, *au*, *vā*; e. g. *bhāt-* 'has become'; *bhavi-syāti* 'will become'; *dhāt-* 'shaken'; *dhaudr-*, f. 'shaking'; *sād-* 'sweeten'; *svād-* 'enjoy'.

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

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

13. The vowel *r̄*⁸.—This long vowel, according to RPr. and APr.⁹, contains an *r̥* in its first half only. It appears only in the acc. and gen. plur. masc. fem. of *r̥*-stems; e. g. *pitṛn*, *mātṛs*; *pitṛṇām*, *svātṛṇām*. Thus the *r̄* was written only where *a-i-u*-stems showed analogous forms with *a i u*; and prosodical evidence proves that, in the RV., *r̄* is required even in the two genitives in which *r̥* is written (*ṛṣṇām* and *ṛṣṇām*)¹⁰. In the TS., however, all these genitives plur. have *r̄*¹¹ (that is, *pitṛṇām* as well as *ṛṣṇām*, *ṛṣṇām*).

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

2. The diphthongs.

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

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

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 28.

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

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

⁵ Except possibly RV. VII 56¹⁷ where the vowel is metrically short; cp. op. cit. I, 6; ARNOLD, *Vedic Metre*, p. 143.

⁶ RV. V. 69².

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

⁸ The *r̄* of the gen. pl. is an Indian innovation; cp. 5, b 6 and 17. On the other hand, IE. *r̄* is represented by *r̄* and (after labials) *ṝ*; e. g. from *kṛ-* 'commemorate', *kṛ-ti-* 'same'; *pṛ-* 'fill'; *pṛ-tā-* n. 'reward'; as low grade of *rū* in *dirgh-d-* 'long', beside *dirgh-īya-* 'longer'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 22.

⁹ RPr. XIII 14; APr. I. 38.

¹⁰ See above, 5, b 6.

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

¹² RPr. XIII 14; VPr. IV. 145.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 31.

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

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

b. 1. In a small number of words *e*¹⁰ represents Indo-Iranian *as* (still preserved in the Avesta) before *d dh* and *h* (= *dh*): *dēhi* 'give', and *dēhi* 'set' (Av. *dazdi*); *e-dhi* 'be', beside *ās-ti*; *nīd-īyas* 'very near', *nīd-īpha* 'nearest' (Av. *nāzdyo, nazdīta*); *medhā* 'insight' (Av. *māzda*); *miyēdha* 'meat-juice' (Av. *myasda*); *vedhās* 'adores' (Av. *vāsdant*); *śad*⁸ weak perf. of *sad* 'sit' (Av. *hazd* for Indo-Iranian *sazd*)⁹. — 2. Similarly *o*¹⁰ represents *as* in stems ending in *-as* before the *bh* of case-endings, e. g. from *duḥ-as* n. 'hatred', inst. pl. *duḥ-bhis*; and before secondary suffixes beginning with *y* or *v*: *amhavyū-* 'distressing' (but *apas-yūt* 'active'); *divo-yūt* 'wishing to give' (beside *divas-yūt*); *sahas-vant* (AV.) 'mighty', beside *sahas-vant* (RV.). In derivatives of *śas* 'six', and of *vah* 'carry', *o* represents *as* before *d* or *dh*, which it cerebralizes: *śoḍ-śatu* (VS.) 'sixteen'; *śoḍ-śā* 'six-fold'; *vō-ḍhum* 'to carry'.

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

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

2. Before suffixal *y, i* and *u* are phonetically lengthened: a) as finals of roots; e. g. *kṣī-yāt* 'is destroyed' (*√kṣi*); *sū-yāte* 'is pressed' (*√su*); *śrū-yās* 'may he hear' (*√śru*); b) as finals of nouns in denominatives formed with *-ā* and their derivatives; e. g. *jani-yānt* 'desiring a wife' (*√jñi*); *vaigū-*

¹ See WHITNEY on APr. I. 40.

² Vārttika on Pāṇini VIII. 2, 106.

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

⁴ Thus *Kētaya*, name of a people, becomes *Kētesoi*; *Goyā*, name of a people, *Iōdalon*.

⁵ Thus *krāmīlo* becomes *krāmēlo-ka*; *āpa* becomes *hōrō*.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 33 b.

⁷ Op. cit. I, 33 c, d, e.

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

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 34 a.

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

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

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

¹² See below 73.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 36.

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

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

¹⁶ For original *a i u r + n*.

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

yāti 'treats kindly' (*valgū-*); *gātū-yāti* 'desires free course' (*gāth-*; but also *gātu-yāti*). The AV.² has a few exceptions: *arāti-yāti* 'is hostile'; *jani-yāti* as well as *jani-yāti*³; c) *i* in the suffix *-iya* and in the comparative suffix *-iyas*.

3. Before *r*, if radical, *i* and *u* seem to be lengthened when a consonant follows; e. g. *gir-bhīs* beside *gir-as* (*gir-* 'song of praise'); *pūr-ṣi* beside *pūr-as* (*pūr-* 'fort'), but *īr* and *ūr* here represent IE. *r̥*⁴. In a few instances this is extended by analogy to words in which the *r* is not radical: *āsīr* 'blessing' (*āsīs-*); *sajīr* 'together' (*√jū-*)⁵.

4. Before *v*, the vowels *a* *i* *u* are lengthened: a) in some instances the augment: *avidhyat* 'he wounded' (*√vyadh-*)⁶; b) once before the primary suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle: *jigī-vāms-* 'having conquered' (*√ji-*); c) often before the secondary suffixes *-van*, *-vana*, *-vant*, *-vala*, *-vān*; e. g. *ptā-van-* 'observing order'; *kārṣṭ-vāna-* (AV.) 'ploughman'; *yā-vant-* 'how great'; *śvāsī-vant-* (RV¹) 'snorting' (*√śvas-*); *kyṣṭ-vala-* 'ploughman'; *dvayā-vān-* 'dishonest'; d) often before the second member of a compound; e. g. *gūrdh-vasu-* 'whose treasures are welcome'.

5. Before *īr* *z* and *z̄*, when followed by one or more consonants, vowels are lengthened by way of compensation for the loss of the *z* or *z̄*⁸; a) *ā* (= *a;*) in *ūdhī* 'hew' (*√tak-*); *bādhi-* 'firm' (*√bah-*); *sādhy-* 'conquering'; *d-sādha-* 'invincible' (*√sah-*); b) *ī* = *i;* in *id-* 'adore' (*√yaj-* 'sacrifice', or *√is-* 'wish'); *ntīd-* 'nest'; *ptīd-* 'press'; *mīdh-* 'reward'; *mīdhvāms-* 'bounteous'; *vīdh-* 'licked' (*√rih-*); *vīdh-* 'swift'; *sīdati* (= *sīdati*) 'sits'; *hīd-* 'be angry' (cp. *hiṃs-* 'injure'). c) *ū* = *u;* in *ūdhā-* 'borne' (*√vah-*); *gūdh-* 'concealed' (*√guh-*)⁹.

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

a. Final *a* *i* *u* are very frequently lengthened in the Saṃhitās before a single consonant owing to rhythmical predilections; from this use the lengthening of the vowels is extended to syllables which are reduplicative or precede suffixes¹⁰.

b. For metrical reasons the length is in a few words shifted to another syllable. Thus *didāhi* often appears instead of the regular *dīdīhi*; and in *vīrā-ṣī* 'ruling men', *vīrā-*¹¹ stands for *vīra-*. A similar explanation perhaps applies to *carātha-* 'moving', beside *carātha-*; and *māhina-* 'gladsome', beside *māhina-*.

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

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

² See WHITNEY on APR. III. 18.

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

⁴ See above on *r̥*, p. 8, note ⁴.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 23. When *īr* stands for suffixal *-is*, it remains unchanged; e. g. *havīrbhīs* 'with oblations' (*hav-īs-*); *krivīr-dāt-ī* 'saw-toothed'; *-ur*, with genuine *u*, remains short in *urvāra-* 'field', *urv-* 'wide', *urviyā* 'widely' (*uru-* 'wide'), *urv-dī-* 'desire', *dur-*

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

⁶ The lengthening of the augment in *āyunat*, *dyukta* (*√yuj-*) and *āriṇak*, *draik* (*√ric-*), follows this analogy.

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

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

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

¹⁰ See WACKERNAGEL I, 43.

¹¹ Metrical shortening of a long syllable

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

d. The lengthening of the vowel in a certain number of instances appears to be due to analogy; thus the denominatives in *-āyd* beside *-ayd* from *a*-stems (e. g. *ṛāyā-* 'observe order', beside *ṛayā-*)¹, seem to follow the model of those in *-īyāti* and *-īyāti*, which would account for the fluctuation in quantity. *Tikṣud-* 'sharp' (beside *tigmd-*: *tij-* 'be sharp') and *hālthkṣna-* (TS.) beside *hālthkṣna-* (VS.), a kind of animal, appear to owe their *ī* to the influence of desideratives which in several instances have *ī* (partly for older *i*) before *ṣ*. The reason for the *ī* in *āyānī* 'silently' (*tuṣ-* 'become quiet'), and in *sūmnā-* (VS.), otherwise *sumnd-* 'favour', is, however, obscure.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(at the end of a triṣṭubh-line), without inter-change of quantity, appears in *śirāu*, loc. plur. of *śivā-* 'stream'.

¹ See below, Denominatives, 563, a.

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

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

⁴ See BÖHLINGK's Lexicon s. v. *Perhapa* also in *jāmbilā-* (MS.) 'knee-pau', if = *jānu-ailā-*.

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

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 324; OLDEN-

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

⁷ Cp. 25, A 1; WACKERNAGEL I, 71.

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

⁹ Op. cit. 2¹, p. 71 (bottom).

¹⁰ Op. cit. 2¹, p. 72 (bottom).

¹¹ Op. cit. I, p. 61 (top).

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

¹³ See below 69, 70.

¹⁴ See above 15, a 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Cp. *ānka-* and *prāṅka-* 'face'.

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

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 90 c, p. 104.

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

⁶ See below, Sandhi 69—73.

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

b. 1. Though not written, hiatus is common elsewhere also in the Samhitās². The evidence of metre shows that *y* and *r* must often be pronounced as *i* and *u*, and that a long vowel or a diphthong has frequently the value of two vowels. When the long vowel or diphthong is the result of contraction, the two original vowels must often be restored, within a word as well as in Sandhi. Thus *pānti* 'they protect', may have to be read as *pā-anti* (= *pā-anti*)³, *dījan* 'they anointed' as *d-aijan*; *jyāṣṭha-* 'mightiest' as *jyā-iṣṭha-* (= *jyā-iṣṭha-* from *jyā-* 'be mighty'); *dicchā* as *d-icchā* 'thou didst wish'; *aur̥ṣas* as *a-ūr̥ṣas* 'thou didst open'⁴.

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

21. Svarabhakti.—When a consonant is in conjunction with *r* or a nasal, a very short vocalic sound tends to be developed between them, and the evidence of metre shows that a vowel must often be pronounced between them. It is the general view of the Prātisākyas⁸ that when an *r* precedes another consonant a vowel is sounded after it; according to some of them this also takes place after *l* or even after any voiced consonant. They call it *svarabhakti* or 'vowel-part', which they describe as equal to $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$ mora in length and generally as equivalent to *a* or *e* (probably = *e*) in sound.

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

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 37 b, note.

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

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

⁴ WACKERNAGEL I, 46 b.

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

⁶ See WACKERNAGEL I, 44. This is a very old phenomenon, as it is found in the Avesta in the gen. pl. and in other forms: OLDENBERG 131; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 50.

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

appearance of slurred accentuation: WACKERNAGEL I, 47.

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

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

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

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

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

VOWEL GRADATION.

I. The Guṇa series: *e o ar*.

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

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

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

¹ See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena, 374; normal stage in the gradation of the *a*-vowels in many roots: see 24; WACKERNAGEL I, 55 b.

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 55.

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

⁹ 'Dehnstufe'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 61.

It is to be found 1) in strong forms of a few monosyllabic substantives, in the nom. sing. of *sakhi-* 'friend' and of stems in *-r*, and in the loc. sing. of stems in *i* and *u*: *su-hārd-* 'good-hearted' (from *hīd-* 'heart'), *dyāu-s* 'heaven' (from *dyā-*), *gāu-s* 'cow' (from *gō-*); *sākhā*¹, *pītī*²; *agnā*³ (from *agn-* 'fire'), *aktī* (from *akti-* 'night'); 2) before the primary nominal suffixes *-a*, *-i*, *-ti*, *-na*, *-man*, *-vāna*; e. g. *spārḥ-d-* 'desirable' (√ *spṛh-*); *hārd-i-* 'heart' (from *hīd-*); *kārs-i-* (VS.) 'drawing' (√ *kṛs-*); *śrduṣ-ti* 'obedient' (√ *śruṣ-*); *cyau-tud-* 'stimulating' (√ *cyu-*); *bhārman-* 'board' (√ *bhr-*); *kārs-t-vāna-* (AV.) 'ploughman'; 3) in secondary nominal derivation, generally to form patronymics or adjectives expressive of connexion or relation⁴; e. g. *gaurikṣitī-* 'descended from *giri-kṣit*'; *anijit-* 'son of *Uśj*'; *śrautṛd-* 'relating to the ear' (*śrūtra-*); *hairanyā-* 'golden' (*hīranya-* 'gold'); 4) in the singular pres. of a few verbs of the second class and in the active *s*-aorist of roots ending in vowels: *kṣndu-mi* 'I sharpen' (√ *kṣṇu-*); *mārs-ti* 'he wipes' (√ *mṛj-*); *ydu-mi* (AV.) 'I unite' (√ *yu-*); *a-jai-sam* 'I have conquered' (√ *ji-*); *ydu-s*, 2 sing. 'ward off' (√ *yu-*); *a-bhār-sam* 'I have borne' (√ *bhr-*).

B. Low grade: *ī ū īr*.—The same Guṇa and Vṛddhi forms as a rule correspond to these long vowels as to their short forms *i u r*. Thus *bhī-* 'fear': *bī-bhīy-a* and *bī-bhāy-a*; *hū-* 'call': *ju-hāv-a*; *tṛ-* 'cross': *ta-tār-a*, beside *tīr-itē* and *tīr-na-* (just like *śrī-* 'resort': *śi-śrāy-a*; *śru-* 'hear': *śu-śrāv-a*; *kr-* 'do': *ca-kār-a*). Before consonants the roots *pri-* 'love', *vī-* 'desire', *vī-* 'impel', *śr-* 'lie', *ni-* 'lead', *bhī-* 'fear', have Guṇa forms in *e*, the last two also Vṛddhi forms in *ai*; but roots in *ū* and *ī* have *avi*⁶ and *ari* as Guṇa, *avi* and *ari* as Vṛddhi, respectively; e. g. *pū-* 'purify', aor. *pavi-ṣta* and *apaviṣar*; *kṛ-* 'scatter', aor. subj. *kāri-sat*⁷.

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

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

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

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

³ Also *agnāi*, like the *u*-stems.

⁴ See below 191.

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

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

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 76.

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

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

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

grade, but early began to supplant *c*; thus from *dīv-* 'play', beside *didēva* (AV.), *dēv-ana-* 'game of dice', occur *dīv-yati*, *dīv-l* and *dīv-l* dat. and loc. of *dīv-* 'game of dice'; from *srīv-* 'fail', beside *śreḍyant*, *srīyati* (AV.); but from *mīv-* 'push', only *mīv-ati* etc.; from *śīv-* 'sew', only *śīv-yati* etc. It is a peculiarity of these roots that *v* appears before vowels and *y* only, becoming *yā* or *ā* before other consonants; thus *dya-ti* (AV.) 'play'; *-mā-ta-* 'impelled', *mā-rī-* 'dull', *mā-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine'; *śyā-ti-* 'fastened', *śī-cī-* 'needle', *śī-tra-* (AV.) 'thread'; *śrī-* 'lead ball'.

II. The Samprasāraṇa² series.

a. Gradation of *ya va ra*.

23. Low grade: *i u r*.—In place of the accented syllables *ya va ra* (corresponding to the Guṇa vowels *e o ar*) appear the low grade vowels *i u r*¹ when the accent shifts to the following syllable in some fourteen roots, viz. *yaj-* 'sacrifice', *vyac-* 'extend', *vyadh-* 'pierce', *vac-* 'speak', *vad-* 'speak', *vap-* 'strew', *vas-* 'be eager', *vas-* 'dwell', *vas-* 'shine', *vah-* 'carry'; *svap-* 'sleep', *grah-* and *grah-* 'seize', *pracch-* (properly *pras-*) 'ask', *vraś-* 'hew'; e. g. *iś-tī-*: *yś-śave*; *uś-māsi*: *uś-śi*; *susup-vāms-*: *susvāpa*.

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

1. *i* appears in *mimikṣir*: *mimykṣa* perf. of $\sqrt{\text{mīkṣ}}$; *vithīra-* 'wavering', *vithuryāti* 'wavers', beside *vydth-ate* 'wavers'.

2. *u* in *ūksant-* 'growing': *vavīkṣa* 'has grown'; *śuś-int-*: *śvas-iti* 'breathes'; *ju-hur-as*: *hūr-ati* 'is crooked'; *ur-ī-* 'broad': comp. *vdr-tyas-*, superl. *vdr-iśtha-*; *dūr-*: *dūr-* 'door'; *dhin-i-* 'resounding': *dhvan-i-* (AV.) 'sound'.

3. *r* in *kṛpate* 'laments': aor. *akrapīṣṭa*; *gruṭti* (AV.): *grath-iti-* 'tied'; *-śyith-ita-*: *śrath-nāti* 'becomes loose'; *rj-ī-* 'straight': *rj-iśtha-* 'straightest'; *rbb-ū-* 'adroit': *rābh-ate* 'grasps'; *dṛh-ya* 'be firm' (impv.): *drah-yāt* 'firmly'; *prth-ū-* 'broad': *prth-ati* 'spreads out'; *bhṛm-ā-* 'error': *bhram-ā-* 'whirling flame'; *ā-ni-bhṛṣ-ja-* 'undefeated': *bhraś-at* aor., *bhraś-ti-* (AV.) 'fallen'; *mṛd-ī-* 'soft': *mṛada* 'soften' (impv.), *īrṇa-mṛadas-* 'soft as wool'; *śṛk-va-*: *śrīk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'.

b. This gradation also appears in the stems of a few nouns and in certain nominal suffixes: *dya-bhis*: *dya-ī-* loc., *dya-ū-* nom. 'heaven'; *śin-*: *śva-*, *śvān-* 'dog'; *yūn-* (= *yū-un-*): *yūva-*, *yūvān-* 'youth'; *catir-*: *catūr-* 'four'; the superlative and comparative suffixes *-iśtha* and *-yas*; the perf. part. suffix *-uṣ*: *-vat*, *-vāms*³.

b. Gradation of *yā vā rā*.

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

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

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

³ Though \bar{r} seems invariably to have resulted from the reduction of Guṇa or Samprasāraṇa syllables, there is no reason

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

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

⁵ See WACKERNAGEL I, 63.

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

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

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

b. in the suffix of nominal stems:

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

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

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

b. Gradation of *ā*.

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

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

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

¹ Cp. AUFRECHT, BB. 14, 33; WACKER-NAGEL 1, 72 (p. 79, bottom).

² Op. cit. 1, 72 b 3 (p. 80).

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

⁴ Such neuter plurals were in origin probably feminine singular collectives: cp. BRUG-MANN, KG. 481; WACKER-NAGEL 1, 73 and 95.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. Gradation of *au*.

28. Low grade: *ā*.—As the final of roots *ā* is graded with *au* (parallel with *vā*⁸), much in the same way as *i* with *ai*, appearing as *āv-* before vowels, *ā* before consonants⁹; but the certain examples are few. Thus *dhā-n-ti* 'shakes', *dhi-ti-* 'shaker', *dhā-mā-* 'smoke', beside *dhāv-ati* 'runs', *dhi-rā-* 'stream'; *dhā-tā-* 'washed', beside *dhāv-ati* 'washes'. But here *au* appears before consonants as well as *ā*; thus *dhau-tīri-* 'shaking', beside *dhu-* 'shake'; and *dhau-ti-* 'spring', *dhau-tā-* (SV.), beside *dhāv-ati* 'washes'. Similarly *gā-m*

¹ See above 24.

² *ai* appears only in the *s*-aor., as *nai-śta*, forms like *ś-jai-śma*, from *ji-* 'conquer'.

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

⁴ Perhaps also in *śī-* 'fall': *īyate* (AV.), beside *śī-ti-yati* 'cuts off', which may be a denominative from **śī-tā-* 'fallen'. Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *√śat-* and *√ī-śī-*; WACKERNAGEL I, 79 a 3 (p. 88).

⁵ In some of the above roots *e* appears instead of *ā* before consonants; e. g. *dhē-* 'devout', beside *cāy-ū-*; *pe-rū-* 'causing to drink', beside *pāy-āna-*; *dhe-nī-* 'milk cow', *dhi-nā-* id.; *śī-śe*, beside *a-śāy-ata*; *nī-tā-*, beside *nāy-ū-*; *śe-nā-* 'thief', beside *śāy-ū-* (VS.) id., and *śāy-dut-* (AV.) 'furtive'; *śī-nā-* 'missile', beside *śīy-āka-*. It is, perhaps, due

to this *e* that *ay-* sometimes appears instead of *āy-* in some of the above verbs; as 2. pl., *nī-* 'lead', owing to the analogy of *prāy-as* 'enjoyment', from *√pr-*; *ray-i-* 'wealth', from *√rā-*; *śāy-e*, 3. sing., from *śī-* 'lie'.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 79 b (p. 89).

⁷ Op. cit. I, 79 c (p. 89).

⁸ See above 24 b.

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

and *gā-s*, acc., beside *gāv-as*, nom. pl., but *gāu-s*, nom. sing., 'cow'; and *dyā-m*, acc. sing., beside *dyāv-as*, nom. pl., but *dyāu-s*, nom. sing., 'heaven'.

V. Secondary shortening of *i ū r̄*.

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

a. compounds²:

1. those in which the final member is derived with *-ta-* and *-ti-*, the accent being regularly thrown back on the first member³; thus *d-ni-si-ta-* 'restless', *ni-si-tā* (TS. B.) 'night', from *si* 'lie'; *prā-si-ti-* 'onset', beside *sdy-aka-* 'missile'⁴; *si-su-ti-* 'easy birth', beside *sūti-kā* (AV.) 'lying-in woman'; *i-sti-ta-* 'unconquered', *d-ni-sti-ta-* 'not overthrown', beside *stir-ṇi-*, from *stī-* 'strew'⁵; *i-hūti-* 'invocation', otherwise *-hū-ti-* in *śd-hūti-* 'joint invocation', *devi-hūti-* 'invocation of the gods', and other compounds.

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

3. those in which the final member is formed with other suffixes; thus *madhyān-dī-na-* 'midday', *su-dī-na-* 'bright', beside *dī-* 'shine'; *su-su-mānt-* 'very stimulating', beside *sū-t-* 'impelled'; also in *tuvī-gr-d-* and *tuvī-gr-i-* 'much devouring', beside *saṇ-gir-i-* (AV.) 'devouring', as *r* here = *r̄*⁷.

4. some Bahuvrihis (in which the first member is normally accented)⁸; thus *bṛhād-rī-*⁹ 'possessing much wealth' (*rī-*); *try-udh-dū-* 'having three udders', beside *ūdh-an-* 'udder'.

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

¹ Cp. 23.

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

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

⁴ Cp. 27, note 5.

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

⁶ An example of the shortening of *r̄* is perhaps *adhi-kṣi-t-* 'ruler', *kṣi-* being according to J. SCHMIDT, *Pluralbildung* 419, the original weak form of the root; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 83 b.

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

⁸ See accentuation of compounds, 90.

⁹ Occurring only in the dat. sing. *bṛhād-rāya*, beside *rāy-i-*, dat. of *rī-* 'wealth'.

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

'kindle'; from *dhr-* 'think', *dī-dhi-ma*, 1. pl. perf., *dī-dhi-ti* 'devotion', beside *dhr-t-* 'thought'; from *kr-* 'commemorate', *car-kr-se*, intv., *car-kr-t-* 'praise', beside *kr-t-* 'praise'; from *pr-* 'fill', *pi-pr-tām*, 3. du., beside *pūr-nd-* and *pūr-t-*. Such shortening often occurs in red. aor., e. g. *br-bhīḥ-a-thas*, 2. sing. mid., beside *br-bhīḥ-ana-* 'terrifying'. It is also found in a few nouns; e. g. *śi-śi-ra-* (AV.) 'coolness', beside *śi-ta-* 'cold'; *tū-tu-mā-* beside *tū-ya-* 'strong'¹.

The Consonants.

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

1. as the result of the contact of the same consonants or the assimilation⁴ of different ones; e. g. *cit-ti-* 'perceived' (= *cit-ta-*); *uc-cā-* 'high' (= *ud-ca-*); *bhet-t-* 'breaker' (= *bhet-t-*); *ān-na-* 'food' (= *ad-na-*).

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

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

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

a. In the Mss., when double consonants are preceded or followed by another consonant, one of them is frequently dropped, because in such consonantal groups there was no difference in pronunciation between single and double consonants. Hence the VPr. (VI. 27) prescribes a single *t* in *ḥatāra-* 'dominion' (= *ḥad-ta-*), and in *satrad-* 'sacrificial session' (= *sad-ta-*). Such shortening is further presupposed by the analysis of the Pada texts in *hr(d)dyōdāh* (AV. I. 22¹) and *hr(d)dyōdānah* (AV. v. 20²) as *hr-dyōdāh* and *hr-dyōdānah*; in *lāid-dyām* (AV. IV. 19³) as *lāid-dyām* (instead of *lāid-dyām*); and in *upāstha-*, which appears in the RV. Pada as *upā-stha-* instead of *upā-stha-*, if GRASSMANN'S suggestion is right¹⁰. In some instances this reduction is IE., as in *sutrā-* (IE. *setlo-*)¹¹.

¹ On variations in cognate forms between *r h l* as in *āvikṣat* (AV.) = **diḥ-sat*, aor. of *divis* *i u r* and *r h l* in some other words see 'hate', is also an Indian innovation. WACKERNAGEL I, 86.

² Sometimes a single *s* represents the double sound, as in *āsi* 'thou art' (= *ar-s*); *apāsu* (RV. VIII. 414), loc. pl. of *apās-* 'active'; *ānhasu* (AV.), loc. pl. of *ānhas-* 'distress'; *śiṣi* 'thou shalt taste' (*śi-s*); probably also in *śhō-si* (from *śhō-s* 'sound'), in *upās*, gen. sing., acc. pl. of *up-*, weak stem of *upās-* 'dawn' (for **upās*), possibly in *us-* 'dawn' (for **us-s*). As the single *s* in such forms is shown by cognate languages also, it seems here to be pre-Vedic, and the double *ss* in forms like *śhō-su*, loc. pl., is probably an Indian innovation. The change of *st* to *st*,

³ On double consonants in Sandhi, see below 77.

⁴ The evidence of the Avestan form *vṛṣṭā-* shows that the double consonant in *vṛṣṭā-* (AV. VS.) 'kidney' is due to assimilation.

⁵ See below 40; WACKERNAGEL I, 133.

⁶ See TPr. XIV. 8.

⁷ See WEBER, Abh. d. Berliner Ak. d. Wiss. 1871, p. 83 f.

⁸ See below 46; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a.

⁹ Cp. ROTH in ZDMG. 48, 102 f.

¹⁰ See his Lexicon, s. v. *upāstha-*.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 98 b, note.

Mutes.

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

1. The tenuis regularly represent IE. tenuis; e. g. *cakrā-* 'wheel', Gk. *κρόνος*; *pitr-* 'father', Gk. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*.

2. The mediae regularly represent IE. mediae; e. g. *gācchati*, Gk. *βίασις*; *rāj-* 'king', Lat. *rēx*; *mud-ati* 'is drunk', Lat. *mad-et*. There are a few instances in which a media appears in place of an older tenuis: *gulphā-* (AV.); *kulphā-* 'ankle'; *ārbhaga-* 'youthful'; *arbhakā-* 'little'; *tij-*; *tīc-*, *tokā-* 'offspring'; *ān-ava-pragna-* 'undivided'; *prc-* 'mix'; *girikā-* (MS.); *kirikā-* (VS.)¹ a kind of demon. These examples may be due to popular dialects, in which tenuis largely became mediae². In a few derivatives the media *g* appears instead of *k* before the *n m v* of suffixes owing to the influence of Sandhi: e. g. *vag-mi-* 'sound', from *vac-* 'speak', but *rek-nas-* 'wealth', from *ric-*; *śag-mā-* 'helpful', from *śak-*, but *ruk-mā-* 'gold', from *ruc-* 'shine'; *vāg-vin-* (AV.) 'eloquent', from *vāk* 'speech', but *tak-vi-* 'swift', from *tak-* 'hasten'.

3. The evidence of cognate languages shows that the Vedic aspirate tenuis in a large number of instances is original, and it is highly probable that it is the regular representative of IE. aspirate tenuis. The following are examples in which mutes of this character are inherited³:

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

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

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

d. *th*⁴ in *ītha* 'then'; *athar-* 'tip'; *dharvan-* 'fire-priest'; *ārtha-* 'use'; *granth-* 'knot'; *path-* 'way'; *prth-ū-* 'broad'; *prāth-as* 'breadth'; *prāth-* 'snorting'; *math-* 'stir'; *mith-* 'alternate'; *yā-thā* 'as'; *rātha-* 'car'; *vyathate* 'wavers'; *śnath-* 'pierce'. Further in the various suffixes *-tha*: forming primary nouns; e. g. *uk-thā-* 'praise', *gā-thā-* f. *gā-thi-* 'song'; as *-atha* in *śvas-ātha-* 'hissing'; forming ordinals: *catur-thā-* (AV.) 'fourth'; *sapt-thā-* 'seventh'; forming 2. sing. perf.: *dad-ā-tha* 'thou gavest', *vt-tha* 'thou knowest'; forming 2. pl. pres.: *bhava-tha* 'ye are'; also in *-thās* of 2. sing. mid., e. g. *a-sthi-thās* 'thou hast stood'.

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

4. The aspirate media, which represents the same IE. sound, is a media combined with *h*. This is proved by the express statements of the Prātisākhya⁵; by the fact that *lh* = *dh* is written with the separate letters *l* and *h*; and by the change of *h* following a media to an aspirate media (as *tād dhi* for *tād hi*).

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

¹ For some doubtful instances of media representing IE. tenuis, see WACKERNAGEL, sprachliche tenuis aspirata dentalis im arischen, griechischen und lateinischen' by ZUBATY in KZ. 31, 1—9.

² Op. cit. 101.

³ l. c.

⁴ RPr. XII. 2, 5; TPr. II. 9.

⁵ A complete list of Vedic and Sanskrit words containing *lh* in his article 'Die ur-doublets of this kind: see WACKERNAGEL, 1, 103.

⁶ There seem to have been a few IE.

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

a. Initial aspiration is lost: *i*. in the reduplicative syllable: e. g. *ja-ghān-a* (*han-*, *ghan-* 'strike'); *ca-cchān-a* (*chān-* 'please'); *da-dhā-ti* (*dhā-* 'put'); *par-phar-at* (*phar-* 'scatter?'). But when the reduplication consists of two syllables, the rule does not apply; e. g. *ghāni-ghan-at*, intv. part. of *han-* (beside *jān-ghan-at*), *ghāna-ghan-ā-* 'fond of striking'; *bhāri-bhā-at*, intv. part. of *bhā-* 'bear'. Loss of aspiration, however, began, even in the RV.², to spread from monosyllabic to dissyllabic reduplication; thus *ā-phān-phān-at*, intv. part. of *phān-* 'bound'.—2. in the following words, according to the evidence of cognate languages: *kumbhā-* 'pot'; *gad-* 'attach'; *gdbhas-ti-* 'arm'; *guh-* 'conceal'; *grdh-* 'be greedy'; *grhā-* 'house'; *grabh-* 'seize'; *jānhas-* 'gait'; *jānghā-* 'leg'; *jaghāna-* 'buttock'; *dabh-* 'harm'; *dah-* 'burn'; *dih-* 'besmear'; *duh-* 'milk'; *duhit-* 'daughter'; *drāhydt* 'strongly'; *druh-* 'injure'; *bandh-* 'bind'; *babhrī-* 'brown'; *bād-* 'distress'; *bāhū-* 'arm'; *budh-* 'awake'; *budhnā-* 'bottom'; *brh-* 'be great'. It is probable also in *dagh-* 'reach'; *bañh-* 'be firm'; *badhird-* 'deaf'; *bahū-*, *bahult-* 'much'; *bradhna-* 'pale red'; *brāhman-* 'devotion'.

b. Final aspiration is often lost³. *i*. When this occurs before suffixal *s*, original initial aspiration is lost in some cases; thus from *guh-* 'hide', desid. 3. du. *ju-guk-sa-tas*; *grdh-* 'be eager': *grtsā-* 'dexterous'; *dabh-* 'harm': desid. *dīp-sa-ti*, *dīp-si-* 'intending to hurt'; *dah-* 'burn': impv. *dak-si*, aor. part. *dikṣat*, *dikṣu-* and *dakṣis-* 'flaming'; *duh-* 'milk': aor. *a-dukṣat*, *dukṣās*, etc., desid. part. *dīdukṣan*⁴; *bhas-* 'chew': *bap-sati*, part. *bāps-at-*; *ghas-* 'eat': *jak-syāt*, perf. opt.; *has-* 'laugh': part. *jāky-at-*; also in the word *drap-sā-* 'drop'⁶.

But in some of the above and in analogous forms with *s*, the original initial aspirate remains; thus from *guh-*, aor. *aḡhukṣat*; *dah-*: *dhāksī*, part. *dhāksat*, fut. part. *dhāksyān*; *duh-*: aor. *ādḡhukṣat*, *dhukṣān*, etc. 2. impv. *dhuk-sva*; *bād-* 'distress': *bī-bhāt-si-* 'loathing'; *budh-* 'awake': aor. *d-bhūt-si-*.

2. When the loss of final radical aspiration is due to any other cause than suffixal *s*, the original initial aspirate regularly remains; thus from *dah-*, aor. *a-dhāk*; *budh-* 'waken': nom. *-bhūt* 'waking'; *dhi-* 'put': *dhat*⁷, 3. sing., *dhat-thas*, *d-dhat-tam*, etc.; and in the latter verb always before *s* also: *dhat-se*, *dhat-sva*, desid. *dhit-sati*.

c. On the other hand, there is no loss of aspiration in the root if an aspirate follows which belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound; e. g. *vidhī-bhis* 'with the Vibhus'; *proth-ātha-* 'snorting'; *dhṛṣṭha-* 'giving most' (*dhṛ-ṣṭha-*); *āhī-hdn-* 'serpent-slaying'; *garbha-dhī-* 'breeding-place'. The only exceptions⁸ are the two imperatives *bo-dhī* 'be' (for **bho-dhī*⁹ instead of **bhū-dhī*) and *ja-hī* (for **jha-hī*) from *han-* 'strike'¹⁰.

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

² Later this became the rule.

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

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

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

⁶ IE. *dhrebbh-* 'coagulate'.

⁷ For *dhadh-*.

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

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

¹⁰ Also *vidātha-* 'feast', if correctly derived from *vi-th-* 'worship'; on this word see MAX MÜLLER, SBE, 32, 350; Foy, KZ, 34, 226; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS, 19, 2, 12 ff.; GELDNER, ZDMG, 53, 730-61; WACKERNAGEL I, 108. A few more uncertain examples might be exceptions: *garda-bhd-* 'ass'

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

e. In a few isolated words a media seems, according to the evidence of cognate languages, to stand for an IE. aspirate: *gṃd-* 'earth', gen. *gṃds*; *jmā-* 'earth', gen. *jmāis*, inst. *jmā*; *dur-*, *dur-*² 'door'; *majjin-* 'narrow'.

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

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

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

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

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

The Five Classes of Mutes.

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

(if from *gṛh-* 'be greedy'), *bṛjaha-* 'udder' (if from *bṛh-* 'be great'), *sabar-dīgha-*, *sabar-dhī-*, *sabar-dhūk*, epithet of cows (if *sabar-* = Gk. *ἄβας*: BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 18); cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 108, note, 217 b; ZDMG. 43, 667 f.; 46, 292 (*bṛjaha-*).

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

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

³ This was often due to assimilation, the mode of the articulation of the second generally prevailing; e. g. *āt-ti* = **ad-ti* (*ad-* 'eat'); *vā-tha* = **vād-tha*; *śag-dhi* = **śak-dhi*; the articulation of the first prevails in 33, 2.

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

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

⁶ See below 58.

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

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

⁹ See APr. I. 20 and WHITNEY's note.

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

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

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

a. *ś-s*: *ākṣi-* 'eye'; *rakṣa-* 'bear'; *kakṣa-* 'armpit'; *kukṣi-* 'belly'; *kṣi-* 'dwell'; *kṣidh-* 'hunger'; *caṣ-* 'see'; *takṣ-* 'fashion'; *dakṣiṇa-* 'right'; *pakṣman-* (VS.) 'eyelash'; *makṣā* 'quickly'; *rakṣ-* (AV.) 'injure'; *rakṣ-as-* 'injury';

b. *k-s*: *kṣatrad-* 'dominion'; *kṣāp-* 'night'; *kṣi-* 'rule'; *kṣip-* 'throw'; *kṣīrad-* 'milk'; *kṣud-* 'shake'; *kṣod-as-* 'rush of water'; *kṣudrad-* 'small' (VS.), n. 'minute particle'; *kṣibh-* 'swift motion'; *tvakṣ-* 'be strong'; *vṛkṣā-* 'tree'.

2. In a few instances *k* stands for a medial *t*: in *vṛkṣū* (AV.) 'kidneys', for **vṛtkū*; *prkṣi* (SV.) = *prtsi* 'in battles'. In these two forms the substitution is due to Prakritic influence; this is probably also the case in *skambh-* beside *stambh-* 'prop'⁷. The guttural only seems to stand for a dental in *āsikni-* beside *āsita-* 'black', *pālikni-* beside *pālita-* 'grey', and *hṛikni-* (AV.) beside *hṛita-* 'yellow', as there is no etymological connexion between *-kni-* and *-ta-*⁸.

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

4. In a few verbal forms from three roots *k* stands for *ś* before suffixal *s*¹¹, though this *k* never made its way into the loc. pl. (where only *-ś-su-* or *-k-su-*, *-su-* occur). The only example in the RV. is *piṇak-* (for *piṇak-ś*) 2. sing. impf. of *piṇas-ji* (*piṣ-* 'crush'). In the AV. occur *dvik-ś-at-*, *dvik-ś-ata-*, aor. of *dvīṣ-* 'hate'; *śīlīkṣate-*, *śīlīkṣu-*, desid. of *ślīṣ-* 'embrace'. Other possible examples from the RV. are *-rṣarā-* 'thorn' (if from *rṣ-* 'prick'); *rīrikṣa-* and *rīrikṣ-*, desid. (if from *rīṣ-* 'injure'); *vīrekṣi* (if from *vīṣ-* 'work')¹².

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

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

² See BRUGMANN, op. cit. 244.

³ Op. cit. 233.

⁴ See below 56.

⁵ That is, *ś-s* by *ś* and *k-s* by *kś*; thus *vukṣi*, from *vaś-* = *vai*; *vukṣyā-mi*, from *vak-* (for *vac-*) = *vahyā*.

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

⁷ See above 30, note 4.

⁸ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, p. 136, note (top).

⁹ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 398.

¹⁰ See ZDMG. 33, 193.

¹¹ See WEBER, IS. 8, 40, 54; 13, 109.

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

¹³ The relation of the *k* in *dadhīk* 'firmly', to *dadhīśu-*, *dadhīś-viṣi-* 'bold', is uncertain. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 118, note (end).

¹⁴ Thus *τάνδανον* = *candana-* 'sandal-wood'; *Τιασάνης* = *caṣana-*, N.; *Παζάλοι* = *pañāla-*, N. of a people; *Σανδράκωντες* = *candraguṣṭa-*, N.; *Ούζην* = *ujjayini-* (Prakrit

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

36. The new palatals (*c, j, h*) are derived from gutturals (velars), being interchangeable, in most roots and formatives, with gutturals, and being in most cognate languages represented by the same sounds as represent original gutturals. Thus from the root *śuc-* 'shine' come verbal forms such as *ścati*, beside the nominal derivatives *śka-*, *śikvan-*, *śakrā-*, *śuklt-* (AV.); from *yuj-* 'yoke', *yuje* 1. sing. mid., etc., beside *yugt-*, *yuga-*, *yuktā-*, *yugvan-*; from *druh-* 'injure', *dudr̥ṣha*, 3. sing. perf., etc., beside *druhyā-*, a name, and *dr̥gha-* 'deceitful'.

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

a. Gutturals thus appear instead of palatals before *ir* (*il*) and *ir* (= IE. *rr* and *r*)⁴, which were not yet pronounced with an *i*-sound in the Indo-Iranian period⁵; thus *dūgīras-*, a name; *giri-*⁶ 'mountain'; *kīrdī*, 3. sing., *kīrdū-* 'dust', from *kī-* 'scatter'; *car̥kīrāma*, *car̥kīran*, *kīrdī-* 'fame', from *kī-* 'commemorate'; *gī-* 'lauding', from *gī-* 'praise'; *gīrdī* (AV.), 3. sing., *gīla-* (AV.) 'devouring', from *gī-* 'swallow'. Before *i* (= IE. *ə*)⁷ *k* appears in *ok-i-nāms-*, part. from *uc-* 'be pleased', and *g* in *tīgīd-*⁸ 'sharp', beside *tējate*, *tjhas-* 'brilliance', and other derivatives, from *tj-* 'be sharp'.

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

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

ujjān), N. of a city; $\Delta\alpha\mu\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ = *yamunā*, N. of a river. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 119.

¹ Cp. WHITNEY on ALP. I, 21.

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

³ The sphere of the palatals has been extended by analogy at the expense of the gutturals and *vice versa*. The aspirate guttural *kh* appears where the other gutturals are replaced by palatals; thus before the *y* in *khyā-* 'see' (but *ji-*) 'overpower'; before the thematic *a* of the present: *rikhā-* 'site' (but *dakā-*); before the *-ayati* of the Causative: *rikhāyati* 'swings' (but *arāyati*), and notably in *sākhī-* 'friend': dat. *sākhye*, pl. *sākhīhyas* (Ilr. *sachī*): cp. WACKERNAGEL

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

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 24, 25.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 123 a α .

⁶ In Av. *gūri-*.

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

⁸ Otherwise the palatal regularly appears before this *i* in perfect forms; e. g. *salā-* (acc. 'accompany'); *bhejī-* (*bhaji-* 'divide'); *uc-* (*uc-* 'be pleased'); *dudr̥ṣha* (*duh-* 'milk').

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

2. in the final of roots in which guttural forms predominate, before the *y* of the optative and the gerund; thus *dagh-yās*, from *dagh-* 'reach'; *sak-yām*, from *sak-* 'be able'; *saghyāsam* (TS.), from *sagh-* 'be equal to'. It also appears very often before the suffixes *-i*, *-ī*, *-in*, *-ya* forming derivatives from nouns the last consonant of which is a guttural; e. g. *phīyogi-* 'descendant of Phayoga'; *vṛk-* 'she-wolf' (*vṛka-*); *śak-in-* 'powerful' (*śakī-*); *śṛṅg-in-* 'horned' (*śṛṅga-*); *upa-vāk-yā-* 'to be praised' (beside *upavācya-*) from *upavākt-* 'praise'. Similarly *drāgh-tyas-* 'longer', *drāgh-iṣṭha-* 'longest' (beside *dirgh-* 'long', *drāgh-mān-* 'length'); *sphig-* 'buttock', with *g* from the nom. *sphik* of *sphij-*, which occurs in the post-Vedic language only.

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

α) words which may be suspected of foreign origin owing to meaning or phonetic form: *kimśukā-*, *kiyāmbu-* plant names; *kimīdin-*, *kikāta-*, *kirāta-* (VS.), *śva-kiskīn-* (AV.) names of foreigners or demons; *kija-* a kind of utensil; *kībiṣa-* 'guilt' (contains the rare letter *b*), *kīstī-* 'singer' (*st* instead of *ṣt*); β) onomatopoeic words: *kikīdvī-* 'blue jay'; *kikīrā-kr-* 'tear to tatters'; *kikkīhī* (TS.) an interjection; γ) some words of doubtful origin: *kikasā-* 'vertebra'; *kimīra-* 'ploughman'(?); *kimīśa-* 'ploughman'; *kīhīla-* 'sweet draught'; *kirmīrā-* (VS.) 'variegated'; *kīśorā-* (AV.) 'foal'; *kīsmīla-* (AV. Paipp.) a kind of disease.

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

On the other hand, the original guttural has remained in *kakū-* 'peak'; *kākṣa-* 'armpit'; *kārī-* 'poet'; *kātu-* 'will'; *gāṁs* 'cow'; *gharmā-* 'hot'; *ghorā-* 'terrible'; and in the roots *kās-* (AV.) 'cough'; *gadh-* 'clasp'; *gā-* 'go'; *gāh-* 'plunge'; *gai-* 'sing'.

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

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 128 a (p. 150, bottom). ² In the IE. vowel gradation of these roots only *ē* and *ī* appear. In other roots

² Cp. Italian and the Balto-Slavic languages in the IE. vowel gradation of which *ē* is found, an initial palatal would be expected

On the other hand, the palatal appears in *cut*¹, *cūdati* 'impel'; *scut-*, *scotati* 'drip', because here forms with *u*, which required a guttural, were rare; in *car-*, *carati* 'move', where the palatal is almost invariably phonetic in RV. (but AV. has *cacāra*); in *cat-* 'bind', the palatal has fixed itself in spite of many forms with *r*; while beside *harate* 'rejoices', *hārsant-*, part., both *h* and *gh* occur in weak forms: *hr̥ṣīti-*, *gh̥ṣu-* 'lively', *gh̥ṣvi-* 'gladdening'.

c. Among roots in *-an* and *am*, survivals of the regular interchange are found in *kan-* 'be pleased', and *han-* 'strike'. The former has the palatal (= IE. *kē-*) in the aor. *caṇiṣtam*, in the superl. *cāniṣṭha-*, and in *cānas-* 'favour', but otherwise the guttural. In *han-*, *h* appears before *an* (= IE. *cn*) and, by analogy, also before *an* = *ṇn* and *a* = *y*; but *gh* before *n* and *ā* = IE. *ḍ*; thus *hīn-ti*, inf. *hīn-tave*; *han-mas*, *han-yāma*; *ha-thās*, *-ha-tā*, and with *j* in impv. *jahi* (= **jhahi*), but perf. *jaghāna*, and *ghana-* 'striker', *ghanāghand-* 'found of striking'. In the intv. *janghan-*, *gh* stands for *h* before *a* = IE. *ḍ* owing to the influence of the weak stem *janghn-*. In *gam-* 'go', *ga-* = *gṇ-* (e.g. in *gicchati*, *ga-ti-*) has led to the use of *gam-* = **jam-*, as in *gām-anti*².

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

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

In the intensive, however, the palatal is invariable only when the reduplication is monosyllabic; e.g. *kram-* 'stride': *cāi-kramata*; *gr-*: *ja-gr-* 'awake'; *han-* 'strike': *jan-ghanti*. But when the reduplication is dissyllabic, the guttural⁴ predominates; thus *kr-*, part. *kāri-kr-at*; *krand-* 'roar': *kāni-kra(n)ā-*; *gam-* 'go': *gāni-gan-*, *gāni-gm-*; *han-* 'strike': *ghāni-ghn-* (cp. *ghanāghand-*); *skand-* 'leap': both *kāni-skand-* and *cāni-skadat* subj.

38. New palatals as radical finals. a. Verbal forms.— Before the thematic verbal endings (including those of the *a*-aorist and the reduplicated aorist) the final of roots regularly appears as a palatal which, though phonetic⁵ only in about the same degree as the guttural, has prevailed. Gutturals are

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ But if the initial of the root is a palatal, the reduplicative consonant is of course always a palatal; thus *cand-* 'shine': *cāniṣad-*; *car-* 'move': *carūcarā-*; *cal-* 'move': *calācalā-* 'ever moving'. Cp. 32 a.

⁶ Phonetically we should have **pkāmi* (IE. *ḍ*), *pāc-asi* and *pāc-ati* (IE. *ḍ*).

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

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

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

d. Nominal derivatives. x. Before the suffix *-a*, the final of the root is mostly guttural, because the *a* in nearly all the cases of the noun represents IE. *ā*. The rule in the RV. is that the guttural appears before both unaccented *-a* and accented *-ā*, but the palatal before accented *-ā* only⁶; e. g. *abhi-droh-ā*, *druh-ā* 'injury': *druñh-a-* 'injuring'; *bhāj-ā* 'liberal': *bhñg-a-* 'enjoyment'; *a-yuj-ā* 'companionless'; *yñg-a-* 'yoking'; *ruj-ā* 'breaking': *riñg-a-* (AV.) 'disease'; *vevij-ā* 'swift': *vñg-a-* (AV.) 'speed'; *śuc-ā* 'bright': *śñk-a-* 'flame'; *ruc-ā* (VS.) and *roc-ā* (AV.) 'shining': *rok-a-* and *rok-ā* 'light'⁷.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ The denominatives in *-ayā-* (IE. *ciē* and *oiē*) follow the noun from which they are derived; e. g. from *aghā-* 'evil', *aghāyāti* 'wishes to injure'.

⁵ The causative *ñgāyati* of *śjati* 'stirs' is probably due to an old present base **inaç-*, *ññg-* formed according to the 7th class; the phonetic form *-ññyati* is found in the BAU. VI. 4, 23.

⁶ The fluctuation of words in *-a* probably arose from some cases in oxytones having had IE. *ē*, others *ē*; hence in some words the palatal prevailed throughout, in others the guttural. The agent-nouns, being mostly oxytone, show a preference for the palatal, which originally appeared in oxytones only. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 4, 128 a (p. 150, note, end).

⁷ A palatal before an unaccented *-a* first appears in *dñh-a-* (RV. x. 12^a), otherwise *dñgha-* 'milking'; *mñh-a-* (AV.) 'delusion', beside *mñgh-a-* 'vain'; *kññe-a-* (VS.) 'curlew', is probably only an extension of *kññ-* (VS.).

⁸ The *gh* of *jañhāna-* 'buttock', is phonetic (Gk. *κοχίτην*).

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

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

5. The suffix *-ka* is treated analogously to the final guttural of roots⁴. The guttural regularly appears except when the suffix, being attached to unaccented prepositions, is itself accented; thus *asmā-ka-* 'our'; *yuṣmā-ka-* 'your'; *āpā-ka-* 'coming from afar'; *abhi-ka-* 'collision'; and even with the suffix accented in locatives such as *upā-kl-*, *upā-kiyos* 'in the vicinity' and in the abl. *parā-kūt* 'from a distance'; but *uc-ēdā* and *uc-ēdis* 'above'; *para-ēdis* 'aside'; *paś-ēdī* and *paś-ēdāt* 'behind'; *pra-ēdis* 'forwards'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Strictly phonetic (but rarer) is *digh-* on the other hand the palatal appears un-
āna- 'milking'; also *vāgh-āt-* (IE. *-gt-*) 'institutor of a sacrifice'.
phetically before *u* in the intv. part. *car-*
cūryā-māna- from *car-* 'move'.

² The *k* in *sik-iti-* (AV. VS.) 'sand', is
⁶ Otherwise *cu-* occurs only in the ono-
phonetic (IE. *-gt-*).
matopoetic *ni-cumpunā-* 'swell' — and in a

³ Beside *yāt-rī* (AV.) 'liver', and *tik-rī* 'dung',
the *k* is found in the stems *yāt-an-*, *lak-an-*
but only in weak forms before *n* or *a*
(= *ṛ*): *yāt-nās*, *yāt-nā* (VS.); *lak-nā* (VS.);
lak-nās (AV.); *laka-bhīs* (TS.)

⁴ See above 38 d, 1; WACKERNAGEL I, 129.

⁵ The phonetic guttural, however, appears
in *ghṛṣ-ti-* 'lively', *ghṛṣ-ē-* 'gladdening'; while

⁷ Also *dagh-nu-* 'reach', in a Brāhmaṇa
passage of the Kāṭhaka, and *sigh-nu-*
'mount', in a similar one of the TS.
⁸ COLLITZ, BB. 3, 230 f.; J. SCHMIDT,
KZ. 25, 70 f.

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

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

40. The old palatals (*ch, j, ś, h*).—The aspirate *ch*. This sound is, in pronunciation, the aspirate of *c*² and is therefore represented in reduplication by *c*. But in origin *ch* has nothing to do with *c*. The fact that after a mute it takes the place of *ś* in Sandhi shows that it is allied to *ś*. In fact, unlike *j* and *h*, it belongs exclusively to the old series of palatals; for it does not interchange with a guttural *kh*³. In the Avesta *ch* is regularly represented by *s* and in cognate European languages by a conjunct consonant beginning with *s* and standing for IE. *śh* (that is, *s* + palatal mute aspirate); e. g. *chid-* 'cut off', Gk. *σχιδ-*. This in Indo-Iranian probably became *śh*, which differentiated into Avestic *s* and Vedic *ch*. In the inchoative suffix *-cha* (*śācchati*, Gk. *βασκαω*) this palatal aspirate seems to represent IE. *śh*, a conclusion which is supported by the old inchoative verb *raplate* 'is full' = *rap(s)late*, where after the *s* has been dropped between two consonants⁴, *ś* = IE. *ś* remained. Thus *ch* represents a double sound and metrically lengthens a preceding short vowel. Hence the RPr. (vi. 1) prescribes the doubling of *ch* (that is *c-ch*) between vowels. Though the Vedic Mss. almost invariably write *ch*⁵ and AUFRECHT's edition of the RV. and v. SCHROEDER's edition of the MS.⁶ follow this practice, the spelling *cch* is to be preferred.

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

b. In a few instances *ch* is a Prakritic representative of *ks* and *ps*: *rechāra-* (AV.) beside *śārdli-* (VS.)⁸, part of an animal's leg; *kychra-* 'distress', perhaps for **kypra-*, and allied to *kyale* 'lament', and *kyāna-* 'misery'⁹.

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

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

2. when in the form in question or in cognate forms, sounds follow which do not palatalize gutturals¹¹, that is, *u j n m r v*; such are: *ij-ra-* 'plain'; *ij-ma(n)-* 'course'; *īrjuna-* 'white', *īj-rā-* 'reddish'; *īj-ū-* 'straight'; *īj-īyas-*

¹ Under the influence of *ij-īyas-* 'stronger' in Sandhi and *duchūnā-* for **duś-śunā-* 'mis- and *ij-īgha-* 'strongest', such nouns in *-man-* being often closely connected with comparatives and superlatives.

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

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

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

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

⁶ Also ROTII's ed. of the Nirukta and MACDONELL's ed. of the Bṛhaddevatā; cp. AUFRECHT, RV², p. VI.

⁷ Cp. 32.

⁸ On AV. Ms. spelling *ch* for *ks* in two or three words, see WHITNEY, JAOS. 12, 92, 175.

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

¹⁰ But cp. 38 c, and WACKER-NAGEL I, 139.

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

'straighter', *rdj-iṣṭha* 'straightest'; *jānu* 'knee' beside *jūu*; *jṛmbh* 'yawn'; *jūā* 'know'; *jṛā*, gen. *jm-ds* 'earth'; *fri* 'go'; *jvārā* 'suffering'; *paj-rā* 'fat'; *maj-mān* 'greatness'; *vaj-ra* 'thunderbolt'; *jurdli*, *jāryati*, *jūjur-vāms*, *jūr-ud*, from *jṛ* 'grow old'.

3. when in inflexional forms, in which roots with a new palatal show a guttural, the *j* remains; e. g. *jāṇa* from *jan* 'beget'; *jāṣa* (AV.) from *jas* 'be exhausted'; *jūṣa* from *juṣ* 'like'; *jūjur-vāms*, *jājāra* (AV.), from *jṛ* 'grow old'².

4. when *j* is the reduplication of an old palatal *j* or *ḥ*; e. g. *jājāna*, *jājāra* (AV.), *jūḥṣi*.

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

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

1. because the comparative evidence is conflicting: *vi-jāman* 'related'; *jū* 'hasten'; *jyā*, *jindti* 'overpower'³.

2. because the Vedic and comparative evidence is insufficient: *ubj* 'coerce'; *kaṅj* (AV.) 'hum'; *jūṅjat-i*, pres. part., of uncertain meaning (ā. λ.); *jārate* 'approaches'; *jāmana* 'panting'; *jūmā* 'transverse'; *dhvāj*, *dhvājā* 'banner'; *paj* 'be rigid' (in *āpa ... pāpaje* 'started back'); *pājana* 'honouring'; *bājā* a kind of plant; *bija* 'seed'; *mūṅja* 'sedge'.

b. Irregular *j*.—1. As the two kinds of *j* were indistinguishable in pronunciation, a guttural sometimes intruded among the old palatals owing to the analogy of the new palatals; thus from *bhisaj* 'heal', *bhisāk-tama*, spv., *bhisāk-ti*, 3. sing. pres., *a-bhisnak*, 3. sing. impf. (like *anak-ti* from *añj* 'anoint'); from *mṛj* 'wipe': *ni-mṛg-ra* 'attached', *apū-mārgā* (AV.) a kind of plant, *vi-mṛg-var* (AV.) 'cleanly'; from *srj* 'discharge', *asṛg-ram*, *asṛgran*, *āsasṛgran*, *sasṛgmāhe* (SV.) beside *sasṛjmāhe*; from *jṛ* 'grow old', *jāṅāra* (AV.) beside *ijāṅāra* (AV.).

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

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

4. The media aspirate *jh*⁴ occurs only in one form, *jūjhjat-i* (RV.⁵), a pres. part. probably meaning 'laughing' as an epithet of lightning (a metaphor connected with lightning elsewhere also in the RV.); it appears to be derived, by an old Prakritism, from *has* 'laugh': *jūjh* probably for *jūjh*⁵ here = IE. *ḡsh*, which otherwise would become *ḡs*, as in *jūḡs-at*, part., 'laughing'.

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

¹ In which only forms with *j* occur; cp., however, HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 23, 393.

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

³ Op. cit. I, 137 c, note.

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

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

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

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

a. The voiceless cerebrals *ṣ* *ṣh* take the place of the dentals *t* *th* after *s* (= *s*, *ś* or *ṣ*); e. g. *vṛṣ-ṣi* 'rain' (suffix *-ti*); *duṣ-ṣira* 'invincible' (= *duṣ-tira*); *nīṣiṣ te* (= *nīṣiṣ te*); *vīṣ-ṣi* 'wishes' (= *vīṣ-ti*); *mṛṣ-ṣi* 'cleansed' (= *mṛj-ti*)⁵. Similarly the voiced cerebrals *ḍ* *ḍh* take the place of the dentals *d* *dh* after **z* (= *s* or old palatal *j*, *h*), which has disappeared⁶; e. g. *nīḍā* 'nest' (= IE. *nīdā*); *duḍhī* 'ill-disposed' (= *duṣ-dhī*); *īḍ-ḍ* 'I worship' (**i-ḍ* = *ij-d* for *yaj-d*); *drḍhī* 'firm' (= *drh-tī*). The preceding voiced sibilant **z* (= *ś* and *ṣ*) has (instead of disappearing) itself become *ḍ* in *diḍiḍ-ḍhī* (from *diṣ* 'show') and *vīḍiḍ-ḍhī* (from *vīṣ* 'be active')⁷.

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

b. In several instances a cerebral appears by an evident Prakritism, in place of a dental originally preceded by an *r* (or *l*) sound; thus *vī-kaṣa* 'monstrous', beside *kr-tā* 'made'; *kāṣā* 'depth', beside *kartā* 'pit'; *avaṣā* (SV. VS.) 'pit', beside *avāṣ*¹⁰ 'down'¹¹; and as shown by comparative evidence, *kāṣuka* 'sharp'; *kāṣayati* 'singes'; *kvaṣa* 'pit'; *jāḍhu* 'dull'; *kūṣā* (AV. TS.) 'hornless'. In the following words, though cognate languages show *r*¹², the cerebral is similarly based on Indian *r* or *r*¹³ + dental: *kāṣa* 'frontal bone'; *jāḍhā* 'belly'; *taḍit* 'contiguous', *tāḍa* (AV.) 'blow'; *plūḍa* 'lump'; *kāṣṭa* (AV.) 'piece'¹⁴.

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

² Cp. VPr. IV. 143; V. BRADKE, KZ. 28, 298.

³ See WACKERNAGEL 1, 143, note.

⁴ Op. cit. I, 144.

⁵ Ibid., note.

⁶ Cp. above 41, 1.

⁷ Cp. above 17, 5.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL 1, 145 a, note (end). Cp. 42 d (p. 34) end.

⁹ In *rāṣṭra* 'dominion', *īṣra* 'buffalo', *deṣṣi* 'Directress'; *dāṣṣra* 'tooth'; *ṣr* in *ā-ni-ṣṣra* 'not shaken off', *tvāṣṣi-manti* 'accompanied by Tvāṣṣi'; *vāṣ* in *kvaṣṣi* 'house-lizard'(?).

¹⁰ WACKERNAGEL 1, 146 a.

¹¹ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 179.

¹² Perhaps also *reṣṣi* *kāṣa* 'stirring dust', Indo-arysche Philologie. I. 4.

if from *kr* 'cut'; but see BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 180 f.

¹³ IE. *l* by rhotacism became *r* in Ilr.

¹⁴ MS. II. 47 has the reading *jinva rāḍi* for that of TS. II. 4. 7¹ *jinva rāḍi* and K. XI. 9 *jinva rāḍi*. Cp. below p. 70, note 4.

¹⁵ The cerebral could be similarly accounted for in *kāṣa* (RV.) 'house'(?), if it is related to *kula* (pa-) 'family', and *kulāya* (AV.) 'nest'. In *daṣṣā* 'staff' if identical with Gk. *dáσσov* (J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 52, note 1) we seem to have an instance of a cerebral for a dental + following *r*, but such a change seems not to be in accordance with the phonetic laws of either Vedic (cp. *drḍhā*, above a, a) or Prakrit. On two other examples of this supposed change, *āḍā*

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

d. In a few instances a cerebral *t* or *θ* appears in place of the cerebral sibilant *s*. The phonetic representative of the latter before *bh* would be *θ* (parallel to *d* for IE. *s* before *bh*)³, where it appears in *viprīd-bhis* (VS.) 'with drops'. From here the cerebral spread to the nom. sing., where it appears in *vi-prīṭ* (AV.) 'drop', from *pru-* 'sprinkle', and in *adhamāna-dolṭ* 'hating the arrogant' (from *avis-* 'hate').

The cerebral *θ* also appears before the *-dhi* of the 2. sing. impv. for *s* in *aviddhi* (= *avi-s-dhi*) aor. of *av-* 'favour', and in *vividhi* (= *vivi-s-dhi*), red. aor. of *vi-* 'be active'. The phonetic form here would be **vith* (= *iθ-dh*)⁴, instead of which *iddh* appears under the influence, perhaps, of the cognate verbal forms with the short vowel (*avisṭu*, *avisṭm* etc.).

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

a. as final: 1. in nom. sing. m. f.: *bhrīṭ* 'lustre' (*bhrīj-*); *rīṭ* 'ruler' (*rīj-*); *vīpāt*, N. of a river (*vīpās-*); *vīṭ* 'settlement' (*vīś-*), *spāt* 'spying' (*spās-*); *sāt* 'overcoming' (*sāh-*); *-vāś* 'conducting' (*-vāh-*), *paśṭhavāś* (VS.), *-vāt* (TS.). The guttural *k* would have been phonetic in this case, as the nom. sing. originally ended in *s*⁵, and even the old palatals became *k* before *s*; the cerebral must here therefore be due to the influence of forms in which it was phonetic.

2. in nom. acc. *sāt*, from *sās-* 'six'. As *k* might have been expected (IE. *sveks*), the cerebral is doubtless due to forms containing *sas-*, as *saśt-* 'sixty', *saśṭhā-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth'.

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

4. in 2. 3. sing. aor. for the radical palatal after the endings have been dropped: thus *ī-bhrīṭ* (*bhrīj-* 'shine'); *yāj* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'); *rāj* (*rāj-* 'shine'); *naṭ*, *ī-naṭ* (*naṭ-* 'reach'); *ī-prāṭ* (*pras-* 'ask' in *pras-nā-* 'question'); *ī-vāṭ* (*vah-* 'convey'). Here *t* is phonetic in the 3. pers. only, standing for *s-t* (= IE. *k-t*). It has been transferred to the 2. sing., where *k* would be phonetic (standing

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

² Op. cit. I, 148 a (p. 172, top).

³ The form *vy-āvāt* in MS. III. 49 (B.) beside *vy-āvāt*, AV. VIII. 122, from *vi-vas-* 'shine forth', is probably due to the influence of *a-vāṭ*, aor. of *√vah-*; but cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien I, 24, note. On the cerebral in *avāt-* (SV. VS.), beside *avātā-*, *naḍā-* 'reed', beside *nadd-*, and in *kīṭā-* (AV.), *markāśa-* (VS.) cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 148 b, note.

⁴ See below 44 a, 3.

⁵ Cp. above 17, 5.

⁶ This phonetic *k* for an old palatal is preserved in the nominatives *-ṣṭk* 'seeing' (*ṣṭk-*), *-ṣṭk* 'touching' (*ṣṭk-*), *-ṣṭk* 'desiring' (*ṣṭk-*), *ai-dā-* 'eyeless' (*-ak-*; *ai-* 'penetrate');

rīṭk 'sacrificer' (*īyāj-*); *īrīk* (VS.) 'nourishment' (*īrī-*); *dīk* (AV.) 'region' (*dīh-*). For *-ṣṭk*, the later Samhitās have *-ṣṭh* also. In the n. nom. the m. f. form appears: *-ṣṭk*, *-ṣṭk*; but as there was no *s* here, it must be assumed that the cerebral was originally used in these neuter forms. In *bhīṣj-* 'healer', the *k* has spread from the nom. to other cases, where it is not phonetic (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 138). The original value of the palatal in *niṣj-* 'desiring', *niṣṭh-* (AV. VS.), a kind of metre, which have *k* in the nom. is uncertain. The *k* in the nom. *nīk* 'night' is probably not based on an old palatal *t* (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a, note).

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

b. before consonant suffixes:

1. the phonetic cerebral appears before case-endings beginning with *bh* in *paḍ-bhīs*, from *pāt-* 'look' and 'cord'; *viḍ-bhīs* from *viś-* 'settlement'; *sarāḍ-bhyas* 'for the bees' (probably from *sardh-*); *saḍ-bhīs*. In *anaḍīd-bhyas* (AV.), from *anaḍ-vāh-* 'bull', *d* appears for *ḍ* by dissimilation; while the guttural of the nom. instead of the phonetic *ḍ* appears in *susandīḡ-bhīs* (from *ḍṛṣ-* 'see') 'fair to see' and in *dig-bhyās* (AV.) from *dīś-* 'region'.

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

3. before the *dhi* of the 2. sing. impv. the cerebral is phonetic in *didīḍḍhi*, from *dīś-*²; also in *ṣ* (= *ṣ*), which after cerebralizing the *dh* is dropped, leaving a compensating length, in *tāḍhi* from *taks-* 'hew' (= IE. *teḡadhi*); also in *ṣo-dhā* 'sixfold' (for *ṣas-dhā*: *as-*, like *as-*, becoming *o* before a voiced mute)³.

c. The cerebrals in the following words have not been satisfactorily explained: *aghāṣ-* and *a-ghāṣ-* (AV.) 'striker', beside *a-ghāta-* (VS.); *and-* 'egg'; *īdāt-* (x. 171²) 'wandering' (?), *kūṣa-* 'house' (?), *kāṣa-* 'frontal bone'; *kṣṣṣa-* 'fuel' (?); *maṇḍīka-* 'frog'; *ṣa-* (AV.) 'reed'; *rarāṣa-* (VS.), *lalīṣa-* (AV.) 'forehead'. Some others, mostly containing *h*, may be suspected of non-Aryan origin: *bāt*, *baḥ*, interjections; *baṣarīn-* 'broad' (?), *ḥīṣa-* 'troop' (?); *bekanāṣa-* 'usurer'; *ādāmbāra-* (VS.) 'drum'; *khadḡd-* (VS. MS.) 'rhinoceros'; *cāṇḍāḍ-* (VS.) 'outcast'; *markūṣa-* (VS.) 'ape'.

44. The dentals.—The dentals are at the present day pronounced as interdental in India, but according to the Prāṭisākhya⁴ they were post-dental, being produced at the root of the teeth (*dantamūla*). They represent IE. dentals, corresponding to similar sounds in the cognate languages. When two IE. dentals met, there seems to have been a tendency to change the first to a sibilant⁵. A survival of this appears in some Vedic combinations of *d* or *dh* with *dh*, which point to an earlier *sdh*, viz. in *de-hi*, beside *dad-dhi* 'give'; *dhe-hi* (for **dhadh-dhi*) 'put'; *kiye-dhā* 'containing much', in all of which examples *e* is based on IIr. *as*⁶.

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

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

² From this phonetic change of *s* to *ḍ* before *bh* is to be explained the stem *īḍ-* 'refreshment', beside *īṣ-* (which occurs before vowel endings only); *īḍ-bhīs* etc. would have led to the formation of *īḍ-ā*, etc. (inst. sing.), which then gave rise to *īḍ-ā-* as an extension of *īḍ-*; cp. also *īḍyats* (RV. I. 191⁶ MML, *īḍyata*, AVAECHEIT); *īḍyati* (AV.) 'be quiet'.

³ It is not phonetic in *avīḍḍhi* and *vivīḍḍhi* (see above, 42 d). Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 c (end).

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

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

⁴ See RPr. I. 19; TPr. II. 38.

⁵ For example, Gk. *f-ōtāba*, Av. *voistā*, beside *vīṣ-ṣa* 'thou knowest'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 152 b.

⁶ Loc. cit., also note.

⁷ See discussion of attempted explanations in WACKERNAGEL I, 153, note.

⁸ All the other roots in *s* add the suffix with connecting vowel *i*.

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

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

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

β. The substitution of dentals for other mutes is extremely rare. In consequence of dissimilation, a dental replaces a cerebral in *anaḍitsu* and *anaḍidbhyas* (AV.), from *anaḍiḥ-* 'bull'; in *dydhī-* 'firm', beside *dydhī-s*; in *paṣṭhavūt* (TS.) 'four year old bull', beside *paṣṭhavūt* (VS.).

A dental seems to take the place of a labial in *ad-bhis*, *ad-bhyās*, beside *ap-* 'water'; but this is probably due to the analogy of **nadbhis*, *nadbhyās*, beside *napāt-* 'grandson'⁴.

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

a. The number of words containing *b* has been greatly increased by new formations. 1. Thus *b* replaces *p* or *bh* before other voiced mutes: e. g. *pi-bd-and-* 'firm', beside *pad-d-* 'place'; *rab-dhī-*, beside *rabhante* 'they take'.—2. It is the regular substitute for *bh* in reduplicative syllables or when initial aspiration is lost owing to a following aspirate; e. g. *ba-bhīva* from *bhu-* 'be', *bāhi-* 'arm', *bundh-* 'bind'⁶.—3. In a few examples it takes the place of or interchanges with *v*; thus *pādḍīsa-* (RV.), beside *pādḍīsa-* (VS.); *bāṇ-* beside *vāṇ-* 'arrow'; *-bāsa-* (AV.) beside *-vāsa-* 'twig'; *bāṇ-* (AV.) 'music' beside *vāṇ-*; *-blina-* (AV.) 'crushed', beside *-vina-* (Il.)⁷.—4. It further occurs in some new onomatopoeic words; *budbud-* 'bubble'; *bāl* (AV.) interj. 'dash!'; *bata* interj. 'alas!' and *batī-* 'weakling'.—5. In one instance *b* seems to stand for *m* before *r*, in *brū-* 'speak', for **mru-*⁸, originally appearing most likely after a pause or after a final consonant⁹.

b. In many words the origin of *b* is obscure. Most of these probably come from a foreign source: 1. owing to their meaning: *arbudī-* and *irbuda-*, *balbūthā-*, *śāmbara-*, *śvbinda-*, names of foes of Indra and of the Aryans; *bybī-*, a proper name; *bajī-* (AV.), *bālbaja-* (AV.), *bitvā-* (AV.), names of plants; *būkura-* and *bākura-*, a musical instrument.—2. owing to their phonetic form: *kṛbīṣa-* 'sin'; *bīsa-* 'root-fibre'; *būsa-* 'vapour'; *bāf* and *baḍī*, interjections;

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 154.

² See 42 d (p. 34).

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 155 a, note.

⁴ Op. cit. I, 155 b, note.

⁵ See 42 a α (p. 33).

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

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

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

⁸ See above 32 a, 1, 2.

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

¹⁰ On some doubtful or wrong explanations of *b* for *v* (*ni-by-* 'crush', *bāla-*, *bālbaja-*, *bāf*, *śabāla-*, *śāmba-*), see WACKERNAGEL I, 161, note.

¹¹ Cp. Gk. *βερίε* for **μπερίε*.

¹² See WACKERNAGEL I, 159.

bandi- (AV.) 'crippled'; *bārsva-* (VS.) 'socket'; *baskāya-* 'yearling'; *bāskīha-* (VS.) 'decrepit'; *blā-* 'cave'; *blīma-* 'chip'; *birīṣa-* 'troop' (?); *bekamīta-* 'usurer'.—3. for both reasons: *itibīsa-* and *bīṣaya-*, names of demons; *alību-* (AV.) 'bottle gourd'.—4. Other words which if not of foreign origin, are as yet insufficiently explained: *bārjaha-* 'udder'; *bustā-* 'he-goat'; *bīṣī-* 'quickly'; *-bāra-* 'aperture'; *bija-* 'seed'; *bandi-* 'arrow'; *brhād-uktha-*, an epithet of Indra; *chūḍuka-* 'chin'; *śabdā-* 'brindled'; *śimba-*, a weapon of Indra; *balāsa-* (VS. AV.), a disease; *bleṣka-* (K.) 'noose'.¹

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

a. The guttural nasal *ṅ* regularly appears before gutturals; e. g. *anḱā-* 'hook'; *anḱhīya-* 'embrace'; *anḱa-* 'limb'; *janḱhā-* 'leg'. Before other consonants or as a final, it appears only when a following *k* or *g* has been dropped, as in stems ending with *-ṅc-* or *-ṅj-* and in those compounded with *-dṣ-*; e. g. *pratyāṅc-*, nom. sing. of *pratyāṅc-* 'facing'; *yūṅdhi* (= *yūṅj-dhi*), 2. sing. impv. of *yūj-* 'join'; *ki-dṣ-ṅ*, nom. sing. of *ki-dṣ-* 'of what kind?'.

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

c. The labial nasal *m* as a rule represents IE. *m*; e. g. *mātī-* 'mother', Lat. *māter*; *nīman-* 'name', Lat. *nōmen*. It is by far the most common labial sound⁴, its frequency being greater than that of the four labial mutes taken together⁵. By some scholars *m* is regarded as representing an original *n* or *v* in certain instances⁶.

d. The dental nasal *n* as a rule represents IE. *n*; e. g. *nā-* 'not', Lat. *no-*; *mānas-* 'mind', Gk. *μενός*. It is the commonest of the nasals, being more frequent than *m*, and about three times as frequent as the other three taken together⁷. The dental nasal also appears instead of dental mutes and of the labial nasal.

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

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

¹ Op. cit. I, 162.

² Excepting in a few instances when a mute has been dropped, as in *yūṅdhi* (= *yūṅj-dhi*) (see a).

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

⁴ Excluding the semivowel *v*.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY 50 and 75.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 177, note.

⁷ WHITNEY 75.

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

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

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

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

A. Besides regularly appearing before cerebral mutes, e. g. in *daṇḍá-* 'staff', the cerebral *n* phonetically takes the place of dental *n* after *r r s*²; either immediately preceding, e. g. *nṛṣám* 'of men', *várṇa-* 'colour', *uṣṇá-* 'hot'; or when only vowels³, guttural or labial mutes⁴ or nasals, *y v* or *h*, intervene; e. g. *kṛpána-* 'misery'; *kṛmāna-* 'step'; *kṣóbhānu-* 'exciting'. This rule is followed throughout within a word even when a *s* which it contains is produced by Sandhi⁵; thus not only *tṛpṛṣṭi* (*tṛp-* 'be satisfied') and *grbhṛṣṭi* (*grbh-* 'seize'), but also *u suvāṇḍi* (for *suvāṇḍi*, IX. 107^b). In *su-sumná-* 'very gracious' (where the *s* is produced by internal Sandhi), the dental *n* remains probably owing to the influence of the simple word *sumná-*.

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

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

2. medially or finally in the roots *hnu-* 'hide', *an-* 'breathe', *han-* 'strike' (though not in forms with *ghn*); thus *pári-ḥṣutá* (AV.) 'denied'; *práṇiti* 'breathes'; *nir hanyati* (AV.), but *abhi-prā-ghnānti*.

3. in suffixal *n* the cerebralization fluctuates: it always takes place in the *n* of the 1. sing. subj., e. g. *nir gamāni*; not always in the pres. base of *hi-* 'impel'; e. g. *prá hinomi*, etc., but *pári-hinomi*⁹; never in that of *mināti* 'diminishes' or of *mināti* 'establishes'; it is also absent in *yáju śannám* (X. 1813)¹⁰; but *-tṛṇṇa-* (VS.), from *tṛḍ-* 'pierce'.

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

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

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

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

³ On the absence of cerebralization in *úṣṭrānam* and *rāṣṭrānam*, see above 42 a, a.

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

⁵ In one curious instance, *sám ... pīṇá* (beside *pīṇáṣi*, from *pī-* 'crush'), the cerebral lost at the end of a syllable has transferred its cerebral character to the beginning of the syllable.

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

⁷ Cp. above 42 a, a.

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

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

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 167 b a.

attainable', *dur-nihita-* (AV.) 'ill-preserved'; but (because a *r* or *ṣ* follows) not in *nṛmṇa-* 'manhood', *niṣṭhā-* 'eminent'; *niṣṭhā-* 'gift'; *nirṇij-* 'adornment'; nor (owing to the intervening *gh* and *m*) in *dirghā-nitha-*, N., *yusmā-nita-* 'led by you'. The cerebralization is further absent, without any preventing cause, in *akṣā-nih-* 'tied to the axle' (beside *pari-nāh-* 'enclosure'); *tri-nākā-* 'third heaven'; *tri-nābhi-* 'three-naved', and *vṛṣa-nābhi-* 'great-naved'; *pūnar-nava-* 'renewing itself' (but AV. *pūnar-nava-*); *dur-niyantu-* 'hard to restrain'.

2. It is less frequent medially; e. g. *pūrvāhna-* forenoon; *aparāhna-* (AV.) 'afternoon'; *nṛ-vāhana-* 'conveying men'; *pra-vāhana-* (VS.) 'carrying off'; *purīṣa-vāhana-* (VS.) beside *purīṣa-vāhana-* (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'; *nṛ-mānas-* 'kind to men', *vṛṣa-mānas-* 'manly-spirited', but *ṛṣi-mānas-* 'of far-seeing mind'; *dru-ghand-* 'wooden club', but *vṛtra-ghna-*, dat., 'Vṛtra-slaying'; *su-ṣumna-* 'very gracious'; *su-pra-pānā-* 'good drinking place'; *nṛ-pāna-* 'giving drink to men'; but *pari-pāna-* 'drink', *pari-pāna-* (AV.) 'protection'; *pary-uhyamāna-* (VS.) beside *pary-uhyamāna-* (V *vah-*).

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

1. This is frequently the case with initial *n*, most usually in *nas* 'us', rarely in other monosyllables such as *nū* 'now', *nū* 'like'; e. g. *sahā śū nah* (VIII. 73²). Initial *n* occasionally appears thus in other words also; e. g. *pūri nētū . . . viśat* (IX. 103⁴); *śṛṅga-vṛṣo napat* (SV., *napat*, RV.); *asthūrī nau* (VS., no RV. TS.); (*gōmad*) *ū śū nāsatyā* (VS.) *prā nāmāni* (TS.); *pūnar nayāmasi* (AV.); *suhār nah* (MS.) = *suhār nah*; *vār nāma* (TS. v. 6. 13).

2. Medial *n* also occurs thus, most often in the enclitic pronoun *enā-* 'this'; e. g. *Indra enam*. It occasionally appears in accented words also after final *r*: *gōr ohēna* (I. 180⁵); *nir ēnasaḥ* (AV.); *nṛbhīr yemānāḥ* (SV., *yemānāḥ*, RV.); *pānibhīr vīyāmānāḥ* (TS.)³. A final *n* is treated as medial and cerebralized thus in *īn imān* (MS.) and *akṣān āva* (MS.).

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

a. It is due to a preceding *r* or *ṣ* which has been replaced by *a i u* or has disappeared through assimilation. This is indicated to be the case by the appearance beside them of cognate words containing *r* or *l* sounds: 1. in Vedic itself: thus *anī-* 'pin of the axle'; *kānā-* 'one-eyed', beside *karnā-* 'crop-eared' (MS.); *kāna-* (AV.) 'particle'; *kalā-* 'small part'; *jañjanā-bhāvan* 'glittering': *janī-* 'glow' (*jan-* probably = *jan-* from old pres. **janāti*); *pūnya-* 'auspicious': *ṣṣ-* 'fill'; *ṣṣan-* 'bound' (= **ṣṣan-*, **ṣṣan-*) cp. *parpharat* 'may be scatter'; *dhānikā-* 'cunus': *dhānikā-* (VS.), id.—2. in allied languages: *ganā-* 'crowd'; *pan-* (VS.) 'purchase'; *vānī-* 'merchant'; *ānu-* 'minute'; *kūnāru-* 'having a withered arm'; *pānī-* 'hand'; *sthānū-* 'stump'⁶.

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

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

¹ See above 47 A (end).

² Cp. BENFEY, Göttinger Abhandlungen 20, 14.

³ *agnīr āvena* (I. 128⁵), Pp. *agnīh* | *āvena*, is probably wrong for *agnīh* | *ṛavīya*. On the other hand, for *māno rūhānā* (I. 32⁶), Pp. *mānāḥ* | *rūhānāḥ*, the reading should per-

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

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

⁵ See FRÖHDE, BB. 16, 209.

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

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

kāṇḍā-, of doubtful meaning; *nicumṭund-*, of doubtful meaning; *ninik* 'secretly', *niyyi-* 'inner'; *paṇt-*, a kind of demon; *bāṇd-* 'arrow'; *vāṇd-* 'udder', 'arrow', 'music'; *vāṇt-* 'music'; *vāṇt-*, a kind of musical instrument; *śha-* 'red'; *igana-* (SV. VS.), of doubtful meaning; *kiṇapa-* (AV.) 'corpse'; *gund-* 'division' (AV.); *cupūṅka-* (TS.), N.; *nicaṅkund-* (TS.) and *nicuṅkund-* (TS.), of doubtful meaning; *veṇi-* (AV.) 'reed'; *śānu-* (AV.) 'hemp'.

48. The semivowels. — The semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* have the peculiarity that each has a vowel corresponding to it, viz. *i* *r* *l* *u* respectively. They are called *anta(h)stha* in the Prātisākhya³, the term doubtless meaning 'intermediate', that is, standing midway between vowels and consonants.

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

1. *iy* and *uv* are frequently written, beside *y* and *v*, in the inflexion of *r*- and *ā*-stems. Thus from *dhi-* 'thought', there are several compounds, in some of which the stem is written with *iy* before vowels, as *itthādhiy-* 'very devout', in others with *y*, as *ādhiy-* 'longing'. Similarly *-i-* 'hastening', regularly appears as *-iy-*; but *-pā-* 'purifying', *-śu-* 'swelling', *-sā-* 'bringing forth', always as *-p-*, *-ś-*, *-s-*. In the same way, the suffix *-ya* is often written *-iya*; e. g. *igr-ya-* 'first', beside *igr-ya-* (VS.); *ftv-ya-* and *ftv-ya-* 'regular'; *ur-iyā* and *ur-ya-* (VS. TS.) 'widely'. This spelling is characteristic of the TS. Here *iy* is generally written where more than one consonant precede, almost invariably so in the inflexion of stems in *i* and *r*; e. g. *indrāgniy-ās* 'of Indra and Agni', *lakṣmīyā* 'by Lakṣmī'; very often also in the suffix *-ya*; e. g. *āśi-ya-* beside *āśi-ya-* (RV.) 'relating to horses'. Similarly *uv* appears here for *v* in *sivār-* and *svargā-* 'heaven', beside *svār* (RV.) and *svargā-* (RV.); in the inflexion of *tanū-* 'body', in some forms of *vāy-* 'wind', *bahū-* 'arm', *urū-* 'thigh'. In the SV. and MS.⁷ there are two or three other examples of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*.

2. according to metrical evidence, *y* and *v* (though written as pronounced in classical Sanskrit) have a syllabic value in a large number of examples in the Vedic hymns⁸. This was recognized to be the case by the Prātisākhya⁹.

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

4. *ay ay ey* appear before the suffix *-ya*¹¹; e. g. *saha-śi-yāya*, dat., 'for lying together'. Here *yy* is always to be read as *y-iy* in the RV. (except in Book X and *dakṣ-ya-* in 1. 129¹²).

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

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

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

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 181 a, note.

⁵ Several other examples, loc. cit.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY on TPr. II. 25.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ RPr. VIII. 23; XVII. 14.

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

¹² WACKERNAGEL I, 181 c 7.

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

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

1. almost invariably after a group of consonants and generally after a single consonant if preceded by a long vowel. Thus the ending *-bhyaś* and the suffix *-ya* are regularly pronounced as dissyllables after a long vowel, but as monosyllables after a short vowel. Hence, too, *v* is pronounced as well as written in the forms *dauidhu-at*, *susv-ati*, *susv-āyū-*, *juhv-ē*, *jūhv-ati*¹.

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

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

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

49. The semivowel *y*.—This semivowel, when not derived from *i* before other vowels (48 a) within Vedic itself, is based either on IE. *ǵ* (= Gk. spiritus asper) or voiced palatal spirant (= Gk. *γ*)⁴; e. g. *yā-s* 'who' (6-5); *yaj-* 'sacrifice' (27-105); *yudh-* 'fight' (35-μίνη); but *yāva-* 'corn' (31-14); *yas-* 'boil' (3-14); *yuj-* 'yoke' (37-7); *yāsūn-* 'broth' (37-μη). It is probably due to this difference of origin that *yas-* 'boil' and *yam-* 'restrain', reduplicate with *ya-* in the perfect, but *yaj-* 'sacrifice', with *i-*.

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

b. very rarely in the later Samhitās after palatals: *tīraśyē* (AV. xv. 3⁵) var. lect. for *tīraśv-*, dat., 'transverse'; *śnyāptra-* (TS. 1. 2. 13¹): *śnāptra-* (VS.) 'corner of the mouth'.

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

¹ *On vyāyū-dn, vy-āyū-at* beside *āyāyū-* *dātis*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 182 a α, note.

² See below 375, 382 a.

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

⁴ See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 302.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 86 c; 187, note.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. medially: *āngāra-* 'coal'; *ajirī-* 'agile'; *aratni-* 'elbow'; *arh-* 'be worthy'; *iydrī-* 'sets in motion'; *ir-* 'set in motion'; *ārpā-* 'wool'; *ārmt-* 'wave'; *garūtmant-*, a celestial bird; *gardabhā-* 'ass'; *gārḥha-* 'womb'; *cakrd-* 'wheel'; *car-* 'move'; *caramā-* 'last'; *cirū-* 'long'; *chardīs-* 'protection'; *dhūrib-* (AV.) 'sucking'; *paraśū-* 'axe'; *pīparti-* 'fills'; *pūr-* 'fort'; *pūri-* 'much'; *prath-* 'spread out'; *-prī-t-* 'swimming'; *-prūta-* part. 'floating'; *pravate* 'waves'; *mūrdhātī-* 'neglects'; *-marśana-* (AV.) 'touching'; *mūrdhān-* 'head'; *vārā-* 'suitor'; and various forms of *vā-* 'choose'; *vārcas-* 'light'; *sarand-* 'protecting'; *sārman-* 'protection'; *sārkhara-* 'gravel'; *śliira-* (AV.) 'cold season'; *śri-* 'lean'; *śru-* 'hear'; *śrūñi-* 'buttock'; *sar-* in forms of *sr-* 'run', and *sarīrā-* (VS.) 'flood'; *sarḥś-* 'clarified butter'; *sahasra-* 'thousand'; *svār-* 'heaven'; *sārya-* 'sun'; *harī-* and *hārīta-* 'yellow'; *hiraṇya-* 'gold'; *hrādñi-* 'hail'¹¹.

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

² See WHITNEY on AP. I. 26.

³ See above 48 a.

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

⁵ See 45 a, 3.

⁶ 49 c. ⁷ 46 c.

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

⁹ See WHITNEY on AP. I. 20, 28.

¹⁰ It seems as if the Vedic relation of *r* to *l* could only be accounted for by assuming a mixture of dialects; one dialect having preserved the IE. distinction of *r* and *l*; in another IE. *l* becoming *r* (the Vedic dialect); in a third *r* becoming *l* throughout (the later *Śāgadhī*). See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 173, note.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 189.

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

c. Metathesis of *r* takes place when *ār* would be followed by *ḡ* or *h* + consonant. Under these conditions it appears to be phonetic, being due to the Svarabhakti after *r* being twice as great before *h* and sibilants as before other consonants³; when a vowel followed the sibilant or *h* (e. g. *darśatī-*)⁴, the Svarabhakti was pronounced; but if a consonant followed, *rā* took the place of *ār* + double Svarabhakti. This metathesis appears in forms of *dṛś-* 'see' and *spj-* 'send forth': *drāṣṭum* (AV.), *drāṣṭ-* (AV.) 'one who sees'; *sāp-sraṣṭ-* 'one who engages in battle', 2. sing. aor. *srās* (= **srak*)⁵; also in *prās-ī-* 'side-horse', beside *pārs-u-* and *prāṣṭ-* 'rib'; moreover in *brāhman-* 'priest', *brāhman-* 'devotion', beside *barhis-* 'sacrificial litter' (from *byh-* or *barh-* 'make big'); perhaps also *drāhyāt* 'strongly' (*dṛh-* 'be firm'). The same metathesis occurs, being, however, very rare and fluctuating, before *ks-*: thus *tvi-mrakṣā-* 'injuring greatly', *mraṣa-kṣivan-* 'rubbing to pieces' (from *mṛj-* 'wipe', or *mṛś-* 'stroke'), but *tirkṣya-*, N.⁶

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

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

¹ Cp. above p. 35, note 3.

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

³ According to the APr. 1, 101.

⁴ Cp. above 21 a.

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

⁶ On the interchange of *rā* and *ar* in *raḡ-* 'colour', *raḡalā-* 'silvery', *rāḡ-* 'shine', and *arjuna-* 'bright'; *bhāḡ-* 'shine', and *bhāḡar-* 'brilliance'; *bhāḡ-* 'brother', and *bhāḡ-* 'husband'; see WACKERNAGEL 1, 190 e, note (end). In *vraḡ-* 'fold', *vraḡ-* 'ordinance',

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

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

⁸ See 44.

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

¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹ See WHITNEY, JAOS. 11, p. XLff.

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

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 191 c.

of the YV. also show an increased number of words with *l* as compared with the RV.; thus *babhruś-* (VS.) 'brownish' beside *babhrū-* 'brown'; *kūśā-* (VS.) 'potter' beside *carī-* 'pot'. The MS. has a special predilection for *l*;¹ thus *puritāt* 'pericardium' beside *puritāt* (AV. VS.). The SV. has *pāmsulā-* 'dusty', for *pāmsurā-* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

In a certain number of words *r* interchanges with *l* in the same period: thus *purī-* and *puh-* 'much'; *mīrā-* and *mīlā-* 'mixed'; *jargur-* and *jalgut-*, intv. of *gī-* 'swallow'; in the AV.: *gīrā-* and *gīlā-* 'swallowing', *ksudrā-* and *ksullakī-* (= **ksuālā-ka*) 'small', *tīryā-* and *tīlī-* 'sesamum'.

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

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

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

2. the following nouns: *logā-* 'clod'; *ūlūka-* 'owl'; *ulkā-* 'meteor'; *ūlba-* 'membrane'; *kālīśa-* 'jar'; *kālī-* 'small portion'; *kīlā-* 'time'; *kalyāṇa-* 'fair'; *kīlā-* 'family'; *gīlā-* 'trickling' (VS. *gāl-* 'drop'); *palīlī-* 'grey'; *pulū-* (in compounds) 'much'; *phalgū-* 'weakly'; *bālā-* 'strength'; *ball-* 'tax'; *mīlā-* 'dirty garment'; *salīlī-* 'surging'; *hlīdaka-* and *hlīdīkīzvant-* 'refreshing'; also words with the suffix *-lā-*³, especially with diminutive sense; e.g. *vṛṣā-lī-* 'little man', *śiśū-lā-* 'little child'⁴.

a. In the later Samhitās *l* represents IE. *l* in the following words: *-kulva-* (VS.) 'bald'; *klōman-* (AV. VS.) 'lung'; *gīhāna-* (AV.) 'dicing'; *glīn-* (AV. VS.) 'excrescence'; *tulā-* (VS.) 'balance'; *palīva-* (AV.) 'chaff'; *pulā-stī-* (VS.) 'smooth-haired'; *plīhān-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *phalgū-* (VS.) 'reddish'; *laghū-* (AV.) 'light'; *lap-* (AV.) 'prate' (= *rap-* RV.).

c. On the other hand, *l* to some extent represents IE. *r* also⁵.

1. In the RV. this value of *l* is rare and occurs only in the neighbourhood of labial sounds (*v*, *o*, *p*, *m*, *v*): *ulūkhala-* 'mortar' beside *urū-* 'broad'; *jalgut-*, intv. of *gī-* 'swallow'; *plīśī-*, a kind of insect, beside *prus-* 'squirt'; *klīśā-* 'call' beside *krōśant-* 'calling', *krōśanā-* 'crying'; *-lohītā-* 'red', *lodhā-*, a kind of red animal, beside *rohīt-*, *rohītā-* 'red'; *lopāśā-* 'jackal', *lup-* (AV.) 'break', beside *rup-* 'break'; *ūpala-* 'upper millstone' beside *upā-* 'above'; *jūlpi-* 'muttering'; *pīppalā-* 'berry'; *mīlā-* 'fade' beside *mī-* 'die'; *valā-* 'cave' beside *vārate* 'encloses'.

2. In the later Samhitās the use of this *l* = IE. *r* extends further than in the RV.; thus *dlam* (AV.) 'enough': *dram*; *līś-* (VS.) 'tear': *riś-*; *-lūñcā-* (VS.)

¹ L. V. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 196.

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

³ Cp. above p. 36, note 10.

⁴ See ARNOLD, Festgruss an Roth 147.

⁵ See WACKERNAGEL I, p. 218.

⁶ Cp. above 51 a.

'tearing out'; *babhlusā-* (VS.) 'brownish': *babhrū-* 'brown'; *sthālā-* (AV. VS.) 'gross': *sthūrā-*¹.

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

d. In the later Saṃhitās *l* occasionally appears in place of phonetic *ḍ*³ between vowels; and that this change could easily arise, is shown by the fact that *l* regularly appears instead of *ḍ* between vowels⁴. This substitution is regularly found in the Kanva recension of the VS.; e. g. *ile* = *iḍe* (RV. *iḍe*); *āśālhā* = *āśāḍhā* (RV. *āśāḍhā*). Other instances are *ilīyati* (AV.) 'stands still', for **iḍīyati* (RV. *iḍīyati*)⁵ from *iḍ-* 'refreshment'; *llā-* (MS.) 'refreshment', byform of *llā-* (RV. *llā-*); *ml-* (AV.) 'close the eyes'⁶, connected with *miṣ-* 'wink'.

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

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

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

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

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

a. Assimilation of *s* is liable to occur

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

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

¹ In B. passages of the TS. and MS. are found intv. forms of *lī* 'sway': *dlēḍiyat*, pf. *līyā*, also the adv. *līyā* 'quiveringly'. In similar passages the prepositions *prā* and *parā* are affected: *prēḅhā-* (TS.) = *prēḅhā-* 'swing'; *plākṣārayan* (MS. III. 10²) 'they caused to flow' (*Vḥar-*), *palā-y-ata* (TS.) 'fled' (*parā-*). Some uncertain or wrong explanations of *alāyā-* 'miserly', *ulakā-* 'wide space', *gal-* 'drop', with *l* = IE. *r*, are discussed by WACKERNAGEL I, p. 221, top.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 193 b, note.

³ See above 51 b.

⁴ See above p. 5, note 5.

⁵ According to BÖHTLINGK, *ilīyati* is wrong for *ildiyati*. Cp. above p. 35, note 1.

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

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 197 a, note.

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

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

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

b. Without assimilation³, *s* or *ś* has been changed to *ś*, mostly under the influence of allied words, in the following: *kēśa-* 'hair': *kēśara-* (AV. VS.); *śakrt-* 'excrement'; *śubh-* 'adorn' (probably owing to *śudh-* 'purify'); *śiśka-* 'dry' (IIr. *sūka-*), *śiśyati* 'dries'; *śru-* 'flow', *śrāvā-* 'stream': *sru-*, *srāvā-*; *śvas-*, *śus-* 'breathe'; *śmātra-*, *śmātrva-* 'dainty': *smad-* 'taste'⁴; *pyāśīstmahī* (AV.): *pyāśīstmahī* (VS.), aor. (534) of *pyā-* 'swell'; *ośiśtha-hdn-* (VS. TS.) 'striking very swiftly' beside *ośiśtha-dhvan-* (TS.) 'giving very rapidly' (from *ośām* 'quickly', lit. 'burningly'), owing to *ośiśtha-* 'very swift'; *kūśa-* 'receptacle' (in the later language often also *kośa-*); *kūśmā-* (VS.) beside *kūśmā-* (MS.), a kind of demon; *ruśati-* (AV.) 'angry', beside *ru-* 'be angry', probably owing to *rūśant-* 'shining'.

a. On the other hand, *s* occasionally appears in the later Samhitās, chiefly AV., for *ś*: thus *asyate* (AV. v. 192): *ai-* 'eat'; *vāsi-* (AV.) 'pointed knife': *vāsi-*; *sāru-* (AV.) 'arrow': *hīru-*; *arus-sāna-* (AV.), a kind of wound preparation: *śrā-* 'boil'; *saspiśjara-* (TS.) 'ruddy like young grass', owing to *sasī-* 'grass', for *śas-piśjara-* (VS. MS.) = *śas-piśjara-*⁵.

54. The palatal *ś*.—This sibilant is a palatal both in origin (= IIr. *ś*), as indicated by cognate languages, and in employment, as its combination with other consonants shows. Thus it represents an old palatal in *Satām* 'a hundred', *dśva-* 'horse', *śvān-* 'dog', *śru-* 'hear'. In external Sandhi it regularly appears before voiceless palatal mutes, e. g. *Indras ca*. At the present day the pronunciation of *ś* in India varies between a *sh* sound (not always distinguished from *ś*) and a *s* sound followed by *y*. It is to some extent confused with the other two sibilants even in the Samhitās, but it is to be noted that here it interchanges much oftener with *s* than with *ś*⁶.

The aspirate of *ś* is *śh*?; its media is represented by *ś* and when aspirated by *h*. These four form the old palatals (IIr. *ś*, *śh*, *ś*, *śh*), representing IE. *k* *kh* *g* *gh*. The exact phonetic character of the latter is doubtful, but it is probable that they were dialectically pronounced in two ways, either as mutes (guttural⁷ or palatal) or as spirants, the *centum* languages later following the former, the *satem* languages the latter⁸.

a. In external Sandhi *ś* regularly appears for *s* before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś*⁹. It also stands for *s* internally in *paścāt* and *paścātāt* 'behind'¹⁰, and in *vyśedti* 'hews' beside *vrashāt-* 'lopping'.

b. Before *s* the palatal sibilant when medial is regularly replaced by *k*, and sometimes also when final; e. g. *dfk-sase* and *dfk*, from *dfś-* 'see'. Otherwise *ś* very rarely interchanges with *k* or *c*; thus *rūśant-* 'brilliant', beside *ruc-* 'shine'; perhaps *kīrva-* 'ear': *śru-* 'hear'¹¹. There are also a few words

¹ WACKERNAGEL I, 197 b.

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

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

⁴ Cp., however, op. cit. I, 197 d a.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 226, top.

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

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

⁸ See above 53, 3.

⁹ Cp. above 40.

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

¹¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 200 b.

¹² See below, Sandhi, 78.

¹³ Cp. Av. *paścāt* and *paśca*.

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

with *s* to which *k* corresponds in the *satem* languages; such are *kruś-* 'cry'; *dśman-* 'stone'¹.

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

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

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

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

a. for the palatal *ś* (= Ilr. *ś*) and *j* (= Ilr. *ś*); e. g. *naś-tā-*, from *naś-* 'be lost'; *mśś-ta*, 3. sing. mid., from *mśj-* 'wipe'; *pśś-tā-* 'asked', *pśś-tum* 'to ask', from *praś-* 'ask' in *praś-nā-* 'question' (present stem *pśchā-*⁵ with inchoative suffix *-chā*). In some instances it is shown by the evidence of cognate words to represent *ś*; thus *aśśāu* 'eight' beside *aśśī-* 'eighty'; *pśśī-* 'rib', *pśśī-* 'side-horse', beside *pśśū-* 'rib'; *dśśrā-* 'goad', beside *aśśāni-* 'thunderbolt'; possibly also *apśśthā-*⁶ 'barb', beside *dśman-* 'bolt'.

b. for the combination *ks*, which in origin is *s* + *s*⁷; e. g. *aśś-te*, *a-caśśa*, from *caśś-*⁸ 'see'; *a-taśś-ta*, *taśś-tā-*, *tāśś-tr-*⁹, beside *takś-* 'hew'; *nīr-aśś-ta-* 'emasculated' beside *nīr-akś-nu-hi* (AV.) 'emasculate'; also aorist forms like *i-yaśś-ta*, 3. sing. mid. from *yaj-* 'sacrifice', beside 3. sing. subj. *yakś-at*; *d-srśś-ta*, 3. sing. mid., beside *d-srks-ata*, 3. pl. mid. from *srj-* 'emit'. As in all these instances *ks* = *s* + *s* or *j* (= *ś*) + *s*¹⁰, loss of *s* before *t* must here be assumed, the remaining *ś* or *j* combining with the following *t* as usual to *śt*¹¹. A similar origin of *ṣ* is indicated by the evidence of cognate languages in *ṣaś-thā-* (AV.) 'sixth', where the final *s* has been dropped (as in Gk. ἕκ-τος), while retained in Lat. *sex-tus*; also in *ṣaś-ti-* 'sixty', *ṣodhā* 'sixfold', *ṣoḍaś-t-* (AV.) 'sixteenth'. It has possibly the same origin in *aśśhivānt-* 'knee'¹².

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

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

¹ This seems to point to fluctuation in spirant tenuis (*h*) or media (*dh*). In a few the IE. pronunciation; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 201 b. words, *kīp-*, *kū-*, *kubh-*, *ksvā-*, the sibilant comes first in the cognate languages: see WACKERNAGEL I, 209.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 210.

³ Cp. above 54 a, and below 78, 2.

⁴ See below 56.

⁵ Cp. 40.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 202 b; and below p. 48, note 7.

⁷ Cp. op. cit. I, 116 b.

⁸ Cp. Av. *caiman-*.

⁹ On the origin of *tāśśtr-* = **tāśśtr-*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 202 c, note.

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

¹¹ Similarly, when *kt* = guttural + *s* is followed by *t*, the *s* disappears and the guttural combines with the *t*; thus from *ghas-* 'eat', *śdha-* (= *gh-ta-*); from *jaks-* 'eat', *jaḍdhā-* (= *jaḥs-ta-*), *jaḍdhāya-* (= *jaḥs-tāya-*); from *bhāj-* 'share', aor. *ā-bhāk-ta-* (= *abhaj-s-ta-*), beside *ā-bhāk-ya-*.

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

¹³ The change does not take place in some forms of the perfect of *śic-* 'pour': *śīc-* (II. 32¹⁵), *śīcūr* (II. 24¹), beside *śīcatur-*.

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

The change is phonetic even when Anusvāra intervenes between *ī ū ṛ* and *s*; e. g. *piṣṣānti* from *piṣ-* 'crush'; *haviṣsi* 'offerings' from *haviṣ-*; *caḥṣṭṣi* 'eyes' from *caḥṣus-*. The *s*, however, remains in forms of *hims-* 'injure', *niṣ-* 'kiss', and *puṣ-* 'man', being probably transferred from the strong forms *hināsti*, *pīṁṣam*, etc.

α. The *s*, however, remains when immediately followed by *r* or *ṛ*, owing to a distaste for a succession of cerebrals; e. g. *tirāṣ*, *tiṣṭhīṣ*, *tiṣṭhām*, f. of *tī-* 'three'; *usāṣ* gen., *usī* and *usāṣm*, loc. (beside *uṣar*, voc.), *usā-* 'inatural'; *usā-* 'bull'; *sarīṣpā-* 'creeping'. Owing to the influence of forms with *sr*, the *s* further remains in the syllable *sar*, instead of *ṣar*, as in *sirāṣ*, *sirāṣi* (beside *sirāṣe*, *sirāṣe*, *sarīṣe* etc.). In *kṣāra-* (AV. VS.) 'hair', the retention may be due to the *r* having originally followed the *s* immediately. The *s* also remains unchanged in the combinations *stīr*, *stīr*, *spār*, *sṣī*, *sṣhār*; e. g. *stīrī*, from *stī-* 'strew'; *sṣṣṣ*, from *sṣṣ-* 'touch'. It remains in the second of three successive syllables in which *s-ṣ-s* would be expected; thus *yāstīṣṭhāṣ*, beside *yāstīṣam*, from *yā-* 'go'; *sīṣṣi*, beside *sīṣṣi*, from *m-* 'follow'.

β. Words in which *s* otherwise follows *r* or any vowel but *ū*, must be of foreign origin; such as *bīsa-* 'root fibre'; *būṣā-* 'vapour'; *bṛṣaya-*, a demon; *ṛbīsa-* 'clef'; *kṣīṣ-* 'praiser'; *bṛṣvā-* (VS.) 'socket'; *kūṣā-* (AV.), a kind of demon; *mūṣā-* (AV.) 'pestle' (for *mūṣa-*?); *sīṣ-* (AV. VS.) 'lead'.

γ. The cerebral *ṣ* is sometimes found even after *ū*, representing an early Prakritic change in which *as* is based on *ṛṣ* and *ās* on *arṣ*. Instances of this are *kaṣṭi* (AV.) 'scratches'; *ṣaḥṣā-* (VS. TS.) 'young bull' (lit. 'carrying on the back') and *ṣaṣṭhā-* 'young cow', beside *ṣṣṣṣ* 'back'; *ṣṣṣṣ* 'stone'; *bṣṣṣ* (VS.) 'barking'. There are besides several unexplained instances, doubtless due to foreign influence or origin; such are *ḍṣṣṣ* 'more accessible'; *kaṣṣṣ*, N.; *āṣṣ* 'blue jay'; *kaṣṣṣ* 'knob'; *jūṣṣṣ* 'remedy'; *kaṣṣṣ* 'yearling'; *kaṣṣṣ* (VS.) 'deceit'; *māṣṣ* 'bean' (AV. VS.); *ṣṣṣṣ* (VS.) 'young grass'.

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

a. in verbal compounds after prepositions ending in *i* or *u*, and in nominal derivatives from such compound verbs; also after the preposition *niṣ* 'out'; e. g. *nī ṣṣṣṣ* (x. 98⁴); *ḍmṣ ṣṣṣṣ* (VIII. 3⁸); *nīṣ-ṣṣṣṣ* (I. 127³).

α. But (as when it is medial) the *s* remains unchanged when followed by *r* (even when *l* or *p* intervenes) or *r* (even though *a* intervene, with an additional *m* or *r* in the roots *smar-* and *svar-*); e. g. *vī ṣṣṣṣ* 'let flow', *vī-ṣṣṣṣ* 'creation'; *vī ṣṣṣṣ* 'let him extend'; *nī-ṣṣṣṣ* 'to caress' (but *ū-nī-ṣṣṣṣ* 'unchecked'); *pāri-ṣṣṣṣ* 'flowed round'; *vī-ṣṣṣṣ* 'end', *vī-ṣṣṣṣ* 'extension' (owing to the influence of the forms with *sr* from *ṣṣṣṣ*); *vī-ṣṣṣṣ* 'dissolving', *vī-ṣṣṣṣ* 'extent', and even *vī ṣṣṣṣ* (owing to the influence of forms with *sr* from *ṣṣṣṣ* 'flow'); *ṣṣṣṣ* 'may ye two remember' (*ṣṣṣṣ*); *abhi-ṣṣṣṣ* 'praise', *abhi-ṣṣṣṣ* 'invocation', *abhi-ṣṣṣṣ*, loc., 'behind', *abhi-ṣṣṣṣ* 'invoker'. But *st ṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ* are changed according to the general rule, when *ūr* or *ur* follow; e. g. *ṣṣṣṣ* 'repel'. In roots which contain no *r*, the initial *s* rarely remains; thus in forms of *as-* 'be': *abhi ṣṣṣṣ*, *pāri ṣṣṣṣ*, *pāri ṣṣṣṣ* (beside *pāri ṣṣṣṣ*), *abhi ṣṣṣṣ* (beside *abhi-ṣṣṣṣ*); and owing to dislike of repeated *ṣ*: *anu-ṣṣṣṣ* (*siṣṣ* 'drive off'); *ḍnu-ṣṣṣṣ* 'noticed' (*ṣṣṣṣ* 'acc'); *pāri ṣṣṣṣ* (*ṣṣṣṣ* 'sound').

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

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 50.

³ The combination *ṣṣ* is found only where *sr* would be quite isolated amid cognate forms with *ṣ*; thus *ajus-ṣan*, from *jus-* 'be satisfied', since all the other very numerous forms of this verb have *ṣ*.

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL I, 203 e, note.

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

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

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

⁸ FORTUNATOV, l. c.

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

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b β.

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

β. In the later Samhitās initial *s* is similarly changed to *ś*; but its retention is in some instances somewhat less restricted; thus *abhi sphūrjati* (AV.) 'sounds towards'; *ādhi skanda* (AV.) and *abhi-skandam*¹, beside *pari-skandā* (AV., VS.), from *skand-* 'leap'; *prati-sphāna-* (AV.) 'lying in wait', *prati-spatā-* (TS.) 'spying'; *anu sthāna* (TS., v. 6. 1³), from *as-* 'be'; owing to the following *s* also in *abhi siyade* (AV.) from *śyand-* 'run'.

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

Similarly when a reduplicative syllable containing *ā* intervenes between a preposition ending in *i* and an initial radical *s*, the latter always remains unchanged in the RV.; thus *pari śasvaj-*; *ni-śasāthā* (VIII. 48²); *ati-tashān* (x. 601); but the AV. has *vi-tashīr-*, *vi-taśhe* (owing to *vi-tāshate*, *vi-tāshā-*), but also *ādhi tashūr-*.

b. Initially in the second member of other than verbal compounds *ś* is more common than *s* when preceded by vowels other than *ā*. But *s* even in the RV. is not infrequently retained; not only when *r* or *r* follows as in *hṛdi-spi-* 'touching the heart', *su-sārtu-*, N., *ṛṣi-svār-* 'sung by seers', but also when there is no such cause to prevent the change; thus *gō-sakhi-* beside *gō-sakhi-* 'possessing cattle'; *gō-sāni-* (AV. VS.) beside *gō-sāni-* 'winning cattle'; *rayi-sthāna-* beside *rayi-sthāna-* (AV.) 'possessing wealth'; *tri-saptā-* beside *tri-saptā-* (AV.) 'twenty-one'; *sī-samidha-* beside *sī-samidha-* (SV.) 'well-kindled'; *āpāke-stha-* (AV.) 'standing in the oven' beside *-stha-* in other compounds after *-e-*; *prthivī-sīt-* (VS.) beside *prthivī-sīt-* (AV.) 'seated on the earth'; *sū-samrddha-* (AV.) 'quite perfect'. After *r* the *s* becomes *ś* in *śvar-śit-* 'light-winning', *śvār-śāt-* 'obtainment of light'; after *k*, probably only in *fk-sāma-* (TS.) 'resembling a *rc*', beside *fk-sāma-* (VS.).

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

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

γ. In Āmreḍita compounds, however, the *s* regularly remains unchanged because of the desire to leave the repeated word unaltered; thus *sute-sute* and *somē-some* 'at every Soma draught'; also in *stuhī stuhī* 'praise on'.

3. Initially in external Sandhi *s* frequently becomes *ś* after a final *i* and *u* in the RV. This change chiefly takes place in monosyllabic pronouns and particles, such as *sī(s)*, *sī*, *syī(s)*, *śim*, *śma*, *śvīd*, and particularly *sī*. It also appears in verbal forms like *stha sthas sthāna*, *santu*, *śyām*, *śyāma* (from *as-* 'be'); *śīdati*, *satsat*, *satsi* (from *sad-* 'sit'); *śīṅca*, *śīncata* (from *sic-* 'pour'); *stāvāma*, *stave*, *stuhī* (from *stu-* 'praise'); in participles like *sīn*, *sātis* (from *as-* 'be'); *sīdan* (from *sad* 'sit'); *śvānds* (*śv-* 'press'); *sītām* (*sī-* 'bind'); *stūtis* (*stu-* 'praise'); *skandām* (*skand-* 'leap'). In other words the change

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

¹ Cp. APr. II. 104.

² Cp. WIRTHNER'S Translation of the AV. I, p. Lxiv (mid.).

Indo-ariache Philologie I, 4.

³ This is not treated as an Āmreḍita compound in the Padapāṭha (VIII. 130): *stuhī|stuhī|it*; but *pībā-pība* (II. 111²) is analyzed as *pība-pība|it*.

rarely takes place; e. g. *dmu rājati śtūp* (IX. 96¹³); *trī sadhāsthā* (III. 56³); *nā sadhāsthāt*⁴ (V. 31⁹); *nā śhīrām* (I. 64¹⁵); *dāhi mūnā* (IX. 97¹⁶).

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

a. In the later Samhitās, apart from passages adopted from the RV, this form of external Sandhi is very rare except in the combination *ś śī*. Examples are *śā u śīntu* (AV. IV. 3⁴); *māhi śā dīyūnā nāma?* (TS. III. 2. 8²)⁵.

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

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

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

1 a. *h* represents the palatalization (= Ilr. *jh*) of *gh* when, in cognate forms, *gh* (or *g*) is found before other sounds than *s*; e. g. *hīn-tī* 'strikes': *ghn-ānti*, *jaghāna*; *ārhati* 'is worthy': *arghā*- 'price'; *śh-ant-* 'weak': *ragh-ti*- 'light'; *jānā-as-* 'gait': *jānghā*- 'leg'; *dāhati* 'burns': *dag-dhā*- 'burnt'; *dāhate* 'milks': *dāghāna*- 'milking', *dug-dhā*- 'milked'; *dudrāha* 'have injured': *drug-dhī*- 'injured', *dr'gha*- 'injurious'; *mānāhate* 'presents': *maghā*- 'gift'; *mīh-* 'mist':

¹ *ik* and *uk* produce the same effect as simple *i* and *u*, as they were originally pronounced as *ik* and *uk* (cp. Sandhi, p. 71, c 2); e. g. *agm(i) Hava*; *yājnu(s) śkandm*.

² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 207 b.

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

⁴ See RPr. I. 12; XII. 2; APr. I. 13.

⁵ See below 1 b.

⁶ See below, Sandhi, 66.

⁷ Ibid. b 6, 3.

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

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

¹⁰ Cp. 41.

meghā- 'cloud'; *mūhyati* 'is perplexed'; *mugdha-* 'gone astray', *mīgha-* 'vain'; *rāghī-* 'speed'; *rāghū-* 'swift'; *hāras-* and *gharmā-* 'heat'; *harmye-śhā-* and *gharmye-śhā-* 'dwelling in the house'; *hr̥ṣī-* 'glad'; *gh̥ṣu-* 'joyful', *gh̥ṣi-* 'gladdening'. In *śhi-* 'serpent' and *duhitī-* 'daughter' the guttural origin of *h* is shown by cognate languages¹.

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

α. when, either as a final or before *t*, it is replaced by a cerebral (like the old palatals *ś* and *j* = Ilr. *ś*); e. g. *vah-* 'carry': *ū-vāf*, 3. sing. aor. *guh-* 'conceal': *gūdhā-*² 'concealed'; *tyh̥ti* 'crushes': *tydhā-*³; *d̥y̥mhati* 'makes; firm', *dr̥hyati* 'is firm': *dr̥dhā-* 'firm'; *bahū-* 'abundant': *baḍhā-* 'aloud'; *mih-* 'make water': *mūdhra-* (AV.) 'penis'; *rih̥ti* 'licks': *r̥ṣhi* 'licks', *r̥ḍha-* 'licked'; *vāhati* 'carries': *vādhum* 'to carry', *ūdhā-* 'carried'; *sāhate* 'overcomes': *sādh̥-* 'victor'.

β. when it is followed by sounds which do not palatalize gutturals⁴, before which *dh* and *bh* do not become *h*, and before which the other old palatals *ś* and *j* (= *ś*) appear; thus *an̥has-* and *an̥hati-* 'distress' because of *an̥hū-* 'narrow'; *ghan-* 'day', because of *ghnām*, g. pl., and *purvāghn-* 'forenoon' (not *ghu* as in *ghnanti* from *han-*); *j̥hamāna-*⁵ 'panting', because of *j̥hmā-* 'oblique'; *bāhī-* 'arm'; *br̥hman-* n. 'devotion', *brahmān-* 'one who prays'; *r̥hī-* (AV.), demon of eclipse; *yahvā-*, *yahvānt-* 'ever young', because of *yahū-*, id. This applies to all words beginning with *hū-*, *hr-*, *hn-*, *hr-*, *hv-*; e. g. *hu-* 'pour'; *h̥d-* and *h̥daya-* 'heart'; *h̥raya-* 'ashamed'; *h̥vā-*, *h̥-* 'call'; *h̥y-* 'be crooked'.

γ. when the 'satem' languages have a corresponding voiced spirant (s or ś)⁶; thus *ahm* 'I'; *eh̥-* (AV.) 'desirous'; *garhate* 'complains of'; *dih-* 'besmear'; *p̥l̥hān-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *barh̥s-* 'sacrificial straw'; *mah-* 'great'; *varāhā-* 'boar'; *sah̥sra-* 'thousand'; *siṃhā-* 'lion'; *sp̥r̥h-* 'desire'; *h̥ayisī-* 'goose'; *h̥ānu-* 'jaw'; *h̥i-* 'impel'; *h̥emān-* 'zeal', *h̥ell-* 'weapon'; *h̥iṃya-* 'steed'; *h̥īri-* and *h̥īrita-* 'tawny'; *h̥āryati* 'likes'; *h̥asta-* 'hand'; *h̥ā-* 'forsake'; *h̥āyanti-* (AV.) 'year'; *h̥i* 'for'; *h̥im̥-* 'cold'; *h̥iranya-* 'gold'; *h̥irī-* (AV. VS.) 'vein'; *h̥ims-* 'injure'; *h̥ās-* 'wound'; *h̥r-* 'take'; *h̥yis* 'yesterday'⁷.

δ. *h* according to the evidence of cognate languages, represents other palatals in some words. Thus in *h̥ī-* 'heart', *ś* = IE. *k* would be expected; and *j* = IE. *ǵ* in *ahm* 'I', *mah̥ant-* 'great', *h̥ānu-* 'jaw', *h̥īsta-* 'hand', *h̥vā-*, *h̥-* 'call'. These irregularities are probably due to IE. dialectic variations⁸.

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

α. It takes the place of *dh* in four or five roots (with nominal derivatives) and in a few nominal and verbal suffixes. Thus it appears initially in *h̥itī-*, *h̥itī-*, beside *dh̥ita-*, *dh̥itī-*, from *dhā-* 'put'. Medially it is found in *g̥āhate* 'plunges' (with the derivatives *g̥āhā-* 'depth', *g̥āhana-* 'deep', *dur-g̥āha-* 'impassable place') beside *g̥ādhū-* 'ford'; *r̥ihati* 'rises', 'grows' (with the derivatives *r̥ih-* 'growth', *r̥ihana-* 'means of ascending', *r̥ihas-* 'elevation') beside *r̥ūdhati* 'grows' (with the derivatives *v̥i-r̥ūdh-* 'creeper', *-r̥ūdhā-* 'growing', *r̥ūdhas-* 'bank', *v̥i-r̥ūdhana-* 'ascent'); derivatives of **rudh-* 'be red': *roh̥it-*, *r̥ihita-*,

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 214 b.

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

³ Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

⁴ See above 41, 2.

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

⁶ This includes several examples given under α and β.

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

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

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

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

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

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

d. The rule is that *h* appears for *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, only between vowels⁵, the first of which is unaccented; e. g. *ihá*, *kakuhá*, *grhá* *bárajaha*, *bali-hít-rauhipá*, *sahá*. Similarly in *grabh-* 'seize', *h* alone appears after unaccented *r* in RV. 1-1x⁶; while on the other hand, in the 2. sing. impv. of graded roots, *-dhi* regularly appears after strong and therefore originally accented vowels; e. g. *bódhi* (from *bha-* 'be'), *yádhi* (from *yu-* 'yoke'), *yuyodhi* (from *yu-* 'separate'); *śádhi*, but *śáthi* (*śá-* 'sharpen'). Again, in *rudh-* 'rise', the unaccented form of the root is regularly *rudh-*, while when it is accented, forms such as *rúdhati* appear beside *rúthati*, and in nominal derivatives *dh* predominates in accented radical syllables, the RV. having *rúdhá* and *á-rúdhana* only, but the AV. *rúsha* and *á-rúshana*?

a. At the same time *dh* and *bh* remain in a good many instances after an unaccented vowel; thus in the 2. sing. impv. *kráhi*, *śádhi*, *śruadhí*, *śyudhí*; in *adhás* 'below', *adhámá* 'lowest', *abhi* 'towards'; *rbhí* 'delf'; *mádhá* 'reward'; *medhá* 'wisdom'; *vidháti* 'adores'; *vidhá* 'solitary'; *vidhává* 'widow'; *vadhí* 'bride'; *śádhí* 'fight'; *rudhírā* (AV.) 'red'; derivatives formed with *-dhi*, *-bhá*, etc.⁶ The retention of the *dh* and *bh* here is partly to be explained as an archaism, and partly as due to borrowing from a dialect in which these aspirates did not become *h*, and the existence of which is indicated by the Prakrit form *idha* beside the Vedic *ihá* 'here'. The guttural aspirate media is probably to be similarly explained in *mághá* 'cloud' and *á-śhá* 'sinful'.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 217 a.

² The *h* in the perf. *áha*, *áhar*, may in *grhyātu* (IV. 57) and *hasta-gráhya*, is due to other forms of *grabh-* in which *h* is followed by a vowel. *h* is in spite of *naddhá*; *nakh-* rather stands for *nakh-* (cp. Lat. *necto*); the pp. instead of *naddhá*, became *naddhá* through the influence of *baddhá* from *bauk-* 'bind'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 217 a, note, where several other wrong explanations of *h* = *dh* are discussed.

³ Some erroneous etymologies in which *dh* *bh* (above 2, a, b), *h* appears throughout *h* is explained as = *bh* are discussed in WACKERNAGEL 1, 217 b, note.

⁴ Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

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

appears, though a vowel does not follow,

in *grhyātu* (IV. 57) and *hasta-gráhya*, is due to other forms of *grabh-* in which *h* is followed by a vowel.

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

⁷ Exceptions like *rúthita*, *visváha* and inflected forms such as *śhate*, are due to normalization.

⁸ Where the RV. fluctuates between *h* and *dh* *bh* (above 2, a, b), *h* appears throughout in the later Samhitás; thus always *-hi*, after vowels in imperatives except *edhi* 'be'; thus for *śyudhí* (RV. VIII. 84), SV. has *śyudhí*. But a new *h* of this kind hardly occurs. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 219 a.

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

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

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

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

59. The cerebral *l*.—This sound, as distinguished from the ordinary dental *l*, is a cerebral *l*¹. It appears in our (*Sūkata*) recension of the RV. as a substitute, between vowels, for the cerebral *ḷ* and, with the appended sign for *h*, for the cerebral aspirate *ḷh*²; e. g. *lā-* 'refreshment'; *ā-sāha-* 'invincible'. It also appears in Sandhi when final before an initial vowel; e. g. *turīśāl abhibhūtyojāh* (III. 43¹). In the written Saṃhitā text, however, it does not appear if followed by a semivowel which must be pronounced as a vowel; e. g. *vīḷ-āṅga-* 'firm-limbed', to be pronounced as *vīḷi-āṅga-* and analysed thus by the Padapāṭha. In one passage of the RV. the readings fluctuate between *l* and *l* in *nīḷavat* or *nīlavat* (VII. 97²)⁴.

60. Anusvāra and Anunāsika.—Anusvāra, 'after-sound', is a pure nasal sound which differs from the five class nasals; for it appears after vowels only, and its proper use is not before mutes, but before sibilants or *h* (which have no class nasal). But it resembled the class nasals in being pronounced, according to the Prātiśākhya of the RV. and the VS.⁵, after the vowel. The vowel itself might, however, be nasalized, forming a single combined sound. The Prātiśākhya of the AV.⁶, recognizes this nasal vowel, called Anunāsika, 'accompanied by a nasal', alone, ignoring Anusvāra, which with the preceding vowel represents two distinct successive sounds. WHITNEY⁷, however, denies the existence of any distinction between Anunāsika and Anusvāra. In any case, the Vedic Mss. have only the one sign ³ (placed either above or after the vowel) for both⁸, employing the simple dot ⁴ where neither Anusvāra nor Anunāsika is allowable. The latter sign is used in the TS. for final *m* before *y v*, and in both the TS. and MS. before mutes instead of the class nasal⁹, a practice arising from carelessness or the desire to save trouble. There is thus no ground for the prevalent opinion that ⁵ represents Anunāsika and ⁶ Anusvāra¹⁰. Throughout the present work *m* with a dot (*m̄*) will be used for both, except if they appear before a vowel, when *m* with the older sign (*m̃*) will be employed.

¹ The root *saḷh-* 'take upon oneself', has no connexion with *sah-* 'overcome'; nor *vāḷhd-* 'institutor of a sacrifice', with *vah-* 'convey'. The relation of *ḷh-nyeghas-* 'streaming among milk', to *vah-* is uncertain; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 220 b, note.

² Cp. above 42.

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

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

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

⁶ See WHITNEY on APR. I. 11.

⁷ On TPr. II. 30; JAOS. 10, LXXXVf.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY on TPr. II. 30.

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

¹⁰ See WHITNEY, JAOS. 7, 92, note.

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

a. regularly before sibilants and *h*; e. g. *vayāśid-* 'reed'; *haviṃsi* 'offerings'; *māṃsā-* 'flesh'; *siṃhi-* 'lion'. This is generally recognized as the sphere of Anusvāra, except by the APr.²; but *māṃścati-* 'light yellow', is stated³ to have Anunāsika, while *puṃścall-* (AV. VS.) is said to have both Anunāsika and Anusvāra⁴. The Anusvāra usually appears before *s*, and all forms with *ms* are shown to be based on original *ns* or *ms* by the evidence of cognate forms corroborated by that of allied languages⁵; thus *māṃśate*, 3. sing. subj. aor. of *man-* 'think'; *jigh.ṃśati*, des. from *han-* 'strike'; *piṃśanti* beside *piṃśti*, from *pi-* 'crush'; the neuter plurals in *-ṃsi*, *-ṃsi*, *-ṃsi* from stems in *-as*, *-is*, *-us*, with nasal after the analogy of *-anti*, nom. acc. pl. from neuters in *-nt*; stems in *-yāms*, *-vāms* beside nom. sing. in *-yān*, *-vān*; *kraṃśyāte* (AV.) from *kram-* 'stride'. When Anusvāra appears before *s* and *h* derived from an IE. palatal or guttural, it represents the corresponding class nasal. The reduction of these old nasals to Anusvāra is probably Ilr. after long vowels (*ām*, *-īm*, *-ūm*); probably later after short vowels, for it does not appear in forms like *āhan* (for *āhans*), though *s* was not dropped after *an* in the Ilr. period; but the *s* must have been dropped early in the Indian period, before *-aus* became *-ams*⁶. Anusvāra before *h* (= Av. *ṃj*) must have arisen in the Indian period.

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

c. before any consonant which is the initial of secondary suffixes; thus from *śam-* 'blessing', is formed *śam-yū-* 'beneficent'; *śam-tāti-* or *śantīti-* 'blessing'.

6r. Voiceless Spirants.— a. The sound called Visarjanīya⁸ in the Prātisākhya⁹, must in their time have been pronounced as a voiceless breathing, since they describe it as an *asmān*, the common term for breathings and sibilants. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that, in the RPr., Jihvāmūliya and Upadhānīya, the sounds which are most nearly related to and may be replaced by Visarjanīya, are regarded as forming the second half of the voiceless aspirates *kh* and *ph* respectively, just as *h* forms the second half of the voiced aspirates *gh*, *bh*, etc. At the present day Visarjanīya is still pronounced in India as a voiceless breathing, which is, however, followed by a weak echo of the preceding vowel. According to the TPr.¹⁰, Visarjanīya has the same place of articulation as the end of the preceding vowel. The proper function of this sound is to represent final *s* and *r* in *pausa*; it may, however, also appear before certain voiceless initial sounds, viz. *k*, *kh*, *p*, *ph*, and the sibilants (occasionally also in compounds)¹¹.

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

¹ See below, Sandhi, 75.

² APr. I. 67; II. 33f.

³ Cp. RPr. IV. 35.

⁴ Cp. VPr. IV. 7f.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 224 a.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ See WHITNEY on TPr. II. 48.

¹¹ See below, Sandhi, 78, 79.

¹² See RPr. I. 8; VPr. III. 11 etc.

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

62. **Loss of Consonants.**—Consonants have been lost almost exclusively when they have been in conjunction with others. The loss of a single consonant which is not in conjunction with another is restricted to the disappearance of *v* before *u*, and much more rarely of *y* before *i*. The *v* thus disappears finally in the Sandhi of *āv* before *u* in the RV. and VS.³ Initially, *v* is lost before *ūr* derived from a *r* vowel; thus in *ūrāna-* and *ūrā-* 'sheep'; *ūras-* 'breast'; *ur-ānā-*, mid. part. (*ur-* 'choose'); *ūrj-* 'vigour'; *ūrj-* 'wool'; *ūrñki-* 'covers' (*ur-* 'cover'); *ardhud-* 'high'; *ūrml-* 'wave'. Such loss of *v* before *ūr* also occurs after an initial consonant in *tūrti-* 'quick' (= II. *trītd-*); *dūrvaṭi-*, *dūharsata-*, *dūrṭi-*, from *dūr-* 'cause to fall'; *hūrya-*, *juhūrthas-*; *juhūr-*, from *hūr-* 'go crookedly'. Before simple *u* the *v* has disappeared at the beginning of the reduplicative syllable *u-* (= **vu-* for original *va-*), in *u-ñā-a* from *vac-* 'speak'; *u-ñā-a* from *vas-* 'shine'; *u-ñā-a* from *vah-* 'convey'.

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

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

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

¹ See VPr. 1. 41.

² Cp. EBEL, KZ. 13, 277f.

³ See below, Sandhi, 73.

⁴ The *v* has either remained or been restored before such *ūr* and *ūr* in *hotv-vūrja-* 'election of the invoker'; in the opt. *vūrṭu-*, from *ur-* 'choose'; and in the 3. pl. perfect *bāhū-vūr*, *jūhu-vūr*, *susu-vūr*, *tusṭu-vūr*.

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

⁶ See below, Sandhi, 65.

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

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

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

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

sound; from *stan-* 'thunder', *stanayitni-*, beside *tanayitni-* 'thunder', *tanyati-* (also AV.) 'thunder', *tanyá-* 'thundering', *tanyati* 'resounds'; *stend-* 'thief', *stáy-dnt-* (AV.) 'stealing', *stáyú-* (VS.) 'thief', *stáya-* 'theft', beside *táyú-* 'thief'; *stí-*, beside *tí-* 'star'; *spát-* 'spy' and *spat-* 'see' in verbal forms *á-spaṣ-ta* aor., *paspat-* perf., *spāśáyati* caus., *-spāsta-* part., 'seen', beside *pāśyati* 'sees'.

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

A few examples occur of the loss of the semivowels *y* or *v* as the last element of an initial consonant group. Thus *y* disappears in derivatives of roots in *iv* formed with suffixes beginning with consonants: *māta-* 'moved', *mū-rá-* 'impetuous', *mí-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine', from *miv-* 'push'; *sūci-* 'needle', *sū-ná-* 'plaited basket', *sá-tra-* (AV.) 'thread', beside *syú-man-* 'thong', *syú-tá-* 'sewn', from *siv-* 'sew'. Loss of *v* seems to have taken place in *liti-* 'white' (only at the beginning of compounds), beside *svit-* 'be bright', *svity-dñc-* 'brilliant', *svitrd-* (AV.) 'white', *svitrya-*, perhaps 'white'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *ksip-* 'throw' (Av. *ksia-*), *sás-* (Av. *hšvas-*).

3. When the group is medial, the loss usually taken takes place between single consonants. a. The sibilants *s* and *ṣ* thus regularly disappear between mutes; e. g. *á-bhak-ta*, 3. sing. aor., for **ábhak-s-ta* beside *á-bhak-ṣi-*, from *bháj-*, 'share'; *caṣ-te* for *caṣ-ṣe* (= original **caṣ-s-te*). Similarly *a-gdha-* (TS.) 'uneaten', for **a-gḥs-ta-*, from *ghas-* 'eat'.

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

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

4. The only example of the loss of an initial mute in a medial group of consonants seems to be that of *b* before *dh* in *nád-bhyas* for **nabd-bhyas* from *napt-* for *nápāt-*. The semivowel *r* seems to be lost before a consonant when another *r* follows in *cakr-át* (Pp. *cakrín*) and *cakr-iyás* for **carkr-* beside *carkar-mi*, from *kr-* 'commemorate'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *vdstya-* (cp. *pvārs-* 'cut', *pvārs-ta-* 'created'),

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

¹ WACKERNAGEL I, 230 a γ, note, discusses several uncertain or erroneous etymologies based on loss of initial *s* (including *maryás* interpreted as 2. sing. opt. of *mar-*). The evidence of Prakrit seems to point to the loss of initial *s* in *śipa-* 'tail', *krí-* 'leap', *krus-* 'cry', *paratí-* 'axe', *parusá-* 'knotty'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 230 b.

² On the possible loss of *r* in *bhatj-* (Lat. *frango*) and of *k* in *sazyá-* (Lat. *scarvus*); see WACKERNAGEL I, 232 c, note.

³ See above 56, b.

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

⁵ The guttural mute only seems to be lost when *ky* + *t* becomes *ṣt*; see above, 56, 6. The loss of *m* in the inst. sing. *-mā* of nouns in *-man* is only a seeming one; for *dātā-*, *prāthmā-*, *preñt-*, *bhīnt-*, *māhīnt-*, *varīnt-* (TS.) appear beside the stems *dāman-* etc., because some of them had a stem in *-m* without *m*, so that *-mā* seemed an alternative form of *-mūā*; see BENFEY, GGA. 1846, 702. 880; Göttinger Abhandlungen 19, 234; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 17, 3; cp. IF. 8, Anzeiger, p. 17.

⁶ But see GELDNER, VS. I, 279.

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

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

a. The sibilant *s*² has thus been lost before *k* followed by a consonant in *vaṅkṣam*, *ṛkṣud-*, *ṛkṣvī*, *ṛkṣi* (TS.), from *vraśc-* 'lop' (cp. *vraśkī-*).

b. The voiced form (Iir. *z*) of dental *s* has disappeared before voiced dentals, without leaving any trace, in the roots *as-* 'sit', and *śas-* 'order'; thus *a-dhvam*, *śasā-dhi*. But when *ā* preceded the *z*, the disappearance of the sibilant is indicated by *e* taking the place of *as* before *d*, *dh*, *h* (= *dh*); thus *edhi*, from *as-* 'be'; *śed-*, perfect stem of *śad-* 'sit' (for *śad-*, like *śas-* from *śac-*). This *e* also replaces *as* with loss of the sibilant in *de-hi* 'give'; *dhe-hi* 'put'; *kiye-dhā-* 'containing much'; *neḥ-tyas-* and *neḥ-iṣṭha-* 'very much'; *pat-ū-*³ N.; *medati* 'is fat'; *medhā-* and *medhīs-* 'wisdom'; *mīdha-* 'juice'⁴.

c. When a vowel other than *ā* preceded, the *z* was cerebralized (like *s* before a voiceless dental) and disappeared after cerebralizing the following dental and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *a-sto-ahvam?* (= *ā-sto-ahvam* for *a-sto-ahvam*) 2. pl. aor., beside *a-sto-ṣa*, 3. sing., from *stu-* 'praise'. Thus also are to be explained *nīśi-* 'nest' (= *nīśā-* for *nīśā-*); *ṣī-* 'press' (= *ṣī-* for *ṣī-* or *ṣī-*); *mīdhī-* 'reward' (Gk. *μίσθός*); *ṛī-* 'strong', *ṛīyati* 'is strong' (from *ṛī-* 'work' + *d*)⁵; *hī-* 'be angry', and its Guṇa forms, e. g. *hī-as-* 'anger'; *mṛīti* 'be gracious', *mṛīkī-* 'gracious' (for *mṛī-* from *mṛ-* 'forget') with vowel pronounced long (12), *ā-reḥ-ant-* (TS.) 'not deceiving' (= *a-reḥ-ant-*), from *ri-* 'injure'.

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

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

¹ In a few forms of the AV. the semi-vowel *y* seems to be lost at the end of the medial group *ky-*: *mekāmi*, *yokṣe*, *vidhāyān*, *sakṣi*. But these forms may be due to errors in the MSS.

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

³ Before voiced mutes other than dentals, *z* became *d*, as in *madṣ-* (44, 3 a) 'diver'; similarly *z* became *d*, as in *ṣūdhī-*, from *ṣū-* 'look' or 'cord'; and in *vi-trīṣ-ḥhis* from *trīṣ-* 'drop'.

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

⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 27, 361. On *edh-* 'thrive', *mīyedha-* 'broth', *vedhīs-* 'virtuous', see WACKERNAGEL 1, 237 c.

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

suffixes beginning with *m*, *y* or *v*, the sibilant is lost (instead of becoming *d* in the former circumstances, or remaining in the latter) owing to the influence of Sandhi; e. g. *dvy-ḥhis* from *dvy-as-* 'hate'. An original sibilant has perhaps been lost in *mūhīśā*, *sāhvāns-*, *jāhūṣ-*, *hrādīni-*, *śas-* 'be exhausted'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 237 a β, note.

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

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

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

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

'strong', *ni-b.āḍha-* 'dense' (= *baḍdhā-* for *baḥ-tā-*) from *baḥh-* 'be strong'; *sāḍh-* 'conqueror', *ā-ṣāḍha-* 'invincible', from *sah-*; *rīḍhā-* (= *ri-ṣṍhā-*), from *rih-* 'lick'; *ūḍhā-* (= *u-ṣḍhā-*) from *vah-* 'carry'; *gūḍh-* 'concealed', from *guh-* 'hide'; *ṛḍhā-*, *ṛḍhvā* (AV.), from *ṛh-* 'crush'; *ḍṛḍhā-* 'firm', from *ḍrḥ-* 'be strong'. Here *e* also appears for *a*; in *ṛṇḍhū* (AV.) from *ṛh-* (= *ṛṇa-ḍhū*); and *o* in *voṣṍhām* (= *va-ṣḍhām*), 2. du. aor. of *vah-* 'carry'. We also find *e* as Guna of *i* in *mēḍhra-* (AV.), from *mih-* 'mingere' (= *meṣḍhra-*).

63. **Metathesis.**—Apart from the few examples of *ra* before *ṣ* and *h* (51 c), there are probably no certain instances of metathesis in the RV.¹ In the later Samhitās, however, a few other forms of metathesis are to be found. Thus *-valh-* seems to be a transposition of *hval-* 'go deviously' in *upa-valh-* (VS.) 'propound a riddle to'.² In *valmka-* (VS.) 'anthill', *m* appears transposed beside *vamrī-* and *vamrā-* 'ant', *vamra-kā-* 'little ant'. Metathesis of quantity occurs in *as-thas* for **as-thas*, 2. sing. mid. aor. of *as-* 'throw'. This is analogous to the shortening, in the RV., of the radical vowel of *dā-* 'give', in the forms *ādām*, *ādas*, *ādat*, where the verb is compounded with the verbal prefix *ā*³, while otherwise the forms *dām*, *dās*, *dat* alone appear.

64. **Syllable.**—The notion of the syllable is already known to the late hymns of the Rgveda, though the word (*a-kṣāra-*) is there generally used as an adjective meaning 'imperishable'. Thus *akṣāreṇa mimate sapṭā vāṇī* means 'with the syllable they measure the seven metres'. The vowel being according to the Prātiśākhya⁴ the essential element of the syllable, the word *akṣara-*⁵ is used by them in the sense of 'vowel' also. Initially, a vowel, or a consonant and the following vowel form a syllable. Medially, a simple consonant begins a syllable, e. g. *ta-pas*; when there is a group of consonants, the last begins the syllable, e. g. *ṭap-ta-*, and if the last is a sibilant or semivowel, the penultimate also belongs to the following syllable⁶, e. g. *astām-ṣit*, *an-ṣya-*. A final consonant in *pausā* belongs to the preceding vowel, e. g. *i-dam*.

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

1. The first of the two syllables is dropped within a word in *tuṣṍ-ṛā[va]vān* 'roaring mightily', beside *tuṣṍ-ṛāva-*; *madh[ya]yāi* 'in the middle', from *mādhyā-* (like *āsa-yā*, *nakṭa-yā*); *ṛ[ī]ṭā[ṭhā]* 'at will', from *ṛṭī-* 'willed' (like *ṛṭu-ṭhā* 'according to ṛṭu'); *svapatyāi* for *svapat[ya]yāi*, dat. sing. f. of *svapatyā-* 'having good offspring'; perhaps also *yās*, beside *yāyos*, gen. loc. du. of *yā-*.⁷ Examples of a vowel with following consonant being dropped are: *ir[adh]ādhyai*, inf. of *iradh-* 'seek to win'; *ca[an]anta*, *r[an]anta*, *v[an]anta*⁸; perhaps *sīd[as]as-pāti-* beside *sādasas-pāti-* 'lord of the seat'⁹.

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

¹ Perhaps *stokā-* 'drop', may stand for **skolā-*, from *ścut-* 'drip-, under the influence of *śhokā-* 'tuft'.

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

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

⁴ RPr. xviii. 17; VPr. I, 99.

⁵ Though known to Katyāyana and Patañjali as well as to the Prātiśākhya, *akṣara-*

as the designation of syllable is not found in Pāṇini.

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

⁷ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 527, 562.

⁸ Cp., however, *en-ṣis* for *en-ṣya-*.

⁹ See KZ. 20, 70 f.

¹⁰ See BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, xxxv.

N. of a plant yielding honey, beside *madhu-dīgha-* 'shedding sweetness'; *śaś[pa]-pīñjara-* (VS.) 'tawny like young grass'¹.

2. The second syllable is dropped in the datives *pāumsya[ya]*, *ratnadhṛy[ya]*, *sakhyā[ya]*, and *abhikhyā* beside *abhikhyāya*; also in *vrkḍ[ā]i-* 'destruction', beside *vrkḍāt-* and *devā-tāti-*; and at the beginning of the second member of a compound in *śrīya-[sa]kṭi-* (AV.) 'head.ache'².

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

II. EUPHONIC COMBINATION (SANDHI).

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

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

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

1. In all the Saphitās *ā ī ū*⁹ are frequently nasalized when prolated; e. g. *vindati* | = *vindati* (x. 146¹); *babhūvān* | = *babhūva* (AV. x. 2²); *viveśān* | = *viveśa* (VS. xxiii. 49); *mamān* | = *mamā* (TS. vii. 4³).

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

¹ This explanation is doubtful in *ulokā-* for *u[li]lōkā-* (cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss I, 624, p. 471); *śumayā-* (TS.) for *śumamāya-*; *bhūmatī-* (VS.) 'terrible', for *bhūmama-*; improbable in *vijānās* for *vijānānās*, 'with broken nose' (BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, xxxiv).

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

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

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

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

⁶ The sentence within a Pāda, as well as the Pāda itself, is the unit of accent; cp. below, § 3.

⁷ Cp. RPr. I 3; VI 5; x. 5; XI. 30.

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

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

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

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

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

2. The palatals *c* and *j* revert to the original guttural, becoming *k*; thus *arvāk* (I. 118²) = *arvāc* 'coming hither'; *su-yūk* = *su-yūj* 'well yoked'. The old palatal *j*, however, becomes *t*, e. g. *raṭ* (I. 121³), m. f. 'king', 'queen', = *raṭ*; in *ṛtvik*, however, it becomes the guttural, = *ṛtvij* 'priest' (from *yaj*- 'sacrifice').

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

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

a. In the rare instances in which a radical *m* becomes final after dropping a following *-t* or *-s*, it appears as *n* owing to the influence of the dental; thus *dīn* (= **dam-s*) 'of the house' (*dam-*)⁷; *ā-kraṇ* (= **ā-kraṇ-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *kram*- 'stride'; *ā-gaṇ* (= **ā-gaṇ-s*, **ā-gaṇ-t*), 2. 3. sing. aor., *a-jagaṇ* (= **ajagaṇ-t*), 3. sing. plup., *agaṇigan* (VS.), 3. sing. intv. of *gam*- 'go'; *ā-yān* (= **ā-yān-s-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *yam*- 'reach'⁸.

5. The semivowels *y* *v* *ṛ* do not occur as finals. *r* is represented by Visarga; thus *pīnar* 'again', is written *pīnaḥ*¹⁰.

6. The sibilants and *h* are all changed when final.

a. The dental *s*, which is by far the commonest of final sibilants, becomes Visarga; e. g. *ketīs* is written *ketiḥ* (III. 61¹).

β. The cerebral *ṣ*, which is very rare as a final, becomes cerebral *f* in *ṣiṭ* 'six', for *ṣṣ*; *-dviṭ* 'hating', for *-dviṣ*; *vī-ṣṛiṭ* (AV.) 'sprinkling',

¹ The ritual interjection *ṣm* (VS.) may be due to the nasalization of an original *o* prolated (cp. RPr. xv. 3). Thus the JUB. I. 24. 3ff., mentions the pronunciations *o* as well as *om*, both of which it rejects in favour of *om̐*.

² Cp. RPr. I. 13; WHITNEY on APr. L. 43

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a. a.

⁴ Cp. above 42 c (p. 34).

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Final *m* is often incorrectly written as Anusvara in Mss. (as conversely in Prakrit Mss. *m* is often written as *m̐* under Sanskrit influence: cp. FISCHER, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, in this Encyclopedia, 339, 348), and their example is sometimes followed in printed editions.

⁷ In the K. also occurs the form *a-nān* = **nām-s*, from *nam*- 'bend'. The ŚB. has *prānān* 'painless', = **pra-lam-s*.

⁸ See 46 d, β.

⁹ Final *l* is spoken of as occurring rarely (WACKERNAGEL I, 260 c), or as very rare (WHITNEY 144), but I have been unable to find a single example in the Vedas (or even in post-Vedic Sanskrit). But though no etymologically final *l* seems to occur either in paus̐ or in Sandhi, it is found as a substitute for *ḷ* in two or three words in the later Samhitās (see above 52 d, p. 45).

¹⁰ When *h* stands for etymological *r*, this is indicated by an added *iti* in the Pāṭha; e. g. *pīnar iti* (X. 85¹⁸).

for *vi-prīś*. These are the only examples occurring in the RV. and AV. In the only two examples in which *s* occurs in the RV. as a final in the compound form *ks*, it is dropped: *andk* 'eyeless', from *an-āks*; *ā-myak*, 3. sing. aor. of *myaks*- 'be situated' (P).

γ. The palatal *ś* becomes either *k* or *ṣ*; e. g. *-dṛk* for *dṛś*- (III. 61²); *vīpaś*, N. of a river, for *vīpś*.

δ. According as it is guttural or palatal in origin, *h* become *k* or *ṣ*; thus *ā-dhok*, 3. sing. impf. of *dūh*- 'milk'; but *ā-vdt*, 3. sing. aor. of *vah*- 'carry'.

c. The rule is, that only a single consonant may be final. Hence all but the first of a group of consonants are dropped; e. g. *ābhavan* for **ābhavant*; *tin* for **tins*; *tudān* for *tudānts*; *prān* for **prānks* (= **prāncs*); *acchān* for **acchantś*, 3. sing. aor. of *chand*- 'be pleasing'.

a. *k* or *t*, when they follow an *r* and belong to the root, are allowed to remain; e. g. *vārk*, 2. 3. sing. aor. of *vṛj*- 'bend'; *ūrṣ* (VS), nom. of *hrj*- 'strength'; *ā-mārt*, 3. sing. impf. of *mṛj*- 'wipe'; *ā-vart*, 3. sing. aor. of *vṛt*- 'turn'; *suhārt* (AV.), nom. of *suhārd*- 'friend'. The only instance of a suffix remaining after *r* is *darś*, 3. sing. aor. of *dṛ*- 'cleave', used also for 2. sing. beside *ā-dah* = *ā-dar* (for **ā-dars*).

β. Some half-dozen instances have been noted, in the Saṃhitās, in which a suffixal *s* or *ś* seems to have been retained instead of the preceding consonant; but they are probably all to be explained as due to analogical influence. They are:

1. the nominatives *sadhā-mīs* (beside *sadhā-mīd*) 'companion of the feast'; *ava-yās* 'sacrificial share', and *puro-śās* (acc. *puro-śātam*) 'sacrificial cake'. *Sadhā-mīs* may be due to the influence of nom. with phonetic *s* like *mās* 'moon', beside inst. pl. *mīd-bhis* (44 a 3). *Ava-yās*, in the only passage in which it occurs in the RV., has to be read as quadrasyllabic (also in AV.), i. e. as *ava-yījāś*, and is probably to be explained as a contraction which retains the living *-s* of the nom. (and not the prehistoric *s* of **yījś*). *Puro-śās* (from *dīś*- 'worship'), occurring only twice in the RV., may be due to the influence of a frequent nom. like *dravīṃ-dīs* 'wealth-giver'. That the prehistoric nom. *-s* should in these three forms have survived in the linguistic consciousness of the Vedic poets, and as such have ousted the preceding consonant, which in all other analogous nominatives alone remains, is hardly conceivable². The only reasonable explanation is to assume the analogical influence of the nom. *-s* which was in living use after vowels.

2. The four verbal preterite forms (*a-yās* (for **a-yījś*) beside *a-yīś*, 2. sing. aor. of *yaj*- 'sacrifice'; *śrīs* (AV.) = **a-śrīśś*, 2. sing. aor. of *ṣj*- 'emit'; *a-bhanas* (AV.) = **a-bhanakś*, 2. sing. impf. of *bhāṣ*- 'break'; and *a-srat* (VS.) = **a-sratś*, 3. sing. aor. of *śras*- 'fall') are the beginnings of the tendency (of which there are several other examples in the Brāhmaṇas)³, to normalize the terminations, so as to have *-s* in 2. sing. and *-ś* in 3. sing. This tendency is extended in the RV. from the *s* and *t* of 2. 3. sing. even to 1. sing. in the forms *a-kramim* (beside *a-kramīam*) owing to *a-kram-īs*, *a-kram-īś*; and *vam* (for *vā-am*) owing to 2. sing. *vak* (for *vār*), aor. of *vṛ*- 'cover'.

67. Rules of Sandhi.—The body of euphonic rules by which final consonants are assimilated to following initials and hiatus is avoided between final and initial vowels is called Sandhi in the Prātisākhya⁴. The editors of the Saṃhitā of the RV. have greatly obscured the true condition of the text with which they dealt by applying to it rules of euphonic combination which did not prevail at the time when the text was composed. Thus though the Sandhi between the verses of a hemistich is (excepting a few survivals from the older form of the text)⁵ applied with greater stringency than elsewhere, the metre clearly shows that the end of the first verse of a hemistich constitutes a pause as much as the end of the last. Within the verse, moreover, Sandhi is, according to metrical evidence, not applied where the caesura occurs; *nā*, when it means 'like' (as opposed to *nā* 'not'), is never contracted with any following vowel, nor *dā* 'then' with a preceding *a*⁶; *ś* and *ś* before

¹ Cp. 43 a.

² Cp. WHITNEY 146 a; BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 3, 28 ff.; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 578 ff.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 555 a.

⁴ RPr. II. 2. 7. 13; VII. 1; VPr. III. 2;

APr. IV. 414.

⁵ E. g. *manīṣā* | *agnīh* (I. 70¹).

⁶ In these instances there is a pause in

dissimilar initial vowels are hardly ever changed to the corresponding semi-vowels¹, and often remain uncontracted even before similar vowels²; the elision of *a* after *e o* is rare³; contraction is commonly avoided by the final vowel of monosyllabic words, and by an initial vowel followed by conjunct consonants⁴. Nevertheless, it may be said in a general way that the poets of the RV. show a tendency to avoid the meeting of vowels⁵. The divergences between the apparent and the real Sandhi which appear in the RV., decrease in the later Vedas, while the application of particular rules of Sandhi becomes more uniform⁶.

a. External Sandhi, or that which applies between words in the sentence, is to a considerable extent identical with internal Sandhi, or that which applies within words. The most striking difference is, that in the latter consonants remain unchanged before verbal and nominal terminations beginning with vowels, semivowels, or nasals⁷. External Sandhi is on the whole followed in the formation of compounds, the divergences from it in the latter being merely survivals of an earlier stage of external Sandhi due to the closer connexion between members of a compound that renders them less liable than separate words to be affected by modifications of phonetic laws.

External Sandhi is to a considerable extent affected by the law of finals in pausā. Under that influence it avoids final aspirates and palatals. There are, however, in the treatment of final *n r,* and *s,* certain survivals which do not agree with the corresponding forms in pausā.

b. There are certain duplicate forms which were originally due to divergent euphonic conditions. Thus the tendency was to employ the dual ending *ā* before consonants, but *au* before vowels. Similarly, the word *sādi* 'always', was used before consonants, but *sādam* before vowels⁸.

68. Lengthening of final vowels.—Final vowels as a rule remain unchanged before consonants. But *i i ū* are very frequently lengthened⁹ before a single initial consonant¹⁰ both in the metrical portion of the Saṃhitās and in the prose formulas of the Yajurveda; e. g. *śrudhī hōvam* 'hear (our) call'. This practice includes examples in which the consonant is followed by a written *y* or *v*, to be pronounced, however, as *i* or *u*; e. g. *ādha ky agne* (IV. 10¹¹) = *ādha hi agne*; *abhi sv aryāḥ* (X. 59¹²) = *abhi śi aryāḥ*. The lengthening here appears to have arisen from an ancient rhythmic tendency of the language to pronounce long, between two short syllables, a final short vowel which was liable to be lengthened elsewhere as well¹¹; this tendency being utilized by the poets of the Saṃhitās where metrical exigencies required a long syllable. Thus *ādha* 'then', appears as *ādhi* when a short syllable follows. Similarly *tū* 'but' generally becomes *tī* before a short syllable; and *sī* 'well' nearly always becomes *sī* between short syllables¹².

the sense; cp. OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 443, note 2; ARNOLD 122.

¹ ARNOLD 125.

² Op. cit. 124.

³ Op. cit. 127.

⁴ Thus *māpīzavāḥ* (IV. 47^d) must be read *mā āpīzavāḥ*, but *māduvāḥ* (for *mā āduvāḥ*) remains (ibid.).

⁵ Cp. OLDENBERG 434f.

⁶ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE in KZ. 29, 37, p. 511f.

⁷ Thus *śakut,* *ś-sakuvān,* *śakra,* *śśkvan* (from *śak-* 'be able'), in all which forms *r* would be required by external Sandhi.

⁸ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 309, bottom.

⁹ The Padapāṭha in these instances regularly gives the original unlengthened vowel.

¹⁰ Except in compounds, this lengthening disappears in the later language; there are, however, several survivals in the Brāhmaṇas; see AUFRECHT, Altareya Brāhmaṇa 427; and cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 264 b.

¹¹ This tendency survived in the post-Vedic language in compounds, in words (which followed the analogy of compounds) before suffixes beginning with consonants, and in reduplicative syllables.

¹² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 266 b.

a. The short vowel regularly remains unchanged at the end of a verse¹ (even within a hemistich); and often before the caesura of a Tristubh or Jagati Pāda (even in terminations otherwise liable to be lengthened)².

b. The final vowel is not lengthened in 1. vocatives (except *vṛṣabha* VIII. 45³, and *hariyojana* I. 61⁴); 2. datives in *-ya*; 3. nom. plur. neuter in *-i*; 4. verbal forms ending in *-i* and *-u* (excepting imperatives in *-dhi* and the 3. sing. *rākṣati* II. 26⁵); 5. the prepositions *īpa*⁶ and *dpa* (except *dpa vṛdhi* VII. 27⁷).

c. In some instances final vowels appear to be lengthened before vowels⁸ or two consonants⁶.

69. Contraction of similar vowels.—When a final *ā ī ū* or *ī ū* is followed by corresponding initial *ā ī* or *ū*, contraction resulting in the long form of the respective vowel regularly takes place; e. g. *ihāsti* = *ihī asti*; *indrā* = *indra ā*; *tvāgne* = *tvā agne*; *vīdīm* (VI. 9⁹) = *vī idīm*;

a. The contraction of *ā + a* and of *ū + ū* occasionally does not take place even in the written text of the RV. both at the end of and within a Pāda; thus *manisā | agnīh* (I. 70¹⁰); *manisā abhi* (I. 101¹¹); *pūsā dsurāh* (V. 51¹²), *pūsā abhi* (VI. 50¹³), *pūsā avīṣṭu* (X. 26¹⁴); *vīhī utī* (I. 39¹⁵); *sī ūrdhvāh* (VI. 24¹⁶); *sī ūtibhīh* (I. 112¹⁷⁻¹⁸); the compound *sūtīyāh* (VIII. 47¹⁹⁻²⁰).

b. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction is written, the original vowels have to be restored in pronunciation with hiatus⁹. The restored initial in these instances is long by nature or position, and the preceding final if long must be shortened in pronunciation¹⁰; e. g. *cāsīt* (I. 27¹¹) = *ca āsīt*; *cārcata* (I. 155¹²) = *ca arcata*; *māpēh* = *mā āpēh*; *māpsivāh* = *mā āpsivāh*; *mṛlatīdīṣe* (IV. 57¹³) = *mṛlatī dīṣe*; *yāntīndavāh* (IV. 47¹⁴) = *yāntī indavāh*; *bhavantūksīṇāh* (VI. 16¹⁵) = *bhavantu ūksīṇāh*. After monosyllables, the hiatus is regular in the case of the written contractions *ī* and *ū*, especially when the monosyllables are *vī* and *hi*; e. g. *vīndra* (X. 32¹⁶) = *vī indra*; *hīndra* (I. 102¹⁷) = *hi indra*¹¹.

c. Duals in *ā ī ū* are regularly uncombined. Such *ī* and *ū* are usually written with hiatus in the Saṃhitā text; the dual *ā* always appears before *u*¹², but at the end of internal Pādas invariably coalesces in the written text.

70. Contraction of *ā* with dissimilar vowels.—1. When final *ā* is followed by *ī ū*, contraction takes place resulting in *e o*¹³ respectively; e. g. *pīva* = *pīvī va*; *em* = *ā im*; *abhī* = *ū ubhī*. When *ā* is followed by *r*, contraction is never written in the RV. and VS.¹⁴, but the metre shows that the combination is sometimes pronounced as *ar*, as is the case in the compound *saptarṣṭyāh* 'the seven seers'¹⁵.

¹ Apparent exceptions are due to erroneous metrical division of Pādas by the editors of the Saṃhitā, or to mechanical repetition of formulas originally used in a different position in the verse. Thus *śrudhī | hāvam* (I. 25¹⁹) appears in imitation of *śrudhī hāvam* which is frequent at the beginning of a verse (II. 11¹, etc.). Cp. OLDENBERG 420 f.

² See ZUBATY, Der Quantitätswechsel im Auslaute vedischer Wörter, Vienna Or. Journal 2, 315.

³ See ZUBATY, op. cit. 3, 89.

⁴ See OLDENBERG 399.

⁵ Op. cit. 60.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 265 b, note.

⁷ There is no example of contracted *r* in the Saṃhitā, as *r r* never meet; and in the RV. final *r* never occurs (cp. above, p. 59, note 8).

⁸ Cp. BENFFY, SV. XXXII f.; ROTH, Literatur 67 f.

⁹ *nū* 'like', is never combined in pronunciation, see above 67; cp. ARNOLD 120.

¹⁰ Long vowels being regularly shortened before vowels; see OLDENBERG 465 f.

¹¹ Cp. ARNOLD 124.

¹² Op. cit. 120. Before other vowels, *āv*, the Sandhi form of *au*, the alternative dual ending, appears.

¹³ Because the long monophthongs *ī* and *ū* represent IE. *ī* and *ū*.

¹⁴ The MS. does not contract either, but on the contrary often lengthens *ā* to *ā*, even where the metre requires contraction. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 267 a α, note.

¹⁵ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch p. VII.

a. In the RV. $\bar{a} + i$ is once contracted to ai in $prāyāyī$ (I. 120⁵) = $prā īyāyī$ (Pp.)¹; in the SV. $\bar{a} + i$ is once contracted to ai in $āindra$ = $\bar{a} indra$ (I. 2. 1. 45); and in the AV. and VS. the preposition \bar{i} contracts with r to \bar{ar} in $\bar{ar}i$ = $\bar{a}rī$ 'suffering', and $\bar{ar}chatu$ = $\bar{a}rchatu$ ². The last three instances are perhaps survivals of an older contraction. That \bar{a} is not otherwise contracted with \bar{r} \bar{u} r to ai au \bar{ar} , is doubtless to be accounted for by the previous shortening of \bar{a} in hiatus.

b. Occasionally \bar{a} followed by i remains uncontracted in the written text of the RV.; thus $īyā īyam$ (VI. 75³); $pihā indam$ (VIII. 17⁴); $rayayā ihā$ (VIII. 34¹¹)⁴. When \bar{a} is followed by r , it is either shortened⁵ or nasalized; e. g. $tāha r-tāh$ for $tāhā r$; $kadām r-tāh$ (V. 39) = $kadā r$; $vibhāam r-bhū$ (IV. 33)⁶ = $vibhā r$; $vīpanyāh r$ | $ptāya$ (IV. 1¹²) = $vīpanyā r-tāya$.

c. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction e or o is written, the original simple vowels must be restored with hiatus; e. g. $indrāgāi$ (I. 108¹) = $\bar{a} indrāgāi$; $subhāgāh$ (I. 48⁷) = $subhāgā usāh$ ⁸.

2. Final \bar{a} contracts with a following e or ai to ai ; and with o or au to au ; e. g. $dibhih$ for $\bar{a} dibhih$. But though the contraction is written, the original vowels must sometimes be restored; e. g. $diṣu$ (I. 61¹⁶) must be read $\bar{a} eṣu$.

a. Final \bar{a} , instead of being contracted with e and o , is in a few instances elided before those diphthongs; thus $talār'evā$ (VII. 33³) = $talār' evā$; $vāṣayā$ (X. 91⁴) = $vāṣayā$; $āvin'evā$ (VII. 9²) = $āvin' evā$; $yāth'ohi$ (VIII. 53) = $yāth' i oh$; $āp'cānu$ = $āp' cānu$. An example of a compound with this elision seems to be $dāyāni$ ⁹ = $dāyāni$ 'having ten aids'.

b. Final \bar{a} , instead of being contracted with e is, in a few instances, nasalized before that diphthong; thus $aninānāh'evāh$ ¹¹ (I. 79³) for $-a e$; $śāladānāh'ēsi$ (I. 123¹⁰) for $-ā e$; $upāthāh'ēsi$ (I. 35⁶) for $-ā e$.

3. When \bar{a} remains after a final y or s has been dropped, it does not as a rule contract with the following vowel. Nevertheless such contraction is not infrequent in the Sāphtitās. In some instances it is actually written; thus $sārtavāyāu$ (III. 32²) = Pp. $sārtavāi āyāu$; $vāṣu$ (V. 17³) = Pp. $vāi āsu$; and the compound $rīṣitām$ (VIII. 46¹⁸) = Pp. $rīṣāh-īṣitām$; in the later Sāphtitās are found $kītyāi$ (AV. X. 1¹³) = Pp. $kītyāh' itī$; $pīropavasānanām$ (VS. XXI. 43) = Pp. $pīrah-uparasānanām$ ¹².

In other instances the contraction, though not written, is required by the metre; thus $ta indra$ (VII. 21¹), Pp. $te indra$, must be read as $teindra$; $prthivī antīrikṣat$ (AV. IX. 1⁹), Pp. $prthivīh$, as $prthivīantīrikṣat$ ¹³; $goshā ṛpa$ (AV. IX. 4²³), Pp. $goshā ṛpa$, as $goshāṛpa$.

a. There appear to be several other instances of such written contraction, which are however otherwise explained by the Padapāṭha; thus $rāyā$ (X. 93¹⁰) = $rāyē nī$,

¹ Several instances of this contraction occur in B and later.

² The TS. extends this contraction to prepositions ending in o : $āpārchat$, $āvār'hat$; see WHITNEY, APr. III. 47f., TPr. III. 9f. In the post-Vedic language this contraction was extended to all prepositions ending in \bar{a} .

³ Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1846, p. 822.

⁴ The Pp. explains $pihā$ and $rayayā$ as imperatives ($pihā$, $rayayā$); but the \bar{a} here may represent \bar{a} of the subjunctive (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 311 mid.). Occasionally \bar{a} remain uncontracted because the editors regarded them as representing $\bar{a}y$, or $\bar{a}h$, as in $vānta ityā$ (VII. 36¹); $īmayā ātra$ (VII. 39¹). Cp. RPr. II. 28f.; BENFEY, SV. xxxf.; WACKERNAGEL I, 267 a β.

⁵ See p. 63, note ¹⁰; \bar{a} is shortened before r in the AB.; see AUFRECHT's ed. 427.

⁶ $vibhāam$ occurs thus three times; see LANMAN 529.

⁷ In opposition to the Mss. MAX MÜLLER, RV², reads $vīpanyām r-tāya$ because Sayana appears to favour that reading.

⁸ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 123.

⁹ This is a precursor of the post-Vedic rule by which the \bar{h} of a preposition before initial e and o of verbs (except cti etc. and $edhate$ etc.) is elided.

¹⁰ Though the AV. has $pāṇādana$ = $pāṇā odana$ the elision of a before $-odana$ often takes place in the Sūtras and later.

¹¹ The old hiatus is here treated as it would be at the end of an internal Pada. The TS. (III. 1, 113) retains the hiatus in the same verse without nasalization; cp. OLDENBERG 469 ff.

¹² See WACKERNAGEL I, 258 b.

¹³ In the Paippalāda recension this contraction is actually written.

Pp. *vāyā utā; bhūmyāpāri* (x. 753) — *bhūmyā upāri*. Pp. *bhūmyā upāri*. In a few of these the contraction must be removed as contrary to metre; thus *uā yāti* (II. 61⁴), Pp. *uāyā yāti*, which means 'Dawn goes', should be read as *uā ā yāti*, as the sense requires 'Dawn comes', and the metre requires an additional syllable; *abhisipāri* (II. 202), Pp. *pā asi*, should be read as *abhisipā(h) asi*; *upābhūva* (VI. 46⁴), Pp. *upābhūva*, as *upābhū(h) va*.

b. In a very few instances a final *m* is dropped after *a*, which then combines with a following vowel. This contraction is actually written in *durgāhāiti* (IV. 132) for *durgāham āiti* (but Pp. *durgāhāi āiti*), and *sāvanādām* (TS. I. 4. 44²) for *sāvanam ādām* (Pp. *sāvanā ādām*). Occasionally this contraction though not written is required by the metre; thus *vāgrām ihā* (AV.) must be read *vāgrāhā*.

71. Final *i* and *ū* before dissimilar vowels.—1. The final vowels *i* and *ū* before dissimilar initial vowels and before diphthongs are in the Samhitās regularly written as *y* and *v*⁵ respectively; e. g. *prāty āyam* (I. 11⁶) = *prāti āyam*; *ā tv āti* (I. 5¹) = *ā tū āti*; *jānitry ājjanat* (x. 134¹) = *jānitri ājjanat*. The evidence of the metre, however, shows that this *y* or *v* nearly always has the syllabic value of *i* or *u*⁷; e. g. *vy āsāh* (I. 92⁴) must be read as *vi āsāh*; *vidāthesv āñjan* (I. 92⁵) as *vidāthesu āñjan*.

a. The final of disyllabic prepositions must, however, frequently be pronounced as a semivowel, especially before augmented forms; e. g. *adhyāśāh* (I. 49¹); *śro acāriṣam* (I. 232¹); also *śro ihi* (x. 53²).

b. In all the Samhitās the particle *u* following a consonant is written as *v* and pronounced as *u* before a vowel; e. g. *śro v indra* (I. 281⁸); but the long form of the same particle occasionally remains unchanged in the RV. even after a consonant; e. g. *ād ū āyāni* (VI. 71²); *tām ū āpuryan* (x. 88¹⁰).

c. In RV. I—IX there are other instances of monosyllabic and disyllabic words at the end of which *y* and *v* are pronounced; but the only example of a trisyllabic word in which this occurs is *śreyate* in *śreyate āpāh* (II. 32⁴). In RV. X there are a few further examples; e. g. *deṅsv ādhi* (x. 121⁸).

d. The semivowel is regular in the compounds *yo-ij-*, *śro-y-ū-*¹⁰, *sv-dhā*, and *śv-ih-*¹¹.

2. Unchangeable *ī* and *ū*. a. The dual *ī* and *ū* never change to *y* or *v*; nor is the former ever prosodically shortened, though the latter sometimes is; e. g. *hīri (-) rātsya*; but *sādhi (-) asmai* (II. 27¹⁵). The dual *ī* may remain even before *i*; e. g. *hīri iṅra*, *hīri indra*, *akṣi iṅra*; but the contraction is written in *upadhīva*, *pradhīva*, *dāmpatīva*, *vishpātīva*, *nyspātīva* (AV.), *rōdastm*¹² (VII. 90³) = *rōdast im*¹³ 'these two worlds'. There are also several passages in which the contraction, though not written, must be read¹¹.

b. The rare locatives in *ī* and *ū*¹³ (from stems in *i* and *u*) are regularly written unchanged in the Samhitā text of the RV., except *vedy āyām* (II. 3⁴),

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a.

² In instances in which contraction with *iva* seems to take place, the existence of a byform *va* has to be taken into consideration; cp. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, column 221; WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a, note.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 67, end.

⁴ In the RV. *r* is never final, and I doubt whether any example can be quoted from the other Samhitās in which it is followed by an initial vowel.

⁵ The Sandhi which changes a vowel to the semivowel is called *kaṣṭha* 'gliding'; in the Prātiśākhya; cp. RPr. II. 3; III. 7; VII. 5.

⁶ The long vowel being regularly shortened; cp. OLDENBERG 465.

⁷ WACKERNAGEL I, 271 b; OLDENBERG 438, note, ZDMG. 44, 326 note; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

⁸ The TS. has *uv* for *v*. Elsewhere also Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

iy and *uv* are sometimes written for *i* and *u*; e. g. *śro-īdā* = *śro-ūdā* 'accessible'; hence the pronunciation may have been *iy*, *uv*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 c, 271 a.

⁹ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

¹⁰ If the analysis of BR., *śro-ū-*, is correct; the Pp. divides *śro- yū-*.

¹¹ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

¹² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 b, note. Here we have probably not contracted forms with *iva*, but the dual *ī + va*, the byform of *iva*.

¹³ The vowels which regularly remain unchanged are called *prasyāya*, 'separated', by the native phoneticians; see RPr. I. 16 etc.; VPr. I. 92 etc.; APr. I. 73 etc. They are indicated as such in the Pp. by an appended *ū*. The particle *u* is indicated as *prasyāya* in the Pp. of RV. and AV. by its nasalized form *ūṁ* (nasalization being employed to avoid hiatus; see above 66, 1).

where, however, the vowel must be pronounced (—). The vowels here (unlike the dual *i*) seem always to be treated as prosodically short¹.

c. The final *i* of other cases also occasionally remains unchanged; thus the nominatives *prthivī*, *prthujrāyī*, *samrjñī* and the instrumental *sudāmī* sometimes retain their *i*, and the inst. *atī* frequently does so².

72. Final *e* and *o*.—1. a. Before *a*. The diphthongs *e* and *o* remain unchanged before an initial *a*. This *a* is often not written in the Samhitās, being dropped in about three-fourths of its occurrences in the RV. and in about two-thirds in the AV.³; but the evidence of metre shows that, in 99 instances out of 100 in the RV., and in about 80 in the AV. and the metrical parts of the YV., it is, whether written or not, to be read, and at the same time shortens the preceding diphthong to *e* or *o*⁴. In *vīśve devāso apūrah* (I. 3³) the *a* is both written and pronounced; in *sāndve* | *igne* (I. 1⁹) it must be restored: *sāndve* | *igne*⁵. The exceptional treatment of *e* in *stāva ambyām* (VIII. 72⁵), for *stāva ambyām*, indicates that the Sandhi of *e* and *o* before *a* was originally the same as before other vowels⁷. But their unchanged form, as before consonants, gained the day, because the short close *i*, when coming immediately after them in their character of monophthongs, would have a natural tendency to disappear and thus leave a consonant to follow.

b. Before other vowels. The diphthongs *e* and *o* before any vowels but *i* would naturally become *ay* and *av*, as being originally = *ai* and *au*, and as having the form of *ay* and *av* within a word. But *ay* regularly drops the *y*; e. g. *agnā ihā* (I. 22¹⁰); *av* on the other hand generally retains the *v*, dropping it before *ū*⁸; e. g. *vāyav ā yāhi* (I. 2¹); but *vāya ukthēbhīr* (I. 2²).

2. Unchangeable *e*. a. The *e* of the dual nom. acc. f. n. of *a*-stems, e. g. *ūbhe* 'both', is regularly uncontracted (*praghyā*), because it consists of *a* + the dual *i*⁹.

b. Under the influence of this nominal dual *e*, the verbal dual *e*¹⁰ of the 2. 3. present and perfect middle, e. g. *vāthe* 'ye two bring', *bruvāte* 'they two speak', *ās-āthe* 'ye two have obtained', come to be uncontractable, though the *e* is nearly always prosodically shortened; e. g. *yūjāthe apūh* (I. 151⁴); but *parimannāthe asmān* (VII. 93³).

c. The *e* of the locative *iv* 'in thee', is uncontractable. Under its influence the other pronominal forms *asm* 'us', and *yusm* 'you', are also always treated as *praghyā* by the Samhitā as well as the Padapāṭha; it is,

¹ Cp. OLDENBERG 456, note; WACKERNAGEL I. 270 b.

² Cp. op. cit. I. 270 b, note. Such forms, in which the absence of contraction is only occasional, are not indicated by *ii* in the Pp.

³ This form of Sandhi is in the Prātiśākhya called *abhinikita* 'elided'; RPr. II. 13 etc.; VPr. I. 114, 125; APr. III. 54; TPr. II. 8.

⁴ See WHITNEY 135 c.

⁵ Cp. OLDENBERG 435 f., 453 ff., ZDMG. 44, 331 ff.; WACKERNAGEL I. p. 324.

⁶ The few instances (70 out of 4500) of the elision of *a* in the RV. are the fore-runners of the invariable practice of post-Vedic Sandhi.

⁷ Internally the original Sandhi of the compound *gā-agra-* must have been *gā-agra-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I. p. 325, note.

⁸ There are a few survivals of *ay*; e. g. *āy ā* (MS. I. 1¹) = *āi ā* (TS.); cp. TPr. X. 23; OLDENBERG 447 ff. In the MS., the K., and Mantras occurring in the Manavasūtras, unaccented *a* for *e* before an accented initial vowel is lengthened; e. g. *ā dadhā ii*.

⁹ See above 71, 2. A dual *e* once appears contracted in *dhiḡyē imi* (VII. 72³), which, however, should probably be read uncontracted as *dhiḡyē imi*. The *-e-* which occurs several times (I. 186⁴ etc.) and looks like a contraction of the dual *e* with *iva*, in reality probably stands for the dual *e* + *va*, the byform of *iva*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I. p. 317, note, top.

¹⁰ There was originally no difference between this dual *e* and any other *e* in middle forms, such as that of the dual *-vāhe*, the singular *-te*, and the plural *-ante*.

however, doubtful whether they were so treated in the original text of the RV.¹

3. **Unchangeable o.** a. When *o* is the result of combining the final *á* of particles with *u* (which itself is often unchangeable)², it is *pragṛhya*; thus *á* (= *á u*), *átho* (= *átha u*), *utá* (= *utá u*), *má* (= *má u*).

b. Following this analogy, the vocative in *o* of *u*-stems is sometimes treated as *pragṛhya* in the Saphitā of the TS.; e. g. *pitó á* (TS. v. 7. 2¹). It is regularly so treated in the Padapāṭhas of the RV., AV., VS., TS. (but not SV.). Thus in *váyav á* (I. 2¹), *váya utthébhír* (I. 2²), *váyo táva* (I. 2³) the vocative is equally given in the Padapāṭha as *váyo íti*.

73. **The diphthongs *ai* and *au*.**—The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are treated throughout in the same way as *e* and *o* before vowels other than *a*. Thus *ai* is regularly written *ā* (having dropped the *y* of *āy*); e. g. *tásmā aksī* (I. 116⁶); *tásmā indráya* (I. 4²). On the other hand, *au* is generally written *av*, but always *ā* before *ú* in the RV. and VS.; e. g. *tāv á* (I. 2³); *tāv indrágn* (I. 108³); but *sujihvá ípa* (I. 13⁸). In the AV. *ā* appears before *u* in *páda ucyeṭe* (AV. XIX. 6³). In the MS. *ā* appears before other vowels also³.

74. **Euphonic combination of consonants.**—The Sandhi of final consonants, generally speaking, starts from the form which they assume in pausā. Thus an aspirate first loses its aspiration; the palatal *c* becomes *k*; *j s h* become *k* or *f*⁴; and of a group of consonants the first alone remains. Final *n* is, however, to a great extent differently treated from what it is in pausā; and the Sandhi of *s* and *r* is, for the most part, based not on *h*, their form in pausā, but on the original letter.

A final consonant is assimilated⁵ in quality⁶ to the following initial, becoming voiceless before a voiceless consonant, and voiced before a voiced sound⁷; e. g. *tít satyám* (I. 1⁵) for *tít*; *yút tvá* (I. 15¹⁰) for *yút*; *haryavád juhvásyah* (I. 12⁹), through *váj* for *váh*; *gámad vájebhih* (I. 5¹) for *gámat*; *arvag rádhah* (I. 9⁵) for *arvác* through *arvák*.

a. A final media before a nasal may become the nasal of its own class. There seems to be no certain instance of this in the RV.; *cakráv ná* (x. 95^{12. 13}), however, probably stands for *cakráv ná*, though the Pp. has *cakráv ná*. This assimilation is regular in some compounds; e. g. *sít-navati* '96' for *sít-navati*. From here it penetrated into internal Sandhi; e. g. *sav-nám*.

b. Assimilation not only in quality, but also largely in the place of articulation occurs in the Sandhi of final *m*, of the final dentals⁸ *t n s*, and of final *r* (under the influence of *h*).

75. **Euphonic combination of final *m*.**—1. Before vowels, final *m* remains unchanged; e. g. *agním íle* (I. 1¹). In a very few instances, however, the *m* is dropped, and the vowels then contract. This Sandhi is mostly indicated by the metre only: it is very rarely written⁹, as in *durgáhaitát*

¹ Cp. OLDENBERG 455, note.

² Cp. above 71, 1 b.

³ See GARBE, GGA. 1882, 117 f.; WACKER-NAGEL I, 274; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 60, 755—758 (Duale auf *-ā* und *-au*).

⁴ Some compounds, however, preserve survivals of an earlier phase of Sandhi; e. g. *vít-páti* 'lord of the house'; *vít-páti* N., not *vít*; *nabh-ráj* (MS.) 'cloud-king', not *nabh-ráj*. Cp. L. V. SCHROEDER, ed. of MS. I, p. XVI.

⁵ Final *f* before vowels becomes *f* in the RV., not *ph* as later; e. g. *báḥ íthá*, for *báḥ*.

⁶ Within a word a voiced consonant is not necessary before vowels, semivowels, and nasals.

⁷ Some scholars think that the 3. sing. impv., e. g. *bhávatu* represents *bhávatu* for original *bhávad tu*, the *t* being retained owing to the influence of the innumerable forms of the 3. sing. with *-ti*, *-ti*, *-te*, etc. (cp. WACKER-NAGEL I, 276 b); but this is doubtful; DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 517ff., thinks it may originally have been *bháv-u-ti* (particle); cp. IF. 18, 71.

⁸ An example of a final guttural becoming a dental before a dental occurs in TS. I. 2. 7¹, where *samyát te* stands for *samyák te*. There are a few other examples in II. passages of the TS.; see WACKER-NAGEL I, 277 b.

⁹ See above 70, 3 b.

(iv. 18²) for *durgāham chit*, and it is never analysed by the Padapāṭha in this way. It may perhaps have started from the analogy of the doublet *tibhya* beside *tibhyam* 'to thee'¹.

2. Before mutes, final *m* is regularly assimilated², becoming the corresponding nasal, and before *n* similarly becoming *n*. The Mss. and printed texts, however, represent this assimilated *m* by the Anusvāra sign; e. g. *bhadraṁ karisyāsi* (i. 1⁶) for *bhadraṁ karisyāsi*; *bhadraṁ no* (x. 20¹) for *bhadraṁ no*. This actual change of *m* to *n* before dentals led to some errors in the Pada text; e. g. *yām ni-pāsi* (iv. 11⁶), analysed as *yāt* instead of *yām*; *dvi-venan tām* (iv. 24⁶), analysed as *dvi-venan* instead of *dvi-venam* (cp. iv. 25¹).

3. Before *r ś s* and *h*, final *m* becomes Anusvāra (*m̐*); e. g. *hōtrām ratnadhātāmam* (i. 1¹); *vārahamaṇam svē* (i. 1⁹); *mitrām huve* (i. 2⁷). From its original use before sibilants and *h*, Anusvāra came to be employed before the semivowel also⁴. A compound like *sam-rāj-* 'overlord' shows that *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *r*.

4. Before *y l v*, final *m* is assimilated as nasalized *y̐ l̐ v̐*. The TPr.⁵, however, allows Anusvāra beside these, while the APr. even requires Anunāsika before *y* and *v*; and the printed texts regularly use Anusvāra; e. g. *sām yudhi* (i. 8¹); *yajñīm vaśu* (i. 30¹⁰). Forms like *yamyāmāna-* 'extended' and *dpa-mukta-* 'concealed' show that final *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *y* and *l*; and forms like *jaganvān*, from *gam-* 'go', point to its having at one time become *n* before *v* in Sandhi.

76. Euphonic combination of final *t*. — 1. Before *l*, final *t*⁶ becomes fully assimilated as *l*; e. g. *āngāt lōmnaḥ* (x. 163⁶) for *āngāt lōmnaḥ*.

2. Before palatals (including *ṣ*)⁷ final *t*¹ becomes palatal⁸; e. g. *tīc cākṣuḥ* (vii. 66¹⁶) for *tīd cākṣuḥ*; *rohīc chyāvā* (i. 100¹⁶) for *rohīc śyāvā*; and in a compound *yātayāt-jana-* 'marshalling men', for *yātayāt-jana-*.

77. Euphonic combination of final *n*. — 1. Before vowels. Final *n*⁹, a. if preceded by a short vowel, is doubled¹⁰; e. g. *dhann dhim* (ii. 11¹) for *ghan*. The final *n* is here chiefly based on original *ns* or *nt*. Though it is always written double¹¹, the evidence of metre shows that this rule was only partially applied in the RV.¹²

b. If preceded by a long vowel, it becomes within¹³ a Pāda in the RV. *n̐* after *ā*¹⁴, but *n̐r* after *i u ṛ*¹⁵; e. g. *sārgān̐ iva*, for *sārgān*; *paridhīm̐r diti*, for *paridhīn*; *abhiśam̐r iva*, for *abhiśan*; *n̐r̐r abhi*, for *n̐r̐n*. This Sandhi was caused by the *n* having originally been followed by *s*¹⁶; e. g. *vīk̐n* originally

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 a, note.

² Op. cit. I, 283, b a.

³ Op. cit. I, 283 d.

⁴ In the post-Vedic language Anusvāra came to be allowed before mutes and nasals also.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 c.

⁶ Representing *th d dh* also, if they occur.

⁷ In the MS. *t* anomalously becomes *ṣ*, instead of *c*, before *ṣ*; see L. V. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 185; ed. of MS. I, p. xxix. On the aspiration of *ṣ* in this Sandhi, see below 80 a.

⁸ Final dentals never come into contact with initial cerebrals in the Samhitās.

⁹ This rule applies to final guttural *n̐* also; e. g. *kūṣṭh̐n̐ i-* (x. 108³), cp. LANMAN 490; *hīn̐ akṛyot* (i. 164²⁴) for *hīn̐ a-*.

¹⁰ The compound *vṛṣaṇ-aiśvā-* 'having stallions as steeds', forms an exception.

¹¹ For various explanations of this doubling, see WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a (p. 330).

¹² Cp. OLDENBERG 424 f., 429 ff.

¹³ At the end of a Pāda, *-ān -in -ūn* remain unchanged (as being in pausā) before a vowel. For passages in which *-ān* is unchanged within a Pāda, see below and OLDENBERG 428.

¹⁴ In the MS. and K., *-ān̐* is shortened to *-am̐*; e. g. *asmān̐ aiśvot* for *asmān*. Cp. V. SCHROEDER, ed. of the MS. I, p. xxix.

¹⁵ *ṣn̐* becomes *ṣn̐r* only once (v. 54¹⁵), remaining unchanged elsewhere because two *r* sounds are avoided in the same syllable (see below 79).

¹⁶ For examples of this Sandhi applied to nominatives in *-ān*, see LANMAN 506 A, note (*mādn̐*), 512 (*vān̐*), 514 (*ṣān̐*), 517 (*mān̐*); for accusatives, 346.

**nyāks*¹; *māhān* for **māhānts*; *ā-yān*, 3. sing. aor. for **ā-yān-st* (1. sing. *ā-yāmsam*)². The *n* became Anusvāra (or Anunāsika) before this *s*, which was treated in exactly the same way as when it followed an unnasalized vowel (*ās* becoming *ā*, but *īs*, *ūs*, *īs* becoming *ir*, *ur*, *īr*).

a. The *ān* of the 3. pl. subjunctive (originally *ānt*), however, remains unchanged before vowels within a Pāda, obviously owing to the *-t* which at one time followed. There happen to be only five occurrences of this form under the conditions required: *ā vakān āsū* (I. 84¹³); *ghōṣān ūtarā* (II. 33⁸); *spūrān pīpīdān* (VI. 67¹¹); *gācchān id* (VIII. 79⁸); *gacchān ūtarā* (X. 10¹⁰)³.

2. Before consonants. Final *n* remains unchanged before all gutturals and labials (including *m*), as well as before voiced dentals (including *n*). It is, however, liable to be changed before the following sounds:

a. Before *p*, final *n*, when etymologically = *ns*, sometimes becomes *ṅh*; thus *nṅh pāhi* (VIII. 84³)⁴; *nṅh pātram* (I. 121¹).

b. Before all palatals that occur it becomes palatal *ñ*; e. g. *ardhvāñ carāhāya* (I. 36¹⁴) for *ardhvān*; *tāñ jusethām* (V. 51⁶) for *tān*; *vajrīñ cñathihī* (I. 63⁵) for *vajrīn śnathihī*; *devāñ chīkkaḥ* (X. 12⁵) for *devān śīkkaḥ*.

Before *ś*, however, the palatal sibilant is sometimes inserted⁵ in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion occurs only when the sibilant is etymologically justified (that is, in the nom. sing. and acc. pl. masc.) almost exclusively (though not invariably) before *ca* and *cid*; thus *amayajāñś ca* (X. 51⁸), *amenāñś cid* (V. 31⁷)⁷. In the other Saṃhitās the inserted sibilant becomes commoner, occurring even where it is not etymologically justified (that is, in the 3. pl. impf., and the voc. and loc. of *n*-stems)⁸.

c. Before dental *t*⁹, final *n* usually remains; but the dental sibilant is sometimes inserted in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion, however, occurs in the RV. only when it is etymologically justified; it is commoner in the other Saṃhitās¹⁰, where it appears even when not etymologically justified.

d. Before *y r v h*, final *n* as a rule remains unchanged; but *-ān*, *-īn*, *-ūn* sometimes become *-āñ*¹¹, *-īñ*, *-ūñ*, as before vowels; e. g. *-annāñ rayivdhaḥ* (VII. 91³) for *-annān*; *dadvāñ vā* (X. 132¹) for *dadvān*; *paññīr hatam* (I. 184²) for *pañīn*; *dāsyūñr yānau* (I. 63³) for *dāsyūn*.

e. Before *l*, final *n* always becomes nasalized *l̥*¹²; e. g. *jīgrvāñ lakṣām* (II. 124⁴).

f. Before the dental sibilant, final *n* remains; but a transitional *t̥*¹³ may be inserted; e. g. *ahant śahasā* (I. 80¹⁰) 'he slew with might'; *tū sām* may also be written *tūnt sām*¹⁴. In the former example the *t̥* is organic; from such survivals it spread to cases where it was not justified. A similar insertion may take place before *ś*; that is, *vajrīn śnathihī* may become *vajrīñ śnathihī* or *vajrīñ cñathihī* (through *vajrīñ śnathihī* for *vajrīnt śnathihī*)¹⁵.

¹ Cp. Cretic *ἀνάκ*.

² In all the other Saṃhitās the pause forms *-ān -īn -ūn -ṅn* predominate. In the post-Vedic language they became the only allowable forms.

³ Cp. OLDENBERG 428.

⁴ The MS. (II. 13¹¹) has *nṅh pāhi*.

⁵ For examples of nominatives with this Sandhi, see LANMAN 506A, note, 512 (top), 517.

⁶ Op. cit., 506 A, note, and 514.

⁷ Op. cit., 512.

⁸ There are no examples of the inserted sibilant before *ch* in the Saṃhitās. In the

post-Vedic language a sibilant is invariably inserted after *n* before all voiceless palatals, cerebrals, and dentals.

⁹ Neither *th* nor *l̥* occur in the Saṃhitās after final *n*.

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 516 A, note.

¹¹ For *dadhavāñ yāh* of the RV. (IX. 107¹) and SV., the VS. (XIX. 2) has *dadhavāñ yāh*.

¹² As *m* does before *l*; see above 75, 4.

¹³ Before *s* a transitional *t̥* may similarly be inserted after a final *n*; e. g. *pratyāñ sū* may also be written *pratyāññ sū*.

¹⁴ See LANMAN 506 A, note, and 346.

¹⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 282, note.

78. Euphonic combination of final *s*. — I. Before voiced sounds.

a. Final *s* after all vowels except *ā*, assumes its voiced form *r* before all vowels and voiced consonants¹; e. g. *śyibhir kyo* (I. 1²) for *śyibhis*; *agnir hūta* (I. 15) for *agnis*; *paribhūr dsi* (I. 14) for *paribhūs*; *nūtanair utā* (I. 1³) for *nūtanais*.

The *s* doubtless became *r* through an older transitional voiced cerebral *ʒ*², as is shown by the Avesta, e. g. in *duitta-* = *dur-ita-*³.

b. Final *s* after *ā* must originally have become *z* before voiced sounds. But *ās* drops the sibilant before vowels and voiced consonants, while *az* drops it before vowels except *a*⁴, but becomes *o*⁵ before voiced consonants⁶ and *a*; thus *sutā im*⁷ (I. 3⁴) for *sutās*; *vīsvā vi* (I. 3¹²), for *vīsvās*; *khyā ā* for *khyas* (I. 4¹); *no dī* (I. 4³) for *nas*; *indavo vām* (I. 2¹) for *indavas*.

2. Before voiceless consonants. a. Before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś* final *s* becomes the palatal sibilant *ś*⁷; e. g. *devās cakrmi* (X. 37¹²).

b. Before the dental *t*⁸, final *s* following *ā* always remains; e. g. *yās te* (I. 4¹); *médhirās tēsam* (I. 11⁷). After *i* *ū*⁹, it remains as a rule; e. g. *āpibhis tinā* (I. 3⁴). But *s* becomes *ś*, which cerebralizes the following *t* to *t̥*; a. regularly in compounds¹⁰ in all the Samhitās; e. g. *dīs-tara-* 'insuperable' for *dīs-tara-* (but *rajas-tīr-* 'traversing the air'); β. often in external Sandhi in the RV. This occurs chiefly, and in the independent passages of the other Samhitās¹¹ only, before pronouns; e. g. *agnis te*; *krātuḥ tām*; otherwise it occurs occasionally only in the RV.; thus *nīs-tataśūr* (X. 31⁷); *gobhis tarema* (X. 42¹⁰); *nākis janisu* (VIII. 20¹²)¹³.

c. Before *k kh p ph*, final *s* as a rule becomes Visarjaniya (its pause

¹ When final *s* becomes *r* before *r*, it is treated like an original *r*, being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

² This *ʒ* would be the voiced cerebral corresponding to the voiceless *ç*, which appears before voiceless consonants (e. g. in *āyukha-*).

³ This *ç* would account for the Sandhi of some Vedic compounds formed with *des-* 'ill': *dū-dūbha-*, *dū-dūb-*, *dū-dūb-*, *dū-dūb-*, *dū-dūb-*, *dū-dūb-*, beside *dur-niyantu-*. It may possibly also account for the forms *svādhitīva* (V. 87), for *svādhitīva* (Pp. *svādhitīva*), and *ur-iva* (IX. 96¹⁵), where the metre requires *ur-iva* (Pp. *ur-iva*); the cerebral being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

⁴ In the MS. unaccented *as* for *as* is lengthened before an accented vowel; e. g. *tāta indrah*. In TS. II. 4. 7¹ *ar* for *a* in *jinvar āyāt* is merely a bad reading (MS. II. 47 *jinva rāyāt*); cp. above p. 33, note ¹³.

⁵ In the compound *ānar-viś-* (I. 121⁷) 'having a wain as his abode', *ar* instead of *o* (cp. *ānas-vant-* 'possessed of a wain') is perhaps due to the influence of *vanar-*, beside *vanas-* and *vana-*. On a still more anomalous compound of the same word, *anor-viś-* 'drawer of a cart', 'bull', cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 339, top. The vowel *ā* appears instead of *o* in *pracetā | rājan* (I. 24¹⁴) 'O wise king' (*pracetā rājan* in the same verse, TS. I. 5. 11³), probably owing to the voc. *pracetā*, as it would have been pronounced at the end of a Pāda in the original text, having been misunderstood as

a voc. in *-sar* (from a stem in *-sr-*, which would become *-sā* before *r*).

⁶ The starting point of this Sandhi was probably the treatment of *as* before voiced dentals, where the sibilant was dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened to *e* or *o*. The latter finally carried the day, *e* surviving only in *śāre dūhīt* (I. 34⁵); cp. BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 11.; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 338.

⁷ *śś cū* does not stand for *śś cū*, but for *śś u cū*.

⁸ If initial cerebral mutes had existed in the Samhitās, final *s* would doubtless have become the cerebral sibilant *ś* before them.

⁹ No example of initial *th* occurs in the Samhitās; but the internal Sandhi of *sthā-* 'stand', in *tī-śhātī* (for *tī-śhā-tī*) shows that initial *th* would have been treated in the same way as *t*.

¹⁰ Final *rs* never occurs; *rs*, occurring only once in the RV., remains unchanged in *nūts tin* (I. 164¹⁰).

¹¹ The only exception in the RV. is *cdus-triṅśat* 'thirty-four', doubtless due to the avoidance of the combination *śr*.

¹² The TS. also has *nīs-tat-* 'heat'. On the usage of the SV., see BENEY, SV. p. XLIII; on that of the AV., see WHITNEY, AP. II. 84.

¹³ Owing to the far more numerous occurrences of *ās* before *t*, combined with the disinclination to change the following initial, the retention of *s* after *i* *ū* gradually gained ground and finally prevailed in the post-Vedic language, even in compounds.

form), or *Jihvāmūliya* (*h*) before the gutturals and *Upadhmanīya* (*h*) before the labials; e. g. *Indraḥ pāṇca* (i. 7⁹). But *ās* remains and *īs ūs ṛs* become *īs ūs ṛs*¹; a. regularly in compounds in all the Saṃhitās; e. g. *paras-pā-* 'far-protecting'; *haviṣ-pā-* 'drinking the offering'; *duṣ-kṛt-* 'evil-doing'; *duṣ-pād-* 'evil-footed'. The general rule, however, applies in the following compounds: *parāḥ-prasravāna-* 'streaming forth'; *chāndaḥ-pakṣa-* (AV.) 'home on the wings of desire'; *śrīyaḥ-keta-* (AV.) 'striving after superiority'; *sadyaḥ-kṛi-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *bahiḥ-paridhī* (TS.) 'outside the enclosure'; *idāḥ-pradāna-* (TS.) 'offering from hence (= this world)'.

The repeated (or *Amreṣita*) compounds also follow the general rule, doubtless from a desire to change the repeated word as little as possible; thus *pūrvaḥ-parvo* 'each first'; *parāḥ-parāḥ* 'always without' (AV.); *puruṣaḥ-paruṣaḥ* (VS.) 'from every knot'; *puruṣaḥ-puruṣo* (TS.) 'every man'; *pāruḥ-paruḥ* (TS.) 'joint by joint', but *pāruṣ-parur* also in RV. AV. TS.

β. Often in external Sandhi in the RV.²; e. g. *dīvās pāri* (x. 45¹) 'from the sky'; *pātāvatas kṛdhi* (i. 14⁷) 'make them possessed of wives'; *dīvīṣ pītā* (iv. 1¹⁰) 'Father Heaven'.

d. Before mutes immediately followed by *s* or *ś*, final *s* regularly becomes Visarjanīya; e. g. *śatākratuḥ tsūrat* (viii. 1¹¹); *ubhayataḥ-kṣṣṭir* (TS.) 'two-edged'. Occasionally the sibilant disappears, as in *idāḥ ksīrantir* (vii. 34²)³.

e. *r*. Before a simple sibilant final *s* is either assimilated or becomes Visarjanīya; e. g. *vaś śivātamo* or *vaḥ śivātamo* (x. 9¹); *dēviṣ ṣaḥ* or *dēviḥ ṣaḥ* (x. 128⁵); *naś sapītā* or *naḥ sapītā* (x. 128⁹). Assimilation is undoubtedly the original Sandhi⁴ and is required by some of the Prātiśākhya⁵; but the Mss. usually employ Visarjanīya, and European editions regularly follow this practice⁶.

α. The sibilant disappears in the compounds *barhi-śād-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter'; *dydu-vaṃśita-* (AV.) 'sky-sharpened'; and, after lengthening the preceding *a*, *ayū-śayā* *raju-śayū* *harū-śayū* (TS. i. 2. 11² = MS. i. 2⁷) for *ayāt-*, *rajaś-*, *harāt-*.

2. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a voiceless mute, a final sibilant is dropped; e. g. *mandibhi śtṛmebhīr* (i. 9¹) for *mandibhis*; *mitha-śpīdhya* (i. 166⁹) for *mithas-*; *du-śtūt-* 'ill praise' for *duṣ-ṛ*. The omission is required by the Prātiśākhya of the RV., VS., TS., and is the practice of all the Mss. of the MS.

3. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a nasal or semivowel, a final sibilant is optionally dropped; thus *kṛta śrāvah* (vi. 58¹), beside which (though the Pp. reads *kṛta*) the MS. reads *kṛtaḥ śrāvah*⁷; *ni-svarām* (vii. 1⁷) for *ni-svarām* 'noiseless' (Pp., however, *ni-svarām*).

79. Euphonic combination of final *r*.—As *h* is the pause form of both *r* and *s*, a certain amount of mutual contamination appears in their Sandhi; *r*, however, suffers much more in this respect than *s*. Since both *s* and *r* when preceded by *ī ū* have the same natural Sandhi, it is in a few

¹ This treatment of final *s* before voiceless gutturals and labials, which is parallel to that before *h*, was doubtless the original form of sentence Sandhi.

² *adḥ pīto* (i. 187⁷) is probably only an apparent exception, as *adḥ* = *āda u*, not *ādus* (Pp. *adḥ*); the Paippalāda recension of the AV., however, has *adaḥ pīto*, for *adū*.

³ Though the Pp. reads *ādha*, the PB. in quoting the verse has *ādhaḥ*; see OLDENBERG 369, note 1.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY on APr. II. 40.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 342, top.

⁶ In *pūrīṣ śivāta* (x. 107¹), *itḥ* probably = *itā u* (Pp. *pūri itāḥ*).

⁷ The omission was doubtless due to the fact that it made no difference to the pronunciation. Hence probably the wrong analysis of *īśtūt* by the Pp. as *īśaḥ-śtūt*, instead of *īśa-śtūt*, as in *īśa-vant-* (cp. BR.).

⁸ Cp. BOLLENSSEN, ZDMG. 45, 24; FISCHER, *Vedische Studien* I, 13.

instances uncertain which was the original sound. Thus it is somewhat doubtful whether the *-uḥ* of the abl. gen. sing. of *r*-stems and of the 3. pl. act. of past tenses represents original *us* or *ur*. In the verbal form, the *r* in the corresponding middle termination of the perfect, *-re*, seems to decide in favour of *ur*¹.

1. a. Before vowels and voiced consonants (except *r* itself) *r* remains not only when preceded by *i* *ú*², but by *ā* also; e. g. *gir* | *iṣá* (I. 117¹); *pūr devatrí* (VII. 52¹); *prātír agulh* (V. 18¹); *pūnar nah* (X. 57⁵); *svār druḥ* (II. 35³)⁴.

b. Before *r*, *r* disappears, after lengthening a preceding vowel; e. g. *pīnā rāpīni* (AV. I. 24¹). In a few instances, however, *o* appears instead of *ā* (= *ar*), under the influence of *-aḥ* as the pause form of neuters in *-as*; thus *údhv romaśám* (VIII. 31⁹), for *údhā*; and the compound *aho-rātrá-* 'day and night', for *ahā-*.

2. Before voiceless consonants final *r* is as a rule treated like *s*.

a. Before the gutturals *k kh* and the labials *p ph*, it becomes *ḥ* under the influence of the pause form; e. g. *pīnah kalḥ* (X. 39⁸); *pīnah pātīm* (X. 85²⁹); *pīnah-pūnar* (I. 92¹⁰). But that the *r* originally remained before these consonants is shown by its survival in the compounds *pār-pati-*, *svār-pati-*, *vār-kāryá-*, *ahār-pati-* (VS.). But even here the pause form was gradually introduced; e. g. *svāḥ-pati-* (SV.); it supplanted the *r* of *antír* throughout; e. g. *antah-phya-* 'drinking up'; *antah-kohá-* (AV.) 'inside of a store-room'; *antah-parśavyá-* (VS.) 'flesh between the ribs'; *antah-patrá-* (AV.) 'interior of a vessel'; and because the pause form of *r* and *s* was identical, the Sandhi of *s* came to be applied here even in the RV.; thus *ántas-patha-* 'being on the way' (for *ántar-*); *cítus-kaparda-* 'having four braids', *cítus-pād-* 'four-footed' (for *cítur-*).

b. Before the palatals *c ch*, final *r* invariably (like *s*) becomes the palatal sibilant *ś*; e. g. *pūs ca* (I. 189²) for *pār ca*. This applies almost always even in compounds; e. g. *cítus-catvāriṃśat* (VS.) 'forty-four'. There are only two examples of the *r* being retained even here: *svār-caḥśas-* 'brilliant as light', *svār-canas-* 'lovely as light'.

c. Before dental *t*, final *r* is without exception treated like *s*; e. g. *gīs tribarhīṣi* (I. 181³) for *gir*; *cítus-triṃśat* 'thirty-four' for *cítur-*. The retention of *r* before *t* in *āvar tīmah* (I. 92¹) is only apparently an exception, as this really stands for *āvart tīmah*⁵.

d. Before sibilants, final *r* appears in its pause form as Visarjaniya in sentence Sandhi, e. g. *pīnah śám* (II. 38¹). In compounds, however, it

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 284 note (p. 335). as the form would originally have been pronounced at the end of an internal Pada. be found in GRASSMANN's Wörterbuch 1693 *údhv* for *údhā*, which appears before *a* and *m*, is due to the influence of neuters in *as*, the pause form of which, *-aḥ*, would be the same as of those in *-ar*. The form *údhā* 'udder'; *vádhā* 'weapon'; *vanar-* 'wood'; *svā-* 'light'; *antír* 'within'; *avār* 'down'; *pūnar* 'again'; *prātír* 'early'; the voc. of *r*-stems, e. g. *bhūitar*; the 2. 3. sing. of past tenses from roots in *r*, e. g. *āvar*, from *r*- 'cover'.

² *r* is original in *dār-* 'door'; *vār-* 'pro- tector'; *vār-* 'water'; *āhar-* 'day'; *usār-* 'dawn'; *údhā* 'udder'; *vádhā* 'weapon'; *vanar-* 'wood'; *svā-* 'light'; *antír* 'within'; *avār* 'down'; *pūnar* 'again'; *prātír* 'early'; the voc. of *r*-stems, e. g. *bhūitar*; the 2. 3. sing. of past tenses from roots in *r*, e. g. *āvar*, from *r*- 'cover'.

³ *āha evā* (VI. 48⁵) for *āhar evā* is due to *āhā*, the pause form of *āhar*, being treated like that of a neuter in *-as*, *āhā*. In *akṣā indur* (IX. 98¹) for *akṣār indur* (I p. *akṣār*), the editors of the Saphita misunderstood *akṣā*, standing for *āvar* is probably from *rar-* 'shine' (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 335, top).

⁵ Cp. above 62, 1.

frequently remains; thus *vanar-sīd-* and *vanar-śīd-* 'sitting in the wood'; *dhār-sīd-* 'being on the yoke'; *svar-śī-* 'winning light'; *sv-ir-śīti-* 'acquisition of light'; *dhār-śāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke'. This indicates that it originally remained before sibilants in sentence Sandhi also.

80. Initial aspiration.—The palatal sibilant *ś* and the breathing *h*, when initial, may under certain conditions be changed to aspirates.

a. After a final *e*, initial *ś* may become, and in practice always does become, *ch*; e. g. *yāc chaknāvāma* (x. 2¹) for *yād śaknāvāma*. The same change occasionally takes place after *f*; thus *vīpāt chutudri* (III. 33¹), for *śutudri*; *turāśīt chuśmi* (v. 40¹) for *śuśmi*.

b. After a final voiced mute, initial *h* may be and usually is changed to the aspirate of that mute; e. g. *tīd dhi* (L. 126²) for *tīd hī*; *sīdad dhōta* (x. 12¹) for *sīdad (= sīdat) hōta*; *āvāt dhavyāni* (x. 16¹²) for *havyāni*.

81. Sandhi of compounds.—The euphonic combination at the junction of the members of compounds is on the whole subject to the rules prevailing in external Sandhi or between words in a sentence. Thus the evidence of metre shows that contracted vowels are often even in compounds to be read with hiatus, when the initial vowel of the second member is in a heavy syllable; e. g. *yuktī-akṣu-* 'having yoked horses', *devī-śiddha-* 'kindled by the gods', *decha-ukti-* 'invitation'. Many archaisms of Sandhi are, however, preserved in compounds which have either disappeared from or are obsolescent in the sentence.

i. An earlier stage of Sandhi has been preserved by compounds alone in the following instances:

a. Several old phonetic combinations appear in single words: *dvi-bārha-jman-* 'having a double course' for *dvi-bārha-jman-* (= **dvi-bārhad-* from *bārha-*, with *-ad* for *-as* before the voiced palatal)²; *barhi-śād-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter' (from *barhi-* for *barhi-śād-*); *viś-pāti-* 'lord of the house' and *viś-pātuv-* 'mistress of the house' (with *ś* retained instead of *t*)³, *sam-rāj-* 'sovereign ruler' (with *m* preserved before *r*)⁴.

b. In a group of compounds with *dus-* 'ill' as first member, the combinations *dū-d* = *du,-d* and *dū-n* = *du,-n* appear instead of *dur-d* and *dur-n*: *dū-dbhā-* 'hard to deceive', *dū-dhi-* 'malevolent', *dū-dśa-* 'hard to attain', *dū-dśu-* 'hard to attain' and 'hard to destroy', *dū-dśi-* (AV.) 'not worshipping'. But *dur-*, the form which would be required by external Sandhi, is already commoner in the RV.; e. g. *dur-dśika-* 'looking bad', *dur-dhār-ī-tu-* 'hard to restrain', *dur-dman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-dśa-* (AV.) 'hard to attain'.

c. Final *r* in the first member is preserved in the RV. before voiceless sounds⁵; thus *vār-kāryā-* 'producing water', *svār-caḥśas-* 'brilliant as light', *pār-pāti-* 'lord of the stronghold', *svār-pāti-* 'lord of heaven', *dhār-śīd-*⁶ 'being on the yoke'.

d. Radical stems ending in *-ir* and *-ur* mostly lengthen their vowel before consonants (as within words), e. g. *dhār-śīd-* 'being on the yoke', *dhār-śāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke', *pār-pāti-* 'lord of the stronghold', *pār-bhid-* 'breaking down forts', *pār-bhidya-* n. 'destruction of forts', *pār-yāna-* 'leading to the fort'.

¹ See HENFEY, Göttingische Abhandlungen 15, 105 ff.; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 125—139.

² Cp. above 44 a, 3.

³ Later *viś-pāti-* (TB. II. 5, 7¹), and even in the RV. *pād-bhā-* 'fetter' from *pā-* 'hind'.

⁴ Otherwise Anusvāra, as in *sam-rājantam*.

⁵ While in external Sandhi it would become Visarjaniya or a sibilant.

⁶ External Sandhi gradually encroaches here in the later Samhitās, as in *svār-pāti-* (SV.). On *punar-* for *punar-* in *punar-sarā-*, *āntas-* for *āntas-* in *āntas-pāthā-*, and *antah-* in *antah-pāthā-* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 126⁷, note, and above 79, 2 a.

⁷ But *ger* retains the short vowel in *gir-vaṇas-* 'fond of praise', *gir-vāhas-* 'praised in

c. As first member of a compound *dyu-* 'heaven' appears as *div-* before vowels¹ (while *yu* would in external Sandhi become *yu*), as *div-īṣi-* 'striving for heaven', *div-it-* 'going to heaven'.

2. Compounds in the Samhitās preserve many euphonic archaisms which, while still existing in external Sandhi, disappear from the sentence in later periods of the language though still partially surviving in compounds.

a. A final consonant disappears before the same consonant when the latter is the initial of a group: *up(i)-stha-* 'lap', *nd(k)-kṣatra-* 'star', *hr(d)-dyot(i)-* (AV.), an internal disease, *hr(d)-dyōtana* (AV.) 'breaking the heart'².

b. A final sibilant disappears before a mute followed by a sibilant, as in *divā-kṣa-* 'heavenly' ('ruling over heaven', *div-ās*, gen.)³.

c. A sibilant as initial of the second member is retained; thus *śandra-* 'bright' in *puru-śandra-* 'much-shining' and many other compounds, but almost invariably *candri-* as an independent word⁴.

d. A final *s* in the first member or an initial *s* in the second is cerebralized; e. g. *duṣ-śāra-* 'invincible', *niṣ-śikvāri-* (AV.) 'running away', *duṣ-śvāpnyā-* 'evil dream'.

e. An original *n* in the second member is cerebralized after a *r* or *ṣ* with the necessary phonetic restrictions (47). a. In derivatives from verbs compounded with prepositions containing *r*, initial, medial, or final *n* of the root is almost invariably cerebralized in the Samhitās; thus *nir-riṣ-* 'bright garment', *pari-ṅnuta-* (AV.) 'denied' (*ṅhnu-*), *pari-ṅnūh-* 'enclosure', *pari-ā-ṅaddha-* (AV.) 'tied up', *pra-ṅi-* and *pra-ṅeṣ-* 'leader', *pra-ṅiti-* 'guidance', *praṅd-* 'breath', *praṅana-* and *praṅdtha-* (VS.) 'respiration' (*an-* 'breathe'). The cerebralization appears even in suffixes, as *pra-ṅina-* 'advance'⁵.

β. In other compounds *n* greatly predominates when the second member is a verbal noun; e. g. *grāma-ni-* 'chief of a village', *dur-gāni-* 'dangers'; *nri-pāna-* 'giving drink to men', *pitṛ-yāna-* 'trodden by the fathers', *pri-yāna-* (AV.) 'leading to the fort', *rakṣo-hān-* 'demon-slaying', *vitra-hān-* 'Vitra-slaying'. The cerebralization fluctuates in *-yāvan-*: thus *pratar-yāvan-* 'going out early', *vīṣa-pra-yāvan-* 'going with stallions', but *puro-yāvan-* 'going in front', *subhri-yāvan-* 'going in a radiant chariot'; also in *purīṣa-vāhana-* (VS.) and *purīṣa-vāhana-* (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'. Cerebralization never takes place in *-ghn-*, the weak form of *-han-* 'killing'; nor in *akṣā-nāh-* 'tied to the axle', *kravya-vāhana-*⁶ 'conveying corpses', *carmā-mūt-* 'tanner', *juṣmā-nita-* 'led by you'.

γ. The cerebralization takes place somewhat less regularly when the second member is an ordinary (non-verbal) noun; e. g. *urū-nasā-* 'broad-nosed', *tri-navā-* (VS.) 'consisting of three times nine parts', *tri-nāman-* (AV.)⁷ 'having three names', *dru-ghand-* 'mallet', *nri-mānas-* 'friendly to men', *purī-nāman-* 'many-named', *pūrvāhna-* 'forenoon', *prī-napāt-* 'great-grandson'. There is

song'. The long vowel in *ān-ān-dā-* 'not fulfilling expectation', *ān-dā-* and *ān-dāyā-* 'fulfilment of a benediction' is due to analogy, as *ā-ī-* is derived from the root *ās-*.

¹ *dyu-* remains before consonants: *dyu-kṛd-*, *dyu-gd-i-*, *dyu-bhaktā-*.

² Also in external Sandhi *tū dyām* (AV. iv. 19^b) for *tād dyām*.

³ Also in external Sandhi *ādha kṣāranūr* (vii. 34^a), cp. above 78, 3 d.

⁴ Divergence from external Sandhi is sometimes not archaic but due to innovation;

as *gō-* 'cow' instead of *gav-* before vowels, e. g. *gō-agra-* 'headed by cows'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 129 c. Another kind of innovation in compounds is due to haplogy; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 241 a β; 2¹, p. 128 bottom.

⁵ There are a few exceptions: *pari-pāna-* 'drink', *pari-uhyāmāna-* 'being led home' (Vrah.), *prī-pāna-* (VS.) 'distended'.

⁶ Like *kravya-vāhana-* 'conveying oblations'.

⁷ The later Samhitās always have *n* after *tri-*, while the RV. always has *n*; as *tri-*

fluctuation when *dur-* 'ill' assumes the later Sandhi form of *dur-*, as *dur-nāman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-hanu-* 'having ugly jaws', but *dur-niyantu-* 'hard to restrain'; also in *vārdhā-nasā-* (TS.) 'rhinoceros' and *vārdhri-nasā-* (VS.) 'having streaks on the nose'; *sri-manas-* (TS.) and *sri-manas-* (VS.) 'well-disposed'.

But *n* often remains in this type of compound: initially in *kypā-mīla-* 'whose home is splendour', *candrā-nirṇij-* 'having a brilliant garment', *varsā-nirṇij-* 'clothed with rain', *vesā-nṛmna-* 'of brilliant power', *dirghā-niṭha-*, N. of a man, *pūnar-nava-* 'again renewed', *babhrī-nikasa-* (VS.) 'looking brownish', *vṛṣa-nābhi-* 'having a mighty nave'; medially in *ṛṣi-manas-* 'inspired', *indrāgni* 'Indra and Agni', *ksatra-vāni-* (AV.) 'addicted to military rule', *brāhma-vāni-* (VS.) 'well disposed to the priesthood', *catur-anika-* 'four-faced', *try-anikā-* 'three-faced', *jyōtir-anika-* 'having a shining face', *citrā-bhānu-* 'having bright lustre', *dhruv-yoni-* (VS.) 'having a fixed abode', *pra-mānas-* (AV.) 'careful', *hri-manyu-sayaka-* (RV. x) 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

f. The final vowel of the first member is often lengthened. This frequently occurs before *v-*; e. g. *annī-vydh-* 'prospering by food', *prati-vartā-* (AV.) 'returning into itself', *pra-vṛṣ-* 'rainy season'. It is often due to the rhythmical tendency (which also prevails in the sentence) to lengthen a vowel before a single consonant between two short syllables; e. g. *ahi-sīva-*, N. of a demon (from *ahi-*), *uru-nasā-* 'broad-nosed', *ṛṣā-sih-* (VS.) 'maintaining the sacred law', *pari-nasā-* (AV.) 'having a nose like a spearhead', *naghā-risā-* (AV.) N. of a plant, *rathā-sih-* 'able to draw the car'. Lengthening of a vowel between other than two short syllables is less common, being probably due to imitation of compounds in which the long vowel is produced by the normal rhythm; e. g. *dhanvā-sih-* 'skilled in archery' and *vibhā-sih-* 'overcoming the rich' like *rathā-sih-*; *sahasrā-magha-* 'having a thousand gifts' like *satā-magha-* 'having a hundred gifts'. The interchange of short and long is entirely regulated by the rhythmic principle in *sanā-* 'of old' and almost entirely in *tvi-* 'much'; e. g. *sanā-jūr-* 'long since aged' and *sāna-śruta-* 'famous of old', *tvi-maghd-* 'very rich' and *tvi-bādhi-* 'killing many'. The final vowel of prepositions is particularly often lengthened in the later Samhitās without reference to rhythm, especially before nouns ending in *-a* with long radical vowel, e. g. *nī-vā-* (AV.) 'liturgical invitation', *abhi-moda-mīd-* (AV.) 'excessively joyful', *nī-nāhā-* (AV.) 'girth', *prati-bodhi-* (AV.) 'vigilance', *vī-barhi-* (AV.) 'scattering'. Sometimes the final vowel is left unlengthened between two short syllables; e. g. *rayi-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *ghṛta-duh-as* (voc. pl.) 'yielding ghee'.

g. On the other hand, final *ā* and *i* of the first member are often shortened before a group of consonants or a long syllable; e. g. *amivā-cātana-* (AV.) 'driving away disease' and *amivā-hān-* 'destroying disease' (*amivā-*); *ārṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool' (*ārṇa-*) and **ārṇa-vābhi-* 'spinning wool', 'spider', in the patronymic *aurṇavābhi-*; *kakṣya-prū-* 'filling out the girth' (*kakṣyā-*);

nāki- 'third heaven', *tri-nābhi-* 'having three naves'.

¹ The AV. here always has the cerebral, as *dur-nihita-* 'badly kept'.

² But *nṛ-mānas-* 'friendly to men' and *vṛṣa-manas-* 'manly-spirited'.

³ But *pur-anika-* 'having many faces'.

⁴ But *vṛṣa-manyu-* (RV. I) 'vigorous-minded'.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 42.

⁶ Beside *naghā-nārd-* (AV.) N. of a plant.

⁷ Cp. also *prā-sih-* and *pra-sih-* 'victorious'. The long vowel in the former is probably historic, = IE. *prō*.

⁸ The vowel is originally long, in *aṣṭā-* 'eight', probably also in *acchā-* 'to' and *vīvā-* 'all', and may be differently explained in *ā-deva-* 'hostile to the gods', *ā-rūpita-* (IV. 5?) meaning, and *ā-sat-*; see WACKERNAGEL 2, p. 131, note.

senajit- (VS.) 'vanquishing armies' (*śānā-*); *gāuri-viti-* N. of a seer (from *gauri*), *prthivi-śthā-* 'standing on the earth'; even before a short syllable in *prthivi-sād-* (AV.) and *prthivi-sād-* (VS.) 'sitting on the earth' (*prthivī-*), *sarasvatī-kṛtā-* (VS.) 'made by Sarasvatī'¹.

82. Extension of external to internal Sandhi. — The rules of sentence Sandhi as applied between members of a compound are often found to affect the internal form of words.

a. Nominal (chiefly secondary) suffixes with initial consonants are frequently treated like the second member of a compound; e. g. beside *devas-yā-* 'worshipping', appears *deva-yā-*. This influence extends even to radical finals before primary suffixes; e. g. *du-na-* 'food' for *ad-na-*; *ṣaṇ-nān* for *ṣaṇ-nām*, from *ṣiṣ-* 'six'; *nāmo-bhis*, from *nāmas-* 'obeisance', with *o* for *ad* (as in *usād-bhis* from *usās-* 'dawn')²; *haviḥ-su-* for *haviṣ-su*, from *havis-* 'oblation'; *jigz-vāms-* for *jigī-vāms-* 'having conquered', with radical final lengthened as in sentence Sandhi.

b. In the verb the influence of sentence Sandhi is seen in reduplicated forms. Thus parallel with the lengthening of final syllables in the sentence, the final radical vowel is made long before the ending *-hi* in *didhi!* beside the more usual *didhi!*, from *di-* 'shine'. The rhythmical lengthening in the reduplicated aorist is probably due to a similar influence.

III. ACCENT.

ROTH, Nirukta LVII—LXXII: Ueber die Elemente des indischen Accentus nach den Prātiśākhya Sūtren. — BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 9—13. — WHITNEY, 'On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit', Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869—70; Oriental and Linguistic Studies 2, 318 ff.; Sanskrit Grammar, p. 28—33; see also General Index, s. v. 'Accent'. — HAUG, Ueber das Wesen und den Werth des vedischen Accents, München 1873 (cp. WEBER, Indische Streifen 3, 335 ff.; WHITNEY, JAOS. 10, IX ff., CHIL.). — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik I, 243 ff. — Cp. also HIRT, Der indogermanische Akzent, Strassburg 1895, and Akzentstudien in IF. VI—IX; BRUGMANN, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik I (Strassburg 1902), p. 52—66.

Besides the Prātiśākhya several other native authorities refer to the accent. Pāṇini and his commentators give an account of it; all the Sūtras of Pāṇini relating to accentuation are collected in a chapter of the Siddhānta-kaumudī called *vaidika-svara-prakriyā* 'section on the Vedic accent'. The accent is further dealt with in the Bhāṣikasūtra, in the Prātiśākhya-sūtra, in the Śikṣās, and as regards the position of the accent in individual words, in the Upādisūtras and especially in the Phitsūtras.

83. General character of the Vedic accent. — In Vedic literature sacred texts only, primarily all the Saṃhitās³ have been handed down in an accented form. Of all other sacred texts, only those to which a special importance was attached, have preserved the accent. These are the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (together with its Āraṇyaka) and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (including the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad). There is, however, evidence to show that the Pāncaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa⁴ and other Brāhmaṇas were at one time accented⁵.

¹ On the relation of this shortening to the lengthening in the same position, and its probable explanation, see WACKERNAGEL 2^d, p. 135 (56 g.).

² Hence the Padapāṭha treats a nominal stem which takes a suffix with initial consonant like the first member of a compound, separating it from the suffix by Avagraha; e. g. *devaḥ-yā-* for *devayā-*; *asīva-* for *asivā-*, voc., 'armed with a bolt'; *ātībhī-* for *ātībhis-* 'with aids'.

³ See above 44 a, 3.

⁴ See 57, 1.

⁵ The Mss. of the Kāthaka are so defective as regards accentuation that L. V. SCHROEDER found it possible to print parts only of his edition of the text (vol. I, 1900) with accents.

⁶ WEBER, Indische Studien 10, 421; cp. MAX MÜLLER, ASL. 348; BURNELL, Sama-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa p. VI. The Mantra parts of the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka are accented (KEITH's ed. p. 10).

⁷ The Suparṇadhyaṇa, an artificially archaic

The Sūtras, though not themselves accented, occasionally accent the Mantras which they quote.

The Vedic accent, like that of ancient Greece, was of an essentially musical nature. This is indicated by the fact that the accent exercises no influence on the rhythm of versification. The phoneticians of the Prātiśākhya, in describing it, speak only of its pitch, which is also indicated by the name of the chief tone, *udātta* 'raised', 'high'. But that the Vedic accent was accompanied by some stress¹, is shown by certain phonetic changes which cannot otherwise be explained².

In the Vedic accent three degrees of pitch may be distinguished: the high, properly represented by the *udātta*, the middle by the *svarita* ('sounded'), and the low by the *an-udātta* ('not raised'). That the *Udātta* originally denoted the highest pitch in the oldest form of the Vedic language, is shown by the evidence of Comparative Philology, and especially of Greek which, as far as its peculiar laws of accent will admit, has the acute on the same syllable as in the Vedic language has the *Udātta* (e. g. *Διός* : *divās*; *ἄρτα* : *saptá*; *ὄκτω* : *aṣṭu*). This conclusion is also supported by the method of marking the *Udātta* in the Sāmaveda, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, and the Kāthaka. In the R̥gveda, however, the *Udātta* has a middle pitch, lower than that of the *Svarita*, as is shown both by the way in which it is marked and by the account given of it in the Prātiśākhya. This must be an innovation, though an old one.

The *Svarita* is a falling accent of a dependent nature, marking the transition from an accented to a toneless syllable. It regularly follows an *Udātta*, to the rise of which its fall corresponds in pitch. It assumes an independent appearance when the preceding *Udātta* is lost in consequence of the vowel that bears the *Udātta* being changed to a semivowel in Sandhi. It is described in Pāṇini 1. 2³⁴ as a combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta*, which means that it falls from the high pitch of the acute to the low pitch of unaccented syllables. According to the RV. Prātiśākhya and the TS. Prātiśākhya, however, the first part of the *Svarita* sounds higher than the *Udātta*. This means that, instead of falling immediately from the high pitch of the preceding *Udātta*, it first rises somewhat before falling to low pitch³. It would thus have something of the nature of a circumflex in the RV.; only the rise in pitch above the highest level of the *Udātta* is but slight (corresponding to the initial rise of the *Udātta* from *Anudātata* to *Anudātta* level), while the fall corresponds to the total rise of the *Udātta*⁴. The low tone of the syllables preceding an accented syllable (with *Udātta* or *Svarita*) is called *an-udātta* 'not raised' in the Prātiśākhya⁵. When it follows a *Svarita* it is called the *pracaya*⁶ (*svara*), or 'accumulated pitch' (as several such unaccented syllables often occur in succession) which continues at the low level reached by the preceding *Svarita* till the syllable immediately

poem composed in the style of the Vedic hymns, is also accented, but with many mistakes; see GRUBE'S edition in Indische Studien, vol. XIV.

¹ Cp. HAUG, op. cit. 19.

² The Vedic accent, like the Greek, was, after the beginning of our era, changed to a stress accent which, however, unlike the modern Greek stress accent, did not remain on the original syllable, but is regulated by the quantity of the last two or three syllables, much as in Latin; cp. HAUG 99, end.

³ See WACKERNAGEL 1, 218 and cp. OSTHOFF, Morphologische Untersuchungen 4, 73.

⁴ In agreement with VPr. I. 126; APr. 1. 17; cp. HAUG 73.

⁵ See OLDENBERG, Proiegomena 483 f.

⁶ According to Pāṇini's account the *Svarita* does not rise above *Udātta* pitch before falling; see OLDENBERG, loc. cit.

⁷ See RPr. III. 1; cp. HAUG 91.

⁸ HAUG 92 f.

preceding the next accent'. The latter syllable, called *sanna-tara* 'lower' or *anudāta-tara*² 'more lowered', sinks somewhat below this monotone.

84. Methods of marking the accent.—The accent is marked in the Vedic texts in four different ways.

1. The system of the *Ṛgveda* is followed also by the *Atharvaveda*³, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (along with its *Brāhmaṇa*) and, with only slight deviations in the treatment of the *Svarita*, by the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*. This system is peculiar in not marking the principal accent at all. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the fact that the pitch of the *Udāta* is in the *RV.* intermediate between that of the other two tones. Hence the preceding *Anudāta*, as having low pitch, is marked by a horizontal stroke below the syllable, while the following *Svarita*, as rising to a higher pitch, is marked by a vertical stroke above the syllable⁴; e. g. अग्निना *agnina* = *agninā*. The presence of successive *Udātas* at the beginning of a hemistich is recognizable by the absence of all marks till the *Svarita* which follows the last of them, or the *Anudāta* which follows the last of them and precedes the next accented syllable; thus तावा यान्तु ताव ा यान्तु = *tāv ā yāntu; tavet tat satyam = tāv'et tat satyām*. On the other hand, all the unaccented syllables at the beginning of a hemistich are marked; e. g. वैश्वानरम् = *vaiśvānarām = vaiśvānarām*. But all the syllables following a *Svarita* remain unmarked till the one immediately preceding the next *Udāta* or *Svarita*; e. g. इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति सुतुद्रि *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvatī sūtudri* = *imāṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvatī sūtudri*⁵.

a. The hemistich being treated as the unit with regard to accentuation⁶, the marking of the *Anudāta* and of the *Svarita* is not limited to the word containing the *Udāta* which those accents precede and follow respectively⁷. Hence the final syllable of one word may be marked with an *Anudāta* as preceding an *Udāta* of the next initial syllable; or the initial syllable of one word may be marked with the *Svarita* following the *Udāta* at the end of the preceding word; e. g. पार्वेभिर ऋषेभिर = *pārvēbhīr ṛṣībhir; यज्ञमध्वरम् यज्ञम अध्वरम् = yajñam adhvaram = yajñam adhvaram*. But if an initial syllable after a final *Udāta* precedes an accented syllable, it loses the enclitic *Svarita* and must be marked as *Anudāta*; e. g. देवमस्त्वितम् *devam itvijam = devam itvijam*.

b. If an independent *Svarita*⁸ precedes an *Udāta*, it is marked with the numeral १ (1) when its vowel is short, and with ३ (3) when it is long, the figures receiving both the sign of the *Svarita* and that of the *Anudāta*⁹ which precedes an *Udāta*; e. g. अप्सु अन्तर = *apsu antar; रायो वै यनिः = rayo 'vāniḥ*. The phenomenon is described by the phoneticians with the words *kampa*

¹ See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 485, end.

² *Sanna-tara*, *APr.* 1. 43; *anudāta-tara* in *Kāśika vṛtti* on *Pāṇini* 1. 21^o.

³ The *Mss.* of the *AV.*, however, show considerable variations; see *WHITNEY'S Translation* p. CXXI ff.

⁴ In the *Kashmir Ms.* of the *RV.* the *Udāta* and the independent *Svarita* only are marked, the former by a vertical stroke above the accented syllable, the latter by a hook (⤴) above the accented syllable; see *SCHFELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda* 48 ff.

⁵ Cp. *HAUG, op. cit.* 92 f.

⁶ From the point of view of the sentence the *Udāta* is the unit; thus a verb or vocative is always accented at its beginning.

⁷ In the *Padapāṭha*, on the other hand, each word receives its natural accent only, so that where the one text has a *Svarita*, the other may have an *Anudāta*; e. g. in 1. 1³ the *Saṃhitā* has *rayim dīnavat*, the *Paṭha* *rayim ānavat* (the latter word being unaccented has the *Anudāta* marked under each syllable).

⁸ Examples of independent *Svarita* are *svār* for *sūr*; *kr̥d* for *kūd*; *vīryam* for *vīriam*. 'Independent' *Svarita* in the above rule is intended to include that which results from change to a semivowel (*kyāpra*), from contraction (*prāṅgā*) and from elision of *a* (*abhinihita*).

⁹ The long vowel before the ३ receives the *Anudāta* stroke as well.

'quaver', *vikampita*, and the verb *pra-kamp*. In the TS. it appears only when the second syllable as well as the first has the Svarita, and the figure 2, as well as 1 and 3, is here used.

2. In the system of the *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*¹ and of the *Kāthaka*², the *Udātta* is marked by a vertical stroke above (which seems to indicate that this accent was here pronounced with the highest pitch); e. g. अग्निना = *agnīna*. The two *Saṃhitās*, however, diverge in their method of indicating the Svarita. The MS. marks the independent Svarita by a curve below the accented syllable, e. g. वीर्यं *vīryam*; but the dependent Svarita by a horizontal stroke in the middle or three vertical strokes above the accented syllable. The *Kāthaka*, on the other hand, marks the independent Svarita by a curve below (if an unaccented syllable follows), e. g. वीर्यं *vīryam* *badhnāti*; or by a hook below (if an accented syllable follows) e. g. वीर्यं *vīryam* *vyaçate*; but the dependent Svarita by a dot below the accented syllable³. Both these *Saṃhitās* mark the *Anudātata* in the ordinary way by a stroke below the syllable. In L. v. SCHROEDER's editions, however, the *Udātta* and the independent Svarita only are marked. When the text of any of the *Saṃhitās* is transliterated in Roman characters, it is the regular practice to omit any indication of the dependent Svarita and of the *Anudātta* as unnecessary.

3. In the system of the *Sāmaveda*, the figures 1 2 3 are written above the accented syllables to represent three degrees of pitch. Here 1 always stands for the highest pitch (*Udātta*), and 3 always for the lowest (*Anudātta*), and 2 generally for the middle pitch (*Svarita*); e. g.

^{3 1 2} *barhiṣi* = RV. *barhiṣi* (*barhiṣi*). But 2 also represents the *Udātta* when the latter is not followed by a Svarita (that is when the *Udātta* syllable is final in the hemistich or when an *Anudātata* preceding another accented syllable follows); e. g. *girā* = RV. *girā* (*girā*); *yajñānām hotā viśveṣām* = RV. *yajñānām hotā viśveṣām* (*yajñānām hotā viśveṣām*). If there are two successive *Udāttas*, the second is not marked, but 2r is written over the

following Svarita; e. g. *diviṣo martyasya* = RV. *diviṣo martyasya* (*diviṣo martyasya*). If in such case there is no room for 2r, the first *Udātta* has 2u written over

it instead; e. g. *ṣa sya pitaye* = RV. *ṣa sya pitaye* (*ṣa sya pitaye*). The independent Svarita (as well as the dependent one which follows two successive *Udāttas*) is marked with 2r; and the *Anudātta* which precedes it, with 3k;

e. g. *tanvā*. Syllables which follow a Svarita and in which the pitch remains unchanged, are left unmarked; e. g. *dātām vṛṇīmahe hotāram* = RV. *dātām vṛṇīmahe hotāram* (*dātām vṛṇīmahe hotāram*)⁴.

4. Though the *Brāhmanas* do not come within the scope of this work, the system of accentuation in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* cannot be passed over here, as it must be treated in connexion with the other systems of the Vedic period. It is historically important as forming a transition to the post-Vedic period, when the accent assumed a different character⁵. The system of the SB. in various respects differs considerably from the three described above.

¹ See HAUG 27-32; L. v. SCHROEDER, Introduction to his edition 1, p. XXIX-XXXIV; ZDMG. 33, 186ff.

² Cp. L. v. SCHROEDER, Introduction to his edition, 2, p. X-XI.

³ On some peculiarities of the VS. in marking the Svarita, see HAUG 32-35.

⁴ For further details see HAUG 35-42.

⁵ Cp. LITMANN, KZ. 31, 50 (mid.).

a. Its chief peculiarity is that it marks only the main accent, the **Udätta**. This is done by means of a horizontal stroke below the accented syllable; e. g. $\bar{g}r\bar{u}$: *pīruṣah*. If there are two or more successive Udättas, only the last is marked; e. g. *agnir hi vai dhūr aṭha* = *agnir hi vai dhūr āṭha*. When, however, an Udätta is thrown back as the result of Sandhi, an immediately preceding Udätta is also marked; e. g. *so 'gnim evabhīksamānah* = *sō 'gnim evabhīksamānah*, where *evabhī-* stands for *evābhi-* = *evā abhi-*. Two successive syllables are also sometimes marked when a compound receives a secondary Udätta; e. g. *sprhayād-varṇah*, for *sprhayād-varṇah*.

b. An independent Svarita is thrown back on the preceding syllable in the form of an Udätta; e. g. *manuṣyeṣu*, that is, *manuṣyeṣu* for *manuṣyeṣu*. The Svarita resulting from change to a semivowel (*ksaipra*), from contraction (*praśliṣṭa*), or elision of *a* (*abhinihita*), is similarly treated; e. g. *kathān nu imān*, that is, *kathān nu imān* for *kathān nu imān*; *evāitā*, that is, *evāitā* from *evā itā*; *tē 'rcantah*, that is, *tē 'rcantah* for *tē 'rcantah*.

When, however, the prepositions *ā* and *prā*, and final *ā* in the first member of a compound, combine with an unaccented vowel, the contracted syllable retains the Udätta; e. g. *'hi* (= *ā ihī*); *prāha* (= *prā āha*); *citṛti-* (= *citṛ-iti-*) 'bestowing wondrous gifts'.

c. Before a pause an accented syllable may lose its Udätta or receive a reduced accent marked with three dots, if the initial syllable after the pause has an Udätta or independent Svarita; e. g. *sa bhāgah | samsthite*, for *sā bhāgah | samsthite*. The penultimate syllable may also be thus reduced; e. g. *juhoti | āha*, for *juh-iti | āha*. This may occur even when the following initial syllable is unaccented; e. g. *nāpsu | āpa*, for *nāpsu | āpa*.

d. Reduplicated forms or long compounds accented on the first syllable or prior member, sometimes receive a secondary accent near the end of the word; e. g. *bālbālī*, that is *bālbālī* for *bālbālī*; *eka-catvāriṃśat*, that is, *eka-catvāriṃśat* for *eka-catvāriṃśat*. Sometimes, in such case, the primary accent itself is lost; e. g. *eka-saptatī* beside *eka-saptatī*. Somewhat analogous to this double accentuation of compounds is the frequent accentuation of both verbal prefix and verb at the same time; e. g. *abhi gopayā* (cp. 109). Finally, the accent occasionally appears on a syllable different from that on which it usually rests. The irregularities mentioned here (d) are much commoner in Books x-xiii than in the earlier Books; they are commonest of all in xiv¹.

85. Normal accentuation of words.—As a general rule, every Vedic word is both accented and has one main accent only. The Udätta is the only main accent in the original text of the Rgveda. It is generally found on the syllable which, according to the evidence of Comparative Philology², bore it in the Indo-European period³. Sometimes, however, the Udätta is secondary, being a substitute for the independent Svarita (itself the result of an original Udätta). Thus there is already a tendency in the RV. to change a final Svarita into a final Udätta: the vocative *dyāus* (= *diāus*) 'O Heaven', appears as *dyāus* (viii. 89¹²); *aryā-* (= *aria-*) 'kind', occurring only once (i. 123¹), otherwise and very frequently appears as *aryā-*; thus, too, *svān-* 'dog', was probably at one time *svān-* for *svān-* (Gk. *κύων*), which would explain the

¹ For further details, see HAUG, 43-48; Vedic Udätta shifted, in a few instances, to other syllables in the Brāhmaṇas and in Paṇini's system; thus *saptā*, SB. and C. Paṇini's system; thus *saptā*, SB. and C. NAGEL I, 252; Bhāṣikavṛtti, ed. by KRETZSCHMAR, 10, 397 ff.

² Cp. BRUGMANN KG. 45, I.

³ Under the influence of analogy the

sāpta, *asāpta*, C. *asāpta*; AV. VS. SB. *tilā-* 'sesamum', C. *tilā-*; *sīdati* 'sit', C. also *sīdati*; AV. *gāhvara-* 'deep', C. *gāhvara-*.

abnormal accentuation *śūnas* etc. instead of the regular accentuation **śūnās* etc. prevailing in monosyllabic stems (93). Or the final Svarita is thrown back as an Udātta on the preceding syllable: thus *mitrya-* 'friendly', beside *mitryā-*¹.

In some Vedic words, however, the only accent which is written is the 'independent' Svarita, by the native phoneticians called the 'genuine' (*jātya*)² or also the 'invariable' (*nitya*). Always following a *y* or *v*, it is, however, just as much due to a preceding Udātta (lost by the change of *i* and *ū* to *y* and *v*), as the dependent Svarita is; e. g. *kvā* (= *kīū*) 'where?'; *svār* (= *sūār*, TS. *sūvar*) 'light'; *rathyām* (= *rathlām*, from *rathī-* 'charioteer'); *tanām* (= *tanām* from *tanā-* 'body'); *ok-yā-* (= *ok-lū-*) 'belonging to home'; *vasav-yā-* (= *vasav-lū-*) 'wealthy'. In reading the RV. the original vowel with its Udātta must be restored except in a very few late passages³.

a. **Double accent.** Contrary to the general rule that a word has a single accent only, a certain class of infinitives and a special type of compounds have a double accent⁴. The infinitives in *-tavai*, of which more than a dozen examples occur, accent both the first and the last syllable; e. g. *ś-tavāi* 'to go', *āpa-bhartavāi* 'to take away'. The Udātta on the final syllable is probably to be explained as a secondary accent like that of the ŚB. in intensives and compounds (*bilbalīti*, *śka-catvāriṅśit*, cp. 84, 4 d), where an accent at the beginning of a word is counterbalanced by another at the end.

A good many compounds of a syntactical type, in which both members are duals in form or in which the first member is nearly always a genitive in form, accent both members; e. g. *mitrā-varuṇa* 'Mitra and Varuṇa', *bīhas-pāti-* 'Lord of prayer'⁵.

b. **Lack of accent.** Contrary to the general rule that every word is accented, some words never have an accent, while others lose their accent under special conditions.

1. The following are invariably enclitic:

a. **pronouns:** *iva-* 'another'; *sama-* 'some'; *ena-* 'he', 'she'⁶; *me*, D. G., 'of or to me'; *mā*, A., 'me'; *nau*, du. A. D. G., 'us two', etc.; *vas*, A. D. G., 'us', etc.; *te*, D. G., 'of or to thee'; *tva*, A., 'thee'; *vām*, A. D. G., 'ye two', etc.; *vas*, A. D. G., 'you', etc.; *im*, *sim* 'him', 'her', 'it', 'them', etc.; *kis* 'some one' in *nā-kis*, *mā-kis* 'no one'; *kim* in *ā-kim* 'from', *nā-kim*, *mā-kim* 'never'.

β. **particles:** *ca* 'and'; *u* 'on the other hand'; *vā* 'or'; *iva* 'like', 'as it were'; *kam* 'indeed' (after *nī*, *sī*, *hī*); *gha*, *ha* 'just' (emphasizing); *cid* 'at all'; *bhala* 'indeed'; *sama-hu* 'somehow'; *sma* 'just', 'indeed' (almost invariably with the present tense); *svid* 'probably'.

2. The following classes of forms or individual words are subject to loss of accent according to their position or function in the sentence:

a. **vocatives**, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

β. **finite verbs**, in principal clauses, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

γ. **all oblique cases** formed from the demonstrative pronoun *a-*, when used merely to replace a preceding substantive, and not occurring at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda; e. g. *asya jānimāni* 'his (i. e. Agni's) births' (but *asyā uṣṭsah* 'of that Dawn').

¹ Cp. the accentuation of the ŚB., 84, 4 b. In Pāṇini's system of accentuation this tendency went still further; thus V. *vīryā-* (= *vīri-*), becomes in C. *vīrya-*; and the gerundive in *-tavā* (= *-tavi-*) appears in C. as *-tavya* also.

² RPr. III. 4, VPr. I. 111 f.; cp. HAUG 75. Indo-arysche Philologie. I. 4.

³ Cp. BENEY, Gött. Abhandlungen 27, 31 ff.

⁴ In the Brāhmaṇas also the particle *vāud-* See below, on the accentuation of compounds, 91.

⁵ The A. sing. f. occurs once (VIII. 619) accented at the beginning of a Pāda as *enām*.

ð. *yathā* 'as', when used in the sense of *iva* 'like', 'as it were', at the end of a Pāda; e. g. *śyāvo yathā* (I. 50⁷) 'like thieves'.

ē. *nā* 'not', when followed by *hi* 'for', the two particles being treated as one word; e. g. *nāhi tvā ... invatah* (I. 10⁸) 'for the two do not restrain thee'; similarly when combined with the particle *nū* 'now': *na-nū* 'certainly not'.

1. Accentuation of Nominal Stems.

86. A. In primary derivation no general law for the accentuation of nominal suffixes can be stated; but there is a tendency, when *-a*, *-ana*, *-as*, *-an*, *-man* are added, to accent the root in action nouns, and the suffix in agent nouns; and in nouns formed with *-as* and *-man* difference of gender is to some extent accompanied by difference of accent.

1. Root stems when reduplicated or compounded with prepositions as a rule retain the accent on the radical syllable; e. g. *juhū-* 'tongue' and 'ladle', *yavi-yūdh-* 'eager to fight'; *pra-ṇeni-* 'guiding constantly'. In stems formed with intensive reduplication, however, the reduplicative syllable is sometimes accented; thus *jīgn-* 'singing aloud', *vānivan-* 'desiring', *dāridra-* (VS.) 'roving'. The prefix is accented in *deva-sā-* 'deliverance', *ūpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pāri-jri-* 'running round'.

2. When the suffix *-a* is added, the root is accented in action nouns, but the suffix in agent nouns; e. g. *véd-a-* 'knowledge', *śisnúth-a-* 'perforation'; but *cod-á-* 'instigator', *cacar-á-* 'moveable'.¹ When there is a verbal prefix, the final syllable is as a rule accented; e. g. *say-gam-á-* m. 'coming together'. In a few of these compounds, however, the root is accented, as *ut-pát-a-* (AV.) 'portent', *ā-śrés-a-* (AV.) 'plague'; and in some others (mostly agent nouns) the prefix: *ū-bhag-a-* 'sharing', *práti-veś-a-* 'neighbour', *vy-ás-a-* (AV.) 'burning', *sān-kāś-a-* (AV.) 'appearance'.

3. The suffix *-ata* is always accented on the final syllable; e. g. *darí-átá-* 'visible', *pac-átá-* 'cooked', *yaj-átá-* 'to be adored'.

4. Of the participial suffixes *-at* and *-ant* the former is never accented when the sense is verbal; e. g. *dād-at-* 'giving', *dās-at-* 'worshipping'. A few old participles, however, which have become substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vāh-át-* 'stream', *vāgh-át-* (AV. VS.) 'barren cow', *vāgh-át-* 'sacrificer', *svaz-át-* 'stream', *sāśe-dí-* 'pursuer'. The suffix *-ant* is accented in the present participle of the second (450) and sixth (429) classes and of the denominative (562), e. g. *ad-ánt-*, *tud-ánt-*, *aghāy-ánt-*; in the future (537), e. g. *dāsy-ánt-* (AV.); in the root aorist, e. g. *bhid-ánt-* and sometimes in the *a*-aorist, e. g. *vydh-ánt-*; also in the old present participles which have become adjectives, *ṛh-ánt-* 'weak', *brh-ánt-* 'great', and (with lengthened vowel) *māh-ánt-* 'great'.

5. The suffix *-an* is generally accented; e. g. *ukś-dn-* m. 'bull', *ud-án-* n. 'water'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *rāj-an-* m. 'king', *ūdh-an-* n. 'udder'.

6. Stems formed with *-ana* predominantly accent the root; e. g. *kār-ana-* n. 'act', *cod-ana-* (AV.) 'impelling'. The final syllable is, however, accented fairly often; e. g. *kar-ānā-* 'active', *kros-ānā-* 'yelling', *ksay-ānā-* (VS.) 'habitable', *tvar-ānā-* (AV.) 'hastening', *roc-ānā-* 'shining' (AV.), n. 'light', *svap-ānā-* (VS.) 'sleepy'. The penultimate is also accented in several words: the substantives

¹ The ŚB., however, accents both particles; cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 31, 22.

² Cp. WHITNEY 1147 g.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 1148; LINDNER p. 34.

kir-āna- m. 'dust', *kṛp-āna-* n. 'misery' (but *kṛp-ānā-* 'miserable' AV.), *dāms-āna-* n. 'great deed', *vṛj-āna-* n. 'enclosure', *ves-āna-* n. 'service'; and the adjectives *tur-āna-* 'hastening', *doh-āna-* 'milking', *bhānā-āna-* (VS. TS.) 'rejoicing', *man-āna-* 'considerate', *mand-āna-* 'joyful', *saks-āna-* 'overcoming'. When the stem is compounded with a verbal prefix, the root is nearly always accented; e. g. *sam-gūmana-* 'gathering together'; but the final syllable is accented in *vi-akṣand-* 'conspicuous', *upari-sayand-* (AV.) 'couch'.

7. The suffix *-anā*, whether forming the feminine of adjectives in *-ana* or f. action nouns, is always accented either on the penultimate or the final syllable; e. g. *tur-ānā-* 'speeding', *spand-ānā-* (AV.) 'kicking'; *arh-ānā-* 'merit', *jar-ānā-* 'old age'. The word *pīṭ-ānā-* 'fight' is irregularly accented on the radical syllable.

8. The suffix *-ani* is always accented, either on the final or the penultimate syllable; e. g. *dyot-ani-* 'brilliance'; *as-īni-* 'missile'.

9. The suffix *-anī* being the feminine form of action and agent nouns in *-ana*, is similarly accented; e. g. *pś-ani-* (AV.) 'beautiful' (*pś-ana-*). The accent is, however, sometimes shifted to the final syllable; e. g. *tap-ani-* 'heat' (*tāp-ana-*).

10. Stems formed with the suffix *-as* accent the root if they are action nouns, but the suffix if they are agent nouns; e. g. *āp-as-* n. 'work', but *ap-ās-* 'active'. There are also some masc. substantives with the accent on the suffix; e. g. *raks-īs-* m. beside *raks-as-* n. 'demon'.

11. The suffix *-ā*, forming action nouns from roots and secondary conjugation stems, is invariably¹ accented; e. g. *nind-ā-* (AV.) 'blame'; *jigī-ā-* 'desire to win'; *gamay-ā-* (AV¹) 'causing to go'; *asī-ā-* 'desire for horses'.

12. The suffix *-āna*, forming middle participles, is normally accented on the final syllable; e. g. *ad-ānā-* 'eating'. Reduplicated stems, however, regularly accent the first syllable; e. g. *dād-āna-* 'giving', *jūhu-āna-* 'invoking'. A few others accent the root; e. g. *cit-āna-* (AV¹) 'shining', *dyūt-āna-* (RV¹) 'beaming' (beside the usual *dyūt-ānī-*)². There are also a few adjectives and substantives ending in *-āna* in which the primary character of the suffix or the derivation of the word is doubtful. These also accent the first syllable; e. g. *viśav-āna-* 'possessing wealth', *pīṭ-āna-* m. 'abyss'³.

13. No general rule can be stated regarding the suffix *-i*, either the suffix or the root being accented with about equal frequency; e. g. *āj-i-* 'race', *grāh-i-* 'seizure'. Action nouns used as infinitives, however, regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *drś-ī-* 'to see'. Reduplicated derivatives tend to accent the initial syllable; e. g. *cākṛ-i-* 'active'; while stems compounded with a preposition usually accent the final syllable; e. g. *pari-dad-i-* 'delivering over'.

14. Stems formed with the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha* regularly accent the root; e. g. *yāj-iṣṭha-* 'sacrificing best'. The only exceptions are *jyēṣṭhā-* when meaning 'eldest' (but *jyēṣṭha-* 'greatest') and *kan-iṣṭhi-* 'youngest' (but *kān-iṣṭha-* 'smallest', TS. B). When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *ā-gam-iṣṭha-* 'coming best'.

15. The suffix *-is* is nearly always accented; e. g. *arc-is-* 'flame'. The exceptions are *ām-is-* 'raw flesh', *jyōt-is-* 'light', and *vyāth-is-* 'course' (?).

16. The few action and agent nouns formed with the suffix *-ī*, are accented either on the root or the suffix; e. g. *dēh-ī-* 'rampart', *śac-ī-* 'power'.

¹ If *jūṅghā-* 'leg' is formed with this suffix, it is the only exception. ³ See below, Nominal stem formation, under *-āna-* (130).

² See LINDNER p. 54, top.

17. Stems formed with the comparative suffix *-tyāms* invariably accent the root; e. g. *jītv-tyāms-* 'swifter'. When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *prāti-cyav-tyāms-* 'pressing closer against'.

18. The suffix *-u* is usually accented; e. g. *ur-ū-* 'wide', *pad-ū-* m. 'foot'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *tāh-u-* 'speeding', *ās-u-* m. 'life'. The suffix is regularly accented in adjectives formed from desiderative, causative, and denominative stems; e. g. *dīps-ū-* 'wishing to harm', *bhāvay-ū-* 'cherishing', *aghāy-ū-* 'malignant'.

19. Substantives formed with the suffix *-us* regularly accent the root (excepting *jan-ūs-* 'birth'); e. g. *dhān-us-* 'bow'. But a few adjectives which are never used as substantives accent the suffix; e. g. *jay-ūs-* 'victorious', but *tāp-us-* both 'hot' and 'heat'.

20. The suffix *-ū* forming independent feminine substantives is regularly accented; as *cam-ū-* 'dish', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'.

21. When the suffix *-ta* forms past passive participles it is invariably accented; e. g. *jā-tā-* 'born', *raks-i-tā-* 'protected'. But a few ordinary nouns formed with this suffix accent the radical syllable; *ī-ta-* 'variegated'; m.: *gār-ta-* 'car-seat', *mūr-ta-* 'mortal', *vā-ta-* 'wind', *hās-ta-* 'hand'; n.: *ās-ta-* 'home', *nāk-ta-* 'night'.

22. Stems formed with the suffix *-tar* generally accent the root when the meaning is participial, but the suffix when it is purely nominal; e. g. *dā-tar-* 'giving' (with acc.), but *dāt-tār-* 'giver'.

23. Stems formed with the suffix *-ti* accent the root more frequently than the suffix; e. g. *is-ti-* 'offering', *kyi-ti-* (AV.) 'destruction', *dhū-ti-* m. 'shaker', but *is-ti-* 'desire', *kyi-ti-* 'abode', *jñā-ti-* m. 'relative', *vā-ti-* 'gift'. Reduplicated derivatives seem to have accented either the first syllable or the suffix; e. g. *didhi-ti-* 'devotion' and *carky-ti-* 'fame'. When these stems are compounded with prepositions, the latter are nearly always accented; e. g. *ā-hu-ti-* 'offering'; the only exceptions are *ā-sak-ti-* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti-* 'brew' and 'enlivening', and *abhi-s-ti-* m. 'helper' beside *abhi-s-ti-* f. 'help'.

24. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tu*, with some half dozen exceptions, accent the root (invariably when they are used as infinitives); e. g. *tān-tu-* 'thread', but *ak-tū-* 'ray'.

25. The suffix *-tnu* is always accented; e. g. *ha-tnū-* 'deadly', *jigha-tnū-* 'harming'.

26. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tra* generally accent the root; e. g. *mān-tra-* 'prayer', but *kṣa-trā-* 'dominion'.

27. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-tva* regularly accent the root; e. g. *kār-tva-* 'to be made', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said', *bhūt-i-tva-* 'future'.

28. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tha* generally accent the latter; e. g. *uk-thā-* n. 'saying'. Sometimes, however, the root is accented; e. g. *ār-tha-* 'goal'. When the suffix is added with the connecting vowel *-a-*, the latter is generally accented; e. g. *uc-ā-tha-* n. 'praise'.

29. The suffix *-na* when forming past passive participles is invariably accented; e. g. *bhin-nā-* 'split'. When forming ordinary nouns, whether adjectives or masc. substantives, it is usually accented; e. g. *ī-nā-* 'guilty', *gṛ-nā-* m. 'heat'; but a few masculines accent the root, as *kār-nā-* 'ear', *vār-nā-* 'colour', *svāp-na-* 'sleep'. Neuters (except *śu-nā-* 'welfare') and feminines (*-nā*) accent the root; e. g. *ān-nā-*¹ 'food', *tī-nā-* 'grass', *tī-s-nā-* 'thirst'.

¹ Originally a past participle of *ad-* 'eat'.

30. Derivatives formed with *-ni* accent either the root or the suffix; e. g. *yó-ni* m. 'receptacle', but *ag-ní* m. 'fire'.

31. The suffix *-nu* is almost invariably accented; e. g. *vag-nú* 'sound'. An exception is *vís-nu*, N. of god.

32. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ma* accent the suffix more than twice as often as the root; e. g. *tig-mí* 'sharp', *ghar-má* 'heat', *dhá-má* 'smoke', but *í-ma* 'friend', *só-ma* 'Soma'.

33. Derivatives formed with *-man* regularly accent the root in neuter substantives; e. g. *kár-man* 'action', *ján-man* 'birth', *ná-man* 'name'. There are, however, several masculine agent nouns which accent the suffix; e. g. *dar-mán* 'breaker'. In several instances the accent varies in the same word according to the gender and meaning; e. g. *bráh-man* n. 'prayer', *brah-mán* m. 'one who prays'; *sád-man* n. 'seat', *sad-mán* m. 'sitter'. These stems when compounded with prepositions nearly always accent the latter; e. g. *prí-bharman* n. 'presentation'.

34. The participial suffix *-māna* is never accented except in the anomalous perfect participle *sas-māná* (RV.) = *sas-rānd* 'speeding'. The accent of these derivatives is regularly on the same syllable as in the tense-stem to which the suffix is added; e. g. *yíja-māna* 'sacrificing', *icchá-māna* 'desiring', *idhyd-māna* 'being kindled', *yaktyá-māna* 'about to sacrifice'.

35. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-ya* invariably accent the root; e. g. *híva-ya* 'to be invoked'.

36. The suffix *-ra* is usually accented; e. g. *ak-rá* m. 'banner', *rud-rá*, m. N. of a god, *abh-rá* n. 'cloud'. The root is, however, accented in a good many words; e. g. *gídh-ra* 'greedy', *dj-ra* m. 'field', *lud-ra*, N. of a god, *dj-ra* n. 'point'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ri* accent the root oftener than the suffix; e. g. *hí-ri* 'abundant', but also *sá-ri* m. 'patron'.

38. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-va* accent the suffix rather oftener than the root; e. g. *rk-vá* 'praising', but also *íbh-va* 'skilful'.

39. The root is regularly accented in derivatives formed with the suffix *-van*; e. g. *kí-t-va-* 'active', *pát-va-* 'flying', *yáj-va-* 'sacrificing'. This is the case even when the stem is compounded with a preposition; e. g. *ví-mí-g-va-* (AV.) 'cleansing'.

40. The suffixes *-vana*, *-vano*, *-vani* are always accented, the first two on the final, the last on the initial syllable; e. g. *vag-vand* 'talkative', *vag-vanít* m. 'noise', *dhur-váni* 'restless'.

41. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vara* chiefly accent the final syllable when they are masc. nouns, but the root when they are neuter substantives; e. g. *í-t-vari* 'going', *í-vari* (AV.) 'able', but *kir-vara* n. 'deed', *gáh-vara* (AV.) n. 'thicket'. The suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in the adjective *víd-valá* 'cunning'.

42. The suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle is always accented, even in the reduced form *-us* appearing in the weak cases; e. g. *cakr-vāms-* and *cakr-ús-* 'having made'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vi* from the simple root accent the radical syllable, but the first syllable of the reduplicated root; thus *ghí-¹vi-* 'lively', but *jígg-¹vi-* 'watchful'.

¹ This word may, however, be differently derived; possibly *ví-snu-* 'der in die Weite stehende', according to UHLENBECK, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache, Amsterdam 1898; cp. BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 17, 427 f., 'crossing the back (of the world)'.

44. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-sa* sometimes accent the root, sometimes the suffix; e. g. *gīt-sa-* 'adroit', *ūt-sa-* m. 'fountain', but *prk-sā-* 'dappled', *ghraṃ-sā-* m. 'sun's heat'.

45. The suffix *-smu* is always accented; e. g. *jī-smū-* 'victorious', *vr̥dha-smū-* 'joyful', *car-i-smū-* 'wandering', *nī-sat-smū-* 'sitting down', *tūpay-i-smū-* 'tormenting', *abhi-śocay-i-smū-* (AV.) 'causing torments'.

B. In secondary derivation five groups of stems may be distinguished with regard to accentuation: a. those which accent the suffix, being formed with *-āyana-*, *-āyi-*, *-āyā-*, *-in-*, *-iya-*, *-ina-*, *-iya-*, *-eni-*, *-ēya-*, *-ā-*, *-ta-*, *-ya-*, *-tā-*, *-tvā-*, *-tvā-*, *-tvā-*, *-mā-*, *-māya-*, *-mī-*, *-mī-*, *-yī-*, *-vā-*, *-vī-*, *-vā-*, *-vī-*; b. those in which the suffix is not accented, being formed with *-āya-*, *-āra-*, *-ā-*, *-ā-*, *-ā-*, *-ā-*, *-ā-*, *-ā-*; c. those in which only the first syllable is accented, being formed with *-i* and *-ni*; d. those in which either the first or the last syllable is accented, being formed by means of Vr̥ddhi with the suffixes *-eya-*, *-a* or *-na* (the last two also without Vr̥ddhi); e. those in which the accent is sometimes on the suffix, and sometimes on one or other syllable of the primitive stem, being formed with the suffixes *-ā-*, *-āni-*, *-ima-*, *-i-*, *-ka-*, *-āna-* or *-na-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*, *-āna-*. The following is a detailed account of the accent in derivatives formed with the above secondary suffixes in their alphabetical order.

i. Stems formed with the suffix *-a* and Vr̥ddhi of the first syllable from primitive stems ending in *-a* are predominantly accented on the final syllable. This is, however, mostly the case when the primitive is accented on any syllable other than the last; e. g. *āmitrā-* 'hostile' from *amitra-* 'foe', *nārāśāmsā-* 'belonging to Nārāśāmsa', *śaucadrathā-*, patronymic from *śucīd-ratha-* 'having a shining car', *śvāmānī-* 'relating to the clear-flowing (*śvāmāna-*) Soma'. In several instances, however, the primitive stem is also oxytone, e. g. *kaśīkā-* 'belonging to Kuśīkā'. On the other hand, stems formed with Vr̥ddhi sometimes accent the first syllable, when the primitive is otherwise accented; e. g. *mādhyaṃdīna-* 'belonging to midday' (*mādhyaṃdīna-*), *śūbhaga-* 'luck' from *śūbhaga-* 'lucky', *vīdhryāśvā-* 'descendant of Vadhryāśvā'. The derivative *divodāsa-* 'belonging to Divodāsa' is, however, formed from a stem similarly accented (*divo-dāsa-*).

A similar rule prevails in the accentuation of stems derived from other primitives by means of the suffix *-a* and Vr̥ddhi of the first syllable; e. g. *āyāsa-* 'made of metal' (*āyas-*), *śaumanasā-* 'benevolence' from *śūmānas-* 'well-disposed'; also sometimes from stems similarly accented, as *paīdā-* 'belonging to Paīdā'. On the other hand, the first syllable is accented in derivatives from primitives mostly accented on the last; e. g. *pārthivā-* 'earthly' from *pṛthivī-* 'earth', *māghonā-* 'belonging to the bountiful one' (*maghāvan-*); but sometimes also from stems similarly accented, as *nāhuṣā-* 'neighbouring' from *nāhuṣ-* 'neighbour'. The accentuation is similar when the secondary *-a* is added without Vr̥ddhi; e. g. *parū-* 'knotty' from *pārus-* 'knot', but *hāritā-* 'fallow' from *hārit-*.

2. The suffix *-ā* forming feminines to masculines in *-a* retains the accent on the same syllable as in the masculine; e. g. *priyā-* beside *priyā-* 'dear'.

3. Stems formed with the somewhat rare suffix *-ānī* accent one of the last three syllables; e. g. *indrānī-* 'wife of Indra', *mūdgālīnī-* 'wife of Mūdgala', *purukūtsānī-* 'wife of Purukūtsa', *uśnīrānī-* 'queen of the Uśnīras'.

4. The only example of the patronymic suffix *-āyana* in the RV. *kāṇvāyana-* 'descendant of Kāṇva' is unaccented (occurring in the voc. only); the final syllable seems to have been accented judging by *dakṣāyana-*

(VS. AV.) 'son of Dakṣa', and the fem. *rāmāyanti-* (AV.) 'daughter of the Black one'. The derivative *ukṣanyīyana-*, N. of a man, is unique both in accentuation and absence of Vṛddhi.

5. The suffix *-āyī* occurs accented on the first syllable only in *agnī-āyī-* 'wife of Agni'; *vṛṣākapi-āyī-* (RV.) 'wife of Vṛṣākapi', occurring in the voc. only, is unaccented.

6. The suffix *-āyya-* forming gerundival adjectives is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *pan-āyya-* 'to be admired'.

7. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ī* and Vṛddhi, being almost exclusively patronymics, always accent the first syllable; thus *āgniveśī-* 'son of Agniveśa', *pūrukūśī-* 'descendant of Purukūtsa', *pratardani-* 'descendant of Pratardana', *prāhrādī-* (AV.) 'son of Prāhrāda', *saṃvāraṇī-* 'descendant of Saṃvāraṇa'. Similarly formed and accented is *śārathī-* 'charioteer' (from *sa-rāthā-m* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words, formed without Vṛddhi, take the secondary *-ī*: *tāpūśī-* 'burning' (*tāpus-* 'heat') and, accented on the final syllable, *śucantī-*, N. of a man.

8. The very frequent suffix *-in* forming possessive adjectives is always accented; e. g. *āśvīn-* 'possessing horses', *dhanīn-* 'wealthy'; *manīśīn-* 'wise'; *abhīmatīn-* 'insidious'. The adjective *śakīn-* 'powerful' occurs once accented on the first syllable: *śakī-* (I. 51⁸); the accentuation of this form and of the two nominatives (each occurring once) *īrī-* 'violent' and *śūrī-* 'speeding' is perhaps due to error.

9. The accentuation of the suffix *-īma*, which is attached to three stems in *-tra-* and to one in *-ra-*, varies: *khantrīma-* 'made by digging', *krtrīma-* 'artificial', *putrīma-* (AV.) 'purified'; *agrīmī-* 'foremost'.

10. The suffix *-īya* is regularly accented either on its first or its second syllable; e. g. *abhrīya-* and *abhrīyī-* 'derived from the clouds' (*abhrā-*), *ksatrīya-* 'having authority' (*ksatrī-*), *amitrīya-* 'inimical' (*amitra-* 'foe'); *agrīyā-* 'foremost', *indrīyā-* 'belonging to Indra'. The only exceptions are *ītuīya-* (AV.) 'being in season' (*ītu-*), beside *ītuīya-*, and *śrītrīya-* (AV.) 'learned' (*śrītra-* 'learning').

11. Derivatives with the feminine suffix *-ī* commonly accent the same syllable as the corresponding masculines (except oxytones); e. g. *bhūvantī-* 'being', m. *bhūvant-*. But the feminine in *-ī* from masculines in *-a* that are not accented on the final syllable usually accents the *-ī* (and follows the radical *ī-* declension); e. g. *rathī-* 'charioteer' (m. f.) from *rāthā-* 'chariot'. The *-ī* is also accented when it forms the fem. of masc. oxytones in *-u*, e. g. *prthivī-* 'broad' (*prthiv-*); in *-ant*, e. g. *usātī-* 'desiring' (*usānt-*); in *-tār*, e. g. *avitī-* 'protectress' (*avitār-*); in *-ānī* taking Samprasāraṇa, e. g. *pratī-* 'facing' (*pratyānī-*). The fem. in *-ī* from masc. oxytones in *-a* sometimes retains the accent on the suffix, e. g. *devī-* 'goddess' (*dēvā-* 'god'), but more usually throws it back on the first syllable, e. g. *drūṣī-* 'ruddy' (*arūṣī-*).

12. The suffix *-īna* is generally accented on its first syllable, rarely on its last; e. g. *apūcīna-* 'western', *saṃvatsarīya-* 'annual'; *pratī-* 'turned towards'. The suffix is unaccented only in *mācīna-* (RV.) 'mine'.

13. The suffix *-īya* is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *arjī-* *īya-* a kind of Soma vessel, *āhavanīya-* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *grhamedhīya-* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice', *parvatīya-* (AV.) 'mountainous'. Similarly in the ordinals *dvitīya-* 'second', *tṛtīya-* 'third', *tūrvīya-* 'fourth'.

14. The suffix *-ānā* is accented on the final in its only occurrence in the feminine form *samidhānī-* 'relating to fuel' (*samidh-*).

15. The suffix *-ānyā*, nearly always forming gerundives, regularly accents

its first syllable; e. g. *dr̥ś-ñya-* 'worthy to be seen'. The only exception is *vdr̥-ñya-* 'desirable'. Similarly accented are the ordinary adjectives *vīr-ñya-* 'manly' (*vīrā-*) and *kīrt-ñya-* 'famous' (*kīrti-* 'fame').

16. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ya* and Vṛddhi accent the final syllable when they have a patronymic sense, but otherwise the first; e. g. *ār̥ś-ya-* 'descendant of a seer' (*ār̥śi-*), but *p̥duru-ya-* 'relating to man' (*p̥duru-*). The analogy of the gerundive from roots ending in *-i*, which is formed with *-ya* (e. g. *d̥ya-* 'to be given'), is followed by *didr̥k̥s-ya-* 'worth seeing' (*didr̥k̥ś-*) and *sabh-ya-* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabhā-*).

17. Derivatives formed with *-ka* are variously accented. Those which have a diminutive sense regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *arbha-kā-* 'small', *kanina-kā-* 'youth', *kumāra-kā-* 'little boy'. Otherwise the accent sometimes remains on the same syllable as in the primitive; e. g. *dāta-kā-* 'making an end' (*dāta-*), *yusmā-kā-* 'your' (*yusmā-*); or it shifts to the suffix, e. g. *anya-kā-* 'other' (*anyā-*), *sana-kā-* 'old' (*sina-*); or to the first syllable, e. g. *rūpa-kā-* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rūpā-* 'form').

18. The rare suffix *-ta* is regularly accented: *eka-tā-* (VS.) 'First', *dvi-tā-* 'Second', *tri-tā-* 'Third' as Proper Names, *ava-tā-* 'well', *muhūr-tā-* 'moment'.

19. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tana* or its syncopated form *-tna* are variously accented: *nī-tana-* and *nī-tna-* 'present', *sana-tāna-* (AV.) and *sand-tna-* (AV.) 'lasting', *pra-tnā-* 'ancient'.

20. The suffix *-tama* when forming superlatives is hardly ever accented², the primitive nearly always retaining its original accent; e. g. *tavds-tama-*³ 'very strong'. But when it forms ordinals the final syllable is accented; e. g. *sata-tamā-* 'hundredth'.

21. A few adjectives formed with *-taya* from numerals meaning 'consisting of so many parts', accent the primitive: *cātu-ṭaya-* (AV.) 'fourfold', *dāsa-taya-* 'tenfold'.

22. The suffix *-tara* forming comparatives is hardly ever accented, the primitive retaining its original accent; e. g. *rathī-tara-* 'better car-fighter'. An exception is *vṛtra-tāra-* 'a worse Vṛtra'.

23. Derivatives formed with *-tā* regularly accentuate the syllable preceding the suffix; e. g. *a-g̥-tā-* 'want of cows', *devā-tā-* 'divinity', *puruṣ-tā-* 'human nature'. The only exception is *a-vīra-tā-* 'want of sons'.

24. Derivatives formed with *-tāti* and *-tāt* have the same accentuation as those formed with *-tā*; e. g. *a-riṣṭī-tāti-* 'security', *devā-tāti-* 'divinity', *śih-ṭāti-* 'good fortune'. The accent is exceptional in *āsta-tāti-* 'home' and *dikṣa-tāti-* (AV.) 'cleverness'.

25. The suffix *-tva*, forming nouns from particles, is never accented: *ipa-tva-* n. 'offspring', *amī-tva-* 'companion', *divī-tva-* 'manifest', *nī-tva-* 'own', *nīṣ-tva-* 'foreign', *śinū-tva-* 'secret'. When attached to the substantive *ap-* 'water' it is, however, accented: *ap-tyā-* and *āp-tyā-* 'watery'.

26. The suffix *-tvā* is invariably accented; e. g. *amṛta-tvā-* 'immortality', *pati-tvā-* 'matrimony'.

27. The very rare suffix *-tvā-tā* is accented on its first syllable: *isita-tvā-tā-* 'excitement', *puruṣa-tvā-tā-* 'human nature'.

28. The suffix *-tvāna* is always accented on its final syllable; e. g. *kavi-tvānā-* 'wisdom', *pati-tvānā-* 'matrimony', *sakhī-tvānā-* 'friendship'.

² Accented *kaninaka-* in the VS. The fem. in the RV. is *kaninikā-* but in the AV. *kaninikā-*.

³ It is shifted in *mṛḍayāt-tama-* 'showing great compassion' (*mṛḍayāt-*). Cp. below 89.

² Except *parvā-tama-* 'very many' and *ut-*

tamā- 'highest', *śakvāt-tamā-* 'most frequent' (with the ordinal accent).

29. The suffix *-tha*, forming ordinals from a few numerals and adjectives of a cognate sense from pronominal stems, is nearly always accented: thus *catuṣ-thā-* (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thī-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *kati-thī-* 'the how-maniest'; but *saptā-tha-* 'seventh'.

30. The rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-na* are accented either on the first or the last syllable: *strī-na-* 'feminine' (*strī-* 'woman'), *vṛṣa-ṇa-* 'various'; but *purā-nā-* 'ancient', *samā-nā-* 'like'.

31. With the suffix *-bha*² are formed the names of a few animals with one exception accented on the final syllable: *ṛṣa-bhā-* and *vṛṣa-bhī-* 'bull', *gadda-bhā-* 'ass', *sara-bhā-* (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eight-legged animal', *vṛṣa-bha-* 'ass'. This suffix also occurs once in the adjective *sthūla-bhā-* (AV.) 'big'.

32. The suffix *-ma* is regularly accented, whether forming superlatives; e. g. *adhā-mā-* 'lowest', *madhya-mī-* 'middle-most', or ordinals; e. g. *aṣṭa-mā-* 'eighth'. An exception is *danta-mā-* 'next'.

33. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-mant* retain the accent of the primitive, unless the latter is oxytone, when the accent in the great majority of instances (about three-fourths) is thrown forward on the suffix; e. g. *śradhī-mant-* (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *aśāni-mant-* 'bearing the thunderbolt'; but *agnī-mānt-* 'having fire' (*agnī-*).

34. The suffix *-maya* is always accented on the first syllable; e. g. *ayas-māya-* 'made of metal', *go-māya-* 'consisting of cows', *saka-māya-* 'arising from excrement'.

35. The suffix *-min* is accented (like *-in*) in the only two derivatives formed with it: *iṣ-min-* 'impetuous', and *ṛg-min-* 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc-*).

36. The rare suffix *-mna* is always accented: *dya-mnā-* 'brightness', *nṛ-mnā-* 'manliness', *ni-mnā-* 'depth', *su-mnā-* 'welfare'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ya* and Vṛddhi accent the initial or the final syllable with the same shift as appears in those formed with *-a*: the initial, when the primitive is accented on the final (or sometimes a medial) syllable, but the final, when the primitive is accented on the initial (or sometimes a medial syllable); e. g. *dāiv-ya-* 'divine' (*devā-* 'god'), *ārtvij-ya-* 'office of priest' (*ṛtvij-*), *gṛhapat-ya-* 'position of a householder' (*gṛhā-pati-*); but *āditi-yā-* 'son of Aditi', *prajāpat-yā-* (AV.) 'relating to Prajāpati'. In a very few instances the accent remains unchanged, as *ādhipat-ya-* 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati-* 'lord'), *pāums-ya-* 'manliness' (*pūms-* 'man'), *vīṣ-ya-* 'man of the third caste' (*vīṣ-* 'settler'), *śrēṣṭh-ya-* (AV.) 'superiority' (*śrēṣṭha-* 'best'); while in several instances it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of to the initial syllable); e. g. *kāv-yā-* 'descendant of Kavi' (but *kāv-ya-* 'endowed with the qualities of a sage', *kāvī-*).

a. In derivatives formed without Vṛddhi the accentuation is to some extent similar; thus a final accent shifts to the first syllable; e. g. in *pitr-ya-* 'belonging to the fathers' (*pitr-*), *prātijan-ya-* 'adverse' (*prati-janī-* 'adversary' AV.); or from the first to the last; e. g. *grām-yī-* 'belonging to the village' (*grāma-*); or it remains on the first syllable; e. g. *śv-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (*śvī-*), *gāv-ya-* 'derived from cows' (*gā-*); or it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of the first syllable); e. g. *kāv-yā-* 'wise' (*kāvī-*). But here the accent may also remain on or be shifted to a medial syllable; e. g. *svarāj-ya-* 'autocracy' (*svarāj-* 'sovereign'), *viśvādev-ya-* 'belonging to all gods' (*viśvā-deva-*); *hiranyā-ya-* 'golden' (*hiranya-* 'gold'), *avyā-ya-* 'derived from sheep' (beside *ārya-ya-*), *gavyā-ya-* 'derived from cows' (beside *gāvya-*).

¹ Cp. BB. 28, 318, bottom.

² Cp. PRELLWITZ, Bl. 22, 74—114, on animal names in *-bha*.

³ But *antantūhī-* (I. 165).

But a peculiarity of the derivatives formed without Vṛddhi is that the majority of them have the Svarita accent on the suffix; e. g. *rājan-yā-* 'belonging to the royal class' (*rājan-*); *doṣan-yā-* 'relating to the arm' (*doṣan-*); *vāyav-yā-* 'belonging to Wind' (*vāyā-*); *duṇḍubh-yā-* (VS.) 'relating to a drum' (*duṇḍubhi-*); *budhn-yā-* 'belonging to the bottom' (*budhnā-*). The suffix thus accented also appears in the gerundive in *-tav-yā-* (twice found in the AV.) formed from an infinitive stem in *-tu* (§85, 4).

38. The rare suffix *-yin* is (like *-in*) always accented: *ātātā-yin-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn', *dhanvā-yin-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow', *marā-yin-*, N. of a man, *sykā-yin-* (VS.) 'having a spear', *svadhā-yin-* (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

39. Derivatives formed with *-ra* having a comparative sense (chiefly from prepositions) accent the initial syllable: *ādha-ra-* 'lower', *ūpa-ra-* 'later', *dva-ra-* 'lower', *īpa-ra-* 'lower', *ānta-ra-* 'near' (*dūta-* 'end'). Other nouns formed with the suffix are chiefly accented on the final syllable; e. g. *a-śrī-rā-* 'ugly', *dhūm-rā-* (VS.) 'dusky' (*dhūmā-* 'smoke'), *pāṃsu-rā-* 'dusty', *rath-i-rā-* 'riding in a chariot'; but sometimes otherwise; thus *āgnīdh-ra-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*agnīdh-*), *mūdh-i-ra-* 'wise', *karmā-ra-* 'smith'.

40. Derivatives formed with *-la* nearly always accent the suffix; e. g. *a-śrī-lā-* (AV.) 'ugly', *jīva-lā-* (AV.) 'lively', *bahu-lī-* 'abundant', *madhu-lā-* 'sweet'; but *tīlvi-lā-* 'fertile', *śeva-lā-* (AV.) 'slimy', *śiśi-lā-* 'little child'.

41. The suffix *-va* is regularly accented: *aruva-vā-* 'billowy', *keśa-vā-* (AV.) 'hairy', *ahī-vā-* (AV.) 'slippery', *santi-vā-* (AV.) 'friendly', *śradhī-vā-* 'credible'.

42. The fem. substantives formed from adverbs or prepositions with the suffix *-vāt* always accent the final syllable: *arvā-vāt-* 'proximity', *ā-vāt-* (AV.) 'proximity', *ud-vāt-* 'height', *nī-vāt-* 'depth', *parā-vāt-* 'distance', *pra-vāt-* 'height', *saṃ-vāt-* 'region'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-van* may have the accent on any syllable; e. g. *āthar-van-* 'fire-priest', *indhan-van-* 'possessed of fuel', *īghā-van-* 'violent'; *rhī-van-* 'regular', *maghā-van-* 'bountiful'; *arāt-vān-* 'hostile', *śruṣṭi-vān-* 'obedient'.

44. Derivatives formed with *-vant* generally retain the original accent except in oxytone stems (if not ending in *a* or *ā*), which as a rule throw it on the suffix; e. g. *kāśa-vant-* 'hairy', *putrā-vant-* (VS.) 'having a son', *prajā-vant-* 'having offspring', *dyāvīpṛthivī-vant-* 'connected with heaven and earth'; but *agnī-vānt-* 'having fire' (*agnī-*), *āsan-vānt-* (AV.) 'having a mouth'. The accent is anomalously shifted in *kyānī-vant-* 'decorated with pearls' (*kyāna-*) and *viśā-vānt-* 'central' (*viśā-*) 'in both directions'.

45. The very rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-vaya* accent either the suffix or the primitive: *dru-vāya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish' and *cātur-vaya-* 'fourfold'.

46. Derivatives formed with the rare suffix *-valā* accent their final syllable: *kṛṣī-valā-* 'peasant', *naḍ-valā-* (VS.) 'reed bed'.

47. The suffix *-vin* is always accented; e. g. *namas-vin-* 'reverential', *yaśas-vin-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *madhā-vin-* (AV.) 'wise', *dhṛśad-vin-* 'bold'.

48. The very rare names of relationship formed with the suffix *-vya* accent the first syllable: *bhrātṛ-vya-* (AV.) 'nephew'.

49. A few adjectives and substantives formed with the suffix *-śa* accent either the final or, less often, the first or second syllable: *aruśā-* or

¹ This word may, however, be derived from *antār-* 'within', with BR. and WATKINS 1209 i.

irva-sa- 'hasting', *eta-sá-* or *éta-sa-* 'variegated', *babhu-sá-* (VS. MS.) 'brownish', *roma-sá-* 'hairy', *yuva-sá-* 'youthful', *añku-sá-* 'hook', *turvá-sa-*, N. of a man. Perhaps also *kásma-sa-* (AV.) 'stupefaction'(?), and *kalá-sa-* 'jar'.

2. Accentuation of Compounds.

AUFRECHT, De accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum, Bonn 1847. — GARBE, KZ. 23, 470f. — REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer betonung nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik 2^e, p. 40—43, etc.

87. The rule as to the accentuation of compounds, stated in the most general way, is that iteratives, possessives, and governing compounds place the accent on the first member; determinatives and regularly formed copulatives (with one accent) on the last member and to a large extent on its final syllable. Speaking generally the accent of a compound is that of one of its members. But some words always change their accent when compounded; thus *vísva-* 'all' regularly becomes *vísud-*, and in the later Saphitās *sárva-* 'all' sometimes becomes *sarvī-*. Other words when compounded change their accent in certain combinations only; thus some paroxytones become oxytone, as *pūru-* 'prior' in *pūrud-citti-* 'foreboding', *pūrud-piti-* 'precedence in drinking', *pūrud-kūti-* 'first invocation'; *nēna-* 'one' in *nemá-dhiti-* 'separation'; *médha-* 'sacrifice' in *medhá-pati-* 'lord of sacrifice', and *medhá-sati-* 'receiving the oblation'; *vṛṣan-* in *vṛṣi-kapi-*, N. of a monkey; on the other hand some oxytones throw back the accent, as *khādi-* 'bracelet' in *khādi-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets'; *grivī-* 'neck' in *tuvigrīva-* 'powerful-necked'; *vīrá-* 'hero' in *puru-vīra-* 'possessed of many men' and *su-vīra-* 'heroic'; *dhūmá-* 'smoke' in *saka-dhūma-* (AV.) 'smoke of cowdung'.

An adjective compound may shift the accent from one member to the other if it becomes a substantive or a Proper Name; thus *a-kṣára-* 'im-perishable', *d-kṣarā-* 'speech'; *sú-kṛta-* 'well done', *su-kṛt-* n. 'good deed'; *á-rāya-* 'niggardly', *a-rāya-*, N. of a demon.

88. In iteratives, which may consist of repeated nouns, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, or particles, the first member alone is accented, the two words being separated by Avagraha in the Pada text, like the members of other compounds. Examples are: *áhar-áhar jāyate māsi-māsi* (x. 52^a) 'day after day he is born, month after month'; *yád-yád yāmi tát á bhara* (viii. 61^b) 'bring to me whatever I ask'; *yáthā-yuthā matáyah sánti nyūm* (x. 111¹) 'as are the desires of men in each case'; *adyádyā sváh-sva indra trīsva paré ca nah* (viii. 61²) 'on each to-day, on each to-morrow protect us, Indra, and in the future'. The prepositions which appear as iteratives are *úpa*, *páru*, *prá*, *sám*; e. g. *prá-pra pūṣnás tuvijātāsya śasyat mahívám* (i. 138¹) 'forth and again the greatness of the mighty Pūṣan is praised'. The only verbal iterative occurring is *piba-piba* (ii. 11²)² 'drink again and again'.

89. Governing compounds always accent the first member when it is a verbal noun³, as *trāsá-dasyu-* 'terrifying the foe', N. of a man. When the first member is a present or aorist participle, its final syllable is invariably accented, whatever the original accentuation may have been, e. g. *vidd-vasu-* 'winning wealth', *tárid-dveṣas-* 'overcoming (*tárat-*) foes'.

¹ In a few instances the repeated words are not treated as a compound and are both accented, as *nū nū* 'now, now', (vii. 1²), *áthi* (AV.) 'here, here', *sám sám* (AV.).

² Otherwise a repeated verbal form is not treated as an iterative, e. g. *stúhi stúhi* 'helping men'.

³ Except *útpā-narā-* 'helping men'.

a. When the first member is a preposition, the accentuation is much the same as in possessives: either the first member is accented on its proper syllable, as *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven'; or the last member on the final syllable, but only when it ends in the compositional suffix *-a*, or when as a simple word it is not accented on the final syllable; e.g. *adhas-pad-ā-* 'being under the feet', *anu-kānt-* 'according to wish' (*kāma-*). The accentuation of *api-prāṇa-* (f. *-ī-*) 'accompanying the breath' is quite exceptional.

go. A. Possessive compounds (Bahuvrīhis) normally accent the first member on the same syllable as the simple word, e.g. *rāja-putra-* 'having kings as sons' (but *rāja-putr-* 'son of a king'). Other examples are: *an-abhimlāta-varṇa-* 'whose colour is not dimmed', *iddhāgnī-* 'whose fire is kindled', *indra-jyeṣṭha-* 'having Indra as chief', *indra-sakhi-* 'having Indra as a friend', *ghṛtī-prṣṭha-* 'butter-backed', *rūṣad-vatsa-* 'having a bright calf', *sahasra-pad-* 'thousand-footed'. Similarly when the first member is a preposition, an ordinary adverb, or *sah-* and (chiefly in the later Vedas) *sa-* in the sense of 'accompanied by'; e.g. *nir-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless', *prī-mahas-* 'having pre-eminent might', *vi-grīva-* 'wrynecked', *viśvāto-mukha-* 'facing in all directions', *sah-vatsa-* 'accompanied by her calf', *sā-kāma-* ('accompanied by' = 'fulfilling desires' (VS.)), *si-cetas-* 'intelligent'².

a. The original accent of the first member is sometimes changed. 1. The adjective *vīva-* 'all' always, and (owing to its influence) *sīva-* 'all' sometimes in the later Saṃhitās, shift their accent to the final syllable; e.g. *vīva-peśas-* 'having all adornment', *sarvā-janman-*³ (AV.), *sarvā-buddha-vāta-* (VS.) 'having a completely white tail', *sarvāya-* (VS.) 'having all life'⁴. — 2. Present participles in several instances shift the accent to their final syllable; e.g. *krāndā-tiṣṭi-* 'having roaring (*krāndat-*) speed', *dravād-āśva-* 'having swift (*dravat-*)⁵ steeds'. Other participles with this shift of accent are *arāt-* and *bhānat-* 'shining', *rapīd-* 'swelling', *śvanāt-* 'resounding'. — 3. There are also a few miscellaneous examples of shift of accent in the first member: *abhiṣi-dyumna-* 'abounding in aid', *jyoti-ratha-* 'whose car is light' (*jyoti-*), *darśānī-pari-* 'whose felly is visible' (*dārśāna-*), *avakolbu-* (AV.) 'surrounded with Avaka plants' (*avakā-*); *cāmra-āṅga-* 'four-membered' (*cāmra-*), *khādī-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets' (*khādī-*).

B. About one eighth of the total number of Bahuvrīhis accent the second member, and in the majority of instances on the final syllable.

a. This accentuation is common when the first member is a dissyllabic adjective ending in *i* or *u*. It is invariable in the RV. after the very frequent *pur-* 'much' and the less frequent *krādhī-* 'shortened', *bahī-* 'much', *śīti-* 'white'; e.g. *puru-putr-* 'having many sons', *puru-vāra-* 'having many treasures', *krādhī-kārṇa-* 'having short ears', *bahū-annī-*⁶ 'having much food' (*ānna-*), *śīti-pād-* 'white-footed'. Examples of this accentuation after other adjectives ending in *i* and *u* are: *dsu-hīśas-* 'having swift steeds', *uru-kṣīya-* 'having a wide abode', *rju-kṛātu-* 'whose works are right', *tuvi-dyumn-* 'having great glory', *trisu-cydvā-* 'moving greedily', *prthu-pakṣas-* 'broad-flanked', *vibhu-kṛātu-* 'having great strength', *viḥu-pānt-* 'strong-hoofed', *hiri-śiprā-* 'golden-cheeked'⁷. In the later Saṃhitās there is an increasing tendency to follow

¹ When another adjective or an adverb precedes the first member, it has the accent; e.g. *ika-līṭi-pād-* (VS. TS.) 'having one foot white'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 27, p. 291.

² There are, however, a few exceptions in which the final member is accented, as *vi-likhi-* 'hairless' (but *vi-likha-* AV.), *puru-ratha-* 'whose car is foremost', *sa-prāṅsu-* 'extensive', *sāṅgā-* (AV.) 'together with the limbs'.
³ This is the only example (occurring beside *vīva-janman-*) of this shift of accent in the AV., where *sīva-* as first member is common.

⁴ *sīva-* shows this shift of accent in the RV. in the adverb *sarvā-tas* 'from all sides' and in the derivative *sarvā-ti-* 'totality'.
⁵ Here the accent may be affected by that of the adverb *dravāt* 'swiftly'.
⁶ After *bahū-* the final syllable is always accented, even in the later Saṃhitās.
⁷ Both accentuations occur in *prthu-budhni-* and *prthi-budhna-* 'broad-based'.

the general rule; e. g. *purū-nāman-* (AV.) 'many-named', *śīti-kakud-* 'having a white hump', and *śīti-bhasad-* 'having white buttocks' (TS. v. 6. 14¹).

b. Bahuvrīhis beginning with *dvi-* and *tri-* generally accent the second member; e. g. *dvi-pād-* 'two-footed', *dvi-dhāra-* 'forming two streams', *tri-dāntu-* 'having three webs', *tri-nābhi-* 'having three naves', *tri-vandhurā-* 'three-seated'². The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *dvi-savas-* 'having twofold might', *tri-mbaka-* 'having three mothers' and *tri-āśir-* 'having three products of milk'. The later Saphitās accent *dvi-* and *tri-* in new Bahuvrīhis as often as not. In a few possessives beginning with other numerals the second member is accented on the last syllable, e. g. *catur-akṣa-* 'four-eyed'³.

c. Possessives beginning with the negative prefix *a-* or *an-* almost invariably accent the final syllable irrespectively of the original accent of the second member (doubtless in order to distinguish them clearly from determinatives); e. g. *a-dānt-* 'toothless', *a-phalā-* 'unfruitful' (*phāla-*), *a-balā-* 'not possessing strength' (*bāla-*). A very few accent the penultimate; *a-bhrātṛ-*³ (AV.) 'brotherless', *a-vīra-* 'childless', *a-śyas-* 'without offspring'. On the other hand a good many (though only a small proportion of the whole) accent the prefix (like determinatives), especially when the second member is a noun formed with the suffix *-ti*; e. g.⁴ *ā-gu-* 'kineless', *ā-jūas-* 'kinless', *ā-dyu-* 'not burning', *ā-nṛpi-* 'kinless', *ā-prajas-* (AV.) 'childless', *ā-mṛtyu-* 'deathless', *ā-hri-* 'bold', *ā-ksiti-* 'imperishable'⁵.

d. Possessives beginning with *dus-*⁶ 'ill' or *su-* 'well' regularly accent the second member, usually on the original syllable; e. g. *dur-mānman-* 'ill disposed', *su-bhāga-* 'well endowed'. There is, however, a tendency to throw the accent forward on the final syllable; e. g. *su-ānguri-* 'fair-fingered' (*āngūri-*), *su-phalā-* (AV.) 'fruitful', *su-bandhū-* (AV.)⁷ 'closely related'⁸. On the other hand, the accent is in a few instances shifted from the final to the penultimate syllable, as *su-vīra-* 'rich in heroes' (*vīrā-*), and *su-gāndhi-* 'sweet-smelling' beside *su-gāndhi-* (from *gāndhā-* 'smell')⁹.

gr. Determinatives as a rule accent the last member, and pre-vaillingly on the final syllable.

A. 1. In the descriptive type, that is, those in which a substantive is described by an adjective or an appositional substantive (Karmadhāraya) and those in which a verbal noun is described by an adverbial word, the accent is on the final syllable; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-śakunā-* (AV.) 'black bird', *mahā-dhānā-* 'great spoil', *ajñāta-yakṣmā-* 'unknown disease', *yāvayat-sakhā-* 'a protecting friend', *rāja-yakṣmā-* ('king' =) 'royal disease'¹⁰, *sūrya-svit-* 'sun-bright', *pura-dī-* 'going before', *prāthama-jū-* 'first-born', *prātar-yij-*¹¹ 'early yoked', *svayam-bhū-* 'self-existent', *dus-kṛt-* 'acting wickedly', *su-prā-tūr-*¹² 'victorious', *aghārln-* (AV.) 'not anointing', *a-cit-* 'senseless', *a-jarayū-*¹³ 'not aging', *a-jūr-* 'unaging'.

¹ But *asṭā-vandhura-* 'having eight car-seats'.

² Cp. WHITNEY 1300 c.

³ But in the RV. with the usual accentuation *a-bhrātṛ-*.

⁴ For many other examples see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 114 note (p. 293).

⁵ The only possessive of this kind in which the second member ends in *-ti* and accents the final syllable seems to be *a-gāvyāti-* 'pastureless'.

⁶ The only exception in the case of *dus-* is *dūr-āśir-* 'ill-mixed'.

⁷ The RV. retains the original accent, *su-phāla-*, *su-bāndhu-*.

⁸ For other examples see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 294, bottom.

⁹ Op. cit. 2¹, p. 295 7, note.

¹⁰ Exceptions, when the first member is a noun, are all compounds formed with *vīva-* 'all', as *vīva-minuṣa-* 'every man', also *madhyam-dina-* 'midday', *vṛṣā-kapi-* 'male ape', in all of which the original accent of the first member is shifted.

¹¹ *ādhri-gu-* 'irresistible' and *sadhā-stha-* 'standing together', are exceptions.

¹² *su-ācṛj-* 'easy to acquire' is an exception.

¹³ But *ā-mavīṣṇa-* 'immoveable'.

a-yoddh- 'not fighting', *a-rajin-* 'not shining', *a-pra-mṛṣyá-*¹ 'indestructible', *a-budh-yá-* 'not to be wakened', *an-aty-ud-yá-* (AV.) 'unspeakable', *an-ādhy-syá-* 'unassailable', *an-īmāyī-tvī-* 'not making ill'.

a. When, however, the second member ends in *-van*, *-man* or *-i*, or has the form of a gerundive used as a neuter substantive, the penultimate (radical) syllable is accented; e. g. *raghu-pátvan-* 'swift-flying', *puro-yávan-*² 'going in front'; *su-tárman-* 'crossing well', *vīṣu-pátman-* 'flying mightily', *raghu-yáman-* 'going swiftly', *su-udman-* 'driving well', *dur-gṛbhi-* 'hard to hold', *rju-vāni-* 'striving forward', *tvi-sudni-* 'roaring mightily', *pūra-pāyya-* and *pūra-pēya-* n. 'precedence in drinking', *saha-bhyya-* n. 'act of lying together', *amutra-bhīya-*³ (VS.) n. 'state of being in the other world'.

2. The first member is, however, accented under certain conditions. a. It is generally accented if it is an adverbial word and the last member is a past participle in *-ta* or *-na*⁴ or a verbal noun in *-i*; e. g. *dāmsu-jāta-* 'speeding wondrously', *dūr-hita-* 'faring ill', *sāna-bruta-*⁵ 'famed from of old'; *puri-hiti-* 'priestly ministrations', *sadhā-stuti-* 'joint praise'. — b. The privative particle *a-* or *an-* when compounded with a participle⁶, adjective, or substantive is nearly always accented; e. g. *án-adant-*⁷ 'not eating', *d-dītsant-* 'not wishing to give', *á-manyamāna-* 'not thinking', *d-hiṣāna-* 'injuring', *d-vidvāms-* 'not knowing', *á-kṛta-*⁸ 'not done'; *á-kr-a-*⁹ 'inactive', *d-suz-i-* 'not pressing Soma', *d-tandra-* 'unwearied', *á-kumāra-*¹⁰ 'not a child'; *d-citti-* 'thoughtlessness'. The particle is regularly accented when it negatives a compound; e. g. *á-duṣ-kṛt-* 'not doing ill', *án-aśra-dā-* 'not giving a horse', *á-paleād-daghvan-* 'not remaining behind'; *á-punar-diyamāna-*¹¹ (AV.) 'not being given back', *án-agni-dagdha-* 'not burnt with fire', *án-abhi-sasta-*¹² 'blameless'.

B. I. Dependent determinatives as a rule accent the second member and that mostly on the last syllable, even if the simple word is not an oxytone.

a. When the second member is a root¹³, a verbal noun in *-a*, an ordinary substantive (without verbal sense), or an adjective ending in *-in*¹⁴, the final

¹ This is the regular accent of the gerundive with the negative prefix, which is, however, accented in some half dozen instances: *d-gohya-*, *d-jeyya-*, *á-dabhya-*, *á-medya-*, *á-yabhya-* (AV.) and *á-gṛhya-* beside *a-gṛhā-*. Two of these compounds in the AV. retain the Svarita of the simple gerundive: *an-ātriyādhyá-* and *an-ādhyāyá-*.

² *satya-māvan-* 'truly rejoicing' is an exception.

³ *sadhā-stutiya-* n. 'joint praise', is an exception.

⁴ Here the adverb is treated like a preposition compounded with a past participle.

⁵ There are a good many exceptions in which the original accent of the past participle remains on the final syllable; e. g. *tvi-jāta-* 'mightily born', *áus-kṛta-* 'ill done', *su-jāta-* (beside *śu-jāta-*). This is the regular accentuation when the first member is *puru-*; c. g. *puru-stuta-* 'much praised'.

⁶ Not, however, when the second member is a gerundive, a root, or a noun with verbal meaning ending in *-ya*, *-tva*, *-sm*, *-in*, *-y-*; see examples above (A 1).

⁷ But *a-sācānt-* beside *á-sācānt-* 'not ceasing', *a-odānt-* (v. 44²) and as substan-

tives *a-rundhat-* (AV.) a name, and *a-jvānt-* (VS.) 'unaging'.

⁸ Exceptions are *a-atta-*, *a-dīṣta-*, *a-mīta-*, *a-yūta-* n. 'myriad' but (AV.) *á-yūta-* 'undisturbed', *a-tārta-* (beside *á-tārta-*), *a-bhīma-* (AV.) beside *á-bhīma-*.

⁹ There are also some verbal derivatives in *-a* which accent the second member; e. g. *a-kṣar-a-* 'imperishable', *a-jar-a-* 'unaging', *a-dābh-a-* 'not-deceiving', *a-tyābh-* 'dissatisfied', *a-vadh-á-* 'invulnerable', *a-vydh-á-* 'not furthering', *an-āvrask-á-* (AV.) 'not falling off'; cp. WHITNEY 1283—88.

¹⁰ There are also several ordinary nouns which are accented as second member; e. g. *a-citra-* 'colourless', *a-mīha-* 'enemy', *a-vīra-* 'unmanly'.

¹¹ But *a-ni-pādyamāna-* (AV.) 'not going to rest' where RV. has *á-ni-pādyamāna-*.

¹² But *an-á-sastá-* (RV.) 'not praised', *a-pra-sastá-* beside *á-pra-sasta-* 'not praised'.

¹³ There are a few exceptions when derivation from a root is not clear, as in *á-dhi-* 'plant'; otherwise *-dhi* from *dhā-* 'put' is regularly accented; e. g. *isu-dhi-* 'quiver'.

¹⁴ This suffix being invariably accented in the simple word (86 B. 8).

syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *gotra-bhīd-* 'opening the cowpens', *ghṛtā-vydh-* 'delighting in ghee', *divi-sps-* 'touching the sky', *patan-gā-* 'going by flight', 'flying', *varuṇa-dhrī-t-* 'deceiving Varuṇa'; *agnim-indh-t-*¹ 'fire-kindling', *hasta-grābh-d-* 'hand-grasping', *purāṇ-dar-d-* 'fort-destroying'; *uda-meghd-* 'shower of water', *go-śaphā-* (VS.) 'cow's hoof', *jīva-lokt-* 'world of the living', *indra-senā-* 'Indra's missile' (*senā-*), *kṛṣṇajinī-* (AV. TS.) 'hide (*ajina-*) of the black antelope', *deva-kośā-*² (AV.) 'cask (*kośa-*) of the gods', *deva-mānā-*³ 'abode (*māna-*) of the gods'; *uktha-sams-in-* 'uttering praise', *bhadra-vād-in-* 'uttering auspicious cries'.

a. The word *pāti-* 'lord' follows this rule in only a few compounds occurring in the later Saṃhitās; thus in the AV.: *apsarī-pati-* 'lord of the Apsarases', *vīja-pati-* 'lord of a troop' (*vījā-pati-* RV.); in the VS.: *amhasas-pati-* 'lord of perplexity', *upa-pati-* 'paramour', *edāhīṣṭh-pati-* 'husband of a younger sister', *nadī-pati-* 'lord of rivers'; in the MS.: *ahar-pati-* 'lord of day', *cit-pati-* 'lord of thought', *vāk-pati-* 'lord of speech'. In a few determinatives *pāti-* retains its own accent as second member, as *nr-pati-* 'lord of men', *rayi-pati-* 'lord of wealth', *viś-pati-* 'lord of the tribe', also the f. in *vānu-pātnī-* 'mistress of wealth', *vīś-pātnī-* 'mistress of the tribe'; in the VS. *ahar-pāti-*, *cit-pāti-*, *vāk-pāti-*; in the AV. *ṛṣi-pāti-* 'lord of proper seasons', *paśu-pāti-* 'lord of animals' (VS.), *paśu-pāti-* 'lord of welfare', *bhūta-pāti-* 'lord of beings', *śha-pāti-* 'governor'. In compounds with *pāti-*, however, the first member is usually accented, there being 22 cases in the RV., besides 10 with *patni-*; e. g. *gṛh-pati-* 'lord of the house', *gṛ-pati-* 'lord of kine', *pānu-pati-* 'lord of creatures', *mēdhā-pati-*⁶ 'lord of animal sacrifice' (*mēdha-*), *rāsu-pati-* 'lord of wealth', *vāja-pati-* 'lord of booty', *svār-pati-*⁷ 'lord of light'; *gṛh-pātnī-* 'mistress of the house', *devā-pātnī-* 'wife of a god', *vāja-pātnī-* 'queen of booty'. In the AV., of 15 new masculines ending in *-pati-* more than half accent the first member as do all the 8 new ones ending in *patni-*; e. g. *dīthi-pati-* 'entertainer of a guest'. In the other Saṃhitās also occur: *krātrī-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of dominions', *bhūva-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of the atmosphere', *bhūvana-pati-* (VS. TS.) 'lord of beings', *bhū-pati-* (TS.) 'lord of the world', *sanvīti-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of rest', *viṣṇu-pātnī-* (VS. TS.) 'Viṣṇu's wife'⁸.

b. Determinatives which have as their second member verbal nouns in *-ana*⁹, adjectives in *-i* and *-van*, as well as action nouns in *-ya*, regularly accent the radical syllable of the second member; e. g. *deva-mād-ana-* 'exhilarating the gods', *keśa-vardh-ana-*¹⁰ 'causing the hair to grow'; *pathi-rāks-i-* 'protecting the road'; *soma-pi-van-* 'somadriking', *talpa-si-van-* 'lying on the couch', *prātar-i-t-van-*¹¹ 'coming early'; *ahi-hūt-ya-* 'slaughter of the dragon', *deva-hī-ya-* 'invocation of the gods', *mantra-śrī-t-ya-* n. 'listening to counsel', *vṛtra-tūr-ya-*¹² 'conquest of Vṛtra'.

2. Dependent determinatives, however, which have as their second member past passive participles in *-ta* and *-na* or action nouns in *-ti* accent

¹ *dīgha-* retains its original accent, as *madhu-dīgha-* 'yielding mead', *kīma-dīgha-* (AV. VS.) 'yielding desires'. A few others have the original accent of the first member: *maruḍ-vydh-* 'delighting in the Maruts', *āti-ca-a-* (AV.) 'moving in the sky', *sūtī-kara-* 'active at the Soma offering'. Cp. WHITNEY 1278.

² A few accent the penultimate syllable of the final member with shift of the original accent, as *go dhūma-* (VS.) 'wheat', *saka-dhūma-* (AV.), *yama-vāja-* (AV. VS.) 'Yama's sway' (*vājya-*); cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 268, top, note.

³ But *deva-yānu-* 'going to the gods'.

⁴ Also the Karmadhāraya *sa pātnī-* 'cowife' and the Bahuvrīhi *su-pātnī-* 'having a good husband'.

⁵ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 319.

⁶ In K. *mēdha-pati-*.

⁷ *svī-pati-* 'one's own lord' is a Karma-dhāraya; as a Bahuvrīhi it is accented *svā-pati-* (AV.) 'having an own consort'.

⁸ On doubly accented compounds with *-pati-* see below (3).

⁹ Just as when such nouns are compounded with prepositions.

¹⁰ The very few apparent exceptions to this rule are due to these words losing their verbal character; e. g. *yama-sūdanā-* (AV.) 'Yama's realm'.

¹¹ In *mātari-tvan-* and *mātari bhvan-* the suffix is probably *-an*; here the original accent of the first member (if it is the loc. *mātari*) has shifted, perhaps owing to the influence of words like *prātar-i-tvan-*.

¹² An exception is *sadhā-stu-t-ya-* 'joint praise'. A few feminines in *-yā*, which are closely allied to these neuters in *-ya*, retain their accent on the final syllable, as *deva-*

the first member (like a preposition); e. g. *Indra-prastāta-* 'incited by Indra', *devā-hita-* 'ordained by the gods', *hāsta-yata-* 'guided by the hand'; *devā-hūti-*² 'invocation of the gods', *dhāna-sati-*³ 'winning of wealth'.

3. Double accentuation. A certain number of determinative compounds, syntactical in origin, which have a genitive case-form in the first member, and nearly always *-pāti-* in the second, are doubly accented. Such are *bṛhas-pāti-* and *brāhmaṇas-pāti-*⁴ 'lord of prayer', *gnās-pāti-* 'husband of a divine woman' (with the anomalous fem. *gnās-pātni-* 'divine wife'), *jās-pāti-*⁵ 'head of a family'. The compound *sīdas-pāti-* 'lord of the seat' (*sīdas-*) probably stands by haplogy for **sīdasas-pāti-*, but *vāna-s-pāti-*⁶ 'lord of the wood' perhaps, and *rātha-s-pāti-* 'lord of the car' (*rātha-*) probably, owe their *s* to the analogy of *bṛhas-pāti-*⁷. Though without case-ending in the first member, *śācī-pāti-* 'lord of might' follows the analogy of the above compounds. Other doubly accented compounds with case-form in the first member but not ending in *-pāti-* are *śūnaḥ-śīpa-* 'Dog's tail', N. of a man; *dāsyare-ryka-* 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; *apām-nīpat-* 'son of waters', the analogy of which is followed by *tanū-nīpat-* 'son of himself' (*tanū-*) though it is without case-ending in the first member; *nāra-śīpasa-*⁸ 'Praise of men' (for **nārān-śīpasa-*), the analogy of which is followed by *nī-śīpasa-*. The name *nābhā-nāliṣṭha-* seems to contain an old locative in the first member, while the uninflected stem appears in *ās-pātra-* (TS. II. 5. 9³) 'vessel for the mouth'.

92. 1. The regular class of copulatives, which have only one accent, places the acute on the final syllable⁹ irrespective of the accent of the un-compounded word. In the plural occur: *ajīsvāya-* m. 'goats and sheep', *ukthārka-* n. 'praises and songs', *ahorātrīni* 'days and nights'; in the dual: *ṛk-sām-* n. 'song and chant', *satyānṛt-* n. 'truth and untruth', *sāsanānaśan-* n. 'what eats and does not eat'; in the singular: *nīlahitām* n. 'blue and red'¹⁰, *iṣṭa-partām*¹¹ n. 'what is sacrificed and presented', *keśa-śmastrī-* (AV.) n. 'hair and beard', *añjanābhyanjanām* (AV.) n. 'salve and ointment', *kaśīpu-barhaṇām* (AV.) n. 'mat and pillow', *krīkṛtām* (AV.) n. 'what is done and undone', *cittakṛtām* (AV.) n. 'thought and desire', *bhadra-pāpām* (AV.) 'good and evil', *bhūta-bhavyām* (AV.) n. 'past and future', n. pl. *priyāprijyāni* (AV.) 'things

yaj-yā- 'worship of the gods', beside *deva-yaj-ya-*, *jāta-vid-yā-* 'knowledge of things', *muṣṭi-hat-yā-* 'hand to hand fight'.

² There are, however, a good many exceptions in which the final syllable is accented (as in prepositional determinatives), e. g. *agni-taptā-* 'glowing with fire', *agni-dā-dhā-* 'burnt by fire'.

³ The original accent of the first member is shifted in *nemā-dhiti-* 'putting opposite', 'fight', *vand-dhiti-* 'layer of wood', *medhā-sāti-* 'receiving of the oblation'.

⁴ When the verbal sense is lost in the second member, the general rule of final accentuation applies; e. g. *deva-sumati-* 'favour of the gods', *deva-heti-* (AV.) 'weapon of the gods'. This analogy is followed by *sarva-jyāni-* (AV.) 'loss of one's all'.

⁵ Though *brāhmaṇas-pāti-* is not treated as a compound in the Paṇḍa text, it is so treated in the Dvandva *indrā-brāhmaṇas-pāti-* (II. 24¹²).

⁶ Thus accented in Book VII, but *jās-pāti-* in Book I. The latter is the only Tatpuruṣa in the RV. in which double accentuation does not take place when *-pāti-* is preceded

by *s*. The only other instance in the RV. of a Tatpuruṣa with case-ending in the first member and yet singly accented is *divo-dāsa-*, N. of a king. Elsewhere occur *apsu-yogā-* (AV.) 'connecting power in water', *anhasas-pāti-* (VS.), perhaps *mātur-bhrātrā-* (MS. I. 6¹²) 'mother's brother' (the MS. read *mātur-bhrātrā-*).

⁷ In *vānas-pāti-* the first member may be the gen. sing. of *vana-* 'wood' (gen. pl. *vana-āni*); but in *rātha-s-pāti-* the *s* must be inorganic; cp. GARBE, KZ. 23, 490; RICHTER, IF. 19, 17; BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 15 note; WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 247.

⁸ The only new instance of double accentuation of a compound with *-pāti-* after the RV. seems to be *nīms-pāti-* (MS.); cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 248 d.

⁹ Cp. Fov, JAOS. 16, CI.XXII-IV.

¹⁰ The two or three exceptions which occur in the AV. and VS. are doubtless due to wrong readings.

¹¹ The adjectives being used as substantives.

¹² In the VS. used in the dual also.

agreeable and disagreeable'; and as adjectives *tānra-dhūmrā-* (AV.) 'tawny and dark', *dakṣiṇa-sauyā-* (AV.) 'right and left', *saptamaṣṭamā-* (AV.) 'seventh and eighth'.

a. The very few adverbial copulatives which occur accent the first member: *dhar-dīvi* 'day by day', *sayāṃ-pratar* (AV.) 'at even and at morn'.

2. The class of *Devatā-dvandvas*, each member of which is dual in form, and which in the RV. is about thrice as frequent as the regular class, retains the accent of simple words in each member of the compound¹; thus *agnī-olṣṇā* (AV.), *agni-sāmī*, *indrā-pāśānā*, *indrā-bhīspītī*², *indrā-vāruṇā*, *indrā-olṣṇā*, *indrā-simā*, *usāsa-naktā* 'Dawn and Night', *dyāvā-kṣimā* 'heaven and earth', *dyāvā-pṛthivī*, *dyāvā-bhīmī*, *nīktos.īsā*, *pārjanya-vātā*, *pṛthivī-dyāvā*, *mītrī-vāruṇā*, *sūryā-māsā*. A few others are formed in the same way from substantives which are not the names of deities: *krātū-dakṣau* (VS.) 'understanding and will', *turvaśa-yadā* (iv. 30³) 'Turvaśa and Yadu', *dhūntī-cūmuri* 'Dhuni and Cumuri', *mātṛī-pitṛī* (iv. 6⁴) 'mother and father'.

a. A certain number of these compounds have been assimilated to the regular class of copulatives by giving up the accent of the first member: *indrāgni*, *indrā-pāśānā*, *somā-pāśānā*, *vātā-pārjanya*, *sūryā-candramāsā*, *bhāvā-rudrī* (AV.), *bhāvā-sarvā* (AV.)⁵; one has been completely assimilated by giving up also the dual form in the first member: *indra-vāyū*.

a. There occurs once a secondary adjective copulative accented on both members, being formed from an adverbial Dvandva: *dhar-dīvā-* (VS.) 'daily' (*dhar-dīvi* 'day by day').

3. Accent in Declension.

93. The vocative, when accented at all (85, 2) invariably has the acute on the first syllable; e. g. *pitar*, N. *pitā* 'father'; *dīva*, N. *devī-s* 'god'. The regularly accented vocative of *dyā-* (*dyāv-*) 'heaven' is *dyāu-s*⁶, that is *dīaus*, but the nominative form *dyāus* is also used in its stead.

a. Otherwise, in the *a*-declension (f. *-ā*) the accent always remains on the same syllable; e. g. N. *devī-s*, G. *devī-sya*, pl. *devī-nām*. This rule is also followed by monosyllabic pronominal stems in *-a*; e. g. from *ma-*: I. *māy-ā* 'by me', D. *mā-hyam*, I. *māy-i*; from *tī-* 'that', G. sing. *tī-sya*, pl. G. *tī-sām*, I. *tī-bhis*⁷.

a. An exception to this rule is formed by the plural cardinal stems ending in *-a*. They regularly accent that vowel before endings with initial consonant, and throw the acute on the ending of the genitive; e. g. *pañca* 'five': I. *pañcā-bhis*, G. *pañcānām*; *aṣṭā* 'eight', however, shifts the accent to the endings generally, thus I. *aṣṭā-bhis*, D. *aṣṭābhis* (TS.).

94. When the final syllable of the stem is accented, the acute (except in the *ā*-declension) is liable to shift to the endings in the weak cases.

1. This is the rule in monosyllabic stems; e. g. *nav-* 'ship': A. *nav-am*, but I. *nav-ā*, pl. I. *nav-bhis*, I. *nav-ṣī*; *dānt-* m. 'tooth': I. *dat-ā*, pl. A. *dat-ās*⁸, I. *dat-bhis*.

¹ The double accent is retained even in again, have only one accent, which as in the derivatives *mītrā-ī-āruṇa-vant-* 'accompanied by Mitra and Varuna', and *dyāvā-pṛthivī-vant-* (AV.) 'accompanied by heaven and earth'.
² Retaining the double accent of the second member.
³ In the AV. the number of *Devatā-dvandvas* is only about half that in the RV. (though the total number of *Dvandvas* is more than double); about one-half of these, Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

⁴ Retaining the nom. *-s*, instead of **dīaus* (Gk. Ζῆῦ).
⁵ An exception is the pronoun *a-* 'this', which is treated like a monosyllabic stem, e. g. G. *a-sya*, pl. m. *e-śām*, f. *ā-sām*; a few times, however, the accentuation *a-mai*, *a-sya*, *ā-bhis* occurs; cp. WHITNEY 502 b.
⁶ The accusative plural is treated as a weak case and accented on the ending in



a. Exceptions to this rule are the rare monosyllabic stems in *-i*, which retain the accent on the stem; e. g. *gná-* 'woman'; pl. I. *gná-bhis*, I. *gná-su*. Individual exceptions are *gá-* 'cow', *dyá-* 'sky'; e. g. I. *gáv-ā*, pl. G. *gáv-ām*, I. *gá-bhis*; I. *dyáv-i*, pl. I. *dyá-bhis*. Similarly *ná-* 'man': D. *nár-e*, pl. I. *ná-bhis*, I. *ná-su*, but G. *nar-dm* and *ná-nám*; *ksám-* 'earth'; I. *ksám-i*; *tán-* 'succession': I. *tán-ā* (and *tan-ā*), D. *tán-e*; *rám-* 'joy': *rám-e*, pl. I. *rám-su*; *ván-* 'wood': pl. I. *vám-su* (but G. *van-ām*); *váp-* 'rod': G. *váp-as*; *stj-* 'star': pl. I. *stj-bhis*; *svár-* 'light': G. *súr-as* (but D. *súr-t*); also the infinitives *bádhe-* 'to press', *rádhe-* 'to convey'. In some words the irregular accentuation is due to their having originally been dissyllables; such are *drú-* 'wood', *śmí-* 'summit', *śván-* 'dog', *yán-* weak stem of *yívan-* 'young'; e. g. I. *drú-nā*; pl. I. *śmú-su*; I. *śván-ā*, pl. *śvábhis*; I. *yán-ā*.

2. When the accented vowel of the final syllable in polysyllabic stems disappears either by syncope or by changing to a semivowel, the acute is thrown on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; thus from *mahimán-* 'greatness', I. *mahimá-ā*; from *márdhán-* 'head', D. *márdhán-t*; from *agní-* 'fire', G. du. *agny-ós*; from *dhená-* 'cow', I. sing. *dhená-ā*; from *vadhú-* 'bride', D. *vadhú-dí* (AV.); from *pitr-* 'father', I. *pitr-ā*.

a. Polysyllabic stems in *-i*, *-ú*, *-r*, and in the RV. usually those in *-i*, throw the acute on the ending of the G. pl. also, even though the vowel retains its syllabic character in this case; e. g. *agní-nám*, *dhená-nám*, *datf-nám*; *bahv-nám*.

3. Present participles in *-nt* and *-nt* throw the acute on the endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; e. g. from *tud-ánt-* 'striking': I. sing. *tud-at-ā* (but *tud-ād-bhis*). This rule is also followed by the old participles *mah-ít-* 'great' and *bhí-dt* 'large', e. g. *mahat-ā* (but *mahád-bhis*)¹.

4. In the RV. derivatives formed with accented *-ānc* throw the acute on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases when contraction to *ī* and *ū* appears in the final syllable; thus from *praty-dāc-* 'turned towards', I. sing. *pratic-ā* (but I. pl. *pratydk-su*); from *anv-dāc-* 'following'; G. *anūc-és* (but from *prānc-* I. sing. *prāc-i*). The other Samhitās, however, generally retain the accent on the stem⁴.

4. Verbal Accent.

95. As regards personal endings, those of the singular active in all tenses and moods are always unaccented except the 2. imperative *-hí* or *-hí*. Others may be accented; if dissyllabic, they have the acute on the first syllable, as *-ánti*, *-mdhí*.

When the tense stem ends in *-a* in the present, in the future, in the unaugmented imperfect and aorist, and throughout the subjunctive, the accent is never on the ending, as it remains on the same syllable of the stem throughout.

96. All tenses formed with the augment invariably accent the latter, if the verb is accented at all (85, 2β); e. g. impf. *á-bhara-t*, plupf. *á-jagan*, aor. *á-bhū-t*, conditional *á-bharí-ya-t*. If the augment is dropped, the accentuation is as follows. In the imperfect the acute is on the same syllable as in the present; e. g. *bhára-t*, pres. *bhára-ti*. The pluperfect, if regularly

hardly more than one third of the stems the plural cardinals in *-a*: as *pánca* 'five', occurring; see WHITNEY 390 a; cp. LANMAN *pañca-nám*, *dáśa* 'ten', *dáśa-nám*. 494, 499, 504 top, 505.

¹ When a monosyllable becomes the final member of a compound, it loses its monosyllabic accent; e. g. *śu-dhí-* 'wise', G. pl. *śu-dhīnām*. On the other hand *prá-* 'pressing on' though a compound (*pra-ít-*) is accented like monosyllables in the I. sing. *pré-d*.

² The accent is, however, not shifted in the old participle *vāghát m.* 'worshipper'; nor in the two forms *a-vádāc-* 'not urging' (from *ád-ant-*) and *rathirāyá-d-ām* 'spceding'; cp. LANMAN p. 505-6 (top).

³ Thus the f. stem *pratic-* (AV.), but RV. *pratic-* (once in the A. *praticim*).

⁴ This regularly takes place in the G. of

formed, accents the root, as 3. sing. *cakān* ($\sqrt{\text{kan}}$), 3. sing. *rārān* ($\sqrt{\text{ran}}$), 1. sing. *cakētam* ($\sqrt{\text{cit}}$); when formed with thematic *-a*, it accents that vowel, as 3. pl. *cakṣpānta*. The aorist if formed with *-sa*, accents that syllable, e. g. 3. pl. *dhuk-sā-n*, *dhuk-sā-nta* (from *dhuk* 'milk'); if formed with *-s*, it accents the root, as may be inferred from 1. sing. *vāṃs-i* (from *van* 'win'), the only accented example occurring; if formed with *-is*, it accents the root, e. g. 1. sing. *sāms-is-am*¹. If formed from the root, it accents the radical vowel in the singular active, but the endings elsewhere, as 3. sing. *vārk* ($\sqrt{\text{vyj}}$), but 2. sing. mid. *nut-thās* ($\sqrt{\text{nud}}$). If formed from the root with thematic *-a*, it usually follows the analogy of the present *i*-class, e. g. *ruhá-m*, *bhujá-t*, *vidá-t*, *budhá-nta*; in several instances, however, it accents the root, as *āra-nti* ($\sqrt{\text{ra}}$ 'go'); *sāra-t* ($\sqrt{\text{ra}}$ 'flow'); *sāda-tam* (*sād* 'sit'); *sāna-t* (*san* 'gain') but opt. *sanēma*; *vacá-t* (*vac* 'speak') but opt. *vochyam*. The reduplicated aorist usually accents the reduplicative syllable, as 2. sing. *dīdharas*, *nīnāsas*, 3. sing. *pīparat*, *sīsvap*, *jījanat*, pl. *jījanan*; but sometimes the root, as 2. sing. *sīsrāthas*, 3. sing. *pīparat*, *sīsrāthāt*. Passive aorists accent the root, e. g. *dhā-y-i*, *śrīv-i*, *vld-i*, *jāni*, *pād-i*, *sād-i*.

97. Present system.—1. Throughout the present system of the *a*-conjugation the accent remains on the same syllable of the stem in all moods; on the radical syllable in verbs of the first and fourth classes; e. g. *bhāva-ti* from *bhū* 'be', *nāh-ya-ti* from *nah* 'bind'; on the thematic *-a* in the sixth class; e. g. *tudā-ti* from *tud* 'strike'.

2. In the second or graded conjugation, the singular indicative active, the whole of the subjunctive, and the 3. sing. imperative active² accent the stem, while all other forms accent the endings³. In the strong forms the radical syllable is accented in the second class; generally the reduplicative syllable, but sometimes the root, in the third class; the suffix in the fifth, eighth, seventh, and ninth; e. g. 3. sing. ind. *ās-ti*, subj. *ās-a-t*, impv. *ās-tu*, from *as* 'be', 2nd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *bl-bhar-ti* from *bhṛ* 'bear', 3rd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *kr-nū-ti*, subj. *kr-nū-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *kr-nū-ta*, and *kr-nū-tana* from *kr* 'make', 5th cl.; 3. sing. subj. *man-āu-a-te* from *man* 'think', 8th cl.; 1. sing. ind. *yu-nā-j-mi*, 3. sing. subj. *yu-nā-j-a-t* from *yuj* 'join', 7th cl.; 3. sing. ind. *grbh-nū-ti*, 2. sing. subj. *grbh-nū-s* from *grbh* 'seize', 9th cl.; but 2. sing. impv. *ad-dhī*, 3. pl. opt. *ad-yīr* from *ad* 'eat', 2nd cl.; 1. pl. ind. *bi-bhṛ-māsi*; 1. sing. ind. *kr-nv-t*, 2. sing. impv. *kr-nu-hi*; 1. pl. opt. *van-u-yāma*, 3. pl. impv. *van-u-āntu* from *van* 'win', 8th cl.; 3. sing. mid. *yuk-tē*, 2. sing. impv. mid. *yuk-svāt*; 1. pl. ind. *gr-nt-māsi*, 2. sing. impv. *gr-nt-hi* from *gr* 'praise', 9th cl.

a. Irregularities. In the second or root class, several verbs accent the radical syllable throughout⁴: *śi* 'lie' does so besides taking Guna; e. g. 1. sing. *śi-ye*, 2. sing. *śi-ye* etc.⁵ Occasional accentuation of the root in weak forms appears in 2. sing. impv. *jāni-ya*⁶ (*jān*), *māt-ya* (*mad*), *yāk-ya* (*vyaj*), *sāk-ya* and *sāk-ya* (*śah*), *śikh-a-t*, subj. (*śikh* 'thrive'), 3. pl. impv. *svāp-antu* (AV.) and *svās-antu* (AV.)⁷. A few roots of the third class accent the root instead of the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms. These are *ā* 'note', *mā* 'exhilarate', *yu* 'separate', *hu* 'sacrifice'; e. g. 2. sing. *ā-ā-pi* (AV.); 3. sing. subj. *ma-mād-a-t*, 3. sing. impv. *ma-mād-tu*; 3. sing. subj. *yu-yāv-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *yu-yā-tanu*; 3. sing. *ju-śh-ti*. Occasional forms thus accented are 2. sing. *iy-ā-pi* (RV.) from

¹ Of the *rip*-aorist no accented forms occur.

² The 2. pl. impv. active often accents the stem, which is then strong, as *śi-ta*, *śi-tana* from *śi* 'go'; this is sometimes also the case with the 2. du. in *-tam*.

³ The final syllable of the ending of the 3. pl. middle is regularly accented in several verbs, as *vi-hatē*, *dhuk-ātē*; see WHITNEY 613, 685, 699; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 73.

⁴ These are *ās* 'sit', *śi* 'praise', *ir* 'set in motion', *ī* 'rule', *cakṣ* 'see', *takṣ* 'fashion', *trā* 'protect', *nims* 'kiss', *vas* 'clothe', *sū* 'bring forth'.

⁵ See WHITNEY 628 and 629.

⁶ Op. cit. 631 a.

⁷ Op. cit. 630.

r- 'go', 2. sing. mid. *dhāt-se* from *dhā-* 'put', and *bhāhā-ti* (RV. AV.) beside the usual *bhāhā-ti*. Both types, when the ending begins with a vowel, throw the accent back on the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 3. pl. *jūhū-nti* and *bibhr-ati*, but 2. pl. *jūhū-thi* and *bibhr-thā*. The subjunctive here, as usual, follows the accentuation of the strong indicative; its stem from the same two roots would be *jūhūv-a-* and *bibhr-a-*. In the optative middle the accent is thrown back on the reduplicative syllable because the modal affix begins with a vowel; e. g. 1. sing. *dādhi-ya* etc. beside 1. sing. act. *dadh-yām* etc.¹ The RV., however, once has *dadhī-tā* beside *dādhi-tā* (3 times). In the imperative, endings with initial consonant are accented in the weak forms, otherwise the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 2. sing. *dehi*, 2. du. *datām*, but 3. mid. pl. *jihatām*. The strong 3. sing. impv. act. follows the strong ind., e. g. *dadhātu*, *pipartu*; the 2. pl. is often strong; e. g. *jūhōta*, *dādhatā*. The participle regularly accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *jūhū-āt*, *jūhū-āna*, except only *pipāni-* (pā- 'drink'). — In the seventh class the root *hims-* 'injure' (originally perhaps a desiderative of *han-* 'strike') accents the radical syllable in weak forms, as 3. sing. *hims-te*, pl. *hims-anti*, part. *hims-āna-*. — In the fifth and eighth classes the RV. has several instances of irregular accentuation of the final syllable in the 3. pl. mid.: *kr-ye-āt*, *vy-ye-āt*, *spr-ye-āt*, *tan-v-āt*, *man-v-āt*. — In the ninth class the irregular accentuation of the 3. pl. mid. occurs in *pu-n-a-tē* and *ri-v-ātē* (ri- 'flow'). The ending *-ām*, which is here added in the 2. sing. impv. act. to a few roots with final consonant, is accented on the last syllable: *gṛh-ānā*, *badh-ānā* (AV.), *stabh-ānā* (AV.).

98. The perfect. — The singular indicative active and the whole subjunctive² accent the radical syllable; all other forms of the indicative, as well as the whole imperative and optative accent the endings; e. g. ind. 3. sing. *cakr-a*, pl. *cakr-ir*, 1. pl. mid. *cakr-māhe*; subj. sing. 2. *paprīth-a-s*, *pīprīy-a-s*; 3. *jabhūr-a-t*, *pīprīy-a-t*, *mumūc-a-t*; *dadhārs-a-ti*, *vavūrt-a-ti*; pl. 1. *cākra-āma*, *śākra-āma*, 3. *paprīth-a-n*; opt. sing. 1. *vavṛt-yām*, 2. *śūsrū-yās*, 3. *tutuj-yāt*, du. 2. *śūsrū-yātam*; pl. 3. *vavṛj-yūr*; mid. sing. 2. *vāvṛdh-r-thās*, 3. *śīrt-īd* (śri- 'resort'); impv. sing. 2. *pīprī-hi*, *mumug-dhi* (√ *muc-*), du. 2. *jajas-tām*; mid. sing. 2. *dadhī-svū*. The participle, both active and middle, accents the suffix; e. g. *cakr-vāms-*; *cakr-ānt-*.

99. The aorist. — The accentuation of the unaugmented forms of the indicative has already been stated (96). With regard to that of the moods, the following notes may be added.

1. The root aorist accents the radical syllable in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 2. *kūr-a-s*, 3. *kūr-a-t*, du. 3. *śrīv-a-tas*, pl. 3. *śām-a-nti*, mid. sing. 3. *bhūj-a-te*; in the injunctive, the radical syllable in the singular, but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 1. *nīp-s-i*, pl. 3. *dabh-ūr*, mid. sing. 2. *mr-thās*; in the optative, the endings throughout; e. g. act. sing. 1. *as-yām*, 2. *bhū-yās*, mid. pl. 1. *as-īmidhi*; in the imperative, the root in the 3. sing. act, but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 3. *śrī-tu*, but 2. *kr-dhi*, du. 2. *ga-tām*, pl. 2. *bhū-tā*, mid. sing. 2. *kr-svū*; in the participle, the suffix is accented in the active, e. g. *dhīd-ant-*, and generally in the middle, e. g. *budh-ānt-*, but in several instances the root; e. g. *dyūt-āna-*.

2. In the *a*-aorist the accentuation follows that of the unaugmented indicative; thus the subjunctive sing. 3. *vidāt*; the injunctive sing. 1. *dārta-m*, *ruhd-m*, 3. *rīha-t*, *vidāt-t*, *sīna-t*, pl. 3. *vidāt-nta*; optative, sing. 1. *vidyam*, *sanlyam*, pl. 1. *śakma*, *sanma* and *śānma*; the imperative, sing. 2. *sīna*, *śdra*, du. 2. *ruhā-tam*, *sīdā-tam*, pl. 2. *khyā-ta*. The participle usually accents the thematic *-a*, but sometimes the root; e. g. *trpāt-nt-*, but *sīdā-nt-*; *guhāt-māna-*, but *dāsa-māna-*.

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 645 a, 668 a, 669.

² A few forms accent and strengthen the

³ When the primary endings are added, radical syllable, du. 2. *mumūc-a-tam*, pl. 2. *mumūc-ānta*; the reduplicative syllable is almost always accented; e. g. *jūhū-āt*, mid. sing. 2. *pīprīy-a-s* accented; e. g. *jūhū-āt*; some others, which take secondary endings, but do not strengthen the root, also accent the reduplicative syllable, as *dādhi-ānta*; see below 490.

⁴ But the root is strong and accented in several forms, *kūr-ta* etc., of the 2. pl. impv. act.

3. In the reduplicated aorist the only accented form in the subjunctive seems to be *vocati*; in the injunctive, either the reduplicative syllable or the root is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *nīnas-as*, *sīrūthas*, 3. *pīparat* and *pīpārat*; in the optative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. pl. 1. *vocāma*, *cucyuv-i-mdhī*; in the imperative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. du. 2. *jigr-tim*, pl. *jigr-tā*, *susūdd-ta* (AV.).

4. The *s*-aorist accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. *ddr-s-a-t* (*dr-* 'split'), *ydk-s-a-t* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'), du. 2. *pīr-s-a-thas* (*pr-* 'take across'); the root in the injunctive as far as can be judged from the extremely few accented forms, as mid. sing. 1. *vdm-s-i* (*van-* 'win'); the ending¹ in the optative, as mid. sing. 1. *bhak-s-i-yī* (*√bhaj-*), pl. *dhuk-s-i-mdhī* (*duh-* 'milk'); in the imperative no accented forms occur; the participle accents the root in the active, as *ddk-s-ant-* (*dah-* 'burn'), but in the irregularly formed middle² nearly always the suffix, as *arc-a-s-āni-*, but *śh-a-s-āna-* (527).

5. The *i*-aorist accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 3. *bōdh-i-s-a-t*; the root in the injunctive, e. g. sing. 2. *māth-is*, but once the ending in pl. 3. *tār-is-ūr* (AV.); the ending in the optative; e. g. sing. 1. *edh-i-s-iyī* (AV.); the ending in the imperative; e. g. sing. 2. *av-i-t-dhī*, du. 2. *av-i-tim*.

6. In the *si*-aorist no accented forms occur except one in the imperative, where the ending has the acute, du. 2. *yī-si-tim*.

7. The *sa*-aorist accents that syllable in the injunctive, as pl. 3. *dhuk-sā-nta* (but once sing. 3. *dhuk-sa-ta*), and in the imperative, as sing. 2. *dhuk-sā-sva* (*√duh-*). No subjunctive or optative forms occur.

100. The future.—The accent in all forms of this tense remains on the suffix *-syūt-* or *-i-syūt-*; e. g. sing. 3. *e-syūt-ti* (AV.) 'he will go' (*√i-*); sing. 1. *stav-i-syūmi* 'I shall praise' (*√stuv-*), 3. *kar-i-syūti* 'he will do' (*√kṛ-*); participle *kar-i-syūnt-* 'about to do'.

101. Secondary conjugations.—All these, except the active form of the intensive, accent the same syllable of the stem throughout. They are the causative, the denominative, the passive, the secondary form of the intensive, and the desiderative, the stem of all of which ends in *-a*. The causative accents the penultimate syllable of the stem; e. g. *krodh-āya-* 'enrage'.—The passive, the secondary form of the intensive, and the denominative, accent the suffix *-yūt-*; e. g. *pan-yūt-te* 'is admired'; *verih-yūt-te* 'licks repeatedly'; *gopā-yūnti* 'they protect'. A certain number of unmistakable denominatives, however, have the causative accent; e. g. *mantrā-ya-te* 'takes counsel'.—The desiderative accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *pīprī-sa-ti*.—The primary form of the intensive agrees in accentuation with the third or reduplicating class of verbs, that is, it accents the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms, but the endings with initial consonant in the weak forms of the indicative active; e. g. sing. 3. *jīhav-t-ti*, du. 3. *jar-bhṛ-tīs*, pl. 3. *vātr-ṣṭ-ati*. In the middle indicative, however, the reduplicative syllable is more often accented than not; e. g. *t-tik-te* and *nenik-tē*. In the subjunctive the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. sing. 3. *jānghan-a-t*, but once the root in sing. 1. *janghān-āni*; mid. pl. 3. *jānghan-ānta*, but once the ending in du. 3. *tantas-ūite*. No accented form of the optative occurs. In the imperative the ending is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *jāgr-hī*, *car-kṛ-tīt*. In the participle, both active and middle, the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *ckhit-at-*, *ckhit-āna-*; there are, however, two exceptions in the middle: *badbadh-āni-* and *marmṛj-āni-* (548a).

¹ Once the root is accented in the irregular participles irregularly formed with *-māna-* form du. 2. *trā-s-tānā-*.

² The root is accented in two middle

5. Accent of nominal verb forms.

102. The accentuation of participles formed from tense and conjugation stems has already been stated. When these are compounded with prepositions, they retain their accents; thus the present and perfect participles of *apa-gám-* 'go away' would be *apa-gúcchant-*, *apa-gúcchamāna-*; *apa-jaganvāns-*, *apa-jagmānī-*. The preposition is, however, not infrequently found separated from the participle by another word or is placed after it, when it is treated as independent and accented, e. g. *prī smásru dódhuvat* (x. 23¹) 'shaking his beard'; *ápa dythāni dárdrat* (vi. 17⁵) 'bursting strongholds asunder'; *á ca píra ca pathibhīś cārantam* (i. 164³¹) 'wandering hither and thither on (his) paths'; *mīdhu bibhrata ípa* (i. 166⁹) 'bringing sweetness near'; *tanvānta á rājah* (iv. 45¹) 'extending through the air'. The preposition is occasionally found independently accented immediately before the participle, as *abhī dákṣat* (ii. 4²) 'burning around'; *vi vidvān* (i. 189⁷) 'distinguishing' (probably in distinction from *vividvān*, perfect participle of *vid-* 'find').

a. When there are two prepositions, either both are compounded and unaccented, as *vi-pra-yántah* (ix. 22⁵) 'advancing', *pary-á-vrtytsan* (vii. 63²) 'turning round'; or one is compounded and the other independent and accented, as *abhī á-cārantih* (viii. 96¹⁵) 'approaching'; *ava-sjānn ípa tmānī* (i. 142¹¹) 'bestowing indeed'; *prī vāy.im uj-jhānāh* (v. 1¹) 'flying up to a branch'.

b. Participles in *-tar* generally accent the root, as *kár-tar* 'making', but when compounded the suffix. But *ni-ctar-* 'observing' occurs beside *ni-ctār-* 'observer'.

103. The past passive participle regularly accents the suffix; e. g. *ga-tī-* 'gone', *pat-i-tī-* (AV.) 'fallen', *chin-nī-* 'cut off' (*√chid*). But when this participle is compounded with prepositions, the latter are as a rule accented. In several instances, however, the accent of the simple participle is retained, as *apa-kri-tī-* (AV.) 'bought', *ni-tī-tī-* 'seen', *niś-kr-tī-* 'prepared', *ni-sat-tī-* 'seated', *ni-vā-tī-* (AV.) 'uninjured', *pra-jah-i-tī-* 'given up' (from *jah-*, a secondary form of *hā-* 'leave'), *pra-śas-tī-* 'celebrated', *sañ-skr-tī-* 'prepared' (beside *sañ-skr-ta-*), *sañ-hi-tī-* (VS.) 'variegated'. The preposition may be separated from the participle by another word, as *pīri soma sikhāh* (ix. 97¹⁵) 'poured, O Soma, around'. When there are two prepositions, the first remains unaccented, as *api-vrktāh* (viii. 80⁶) 'removed' (*apa-i-*, *sañ-hi-kr-tam* (x. 84⁷) 'accumulated'); or it may be separated and independently accented, as *prā yāt samudrī á-hitāh* (ix. 64¹⁰) 'when despatched forth to the ocean'; *vīri góhīr á-vrtam* (ix. 86¹⁷) 'encompassed round by streams of milk'.

104. Of the gerundives, those in *-ya* (or *-t-ya*) and *-tva* accent the root; e. g. *cákṣ-ya-* 'to be seen', *śrūt-ya-* 'to be heard', *car-kr-t-ya-* 'to be praised', *vák-tva-* 'to be said'; those in *-āyā*, *-nyā*, *-ānyā* (AV.) accent the penultimate; e. g. *pañ-āyā-* 'to be admired', *ikṣ-ānyā-* 'worthy to be seen', while those in *-tavyā* accent the final syllable, as *jan-i-tavyā-* (AV.) 'to be born'. When compounded with prepositions³, gerundives nearly always leave the accent unchanged; e. g. *pari-cákṣ-ya-* 'to be despised'; with Svarita on the final syllable in the RV. only *ā-kāy-yā-* 'desirable' and *upa-vak-yā-*

¹ Such compounds are also thus accented when turned into substantives, as *nīś-kr-tā-* n. 'rendezvous', *upa-sat-tā-*, N. of a man.

² The gerundives in *-ānyā* and *-tavyā*

only begin to appear in the AV., where two examples of each occur (581 a, b).

³ The preposition is here always inseparable.

'to be addressed'; *abhy-ā-yāns-ānya-* 'allowing oneself to be drawn near'; *ā-mantri-ānya-* (AV.) 'to be addressed'.

105. Infinitives are as a rule accented like ordinary nominal cases formed from the same stems.

a. The dative infinitive from root stems accents the ending; e. g. *dr̥s̥-i* 'to see', but when compounded, the root; e. g. *sam-lāh-e* 'to kindle', *abhi-pra-āks-e* (I. 113⁶) 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-as* generally accent that suffix, but sometimes the radical syllable; e. g. *car-ds-e* 'to fare', but *āks-as-e* 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-i* and *-ti* accent the suffix; e. g. *dr̥s̥-iye* 'to see', *pi-tīye* 'to drink'. Those from stems in *-tu* accent the root, as *bh̥ir-tav-e*; also those from stems in *-tavā*, but with a secondary accent on the final syllable, as *gūn-tavdi*. When these two forms are compounded with prepositions, the latter are accented; e. g. *pri-vantave* 'to win', *āpa-bhartavī* 'to be taken away', the latter retaining its final accent as well. When there are two prepositions, the first may be independent and accented as well; e. g. *vi pri-sartave* (VIII. 67¹²) 'to spread'. Infinitives formed with *-dhyai* generally accent the preceding *a* of the verbal stem, but sometimes the root; e. g. *iyā-dhyai* 'to go', but *gūma-dhyai* 'to go'. Those formed from stems in *-man* accent the root; e. g. *dā-man-e* 'to give', except *vid-mān-e* 'to know'; from stems in *-van* there are *dā-vān-e* 'to give', *tur-vān-e* 'to excel', but *dh̥ūr-vān-e* 'to injure' (*√dh̥ūr*)¹.

b. The accusative infinitive if formed from a radical stem accents the root even when compounded with a preposition; e. g. *śūbh-am* 'to shine', *ā-sād-am* 'to sit down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, it accents the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compounded stem; e. g. *dā-tum* 'to give', *pri-bhar-tum* 'to present', *ānu prā-vothum* 'to advance'³.

c. The ablative-genitive infinitive, if formed from radical stems, which here occur only in combination with prepositions, accents the root; e. g. *ava-pit-as* '(from) falling down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compound stem; e. g. *gān-tos* 'going', *n̄-dhā-tos* 'putting down'.

d. The locative infinitive if formed from radical stems accents the ending in the simple form, but the root in the compounded form; e. g. *budh-i* 'at the waking', but *sam-dīś-i* 'on seeing'. The one locative infinitive formed from a stem in *-tar*, and those from stems in *-san* accent the suffix; e. g. *dh̥ar-tār-i* 'to bestow', *ne-sān-i* 'to lead'.

106. Uncompounded gerunds formed with *-tvī*, *-tvā*, *tvāya* accent the suffix, while the compounded gerunds formed with *-yā* or *-tyā* accent the root; e. g. *ga-tvī* 'having gone', *bhu-tvā* 'having become', *ga-tvāya* 'having gone'; *sam-gf̥bh-yā* 'gathering', *upa-śrī-tya* (AV.) 'having overheard'.

107. Case-forms used as adverbs frequently show a shift of accent. This appears oftenest in the accusative neuter. Thus *drav-āt* 'quickly', but *drāv-ant* 'running', probably also *drah-yūt*⁵ 'stoutly'; *aparām* 'later', but *āparam* as neuter adjective; *ā-nyus-ām* (AV.) 'till dawn'⁶; and the adverbs in *-vāt*, as *āngiras-vāt* 'like Angiras', *manuṣ-vāt* 'as Manus did', *purāṇa-vāt*,

¹ The infinitive from stems in *-tu* in all its cases accents the preposition; e. g. *sam-hartum* 'to collect', *āpi-dhātave* 'to cover up', *āva-gāntos* 'of descending'.

² A preposition is occasionally uncompounded with or separated from the infinitive, when both are accented, as *prā dāvīne* (IV. 32²; V. 653); *prā ātīṣe dātave* (IV. 20¹¹).

³ When there are two prepositions, the

first is independent and therefore also accented.

⁴ The preposition is here always inseparable.

⁵ Which seems to be formed from an irregular present participle of *dr̥h* 'be firm'.

⁶ The ordinary A. of *vy-ūṣ* 'dawn' would be *vyūṣ-am*.

pūrva-vit, *pratna-vit* 'as of old', which are accusative neuters of the adjective suffix *-vant*¹ (unaccented); and some adverbs from the comparative in *-tara*, *ut-tarām* (AV.) 'higher', but *it-tara* as adjective; similarly *ava-tarīm*, *paras-tarīm* and *parā-tarām* 'farther away', *vi-tarīm* 'more widely'² *saṃ-tarīm* (AV.) 'still farther'. Similarly the instrumental *dvā* 'by day', but *divā* 'through heaven'; and the dative *aparīya* 'for the future', but *īparīya* 'to the later'; and the ablatives *apākāt* 'from afar' (*āpāka-* 'far'), *amāt* 'from near' (*dma-* AV. 'this'), *sanāt* 'from of old' (*sīna-* 'old')³.

6. Accent in Sandhi.

108. 1. When two vowels combine so as to form a long vowel or diphthong, the latter has the Udātta if either or both of the original vowels had it; e. g. *nudasvātha* for *nudasva ātha*; *tīvāt* for *tīva it*; *kvāt* for *kvā it*⁴; *igāt* for *ī agāt*; *pītva* for *pītī va*, *sat* for *satī u*; *nintaras* (VI. 63⁵) for *nā intaras*.

The contraction of *i + i* is, however, accented *ī*⁶ the (dependent) Svarita having here (in *ī*) ousted the preceding Udātta⁷; e. g. *divīva* (RV. AV.) for *divi va*. This is the *prastīta*, 'contracted', Svarita of the Prātisākhya⁸.

2. When *i* and *ī* with Udātta are changed to *y* and *r*, a following unaccented vowel receives the Svarita; e. g. *vy āna* for *vi āna*.

The uncontracted form with Udātta must, however, almost invariably be read in the RV. This is the *ksaipra*⁹ Svarita of the Prātisākhya¹⁰. Here the enclitic Svarita assumes the appearance of an independent accent.

3. When *i* is elided, it throws back its Udātta on unaccented *e* or *o*; e. g. *sūtvō* 'gne for *sāndve dgne*; *vō* 'rasaḥ for *vo itrasaḥ*. But when unaccented *a* is elided, it changes a preceding Udātta to Svarita; e. g. *sā* 'dhamiḥ for *sā adhamiḥ*. This is the *ādhirikīta* Svarita of the Prātisākhya¹¹. Here also the enclitic Svarita (in *ī*) has ousted the preceding Udātta (as in *divīva*)¹².

7. The Sentence Accent.

HASKELL, Vocative-Accent in the Veda, JAOS. 11, 57. — BÖHLINGK, ein erster Versuch über den Accent im Sanskrit (Mémoires de l'Académie imp. de St. Pétersbourg 1843) p. 38 ff. — WHITNEY, JAOS. 5, 193 ff., 387 ff. — AUREL MAVR, Beiträge aus dem Rgveda zur Accentuirung des verbum finitum (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1871, p. 219 ff.). — WEBER, IS. 13, 70 ff. — BÖHLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie² p. 356. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 591 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax (Halle 1888) 21—29. — OLDENBERG, Die Verbalenklisis im Rgveda, ZDMG. 60, 707—740.

109. The vocative.—a. The vocative, which whether it consist of a single word or a compound expression, is invariably accented on the first syllable, retains its accent only at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda¹³:

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 1107 a.

² See op. cit. 1119.

³ Cp. op. cit. 1114 a.

⁴ Cp. BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 64.

⁵ But when a Svarita is followed by an unaccented syllable, it of course remains;

e. g. *krīyatha* for *kvā iyatha* (VIII. 17).

⁶ Except in the Taittiriya texts which follow the general rule (*divīva*).

⁷ This also takes place in *sūtvāt* (TS.) for *sū-udgāt* 'a good Udgāt' (TS. VII. 1. 8; B.).

⁸ Cp. HAUG 75.

⁹ So called because 'uttered with a quick' (*ksaipra-*) pronunciation, the semivowel replacing the vowel.

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 251, b a; BRUGMANN, KG. 45, 2.

¹¹ This applies to the second as well as the first Pāda of a hemistich (as some of the above examples show), thus indicating the independent character of these Pādas, which is obscured by the way in which the redactors of the Samhitās apply the rules of Sandhi and mark the dependent Svarita.

that is to say, when, having the full force of the case, it occupies the most emphatic position; e. g. *agne sūpāyan bhava* (i. 1^a) 'O Agni, be easy of access'; *ūrjo napāt sahasāvan* (x. 115^b) 'O mighty son of strength'; *hōtar yavīṣṭha sukrate* (iv. 4^c) 'O most youthful, skilful priest'. This rule also applies to doubly accented dual compounds, as *mitrāvaruṇa* (i. 15^b) 'O Mitra and Varuṇa' (N. *mitrā-varuṇā*).

a. Two or more vocatives at the beginning of a Pāda are all accented; e. g. *ādite, mitra, varuṇa* (ii. 27^a); *ūrjo napāt, bhādrasoc* (viii. 71^b) 'O son of strength, O propitiously bright one'.

b. The vocative, when it does not begin the sentence, loses its accent, being unemphatic as referring only incidentally to a person already invoked; e. g. *it̄na mitrāvaruṇāv it̄vyaḥit̄v it̄aspr̄ṣā* (i. 2^b) 'through Law, O Mitra and Varuṇa, lovers and cherishers of Law'; *īpu tv̄ṣ agne div̄-dive, dōṣā-rastar dhiȳṣ vaȳm* | ... *ḥmasi* (i. 1^c) 'to thee, O Agni, day by day, O illuminer of darkness, with prayer we come'; *ā rājānā² maha it̄asya gopā* (vii. 64^a) 'hither (come), O ye two sovereign guardians of great order'; *yād, indra brahmaṇas-pate, abhidrohām cārāmasi* (x. 164^a)³ 'if, O Indra, O Brahmaṇas-pati, we commit an offence'.

c. The vocative, whether at the beginning of or within a sentence, not being regarded as part of it, does not interfere with the normal accentuation of the sentence. Hence a verb at the beginning of a sentence, following a vocative, is accented as the first word of the sentence; while a verb within a sentence, following a vocative, remains unaccented; e. g. *dīvā, jīvata* (AV. xix. 70^c) 'O gods, live'; *asm̄ ū sū, vṛjānā, mādayethām* (i. 184^a) 'beside us, ye two heroes, enjoy yourselves'.

110. The verb.—A. The finite verb in a principal sentence is unaccented except when it is the first word; e. g. *agnim it̄e pur̄ḥitam* (i. 1^a) 'I praise Agni, the domestic priest'; but *it̄e agnim vip̄as̄ctam* (iii. 27^a) 'I praise Agni the wise'. This rule and its exception must, however, be understood with the following restrictions:

1. A sentence is regarded as capable of having only one verb. Hence all other verbs syntactically connected with the subject of the first, are accented as beginning new sentences (a subject or object coming between two such verbs being generally counted to the first); e. g. *t̄ṣam p̄āhi, sruḥi h̄ivam* (i. 2^a) 'drink of them, hear our call'; *asm̄ibhyam̄ jesi ȳtsi ca* (i. 132^a) 'conquer and fight for us'; *tard̄nir it̄ jayati, k̄ṣti, p̄ṣyati* (vii. 32^a) 'the energetic man conquers, rules, thrives'; *jahi prajām̄ n̄iyasva ca* (AV. i. 8^b) 'slay the progeny and bring (it) hither'.

2. The verb, though not beginning a sentence, receives the accent if it coincides with the beginning of a Pāda (which is treated as the beginning of a new sentence); e. g. *it̄ha te antamānāni | vidyāma sumatinām* (i. 4^a).

3. Since a vocative (or vocatives) at the beginning of a sentence is treated as extraneous to it, the verb which immediately follows it becomes the first word of the sentence and is accordingly accented; e. g. *agne, juṣṭsva*

¹ Here *bhādrasoc* is treated as an in-vocatives. The preceding example may contain two also, as the accent of two as if intended to form a compound expression well as of one vocative would be lost within a Pāda; but if *rājānā* stood at the beginning of a Pāda, the accentuation would be *rājānā maha it̄asya gopā*, supposing two vocatives were intended.

² When the first word of a compound vocative is an adjective (not a genitive), it retains its accent within a Pāda; thus *vīṣve devāsāḥ* 'O All-gods', would appear within a Pāda as well as at the beginning.

³ This is an example of two distinct

⁴ The very rare exceptions to the rules given above (a, b) are doubtless due to errors on the part of the editors or of tradition.

no havih (III. 28¹) 'O Agni, enjoy our sacrifice'. Thus the following sentence of six words contains three accented verbs as well as three accented vocatives: *indra, jīva, sūrya, jīva, devā, jīvata* (AV. XIX. 70¹) 'O Indra, live; O Sūrya, live; O gods, live'.

4. There are some instances in the RV. of the verb when emphatic, even though not placed at the beginning of the sentence, being accented before the particle *id*, and even before *canī*²; e. g. *śāha smā no maghavañ carkṛtīd id* (I. 10.4⁵) 'then be mindful of us, bounteous one'; *nā, devā, bhasāthaś canī* (VI. 59⁴) '(him) O gods, ye two never consume'².

B. The accent always rests on the verb of a subordinate clause (which is almost invariably introduced by the relative *ya-* and its derivatives, or contains the particles *ca* and *cid* 'if', *nēd* 'lest', *hi* 'for', *kuvid* 'whether'); e. g. *yīm yajñam paribhīr dsi* (I. 1¹) 'what offering thou protectest'; *gṛhṇ gaccha gṛhapātūr yāthā śasā* (X. 85²⁰) 'go to the house, that thou be lady of the house'; *indraś ca mṛtīyāti nā, nā naḥ paścād aghāim naśat* (II. 41¹¹) 'if Indra be gracious to us, no hurt will thereafter reach us'; *vī cid ucchānty, aśvina, uśisāḥ, prā vām brūhmāṇi kārāvo bharante* (VII. 72¹) 'when the dawns shine forth, O Aśvins, the singers offer their prayers to you'; *mā cirāṁ tanuthā śpaḥ, nā tvā . . tīpāti sūro arcīṣā* (V. 79⁹) 'do not long delay thy work, lest the sun burn thee with his beam'; *tvīm hi batadī dsi* (III. 53¹⁰) 'for thou art a giver of strength'; *tīm, indra, mādām ś gahi, kuvīn³ nū āsya tṛpṣvāḥ* (III. 42¹) 'come to this gladdening drink, O Indra, (to see) whether thou mayst enjoy it'.

1. When the first of two clauses, though in form a principal one, is virtually subordinate in sense (being equivalent to one introduced by 'if' or 'when'), its verb is occasionally accented; e. g. *sīm dśvaparnaś cāranti nū nīro, smākam, indra, rathīno jayantu* (VI. 47¹¹) 'when our men winged with steeds come together, may the car-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory'.

2. Similarly, but much more frequently, the verb of the first of two clauses which are antithetical in sense, is accented⁴. The occurrence of correlative words like *anyā-anyā, ika-ika, vā-vā, ca-ca*, often makes the antithesis obvious; e. g. *prā pra anyā yānti, pūry anyā āsate* (III. 9¹) '(while) some go on and on, others sit about'; *sīm ca jādīsva agne, prā ca bodhaya enam* (VS. XXVII. 2) 'both be kindled, O Agni, and waken this man's knowledge'; *id vā sūcādhrvam ūpa vā pṛuadhvam* (VII. 16¹¹) 'either pour out or fill up'. If the verb of both clauses is the same, it usually appears (as is natural in the circumstances) in the first only; e. g. *dvīpāc ca sīrvam nū rikṣa, cātuspād yūc ca naḥ svām* (AV. VI. 107¹) 'protect both every biped of ours and whatever quadruped is our own'.

3. The second clause, on the other hand, accents the verb if it contains an imperative (with a final sense), and follows a clause with an imperative of *i-*, *gam-* or *yā-* 'go'; e. g. *śa, dhīyam kṛdvāma* (V. 45⁶) 'come, let us (= that we may) make prayer'; *tāyam ś gahi, kāvveṣu sāca pība* (VIII. 4¹) 'come quickly, beside the Kanvas drink thy fill'.

III. Verbal prepositions.—A. The preposition, which generally precedes, but sometimes follows the verb, being often separated from it by other words,

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK 23, 3, 4; 26, 2; WHITNEY 598 a. In the ŚB. *hanta* regularly accents the verb.

² Cp. GRASSMANN, Wb. under *id* and *canī*.

³ There are only two passages in the RV. (v. 31⁰, 36³) in which *kuvid* does not accent

(the verb; cp. GRASSMANN, sub verbo; DELBRÜCK 550, end.

⁴ This accentuation is more strictly applied in B. than in V., and among the Saṁhitās least strictly in the RV.; cp. WHITNEY 597 a.

is regularly accented in principal sentences; e. g. *ā gamat* (i. 1⁵) 'may he come'; *jāyema śāpī yudhī śpādhaḥ* (i. 8³) 'may we conquer our foes in fight'; *gāvām āpa vrajīm vṛdhi* (i. 10⁷) 'unclose the stable of the kins'; *gāmad vājebhir ā sū nah* (i. 5³) 'may he come to us with booty'.

a. When there are two prepositions, both are accented in the RV., being treated as separate words; e. g. *āpa pari yāhi* (i. 82⁶) 'come forth'; *pari spāśo ul sedire* (i. 25¹³) 'the spies have sat down around'; *āpa prāyobhir ā gatam* (i. 2¹) 'come hither with refreshments'; *āguc, ul paśya bṛhatā abhi rāya* (iii. 23²) 'O Agni, look forth towards (us) with ample wealth'.

α. When *ā* immediately follows another preposition (unless it ends in *i*), it alone is accented, both being compounded with the verb; e. g. *upāgahi* (i. 91¹⁰) 'come hither'; *sanākyasō jivāre* (x. 25⁹) 'thou fittest (them) for living'. The general rule, however, is followed if the preposition preceding *ā* ends in *i*; e. g. *prāty ā tanusva* (iv. 4¹) 'draw (thy bow) against (them)'. In the only passage in which it has been noted in combination with another preposition preceding it, *iva* is treated like *ā*: *upāvasija* (x. 110¹⁰) 'pour out'.

B. The preposition in subordinate clauses is generally compounded with the verb, when it is regularly unaccented; e. g. *yād . . . niśidathaḥ*⁴ (viii. 9²¹) 'when ye two sit down'. It is, however, often separated from the verb, and is then accented as well as the verb. In this case it is commonly the first word of a Pāda, but occasionally comes after the verb; e. g. *ul yā mam rājasi* (i. 160⁴) 'who measured out the two regions'; *yās tastāmbha sīhasā ul jms āntim* (iv. 50¹) 'who with might propped earth's ends asunder'. Occasionally the preposition is separate and accented even when immediately preceding the verb; e. g. *yā ākutim pari veda nāmobhiḥ* (vi. 1⁹) 'who fully knows the offering with devotion'.

a. When there are two prepositions, either both are unaccented and compounded with the verb, or the first only is separate and accented; e. g. *yūyām hi, devūr, rāyāgbhir āsvatī pariprayathī* (iv. 51⁵) 'for ye, O goddesses, proceed around with steeds yoked by eternal order'; *sām yām ayānti dhenūvaḥ* (v. 6²) 'to whom the cows come together'; *yūtra abhi samnāvāmahe* (viii. 69⁵) 'where we to (him) together shout'. A very rare example of two independent prepositions in a dependent sentence is *prā yāt stohā . . . āpa gīrbhir iḥe* (iii. 52⁵) 'when the praiser pours forth laudation to (him) with songs'.

IV. NOMINAL STEM FORMATION.

GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda 1687—1738 (list of nominal stems according to alphabetical order of the final letter). — LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung. Nach den Samhitās dargestellt. Jena 1873. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1136—1245; Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives, 1885.

112. The bare root, both verbal and pronominal, is often used as a declinable stem. But much more generally the stem in declension is formed by means of suffixes. These are of two kinds: primary, or

¹ There seems to be an exception in *āstāś cid, indra, na āpā yāhi* (viii. 92¹⁰) 'thence, O Indra, come to us', but *āpa* here coming at the end of a Pāda, is used adnominally with *nah*.

² The treatment of two prepositions is on the whole the same in the AV. (cp. WHITNEY, APr. 185 ff.) and the TS. (cp. WEBER, IS. 13, 62 ff.); but the TS. treats some other prepositions like *ā*, and the MS.

goes much further, apparently making accentuation of the second preposition the rule; cp. DELBRÜCK p. 48.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 47, end.

⁴ It is not clear why the Pāda text analyses forms like *ny āśīdat* (i. 14¹¹), *ny āstah* (vii. 18¹¹), *vy āsthāt* (ii. 4¹) as *ni āśīdat*, *ni āstah*, *vi āsthāt*. There are about thirty instances of this; cp. WHITNEY 1084 a.

those that are added directly to roots; **secondary**, or those that are added to stems already derivative (pronominal stems being also accounted as such). The distinction between these two kinds is, however, not absolute. Suffixes containing a secondary element sometimes have the appearance and application of primary suffixes (as *-anīya* = *-an-īya*). Less frequently primary suffixes come to be used as secondary ones; thus the participial suffixes are added not only to the root, but also to primary and secondary conjugation stems as well as to tense stems. These nominal suffixes are sometimes added by means of what looks like and may conveniently be called a connecting vowel, though it may not be so in origin. Primary suffixes are also added to roots compounded with verbal prefixes¹.

I. Primary Nominal Derivation.

113. As regards **form**, the root when used without suffix usually remains unchanged in respect to its vowel²; it is then, however, liable to modification in two ways: always adding the determinative *-t* if it ends in *-i*, *u*, or *-r*, and occasionally appearing in a reduplicated form. But before primary suffixes the root usually appears in a strong form: either with Guṇa of medial or final vowels, as *vid-a-* 'knowledge' from *√vid-*, *sir-ana-* 'running' from *√sr-*; or with Vr̥ddhi of final *-i*, *-u*, *-r* and lengthening of medial *a*, as *kār-ā-* 'making' from *√kr-*, *grābh-ā-* 'seizer', from *√grabh-*.

a. As regards **meaning**, there are two classes of **primary derivatives**: the one expressing abstract **action nouns** (with an infinitival character), the other concrete **agent nouns** (with a participial character) used as adjectives or substantives. Other senses are only modifications of these two; as that of the passive participle, which expresses an agent who becomes the recipient of an action. The primary suffixes forming action nouns can also nearly all be used to form agent nouns; and many of those properly forming agent nouns may also form action nouns. Those which properly form **action nouns** are: *-a*, *-an*, *-ana*, *-anā*, *-ani*, *-anī*, *-as*, *-ā*, *-ī*, *-is*, *-i*, *-ika*, *-us*, *-as*, *-ī*, *-tu*, *-tva*, *-tha*, *-thu*, *-nas*, *-ni*, *-nu*, *-pa*, *-ma*, *-man*, *-mi*, *-yu*, *-van*, *-sas*. Those which properly form **agent nouns** are: *-aka*, *-at* or *-ant*, *-ata*, *-anīya*, *-asi*, *-aku*, *-ana*, *-in*, *-iṣṭha*, *-īyāms*, *-u*, *-uka*, *-ū*, *-ūka*, *-ka*, *-ta*, *-tar*, *-tva*, *-tra*, *-tri*, *-tva*, *-thi*, *-na*, *-māna*, *-min*, *-ya*, *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ru*, *-la*, *-li*, *-lu*, *-va*, *-vana*, *-vani*, *-vanu*, *-vara*, *-vas*, *-vāms*, *-vi*, *-sa*, *-suni*, *-saru*, *-sna*, *-snu*.

Root stems.

114. These stems are used both as action nouns (often in the function of infinitives) and as agent nouns, either substantives or adjectives.

1. Examples of the simple root form are: *dyūt-* f. 'splendour', *ñt-* (AV.) f. 'gesticulation', *śūdh-* f. 'awaking'; *dā-* 'giver', *bhid-* f. 'destroyer', *yīj-* m. 'companion', *spīś-* m. 'spy'; *māh-* 'great', *vṛdh-* 'strengthening'.—2. With root determinative *-t*: *mit-* f. 'pillar', *stī-t-* f. 'praise'.—3. With reduplicated root: *ikīl-* 'wise' (*cit-* 'observe'), *juhī-* f. 'sacrificial spoon' (*hu-* 'offer'), *juhī-* 'tongue' (*hū-* 'call'), *dadṛh-*³ 'hearty' (*drh-* 'be firm'), *didyī-* m. 'missile', *didyī-t-* f. 'missile', 'lightning', *sasyād-* f. 'running stream' (*syand-* 'run')⁴ and with intensive

¹ Those chiefly thus used are approximately in the order of their frequency: *-a*, *-ana*, *-ī*, *-tar* and *-tva*, *-in*, *-ya*, *-van* and *-man*, *-i*, *-u*, *-as*; cp. WHITNEY 1141 c.

² That is, the root appears in the weak form, in which it is usually stated.

³ In *dadṛh-* adv. 'heartily'.

⁴ Perhaps also *gāṅgā-* f. 'Ganges' if

reduplication: *jigā-* 'singing aloud' (*gu-* 'sound'), *pra-ñeni-* 'guiding constantly' (*ñi-* 'lead'), *yanyihh-* 'warlike' (*yudh-* 'fight'), *vānvān-* 'desiring', *a-susī-* (AV.) 'barren' ('not bringing forth'), *dāridra-* (VS.) 'roving' (*dā-* 'run') is a transfer to the radical *a*-stems¹.

-a : action and agent.

115. A vast number of derivatives is formed with this suffix, before which the root is generally strengthened, but sometimes remains unchanged or is reduplicated. Those formed with *Guṇa* are more than twice as numerous as all the rest taken together. Medial *a* generally remains unchanged.

1. Examples of derivatives with *Guṇa* are the following action nouns: *dy-a* m. 'course' (*i-* 'go') *hūr-a* m. 'invocation' (*hū-* 'call'), *tūr-a* m. 'crossing' (*t-* 'cross'); *vīd-a-* 'knowledge' (*vīd-* 'know'), *jūs-a-* 'enjoyment' (*jus-* 'enjoy'), *siṅ-a-* 'emission' (*sy-* 'send forth'); agent nouns: *plav-ā-* m. 'boat' (*plu-* 'float'), *maḡh-ā-* m. 'cloud' (*mīh-* 'discharge water'), *cod-ā-* 'instigator' (*cod-* 'incite'). With medial *a*: *grābh-a-* m. 'seizure' (*grābh-* 'seize'), *brām-a-* m. 'weariness' (*brām-* 'be weary').

a. In several words thus formed the meaning varies according as the root is accented or the suffix, the word in the former case being nearly always an abstract substantive, in the latter regularly an adjective or an agent noun; thus *ārdh-a-* m. 'side', *ardh-ā-* 'half'; *tā-a-* m. 'speed', *tā-ā-* 'speeding'; *cod-ā-* m. 'goad', *cod-ā-* m. 'instigator'; *vā-a-* m. 'choice', *vā-ā-* m. 'chooser' 'suitor', *tīra-* m. 'command', *tīr-ā-* m. 'commander', *lū-a-* m. 'glow', *lū-ā-* (AV.) 'glowing'.

2. Vrddhi of final vowels and lengthening of *a*²: action nouns are *dāv-ī-* (AV.) 'fire' (*du-* 'burn'), *tār-ī-* (VS.) 'crossing' (*t-* 'cross'), *bhāg-ī-* 'share' (*bhāj-* 'divide'); agent nouns are *nāy-ī-* 'leader' (*nī-* 'lead'), *jār-ī-* 'lover', *grābh-ī-* 'seizer'.

3. Several derivatives are formed from the weak form of the root, the suffix being accented³; thus *priy-ī-* 'dear' (*pri-* 'please'), *srūv-ī-* m. 'spoon' (*srū-* 'flow'), *vr-ī-* m. 'troop' (*vr-* 'surround'), *tur-ī-* 'rapid' (*t-* 'cross'); *yug-ī-* n. 'yoke', *śuc-ī-* 'bright', *kṛś-ī-* 'lean'.

a. Several derivatives of this type, which occur almost exclusively at the end of compounds, are made from various tense stems; e. g. *-ā-saj-a-* 'stopping', *-tūd-ā-* (AV.) 'impelling', *pas-ya-* 'seeing', *-im-ī-* 'arguing', *pr-ū-* 'bestowing', *-indh-ā-* 'kindling', *brā-ā-* (AV.) 'saying', *-pīl-ā-* (AV.) 'drinking', *-aj-ayā-* 'exciting'⁴; *je-śā-* m. 'attainment' (aor. stem of *ji-* 'conquer'), *neś-ā-* m. 'guidance' (aor. stem of *nī-* 'lead').

4. A considerable number of derivatives are formed from the reduplicated root; thus *cacar-ā-* 'movable', *dadhys-ī-* 'bold', *varr-ī-* m. 'hiding' (*vr-* 'cover'), *śīśay-ī-* 'strengthening' (*śi-* 'sharpen'), *śīśnāth-a-* 'perforation' (*śnath-* 'pierce'), *sasr-ī-* 'flowing' (*√sr-*). They are more usually formed directly from the intensive stem or from stems analogously reduplicated; e. g. *cākṣm-ā-* 'gracious' (*kṣam-* 'forbear'), *rerih-ī-* (AV.) 'continually licking' (*rih-* 'lick'), *-rorud-ā-* (AV.) 'shedding tears' (*rud-* 'weep'), *revij-ā-* 'quick' (*vij-* 'dart'); *carā-car-ā-* 'far-extending', *calā-cal-ā-* 'unsteady', *pani-śpad-ā-* (AV.) 'palpitating' (*√spand-*), *marī-mṛś-ī-* (AV.) 'groping' (*mṛś-* 'feel'), *mali-mluc-ī-* (AV.) 'moving about in

from *gā-* 'go'; *līn-* m. 'child', if from *śū-* 'grow'.

¹ *jāgat-* 'going', 'living', is an old participle present of the reduplicated stem of *gā-* 'go'; WHITNEY, however, thinks (1147 c) that it is made from the reduplicated form *īgā-* (= *ja-gam-*) with the root determinative *-i-*.

² In these words the suffix is almost invariably accented; *kām-a-* 'desire' is accented

on the root as differentiated from *kām-ā-* 'desiring'; similarly *śāk-a-* 'help' and *śāk-ā-* 'helpful'.

³ See LINDNER p. 33.

⁴ According to GRASSMANN, f. *vrā-*.

⁵ Some of the derivatives of this type are transitions from the root stems to the *a*-declension, especially at the end of compounds.

⁶ See below, Determinative Compounds, 272.

the dark', a kind of demon (*mluc-* 'set', of the sun), *varī-vrt-ā-* (AV.) 'rolling' (*vrt-* 'turn'), *sani-syad-ā-* (AV.) 'running' (*√syand-*), *sani-sras-ā-* (AV.) 'decrepit' (*sraṃs-* 'fall'), *sarī-srp-ā-* 'crawling' (*√srp-*).

a. The suffix *-a* is by far the most frequent one used in forming derivatives from the root with a verbal prefix, being nearly always accented whether the noun expresses an action or an agent; e. g. *anu-kar-ā-* (AV.) 'assistance', *abhi-droh-ā-* 'enmity', *ud-ān-ā-* (VS.) m. 'breathing upwards', *nī-mes-ā-* (VS.) 'wink', *praty-ā-brāv-ā-* 'response', *sam-gam-ā-* 'assembly'; *abī-yāj-ā-* 'sacrificing excessively', 'over-plous', *adhi-raṅkram-ā-* (AV.) 'climbing over', *ā-dardir-ā-* 'crushing', *ut-tid-ā-* (AV.) 'rousing', *pari-car-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'wandering', *vī-bodh-ā-* 'wakeful', *sam-gir-ā-* (AV.) 'swallowing', *sam-jay-ā-* 'victorious'.

b. There are many words which have the appearance of ending in this suffix, though the root cannot be found elsewhere. They include several nouns of plants and animals. Examples are *ukhā-¹* (AV.) 'cauldron', *krōdā-* (VS. AV.) 'breast', *khilā-* (AV.) 'waste land', *nakhā-* 'nail', *pakṣū-* 'wing', *vamśā-* 'reed'.

-a-ka : agent.

116. This suffix, which consists of the primary *-a* with the secondary *-ka* added, is in a few words used as a primary suffix forming agent nouns only: *abhi-kriś-āka-* (VS.) 'reviler', *piy-āka-* (AV.) 'abuser', a class of demon, *vādī-āka-* (AV.), a kind of reed ('destructive'), *śīy-āka-* n. 'missile' (*√śi-*); also *pāv-āka-* 'purifying', 'bright', which though always written thus is invariably to be pronounced *pāvāhā-²*.

-ata : agent.

117. In a few adjectives the primary suffix *-a* with *-tī* added is attached to the strong form of the root, chiefly with the sense of the gerundive: *dars-ātī-* 'visible', *pac-ātī-* 'cooked', *bhar-ātī-* 'to be tended', *yaj-ātī-* 'to be adored', *raj-ātī-³* 'silvery', *hary-ātī-⁴* 'desirable'.

-at and -ant : agent.

118. The suffixes *-at* and *-ant* are almost restricted to the formation of active participles. The former appears chiefly in the formation of present participles of the reduplicating class, as *dād-at-* 'giving'; also in *dās-at-* 'worshipping', *śis-at-* 'instructing', and the aorist participle *dāks-at-* and *dhdks-at-* from *dah-* 'burn'. There are besides a few substantives originally participles, which have shifted their accent, formed with *-at*: *vah-āt-* f. 'stream', *vagh-āt-* (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-āt-* m. 'sacrificer', *sraṃ-āt-* f. 'stream', *sac-āt-* m. 'pursuer'.

The suffix *-ant* is used to form the active participle of present stems (excepting those of the reduplicating class), of future stems, and aorist stems. Some of these have become independent adjectives: *śh-ant-* 'weak', *pfṣ-ant-* 'spotted', *brh-ant-* 'great', *mah-ant-⁵* 'great', *riś-ant-* 'brilliant'; also the substantive *d-ant-* m. 'tooth'.

dvay-ant- in *ā-dvay-ant-* (RV.) 'not double-tongued' has the appearance of a participle of a denominative stem from *dvī-* 'two'. With the same suffix are formed the two pronominal stems *ī-y-ant-* 'so great' ('making this', *ī-*) and *ki-y-ant-* 'how great?' ('making what?' *kī-*).

an- : action and agent.

119. Few words are formed with this suffix, and in some of them the root is doubtful.

¹ Cp. LINDNER p. 35.

² Also in *ukhā-āhā-* (RV.) 'fragile as a pot', f. *ukhā-*.

³ Cp. LINDNER p. 33, bottom.

⁴ *-āka-* also appears in the Proper Name *nakhāka-*.

⁵ Probably from the root *raj-* 'colour'.

⁶ Formed from the denominative stem of *hārī-* 'bright'.

⁷ See below, Participial stems in *-at*, 311 A.

⁸ With lengthened vowel in the strong cases.

⁹ See below, Participles in *-ant*, 313.

The only action nouns are the following neuters: *mah-án-*¹ 'greatness', *rāj-án-* (RV.) 'guidance', *gāmbh-an-* (VS.) 'depth'. The infinitives in *-s-án-i* (588c) are, however, probably locatives of action nouns formed with *-an* from aorist stems.

Agent nouns are: *ukṣ-án-* m. 'ox', *akṣ-an-* (AV.) n. 'eye', *tákṣ-an-* m. 'carpenter', *pāṣ-án-* m., N. of a god, *plih-án-* (VS. AV.) m. 'spleen', *majj-dn-* m. 'narrow', *mūrdh-án-* m. 'head', *rāj-an-* m. 'king', *vṛj-an-* adj. 'virile', m. 'bull', *ságh-an-* (TS. III. 2. 1) 'vulture'.

a. There are also several words formed with *-an* the root and original meaning of which are mostly doubtful: 1. *yú-v-an-* m. 'youth', *yú-an-* f. 'maiden', *śv-án-* m. 'dog'; 2. defective neuter nouns; *akṣ-án-* 'eye', *ás-an-* 'blood', *asth-án-* 'bone', *dh-an-* 'day', *ās-án-* 'face', *ud-án-* 'water', *údh-an-* 'udder', *dudh-án-* 'sour milk', *doṣ-án-* (AV.) 'arm', *yak-án-* 'liver', *śák-an-* (AV. VS.) 'dung', *sakth-án-* 'thigh'; 3. stems occurring at the end of compounds only: *-gm-an-* and *-jm-án-* (also used independently) 'course', *-dṛv-an-* 'playing'; *-bhv-an-* 'being', *-śv-an-* 'growing' (?)⁶.

-ana: action and agent.

120. With the suffix *-ana* are formed a large number of derivatives with both types of meaning. The root generally shows *Guna*, sometimes *Vṛddhi*, occasionally no change, rarely a weakened vowel. These derivatives very often appear with a preposition, such verbal compounds coming next in frequency to those formed with the suffix *-a*.

1. With *Guna* are formed neuter action nouns; e. g. *kár-āna-* 'deed', *cáy-ana-* (AV.) 'piling', *dév-ana-* 'play', *bhúj-ana-* 'enjoyment', *várdh-ana-* 'increase', *véd-ana-* 'possession', *háv-ana-* 'invocation', *adhí-vi-kárit-ana-* 'cutting off'; also agent nouns; e. g. the adjectives *kar-āná-* 'active', *cat-ana-* 'visible', *cid-ana-* (AV.) 'impelling', *vi-móḥ-ana-* 'releasing'; from a duplicated (intensive) stem: *iágar-and-* (VS.) 'waking' (*Vgr-*).

2. With *Vṛddhi*⁸ or lengthened medial *a* are formed neuter action nouns, sometimes with a concrete sense; e. g. *ut-pár-āna-* (AV.) 'transporting', *upa-vás-ana-* (AV.) 'clothing', 'dress', *pra-vác-ana-* 'proclamation', *sád-ana-* 'seat'; also agent nouns; e. g. *saṃ-srāv-āna-* (AV.) 'flowing together'; *-cát-ana-* 'driving away', *mád-ana-* 'gladdening', *vádh-ana-* 'conveying', *-spás-ana-*⁹ (AV.) 'spying'; *śvād-ana-* m. 'sweetener'.

3. With unchanged vowel (final *-ā* and medial *a*) are formed neuter action nouns; e. g. *dána-* 'giving', *ud-yána-* (AV.) 'going out', *ní-dhāna-* 'receptacle', *rákṣ-āna-* 'protection', *súd-ana-* 'seat', *ava-pra-bhráms-ana-*¹⁰ (AV. XIX. 39^b) 'slipping down', *práṇ-ana-* 'breathing' (*Van-*); anomalously formed directly from a preposition, *sám-ana-* 'meeting'; also agent nouns; e. g. *típ-ana-* 'burning', *ā-kram-āna-* (VS.) 'stepping upon', *saṃ-gám-ana-* 'assembling'.

4. With weak vowel are formed very few derivatives; either neuter action nouns partly with concrete meaning; *kṛp-āna-* 'misery', *ptṣ-ana-* 'tenderness', *bhív-ana-* 'being', *vṛj-āna-* and (once) *vṛj-ana-* 'enclosure', *-śív-ana-* (AV.) 'procreation'; or agent nouns: *kṛp-āná-* (AV.) 'miserable', *tur-āna-*

¹ Used in the instrumental only.

² From *ud-* 'be wet'.

³ From *div-* 'play' in *prati-dv-an-* 'adversary at play'.

⁴ From *bhū-* 'be' in *vi-bhvan-* and *vi-bhván-* 'far-reaching'.

⁵ In the Proper Names *mātariśv-an-* and *śjiv-án-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 125, bottom, and above, p. 95, n. 11.

⁶ *-kāman-* in *nī-kāman-* 'desirous' is a transition form for the *a*-stem *nī-kāmu-*.

⁷ In the RV. only as final member of compounds, *śjiv-ādana-* etc.

⁸ In this type the only vowel appearing in the radical syllable is *ā*.

⁹ In *prati-spāsana-* (AV. VIII. 5¹¹).

¹⁰ See WHITNEY's note on *nāvaprabhāna-* in his translation of AV. XIX. 39^b and WEBER's erroneous interpretation of this as 'descent of the ship'.

'speeding'; m. *śr-āna-* 'ram' (*vr-* 'cover'), *kir-āna-* m. 'dust' ('scattering'), *vṛṣ-āna-* (VS.) 'testicle'.

-anā : action and agent.

121. With this suffix (accented on the first or the last syllable) are formed some feminine action nouns (like the neuters in *-ana*) which sometimes have a concrete meaning: *as-anā-* 'missile', *jar-anā-* 'old age', *dyot-anā-* 'brilliance', *man-anā-* 'devotion', *rodh-anā-* ('obstruction') 'dam', *svet-anā-* 'daybreak', *has-anā-* 'laughter', *kap-anā-* 'caterpillar' and *ras-anā-* 'rein' have the appearance of being formed with this suffix, though the radical parts are not found in independent use. Accented on the penultimate syllable: *arh-ānā-* 'merit', *jar-dnā-* 'dry wood'(?), *barh-ānā-* 'might', *bhānā-ānā-* 'brilliance', *manh-ānā-* 'readiness', *meh-ānā-* 'abundance', *vaks-ānā-* 'belly', *vadh-ānā-* 'slaughter', *van-ānā-* 'desire'. The formation of *yoṣ-ānā-* (RV¹), usually *yṣ-ānā-*, 'woman' is obscure². With the suffix *-anā-* is also formed (though irregularly accented on the radical syllable) *ṣṭ-anā-*³ 'fight' from a root not found in independent use⁴. The suffix *-anā-* also forms feminine agent nouns (adjectives) corresponding to masculines in accented *-ana-*; thus *tur-ānā-*⁵ 'speeding', *tvar-anā-* (AV.) 'hasting', *spanā-anā-* (AV.) 'kicking'.

a. Derivatives in *-ana-* with verbal prefixes, if compounded with other words, form their f. in *-anā-*; thus *an-apa-vāc-anā-* (AV.) 'not to be ordered away', *sūpa-vāc-anā-* and *sūpa-sarp-anā-* (AV.) 'easy of approach', *śiṣ-ṣi-dhānā-* 'forming an order (*vi-dhāna-*) of six'.

-ani : action and agent.

122. This suffix, accented either on the first or the last syllable, is added to either the strong or the weak form of the root.

1. It forms feminine action nouns, sometimes with concrete sense; thus *at-īni-* 'missile', *iś-āni-* 'impulse', *ksip-ani-* 'blow', *dyot-ani-* 'brilliance', *dham-āni-* 'piping', *vart-ani-* 'track', *śar-āni-* 'injury'; also *jarāni-* 'noise' (?) in the compound *jarāni-prī-* 'moving with noise'(?).

2. It forms agent nouns, both m. f. substantives and adjectives; thus *ar-āni-* f. 'fire-stick', *caḥs-āni-* m. 'enlightener', *car-āni-* 'movable', 'active', *tar-āni-* 'swift', *dhvas-āni-* 'sprinkling', *vaks-āni-* m. 'strengthened'; also in the compounds *in-ari-ani-*, N. of a demon, *āj-ani-* (AV.) f. 'stick for driving' (*ā-aj-*) and *udani-māt-* 'abounding in waves' (*ud-ani-* 'undulating' from *ud-* 'be wet').

3. From the reduplicated root: *papt-ani-* (*pat-* 'fly') in *su-papt-ani-* f. 'swift flight'. From aorist stems: *cars-āni-* 'active' (*car-* 'move'), f. pl. 'men', *parś-āni-* 'crossing' (*pr-* 'cross'), *saks-āni-* 'overcoming' (*√sah-*). From desiderative stems: *ruruks-āni-* 'willing to destroy' (*rurj-* 'break'), *siṣṣ-āni-* 'eager to win' (*√sā-*), *ā-sutuks-āni-* 'gleaming forth' (*suc-* 'shine').

-anī : action and agent.

123. This suffix is the feminine form corresponding to the action and agent nouns formed with *-ana-* from the strengthened or unreduced root⁶, with or without verbal prefix; thus *cod-anī-*⁷ 'urging' (*cod-ana-*), *ṣṭ-anī-* (AV.) 'well-formed' (*ṣṭ-ana-*), *ṣṭ-anī-* (VS. AV.) f. 'sprinkling water', *pra-jñāni-*

¹ Other stems with the same meaning are: *yṣ-āni-*, *yṣ-ā-*, *yṣ-ā-*. The root is probably *yu-* 'unite'.

² The suffix *-anā-* never otherwise occurs when the root is accented.

³ Only as a nominal stem *ṣṭ-* 'fight'.

⁴ This is the only example of such accentuation.

⁵ That is, *su-apa-vāc-anā-* and *su-apa-sarp-anā-*.

⁶ See *ana-*, 120. 1-3.

⁷ In *brahma-cōdanī-* 'stimulating devotion'.

(AV.) 'easily known', *spīr-ant-* (AV.) 'preserving'; *abhi-sāv-ant-* (AV.) 'pressing implement', *vi-dhār-ant-* (AV.) 'preserving'.

a. In some (partly obscure) words the accent here shifts from the radical vowel to the final of the suffix: *ary-ant-* (AV.) 'piercing pain', *ce-ant-* (AV.) 'visible' (*di-ana-*), *tap-ant-* 'heat' (*tāp-ana-* 'burning'), *ted-ant-* (AV. VS.) 'blood', *pyt-ant-* 'tender' (*pyt-ana-* 'tenderness'), *vṛj-ant-* 'enclosure' (*vṛj-ana-* and *vṛj-ana-*).

-an-īya : gerundive.

124. This is a new compositive suffix beginning to be attached directly to the root in the formation of the gerundive. It is based on the primary suffix *-ana* of neuter action nouns extended with the secondary adjective suffix *-īya*. There are two examples in the AV.: *upa-jīv-aniya-* 'to be subsisted on', and *ā-mantr-aniya-* 'to be addressed'.

-ar : agent.

125. This suffix is found in a very few words: *us-dr-* f. 'dawn', *dev-dr-* m. 'husband's brother', *nā-nānd-ar-* f. 'husband's sister'.

-as : action and agent.

126. This suffix forms a large class of neuter action nouns (which sometimes acquire a concrete sense) accented on the root, and a small class of agent nouns (mostly adjectives) accented on the suffix. Some words belong to one class or the other according to the accent. The root generally takes Guṇa, and medial *a* is sometimes lengthened, while the vowel is reduced in a few instances.

1. Examples of action nouns are: with Guṇa, *prāy-as-* 'pleasure' (*√pri-*), *śrāv-as-* 'fame' (*√śru-*), *kār-as-* 'deed' (*√kr-*), *clt-as-* 'brilliance' (*√cit-*), *tīj-as-* 'splendour' (*√tij-*), *dhā-as-* 'milking' (*√dūh-*)². With medial *a* unchanged: *dāv-as-* 'aid', *tīp-as-* 'heat', *prīth-as-* 'breadth', *vāc-as-* 'speech'; and with partially or wholly concrete meaning, *cikṣ-as-* 'lustre', 'eye', *min-as-* 'thought', 'mind', *sār-as-* 'lake'. With lengthened *a*: *vāc-as-*³, *vās-as-* 'covering', 'garment', *vāh-as-* 'offering', *svād-as-* 'flavour' in *prā-svād-as-* 'agreeable'; and from roots not in independent use: *pāj-as-* 'brilliance' and *pāth-as-*⁴ 'path'. With reduced vowel: *śr-as-* 'breast', *jīv-as-* 'speed' (beside *jāv-as-*), *mādh-as-* 'contempt', *śīr-as-* 'head'; also *vip-as-* 'inspiration' in the compounds *vipat-clt-* 'inspired' and *vipo-dhā-* 'bestowing inspiration'; *iras-* 'anger' in the denominative *iras-yā-* 'be angry'; *hur-as-* 'deceit' in *huras-clt-* 'plotting mischief'. Perhaps also the adverbs (with shift of accent) *tir-ds* 'across' and *mith-tis* 'mutually'.

a. To roots ending in *-ā* the suffix is added direct in *bhās-* n. 'light' (*bhā-* 'shine') and *dās-* 'giving'⁵ (*√dā-*). *jāś-* 'kinsman' and *mās-* 'moon' are probably also formed with the suffix *-as*, but being masculines were most likely agent nouns in origin: *mā-ds* = 'measurer' (*mā-* 'measure'). The suffix seems to be added with an intervening *y* in *dhā-y-as-* 'agility'⁶ if it is derived from *dhā-* 'leave'⁷, while in *dhā-y-as-* n. 'enjoyment' and *gā-y-as-* 'song'⁸ the *y* probably belongs to the root⁹.

¹ *vātar-* 'sister' is probably an old compound in which *-sar* represents a root; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 8, note.

² The word *hāy-as-* 'missile' is perhaps formed from the aorist stem of *hi-* 'impel'.

³ In *vi-svāras-* (AV.) 'speaking variously' and *sā-vāras-* (AV.) 'speaking similarly'.

⁴ According to OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 607 this word means 'home' and is perhaps formed with a suffix *-thas* from *pā-* 'protect'; according to SIEG, Gurupūjakaumudī 97, it means 'food', and is derived from *pā-* 'drink'.

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⁵ Often to be read as dissyllables, *bhaas-* and *daas-*.

⁶ In *-das-* 'giving' and *-dhas-* 'placing' an *-as* has been formed probably by a misunderstanding of the N. sing. *-dās-* and *-dhās-*.

⁷ In *vi-hāyas-* 'vigorous' and *sārva-hāyas-* (AV.) 'having all strength'.

⁸ But it may be a derivative of *hi-* 'impel'.

⁹ From *dhc-* 'suck' and *gai-* 'sing'; cp. above 27 a.

¹⁰ In *pā-v-as-* n. 'fat' (*pā-* 'swell') the *v* may

2. Agent nouns in *-ds*, mostly adjectives, correspond in several instances to action nouns accented on the root. These are *ap-ds* 'active' (*ap-as* 'work'), *tar-ds* (VS?) 'quick' (*tar-as* 'quickness'), *tyaj-ds* m. 'descendant' (*tyaj-as* 'abandonment'), *duv-ds* 'stirring' (*div-as* 'worship'), *mah-ds* 'great' (*mih-as* 'greatness'). The derivative *tar-ds* occurs both as an adjective 'strong' and without change of accent¹ as a m. substantive 'strength'. A few others have no corresponding action noun: *tot-ds* 'bestowing', *dhvar-ds* 'deceiving', *yaj-ds* 'offering', *vedh-ds* 'worshipper', *ves-ds* (AV.) 'neighbour'; and from a denominative stem *mrgay-ds* (AV?) 'wild animal'².

a. There are a few substantives accented on the suffix and seemingly never neuter, which are allied to the neuter action nouns in meaning, some being abstract, others concrete in sense. The change of accent may be due to change of gender³. Thus *raks-ds* m. occurs beside *raks-as* n. both meaning 'demon'. There also occur *jar-ds* m. 'old age', *bhiy-ds* m. 'fear', *tves-ds*⁴ 'impulse', *hav-ds* 'invocation'; *us-ds* f. 'dawn' may have been an agent noun originally; *dos-ds* (AV?) f.(?) beside *dos-d* 'night' may be due to parallelism with *us-ds*. The stem *up-ds* 'lap' (the gender of which is uncertain, as it occurs only in the locative singular) may have been formed under the influence of *up-d-stha*⁵ m. 'lap'.

a. A few Proper Names are formed with the suffix *-as*; thus *nodh-ds*; *arimānas* is a compound of *ānas* 'wain', possibly also *bhalānis*. *ap-sard*⁶ f. 'nymph' is perhaps a compound ('moving in the waters'). *dhīras*, a name of Agni, has the appearance of being formed with this suffix, but the *-s* is perhaps secondary⁷.

-as : action and agent.

127. This suffix, which is an extension of *-i* with *-s*, forms a couple of action nouns with concrete sense, and a few agent nouns: *dhāsi* m. 'drink' (*dhē* 'suck') and *dhāsi* f. 'abode'; *at-as* m. 'beggar', *dharm-as* 'strong', *sān-as* 'victorious'.

-ā : action.

128. By far the greatest proportion of words in *-ā* consists of secondary feminine adjectives corresponding to masculines and neuters in *-a*.

There is, however, also a considerable number of feminine action nouns of an independent character, formed by adding *-ā* sometimes to the root, but usually to secondary conjugation stems (desiderative, causative, denominative). Thus *ī-ā* (AV.) 'dominion', *nind-ā* (AV.) 'blame'; *jigī-ā* 'desire to win', *bhik-ā* (AV.) 'begging', *vīts-ā*⁸ 'desire to frustrate'; *gamay-ā*⁹ (AV?) 'causing to go'; *atvay-ā* 'desire for horses', *apasy-ā* 'activity', *urugy-ā* 'readiness to help', *jīvanasy-ā* (TS. II. 3. 10².3) 'desire of life', *sukratay-ā* 'skill'.

a. This suffix has the appearance of being added to a reduplicated stem in *jāgh-ā*¹⁰ 'leg' and *jih-ā* 'tongue'; it may also be contained in the very obscure word *sūā*¹¹ (AV?).

have been inserted owing to the influence of *śvan-* adj. 'fat'.

¹ WHITNEY 1152, 2 c. erroneously, *divas* 'strength'.

² The suffix is probably contained in *āhan-ds* 'wanton', but the derivation is obscure, Cp. FRÖHDE, BB. 21, 321-330.

³ The dative infinitives from stems in *-as* are sometimes accented on the root, but usually on the suffix (105a). This may indicate a difference of gender, the former being neuter, the latter masculine.

⁴ As *tves-ds* and *hav-ds* occur in the I. sing. only, the gender is uncertain,

but owing to the accent it is probably masc.

⁵ According to GRASSMANN, however, *up-d-stha* probably = *up-d-stha*; cp. 81, 2 a.

⁶ See MACDONELL, Vedic Mythology 47. note 3; but cp. FISCHER, VS. 3, 197.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 188.

⁸ From *vī-ā* desiderative of *vid-* 'prosper'.

⁹ The causative stem used in the formation of the periphrastic perfect.

¹⁰ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 106, top.

¹¹ See WHITNEY's note on AV. I, 113.

-āku : agent.

129. This very rare suffix seems to have been limited to the formation of agent nouns. It appears in *mṛḍay-āku* 'gracious' (formed from a causative stem), *pṛd-āku* (AV. VS.)¹ 'adder', *lkṣv-āku*, N. of a man.

-āna : agent.

130. This suffix forms a middle participle² from the present (455, 461, 467, 473, 479), the perfect (493) and (in the form of *-s-āna*) from the aorist tense stem³ (527). It also appears in the formation of a few adjectives and substantives, a preceding *u* always taking Guna. Such adjectives are: *tīkav-āna* 'speeding' (beside *tīk-u-* and *tīk-va-*), *bhṛgav-āna* 'beaming' (beside *bhṛgu-* m.), *vāsav-āna* 'possessing wealth' (*vāsu-*), *ardhva-s-ānī-* 'being erect' (formed like an aorist participle from *ardhvī-* 'upright').

There are also the Proper Names *āpnāv-āna-*, *cyāv-āna-*, *pṛthav-āna-*; also *cyvat-āna-* which looks as if formed by adding *-āna* to the active present participle stem of *cyu-* 'fall'. Of doubtful derivation are the substantives *pārl-āna-* m. 'abyss' and *rujānā-*⁴ f. 'river' (l. 32⁶).

-i : action and agent.

131. With this suffix are formed numerous feminine action nouns, agent nouns (adjectives and masculine substantives), and a few neuters of obscure etymology⁵.

The root appears in various forms: sometimes with Guna, Vṛddhi or lengthened *a*, generally with unchanged or weak vowel, often reduplicated. Before the suffix a final radical palatal regularly appears (not the original guttural). In many of these derivatives the root is not traceable elsewhere. The accent is so fluctuating that no general rule can be stated. The meaning is often greatly specialised.

1. Examples of action nouns are: with Guna, *rīp-i* (AV.) 'pain', *loc-i* (AV.) 'heat'; with lengthened *a*: *aj-i-* m. f. 'race', *grāh-i-* 'seizure', *dhrīj-i-* 'course'; with unchanged vowel: *san-i-* 'gain'; with weak vowel: *twīṣ-i-* 'brilliance', *kṛṣ-i-* 'tillage', *rīc-i-* (AV.) 'brightness'.

2. Examples of agent nouns are: with Guna, *ar-i-* 'devout', *arc-i-* m. 'beam'; with Vṛddhi, *hṛṣ-i-* (VS.) 'drawing'; with lengthened vowel *jāni-*⁶ f. 'wife', *śār-i-* f. 'arrow' (RV⁷), a kind of bird (VS. TS.), *dās-i-* (AV.) 'poisonous matter'; also in a few words of obscure etymology, *drāp-i-* m. 'mantle', *nābh-i-* f. 'navel', *pāṇ-i-* m. 'hand', *rās-i-* m. 'heap'; with unchanged vowel: *kṛīḍ-i-* 'playing', *granth-i-* m. 'knot', *māh-i-* 'great'; with weak vowel: *śīc-i-* 'bright', *gṛbh-i-* (AV.) 'container', *bhṛm-i-* 'lively' (beside *bhṛm-i-* f. 'lively motion'). From the reduplicated root, which nearly always has a weak or reduced radical vowel, are formed with ordinary reduplicative vowel: *cikī-i-*⁷ (SV.) 'understanding', *cākr-i-* 'active', *jdghr-i-* 'sprinkling about' (*ghr-*), *pāpr-i-* 'bestowing abundantly', *badhr-i-* 'carrying', *vāvri-* m. 'covering', *sāsr-i-* 'speeding', *śiṣv-i-* 'pressing'; *yhyudh-i-* 'warlike', *vivic-i-* 'appropriating' (*Vvyac-*);

¹ It occurs in the RV. only as the first member of a compound in *pṛdāku-ānu-* 'having a surface like that of a snake'.

² See LINDNER p. 53-55.

³ *āpnāna-* seems to be an irregular present participle of *āp-* 'obtain' formed from the stem *āp-nā-* instead of *āp-nu-*.

⁴ For this word occurring in the form of *rujānās* see p. 59, note 1.

⁵ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1718f.; LINDNER p. 55-58.

⁶ At the end of compounds beside the independent *jāni-*.

⁷ Various reading for the *cikī-i-* of the RV.

jāgm-i 'hastening' (*gam-* 'go'), *jāghn-i* 'striking' (*√han-*), *sāsn-i* 'winning'; *jāgur-i* 'conducting' (*√gṛ-*), *tītur-i* 'victorious' (*√tṛ-*), *pāpur-i* and *pīpur-i* (SV.) 'bestowing abundantly' (*√pṛ-*) beside *pīpr-i*; with lengthened or strong reduplicative vowel: *tītṛp-i* 'gladdening', *dādhr-i* 'bold', *vāvah-i* 'driving swiftly', *sāsah-i* 'victorious'; *tītuj-i* 'speeding', *tītuj-i* m. 'stimulator', *yīyuv-i* 'driving away', *yāyudh-i* 'warlike'; *jarbhār-i* 'nourishing' (*√bhr-*). The weak reduplicated present stem appears in *dād-t-* 'giving' and *dād-i-* 'bestowing'; from similar stems (appearing in the perfect) are formed *paṣ-t-* 'drinking' (*√pā-*) and *yay-i* 'speeding' (*√yṛ-*).

a. There are only about half a dozen neuters formed with the suffix *-i*, nearly all being obscure in origin. They are *dṛṣ-i-* 'eye', *dsth-i-* (AV. VS.) 'bone', *dād-i-* 'sour milk', *sīm-i-* 'toil' (*śam-* 'work'); and with *√rdhī* *hārd-i-* 'heart'.

b. The root is sometimes compounded with verbal prefixes in these derivatives, the suffix being then usually accented; thus *a-jān-i-* f. 'birth', *vi-vaur-i-* m. 'opening', *saṃ-tan-t-* f. 'harmony', 'music', *a-yaj-i-* 'bringing near by offerings', *a-mūr-i-* m. 'destroyer', *ni-jaghñ-t-* 'striking down', *parā-dād-t-* 'delivering over', *vī-sāsah-t-* 'victorious', *vy-ānat-t-*² 'pervading'.

c. From *dhā-* 'put' is derived the stem *-dhi-* which is used in forming many m. compounds; e. g. *antar-dhī-* (AV.) 'concealment', *ud-dhī-* (AV.), part of a car, *ni-dhī-* 'treasure', *pari-dhī-* 'fence'. From *sthā-* 'stand' is similarly formed *-sthi-* in *prati-sthī-* f. 'resistance'. There is here some doubt as to whether we have a reduced form of the root (as in *dhi-ta-*) or displacement of the radical vowel by the very frequent suffix *-i*. The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable owing to the almost invariable accentuation of the *i* and the occurrence of a stem like *prati-sthī-* 'resistance' beside *prati-sthā-* 'standpoint'.

-in : agent.

132. The very frequent secondary suffix *-in* seems sometimes to have the value of a primary suffix, exclusively, however, at the end of compounds; thus *ād-in-* 'eating', *es-in-* (AV.) 'seeking', *lod-in-* 'piercing', *d-nām-in-* 'unbending', *vyūdh-in-* (AV.) 'piercing'; from a present stem *aś-nuv-in-* (VS.) 'reaching'; from an aorist stem *-saks-in-*³ overpowering (*√sah-*); from a reduplicated stem *-yay-in-* 'going'.

-iṣṭha : agent.

133. With this suffix attached to the root is formed the superlative with an adjectival sense. The root is regularly accented⁴, *i* and *ī* taking *Guṇa*, while *a* remains unchanged, though in two or three instances it is strengthened with a nasal. Roots in *-ā* combine that vowel with the initial *i* of the suffix to *e*, which, however, is usually to be read as two syllables. About fifty superlatives formed with this suffix occur in the *Saṃhitās*. Examples are: *nāy-iṣṭha-* 'leading in the best manner' (*nī-* 'lead'), *jāv-iṣṭha-* 'quickest' (*jū-* 'speed'), *vād-iṣṭha-* 'procuring most' (*vād-* 'find'), *śoc-iṣṭha-* 'most brilliant' (*śuc-* 'shine'); *yāj-iṣṭha-* 'sacrificing best'; *bāṃh-iṣṭha-* 'most abundant' (*bāṃh-*

¹ The words *bāmbhār-i-* (VS.) m., a soma-guarding genius, *karkar-i-* f. 'lute', *duṇḍubh-i-* m. 'drum' may be onomatopoeic in origin.

² From the perfect stem *ān-a-* of *at-* 'attain'.

³ In *pra-saks-in-* 'victorious'.

⁴ In *ni-yay-in-* 'passing over'. Cp. J. INDNER p. 59; WHITNEY 1183 a.

⁵ Except two or three times *īyēṣṭhā-* and *kan-iṣṭhā-* (see above p. 83, 14); and when the superlative is compounded with a prefix, which then has the accent.

'make firm'), *māṅgh-iṣṭha-* 'most liberal' (*māh-* 'be great'); *jyēṣṭha-* 'greatest' and *jyēṣṭhū-* 'eldest' (*jyā-* 'overpower'), *dhīṣṭha-* 'bestowing the most' (*√dhā-*), *yēṣṭha-* 'going fastest' (*√yā-*).

a. In many instances these superlatives attach themselves in meaning to derivative adjectives, being formed from the root which the latter contain; thus *os-iṣṭha-*¹ (TS. I. 6. 12³) beside *ōṣa-m* 'quickly', *bārḥ-iṣṭha-* 'greatest' beside *bṛh-ant-* 'great', *vār-iṣṭha-* 'choicest' (*vṛ-* 'choose') beside *vār-a-* 'choice', *sādh-iṣṭha-* 'straightest' beside *sādh-ū-* 'straight'. In a few cases the suffix is added to the derivative form of the root which appears in the adjective; thus *śś-iṣṭha-* (AV.) 'swiftest' beside *āś-ū-* (from *āś-* 'reach'); and in *nāv-iṣṭha-* 'newest' the suffix is attached to the radical element in *nāv-a-*² 'new' (and not directly to the root from which that word may be derived).

b. In some cases the root is compounded with a verbal prefix or other indeclinable; thus *ā-gam-iṣṭha-* 'coming best', *ś-tram-iṣṭha-* 'never tiring', *sām-bhāv-iṣṭha-*³ 'most beneficial'.

a. There are some irregularities in the formation of this superlative. Thus *bhū-* retains its vowel unchanged, adding the suffix with an intervening *-y-*: *bhū-y-iṣṭha-* 'greatest'; the roots *pri-* and *īri-* are treated as if they ended in *-ā*: *priṣṭha-* 'dearest', *īriṣṭha-* 'most glorious'; *pār-s-iṣṭha-* 'taking across best' is made from an aorist stem of *pṛ-* 'cross'. The abnormal accentuation of *jyēṣṭhā-* 'eldest' is doubtless intended to differentiate its meaning from *jyēṣṭha-* 'greatest'. The use of *kan-iṣṭhū-* 'youngest' is parallel to that of the former s.

-is : action.

134. This suffix forms a dozen neuter action nouns, mostly used in a concrete sense. Though the root takes Guṇa, the suffix is accented except in three instances. The words thus formed are: *arc-is-* 'flame', *ām-is-*⁴ 'raw flesh', *krav-is-* 'raw flesh', *chad-is-* 'cover', *chard-is-* 'protection', *jyōt-is-* 'light', *barh-is-* 'straw', *roc-is-* 'light', *vart-is-* 'track', *vyāth-is-* 'course' (?), *śoc-is-* 'flame', *sarp-is-* 'melted butter', *hav-is-* 'oblation'.

a. Besides these *av-is-* appears for *av-as-* 'aid' and *māh-is-* for *māh-as-* 'greatness' in a few derivatives: *aviṣ-yānt-* 'helping readily', *aviṣ-yā-* 'desire', *aviṣ-yū-* 'desirous'; *māhiṣ-vant-* 'great'; and with inorganic *-s* *tīvi-s-* 'might', *śuci-s-* 'flame', *su-rabhi-s-* 'fragrant' for *tūvi-*, *śuci-*, *surabhi-* in a few derivatives: *tīviṣ-mant-* 'mighty', *śuciṣ-mant-* (only voc.) 'brilliant', *surabhiṣ-tama-* 'very fragrant'.

-ī : action and agent.

135. This suffix, besides its secondary use in the formation of feminines, chiefly adjectives, from m. and n. stems in *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ*, as well as various consonant stems (201), seems to be primary in forming a few independent feminine action and agent nouns. Such are *deh-ī-* 'rampart', *nad-ī-* 'stream', *nānd-ī-* 'joy', *peś-ī-* (RV.) 'swaddling clothes' (?), *veś-ī-* 'needle', *śac-ī-* 'power', *sām-ī-* and *śim-ī-* 'work'; seemingly from an aorist stem (*√vah-*) *vakṣ-ī-* (RV.) 'flame'. There are also about a dozen masculines: *ak-ī-* 'serpent', *upāv-ī-* (VS.) 'encouraging', *dakṣ-ī-* (RV.) 'flaming', *prāv-ī-* 'attentive', *duṣ-prāv-ī-*

¹ In the compound *os-iṣṭha-dāvan-* 'giving immediately'.

² Probably from a demonstrative root *m-* which appears in *nū* 'now', *nū-tana-* 'present'.

³ This superlative is formed under the influence of the positive *sām-bhū-* as the independent superlative of *bhū-* is *bhū-y-iṣṭha-*.

⁴ The regular form *bhāv-iṣṭha-* occurs in combination with *sām-*.

⁵ *kān-iṣṭha-* 'smallest' appears in books v and vi of the TS.

⁶ This word, which occurs in the L. sing. form *āmiṣ-ī* only, is given as m. in BR., pw., and GRASSMANN, but why it should not be like all the rest a neuter, is not clear.

⁷ Only voc. *dakṣi*, Pada *dhakṣi*, I. 141^b. Cp. p. 119, note 5.

'unfriendly', *su-prāv-ī-* 'very attentive', *rath-ī-* 'charioteer', *ā-rath-ī-* 'not a charioteer'; and the Proper Names *nām-ī-* and *pīth-ī-*.

-ika : action and agent.

136. This suffix forms a few neuter substantives and some adjectives; thus *ām-ika-* n. 'face', *dīś-ika-* n. 'aspect', *mṛd-ikā-* n. 'grace', *h-sar-ika-* (AV.) n. 'rheumatic pains'; *ṛj-ika-*² 'beaming', *dībh-ika-* m., N. of a demon, *vṛdh-ikā-* m. 'increaser', *vī-sar-ika-* (AV.) m., a kind of disease; from a reduplicated stem: *par-pīar-ika-* m. 'filler'.

-iyāms : agent.

137. This suffix is used in forming comparatives, being added to the root in the same way as the superlative suffix *-īstā* (133). At least 40 of these derivatives³ occur in the Saṃhitās. Examples are: *jān-iyāms-* 'quicker', *mānā-iyāms-* 'more liberal', *yāj-iyāms-* 'sacrificing better', *lī-iyāms-* 'sharper', *vād-iyāms-* 'procuring more', *yād-iyāms-* 'fighting better', *pr-iyāms-*⁴ 'dearer' (√*prī-*), *śr-iyāms-*⁵ (√*śrī-*) 'more splendid', *stheyāms-* 'lasting' (√*sthā-*). Connected in sense with the corresponding positive are *ān-iyāms-* (AV.) 'smaller', beside *ānu-* 'minute', *sās-iyāms-* 'more frequent', beside *sās-vaat-* 'constant'; and from a derivative form of the root *īkṣu-iyāms-* (AV.)⁵ 'sharper', beside *īkṣmā-* 'sharp' (*tij-* 'be sharp').

a. Beside the usual form in *-iyāms-* there appear some half dozen comparatives made with a shorter form of the suffix *-yāms-*: *tāv-yāms-* beside *tāv-iyāms-* 'stronger', *nāv-yāms-* beside *nāv-iyāms-* 'new', *pān-yāms-* beside *pān-iyāms-* 'more wonderful', *bhū-yāms-*⁶ '(becoming) more', 'greater', beside *bhū-iyāms-* 'more plentiful', *rībh-yāms-* beside *rībh-iyāms-* (VS.) 'more violent', *sāh-yāms-* beside *sāh-iyāms-* 'stronger'; *jiy-yāms-* 'greater', 'older', and *sān-yāms-* 'older' (*sāna-* 'old') appear without an alternative form beside them.

b. With verbal prefixes or particles: *vī-kled-iyāms-* (AV.) 'moistening more', *pāri-svaj-iyāms-* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *prīti-cyav-iyāms-* 'pressing closer against'; *ā-stheyāms-* 'not enduring'.

-u : agent.

138. This suffix forms a considerable number of agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. The latter are chiefly masculines, but there are also several feminines and neuters. The suffix is usually accented. The root is generally weak, but sometimes shows Vṛddhi, least often Guṇa; it also occasionally appears in a reduplicated form. Medial *a* usually remains unchanged, but is sometimes lengthened; occasionally it is nasalized or appears as *e*. Final *-ā* adds an intervening *y*, but is occasionally dropped. Gutturals only (not palatals) appear before this suffix.

I. Examples of adjectives are: *ur-ū-* 'wide', *ṛj-ū-* 'straight', *prth-ū-* 'broad', *mṛd-ū-* (VS.) 'soft', *vidh-ū-* 'solitary'; *jāy-ū-* 'conquering' (√*jī-*), *dār-ū-* 'splitting' (√*dṛ-*); *śay-ū-* 'lying' (√*śi-*), *cikit-ū-* 'shining' (√*cīt-*), *jīgr-ū-* 'victorious', *siṣṭ-ū-* 'ready to give' (√*san-*)⁷; *lak-ū-* 'swift', *tan-ū-* 'thin',

¹ See below 375 B; LINNÉR p. 80; from the adjective stem *pīpā-*, the radical element of which is uncertain.

² As final member of a few compounds, as *lā-ṛjika-* 'light-shedding'.

³ See LINNÉR p. 155; WHITNEY 466—470.

⁴ The roots *prī-* and *śrī-* being treated as ending in *-ā*: *prī-iyāms-* and *śrī-iyāms-* as in the superlative.

⁵ In the TS. *pāp-iyāms-* is formed directly

⁶ With the radical vowel unchanged as in the superlative.

⁷ Some other words have the appearance of being reduplicated: *babhr-ū-* 'brown', *a-rār-ū-* 'hostile' (rā- 'give'); *malimtu-* (VS.) seems to be a mutilated form of *malimtu-* (AV.) 'robber'.

tīp-u- 'hot', *āś-ū-* 'swift' (*as-* 'reach'); *anā-ū-* 'narrow'; *cār-u-* 'active' (*car-* 'move'); *dhā-y-ū-*¹ 'thirsty', *pā-y-ū-* 'protecting'; *y-ū-* 'going' (*Yā-*)²; *rīku-* 'empty' (*Yric-*).

2. Examples of substantives are: m. *grh-ū-* 'beggar', *rip-ū-* 'cheat'; *pipr-u-*, N. of a demon; *ds-u-* 'life', *mān-u-* 'man', *pād-ū-* 'foot', *bāh-ū-* 'arm', *aps-ū-* 'filament', *vā-y-ū-* 'wind'; f. *ī-y-u-* (also m.) 'arrow', *śindh-u-* (also m.) 'river', *dhān-u-* 'sandbank', *pārś-u-* 'rib', *hān-u-* 'jaw'; n. *ī-y-u-* 'life', *jīn-u-* 'knee', *tāt-u-* (VS.) 'palate', *trāp-u-* (AV. VS.) 'tin', *dīru-* (also m.) 'wood', *sān-u-* (also m.) 'summit'; with syncope, *ks-ū-* 'food' (*ghas-* 'eat'); with reduplication, *t-ta-ū-* 'sieve'.

a. In a few of these derivatives the root appears with a prefix: *upā-y-ū-* (TS. I. I. 1¹) 'approaching', *ni-car-ū-* 'gliding', *pra-may-ū-* (AV.) 'liable to destruction', *pārī-tatu-ū-* (AV.) 'surrounding', *sīm-vas-u-* 'dwelling together'; *abhiś-ū-* m. 'rein', *vi-klind-u-* (AV.) m. a kind of disease.

139. There is besides a large class of agent nouns formed with *-u* not directly from the root but from tense or secondary conjugation stems.

1. From present stems are formed: *tany-ū-* 'thundering' (*tanya-ti* 'roars'), *bhīnd-ū-* n. 'destroyer' (*bhīnd-anti* 'they split'), *vind-ū-*⁴ 'finding' (*vind-ati* 'finds'); from an aorist stem *dāks-u-*⁵ and *dhāks-u-* 'burning'.

2. From desiderative stems are formed *i-yāks-ū-* 'desirous of sacrificing' (*Yyaj-*), *cikits-ū-* (AV.) 'cunning' (*Ycit-*), *jigṛṣ-ū-* 'desirous of winning' (*Yji-*), *jighats-ū-* (AV.) 'greedy' (*ghas-* 'eat'), *titiks-ū-* (AV.) 'patient', *dīs-ū-* 'ready to give' (*Ydā-*), *didṛks-u-*⁶ (VII. 86³) 'eager to see' (*Ydṛś-*), *didhīs-ū-* 'wishing to obtain' (*Ydhā-*), *dīps-ū-* 'wishing to harm' (*Ydabh-*), *nīnīs-ū-* 'wishing to revile', *bībhats-ū-* 'feeling disgust' (*Ybīdh-*), *mīmīks-ū-* 'mingling' (*Ymīś-*), *mumūks-ū-* 'desiring release' (*Ymuc-*), *virīks-ū-* 'wishing to damage' (*Yriś-*), *civāks-ū-* (AV.) 'calling aloud' (*Yvac-*), *sisās-ū-* (AV.) 'eager to win' (*Ysā-*).

3. From causative stems are formed: *dhāray-ū-* 'streaming', *bhājay-ū-* 'liberal', *bhāvay-ū-* 'cherishing', *manḥay-ū-* 'liberal', *manday-ū-* 'joyous', *śramay-ū-* 'exhausting oneself'; from a causative denominative *mṛgay-ū-* (AV.VS.) m. 'hunter'.

4. By far the commonest are the derivatives from regular denominatives, of which nearly 80 occur in the RV., and at least half a dozen additional cases in the AV. About 35 of these words are formed from denominative stems in actual use⁷; thus *aghāy-ū-* 'malignant', *arāty-ū-* (AV.) 'hostile', *vasāy-ū-* 'desiring wealth', *carāy-ū-* 'mobile', *manāy-ū-* 'desirous'. A few are formed from pronouns, as *ahāny-ū-* 'selfish', *asmāy-ū-* 'favouring us', *kiṇy-ū-* 'desiring what?', *tvāy-ū-* 'loving thee', *yuvāy-ū-* and *yuvāy-ū-* 'desiring you two', *svāy-ū-* 'left to oneself'. In the absence of an accompanying denominative, there is the appearance of a secondary suffix *-yu* (with the sense of 'desiring' or some more general adjectival meaning) attached directly to nouns. Thus there are derivatives in the RV. in which the *-as* of noun stems is changed to *-o*, as if the suffix were actually *-yu*: *anāho-yū-* 'threatening', *duvo-yū-* 'honouring' beside *duvas-yū-*, and *i-skṛdho-yu-* 'not niggardly'.

-uka : agent.

140. This suffix probably consists of the primary *-u* extended with the secondary *-ka*. It is very rare in the Saṃhitās. There is no certain example

¹ Here the *y* really belongs to the root *dhc-* 'suck'.
² Also in the reduplicated form *yāy-u-* (VS.) 'swift'; the final *-ā* seems also to be dropped in *ā-kh-ū-* 'mole' (*kḥā-* 'dig') and in *m-ghū-* '(standing) well' (*sthā-* 'stand').

³ Probably from *abhi-+B-* 'rule'.
⁴ In *go-vind-* 'searching for milk'.
⁵ The Pada text has *dhāks-u-*. Cp. p. 117, note 7.
⁶ With irregular accent.
⁷ See the list in LINDNER p. 63.

in the RV., but *sān-ukā-* (RV¹) 'desirous of prey' (*Vsan-*) and the Proper Name *per-ukā-* (RV¹) may be instances. In the AV. occur *ghāt-uka-* 'killing', *vi-kas-uka-* 'bursting', *sān-kas-uka-* 'crumbling up', *d-pra-māy-uka-* 'not dying suddenly'. In the TS. occurs *vas-ukā-*, but the meaning and derivation are doubtful.

-us : action and agent.

141. This suffix forms neuter action nouns which have mostly a concrete sense, and masculine agent nouns, altogether less than 20 in number. All the substantives except one are accented on the root, which generally takes Guṇa, but in one instance Vrddhi. Those adjectives which also appear as substantives have the same accentuation; but those stems which are used solely as adjectives accent the suffix.

1. The neuter substantives are: *dr-us-* (AV.) 'wound', *āy-us-* 'life', *cdks-us-* 'light', *tāp-us-* 'heat', *tār-us-* 'battle', *dhūn-us-* 'bow', *pār-us-* 'knot', *yāj-us-* 'worship', *vāp-us-* 'marvel', *sās-us-* 'command'; with accent on the suffix: *jan-ūs-* 'birth' (also m.).

2. The masculine substantives are: *ndh-us-* 'neighbour', *mān-us-* 'man'; adjectives identical in form with neuter substantives are: *cdks-us-* 'seeing', *tāp-us-* 'glowing', *vāp-us-* 'wondrous'; adjectives without corresponding substantives are: *jay-ūs-* 'victorious', *van-ūs-* 'eager', *vid-ūs-* 'heedful'; also *daks-ūs-* 'flaming' from the aorist stem.

-ū : feminine substantives.

142. This rare suffix chiefly forms feminines corresponding to masculines and neuters in *-u*². Independent feminine substantives are: *cam-ū-* 'dish', *tan-ū-* 'body', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'; perhaps *pan-ū-*³ 'admiration'. There are also the compounds *pump-cal-ū-* (VS.) 'courtesan', *pra-jan-ū-* (AV.) 'organ of generation'.

-ūka : intensive adjectives.

143. This suffix is merely the lengthened form of *-uka* used in forming a few derivatives from the reduplicated intensive stem. It appears in *jāgar-ūka-* 'wakeful', *dandas-ūka-* (VS.) 'mordacious', *salat-ūka-* (RV¹) 'wandering aimlessly'.

-ka : agent.

144. This is a very common secondary suffix, but very rarely appears in a primary character. It is thus used in *āt-ka-* m. 'garment', *su-mē-ka-* 'firmly fixed' (*mī-* 'fix'), *śiṣ-ka-* 'dry', *śib-ka-* m. 'call' (*śru-* 'hear'), *sto-kā-* m. 'drop'. In *vīśe-i-ka-* m. 'scorpion' the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*. The feminine form of the suffix appears in *stī-kā-* 'flake', *rā-kā-*, N. of a goddess.

-ta : agent.

145. This suffix is employed almost exclusively to form past participles⁴, chiefly with passive, sometimes with intransitive meaning. Its more general and original sense is, however, preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning; thus *trṣ-ṭā-* 'rough', *drdhā-* 'firm', *śr-ṭā-* 'cold', *vāvā-ta-*⁵ 'dear'; m. *dū-tā-* 'messenger', *sū-tā-* (AV. VS.) 'charioteer'.

¹ With weak root; the only instance of medial vowel other than *ā* in the radical syllable. | form occurring is the I. sing. *panā*.
² See below, derivative *-ū* stems, 384. | ⁴ See below, Past passive participles, 572, and the lists in LINDNER p. 70f.
³ The stem may be *pan-ū-*, as the only | ⁵ From a reduplicated form of *vā-* 'win', and with unusual accent.

*kṣā-*¹ 'singer', *bast-*² 'he-goat'; n. *ṛt-* 'right', *ghṛ-tā-* 'ghee', *jā-tā-* 'kind', *dyā-tā-* (AV.) 'gambling', *ṛt-tā-* (AV.) 'dance', *pār-tā-* 'reward', *vra-tā-*³ 'ordinance'; with accented and strong radical syllable: *l-tā-* 'variegated'; m. *gār-tā-* 'car-seat', *mār-tā-* 'mortal', *vā-tā-* 'wind', *hās-tā-* 'hand'; n. *ās-tā-* 'home', *nīk-tā-* 'night'.

a. In many past participles the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*, as *rakṣ-i-tā-* 'protected'. Some of these are used as n. substantives; thus *īti-i-tā-* 'life', *car-i-tā-* 'behaviour'. Several words thus formed appear as adjectives only; thus *tig-i-tā-*⁴ 'sharp', *pal-i-tā-* 'grey'; also some other names of colours with strong and accented radical syllable: *ās-i-tā-* 'black', *rōh-i-tā-* 'red', *līh-i-tā-* (AV.) 'red', *hīr-i-tā-* 'yellow'; *śyē-tā-* 'white' is perhaps anomalously formed with *-ita-* from *śyā-*⁵ 'freeze'.

-tar : agent.

146. The agent nouns formed with this very frequent suffix⁶ are often used participially, governing an accusative. The root is generally accented when they have this verbal force, but the suffix, when they are purely nominal (86A 22). The root regularly has Guṇa, *a* and *ā* remaining unchanged; thus *nī-tar-* 'leader' (√*nī-*), *hī-tar-* 'priest' (√*hu-*), *kar-tār-* 'doer' (√*kr-*), *bhāt-tār-* 'breaker' (√*bhid-*), *yok-tār-* 'yoker' (√*yuj-*); *yaṣ-tār-* 'sacrificer' (√*yaj-*), *dā-tār-* 'giver'⁷. With weak root: *uṣ-tār-* m. 'ploughing bull'⁸.

a. Less commonly the suffix is added to the root with connecting *-i-*: regularly when the root ends in more than one consonant⁹, as *vand-i-tār-* 'praiser', but also often when it ends in a single consonant and sometimes when it ends in a vowel, as *cod-i-tār-* 'instigator', *sav-i-tār-* 'stimulator' (√*sā-*).

b. The suffix is combined with *-ī-* instead of *-i-* in *grābh-ī-tar-* (AV.) 'seizer', *prati-grāh-ī-tār-* (AV.) 'receiver', *saṃ-grāh-ī-tār-* (VS.) 'charioteer', *prā-tar-ī-tār-* 'prolonger', *ā-mar-ī-tār-* 'destroyer'; with *-u-* in *tār-u-tar-* 'winning' and *tar-u-tār-* 'conqueror', *dhām-u-tar-* 'running swiftly', *sīn-u-tar-* 'winning'; with *-ū-* in *var-ū-tār-* 'protector'; with *-o-* in *man-ō-tar-*¹⁰ and *man-o-tār-* 'inventor'.

c. These derivatives are very frequently compounded with prepositions¹¹; e. g. *pura-ō-tār-* 'leader', *apa-bhar-tār-* 'taking away', *prāv-i-tār-* 'protector' (*av-* 'favour'), *pra-sav-ī-tār-* 'vivifier'.

d. They are very rarely formed from secondary conjugation or from tense stems, as *coday-i-tār-* 'stimulator'¹², *bodhay-i-tār-* 'awakener', *nī-ś-tar-*¹³, a kind of priest. From the reduplicated root is formed *vācā-tar-* 'adherent'.

e. Several names of relationship appear to be formed with this suffix. Being all very old words, the radical syllable is obscure in meaning or irregular in form. They are *jā-mā-tar-* 'son-in-law', *duh-i-tār-* 'daughter', *nāp-tar-* 'grandson', *pi-tār-* 'father', *bhrā-tar-* 'brother', *mā-tār-* 'mother'.

¹ These two words are of doubtful origin.
² If derived from *vr-* 'choose' with anomalous form of radical syllable; but according to WHITNEY (1176 b) it is to be explained as *vrat-ā-* formed from *vrt-* 'turn' like *vraj-ā-* from *ṛj-*.
³ With anomalous guttural before *-i-*.
⁴ Originally perhaps 'rimy', cp. *ṣ-tā-* 'cold'.
⁵ The f. of these adjectives of colour is formed from other stems: *tī-*, *āsīkū-*, *pālikū-*, *rōhīṣ-*, *līhī-* (AV.), *śyē-*, *hāriṣ-*.
⁶ See the lists in LINDNER p. 72-75.
⁷ *-tar* appear, instead of *-tar* in *yan-tār-* beside *yan-tār-* 'guide' and in *sthā-tār-* beside *sthā-tār-* 'stationary'.
⁸ The f. of these words is formed with *-ī* from the weak stem, i. e. in *uṣ*.
⁹ Except *damṣ-tār-* (AV.) 'biter'.
¹⁰ Connected with the present stem *manu-* etc. of *man-* 'think'.
¹¹ See LINDNER p. 73 f.
¹² In the f. *coday-i-tār-ī-*.
¹³ From the aorist stem of *nī-* 'lead'.

-tas : action.

147. This suffix is identical in meaning with *-as*, being used to form neuter action nouns which have acquired a concrete meaning. It is very rare, occurring only in *ri-tas* 'semen' (*ri-* 'flow') and *sru-tas* 'stream', 'current' (*sru-* 'flow').

-ti : action and agent.

148. This suffix is used to form a large number of feminine action nouns; it also appears in a few agent nouns employed either as adjectives or masculine substantives¹. The root generally has the same weak form as appears before the *-ti* of the past passive participle²; it is, however, more often accented than the suffix. In a few words the suffix is added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-* or *-r-*.

1. **Action nouns.** With accent on the suffix are formed e.g. *iṣ-ti* 'desire' (*iṣ-* 'seek'), *u-ti* 'aid' (*√ar-*), *kīr-ti* 'praise' (*kīr-* 'commemorate'), *dhau-ti* 'stream' (*dhāu-* 'flow'), *pī-ti* 'draught' (*pī-* 'drink'), *pur-ti* 'reward' (*pr-* 'fill'), *bhakt-ti* 'distribution' (*bhakt-* 'divide'), *ma-ti* 'thought' (*man-* 'think'), *rā-ti* 'gift' (*rā-* 'give'), *rī-ti* 'flow' (*ri-* 'flow'), *viṣ-ti* 'work' (*viṣ-* 'be active'), *stu-ti* 'praise'; from the reduplicated root: *carṣ-ti* 'praise' (*carṣ-* 'commemorate'); with connecting *-a-*: *ayuk-a-ti* 'distress', *dyś-a-ti* 'appearance', *mith-a-ti* 'conflict', *vas-a-ti* 'abode'. With accent on the root are formed e.g. *iṣ-ti* 'offering' (*√yaj-*), *gū-ti* 'motion' (*√gam-*), *dl-ti* 'liberality' (*da-* 'give'), *vṛd-dhi* 'increase' (*√vṛdh-*), *sān-ti* (AV. VS.) 'repose' (*√śam-*); from the reduplicated root *didhi-ti* 'devotion' (*dhi-* 'think')³; with connecting *-a-*: *am-a-ti*⁴ 'indigence' (*am-* 'be afflicted').

a. The derivative *di-ti* 'giving' when used as the final member of a compound is reduced to *-tti*: *bhāga-tti*, *māghā-tti*, *vāsu-tti*; above 26 a 2.

2. **Agent nouns.** These are rare, amounting to hardly 20 in number. **Accented on the suffix:** *jñā-ti* m. 'relative', *pat-ti* m. (AV. VS.) 'pedestrian', *rā-ti* 'willing to give'; with connecting *-a-*: *ar-a-ti* m. 'servant', *khal-a-ti* (VS.) 'bald', and with accent on the connecting vowel *vyk-i-ti* m. 'murderer'. **Accented on the root:** m. *dhū-ti* 'shaker', *pā-ti* 'master', *mīṣ-ti* 'fist', *sūp-ti* 'steed'; adjectives: *dhīṣ-ti* (VS.) 'bold', *pā-ti* (AV.) 'putrid', *vūṣ-ti* 'eager'; and from the reduplicated root *jgar-ti* m. 'swallower'; with connecting vowels: *am-a-ti* 'poor', *rām-a-ti* (AV. TS.) 'liking to stay', *fj-r-ti* 'glowing', *turv-i-ti*, N. of a man (*turv-* = *tur-*, *tr-* 'overcome'), *dabh-i-ti*⁵, N. of a man⁶, *sūh-a-ti* 'carnage' and *sūh-i-ti* (SV.).

a. These derivatives are often compounded with prepositions⁷, which are almost always accented; thus *ānu-ma-ti* 'assent', *abhī-* 'attack' (*abhī-iti*), *ā-hu-ti* 'offering', *nū-r-ti* 'dissolution', *vy-āp-ti* (AV.) 'attainment', *sām-ga-ti* 'coming together', *abhi-mā-ti* 'insidious' (*man-* 'think')⁸; with suffix accented, only *ā-sak-ti* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti* 'brew' (*√su*) and 'enlivening' (*√sū-*); also *abhi-ṣ-ti* m. 'helper' beside *abhi-ṣ-ti* f. 'help'.

¹ See the list in GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1719—21; LINDNER p. 76—79.

² The roots *tan-* 'stretch', *ram-* 'rest', *han-* 'strike' may retain the nasal: *tān-ti* f. 'cord', *rān-ti* 'enjoyment' (AV. VS. TS.) beside *rā-ti* (VS.), *ā-han-ti* (VS.) beside *ā-ha-ti* 'uninjured condition'.

³ The *-a-* here often, if not always, belongs to a verbal stem.

⁴ Roots which have the connecting *-i-* in the past participle, do not take it here: *gūp-ti* (AV.) 'protection' beside *gūp-i-tā*, *prā-dyṣ-ti* 'arrogance' beside *ā-dyṣ-i-ta* 'not in-

fatuated' (also *ā-dyṣ-ta*). These are, however, the only two examples.

⁵ But with the connecting *-a-* accented: *am-d-ti* 'lustre', *ram-d-ti* (AV.) 'haunt', *vrat-d-ti* 'creeper'.

⁶ This word may be a compound (**dabhī-iti*).

⁷ *yayāti*, N. of a man, is according to BR. and GRASSMANN derived from *yab* 'stretch'.

⁸ See LINDNER p. 77 f.

⁹ Compounded with a noun: *kāma-kā-ti* 'requiring the fulfilment of a wish'.

b. The suffix is added to a secondary stem in *jān-aya-ti* (VS.) f. 'generation'; it seems to have a secondary character in *pīva-ti* f. 'maiden', adj. 'young'. It is secondary in *pakṣa-ti* (VS.) 'root of the wing'; in the numerals *vimśa-ti* '20', *ṣaṣ-ṭi* '60', and others; in *pañc-ṭi* f. 'set of five'; in the pronominal words *kā-ti* 'how many?', *tā-ṭi* (AV.) 'so many', *yā-ṭi* 'as many as'; and in *atthā-ti* m. 'sage', formed from the adverb *ad-dhā* 'truly'.

-tu : action and agent.

149. The great majority of the words derived with this suffix are infinitives appearing in the form of the dative, ablative-genitive, and accusative cases. Besides these, there are a few action nouns used independently, and still fewer agent nouns. The root is usually accented¹ and takes Guṇa; but the suffix is accented in some half dozen instances, in two or three of which the radical syllable is weakened. The gender is usually masculine, but a few feminines and neuters also occur.

1. **Accented on the root:** m. *ī-tu* 'weft' (*vā-* 'weave'), *krū-tu* 'capacity' (*kr-* 'make'), *tān-tu* 'thread', *-dhā-tu*² 'element', *sāk-tu* 'groats' (*√sāñ-*), *s'-tu* 'bond' (*sī-* 'bind'), *śb-tu* 'libation' (*śu-* 'press'), *dhā-tu* adj. 'drinkable' (*dhe-* 'suck'); m. *mān-tu* 'adviser'; f. *vās-tu* 'morning' (*vas-* 'shine'), *śū-tu*³ (AV.) 'birth'; n. *dā-tu* 'division' (*dā-* 'divide'), *vās-tu*⁴ 'abode' (*vas-* 'dwell').

2. **Accented on the suffix:** m. *ak-ti* 'ray' (*añj-* 'anoint'), *gā-ti* 'way' (*gā-* 'go') and 'song' (*gā-* 'sing'), *jan-ti* 'creature', *he-ti* 'cause' (*hi-* 'impel'); with weak radical vowel: *ṛ-ti* 'season', *pi-ti* 'drink' (*pi-* 'swell')⁵.

a. The suffix is attached in a few instances (as in some infinitives) with connecting *-i-*: *dur-dhār-ī-tu* 'irresistible', *su-hār-ī-tu* 'to be successfully invoked', *tur-phār-ī-tu*⁶.

b. The suffix appears in a few instances to be attached to a present or a secondary conjugational stem: *udha-ti* m. 'welfare' (*udha-te* 'thrives'), *tāpya-ti* adj. 'glowing' (*tāpyā-te* 'is heated'), *vāha-ti* m. 'wedding' (*vāha-ti* 'conveys'), *śiśāś-tu*⁷ 'desirous of obtaining'; *jīvā-ti* f. 'life' (*jīva-ti* 'lives').

c. Derivatives formed with *-tu* are in several instances compounded with the particles *dur-* and *su-*: *dur-dhār-ī-tu* and *dur-dhār-tu* 'irresistible', *dur-vdr-tu* 'difficult to ward off', *dur-fār-ī-tu* 'unconquerable', *su-yān-tu* 'guiding well', *su-śr-tu* 'hearing willingly', *su-hān-tu* 'easy to slay'; also with a pronoun in *svāitu* 'going one's own (*svu-*) gait' (*ctv.*).

-tna : action and agent.

150. This suffix is very rare, occurring only in *cyau-tnā* n. 'concussion', adj. 'animating' (*cyu-* 'stir') and in *rā-tna* n. 'gift' (*rā-* 'give').

-tnu : agent.

151. This suffix, which is always accented, forms more than a dozen adjectives and a few substantives. It is added to the root either directly or more commonly with the connecting vowel *-a-* (which probably belongs to the present stem) or *-i-* (which is almost exclusively used with causative stems).

1. **Attached directly to the root:** *kr-tnū* 'active', *dar-tnū* m. 'breaker', *ha-tnū* 'deadly' (*√han-*); with reduplication: *jiga-tnū* 'hastening' (*gam-* 'go'), *jigha-tnū* 'harming' (*han-* 'strike').

2. **With connecting *-a-*:** *kar-a-tnū*⁸ 'miserly', *piya-a-tnū* 'reviling' (*piya-ti*

¹ The infinitives always accent the root (105).

² Only in the compounds *tri-dhātu* 'three-fold' and *saptā-dhātu* 'sevenfold'.

³ Without Guṇa.

⁴ With lengthened *a*.

⁵ *kṛtvā* 'times' is probably an acc. pl. of a stem *kṛ-tu* 'making'. Cp. BB. 25, 294.

⁶ The derivation of this word is uncertain and its meaning is obscure. [Cp. Mahābhāṣya Vol. 1, p. 363, l. 25.]

⁷ From the desiderative stem of *sā-* 'obtain'.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *kā-* 'design'.

'abuses'), *meh-a-tñi*, N. of a river (*meha-ti*), *ā-ruj-a-tñi* 'breaking' (*ruji-ti* 'breaks').

3. With connecting *-i-*: *drav-i-tñi* 'running' (*dru* 'run'); from causative stems: *tanay-i-tñi* 'thundering', *drāvay-i-tñi* 'hasting' (*dru* 'run'), *poṣay-i-tñi* 'causing to thrive' (*√poṣ-*), *māday-i-tñi* 'intoxicating' (*√mad-*), *sūday-i-tñi* 'causing sweetness to flow' (*√sūd-*), *stanay-i-tñi* m. 'thunder' (*√stan-*); *an-āmay-i-tñi* 'not making ill', 'curative' (*√am-*).

-tra : agent.

152. This suffix was doubtless originally formed by a secondary *-a* added to *-t-* (the weak form of *tar-*). But having early attained an independent character, it came to be largely employed as a primary suffix. It is used to form some half dozen adjectives¹ and about 60 substantives, the latter being neuters except about a dozen (partly masc. and partly fem.)². The substantives generally express the means or instrument by which the action of the verb is performed, sometimes the place where it is performed. The root is generally accented and has Guna; but it is sometimes unaccented and has a weak vowel. The suffix is generally added directly to the root, but in about a dozen instances with a connecting vowel.

1. Attached directly to the root: adjectives: *jīi-tra*³ 'victorious', *śvā-tra*⁴ 'invigorating'; with reduplication: *john-tra* 'calling aloud' (*√hū-*).

m. *a-trā*⁵ 'eater', *ūṣ-tra*⁶ 'buffalo', *dāms-tra* 'tusk' (*dams-* 'bite'), *mān-tra* 'prayer'; with weak (etymologically doubtful) root: *pū-trā*⁷ 'son', *mī-trā*⁷ 'friend', *vṛ-trā*⁸ 'foe'.

f. *ūṣ-tra* 'goad' (*aṣ-* 'reach'), *nāṣ-tra* (AV. VS.) 'destroyer' (*√naṣ-*), *mī-tra* 'measure', *hū-tra* 'sacrifice'.

n. With accent on the root: *d-tra*⁹ 'food', *kūr-tra* (AV.) 'spell', *kṣ-tra* 'field', *kṣṇi-tra* 'whetstone', *gā-tra* 'limb', *jñā-tra* (VS.) 'intellectual faculty', *līn-tra* 'warp', *dī-tra*¹⁰ 'gift', *dā-tra* 'knife', *dhār-tra* 'support' (VS. TS.), *pāt-tra* (VS.)¹¹ 'wing', *pā-tra* 'cup', (*pā-* 'drink'), *pēs-tra* (AV.) 'bone', *mū-tra* (AV.) 'urine', *mūḥ-tra* (AV.) 'penis', *yok-tra* 'rope', *vār-tra* (AV.) 'dam', *vās-tra* 'garment', *śrī-tra* 'ear', *sū-tra* (AV.) 'thread' (*śrī-* 'sew').

With accent on the suffix and often with an abstract meaning: *as-tri* (AV.) 'missile', *kṣa-tri*¹² 'dominion', *dā-trā* 'share', *des-tri* 'indication' (*√diṣ-*), *net-trā* (AV.) 'guidance', *rāṣ-trā* 'dominion', *śas-trā* (VS.) 'invocation', *śas-trā* 'command', *sat-trā* 'sacrificial session', *sto-tri* 'praise', *sthā-trā* 'station', *ho-tri* 'sacrifice'.

2. With connecting vowel *-a-*: *ām-a-tra* 'violent', *yij-a-tra* 'adorable'; *kṛnt-d-tra* 'shred', *gāy-a-trā* 'song', *pāt-a-tra* 'wing', *vādh-a-tra* 'deadly weapon', f. *var-a-trā* 'strap'; with *-i-*: *khan-i-tra* 'shovel', *car-i-tra* 'foot', *jan-i-tra* 'birth-place', *pav-i-tra* 'sieve', *bhar-i-tra* 'arm', *bhav-i-tra* 'world', *san-i-tra* 'gift'; with *-u-*: *tir-u-tra*¹³ 'overcoming'.

¹ These have mostly masc. forms, some neuter; the only one which has fem. forms is *yājatra* 'deserving adoration'.

² Six or seven masculines and five feminines.

³ With exceptional Vṛddhi of the radical syllable.

⁴ From *ivā* = *īū* 'swell'.

⁵ For *at-trā* from *ad-* 'eat'. Cp. p. 125, note 1.

⁶ With weak root though accented.

⁷ Occurs in the RV. as a n. when it means 'friendship'.

⁸ Occurs also as a n. in the RV. when plural.

⁹ For *d-tra* from *ad-* 'eat'.

¹⁰ Probably for *dā-tra* from the present-stem of *dā-* 'give'.

¹¹ Only at the end of a compound in the RV.

¹² *nakṣatra* 'asterism' is perhaps a compound. Cp. above 81, 2 a.

¹³ Cp. *tir-u-dr-* 'victor'.

-tri : agent.

153. This very rare suffix occurs in only three or four derivatives: *ā-tri*¹ 'devouring', *śi-tri* m., N. of a man²; with connecting *-a* in *arc-ā-tri* 'roaring'; also in the f. form with *r* in *rā-tri*³ 'night'.

-tru : agent.

154. This suffix is found only in *śitru* 'enemy' for **śit-tru*, perhaps from *śad* 'prevail'.

-tva : agent.

155. This suffix probably arose by the addition of the secondary suffix *-a* to action nouns in *-tu*, which turned them into adjectives used in a gerundive sense. It occurs in about a dozen such derivatives which are almost restricted to the RV.; e. g. *kār-tva* 'to be made'⁴.

-tha : action.

156. This suffix is almost exclusively used to form action nouns (some of which have acquired a concrete meaning) in all genders⁵. The root generally appears in a weak form, as the suffix is mostly accented. The suffix is attached to the root either directly or more commonly with a connecting vowel⁶.

1. Attached directly to the root: m. *ā-tha*⁷ 'goal', *gā-thā* 'song', *pak-thā*, N. of a man, *bhr-thā* 'offering', *rā-thā*⁸ 'car', *hā-thā*⁹ 'slaughter'; in composition with prepositions: *sam-i-thā* 'conflict', *nir-y-thā* 'destruction', *sam-gā-thā* 'union' (*gam* 'go'), *ud-gī-thā*¹⁰ (AV.) 'singing of chants'; in composition with nouns: *putra-kr-thā* 'procreation of sons', *dirgha-yā-thā* 'long course', *go-pi-thā*¹¹ 'protection' (*pā* 'protect') and 'draught' (*pā* 'drink') of milk.—f. *kās-thā* 'course', *gā-thā* 'song', *ni-thā* 'trick'.—n. *uk-thā* 'saying' (√*vac*), *ir-thā* 'ford' (*īr* 'cross'), *nī-thā* 'song', *yā-thā*¹² 'herd', *rik-thā* 'inheritance'¹³.

2. With connecting vowel *-ā*: *ay-ā-tha* n. 'foot', *uc-ā-tha* n. 'praise' (√*vac*), *car-ā-tha* n. 'mobility', *tvā-ā-tha* m. 'fury', *proth-ā-tha* n. 'snorting', *yaj-ā-tha*¹⁴ 'worship', *rav-ā-tha* m. 'roar', *vaks-ā-tha* m. 'growth', *vid-ā-tha*¹⁵ n. 'assembly', *śap-ā-tha* m. 'curse', *śay-ā-tha* n. 'lair', *śvas-ā-tha* m. 'snorting', *sac-ā-tha* m. 'aid', *stan-ā-tha* m. 'thunder', *stav-ā-tha* m. 'praise', *sraṇ-ā-tha* m. or n. 'flow'; with prefix: *ā-vas-ā-thā* (AV.) 'abode', *pra-vas-ā-thā* n. 'absence', *praṇ-ā-tha*¹⁶ (VS.) 'respiration'.

a. With *-u*: *jīr-ū-tha*, m. a kind of demon ('wearing out', *jī*), *vā-ū-tha* n. 'protection'; with *-u*: *mat-ū-tha*¹⁷ m. 'sage'.

1 For *ā-tri* from *ad* 'eat'. Cp. p. 124, note 5.
 2 For *śi-tri* from *śat* 'cut in pieces'.
 3 In AV. *rā-tri* also.
 4 See below, Future Passive Participles, 581.
 5 The fem. form of the suffix is *-thā*.
 6 This vowel for the most part belongs in reality to a present stem.
 7 With accented strong root.
 8 The root is uncertain.
 9 With root accented though weakened by loss of nasal (*han* 'slay').
 10 With *gā* 'sing' weakened to *gī*.
 11 Both *pā* 'protect' and *pā* 'drink' are weakened to *pī*. Cp. above 27.
 12 The root in this word is uncertain.
 13 *prāthā* 'back' probably contains the root *sthā* 'stand', = **pra-sthā* 'prominent'.
 14 The gender is uncertain, as the word occurs in the dat. sing. only.
 15 Probably from *vadh* 'worship': OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 608—611; cp. above p. 23, note 10.
 16 When there is a prefix the accent is thrown on the suffix; but *praṇ* (= *pra-an*) is treated like a root.
 17 Perhaps from *man* with double suffix (*-tu, -thā*).

-thi : agent.

157. As far as can be judged from the very few examples occurring, this suffix was used to form agent nouns. It is attached with or without a connecting vowel. The derivation of all the words which seem to be formed with this suffix is doubtful: *dt-i-thi* m. 'guest' (if from *at-* 'wander'); *ud-ar-a-thi* adj. 'rising'; *me-thi-* (AV.) m. 'pillar' (*mi-* 'fix'). The neuters *asthi-* (AV. VS., beside *asth-dn-*) 'bone' and *sakthi-* (beside *sakth-dn-*) may be formed with the suffix *-i*.

-thu : action.

158. This very rare suffix, which is not found in the RV., appears only with the connecting vowel *-a-* (which in reality belongs to a present stem), forming masculine action nouns: *ej-d-thu-* (AV.) 'trembling', *vep-d-thu-* 'quivering', *stan-d-thu-* (AV.) 'roar'.

-na : action and agent.

159. This suffix is in the first place used, like *-ta-*, to form past passive participles¹; e. g. *bhin-nā-* from *bhid-* 'split'; but, unlike *-ta-*, it is never added to the root with a connecting vowel or to a secondary conjugation stem.

It is further employed to form a number of adjectives and masculine substantives, mostly accented on the suffix. It also forms a few feminine (*-nā*) and neuter substantives, all but one of the latter being accented on the root. The substantives have partly an abstract and partly a concrete meaning. A medial vowel never takes Guṇa, but a final vowel nearly always does.

1. The adjectives (f. *-nā*) are: *ās-nā-* 'voracious', *us-nā-* 'hot', *ū-nā-* 'deficient', *r-nā-* 'guilty', *kr̥s-nā-* 'black', *ḷṣo-nā-* 'immovable'(?), *nag-nā-* 'naked', *bradh-nā-* 'pale red', *śū-nā-* 'red', *śro-nā-* and *ślo-nā-* (AV.) 'lame', *ślaks-nā-* (AV.) 'slippery', *śvit-nā-* 'white', *śyo-nā-* 'agreeable'; compounded: *an-āṃp-nā-* 'inviolable', *d-rūks-nā-* (AV.) 'tender', *sadā-pr-nā-* 'always munificent'.

2. Substantives are: m. *ghr-nā-* 'heat', *budh-nā-* 'bottom', *bhrū-nā-* 'embryo', *yaj-ñā-* 'sacrifice', *śyo-nā-* 'eagle', *ste-nā-* 'thief'; *sam-prāś-nā-* 'question'; accented on root: *ās-nā-* 'stone', *kīr-nā-* 'ear', *vīr-nā-* 'colour', *śīs-nā-*, N. of a demon, *svāp-nā-* 'sleep'. — n. *tī-nā-* 'grass', *dhi-nā-*² 'booty', *par-nā-* 'wing', *vas-nā-* 'price', *śīs-nā-* 'penis', *śu-nā-* 'welfare', *śā-nā-* 'want', *śī-nā-* 'property'. — f. *tīś-nā-* 'thirst', *dhi-nā-* 'milk cow', *śī-nā-* 'missile', *śthū-nā-* 'post'.

-nas : action.

160. This suffix, which has the same meaning as *-as* and *-tas*, is used in forming a few action nouns which have mostly acquired a concrete sense. These are *dp-nas-* n. 'possession', *dr-nas-* n. 'flood', *bhar-nas-*³ 'bearing'(?), *rik-nas-* n. 'property left by bequest' (*ric-* 'leave'). With connecting vowel: *dr̥iv-i-nas-* n. 'movable property' (*dru-* 'run'), *p̥r-i-nas-* m. 'abundance' (*p̥r-* 'fill'). It also appears in the agent noun *dām-ā-nas-* adj. 'domestic', m. 'friend of the house' (*dam-*).

-ni : action and agent.

161. This not very frequent suffix is employed to form m. and f. action nouns as well as agent nouns (adjectives and substantives). Either the radical vowel or the suffix may be accented; and the root in several instances takes Guṇa. The feminines have rarely an abstract sense, having generally acquired a concrete meaning.

¹ For a list of these see below 576.

² Probably from *dhā-* 'place'.

³ In *sahśra-bharnas-* 'thousandfold'.

1. The feminines are: *jāṛ-ṅi-* 'heat', *jyā-ni-*¹ (AV.) 'injury', *me-ni-* 'missile', *śrī-ṅi-* 'line', *śrō-ṅi-* 'hip', *śf-ṅi-* and *śṛ-ṅi-* 'sickle'; masculines are: *ghṛ-ṅi-*² 'heat', *yō-ṅi-* 'receptacle'.

2. Agent nouns, adjectives and m. substantives, are: *ag-ni-* m. 'fire', *jāṛ-ṅi-* 'singeing', *śār-ṅi-* 'speeding', *dhar-ṅi-* m. 'supporter', *pf-s-ni-* 'speckled', *pre-ni-* 'loving' (V²), *bhār-ṅi-* 'excited', *vāh-ṅi-* m. 'draught animal', *vṛṣ-ṅi-* and *vṛṣ-ṅi-* 'virile', m. 'ram'.

a. The suffix occurs with a connecting *-u-* in *hrīd-ḥ-ni-* f(?) 'hail'.

-nu : action and agent.

162. With this suffix is formed a small number of action and agent nouns of all genders, but mostly masculine. The action nouns often have a concrete meaning. As the suffix is almost invariably accented, the radical vowel, with one exception, never shows Guṇa. This suffix, like *-tu*, is sometimes preceded by *-a* (which really belongs to present stems).

1. The substantives occurring are: *kṣep-nū-* m. 'jerk' (x. 51⁶), *dā-nu-*⁴ m. f. 'demon', f. 'dew', n. 'drop', *dhe-nū-* f. 'cow', *bhā-nū-* m. 'light', *vag-nū-* m. 'sound', *vīṣ-ṅu-*³ m., N. of a god, *sū-nū-* m. 'son', *sthā-nū-*⁶ m. 'pillar'; with connecting *-a-*: *krand-a-nū-* m. 'roaring', *kṣip-a-nū-* m. 'missile', *nad-a-nū-* m. 'roaring', *nabh-a-nū-*⁷ m. 'fountain'.

2. Adjectives are: *grdh-nū-* 'hasty', *dhyṣ-nū-* 'bold'; with connecting *-a-*: the compound *vi-bhañj-a-nū-* 'breaking to pieces'.

-pa : concrete substantives.

163. A few words are formed with this suffix, but the origin of all of them is more or less obscure⁹. These are: *plis-pa-* n. 'flower', *stu-pā-*¹⁰ (VS.) m. 'tuft', *stī-pā-*¹⁰ m. 'top-knot'; perhaps also *lāl-pa-* m. 'couch', *śās-pa-* (VS.) n. 'blade of grass', *śil-pa* (VS.) n. 'ornament', *śār-pa-* (AV.) 'winnowing basket'; possibly *apā-pī-* m. 'cake', *ūla-pa-* m. 'shrub', *kīṇa-pa-* (AV.) n. 'corpse'¹¹.

-ma : action and agent.

164. This suffix forms a considerable number of action nouns (almost exclusively masculine) as well as agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. Only a single neuter and one or two feminine substantives occur. The suffix is accented more than twice as often as the root. The vowel *r* always takes Guṇa in the radical syllable; on the other hand, initial or medial *i* and *u* never take Guṇa; when final they only do so if the root is accented. Several of these derivatives in *-ma* appear beside others in *-man*; some at least are transfers from the latter; thus *dhār-man-* 'ordinance' alone is found in the RV., while *dhār-ma-* appears beside it in the later Saṃhitās.

1. Accented on the suffix: adjectives: e. g. *jīh-mā-* 'oblique', *tig-mā-* 'sharp', *das-mā-* 'wondrous', *bhī-mā-* 'terrible', *śag-mā-* 'mighty'; with reduplication,

¹ In *sarva-jyānti-* (AV.) 'complete loss of property'.

² Beside *ghṛ-nū-* m. and *ghṛ-nū-* f.

³ This suffix is in several words preceded by *-a-*, much in the same way as *-ni-*; but as *-ni-* has assumed a more independent character it is treated above (122) as a separate suffix.

⁴ With irregular accent.

⁵ Perhaps originally an adjective **vīṣ-nū-*, with shift of accent on becoming a Proper Name. But cp. p. 85, note 1.

⁶ The origin of the cerebral *n* here is obscure.

⁷ Also *nabh-anū-* f.

⁸ The Proper Name *kṛś-ānu-* is perhaps similarly formed, but with long *-ā-*.

⁹ Cp. LINDNER p. 69; LIDEN, IF. 18, 496.

¹⁰ Probably from a root *stu-* 'drip'; see WHITNEY, Roots.

¹¹ *yūpa-* m. 'sacrificial post' is probably derived from *yup-* 'obstruct'.

śūtu-má- 'powerful'; substantives: m. *aj-má-* 'course', *idh-má-* 'fuel', *ghar-má-* 'heat', *dar-má-* 'breaker', *dhū-má-* 'smoke', *nar-má-* (VS.) 'jest', *ruk-má-* 'ornament', *hi-má-* 'cold'.

2. Accented on the root: substantives: m. e. g. *ī-ma-* 'friend' (*av-* 'favour'), *ś-ma-* (VS.) 'course', *dhár-ma-* (AV. VS. TS.) 'ordinance', *bhī-ma-* 'brightness', *sár-ma-* 'flow', *só-ma-* 'Soma' (√su-), *śtī-ma-* 'praise' (√stu-), *hí-ma-* 'offering'; f. *hī-mā-* 'winter'; n. *ōl-ma-* 'chip'.

a. The suffix seems to be added once with connecting *a-* (which really belongs to a present stem) in the f. *sar-ā-mā-* 'the fleet one', N. of a goddess.

-man: action and agent.

165. This suffix forms a large number of derivatives¹, which are almost exclusively action nouns. The great majority of these are neuters accented on the root, but there are also a good many masculines accented on the suffix. Besides these occur a few agent nouns, mostly accented on the suffix, both adjectives and masculine substantives, all of them, except *brah-mín-* 'priest', of rare occurrence. The same word in several instances varies in meaning according to the accent and gender²; e. g. *dhár-man-* n. ordinance', m. *dhár-mín-* 'ordainer'. The root in these derivatives usually takes *Guṇa*; in a few instances it has *Vṛddhi* or lengthens *a*; sometimes it is weak. The suffix is often added with the connecting vowels *-i-* or *-ī-*. The derivatives are occasionally compounded with prepositions, which are then nearly always accented.

1. Examples of action nouns are: n. *íd-man-* 'food', *ś-man-* 'course', *kár-man-* 'action', *káry-man-* 'goal', *jít-man-* 'birth', *trá-man-* 'protection', *dā-man-* 'gift' (*dā-* 'give') and 'bond' (*dā-* 'tie'), *ná-man-* 'name', *pát-man-* 'flight', *bráh-man-* 'devotion', *bhár-man-* 'table', *bhū-man-* 'world', *vák-man-* 'invocation', *várit-man-* 'course', *váś-man-* 'dwelling', *śák-man-* 'power', *śás-man-* 'praise', *śák-man-* 'power', *hí-man-* 'sacrifice' (√hu-) and 'invocation' (√hā-); with connecting *-i-*: *ján-i-man-* 'birth', *vár-i-man-* 'expanse' (beside *var-i-mán-* m.); with connecting *-ī-*: *dár-ī-man-* 'destruction', *dhár-ī-man-* 'ordinance', *pár-ī-man-*³ 'abundance', *bhár-ī-man-* 'maintenance', *vár-ī-man-* 'expanse', *sár-ī-man-* 'course', *śév-ī-man-* 'impulse'⁴, *hív-ī-man-* 'invocation'. — m. *āś-mín-* (AV. VS.) 'heat', *o-mín-* 'favour', *je-mán-* (VS. TS.) 'superiority', *drāgh-mán-* (VS.) 'length' (beside *drāgh-i-mán-*), *pāp-mán-* (AV.) 'wickedness', *bhā-mán-* 'abundance', *víd-mán-* 'knowledge', *svād-mán-* 'sweetness', *he-mán-* 'impulse'; with connecting *-i-*: *jar-i-mán-* 'old age', *prath-i-mán-* 'breath', *mah-i-mán-* 'greatness', *var-i-mán-*, *varṣ-i-mán-* (VS.) 'height' (beside *várṣ-man-* and *varṣ-mán-*), *har-i-mán-* 'yellowness'.

2. Agent nouns accented on the suffix are: *dar-mán-* 'breaker', *dā-mán-* 'giver', *dhár-mán-* 'supporter', *brah-mán-* 'one who prays', *bhuj-mán-* 'fertile', *vad-mán-* 'speaker', *sad-mán-* 'sitter', *so-mán-* 'Somapresser'; accented on the root: *śt-man-* 'stone', *ś-man-* 'friend', *jít-man-* 'superior', *bhás-man-* 'chewing'⁵.

a. The following words are according to difference of accent neuter action nouns or masculine agent nouns *dā-man-* 'gift' and *dā-mán-* 'giver'; *dhár-man-* 'ordinance' and *dhár-mán-* 'ordainer'; *tráh-man-* 'worship' and *brah-mán-* 'priest'; *śád-man-* 'seat' and *sad-mán-* 'sitter'.

¹ For lists of these see GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1730 f.; LINDNER p. 91—93.

² Somewhat in the same way as the derivatives in *-ar* (126).

³ Also with anomalous *-i-*: *jar-ī-man-* (SVt.).

⁴ Also *śár-ī-man-* 'spreading' used in the loc. as an infinitive.

⁵ In a compound also *svādu-śád-man-* 'having sweet food'.

b. In a few words difference of gender and accent is not accompanied by difference of meaning: *vārs-man-* n. and *vārs-mān-* m. both mean 'height'; *svāṭ-man-* n. and *svāṭ-mān-* m. 'sweetness'; *vār-i-man-* n. and *vār-i-mān-* m. 'expanse'.

c. In a few instances difference of accent is accompanied by a reversal of the usual distinction of meaning: *jī-man-* 'victorious', *jī-mān-* (VS. TS.) 'superiority'; *ō-man-* m. 'friend', *ō-mān-* m. 'favour'.

d. A few derivatives in *-man* both action and agent nouns are compounded with prepositions: *vi-yā-man-* n. 'step', *prā-bhar-man-* n. 'presentation', *prā-yā-man-* n. 'departure', *vi-dhar-man-* m. 'maintainer', *vi-fat-man-*¹ 'flying through', *anu-varṭ-man-* (AV.) 'following after', *vi-sar-mān-*² m. 'flowing asunder'.

-māna : agent.

166. This suffix is used to form the present³, future, and aorist middle participle and the present passive participle⁴. It is always preceded by *a* except in the anomalous perfect participle *sasṛ-mānā-* (= *sasṛ-ānā-*) 'speeding'.

-mi and -mī : action and agent.

167. The suffix *-mi* is used to form a few adjectives and masculine substantives; it also forms (generally in the form of *-mī*) a few feminine substantives with a concrete meaning: *ār-mī-* m. 'wave' (*√ar-*), *kūr-mī-* 'action' in *tuvī-kūr-mī-* 'working mightily', *jī-mī-* 'related', 'kinsman'; *bhū-mī-* and *bhū-mī-* f. 'earth', *lakṣ-mī-* f. 'sign', *sār-mī-* f. 'tube'; probably also *raṭ-mī-* m. 'ray' and the adj. *krudh-mī-*⁵ (RV¹.) 'irascible'.

-mīn : agent.

168. A few adjectives have the appearance of being formed with a suffix *-mīn*. They are *iṣ-mīn-* 'impetuous', *bhā-mīn-* 'shining', *śus-mīn-* 'roaring'. They may, however, be explained as secondary derivatives made with the suffix *-in*, like *dhum-in-* from *dhūm-* 'smoke'.

-ya : gerundive.

169. This suffix is used to form a large number of future participles passive⁶. It probably has a primary character in other derivatives besides these; but it is so difficult to distinguish them from those which are secondary, that it is preferable to treat all but gerundives under secondary *-ya* (228).

-yu : action and agent.

170. This suffix forms a few action and agent nouns. The root remains unchanged, while the accent varies. Action nouns are: *man-yū-* m. 'anger', *mṛt-yū-* m. 'death'. Agent nouns are: *dis-yu-* m. 'enemy', *druh-yū-*, N. of a man ('hostile'), *śīp-yu-* 'enemy'; *bhuj-yū-* both adj. 'wealthy' and m. as N. of a man. Adjectives only are: *yāj-yu-* 'pious', *śundh-yū-* 'pure', *śih-yu-* 'strong'.

-ra : agent.

171. A large number of derivatives are formed with this suffix⁷, which is usually accented, the root consequently almost always appearing with a weak vowel. These words are mostly adjectives, but a few substantives occur in all genders. The suffix is frequently added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-ī-*, *-u-*.

¹ Or as a Bahuvrīhi 'having the flight of a bird' (*vi-*).

² With unusual accent on the suffix instead of on the preposition.

³ In the *a*-conjugation.

⁴ See below under those tenses, 427, 435, 442, 447; 512, 538; and cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 226; LINDNER 72.

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⁵ The only form occurring *krudhmī-*, N. pl. n. might, however, come from *krudh-mīn-*.

⁶ See below, Future participles passive, 578; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 230; LINDNER 76, p. 96-99.

⁷ See LINDNER 78, p. 100-102; WHITNEY 1188.

1. Of derivatives accented on the suffix there are more than 60 adjectives; e. g. *ak-rá-* 'swift', *ug-rá-* 'mighty', *cit-rá-* 'bright', *tu-rá-* 'strong', *mū-rá-* 'stupid', *sak-rá-* 'mighty', *śuk-rá-* 'bright', *hims-rá-* 'injurious'. Substantives are: m. *us-rá-* 'bull', *ksu-rá-* 'razor', *mydh-rá-* 'foe', *rud-rá-*, N. of a god, *vam-rá-* 'ant', *vī-rá-* 'man', *śud-rá-* 'man of the fourth caste'; n. *abh-rá-* 'cloud', *kych-rá-* 'distress', *kru-rá-* (AV. VS.) 'wound', *kyī-rá-* 'milk', *khid-rá-* 'weight', *rip-rá-* 'defilement', *st-rá-* 'plough'; f. *hi-rá-* (AV. VS.) 'vein'.

a. With connecting vowel *-a-*: *drav-a-rá-* 'running', *pat-a-rá-* 'flying', *ny-oc-a-rá-* (AV.) 'suing'; n. *gambh-a-rá-* 'depth', *tas-a-rá-* 'shuttle'; with *i*: *aj-i-rá-* 'swift', *is-i-rá-* 'lively', *dhtvas-i-rá-* 'stirring up', *badh-i-rá-* 'deaf', *mad-i-rá-* 'pleasing', *rudh-i-rá-* (AV.) 'red', *sphi-rá-* 'fat'; m. *khad-i-rá-*, a kind of tree; n. *sar-i-rá-* (VS.) 'wave'; with *i*: *gabh-i-rá-* and *gambh-i-rá-* 'deep'; with *u*: *amhi-u-rá-* 'narrow', *vith-u-rá-* 'tottering'.

2. Of stems accented on the root the only adjectives are: *gṛdh-ra-* 'greedy', *thm-ra-* 'stout', *dhi-ra-* 'wise', *vīp-ra-* 'inspired'; substantives are: m. *dj-ra-* 'field', *ind-ra-*, N. of a god, *vāj-ra-* 'thunderbolt', *vārdh-ra-* (AV.) 'girth', *śā-ra-* 'hero'; n. *ag-ra-* 'point', *randh-ra-* 'hollow', *śadbh-ra-* 'pit'; f. *dhd-ra-* 'stream', *śip-rá-* 'jaw', *śū-rá-* 'intoxicating liquor'.

a. With connecting vowel *-i-*: *sthā-i-ra-* 'firm'; m. *āng-i-ra-*, N. of a seer, *ds-i-ra-* 'missile'; with *-i-*: *śīp-i-ra-* 'mighty'; n. *śīp-i-ra-* 'body'; with *-u-*: m. *ds-u-ra-* 'spirit', *būk-u-ra-* 'trumpet'.

a. A few of these derivatives are compounded with prepositions: *ni-ci-rá-* 'attentive', *ni-my;-ra-* 'attached'; m. *ā-bha-rá-* 'lair', *sam-ud-rá-* 'sea'.

-ri : agent.

172. This suffix forms adjectives as well as m. and f. substantives. It is sometimes added with connecting *-u-*. The root is more frequently accented than the suffix.

1. Adjectives are: *bhā-ri-* 'abundant', *vddh-ri-* 'emasculated', *śubh-ri-* 'beautiful'; with connecting *-u-*: *jās-u-ri-* 'exhausted', *dās-u-ri-* 'pious', *sdh-u-ri-* 'mighty'.

2. Substantives are: m. *āngh-ri-* (VS.) 'foot', *jī-ri-* 'flowing water', *sū-ri-* 'patron', f. *ābh-ri-* (AV. VS.) 'hoe', *ds-ri-* 'edge', *ūs-ri-* 'dawn', *vāth-ri-* 'rib'; with connecting *-u-*: *āng-ū-ri-* 'finger'; *-ri* occurs in *tand-ri-* (AV.) 'weariness'.

-ru : agent.

173. This rare suffix forms adjectives and a very few neuter substantives. It is added either directly to the root or with a preceding *-a-*, *-ā-*, or *-e-*. Either the root or the suffix may be accented.

1. Adjectives are: *cā-ru-* 'dear', *dhā-ri-* (AV.) 'sucking', *pā-ru-* 'causing to swell' (*pā-*), *bhī-ri-* 'timid'; *arā-ru-* 'hostile', *pat-ā-ru-* 'flying'; *jāb-ā-ru-* (RV.) 'speeding', *ply-ā-ru-* 'reviling', *vand-ā-ru-* 'praising', *śar-ā-ru-* 'injurious'; *mad-ē-ri-* 'intoxicating', *san-ē-ru-* 'obtaining'.

2. Substantives are: n. *ds-ru-* 'tear', *śmās-ru-* 'beard'.

-la : agent.

174. This rare suffix, a later form of *-ra*, is equivalent in sense and use to the latter, sometimes also interchanging with it. It forms adjectives and a

* *bhārvā-* (of doubtful meaning) is probably a secondary formation, and *vārad-* 'matutinal' seems to be derived from *vasar-* 'morning'.

2 Also *-rṣarā-* 'thorn' m. in *an-rṣarā-* 'thornless'.

3 Perhaps for **jāv-ā-ru-* from *jū-* 'speed'.

4 The suffix is secondary in *mītr-ru-* 'ally'.

few masculine and neuter substantives. The radical syllable is accented in two or three substantives only. The suffix is added either directly to the root or with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-*.

Derivatives thus formed are: *-pā-lā-* (VS.) m. 'guardian' in *ajā-pālā-* (VS.) 'goat-herd', *suk-lā-* (AV.) n. 'white colour' (beside *suk-rā-* 'white'), *sthū-lā-* (AV.) 'thick' (beside *sthū-rā-*); with connecting *-a-*: *īp-ā-lā-* 'joyous', *bhṛm-ā-lā-* (AV.) 'torpid', *mūś-ā-lā-* (AV.) m. 'pestle', *śab-ā-lā-* 'mottled', *śām-ā-lā-* (AV.) n. 'defilement'; with *-i-*: *in-i-lā-* m. 'wind', *trā-i-lā-* 'porous', *sal-i-lā-* 'surging' (beside *sar-i-rā-* VS. 'flood'); with *-u-*: *tanḍ-u-lā-* (AV.) m. 'grain', *śak-u-lā-* (AV. VS.) m., a kind of fish.

-li and *-lu* : agent.

175. The suffix *-li* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ri* in *aṅg-ī-lī-* (VS.) f. 'finger' (beside *aṅg-ī-rī-*). Similarly *-lu* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ru* in *patiyā-lū-* (AV.) 'flying', formed from the conjugation stem *patiya-* (from *pat-* 'fly').

-va : agent.

176. This suffix forms about 20 adjectives and seven or eight substantives, mostly masculines with a concrete meaning. With one or two exceptions it is added directly to the root. The accent is rather oftener on the suffix than on the radical syllable. The root hardly ever appears in a strengthened form.

1. Accented on the suffix are the adjectives: *urdh-vā-* 'upright', *īś-vā-* 'praising', *īś-vā-* 'lofty', *tak-vā-* 'swift', *dhru-vā-* 'fixed', *pak-vā-* 'ripe', *mal-vā-* (AV.) 'foolish', *yah-vā-* 'swift', *raṅ-vā-* 'joyful', *viś-vā-* 'all', *śik-vā-* (AV.) 'deft', *byā-vā-* 'dark brown', *hras-vā-* (VS.) 'short'; the substantives: m. *ur-vā-* 'stall', *śar-vā-* (AV. VS.), N. of a god, *sru-vā-* 'ladle'; f. *pruś-vā-* (AV.) 'rime'; *vidh-ā-vā-* 'widow'.

2. Accented on the root are: *śbh-va-* 'skilful', *t-va-* 'quick', m. 'course', *pi-va-* 'fat', *pār-va-* 'preceding', *vik-va-* 'twisting', *viś-va-* 'all', *sūr-va-* 'all'; m. *ās-va-* 'horse', *khāl-va-* (AV. VS.), a kind of grain, *śrāk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'; f. *ām-ī-va-* 'disease'.

a. A few such derivatives occur only compounded with prefixes: *ā-khar-va-* 'not shortened', *dū-kuk-va-* (VS.) 'too bald', *vi-bhā-va-* 'brilliant'.

-van : agent.

177. This suffix is used almost exclusively to form agent nouns⁴, both adjectives and substantives, which are mostly masculine, but sometimes neuter. Though the root is regularly accented⁵, it almost invariably appears in its unstrengthened form. If it ends in a short vowel *-t-* is added before the suffix. The feminine of these words is regularly formed with *-vant* (179 a).

Examples of adjectives are: *īś-va-* 'praising', *ky-t-va-* 'active', *drīh-va-* 'injurious', *pāt-va-* 'flying', *pi-va-* 'fat', *yāj-va-* 'sacrificing', *rā-va-* (VS.)

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

² Cp. ROTH, KZ. 19, 223; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

³ Also n. *ūba-* 'caul' if this stands for **ūba-* from *vj-* 'cover'.

⁴ The only action nouns are the few which in the active are employed as infinitives; cp. WHITNEY 1169 c.

⁵ The only exceptions are two words formed with the connecting vowel *-i-*, *mūś-ī-vā-* 'robber', *san-ī-t-va-* 'bestower', and two others from the reduplicated root, *rārā-va-* 'liberal', *ikī-t-va-* 'wise'.

'bestowing', *sūk-van-* (VS.) 'able', *sīt-van-* 'pressing Soma'; substantives: m. *dāh-van-* 'road', *ār-van-* 'steed', *grā-van-* 'stone'; n. *tīg-van-* 'ford', *dhān-van-* 'bow' and 'desert', *pār-van-* 'joint', *snū-van-*¹ (AV. VS.) 'sinew'.

a. Several derivatives with *-van* are compounded with prepositions; thus *ah-skād-van-* (VS.) 'transgressing', *upa-hās-van-* 'mocking', *vi-vid-van-* 'shining forth', *vi-mṣ-van-* (AV.) 'cleansing', *saṁ-bhṣ-t-van-* (AV.) 'accumulating'².

-vana, -vani, -vanu : agent.

178. These rare suffixes are doubtless secondary forms of *-van*. They are all three accented: *-vana* and *-vanu* on the final, *-vani* on the first syllable. With *-vana* are formed: *vag-vand-* 'talkative', *sat-vand-*, m. 'warrior' (beside *sīt-van-*), and from the reduplicated root *susūk-vand-* 'shining' (√*suc*). The suffix *-vani* seems to be preferred for derivatives from the reduplicated root; thus besides *tur-vāni-* 'overcoming', *bhur-vāni-* 'restless', occur *jujur-vāni-* 'praising', *tutur-vāni-* 'desiring to gain', *dadhṣ-vāni-* 'daring', *susūk-vāni-* 'shining' (√*suc*); the obscure word *arharīṣvāni-* 'exultant' seems to be derived with this suffix from an irregularly reduplicated form of *hṣ-* 'be excited'. With *-vanu* is formed only *vag-vanī-* m. 'noise'.

-vara, -vala : action and agent.

179. This suffix makes a few masculine nouns (f. *-i*) chiefly accented on the final syllable of the suffix, and a very few neuter substantives accented on the root. The masculines are: *i-t-vaṛ-* 'going', *i-vaṛ-* (AV.) 'able', *phūr-vaṛa-* 'sower', *vyadh-vaṛ-* (AV.) 'piercing'³ (√*vyadh*). Neuter substantives are: *kār-vaṛa-* 'deed', *gūh-vaṛa-* (AV.) 'thicket'. There are also two feminines which have the appearance of being derived with this suffix, *ur-vāri-* 'field' and *ur-vāri-* (AV.) 'filament', but their origin is uncertain. This suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in *vid-valī-* 'cunning'.

a. The *f*. of this suffix, *-vaṛī*, is used as the *f*. of adjectives in *-van*, with which it corresponds in accent and treatment of the radical syllable. There are about 25 of these feminines in the RV.; e. g. *yāj-vaṛī-* 'pious', *st-t-vaṛī-* 'speeding'⁴.

-vas : action and agent.

180. This very rare suffix forms only the neuter substantive *vāri-vas-* 'wide space' (beside *vāri-man-*) and the adjectives *fbh-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *fbh-va-* and *fbh-van-*) and *sik-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *sik-van-*). The vocative *khid-vas-* (VL 22¹) 'oppressing' is probably from a perfect participle *khid-vāms-*⁵ formed without reduplication, not from a stem *khid-vas-*.

-vāms : agent.

181. This suffix is used to form a large number of perfect participles active, being added with or without the connecting vowel *-i-*; e. g. *cakṛ-vāms-* 'having done', *ṭy-i-vāms-* 'having gone'; sometimes without reduplication; e. g. *vid-vāms-* 'knowing'⁶. This suffix, which is always accented, is in the weak cases reduced to *-iṣ-* before vowels⁷.

¹ On two or three doubtful derivatives with this suffix see WHITNEY 1169 b.

² Several others are compounded with nouns; see LINDNER p. 107.

³ According to the Pada text *vi-adhvāri-*.

⁴ See WHITNEY 1171 b; for such femi-

nines occurring in the AV. see his Index Verborum 375.

⁵ Cp. pw.; in BR. the stem is given as *khid-van-*. According to WHITNEY 1173 b, it is derived from √*khād*.

⁶ For the forms occurring see below 492.

⁷ See Declension, *-vāms* stems, 347.

-vi : agent.

182. This rare suffix is used to form some half dozen adjectives and one f. substantive, partly from the simple root (which is accented), partly from the reduplicated root (of which the reduplicative syllable is accented). The adjectives are: *ghī-s-vi*- 'lively', *jir-vi*-¹ (AV.) 'aged', *dhri-vi*- 'firm'; *jāgr-vi*- 'watchful', *dā-dhr-vi*- 'sustaining', *dī-dī-vi*- 'shining'²; f. *dār-vi*-³ 'ladle'.

-vit : agent.

183. This suffix, which is perhaps an extension of *-vi* with *-t*, occurs in the single form *akī-t-vit* (RV¹) 'deliberately'.

-sa : agent.

184. This suffix is used to form about two dozen adjectives and substantives of all genders. It is added to the root with or without the connecting vowels *-i-* or *-ū-*. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, which is usually unstrengthened. Many of these derivatives are of obscure origin.

The suffix is added direct in: *gīt-sa*- 'adroit', *-dīk-sa*-⁴ (VS.), *prk-sā*- 'dappled' (\sqrt{prc}); *ūt-sa*- m. 'fountain', *kūt-sa*-, N. of a man, *ghraṃ-sā*- m. 'sun's heat', *drap-sā*- m. 'drop', *ruk-sā*- m. 'tree'; *bhī-sā*-⁵ f. 'fear'.

a. The suffix is added with a connecting vowel (*-i-*, *-ū-*) in: *tav-i-sā*-⁶ 'strong', *bhar-i-sā*- 'rapacious', *mah-i-sā*- 'mighty'⁷; *rjī-sā*- 'rushing', *rbi-sā*-⁸ n. 'chasm', *pūr-i-sā*- n. 'rubbish'; *man-i-sā*- f. 'devotion'; *ar-u-sā*-⁹ 'red', *aś-ū-sā*- 'voracious', *tār-u-sā*- m. 'overcomer', *pūr-u-sā*- m. 'man', *mān-u-sā*- 'man'; *āng-ū-sā*- m. 'hymn', *pty-ū-sā*- n. 'biestings'.

-sani : agent.

185. This suffix is found only in the derivatives *car-sañt*- 'active', f. pl. 'people', and *par-sāni*- 'carrying across' (*pr*- 'cross').

-sara : agent.

186. This suffix appears only in *mat-sarā*- 'intoxicating' (\sqrt{mad}) and perhaps in *sap-sarā*- (I. 168¹⁰) 'inspiring awe'(?) if derived from *sap*- 'do homage'.

-sas : action.

187. This suffix seems to be contained in *vāp-sas*- (RV¹) 'beauty'(?)¹⁰, and possibly in *tār-ā-sas*- (RV.) 'superior' (\sqrt{tr}).

-sna : agent.

188. This suffix (perhaps syncopated for *-sana*) forms some half dozen adjectives and m. or n. substantives: *ūk-snā*- 'sharp' (\sqrt{tij}), *de-snā*-¹¹ n. 'gift'

¹ From *jr*- 'age'; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. xiv. 122. The RV. has *jiv-ri*-.

² The derivation of *pra-pharvā*- (RV¹) is uncertain.

³ In VS. *dārvi*- in the vocative *dārvi*.

⁴ In *ī-dīk-sā*- (VS.) 'looking like this' 'such' (from *dī*- 'see').

⁵ Only in the I. s. *bhīṣā* which is a contraction for *bhīyasā*.

⁶ The f. is *īdvīṣā*.

⁷ The f. is *māhīṣā*.

⁸ The absence of cerebralization in the *s*, together with the *b*, makes the origin of this word quite uncertain; it is most probably borrowed.

⁹ The f. is *drusī*.

¹⁰ This is Śāyana's interpretation of the word.

¹¹ Generally to be read trisyllabically as *da-īṣnā*.

(*dā-* 'give'), *ślak-śnū-* (AV.) 'smooth'; with connecting *-a-*: *kar-ś-sna-* m. 'forearm', *māt-a-sna-*, n. 'lung', *vadh-a-snū-* n. 'deadly weapon'.

-snu : agent.

189. This suffix, which is always accented, forms adjectives, being added with or without a connecting vowel to the simple root, or more usually with connecting *-i-* to the causative stem.

1. From the simple root: *ji-śnū-* 'victorious', *danś-śnū-* (VS.) 'biting' (*√danś-*), *ni-śat-śnū-* 'sitting down'; *vadh-a-śnū-* 'murderous', *vṛdh-a-śnū-* 'joyous'; *car-i-śnū-* 'wandering', *ā-maviśnu-*¹ (x. 94¹¹) 'immovable (*√mā-* = *mī-*)'.

2. From the causative stem: *āpuy-i-śnū-* 'tormenting', *namay-i-śnū-* 'bending', *patay-i-śnū-* 'flying', *pāray-i-śnū-* 'saving', *pośay-i-śnū-* (AV.) 'causing to thrive', *māday-i-śnū-* 'intoxicating', *abhi-śocay-i-śnu-* (AV.) 'causing torments'.

II. Secondary Nominal Derivation.

LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung p. 114—52. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 454—80.

190. Secondary nominal stems are those derived from stems already ending in a suffix. They, however, include derivatives from pronominal roots, as *i-tara-* 'other', and exceptionally from indeclinable words or case-forms, as *antár-vant-* 'pregnant' (*antár* 'within'), *māma-ka-* 'belonging to me' (*māma* 'of me'). The stem to which secondary suffixes are added is subject to certain changes. Thus final *-a* and *-i* vowels are regularly dropped before suffixes beginning with a vowel or *y*, while final *-u* generally takes *Guṇa*; thus *āśu-lu-* 'possessing horses' (*āśra-*), *kāśad-lu-* 'adorned with rings' (*kāśad-*), *vāyav-yā-* 'relating to the wind' (*vāyū-*). Again, the *n* or the *a* of stems ending in *-an* is occasionally lost, e. g. *vṛṣa-tvā-* 'manly power', *vṛṣu-ya-* 'manly' (but *vṛṣan-vant-* 'drawn by stallions'); while stems in *-ant* regularly appear in the weak form of *-at*, e. g. *vāivasvat-a-* 'son of Vivasvat'. The commonest change is, however, the strengthening of the initial syllable with *Vṛddhi*², e. g. *āmitrá-* 'hostile' (*a-mitra-* 'enemy'), *pārthiv-a-* 'relating to the earth' (*pṛthiv-*), *maitravarūṇ-* 'derived from Mitrá-várūṇa', *śubhaga-* 'luck' (*śubhāga-* 'lucky').

As regards meaning, the great majority of secondary suffixes form adjectives with the general sense of 'relating to' or 'connected with'. In several, however, the meaning has become specific. Thus the suffixes *-āyana-*, *-i-*, *-eya-*, form patronymics or metonymics; *-in-*, *-mant-*, *-vant-* express possession; *-tama-* and *-tara-* imply degrees of comparison; *-tā* and *-tva-* form abstract substantives. The masculines and feminines of adjectives are frequently used as appellatives, while the neuter is commonly employed as a substantive expressing the attributive sense of the adjective as an abstraction.

a. The secondary suffixes are in their alphabetical order the following: *-a*, *-ā*, *-ānī*, *-āyana*, *-āyī*, *-āyya*, *-i*, *-in-*, *-ima-*, *-iya-*, *-ī*, *-īna*, *-īya*, *-ent-*, *-enya*, *-eya*, *-eyya*, *-ka-*, *-ta*, *-tana* and *-tna*, *-tama*, *-taya*, *-tara*, *-tarya*, *-tā*, *-tāt*, *-tāli*, *-tāli*, *-tva*, *-tvātā*, *-tvāna*, *-tha*, *-na*, *-nī*, *-bha*, *-ma*, *-mant*, *-maya*, *-min*, *-mna*, *-ya*, *-yin*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-va*, *-vat*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vaya*, *-vata*, *-vin*, *-vya*, *-śa*.

¹ Thus derived in pw.; in BR. emended to *ā-mariṣnu-* 'immortal'; in GRASSMANN explained as *āma-riṣnu-* 'mit Ungestüm andringend'. hand, extremely rare in secondary derivation, as *devā-* 'divine' (*div-* 'heaven'), *dr̥ṣṇa-* 'wooden vessel' (*dr̥-* 'wood'), *bhṛṣaj-ā-* 'medicine' (*bhṛṣaj-* 'healing'); cp. 191 a a.

² Strengthening with *Guṇa* is, on the other

191. With the suffix *-a* is formed a very large number of derivatives which are primarily adjectives expressing the sense of relation to or connexion with the primitive word; in the m. and f. they are, however, often used as appellatives, and in the neuter as abstracts. The first syllable of the primitive word, whether it is simple or compound is in the great majority of instances strengthened with *Vṛddhi*; e. g. *mārut-a* 'relating to the Maruts' (*marūt*), *māghon-a* n. 'bountifulness' (*maghōvan* 'bountiful')¹; *dāśarājñ-ā* 'battle of the ten kings' (*dāśa-rājan*)²; *jaitr-a* 'victorious' (*jī-tr* 'conqueror'), *tvāstr-ā* 'belonging to *Tvaṣṭr*'; *mānav-ā* 'belonging to man' (*mānu*), *tānu-a*³ 'belonging to the body' (*tanu*); *sārasvat-ā* 'coming from the Sarasvati', *aindrāgn-ā* (AV. VS. TS.) 'belonging to Indra and Agni' (*indrāgni*); *yāmun-ā* (AV.) 'coming from the Yamunā'; *vādhyasv-a*⁴ 'descended from *Vadhryasvā*', *vaiśvadev-ā* (AV. VS.) 'sacred to all the gods' (*vaiśvā-deva*).

a. A comparatively small number of derivatives add the suffix without taking *Vṛddhi*. These are probably to a considerable extent due to transfers from other declensions to the *a*-declension. Such are *tamas-ā* (AV.) 'dark-coloured', *parus-ā* 'knotty' (*pārus* 'knot'), *hemant-ā* 'winter'; *āpāk-a* 'distant' (*āpāc* 'behind'); *hotr-ā* 'office of priest' (*hōtr*); *sakhya-ā* 'friendship' (*sākhi* 'friend').

u. With *Guna* are formed *tray-ā* 'threefold' (*tri* 'three'), *dvay-ā* 'twofold' (*dvi* 'two'), *ndv-a* 'new' (*nū* 'now'); *dev-ā* 'divine' (*dēv* 'heaven'), *bhṛśaj-ā* 'medicine' (*bhṛśj* 'healer').

192. The suffix *-ā* is used in a very large number of stems to form the feminine of adjectives which in the masculine and neuter end in *-a*. Thus *ndv-ā* f., *nāva* m. n. 'new'; *priy-ā* f., *priya* m. n. 'dear'; *gat-ā* f., *gat* m. n. 'gone'.

193. The suffix *-āni*⁵ is used to form the feminine from stems in *-a*, designating the wife of the corresponding male being, or expressing a feminine personification: *arany-āni* 'Forest Nymph' (*dranya* 'forest'), *indr-āni* 'wife of Indra', *uśinār-āni* 'Queen of the Uśinaras', *urj-āni* 'Strength' (personified), *purukūts-āni* 'wife of Purukutsa', *mudgal-āni* 'wife of Mudgala', *varuṇ-āni* 'Varuṇa's wife'.

194. The suffix *-āyana* forms a few patronymics with *Vṛddhi* in the first syllable: *ānty-āyanā* (VS. TS.) 'descendant of *Āntya*', *āmuṣya-āyanā* (AV.) 'descendant of so and so' (*amūṣya* gen. of *add*), *kāṇv-āyana* 'descendant of *Kaṇva*', *dākṣ-āyanā* (VS. AV.) 'descendant of *Dakṣa*'; also the f. *rām-āyanī* (AV.) 'daughter of the Black One' (*rāmā*). The derivative *ukṣaṇ-āyana*, N. of a man, being formed without *Vṛddhi* is perhaps not meant for a patronymic.

195. The suffix *-āyi* occurs perhaps only twice, forming the feminine from two masculine stems in *-i* and designating the wife of the corresponding male: *agn-āyi* 'wife of *Agni*' and *vṛṣākāp-āyi* (only voc.) 'wife of *Vṛṣākāp*'.

196. The suffix *-āyā* forms gerundives⁶; e. g. *śrav-āyā* 'glorious' (*śru* 'hear'). There are also a few other derivatives similarly formed, which are used as ordinary adjectives or as neuter abstracts; thus *nr-pāyā* 'guarding

¹ Formed from the weakest stem *maghōn*. *-a* is added to stems in *-a* as to others (the

² With syncope of the vowel of the suffix, final vowel of the primitive disappearing before

³ Without *Guna* of the *ū*; similar ex- (it) and not that derivation by *Vṛddhi* alone

ceptions in *pārsu-ā* 'side' (*pārsu* 'rib'), takes place here; cp. WHITNEY 1208 i.

paidv-ā 'belonging to *Pedu*', *mādhv-a* 'full' Cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 294 ff.

of sweetness' (*mādhv*), *yādū-a* 'belonging' ⁶ These are probably formed from dative

to *Yadu*. infinitives in *-ai* + *-ya*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grund-

⁴ It is natural to suppose that the suffix rises 2, p. 1422; cp. also IF. 12, 2.

men', *bahu-pāyya-* 'protecting many'; *pārva-pāyya-* 'first drink', *mahay-dyā-* 'enjoyment', *kunda-pāyya-* and *puru-māyya-* as Proper Names; also formed from nouns, *ras-āyya-* 'tasteful' (*rasa-* 'sap') and *uttam-īyā-* n. 'summit' (*uttam-* 'highest')¹.

197. The suffix *-i* forms a few patronymics from nouns in *-a* with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable: *āgnivel-i-* 'descendant of Agniveśa', *pūrukuts-i-* 'son of Pūrukutsa', *prātardan-i-* 'descendant of Prātardana', *prāhrād-i-* (AV.) 'son of Prāhrāda, *sāmvaran-i-* 'descendant of Sāmvarana'. Similarly formed, but with the sense of an ordinary substantive, is *sārath-i-* 'charioteer' (from *sā-rātham* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words add a secondary *-i* without Vṛddhi or patronymic sense: *tīpū-i-* 'burning' and *śucant-i-*, N. of a man (seemingly an extension of the participle *śuc-ant-* 'shining')

198. Hundreds of adjectives are formed with the suffix *-in* from stems in *-a*, but very rarely from stems with any other final; e. g. *ark-in-* 'praising' (*ark-* 'praise'), *manī-in-* 'wise' (*manī-śā-* 'wisdom'), *arc-in-* 'radiant' (*arc-* 'beam'), *śataga-in-* 'consisting of hundreds' (**śata-gva-*), *vārm-in-* 'clad in armour' (*vārm-*), *śvan-in-* (VS.) 'keeping dogs' (*śvan-*). With loss of final *-as*: *ret-in-* 'abounding in seed' (*ret-*) and perhaps in the Proper Name *vāre-in-* (*vāre-as-* 'power'); with loss of *-ya*: *hira-in-* 'adorned with gold' (*hira-ya-*).

199. The suffix *-ima* is very rare, being employed to form adjectives from the stems in *-ra* and from one in *-ra*: *krtr-ima-* 'artificial', *khantr-ima-* 'made by digging', *puṭr-ima-* (AV.) 'purified'; *agr-ima-* 'foremost' (*ig-ra-* 'front').

200. The suffix *-iya* is employed to form some 20 adjectives (from stems in *-a*). It is only a modified form of *-ya* which is added for facility of pronunciation after two or more consonants, the last of which is generally *r*, rarely *n*, *m* or *v*; e. g. *abhri-iyā-* 'derived from the clouds' (*abhri-*), *samudri-ya-* 'belonging to the sea' (*samudrā-*), *indr-iyā-* 'belonging to Indra'; *krśn-iyā-*, N. of a man (*krśn-* 'black'); *ṛgm-iyā* 'praiseworthy'; *aśv-iyā-* 'consisting of horses', 'troop'.

201. The suffix *-ī* is employed in a very large number of derivatives to form the feminine of masculine stems; often from stems in *-a*²; e. g. *āruṣ-ī-* 'ruddy' (*āruṣ-*), *dev-ī-* 'goddess' (*dev-*); or in *-u*; e. g. *prth-ī-* 'broad' (*prth-*); or from stems formed with suffixes ending in consonants, as participles in *-at* or *-ant*, e. g. *pīprat-ī-* 'protecting' (*pr-* 'take across'), *ad-at-ī-* 'eating' (*ad-ant-*), *mīd-ant-ī-* 'rejoicing' or in *-vāms-*, e. g. *jagm-īṣ-ī-* 'having gone'; comparatives in *-iyāṣ-*, e. g. *nīv-iyāṣ-ī-* 'new'; stems in *-tar*, e. g. *avitr-ī-* 'protectress'; in *-mant*, e. g. *dhenu-mīt-ī-* 'abounding in nourishment'; in *-vant*, e. g. *āma-vaṭ-ī-* 'impetuous'; in *-an*, e. g. *śōma-rāj-ī-* 'having Soma as king'; in *-in*, e. g. *ark-īn-ī-* 'radiant'; in *-ānc*, e. g. *arvāc-ī-* 'hitherward'; in compounds of *-han* 'slaying', e. g. *a-pati-gṇ-ī-* 'not killing a husband', of *-dṛś-* 'look', as *su-dṛś-ī-* 'well-looking', and of *-pād* 'foot', as *a-pād-ī-* 'footless'.

202. The suffix *-ina* forms more than a dozen adjectives from the weak stems of derivatives in *-ānc*, expressing direction without change of meaning; e. g. *arvāc-ina-* and *arvāc-inā-* 'turned towards' (*arvānc-* 'hitherward'). It also forms six or seven adjectives from other words, expressing the general sense of relation; e. g. *añjas-ina-* 'straightforward' (*añjasa-* 'straight'), *viśvajān-ina-* (AV.) 'containing all kinds of people'.

¹ See WHITNEY 1218 a.

formed with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable;

² This is regularly the case in stems e. g. *mānuṣ-a-* 'human', f. *mānuṣ-ī-*.

203. The suffix *-iya* forms fewer than a dozen general adjectives, of which only two occur in the RV.; e. g. *ārjik-īya-* 'designation of a Soma vessel', *grha-madh-īya-* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice'; *dhav-an-īya-* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *parvati-īya-* (AV.) 'mountainous'. This suffix also appears in the three ordinals *dvit-īya-* 'second', *tyt-īya-* 'third', *tur-īya-* 'fourth'.

204. The suffix *-ēna* with Vṛddhi of the initial syllable, occurs only once, forming a general adjective, in its feminine form *sāmidh-ent-* 'relating to fuel' (*samidh-*).

205. The suffix *-ēnya* was doubtless originally formed by the addition of *-ya* to derivatives made with *-na*, but it nearly always has a primary value as forming gerundives; e. g. *aps-ēnya-* 'worthy to be seen'. It appears, however, also in the two ordinary adjectives *kirt-ēnya-* 'famous' (*kirt-* 'fame') and *vīr-ēnya-* 'manly' (*vīr-* 'hero').

206. The suffix *-ēya*, with Vṛddhi of the initial syllable, is employed to form fewer than a dozen adjectives of a patronymic or metronymic value and some half dozen adjectives of a general character, the latter occasionally appearing in the neuter as abstract substantives; e. g. *ārs-eyā-* 'descended from a seer' (*ārs-*), *ādīt-eyā-* 'son of Aditi'; *pārus-ēya-* 'relating to man' (*pārusa-*), *māun-ēya-* 'position of a sage' (*māni-*). Two words with this suffix are formed without initial Vṛddhi, following the analogy of gerundives from roots ending in *ā* like *dā-* 'to be given' (*dā-* 'give'): *didrks-ēya-* 'worth seeing' (as from *didrks-ā-* 'desire to see') and *sabh-ēya-* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabh-*).

207. The very rare suffix *-ēyya* forms adjectives with a gerundive sense in *stus-ēyya-* 'praise-worthy', and *sapath-ēyyā-* (AV.) 'worthy of cursing'. It also forms an ordinary adjective used as a neuter substantive, *sahas-ēyya-* 'lying together' (*ś-* 'lie').

208. The suffix *-ka* was probably used originally to form adjectives expressive of connexion, but it has become so attenuated in meaning as often to be added to substantives or adjectives without changing the sense; while on the other hand it has become specialized as a suffix forming diminutives. 1. Examples of its significant use are: *anta-ka-* 'making an end' (*anta-*), *rāpa-ka-* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rāp-* 'form'); *asmā-ka-* 'our' (*asmā-* 'us'), *māma-ka-* 'my' (*māma* 'of me'); *ānti-ka-* 'near' (*ānti* 'before'). 2. The suffix appears without changing the meaning in e. g. *dāra-kā-* 'distant' (*dār-* 'far'), *vamra-kā-* 'ant' (*vamr-* 'ant'), *sarva-kā-* (AV.) 'all' (*sarva-*), and in the fem. form of *-kā* in: *avi-kā-* 'ewe' (*dvi-* 'sheep'), *iṣu-kā-* (AV.) 'arrow' (*iṣu-*), *dhenu-kā-* (AV.) 'cow' (*dhenu-*). 3. The diminutive sense appears in e. g. *arbhā-kā-* 'small', *kumāra-kā-* 'little boy', *pāda-kā-* 'little foot', *putra-kā-* 'little son'.² Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed at the same time, as in *anya-kā-* 'other' (*anyā-*), *dā-ka-m* 'in vain' (*dā-m* 'enough').³

a. With Vṛddhi in the first syllable is formed *māma-kā-* 'belonging to me' (*māma*); and with connecting *-i-*: *vārs-i-ka-* (AV. VS.) 'belonging to the rains' (*vārs-*), *vāsant-i-ka-* 'belonging to the spring' (*vāsant-*), and in the fem. *kairāt-ikā-* (AV.) 'relating to the Kirātas'.

209. The rare secondary suffix *-ta* has an ordinal sense in *eka-tā-* (VS.)

¹ This gerundive is probably based on the infinitive *stus-* 'to praise'; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1422 (5).

² The feminine of some of these diminutives is formed with *-ikā*: *iyānt-ikā-* 'so

small', *kumār-ikā-* (AV.) 'little girl', *khānt-ikā-* (AV.) 'mutilated', *lakunt-ikā-* 'little bird', *śit-ikā-* 'cool' (AV. *śit-* 'cold').

³ Cp. WIITENEY 521.

⁴ Beside the more normal *māma-ka-*.

'First', *dvī-tā-* 'Second', *tri-tā-* 'Third' as Proper Names. It also appears in *ava-tī-* 'well' and *muhūr-tī-* 'moment'.

210. With the suffix *-tana* and its syncopated form *-tā* are made, from adverbs or prepositions, a very few adjectives with a temporal sense; *nū-tana-* and *nū-tā-* 'present' (*nū* 'now'), *sanā-tāna-* (AV.) and *sanū-tā-* (AV.) 'eternal' (*sānā* 'from of old'), *prā-tā-* 'ancient' (*prā* 'before').

211. The suffix *-tama* has two uses. It is employed to form superlatives from nominal stems and from the preposition *ūd*; e. g. *puru-tāma-* 'very many', *mādhumat-tāma-* 'very sweet', *rathī-tāma-*¹ 'best charioteer'; *ut-tāma-*² 'highest'. It is also used to form ordinals; e. g. *śata-tāmī-* 'hundredth'.

212. With the suffix *-taya* are formed only two adjectives from numerals in the sense of 'consisting of so many parts': *catur-taya-* (AV.) 'fourfold' and *daśa-taya-* 'tenfold'.

213. The suffix *-tara* is regularly used to form comparatives from adjectives, substantives, or the preposition *ūd*; e. g. *śavās-tara-* 'stronger', *rathī-tara-* 'better charioteer', *vṛtra-tāra-* 'worse Vṛtra'; *ūt-tāra-* 'higher'. It also forms the ordinary adjective *dhvā-tāra-* (RV.) 'diurnal' (*dhvā* 'by day'), and a few substantives in which the meaning of the suffix is somewhat obscure: *afva-tāra-*³ (AV.) 'mule' (f. -ī), *vatsa-tārī-*⁴ 'weaned calf'⁵ (f. -ī).

214. The suffix *-tav-ya*, probably originating from the predicative use of dative infinitives in *-tav-e* and beginning to be used in a gerundive sense, appears only twice in the AV.: *jan-i-tav-yā-* 'to be born' and *hims-i-tav-yā-* 'to be injured'.

215. The suffix *-tā* forms, from adjectives and substantives, some two dozen abstract nouns expressing the sense conveyed by the English suffixes *-ness* and *-ship*; e. g. *bandhū-tā-* 'relationship', *vash-tā-* 'wealthiness'; *agō-tā-* 'lack of cattle', *devī-tā-* 'divinity', *puruṣ-tā-* 'human nature'; *janī-tā-* (AV.) has acquired the concrete sense of 'mankind'⁶. Exceptional formation appears in *mamā-tā-* 'selfishness' and *trī-tā-*⁷ (VS. TS.) 'triad'. This suffix is probably contained in *śū-nī-tā-*⁸ 'gladness' also.

a. The suffixes *-tāti* and *-tāt* are related to *-tā* and have the same sense. With the former are made about a dozen abstract substantives; e. g. *a-riṣṭā-tāti-* 'security', *grbhī-tāti-* 'the being seized', *jyēṣṭhā-tāti-* 'superiority', *devī-tāti-* 'divinity', *vasī-tāti-* 'wealth', *sarvā-tāti-* 'completeness'. The two substantives *śāntī-tāti-* 'good fortune' and *satyā-tāti-* 'truth' also appear as adjectives meaning respectively 'beneficent' and 'truthful'. The suffix *-tāt*, which seems to be an abbreviation of *-tāti* and occurs only in the RV., is employed to form four or five abstract substantives: *uparī-tāt-* 'proximity', *devī-tāt-* 'divine service', *vṛkā-tāt-* 'wolfishness', *sarvā-tāt-* 'completeness'.

216. The suffix *-tva* forms some half dozen adjectives and substantives from prepositions and adverbs. These are *īpa-tva-* n. 'offspring', *amā-tva-* 'companion' (*amā* 'at home'), *āvī-tva-* 'manifest' (*āvī* 'openly'), *nī-tva-* 'foreign' (*nī* 'out'), *śinnu-tva-* 'secret'⁹. This suffix is also added to

¹ Also in the Proper Name *śā-tāma-*.

² The superlatives *śū-tī-tāma-* 'strongest' and *śrabhī-tāma-* 'most fragrant' insert a sibilant before the suffix.

³ Perhaps 'more (like a) horse' (than an ass).

⁴ Probably 'more than a calf'.

⁵ In *rathā-tārī-*, designation of a kind of Saman, in which the case ending of the acc. remains, the second part is doubtless

the verbal *-tara* 'speeding' (*ṛ-* 'cross'). *kāṅtārī-* 'filter' and *kuṅtārī-*, designation of Sambara, are probably formed with *-ā* and Vṛddhi.

⁶ Like 'humanity' in English.

⁷ Also in *trī-tā-tā-* (RV.) 'the threefold flame of three fires'.

⁸ Though it appears also as a neuter *śū-*

śū-tā- 'gladness' and as an adjective 'joyful'.

⁹ Cp. *śinnu-tār* 'aside'.

the substantive *ap-* 'water' to form the two adjectives *ap-tyá-* and *áp-tyá-* 'watery'.

217. With the suffix *-tva* are formed more than thirty abstract substantives with the same sense as those in *-tā*; e.g. *amṛta-tvā-* 'immortality', *aham-uttara-tvā-* (AV.) 'assertion of superiority', *bhrātr-tvā-* 'brotherhood', *maghavat-tvā-* 'liberality', *rakṣas-tvā-* 'sorcery'. The final syllable of the primitive is lengthened in *an-āgās-tvā-* 'sinlessness'; while it is shortened in *sadhani-tvā-*¹ 'companionship'. Owing to the influence of the nominative, *s* is inserted before the suffix in *su-prajā-s-tvā-* 'possession of many children' and with initial *ṽ*ddhi in *sauprajā-s-tvā-*² (AV.) 'possession of good offspring'.

a. The two suffixes *-tā* and *-tva*, identical in meaning, are pleonastically combined in the form of *-tva-tā-* in the two derivatives *iṣita-tvā-tā-* 'excitement', and *puruṣa-tvā-tā-* 'human nature'.

218. The suffix *-tvana*, an extension of *-tva* with *-na*, appears in the formation of some eight neuter abstracts occurring almost exclusively in the RV. These are *kavi-tvanā-* 'wisdom', *jant-tvanā-* 'state of a wife'; *pāti-tvanā-* 'matrimony', *martya-tvanā-* 'the ways of man', *mahi-tvanā-* 'greatness', *vasu-tvanā-* 'wealth', *vṛṣa-tvanā-* 'manliness', *sakhī-tvanā-* 'friendship'. All of these except *martya-tvanā-* have beside them the corresponding abstracts formed with *-tva*³.

219. The suffix *-tha* forms a few ordinals from cardinals, and adjectives from pronominal stems with a general numerical sense. Thus *catur-thā* (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thā* (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *saptā-tha-* 'seventh'; *kati-thi-* 'the how manyth?'

220. The rare secondary suffix *-na* appears in one adjective derived with initial *ṽ*ddhi from a substantive, *strī-ṇa-* 'feminine' (*strī-* 'woman'), and in three adjectives derived from adverbs without any internal change: *purā-ṇi-* 'ancient' (*purā-* 'before'), *viśu-ṇa-* 'various' (*viśu-* 'apart'), *samā-ṇā-* 'like' (*sam-* 'equal').

221. The suffix *-nī* is used to form the feminine of *pāti-* 'lord' and *paruṣ-ī-* 'knotty', as well as of several adjectives in *-ta* denoting colours. Thus *pāti-nī-* 'mistress', *paruṣ-nī-*, as N. of a river. The suffix is substituted for *-ta* in *ś-nī-* 'variegated' (*ś-ta-*), *rāhi-nī-* 'red cow' (*rāhi-ta-* 'red'), *śyē-nī-* 'white cow' (*śyē-tā-* 'white'), *hāri-nī-* 'fallow' (*hāri-ta-*). In a few such words *-nī* is substituted for the final *a*, while *k* takes the place of the *t*⁴: *āsik-nī-* 'black' (*āsi-ta-*), *pālik-nī-* 'grey' (*pāli-tā-*), *hārik-nī-* in the diminutive form *hārikī-ikā-* (AV.) 'yellowish' (*hāri-ta-* 'fallow').

222. The suffix *-bha* forms half a dozen derivatives, all names of animals except one adjective⁵: *ṛṣa-bhā-* and *vṛṣa-bhā-* 'bull', *garāḍa-bhā-* and *rāsa-bhā-*⁶ 'ass', *śara-bhā-* (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eightlegged animal'. The one adjective is *sthūla-bhā-* (AV.) beside *sthūli-* 'big'.

223. The suffix *-ma* forms some eight superlatives, partly from prepositions, and the ordinals from the cardinals for 'five' and 'seven', 'eight', 'nine', 'ten'. The former are: *adha-mā-* 'lowest', *apa-mā-* 'farthest', *ava-mā-* 'lowest',

¹ From *sadha-nī-* ('one who leads with him') 'companion', which is, however, analysed in the Pada text as *sa-dhanī-*.

² *saubhaga-tvā-* 'happiness' is formed from *saubhaga-* 'welfare' = 'condition of welfare', not from *su-bhāga-* 'lucky', from which is formed *subhaga-tvā-* 'welfare'.

³ Cp. LINDNER 26 and 28.

⁴ See BRUGMANN, Morphologische Untersuchungen 2, p. 198, and Grundriss 2, p. 315.

⁵ See BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 203; cp. p. 89, note 2.

⁶ Formed, with *ṽ*ddhi and accented on the initial syllable, from *ṛṣ-* 'roar', 'bray' etc.

upa-má- 'highest', *ánta-má-*¹ 'nearest', *cara-má-* 'last', *para-má-* 'remotest', *madhya-má-* 'middlemost'. The ordinals are: *pañca-mí-* (AV. VS.) 'fifth', *sapta-má-* (VS.) 'seventh', *aṣṭa-má-* 'eighth', *nava-má-* 'ninth', *daśa-mí-* 'tenth'.

224. The suffix *-mant* forms in the Saṃhitās between 80 and 90 possessive adjectives, like the parallel suffix *-vant*², with which it is to some extent interchangeable. Unlike *-vant*, however, it never forms derivatives from stems ending in *-ā* except *kāṃva-mant-* (RV¹) 'prepared by the Kāvvas' and *yáva-mant-* 'rich in barley'. Examples are: *asāni-mant-* 'possessing the thunderbolt', *śyadhī-mant-* (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *krātu-mant-* 'having power', *vadhā-mant-* 'drawn by mares'(?), *hōty-mant-* 'provided with a sacrificer', *gā-mant-* 'rich in kine', *vīrūḥ-mant-* 'gleaming', *garūt-mant-* 'winged'(?), *kakūḍ-mant-*³ 'provided with a hump', *cākṣuṣ-mant-* 'possessed of eyes', *vidyūn-mant-*⁴ 'containing lightning'.

a. A final *-i* is sometimes lengthened: *twiṣ-mant-* 'vehement' (*twiṣ-* 'vehemence'), *dhṛāji-mant-* 'gliding' (*dhṛāji-* = *dhruji-* 'gliding motion'), *hīrī-mant-* 'tawny-horsed' (*hīrī-* = *hīrī-* 'bay steed'); *-i-* is inserted in *jyōtiṣ-mant-* (AV.)⁵ 'full of light' (beside *jyōtiṣ-mant-*), and *s* in *śuci-ṣ-mant-*⁶ 'shining'. In the derivative *susu-mant-* (RV¹) 'very stimulating' the suffix seems to have primary value⁷. The adverb *āsu-mā-* (AV¹), formed from the neuter of this suffix, seems to follow the analogy of adverbs in *-vat* from derivatives in *-vant*.

225. The suffix *-māya* (f. *-i-*) forms fewer than a dozen adjectives with the sense of 'consisting of', 'derived from', 'abounding in'. The suffix *-as* remains unchanged before the *m*, but *d* is assimilated as in external Sandhi. Derivatives thus formed are: *ayas-māya-* 'made of metal', *aśman-māya-* 'made of stone', *kim-māya-* 'consisting of what?', *go-māya-* 'consisting of cattle', *nāḥas-māya-* 'vaporous', *manas-māya-* 'spiritual', *mṛṇ-māya-* 'made of clay' (*mṛd-*), *śaku-māya-* 'arising from dung', *sā-māya-*⁸ 'well-fashioned'.

226. The suffix *-mīn* was most probably due to the derivatives in *-in* from nouns in *-ma*, like *dhūm-in-* 'smoking' (*dhūm-* 'smoke') which are fairly common. It has an independent character, however, in *iṣ-mīn-* 'impetuous' and *ṛg-mīn-*⁹ 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc-*).

227. The rare suffix *-mna* forms a few neuter abstracts from nouns or particles. It seems to be an extension with *-a* of *-man* syncopated like *-tia* for *-tana*. The derivatives formed with it are: *dyu-mna-* 'brightness' (*dyū-* 'sky'), *nṛ-mna-* 'manliness' (*nṛ-* 'man'), *nī-mna-* 'depth' (*nī-* 'down'), *su-mna-* 'welfare' (*su-* 'well').

228. The very common suffix *-yā*¹⁰ forms a large number of adjectives of relation, including a good many patronymics, and abstract substantives. It is pronounced *-iā* nearly four times as often as *-yā*. The feminine is usually *-yā*, both in adjectives and abstract substantives; but in the former it is sometimes *-ī*, as *ār-ī-* and *ār-yā-* 'Āryan', *dātī-ī-*¹¹ and *dātī-yā-* 'divine'.

a. All the patronymics besides a good many general adjectives, and most of the abstract substantives are formed with initial Vrddhi; e. g. *ādīt-yā-* 'Son of Aditi', *sahadev-yā-* 'descendant of Sahadeva'; *grātv-yā-* (AV.) 'relating to the neck' (*grāvī-*), *dātī-yā-* 'divine' (*devī-* 'god'), *prājapat-yā-* (AV.)

¹ Once (L. 165) *anta-mā-*; cp. p. 89, note 3.

² Which is, however, about three times as common.

³ The VS. has *kakūṇ-mant-* as in external Sandhi.

⁴ With assimilated *t* as in external Sandhi.

⁵ Following the analogy of *tācīṣ-mant-* 'strong'.

⁶ Occurring only once in the vocative *śuciṣ-mas*.

⁷ The word is analysed in the Pada text as *susu-mān*.

⁸ This derivative seems to preserve the originally nominal character of this suffix.

⁹ In this derivative the original guttural appears, though it has become sonant as in external Sandhi.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY 1210—1213 (p. 459—466) and JINDNER 36 (p. 138—144).

¹¹ These are evident instances of the reduction of unaccented *yā* to *ī*; cp. 24 a.

'relating to Prajāpati'; *ādhipat-ya-* 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati-* 'lord'), *jānarāj-ya-* (VS.) 'kingship' (*jana-rājan-* 'king of the people'), *vaimanas-yā-* (AV.) 'dejection' (*vi-manas-*), *saṃgrāmajit-ya-* (AV.) 'victory in battle' (*saṃgrāma-jit-* AV.) 'conquering in battle'), *sūvasv-ya-*¹ 'wealth in horses' (*sv-śva-*).

b. Derivatives formed without Vṛddhi are mostly ordinary adjectives, being about four times as numerous as those formed with Vṛddhi. They are made from stems with all kinds of finals. The following are examples: *śva-ya-* 'relating to horses' (*śva-*); *urvar-y-* (VS.) 'belonging to cultivated land' (*urvár-*); *śv-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (*śvi-*); *vāyan-yā-*² 'belonging to wind' (*vāy-*); *nā-ya-* 'manly' (*n-* 'man'); *pitr-ya-* 'belonging to the fathers' (*pit-*); *gāv-ya-* 'derived from cows' (*gā-*); *nāv-yā-* (AV.) 'navigable' (*nā-* 'boat'), *svardj-ya-* 'autocracy' (*sva-rāj-* 'sovereign'); *karman-yā-* 'skilful in work' (*kārman-*), *vīś-ya-*³ 'virile' (*vīśan-* 'male'); *sat-yā-*⁴ 'true' (*sant-*), *prāc-yā-* (AV.) 'eastern' (*prāc-*); *āyus-yā-* (VS. AV.) 'length of life' (*āyus-*).

α. The final *a* is retained before the suffix in *hīranyā-ya-* 'made of gold' (*hīranya-*), while *au* is dropped before it in *aryam-yā-* 'intimate' (*arya-mān-* 'companion'). The suffix is added pleonastically in *avyā-ya-* and *āvyā-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (beside *śv-ya-*) and *gāv-ya-* 'derived from cows' (beside *gā-ya-*); also in forming a few possessive compounds, as *śūhāt-ya-* 'skilful-handed' (beside *śūhāta-*)⁵. It is also used in forming a few governing compounds, as *ādhi-var-ya-* 'being on the driver's seat' (*gāta-*, *abhi-nūh-yā-m*, adv. 'near the clouds' (*nūh-*)).

β. In some adjectives and substantives, the suffix has a primary appearance; e. g. *śū-ya-* 'flower', *yū-ya-* 'related', *mādh-ya-* 'middle', *mār-ya-* 'young man', *sūr-ya-* 'sun', *i. sūr-yā-*⁷ (*sūr-* 'light').

γ. Though as a gerundive suffix *-ya* must be regarded as primary, it is manifestly secondary in certain adjectives which have a gerundive sense; thus *a-vi-mok-yā-* (AV.) 'not to be loosened', *pari-varg-yā-*⁸ (AV.) 'to be avoided'.

δ. Akin to the gerundives are a few abstract feminines in *-yā*; e. g. *kr-t-yā-* 'action', 'enchantment', *vid-yā-*⁹ (AV.) 'knowledge', *deva-yaj-yā-* 'worship of the gods'.

229. The rare suffix *-yin*, like *-in*, forms a few possessive adjectives, all of which except one occur in the VS. They are *ātata-yin-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn' (*ātata-*), *dhanvā-yin-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow' (*dhanvan-*), *marā-yin-*¹⁰ (RV.), N. of a man, *śrka-yin-* (VS.) 'having a spear' (*śrkā-*), *svadhā-yin-*¹¹ (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

230. The suffix *-ra* forms four superlatives from prepositions and about a dozen ordinary nouns, most of which are adjectives. The superlatives are *ādha-ra-* 'lower', *āpa-ra-* 'later', *śva-ra-* 'lower', *ūpa-ra-*¹² 'lower'. The ordinary adjectives formed with the suffix have the sense of 'belonging to' or 'connected with'. It is usually added direct; e. g. *dhūm-rā-* 'grey' (*dhūmā-* 'smoke'), *āśī-rā-* 'ugly', *pāmsu-rā-* 'dusty' (*pāmsū-* 'dust', AV.), and with initial Vṛddhi *agnīdh-rā-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*agnīdh-*). It is added with connecting *i* in *medh-i-rā-* 'wise' (*medhā-* 'wisdom') and *rath-i-rā-* 'riding in a car'. It also occurs in a few substantives, some of which are of

¹ As if from *suśva-*; like *vaiśvā-ś-* 'descendant of Vyaśva'; cp. WHITNEY 1204 b, c.

² With Guṇa of final *-u* as usual before secondary suffixes (190); *prājav-yā-* 'to be partaken of' (*pra-ś-*) and *ūrjav-yā-* 'rich in nourishment' (*ūrj-*) are formed without any primitives *prāju-* and *ūrju-*.

³ With syncope in the suffix of the primitive; cp. 190.

⁴ From the weak stem of the primitive; cp. 190.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY 1212 c.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY 1212 m.

⁷ Cp. WHITNEY 1213 c; and Roots, under *svar-* 'sound'.

⁸ Here the guttural shows that these words are derived from nominal stems *-moka-* and *-varga-*.

⁹ In the RV. only in the compound *jātā-vidyā-* 'knowledge of creatures'.

¹⁰ Perhaps meaning 'brilliant' or, according to Sayana, 'destroying' enemies.

¹¹ The TS. IV. 4. 114 has *svadhā-vin-*.

¹² For *ātata-ra* cp. above p. 90, 39 and note 7.

doubtful etymology: *karmā-ra*¹ 'smith', *muṣka-rā* (AV.), a kind of small animal', *sāmbara*², N. of a demon, *sāṅkurā* (AV.) 'penis', *sahāś-ra* 'thousand'.

231. The suffix *-la* forms about a dozen adjectives with the same meaning as those formed with *-ra*, with which it sometimes interchanges and of which it is generally a later form. Examples are: *aśī-lā* (AV.) 'ugly', *kapī-lā* 'brown', *jīva-lā* (AV.) 'lively', *llrī-lā* 'fertile', *bahu-lā* 'abundant', *madhu-lā* 'sweet', *śvā-lā* (AV.) 'shiny'. This suffix also forms two or three diminutives: *vṛṣa-lā* 'little man', *śiśū-lā* 'little child', and the fem. *śalāka-lā* (AV.) 'small splint'.

232. The suffix *-va* forms a few adjectives: *arṇa-vā* 'billowy', *keśa-vā* (AV.) 'hairy', *añjī-vā* (AV.) 'slippery', *santi-vā* (AV.) 'friendly', *śraddhi-vā* 'credible'.

233. The suffix *-vat* forms seven feminine abstract substantives, with a local sense, from adverbs or prepositions: *arvā-vāt*³ 'proximity', *ā-vāt* (AV.) 'proximity', *ul-vāt* 'height', *nī-vāt* 'depth', *parā-vāt* 'distance', *prā-vāt* 'height', *saṃ-vāt* 'region'.

234. With the suffix *-van*, before which *-a* and *-i* may be lengthened, are formed some twenty derivatives, nearly all adjectives with the sense of 'possessing' or 'connected with'. The adjectives are: *amati-vān* 'indigent', *arāti-vān* 'hostile', *fglā-vān* 'impetuous', *ṛṇā-vān* 'indebted', *dhītā-vān*⁴ 'rich in gifts', *dhi-vān* (AV.) 'clever', *maghā-vān* 'bountiful', *śruṣṭi-vān* 'obedient', *satyā-vān*⁵ (AV.) 'truthful', *samādā-vān* 'warlike', *svadhā-vān*, f. *-vārī*⁶ 'faithful', *hārd-vān* (VS.) 'hearty'; also the feminines *sumnū-vārī* 'bringing favour', *śāṅgī-vārī* 'joyous'. Somewhat anomalously formed are *indhān-vān* 'possessed of fuel' (*indhāna-*), *sahā-vān*⁷ and *śiho-vān*⁸ (AV.) 'mighty'. There are also the substantives *īthar-vān* m. 'fire-priest', *muṣṭi-vān* m. 'robber', and *santī-vān*⁹ 'reward'.

235. The suffix *-vant* forms, from nominal stems of every kind, possessive adjectives numbering at least 250 in the Saṃhitās. A final vowel is often lengthened before the suffix, most frequently *-a*, but very rarely *-u*. Examples are: *keśa-vant* 'hairy', *dēvā-vant* 'possessed of horses' (beside *śvā-vant*); *prajā-vant* 'having progeny'; *sākhi-vant* 'having friends', *śakti-vant* 'mighty' (*śakti-* 'might'); *dyāvā-pṛthivī-vant*¹⁰ (AV.) 'connected with heaven and earth'; *viṣṇu-vant* 'accompanied by Viṣṇu', *viṣṇu-vānt* 'dividing' (*viṣṇu-* 'apart'); *hṛit-vant* 'gold-coloured'; *āsan-vānt* (AV.) 'having a mouth', *śīmaṇ-vānt* and *līma-vānt* (AV.) 'hairy', *śiṣṇā-vānt* (AV.) 'having a head'; *kakūdh-vant* (MS. 1. 11) 'having a peak'; *svār-vant* 'splendid'; *piyas-vant* 'containing milk', *nas-vānt* (AV.) 'having a nose'. With external Sandhi: *pfṣad-vant* 'variegated'¹¹.

a. Some of these derivatives, especially if formed from pronominal stems, have the meaning of 'resembling' instead of 'possessing'; thus *mā-vant* 'like me', *ī-vant* 'so great', *kī-vant* 'how far?', *īndras-vant*¹² 'like Indra', *nīta-vant*

¹ *śvāra* 'treasury' probably stands by haplology for *śvā-vāra*.

² The word occurs in TS. v. (B) as an adjective meaning 'having testicles'.

³ Probably a foreign word.

⁴ From *arva-* 'hither' contained in *arvān-* 'hitherward' and some other derivatives.

⁵ The Pada text has *dhītā-vān*.

⁶ The Pada text has *satyā-vān*.

⁷ The fem. of the secondary *-van* being formed like that of the primary *-van*; see 177 and cp. 179 a.

⁸ The Pada text has *sahā-vān*.

⁹ The only instance of external Sandhi with this suffix.

¹⁰ With *i* interposed, as after short radical vowel preceding primary *-van*; e. g. *śī-i-vān*.

¹¹ Retaining the double accent of the primitive.

¹² In a few derivatives *-vant* has the appearance of a primary suffix: *vivāsvant-* or *vi-vasvant-* 'shining', *dr-vant-* 'swift', *yah-vānt* 'speeding'.

¹³ With the *s* of the nominative.

'blackish', *nr-vānt-* 'manly'. From this sense is derived the use of the neuter acc. as an adverb of comparison, e.g. *manuṣ-vdt* 'like Manus', 'as Manus did'.

236. The very rare suffix *-vaya*, probably a noun in origin, seems to be found only in one numeral adjective, *catur-vaya-* 'fourfold', and one substantive, *dru-vāya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish'.

237. The suffix *-vala* (cp. 179) seems to be used in the formation of secondary derivatives only in *kṛṣi-vali-* 'peasant' (*kṛṣi-* 'tillage') and in the fem. *naḍ-vali-* (VS.) 'reed-bed'.

238. The suffix *-vin* is used in forming nearly twenty possessive adjectives from stems ending in *-a* (which is lengthened), *-ā*¹; *-as*; thus *ubhaya-vin-* 'partaking of both' (*ubhāya-*), *aṣṭra-vin-* 'obedient to the goad', *yaśas-vin-* (AV.) 'beautiful'. To the analogy of the derivatives from stems in *-as* is due the insertion of *s* in *śata-s-vin-* 'possessing a hundred'. The only derivatives from stems ending in any consonant other than *s* are *dhr̥ṣad-vin-* 'bold' (*dhr̥ṣāt-*) and *vāg-vin-* (AV.) 'eloquent' (*vāc-* 'speech'), both formed as in external Sandhi.

239. The only derivative of the suffix *-vya* forming names of relationship which occur in the Sāpṭhitās seems to be *bhrātṛ-vya-* (father's) 'brother's son'².

240. The suffix *-śa* forms eight or nine adjectives or substantives without in most instances changing the original meaning. The adjectives are *śa-śa-* 'variegated', *bāhlu-śa-* (VS.) 'brownish', *yuva-śa-* 'youthful', and with possessive sense *roma-śa-* 'hairy'. The substantives are *aṅku-śa-* m. 'hook', *kāśma-śa-* (AV.) m. or n. 'stupefaction' (?), *kālī-śa-* m. 'jar', *turva-śa-*, N. of a man, *lopa-śa-*³ m. 'jackal'.

V. COMPOUNDS.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 245—282. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1246—1316. — KRUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer Betonung nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik, 2¹, Nominalkomposition, 1905: cp. BARTHOLOMÆ, IF. 20, 162—172 (Anzeiger).

241. Form of compounds. — The Vedic language has inherited from the Indo-European speech the power of combining words into a compound treated like a simple word as regards accent, inflexion, and construction. Both in the frequency and the length of compounds the Vedic language resembles that of Homer. In the RV. and the AV. no compounds of more than three independent members occur; and those which consist of three members are rare, such as *ādabdhā-vrata-pramati-* 'superior-minded owing to unbroken observances', *pūrvā-kāma-kṛtvān-* 'fulfilling former wishes', *mitho-avadya-pa-* 'mutually warding off want', *hṛī-manyu-sāyaka-* 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

The two characteristic features of a compound are unity of accent and use of the uninflected stem in the first member (or members). There are, however, exceptions to both these rules. The Sandhi between the two numbers is occasionally different from that between words in a sentence. Occasionally also tmesis of a compound occurs⁴. Generally speaking a

¹ The doubtful word *vy-ānuv-in-* (VS¹) seems to add *-in* to the present stem with interposed euphonic *-v-*.

² *pitr-vya-* 'father's brother', 'uncle', occurs in the later language.

³ Cp. GUSTAV MEYER, IF. 1, 328.

⁴ Frequently in dual compounds, as *dyāvā ha kṛmā* 'heaven and earth'; occasionally in others also, as *śinul cic chīpam* for *śināḥ-īpam*; *nārū vā sāmsam* for *nārū-sāmsam*; *saptā me saptā* for *saptā-sapta me*.

compound assumes a modified and single meaning as compared with the same words used in juxtaposition in a sentence; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-sakunt-* (AV.) 'raven', while *kṛṣṇāḥ sakuntīḥ* would mean 'black bird'. Compounding must take place when a derivative has to be formed from the two words; as *kṣātrapat-ya-* 'property' beside *kṣātrasya pāti-* 'lord of the field'. Sometimes, however, the case-ending remains while the compound accent is used, as *rāyas-poṣa-dī-* 'bestowing abundance of wealth', beside *rāyāḥ poṣa-* 'abundance of wealth'. There is a tendency to compounding when the first of two syntactical words is indeclinable. Thus beside *sām yās* 'happiness and welfare' also appears *sām-yās* (I. 34⁶); and analogously the indeclinable form or stem of a word takes the place of the case¹. Sometimes compounds are formed by the coalescence of inflected words occurring side by side in a sentence. Thus *viśvāha* (TS.) 'all days' beside *īha viśvā* (RV.) has become *viśvāha* 'daily' with a single accent. Occasionally, when two compounds have the same final member, the latter is used only once, as *mitrāṭī² mēdhyātīṭhim* (I. 36⁷) for *mitrāṭīṭhim uti mēdhyātīṭhim*; *patayān mandayāt-sakham* (I. 47) for *patayāt-sakham mandayāt-sakham*. Sometimes one of the members of a compound governs a case³ outside the compound, as *ārvato māṃsu-bhīkṣām* (I. 162¹²) 'begging for the flesh of the steed'; in some instances pleonastically, as *gaṇānān gaṇā-patim* (II. 23¹) 'troop-leader of troops'. A case-form may agree with the first member of a compound when that member has the form or even only the sense of that case, as *rāyās-kāmo viśvāpsnyasya* (VII. 42⁶) 'desirous of wealth of all forms'; or a case-form may agree with the second member, while coordinated in sense with the first, as *mahā-dhanā . . ārbhe* (I. 7⁵) 'in great booty (and) in small'.

a. The gender of compounds is, in Copulatives (Dvandvas) and Determinatives (Tatpuruṣas) ending in substantives, that of the last member⁴; but collective compounds are regularly neuter⁵. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds have the gender of the substantives with which they agree or which they represent. The number in Determinatives is that of the last member. In Copulatives of the older types it is dual or plural according to the total number meant by the combination, while it is singular (and neuter) in the later type. Collective compounds (whether copulatives or possessives) are singular. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds, have the number of the substantive with which they agree or which they represent.

A. The First Member of Compounds.

242. Its form. — The first member of nominal compounds may consist of nouns (including numerals and pronouns) or indeclinables suitable for qualifying nouns. Exceptionally an inflected form appears in this position qualifying the second member in dependent determinatives and possessives. This is mainly due to words frequently in juxtaposition becoming permanently joined; thus beside the two independent words *jīś pātīḥ* (VII. 38⁶) 'lord of the family'

¹ Thus for *viṣṇoḥ kramā-* (AV. TS.) 'step of Viṣṇu' there appears in a B. passage of the TS. (V. 2. 1⁴) the compound *viṣṇu-kramā-*, and a few Determinatives change the gender of the final member, as *patnī-īdā-* (VS.) n. (īdā-) 'shed for the wives (of sacrificers)'

² The Pada text reads *mitrā uti*, (īdā-) and *āgra-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue' (jihvā-).

³ This seems to be almost restricted to the genitive in the Samhitās, but many examples of other cases (acc., inst., dat., abl.) occur in the later language.

⁴ In a few Dvandvas the gender of the

⁵ Both Dvandvas (266) and Bahuvrīhis (290).

we find the compound *jās-pātim* (i. 185⁸)¹. But it partly also arises from a desire to express the syntactical relation of the words in the compound even without antecedent juxtaposition; as in the verbal determinatives *dhanam-jayā-* 'winning booty', *apsu-śād-* 'dwelling in waters'; or in possessives like *rāyās-kāma-* 'desirous of wealth'. Such case-endings show a tendency to encroach beyond their legitimate sphere; thus the frequency of the ending *-as* before *-pāti-*, e. g. *vāc-ds-pāti-* 'lord of speech', led to its becoming the general genitive sign before that word, as in *rātha-s-pāti-* 'lord of the car' (*rātha-*). Similarly, according to *apsu-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in the waters' was formed *apsu-jī-t-* beside *ab-jī-t-* 'winning waters', where the locative is not appropriate. Ordinarily the first member appears only in its stem form. As the stem cannot express number it may mean either the singular or the plural. That it often indicates the plural is shown by expressions like *narām* or *jānānām nr-pāt-* 'manguardian of men' or 'people'. The plural sense is also evident in compounds like *devā-kṛta-* 'made by the gods', *virā-jāta-* 'produced by men', *nr-pāti-* 'lord of men'. In personal pronouns and cardinals the number is of course inherent in the stem itself.

a. The gender is expressed in the first member only in as far as feminine words retain their f. stem when coordinated in copulatives or dependent on the final member in the sense of a case in determinatives; e. g. *pātni-śīla-* (VS.) 'shed for wives'. The f. suffix *-ā* is, however, often shortened to *a*², as in *amīva-hān-* 'destroying suffering', *amīva-lītana-* 'dispelling suffering' (*āmīva-*). But when a feminine adjective as first member agrees attributively with a feminine in the last member, it appears in the masculine stem-form³; e. g. *prīyato-dakṣiṇa-* 'one by whom a sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇā-*) has been presented'⁴.

243. If the stem is liable to gradation, that form is used which occurs in the weak cases. Thus in the vowel stems *-i*, *-u*, *-r*, appear; e. g. *pāti-jūta-* 'dear to a husband', *vasu-vid-* 'finding wealth', *pitr-yajñā-* 'sacrifice to the manes'. Similarly *dyu-* (*dīu-*) 'heaven' appears before consonants, as *dyu-ksī-* 'dwelling in heaven', *dyū-bhukta-* 'presented by heaven', but *div-* before vowels, as *div-kt-* 'going to heaven', *div-iṣṭi-* 'prayer'. The two stems *dāru-* 'wood' and *āp-* 'water' are reduced to *dru-* and *ap-*: *dru-pād-* 'wooden pillar', *dru-śād-* 'sitting on the tree'; *ap-tīr-* 'overcoming the waters', *ab-jī-* 'derived from waters'. The stem *pūmāns-* 'man' appears in the weak form *pūms-* in *pūms-cālī-* (VS. AV.) and *pūms-cālī-* (VS.) 'courtesan' ('running after men').

a. Stems in *-an* have *-a* not only before consonants⁵, but also before vowels⁶ and *y*, *v*⁷; e. g. *rāja-putrī-* 'king's son', *ukṣāna-* 'devouring bulls' (*ukṣān-*), *āsmāya-* 'whose mouth is a rock' (*āsmān-*), *brāhmeddha-* 'kindled with devotion' (*brāhman-*), *brahmaudand-* (AV.) 'boiled rice (*odand-*) for Brāhmins' (*brāhman-*). Exceptions, however, are *nemann-ś-* 'following the lead', *ryśan-aśvā-* 'drawn by stallions', *vśśan-vasu-* 'having great wealth'⁸.

b. Stems in *-in* seem to follow the same analogy, dropping the *-n* before consonants; thus *śāci-gu-* (only voc.) 'having strong cattle' and *śāci-pūjana-* (only voc.) 'worshipping the strong'⁹.

¹ The compounding of such forms probably often started from vocatives like *sahasas putra* treated as a unit in regard to accent.

² This, however, seems to be due to metrical influence.

³ An exception in *urvy-āti-* 'giving wide aid', where the f. stem *urv-* appears instead of the m. *urī-*.

⁴ In *bṛhāc-chandas-* (AV.) 'having Bṛhati Indo-ariſche Philologie. I. 4.

as metre' and *jāyac-chandas-* (AV. VS.) 'having Jagat as metre', the first members doubtless represent neuter names of the metres.

⁵ As in *rāja-bhis* etc.

⁶ Unlike *rāj-ī-* etc.

⁷ Not *-an* as in *rājan-yā-*, *udan-vānt-*.

⁸ In *āśānu-īgu-* 'having arrows in his mouth' the first member is a locative.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 54 β, note.

c. Occasionally the weak grade stem used as first member does not occur as an independent word; thus *kṣi-pāvant-* and *kṣa-pāvant-* 'earth-protector' from *kṣām-* 'earth'; *jñu-bādh-* 'bending the knee' from *jñu-* 'knee'; *man-dhāt-* 'devout man' from *mān-as-* 'mind' (through **manu-*), *sāt-pati-* 'lord of the abode', probably from *sād-as-* 'abode' (through **sats-*).

204. When in the inflexion of a word two or more collateral stems (not differing in gradation only) are used, the one which appears in weak cases is mostly employed as first member in compounds. 1. Even though the stem *ās-yā-* 'mouth' is inflected throughout, the alternative stems of weak cases *ās-* and *āsan-* are preferred: *ā-daghnā-* 'reaching to the mouth', *āśmī-īṣu-*¹ 'having arrows in his mouth'. 2. *udān-*² 'water' is preferred to *uda-kā-*³; *uda-grābhā-* m. 'holding water', *uda-pi-* (AV.) 'purified by water', *uda-meghā-* 'water-shower'; *uda-kā-* appears only in *udūkātman-*⁴ (AV.) 'having water for its chief substance'. 3. Of the three stems *pānthān-*, *paṭh-*, *pāth-*, only the middle one, which appears before consonant endings, is used: *paṭhi-kṛt-* 'path-making', *paṭhi-rākṣi-* 'protecting roads'. 4. *sākan-*⁵ is preferred to *sikṛt-* 'dung': *saka-dhūma-* (AV.) 'dung-smoke', *saka-piṇḍ-* (VS.) 'lump of dung', *sāka-pāta-* ('purified by dung'), N. of a seer. 5. *śirsān-* is preferred to *śiras-* 'head': *śirṣa-kapāl-* (AV.) 'skull', *śirṣa-bhāyā-* (AV.) n. 'head-splitting', *śirṣa-mayā-* (AV.) m. 'disease (*āmaya-*) of the head'. 6. There is fluctuation between *pād-* and *pāda-* 'foot', *māṃs-*⁶ and *māṃsā-* 'flesh', *hṛd-* and *hṛāyā-* 'heart': *pād-ghoṣā-*⁷ (AV.) 'sound of footsteps', but *pāda-gṛhya-*, ger. 'seizing by the foot'; *māṃs-pīcana-* 'used for cooking flesh', but *māṃsa-bhīksā-* 'begging for flesh', *hṛd-rogā-* 'heart-disease', but *hṛdayā-vidh-* 'wounding the heart'⁸.

245. Alternative adjective stems sometimes appear in the first member of compounds. Thus in the RV. *mahi-* interchanges with *mahā-*⁹ 'great' in Karmadhārayas and Bahuvrīhis, as *māhi-kṣātra* 'owning great sway', but *mahā-dhān-* 'great booty', *mahā-manas-* 'great-minded'¹⁰. A few stems in *-i* appear instead of or interchanging with others in *-ra*: *ṛjī-* in *ṛjī-pyā-* and the Proper Names *ṛjī-śvan-*¹¹ beside *ṛjrd-* 'quick' in *ṛjrd-śva-* ('having quick horses'), N. of a man; **dabhi-* in *dabhī-* (for **dabhi-iti-*) 'injurer', beside *dabhrā-* 'small' in *dabhrā-cetas-* 'of little wit'; *svīti-* in *svīti-āñc-*¹² 'bright', beside *svītrā-* (AV.) 'white'; *saci-* in *saci-vid-* 'belonging together', beside *ī-sk-ra-*¹³ 'united'; perhaps also *-kravi-* for **kruvi-* in *ī-kravi-hasta-* 'not having bloody hands', beside *krū-vid-*¹⁴ (AV.) 'bloody'.

a. A few adjective stems in *-i* used as first member neither occur as un compounded adjectives nor have corresponding adjective stems in *-ra*: *tuvi-jātā-* 'mightily born', *tuvi-gṛhā-* 'strong-necked', *tuvi-śyas-* 'very strong'; *gabhi-pāk* (AV.) 'deep down'.

¹ See above p. 145, note 8.

² Inst. sing. *udā*, pl. *udā-bhis*.

³ Nom. n. acc. *udūkām*.

⁴ With irregular accent; cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 56, note.

⁵ Inst. *sāka-bhis* (TS.), nom. acc. *sikṛt*.

⁶ Beside *vand-* 'wood' (which is fully inflected and appears in *vandā-dhīti-* 'layer of wood'), the stem *vau-* (gen. *van-ām*, loc. *vam-sū*) is perhaps used in *vam-saya-* 'bull', *vandhīra-* 'car-seat', and *vand-* 'devouring wood' (?).

⁷ Perhaps in *pād-gṛbhi-*, N. of a man or demon, if *pād-* = *pād-*, cp. WACKER-NAGEL 1, 148 a.

⁸ On the other hand, of the alternative stems *āṣṣ-* and *āsān-* 'blood', only the nom. acc. form is used; e. g. *āṣṣ-pāvan-* (AV.) 'drinking blood', *āṣṣ-mukha-* (AV.) 'bloody-faced'.

⁹ *mahā-* being the m., *mahi-* the n. nom. acc. stem, beside the weak dat. *mah-ē* etc.

¹⁰ The AV. has the stem *mahāt-* in the Karmadhāraya *mahāt-kāṇḍ-*, 'great section'.

¹¹ Perhaps also in *ṛjīti-* (= *ṛjī-iti-*), cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 59.

¹² Cp. *hīti-pād-* 'white-footed', *hīti-gṛbha-* 'white-backed'.

¹³ From *sac-* 'be attached' with syncope.

¹⁴ Cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 59.

246. Extension of the stem sometimes takes place in the first member. The commonest addition is *-a* owing to the frequency of that ending: *dur-a-dābhnd-* (AV.) 'eluding doors', *asvin-a-krta-* (VS.) 'done by the Āsvins'; *vīśvajas-*¹ (VS.) 'ruling the people'; *ṣaṭ-a-rcā-*² (AV.) 'collection of six verses'. An *a*-stem becomes one in *-as* in *yakṣmo-dhī-* (AV.) 'seat of a disease' (*yakṣma-*). An extension with *-d* appears in *śatā-d-vasu-*³ 'having a hundred (*śatā-*) treasures', and in *ām-atiā-bhūta-*⁴ 'unsurpassed'.

a. Shortening of the stem sometimes takes place by the dropping of a final *t* or *s* (preceded by *a*) or of the vowel *-a*; thus *pr̥sodarā-* (TS. v. 6. 14¹) 'having a spotted (*pr̥sat-*) belly' (*udīra-*); *apna-rū-* 'ruling over riches' (*āpnas-*); *bhar-iṣḍ-*⁵ (iv. 40²) 'desiring booty' (*bhāra-*); *tīl-pīṅja-* (AV.) 'barren sesamum' (*tīl-*); *śas-pīṅjara-* (TS. iv. 5. 2¹) 'reddish like grass' (*śas-*), may also be an example, but it is more probably a modification of *śas-pīṅjara-* (VS. xvi. 17) by haplology for **śaspa-pīṅjara-*.

247. Adverbs often occur as first member of compounds. In several instances a nominal stem in *-a* represents an adverbial case (acc., inst., abl., loc.) formed from that stem; thus *nītya-vatsa-* 'having a calf continually' (*nītyam*); *satya-yāj-* 'sacrificing truly' (*satyam*), *samantī-ṣīti-bāhu-* (VS.) 'whose forefeet are white all round' (*samantīm*); *sana-jā-* 'born of old' (= *sanā* or *sanāt*); *upāki-cakṣas-* 'visible from near at hand' (*upāke* 'near'). Occasionally a nominal stem which has no separate existence is abstracted from the adverb; thus *arī-manas-* 'ready-minded' (from *āram* 'ready'), *arī-mati-* 'suitable prayer', *abhyardha-yājvan-* 'offering apart' (*abhyardhis*). A cardinal is sometimes thus used instead of its adverb: *try-ārūṣa-* 'reddish in three places' (*tri-s*), *dvi-jā-* (AV.) 'born twice' (*dvi-s*).

248. The case-ending is also preserved in several instances; thus *aram-kṛt-* 'preparing', *sākam-līks-* 'sprinkling together', *sākam-yūj-* 'joined together' (*sākam*), *sāyam-bhavad-* (AV.) 'becoming evening'; *paścā-dosā-* (VS.) 'late evening'. Adverbs that are neither case-forms nor look like them regularly remain unchanged; thus *akṣayā-drūh-*⁶ 'injuring wrongly'; *itthā-dhī-* 'truly devout'; *idā-vatsarā-* (VS. AV.) 'the present year', a particular kind of year; *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself', *punar-bhū-* 'arising again'; *viśvāto-dhī-* 'observing in all directions', *viśu-rūpa-* 'coloured variously' (*viśu-*), *viśu-vṛt-* 'rolling in various directions'. A nasal is added in *makṣu-m-gamā-* 'approaching quickly' (*makṣā*).

249. Prepositions frequently occur as the first member of a compound. 1. Owing to their originally adverbial character they may qualify ordinary adjectives or substantives like adverbs; thus *īti-kr̥ṣṇa-* (VS.) 'excessively dark', *vī-mahr-* 'very great'; *prā-napat-* 'great grandson', *vī-vāc-* 'opposing shout'; and in Bahuvrīhis: *prā-śr̥ṅgī-* (VS.) 'having prominent horns', *vy-āṃsa-* 'having shoulders wide apart'.

2. Owing to their constant connexion with verbs they are very common before verbal nouns; e. g. *īpa-śtu-* and *īpa-stuti-* 'invocation'; *purā-hīta-* 'domestic priest'.

3. Owing to their frequent connexion with cases, they also appear in a governing sense; e. g. *idhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *anu-pathā-* 'following the path'.

¹ For *vīśa-ajas-* like (AV. VS.) *satya-ajas-* (= *satya-ajas-*) instead of *vīśa-ajas-*.

² Like *pañcarat-* = *pañca-rcā*.

³ Influenced by the analogy of *pañcāśād-* 'ṣo' etc., and *vidā-d-vasu-*, etc.

⁴ Due to a confusion of **ati-bhūta-* = *ati-bhūta-* 'surpassed' and *dābhūta-* 'marvellous'.

⁵ According to the analogy of *gav-iṣḍ-* 'desiring cows'.

⁶ *akṣayā-yāvan-* 'going across' stands by haplology for **akṣayā-yāvan-*. Cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 128 d.

a. Prepositions as first member sometimes appear in a shortened form; thus *bhi-* in *bhi-sāj-*²; 'healer'; *o-* = *ava* in *o-pānā-* ('away from the crowd') 'isolated', 'wretched', and in *o-pāśā-* 'top-knot' ('that which is tied down', from *paś-* 'fasten'). On the other hand, *ānu* several times appears lengthened to *ānu-*; thus *an-ānu-byud-* 'inimitable', *an-ānu-dā-* 'not giving way', *an-ānu-dīṣa-* 'unsolicited', *an-ānu-bhūti-* 'disobedient', *ānu-jā-* 'in constant succession'.

250. *Sam* and *sa-*. — The preposition *sām* is of very common occurrence as first member. This is its form invariably before vowels, and when accented originally always before consonants. Its unaccented form *sa-* (= *sam-*) should phonetically always appear before consonants. But the proper use of *sām-* and *sa-* before consonants has begun to be confused.

a. In determinatives (1) when the final member is a verbal noun *sam-* always appears before a vowel, as *sam-anē-* (AV.) 'hook' (from *anē-* 'bend'), *sam-idh-* 'fuel'; and *sām-* if accented predominates¹ before consonants, being phonetic; e. g. *sām-gati-* f. 'coming together', *sām-dhāt-* 'one who puts together', *sām-prkta-* 'mixed'. *sā-*, however, also occurs in *sā-gāhī-* (VS. MS.) f. 'eating together', *sā-cyuti-* (MS. II. 7¹²) 'falling together', *sā-pīti-* (VS. MS.) f. 'drinking together', *sā-hūti-* f. 'joint invocation'.

(2.) *sa-* is preserved before accented verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without *-t*, or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-van*, *-in*; thus *sa-cit-* 'thinking', *sa-bīdh-* (TS. III. 2. 12¹) 'oppressed', *sa-yūj-* 'united', *sa-vṛdh-* 'increasing together', *sa-sībh-* (TS. IV. 3. 12²), a kind of metre, *sa-syād-* 'streaming together'⁴; *sa-kṣt-* 'dwelling together', *sa-srī-* 'streaming'⁵; *sa-gm-* (VS.) 'coming to terms', *sa-jāsa-* 'unanimous', *sa-mādana-* 'conflict'⁶; *sa-yā-van-* 'going along with', *sa-yūj-van-* 'united with', *sa-sthā-van-* 'standing together', *sa-jt-t-van-* 'victorious'; *sa-vās-in-* (AV.) 'dwelling together'⁷.

(3.) Before ordinary adjectives *sam-* appears in *sām-vasu-* 'fellow-dweller', *sām-miśla-* 'commingling', *sām-priya-* (VS.) 'loving one another', and even when unaccented before ordinary substantives in *sam-vaśarī-* 'year', *sam-grāmī-* (AV.) 'assembly', but *sa-pātni-* 'co-wife'.

b. In Bahuvrhis when the meaning is (1) 'together' (as in the verbal use of the preposition) *sam-* appears, as *sām-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together', *sam-gavī-* m. '(time when the) cows (are driven) together', and (as usual before vowels) *sam-udrī-* m. 'sea'. But when the meaning is (2) 'united with', 'accompanied by' what is expressed by the final member, *sa-* is almost exclusively used (and nearly always even accented)⁸, as *sā-ctas-* 'accompanied by intelligence', 'rational'; *sam-* occurs here only in *sām-sahasra-* 'accompanied by a thousand', and in *sām-pātni-* (AV.) 'accompanied by her husband'⁹. In this sense *sam-* still appears before vowels in *sām-agra-* and *sam-agrī-* (AV.) ('including the top'), 'complete', *sām-aṅga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by all limbs'¹⁰, 'complete', *sām-āsī-* 'accompanied by mixture', 'mixed'; but even here *sa-* once in the RV. takes the place of *sam-* in the compound *sāsana-* (x. 90¹)

¹ The initial *a-* of some other prepositions is lost in the later language: *pi-* = *api-* (SB.); *dhi-* = *adhi-* and *va-* = *ava-* are post-Vedic.

² See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 72 s. and cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 25, 214, note.

³ *sam-* occurs more than three times as often as *sa-* before consonants, doubtless owing to the parallel use of *sam-* with verbs.

⁴ But also *sam-gī-* 'assenting', *sam-ydi-* 'contiguous'.

⁵ But also *sam-jt-* 'conqueror', *sam-hd-* 'layer'.

⁶ But also *sam-gamā-* 'coming together', *sam-craṇa-* 'suitable for walking on'.

⁷ With verbal nouns otherwise formed, as with *-tra* or *-na* only *sam-* occurs, as *sam-hotrā-* 'joint sacrifice', *sam-śraśni-* 'interrogation'.

⁸ With the usual Bahuvrhi accent on the first member.

⁹ In order to distinguish this sense from that of *sa-pātni-* 'co-wife'.

¹⁰ Cp. also the adv. *sam-antā-m* (AV.) 'including the ends', 'completely'.

'provided with food' (*śāna-*), 'eating', and becomes common in the later Saṃhitās; e. g. *sānga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the limbs' (*āṅga-*), *sāntaradeśa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the intermediate quarters' (*antar-deśi-*). — When the meaning is (3.) 'in common', 'same', 'identical' ¹ *sa-*² is very common before consonants, as *sā-ketu-* 'having the same intention', *sā-lakṣman-* 'having the same characteristics'; while *sam-* appears only in *sam-śīṣṭvart-* 'having a calf in common', *sām-manas-* (AV.) 'being of the same mind', unanimous', *sām-mātṛ-* 'having the same mother'. In this sense *sam-* alone appears (as usual) before vowels: *sām-anta-* 'contiguous' ('having the same boundary'), *sām-okas-* 'having a common abode', 'living together'.

251. Particles, which for the most part have no independent existence, frequently appear as first member of compounds.

1. The negative particle, the form of which in the sentence is *na*, almost invariably appears in composition as *a-*³ before consonants, and invariably as *an-* before vowels. It completely reverses the meaning of the final member; thus *mitrī-* 'friend', *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *śasti-* 'praise', *i-śasti-* 'curse'⁴. As participles, infinitives, and gerunds are nominal forms, they may be compounded with the privative particle: thus *i-bibhyat-* 'not fearing', *i-budhya-māna-* 'not waking', *i-dāsyant-* (AV.) 'not about to give', *i-vidvāṃs-* 'not knowing'⁵. The syntactical form of the particle is very rare: *na-murā-* (AV.) 'non-dying' (?)⁶. Perhaps also in *nā-pāt-* 'grandson', if it originally meant 'un-protected'⁷.

2. *su-* 'well', 'very', except in the RV. very seldom used independently⁸, and *dus-* 'ill', 'hardly', which occurs as a prefix only, appear as first member in determinatives and possessives; e. g. *su-kīra-* 'easy to be done', *sū-kyta-* 'well-done', *su-dā-* 'giving willingly', *su-vasand-* 'fair raiment', *su-varṇā-* 'fair-coloured', *sv-śva-* 'having excellent horses'; *dū-dā-* (AV.) 'not-worshipping', 'irreligious', *dus-eyavand-* 'difficult to be felled', *dur-vāsas-* 'having bad clothing', 'ill-clad'; *dur-āhā* (AV.) 'wail!' is formed as an antithesis to *sv-āhā* 'hail!'.⁹

3. There are a few prefixes beginning with *k-* which seem to be etymologically connected with the interrogative, and express depreciation, badness, or difficulty: *ku-*⁹ in *ku-carā-* 'wandering about', *ku-nakṣin-* (AV.) 'having diseased nails', *ku-nannamā-* 'hard to bend', *kū-yava-* (VS.) 'bringing bad harvest'¹⁰; *kad-* in *kat-payā-* 'swelling horribly'; *kim-* in *kiṃ-īlī-* (VS. TS. MS.) (land) 'having small stones', *kim-puruṣā-*, a kind of mythical being ('some-what like a man'); a collateral form *kavā-* perhaps in *kavāri-* 'stingy', *kavā-sakhī-* 'selfish'¹¹.

4. The particles *-id* and *-cid* make their way into the first member of compounds in the company of pronominal words to which they may be

¹ *samāna-* is also used in this sense: as *samāna-bandhū-* 'having the same relatives'.

² *sa-* has the sense of 'one' in *sāhmi-* (AV.) 'lasting one day', *sa-śī-* 'once', *sa-divas* and *sa-dyā-* 'on one and the same day'.

³ This is the low-grade form (= *ṇ-*) of *nā-*.

⁴ It frequently reverses the pregnant sense of the final member, as *vi-śastī-* '(good) dissector', *a-vidvā-* 'bad dissector'.

⁵ See KNAUER, Ueber die Betonung der composita mit a privativum im Sanskrit, KZ. 27, 1—68; examples from the later Saṃhitās in DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 540 f., Syntaktische Forschungen 2, p. 530 f.

⁶ *nā-pūṃsa-ka-* 'neuter' also occurs in MS. and SB.

⁷ See LEUMANN, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, p. 77 f. For a few other doubtful compounds with *na-* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 78, note.

⁸ *si-* occurs as an independent particle about 250 times (but never at the beginning of a sentence) in the RV., rarely in the later Saṃhitās: only 14 times in AV.

⁹ Often in adverbs such as *kū-tas* 'whence', *kū-tra* 'where'.

¹⁰ On a few doubtful compounds with *ku-*, see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 83, note.

¹¹ Also in *kāvā-tīryah-* (TS.) 'directed somewhat across'.

appended; thus *tad-īd-artha-* 'directed to that particular object'; *kā-cit-karā-* 'effecting all manner of things'; *kā-cid-arthīn-* 'striving to get anywhere', *kuha-cid-vid-* 'wherever being'.

5. A few interjectional or onomatopoeic words are compounded with *kāra-* and *-kṛti-* 'making' = 'sound', 'utterance', or *-kartṛ-* 'maker', to express the actual phonetic sound of those words: thus *vaṣaṭ-karā-* (AV. VS.) 'the interjection *vaṣaṭ*', *svadhā-karā-* 'pronouncing (the benediction) *sva-dhā*', *svāhā-kṛti-* 'consecration with the call *svāhā*', *hii-kartṛ-* (TS.) 'one who utters the sound *hii*', *hii-kāri-* (VS.) 'the sound *hii*'. In *has-kartṛ-* 'enlivener', *has-kṛtṛ-* 'laughter', *hās-kṛti-* 'loud merriment', the first member represents either an interjection connected with the verb *has-* 'laugh', or a reduced form of **hasas-* 'laughter' (like *sīt-pati-* for *sīdas-pati-* through **sīt-s-pati-*).

B. The Last Member of Compounds.

252. Its form. — Practically all nouns may appear in this position. But many verbal nouns, especially participles, if used in their primary sense, are found exclusively after indeclinables which are capable of being combined with the corresponding verbs. Some stems also occur as final members though not used independently; such are verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without an added determinative *-t*; also derivatives like *-janīna-* (AV.) 'belonging to the people (*jāna-*) of —'.

a. Change of ending. — When the gender of the final member is changed, the *-ā* of feminine words, even though radical, becomes *-a* in masculine or neuter compounds; thus *priyosriyā-* 'fond of cows' (*usriyā-*); *an-avasā-* 'restless' (from *ava-si-* 'rest'), *a-braddhī-* 'unbelieving' (from *brad-dhī-* 'belief'), *ṛtī-jyā-* 'well-strung' (from *jyā-* 'bowstring'). Even *-ī* in a few instances becomes *-a*; thus *ati-rātrī-* 'performed overnight' and *aho-rātrī-* 'day and night' (*rātrī-*); *api-sarvarī-* 'early in the morning' and *ati-sarvarī-* or *ati-sarvarīṣu* (AV.) 'late at night' (*sīrvarī-*).

On the other hand m. and n. stems in *-a* regularly end in *-ā* in the feminine, as *cittī-garbhā-* 'having evident offspring' (*gṛbhā-* m.); and *pāti-* 'husband' in f. possessives substitutes *-patnī-*; thus *eka-patnī-* (AV.) 'having a single husband', *dās-patnī-* 'having demons as lords', *sa-patnī-* 'having one husband in common', *sīm-patnī-* (AV.) and *sahī-patnī-* (AV.) 'having her husband with her', *su-patnī-* 'having a good husband'; also in the determinative *vīrī-patnī-* 'wife of a hero'.

253. Alternative stems. — When in the inflexion of a word alternative stems are used, only one of these, and as a rule the older one, appears as final member of possessive compounds: thus *dānt-* 'tooth' (not *dānta-*) in *śatī-dānt-* (AV.) 'hundred-toothed', *śīcī-dānt-* 'bright-toothed'; *pād-* 'foot' (not *pāda-*): *a-pād-* 'footless', *uttānī-pad-* 'whose feet are extended', *eka-pād-*¹ 'one-footed'; *nās-* 'nose' (not *nāsā-*) in *fjū-nas-*² 'straight-nosed', N. of a man³; *ūdhan-* 'udder' (not *ūdhar-*) in *an-ūdhān-*⁴ 'udderless', *rapśīd-ūdhan-* 'having a distended udder', f. *a-śchīdrodhnī-* 'having an intact udder'; *dhanvan-* 'bow' (not *dhanus-*) in *abalī-dhanvan-* (AV.) 'having a weak bow', *dvatata-dhanvan-* (VS.) 'having an unstrung bow', *ksīprī-dhanvan-* 'having a swift bow', *śatī-*

¹ The AV., however, has the nom. sing. *eka-pāda-*.

² According to BLOOMFIELD also in *rujānās*, for *rujānānīs* 'broken-nosed'; see p. 59, note 1.

³ According to WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 92 (top), *a-nāsikā-* occurs in TS. (VII. 5. 12¹).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 93, note.

dhannvan- (VS.) 'having a hundred bows'¹; *śirśān-* 'head' (not *śiras-*) in *a-śirśān-* 'headless', *tri-śirśān-* 'three-headed'², f. *rūru-śirśān-t-* 'having the head of a Ruru antelope'³; *hṛd-* 'heart' (not *hṛdaya-*) in its long-grade form *-hṛd-* in *dur-hṛd-* (AV.) 'ill-disposed' and *su-hṛd-* 'good-hearted'.

a. Sometimes an alternative stem is used which has not been preserved as an independent word; thus *jñu-* 'knee' (weak form of *jānu-*) in *astīd-jñu-* (AV.) 'dark-kneed', *mitā-jñu-* 'firm-kneed'⁴; an old stem *-medhas-* in *su-medhās-* 'wise' and *puru-medhās-* (SV.) 'wise' beside the regular compounds in *-medha-* (from *medhī-* 'wisdom') such as *puru-medha-* 'having much wisdom'; *-tvacas-*⁵ 'skin' in *śūrya-tvaca-* (AV. VS.) 'having a skin bright as the sun' and *hiraṇya-tvaca-* (AV.) 'having a golden skin', beside *tvac-* in *śūrya-tvac-* and *hiraṇya-tvac-*.

254. Transfer stems.—Some four stems appear in certain forms changed to stems in *-as* from a misunderstanding of the nom. *-s* in *-ā-s* (as in *su-prajā-s*); thus from *prajā-* 'offspring', *a-prajas-* (AV.) 'having no offspring', and *su-prajās-*⁶ 'having good offspring', *īdā-prajas-*⁷ (MS. I. 5³) 'descendant of Idā'; from *kṣā-* 'dwell', *divā-kṣas-* 'living in heaven'; from *dā-* 'give', *draviṇo-dās-* 'bestowing wealth'; from *dhā-* 'put', *vayo-dhās-* (AV. VS.) 'bestowing strength' and *varco-dhās-* (AV.) 'bestowing vigour'. On the other hand, by the loss of final *-s* or *-t* a few consonant stems are transformed to *a*-stems; thus beside *an-āgas-* 'guiltless' appears *an-āga-*, and beside *puru-dāpās-* 'abounding in wondrous deeds', *puru-dāpā-*; *ūrv-aśtīvā-* (VS.)⁸, n. du. 'thigh and knee', beside *aśtī-vānt-* m. du. 'knees' ('bouy'); *ubhayā-da-*⁹ (AV.) 'having teeth in both (jaws)', beside *ubhayā-dat-*.

255. Vowel gradation in final member.—a. 1. The low grade vowel of the roots *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'cut' disappears when the past participles **dīta-* 'given'¹⁰ and *dīta-* 'cut' and the action noun **dīti-* 'giving' become unaccented final members in a compound; thus *dva-tta-* (VS.) 'cut off', *devā-tta-* 'given by the gods', *vy-ā-tta-* (AV. VS.) 'opened', *pāri-tta-* (VS.) 'given up'¹¹, *a-prati-tta-* (AV.) 'not given back'; *bhāga-tti-* 'gift of fortune', *maghā-tti-* 'giving of presents', *vāsu-tti-* 'granting of wealth'¹². Unreduced forms, however, occur in *tvā-dāta-* and *tvā-datta-* 'given by thee' and in *havyā-dāti-* 'sacrificial gift'¹³.

2. The vowels *ī* and *ū* in the radical syllable of the final member is in a few instances reduced to *i* and *u*; thus *try-udhān-* 'having three udders' (*ādhan-*), *dhi-jī-* 'inspiring the mind' (*jū-* 'impel'), *su-śirā-* 'having a good channel', 'hollow' (*śirā-* 'stream'), *śi-sūti-* 'easy birth' (*sū-ti-* TB.), *ā-hūti-* 'invocation' (otherwise *sā-hūti-* 'joint invocation', etc.). Derivative *-t* is reduced to *-i* in *ā-ni-bhṛṣṭa-taviṣṭ-* 'having unabated power' (*taviṣṭ-*).

¹ The determinative *indra-dhanūs-* 'Indra's bow', occurs in the AV.

² The AV. however has *prthū-śiras-* 'broad-headed'.

³ From *āsthan-* (beside *asthī-*, AV.) occur both *an-asthān-* and *an-asthā-* 'boneless'.

⁴ Other reduced stems are *sā-gdhi-* (VS.) 'joint meal' (*ī-gdha-*), *nījā-* 'nest' (*nī+* *ījad-*), *uṣā-dūti-* 'noise' (*uṣā+* *ījad-*) *ā-sk-va-* 'united' (*īvac-*); perhaps *pari-mā-* 'best part of' (*āmā-* 'part').

⁵ Also in the derivative *tvacas-yā-* (AV.) 'being in the skin'.

⁶ Under the influence of this new stem is formed *su-prajās-tvā-* 'possession of good offspring' (for **su-prajā-tvā-*).

⁷ In K. *īdā-prajas-* (IS. 3, 463) with the *ā* of *jñu-* unshortened.

⁸ Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *aśtī-vāt-*.

⁹ Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *-dat-*.

¹⁰ This phonetic form has otherwise been ousted by the anomalous participle *dat-tā-* made from the weak present stem *dat-*.

¹¹ The participle *prā-tta-* 'given up' also occurs in TS. II. 2. 8⁴ (B).

¹² *prā-tti-* 'gift' also occurs in TS. V. 4. 7² (B) and *nir-dāva-tti-* 'distribution of shares' in K.

¹³ The *ā* of *āman-* 'chant' is perhaps reduced to *a* in *īk-sama-* (VS.), *īk-sama-* (TS.), and *īk-sama-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 43 f., note.

3. The *o* of *gō-* 'cow' is reduced to *-u* in *piṣṭi-gu-* 'rearing cows', N. of a man, and *su-gū-* 'having fine cows'. The *-ai* of *rūi-* 'wealth', is reduced to *-i* in *brhdd-ri-*¹ 'having abundant wealth'; perhaps also in *rhdhd-ri-*², N. of a man.

4. Final *-i* and *-u* of the first member combine with the low grade form of *ā* of *āp-* 'water' in the last member to *ī* and *ū*, in *dīp-d-*³ 'island' (*dvi-āp-*), *prāp-d-m* 'against' (*prati-*) 'the stream', *anūp-d-* 'pond' (*anu-āp-*).

b. On the other hand, radical *a* in several instances appears lengthened to *ā*. This occurs in several possessive compounds of *jāni-* 'wife': *bhadra-jāni-* 'having a beautiful wife' (only voc.), *yūva-jāni-* 'having a young wife', *vittā-jāni-* 'having found a wife', 'married', and with shifted accent *dvi-jāni-* 'having two wives' and *a-jāni-* (AV.) 'having no wife'. A similar lengthening appears in *prthu-jāghana-* (only voc. f.) 'broad-hipped'; *sahā-jānusa-* 'with offspring' (*jānis-*); *ni-pādī-* 'low ground' (*pādī-*); *tvit-pitāras* (TS. I. 5. 10²), N. pl. 'having thee as father'; *su-vācas-* 'having good speech', 'very eloquent', *sā-vācas-*⁵ (AV.) 'employing similar speech', *vi-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking in various ways' (*vācas-*), *viśvā-sārada-* (AV.) 'occurring every autumn' (*sārada-*) 'annual', *satā-sārada-* 'lasting a hundred autumns'⁶.

256. Adjectival suffixes. — Adjective compounds not infrequently add certain suffixes to mark their adjectival character more clearly. These suffixes are *-ka-*, *-i-*, *-ya-*, *-a-*, *-in-*.

1. The suffix *-ka-*⁷ is thus used in only two somewhat obscure compounds in the RV. *tri-kāru-ka-* (only pl.), a designation of certain soma vessels (*kāru-*) and *try-āmba-ka-* 'having three mothers' (*āmba* voc.); in the AV. occur *vi-manyu-ka-* 'free from anger' and *sahā-kāṅṅhi-ka-* f. 'with the throat' (*kāṅṅhā-*, B.)⁸.

2. In the final member of a few Bahuvrihis, the suffix *-i* sometimes takes the place of *-a*; thus *prāty-ardhi-* 'to whom the half (*ardha-*) belongs'; *ānjana-gandh-i-* 'having a smell (*gandhā-*) of ointment', *dhūmā-gandhi-* 'smelling of smoke', *su-gāndhi-* or *su-gandhi-* 'sweet-smelling'; *krṣṭi-rādhi-* (AV.) 'attaining success (*rādha-*) in agriculture'.

3. The suffix *-ya-* is frequently added in Bahuvrihis; thus *anyadar-ya-* 'born from another womb' (*udāra-*), *dāsa-mās-ya-*⁹ 'ten months old', *dirgha-jihv-yā-* 'long-tongued'¹⁰, *mādhu-hast-ya-* 'honey-handed', *mayāra-śep-ya-* 'peacock-tailed'¹¹, *viśvā-jan-ya-* 'belonging to all men', *viśvā-dev-ya-* 'relating to all gods', *viśvāṅg-yā-* (AV.) 'being in all limbs', *sā-garbh-ya-* (VS.) 'born from the same

¹ In the dative *brhddraye*; cp. BB. 25, 250.

² In the anomalous gen. sing. *rhdhd-riya-*.

³ Also *nīp-a-* 'low-lying' (*nī-āp-* 'into which the water flows down') in K.

⁴ For a phonetic explanation of this phenomenon see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 43 (p. 100); and cp. 1, 68.

⁵ There is a various reading *sā-vācasas* in AV. VII. 12², on which see WHITNEY's note.

⁶ On *vi-hāyas-* 'of extensive power', *sārva-hāyas-* (AV.) 'having all vigour', *su-rāmad-* 'delighting', *su-yāmā-* 'guiding well', see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 101 (middle).

⁷ This suffix, which is never accented, is probably identical with that which forms

adjectives, as *anta-ka-* 'ending' from *anta-* 'end'.

⁸ In the YV. several examples occur; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 102, quotes from the TS. *a-karud-ka-* 'earless', *a-dantā-ka-* 'toothless', *a-pādā-ka-* 'footless', *an-akṣi-ka-* 'eyeless', *an-asthi-ka-* 'boneless', *a-tvāk-ka-* 'skinless', *sāhī-ka-* 'accompanied by a blessing', *an-āhī-ka-* 'lacking a blessing'; from the MS. *a-cchandās-ka-* 'metreless', *an-astha-ka-* 'boneless'.

⁹ Also *ṣaṇ-māyā-* 'six months old', and *ṣapta-māyā-* 'seven months old' in K.

¹⁰ Also in TS. some compounds formed with *deva-tyā-* 'having — for a deity' (*devdā-*); *nānā-vit-yi-* (MS.) 'consisting of various villages'.

¹¹ Also *vi-jīn-ya-* (K.) 'tailless'.

womb', *sa-dhan-ya-* 'accompanied by gifts', *śi-yāth-ya-* (VS.) 'belonging to the same herd', *su-hāst-ya-* 'fair-handed' (beside *su-hāsta-*), *hīraṇya-keś-ya-* 'golden-maned' (beside *hīraṇya-keśa-*)¹.

The suffix *-ya* is also common in governing compounds with prepositions as first member; thus *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *antah-parśav-yā-* (VS.) and *antah-pārv-yā-* (VS.) 'being between the ribs', *anu-ānt-ya-* (AV.) 'being in the entrails', *api-kakṣ-yā-* 'situated near the arm-pit', *ūpa-tya-* (AV.) 'being in the grass', *ūpa-mās-ya-* (AV.) 'occurring every month', *pāri-rath-ya-* (AV.)² 'being around the car', n. part of the car. It also appears in the adverbially used governing compounds *abhi-nabh-yā-m* 'near the clouds' and *ud-āp-yā-m* (AV.) 'upstream'.

4. The final member of Bahuvrihis is very frequently extended by the suffix *-a*. In the RV. there are at least fifteen such stems; thus *akṣ-* 'eye' in *an-akṣ-ā-* 'eyeless', *ādhy-akṣ-a-* 'eye-witness', *catur-akṣ-ā-* 'four-eyed', *bhūry-akṣ-ā-* 'many-eyed', *sahasrākṣ-ā-* 'thousand-eyed', *hīraṇyākṣ-ā-* 'golden-eyed', *āktākṣ-a-* (AV.) 'whose eyes are anointed', *an-āktākṣ-a-*³ (AV.) 'whose eyes are not anointed', *dhūmākṣ-ā-* (AV.) 'smoke-eyed', *paryastākṣ-ā-* (AV.) 'with eyes cast about', *sanīrasākṣ-ā-* (AV.) 'having constantly falling eyes', *haryākṣ-ā-* (VS.) 'yellow-eyed'; **asth-*⁴ 'bone' in *an-asth-ā-* 'boneless' beside *an-asthā-*; **udar-* 'water' in *an-udr-ā-* 'waterless'; *gū-* 'cow' in *su-gūv-a-* 'having fine cows', *saṃ-gar-ā-* 'time when cows come together', and in *atīthi-gū-ā-*, a name, *ka-gū-a-* 'variegated', *dāśa-gū-a-*, N. of a mythical group, *nāva-gū-a-*⁵, N. of a mythical group; *janus-* in *sakā-jānuṣ-a-* 'with offspring'; *div-* 'heaven' in *brhad-div-a-* and *brhad-div-ā-*, N. of a seer, *su-div-ā-* (AV.) 'bright day'; *dur-* 'door' in *śatī-dur-a-* 'having a hundred doors'; *dhur-* 'yoke' in *su-dhūr-a-* 'going well under the yoke' (beside *su-dhūr-*), *sā-dhur-a-* (AV.) 'harnessed to the same yoke'; *nās-* 'nose' in *urū-nās-ā-* 'broad-nosed', *pavī-nās-ā-* (AV.) 'having a nose like a spear-head', *vārdhrī-nās-ā-* (VS.) 'rhinoceros'; *mīdh-* in *vī-mīdh-ā-*⁶ (AV.) 'warding off foes' (beside *vī-mīdh-*, VS.); *rāt-* 'wealth' in *ā-rāy-a-* 'not liberal'; *vāstu-* 'dwelling' in *nūva-vāstu-a-* 'having nine abodes'; *śarād-* 'autumn' in *śatī-śarād-a-* 'lasting a hundred autumns'; *āp-* 'water' in *dvīp-ā-* 'island'⁷.

In the later Samhitās several other final members extended with *-a* occur: *dhan-* 'day' in *sāhu-ā-* (AV.) 'lasting a day'; *ṛc-* 'verse' in *eka-ṛc-ā-* (AV.) 'consisting of one verse'; *kṣām-* 'earth' in *su-kṣm-ā-* (VS.) 'consisting of good earth'; *netr-* 'leader' in *agnī-netr-a-* (VS. TS.)⁸ 'having Agni as leader'; *path-* 'road', in *vī-path-ā-* (AV.), a kind of chariot ('fit for untrodden paths'); *pā-* 'foot' in *ā-bā-a-* (VS.) 'year'; **vatas-* 'year' in *trī-vats-ā-* (VS.) 'three years old'; *saṃ-dīś-* 'aspect' in *mādhū-samāś-a-* (AV.) 'sweet-looking'.

a. The final member is also sometimes extended with *-a* after a governing preposition; thus *anu-path-a-* 'going along the road', *āntas-path-a-* 'being on the road', *anūp-ā-* 'tank' ('lying along the water'), *upānas-ā-* 'being on the car' (*-ānas-*), *parō-kṣ-a-* (AV.) 'away from the eye' (*akṣ-*), *puro-gav-ā-* 'leader' ('preceding the cows').

¹ *āśva-budh-ya-* 'based on horses' is probably for **āśva-budhā-ya-* (from *budhā-* 'bottom') beside *āśva-budhna-* 'borne by horses'.

² The accent of these words in *-ya* is usually the same as it would be without the suffix; for a few exceptions, see WACKER-NAGEL 21, 47 d (p. 108).

³ The Mss. (AV. XX. 1286) read *anāktākṣa-*.

⁴ See WACKER-NAGEL 21, p. 108 (bottom).

⁵ See BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. 17, 422 ff.

⁶ Also the f. *vī-mīdh-ā-* (TS. II. 4. 21 B).

⁷ On a few doubtful instances see WACKER-NAGEL 21, p. 109 (bottom).

⁸ In TS. I. 3. 71 = VS. IX. 35, 36 several other names of deities compounded with *-netr-a-* occur.

b. A similar extension with *-a* occurs in collectives which are allied to Bahuvrihis: thus *try-tyu-ā-* (VS.) 'threefold lifetime', *dvī-rāj-ā-* (AV.) 'battle of two kings', *śat-rc-ā-* 'aggregate of six stanzas', *sam-udr-ā-* 'collection of waters' (**udar-*), 'sea', *sa-vidyut-ā-* (AV.) 'thunderstorm' ('accompanied by lightning'). Akin to these are compounds in which the first member expresses a part of the last (with change of gender); thus *ardha-rc-ā-* (AV. VS.) m. 'half-stanza', *aparāhṇ-ā-* (AV.) m. 'afternoon', *ny-dhṇ-a-* (AV.) 'decline of day', *pūrvāhṇ-ā-* 'forenoon', *prī-pād-a-* 'tip of the foot'. There are further some neuter determinatives which probably had originally a collective sense; thus, with change of gender, *tri-div-ā-* 'third heaven', *su-div-ā-* (AV.) 'fine day'; *ā-path-a-* (AV.) 'pathlessness', *su-pāth-a-* 'good path'. From neuter stems in *-as*, *devāinas-ā-* (AV.) 'curse of the gods', *manuśyainas-ā-* (AV.) 'sin (*énas-*) of men'; *brahma-varcas-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'divine power', *hastī-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'vigour of an elephant', *brāhmaṇa-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'dignity of a Brahman'.

c. The ending *-a* frequently takes the place of *-an*² in the final member of Bahuvrihis, collectives, and Karmadhārayas; thus *deva-karmā-* 'doing divine work', *viśvā-karma-* 'performing all work', *vīrā-karma-* 'performing manly work', *priyā-dhāma-* 'occupying desirable places', *chando-nāma-* (VS.) 'named metre', 'metrical', *vi-parvā-* 'jointless', *dvī-vṛśā-*² (AV.) 'having two bulls', *añjī-sakthā-* (VS.) 'having coloured thighs', *ut-sakthā-* (VS.) 'lifting up the thighs', *lomāśā-sakthā-* (VS.) 'having hairy thighs'³, *ṛk-sāmā-* 'the Rc verses and the Sāmans', *śat-ahā-* (AV.) m. 'period of six days'; *bhadrāhā-* (AV.) n. 'auspicious day', *eka-vṛśā-* (AV.) 'only bull', *mahā-vṛśā-* (AV.) 'great bull'.

d. The suffix *-a* takes the place of *-i* in *kaṣṭhā-sakhā-* 'having a niggard for a friend' (*sakhi-*), in *mandayāt-sakha-* 'gladdening his friend', and in *daśāṅgulā-* 'length of ten fingers' (*aṅgūli-*).

5. In Bahuvrihis the suffix *-in* is sometimes pleonastically added; thus *ku-nakh-in-* (AV.) 'having bad nails', *mahā-hast-in-* 'having large hands', *yaśā-bhag-in-* (VS.) 'rich in glory', *sa-rath-in-* (VS.) 'riding on the same chariot'.

257. Classification of Compounds.—The Indian grammarians divided compounds into three main classes according to their syntactical relations: 1) copulatives, or those in which the members are coordinated, called *dvandva-*⁴ ('couple'); 2) determinatives, or those in which the first member determines the second, called *tat-puruṣa-* ('his man')⁵; 3) those which are dependent on another word, called *bahuvrīhi-*⁶. The latter are usually regarded as compounds of the determinative class transmuted to adjectives, which would thus have a secondary character. They are often called 'possessives' since their meaning can usually be rendered by 'possessing', as *bahv-annā-* 'possessing much food'. To these may be added three other groups in order to treat Vedic compounds exhaustively: 4) governing compounds, or those in which the first member governs the last in sense; e. g. *ṛṣayā-vīra-* 'ruling men'; 5) a certain remnant of irregular combinations which are best dealt with together; 6) iteratives, or repeated words which are treated as compounds in the Saṃhitās inasmuch as they have only one accent and a special meaning when thus combined; in these the second member is called *amreṣṭita-* 'repeated' by the Indian grammarians.

² This *-a* probably started in stems ending in *-man*, representing **-mn-a-*; see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 118 c.

³ *-vṛśā-* for *-vṛśan-* occurs in the AV. after other numerals also.

⁴ For some doubtful examples see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 116.

⁵ The word first occurs in a B. passage of the TS. (1. 6. 91) in the form of *dvandvāni* 'couples', and in the AB.

⁶ An example used as the name of the class.

⁷ 'Having much rice', an example used as the name of the class.

1. Iteratives.

COLLITZ, Transactions of the Oriental Congress of Berlin 2², 287 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax, Dritter Theil (1900), p. 141—153: Iterativcomposita. — WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 142—148.

258. The repetition of an inflected form with loss of accent in the second word is very frequent in the RV. Such repetitions are treated in the Pada texts as compounds the members being separated by the Avagraha. The word thus repeated is generally a substantive and iteration is expressed chiefly in regard to time or distribution in regard to space; e. g. *dhar-ahar*, *divé-dive*, *dyávi-dyavi* 'every day'; *gṛhḥ-gṛhe*, *dāme-dame*, *viśé-viśe* 'in every house'; *dīś-dīśah* (AV.) 'from every quarter'. Substantives are also thus repeated to express frequency or constant succession in other matters: *śátroh-śátroh* 'of every foe'; *annam-annam* (AV.) 'food in perpetuity'; *agnim-agnim vah samidhā durasyata* (VI. 15⁵) 'worship Agni again and again with your fuel', *yajñāsya-yajñāsya* 'of every sacrifice' (x. 1⁵), *āṅgād-āṅgāt* 'from every limb' (x. 163⁶), *parvaṇi-parvaṇi* 'in every joint' (x. 163⁶). Adjectives repeated in this way are less common; e. g. *pānyam-pānyam . . ā dhāvata . . śmām* (VIII. 2²) 'cleanse Soma who is again and again to be praised'; *prācīm-prācīm pradīśam* (AV. XII. 3⁷) 'each forward (eastern) direction'; *uttarām-uttarām śāmām* (AV. XII. 1³) 'each following year', 'year after year'².

a. The repeated word was originally used in the singular only. But the plural meaning of this repetition led to the beginnings of plural forms, as *śkam-ekā śatū daduḥ* (v. 52¹²) 'they have given a hundred each' (lit. 'hundreds, each one'). But a word thus iterated seems never to be in the plural except in agreement with a plural.

b. The frequency of *-e* as locative of *a*-stems led to the occasional use of the dative in consonant stems; *div-t-div-e* (for **div-t-div-i*) and *viś-t-viś-e* (for **viś-t-viś-i*).

c. The transition from iteratives to regular compounds, which appears in B., began with numerals. Thus the *śka-ekah* of the RV. (III. 29¹⁵) appears in the ŚB. as *śkaika-*; and from the *dvā-dvā* of the RV. (VIII. 68¹¹) we come to the adverbial *śvan-dvām* 'in pairs' in the MS., and finally to *dvandvā* 'pair' in the TS. (B).

d. Adjective compounds in which a word is repeated for emphasis are unconnected with iteratives, differing from them both in sense and accent; thus *mahā-mahā* 'mightily great'; *śaiśt-* f. of **śaiśā-* (= *śa-śā-*) 'very speedy'³. Whether *carā-carā-* and *atā-atā-* 'moveable' belong to this group is somewhat uncertain.

2. Copulative Compounds.

REITER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, KZ. 31, 172—87: I. Copulative composita. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 31. — RICHTER, Die unechten Nominalkomposita des Altindischen und Altiranischen: IF. 9, 23 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1252—61. — WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, 62—74 (p. 149—173).

259. Classification of Dvandvas.—This class consists of compounds consisting of two substantives, far less commonly adjectives, the syntactical relation of which in the sentence is the same and which may be regarded as connected in sense by 'and'. The successive stages in the development of this class can be closely traced from the beginning in the Saṃhitās. I. First we have in the RV. the most numerous group (about three-fourths

¹ A vocative repeated to express emphasis is not treated in the same way: in *āraṇyāny āraṇyāni* (x. 146¹) both vocatives are accented, the second being as emphatic as the first.

² The only repetition of a verbal form in this way is *śba-śba* (II. 11²²) 'drink again and again'; cp. above 38.

³ According to GELDNER, VS. 2, 15 the form *śaiśt-* (RV.) is the inst. sing. of *śaiśt-* f. of **śaiśā-*; but according to BR. and GRASSMANN it is neut. pl. of *śaiśyā-* (= *śa-śyā-*) 'to be striven for with desire', 'desirable'.

of all the Dvandvas) in which the compound consists of two co-ordinated nouns in the dual, each with its own accent. 2. The first member assumes an unchangeable form. 3. Only one accent remains and is restricted to the last syllable of the final member. 4. The first member assumes (but quite rarely in the RV.) the form of the stem. 5. The formation, becoming more general, can assume plural endings (but the RV. has only a few examples in the last book). 6. In the later Samhitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the dual Dvandvas. 7. The final stage (of which the examples are few) is that of Dvandvas which are neuter singulars of a collective character.

260. In the commonest and earliest type of the old Dvandvas each member is dual in form and has a separate accent. This type seems to have originated from two grammatical practices frequent in the Vedas: (a) the juxtaposition of two coordinate words without *ca*; e. g. *bhūmano divās pari* (ix. 73⁵) 'away from earth and heaven', *kṛitum dāksam* (viii. 42³) 'understanding and will'; (b) the use of the elliptic dual⁴ which puts one of a pair in the dual to express both, as *dyāvā* 'heaven and earth'. This origin is probable because the dual Dvandvas are found alternating with one or both of these usages; thus *mitrā-varuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa' appears beside both *mitrā* alone and *mitrō varuṇah* (or *mitrō varuṇas ca* and *mitrās ca varuṇas ca*); *mātṛā-pitṛā* 'mother and father' beside *mātṛā* or *pitṛā* and *pitre mātṛā* and other cases, the VS. (ix. 19) having pleonastically even *pitṛā-mātṛā ca* meaning 'father and mother'. The transition from the syntactical collocation *divās . . . pṛthivyās* (vi. 30¹) to a dual compound is seen in *divās-pṛthivyās* 'of heaven and earth' (occurring four times in the RV.) where the second word is put in the dual to show clearly that an associated couple is meant. In the RV. the two duals of the compound are often separated; e. g. *dyāvā ha ksāmā* (x. 12¹) 'heaven and earth'; *dyāvā yajñāḥ pṛthivī* (vii. 53¹); *indrā no ātra varuṇā* (iv. 41¹)²; *ā niktā barhṣī sadatām usāsā* (vii. 42⁵) 'let Night and Dawn seat themselves upon the litter'; *indrā ni pūśnā* (vi. 57¹) 'Indra and Pūśan'; *indrā nu agnī* (vi. 59³) 'Indra and Agni'; *indrā yo agni* (vi. 60¹)³; *edksur mūhi mitrayor āṁ cī priyāṁ varuṇayoh* (vi. 51¹) 'the great, dear eye of Mitra and Varuṇa comes'. In two or three examples of tmesis the dual ending appears in the first member only, while the singular remains in the second; thus *mitrā . . . varuṇah* (viii. 25²) and *indrā yō vām varuṇā*⁴ (vi. 68⁵) 'O Indra and Varuṇa'. Generally, however, the two duals are in immediate juxtaposition, as *indrā-bṛhaspati* 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'; *dyāvā-pṛthivī* 'Heaven and Earth'; *agni-somā* 'Agni and Soma'; gen. *mitrayor-varuṇayoh*⁵ 'of Mitra and Varuṇa'.

The characteristic final vowel of the first member is *-ā*⁶, as *usāsā-niktā* (or *niktāsāsā*); hence it even ousts *-i* as in *agnā-viṣṇū* (AV.) 'O Agni and Viṣṇu'. Beside this *-ā* there sometimes appears *a* in the vocative, both in tmesis, as in *mitrā rājānā varuṇā* (v. 62³) 'O kings Mitra and Varuṇa' (voc. of *rājānā mitrā-varuṇā*, iii. 56⁷; x. 64⁸); and when the members are joined, as

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 23, 302 ff., REUTER, KZ. 31, 176 ff., DELBRÜCK, Alt-indische Syntax 38 (p. 98), Vergleichende Syntax, Erster Theil 41 (p. 137 f.).

² In each of the first 6 stanzas of iv. 41 *indrā* and *varuṇā* are separated by one or two words of two or three syllables.

³ Also *viṣṇū aṣan varuṇā* 'Viṣṇu and Varuṇa' in a Mantra in TB. ii. 8. 45.

⁴ The Pada text here reads *varuṇā*; cp. *indrā kṣ vām varuṇā* (iv. 41¹).

⁵ Double duals in *-bhṣām* do not appear to occur.

⁶ The ending *-au* or *-āu* never occurs in the first member.

in *parjanya-vāta* (VI. 49⁶), voc. of *parjanya-vāta* (VI. 50¹²), and always in *Indra-vāyū* 'O Indra and Vayu'. The ending *-ī* appears in the first member in *agni-sōma* 'Agni and Soma'; and *-ū* in *krātū-dāksau* (VS.)².

261. These coordinate duals having early come to be regarded as a unit, the commonest ending of the first member, that of the nom. acc., came to be retained unaltered in other cases and in derivatives³. Thus arose the forms *mitrā-vṛunābhyām*; *mitrā-vṛunayos* beside *mitrāyor-vṛunayos*, *Indrā-vṛunayos*; in the AV. *dyāvā-pṛthivībhyām* and *dyāvā-pṛthivyōs* (instead of the *dyāvā-pṛthivyōs* of the RV.).

262. In a minority of instances, but comparatively oftener in the later Sāpṛhitās than in the RV., the first member loses its accent and only the last syllable of the final member (irrespective of its original accent) has the acute⁴; thus *indrā-pūṣā*'s (beside *indrā-pūṣānā*); *somā-pūṣābhyām*; *bhāvā-rudrāu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Rudra', *bhāvā-sarvāu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Sarva'⁵; *vātī-parjanya* 'Vāta and Parjanya' (*parjanya-*); *sūryā-candramāsā* 'sun and moon' (*candramās-*).

a. In the later Sāpṛhitās there are a few examples in which the nom. sing. of stems in *-ī* has, doubtless owing to identity in form of the final vowel with the Vedic dual ending *-ā*, become fixed in the first member: *pitṛ-putrāu* (AV.) 'father and son'; *neṣṭā-pṛṣṭābhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18¹) 'to the Neṣṭr and the Pṛṣṭr'⁶. They doubtless started from syntactically coordinated nominatives (like *dyāvā-pṛthivyōs* beside *dyāvā-pṛthivyās*, VI. 47⁷)⁷.

263. Dvandvas with a single accent having established themselves, the stem form began to encroach in the first member. The only two examples from RV. I.-IX, are *indra-vāyū* (the transition being facilitated by the more frequent occurrence of the vocative *indra-vāyū*) and *saty-ṛṣṭī*⁸ (VII. 49⁹) 'truth and untruth'. Two additional neuters occurs in book X: *sāśanāśana* 'what eats (*sa-aśana-*) and does not eat' (*an-aśana-*); and *ṛk-sāmābhyām* 'with hymns and chan'. In the later Sāpṛhitās this becomes the prevailing type regularly followed in new formations; *prastotr-pratihartṛbhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18¹) 'to the Prastotr and Pratihartṛ'; *krātū-dāksau* (VS.); *dakṣa-krātū* (TS.), *śudrāryāu* (VS.) 'a Śūdra and an Ārya'¹⁰.

264. The stem form having established itself in the first member, the compounding of Dvandvas became freer, and not only neuters but feminines began to be admitted, as *dakṣa-tapās-os* (VS.) 'consecration and austerity'. Here, too, the final syllable of the compound has the acute; the svarita of the original word is, however, retained in *brahma-rājanyāu* (VS. xxvi. 2; AV. XI. 32¹¹) 'a Brahman and a warrior'.

265. Dvandvas with plural ending are on the whole later than those with dual ending. They would first have been used to express the plural sense of the pair in question, thus *sāḥ āhur dyāvā-pṛthivī* (VIII. 9¹²) 'they speak of six heaven-and-earths'; *aho-rātrāni* = 'pairs of day-and-night'.

¹ This Dvandva always has *a* even in the nom. *indra-vāyū*.

² The dual notion is sometimes emphasized by the addition of *ubhāu* 'both', as *ubhāu mitrā-vṛunā*; *sūryā-candramāśv ubhā* (AV.).

³ Like *jeder-mann* for *jedes-mann* in German. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 20, 168 (Anzeiger) regards these Dvandvas as abbreviations by dropping the common ending in the first member.

⁴ This accentuation is probably due to the influence of collective compounds which are nearly allied to Dvandvas. *Indrāgni*, *indrāgnībhyām*, *indrāgnīyōs* and *agnindrābhyām*

are examples which may contain the stem form in the first member (263).

⁵ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 153, also quotes *somā-rudrāyos* (TS.), *uṣṇikā-kakūbhau* (MS.).

⁶ On *neṣṭā-pṛṣṭā* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 64 (p. 154).

⁷ The three divisions of Dvandvas treated above include masculines and feminines only. Neuters of similar type first appear in the Sūtras, as *idhmā-barhiṣṭī* 'fuel and litter'.

⁸ This is the earliest example of a neuter Dvandva.

⁹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 155, gives some further examples from B. portions of the later Sāpṛhitās.

A transition to the use of plural Dvandvas, that is, of pairs of groups, is made by *indrā-marutas* 'O Indra and Maruts', where the dual notion is made up of a singular on the one hand and a group on the other. The older type of such plural Dvandvas (which express two coordinated plurals, the first member retaining its accent and the archaic ending *-ā*, like the *-ā* of dual Dvandvas) is represented by *āṅgā-pāruṅṣi* 'limbs and joints' occurring in a B. passage of the TS. (II. 5. 6¹). Examples of the later type with one accent are *ukthā-śastrāṇi* (VS. XIX. 28) 'recitations and praises', *ukthā-madāni* (AV.) 'recitations and rejoicings', and probably *ukthārka* (VI. 34²) 'recitations and hymns'. The latest type of these plural Dvandvas (like that of the duals) has the stem form in the first as well as the acute on the last syllable of the final member. The only examples of this type in the RV. occur in book X: *aho-rātrāṇi*³ 'days and nights', *ajāvdyas* 'goats and sheep', *dhana-bhaksṣu* 'in riches and enjoyments'. In the later Saṃhitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the duals; e. g. *deva-manuṣyās* (AV. VIII. 10⁴), *bhadra-pāpis* (AV.) 'the good and the bad', *priyapriyāni* (AV.) 'pleasant and unpleasant things'.⁵

a. The expression *amṛtānām mṛtyānām* (I. 269) appears to be an abridgment for *amṛtānām mṛtyānām* 'of immortals (and) mortals', amounting almost to a plural Dvandva = *amṛta-mṛtyānām*⁶.

266. A few Dvandvas appear in the Saṃhitās with a singular ending, these being neuter only. The older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end, only in order to express a collective meaning, is represented in the RV. by *iṣṭā-pārdm*⁷ 'what has been offered or given', originally a pl. n. in both members (**iṣṭā-pārdm*) which has become a singular to emphasize its collective character⁸. Both owing to the lack of an early type of neuter Dvandvas and because of the desire to express a collective sense, nearly all the neuter Dvandvas of the later kind are singular. In most instances both members are neuter; e. g. *kṛtākṛtī-m* (AV.) 'what has been done and not done', *cittakṛtī-m* (AV.) 'thought and intention' (*ikṛta*), *bhūta-bhavyā-m* (AV.) 'the past and the future', *samiṣṭa-yajis* (VS.) 'sacrifice and sacrificial formula'; *bhadra-pāpīya* (AV.) 'of good and evil', *añjanābhyanjana-m* (AV.) 'unction and inunction' (*abhyanjana*), *kaṣipāpabarhaṇā-m* (AV.) 'mat and pillow'.

a. In a few instances the first member is a masculine or feminine: *keśa-smātrū* (AV.) 'hair and beard', *iṣṭ-āyudhā* (loc. sing.) 'arrows and weapons' (AV.).

267. Adjectives also occur as Dvandvas, but they are of rare occurrence. Three types may be distinguished.

1. Adjectives of colour expressing a mixture: e. g. *nīla-lohitā* 'dark-blue and red' = 'dark red'; *tāmra-dhāmṛā* (AV.) 'red and black' = 'dark red'; *arunī-bābhru-* (VS.) 'ruddy and yellow', *dhūmrā-rohita-* (VS.) 'grey and red'.⁹

¹ Probably = *uktā-arkā*, not *ukthā-arkā*, the gender of the first member having prevailed over that of the last.

² The gender of the first member here prevails over that of the second.

³ Some other examples from B. passages of the Saṃhitās in WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 157. The oldest example of a Dvandva consisting of three members is *frāṇāpānuānīsu* (TS. VII. 3. 3¹) 'in the outward, the downward and the upward airs', where the plural results from the addition of three individual things (not three groups).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 157.

⁵ See WINDISCH in Festgruss an Böhtlingk, p. 115 ff.

⁶ WACKERNAGEL (2¹, 68) quotes *iḥmā-barhis* from the MS., 'fuel and litter', which with its double accent as well as dual ending in the first member represents a still earlier type.

⁷ Except in these colour adjectives in the VS., the accentuation of the adjective Dvandvas is the same as that of neuter substantive Dvandvas, that is, the last syllable of the final member has the acute.

2. Adjectives expressing a contrast; e. g. *utkūla-nikūlā* (VS.) 'going uphill and downhill'.

3. Adjectives used with dual or plural substantives to express that each is an attribute of one unit of the kind; e. g. *paṭbhyām dakṣiṇa-sa-yābhyām* (AV. XII. 1²) 'with the right foot and the left'; or with the substantive to be supplied, *saṭtamāṣṭamābhyām svāhā* (AV.) 'hail to the seventh and the eighth (Angirasa)'; *aghaṭaṃsa-duḥṣaṃsābhyām* (AV.) 'by those plotting evil and those plotting ill'; *sāhnātirātrāu* (AV.) 'terminating with a day (*sa-ahna-*) and exceeding a day' (*ati-rātrā-*).

268. As regards the order of the members in a Dvandva, the rule seems to be that the more important or the shorter word comes first; thus *dyāvā-ḥṣāmā*, *dyāvā-bhāmā*, *dyāvā-prthivī*¹ 'heaven and earth'; *sūryā-māsā* and *sūryā-candramāsā* 'sun and moon'; *Indrā-varuṇā* 'Indra and Varuṇa'; *ulūkhala-musālī* (AV.) 'mortar and pestle'. *Indrā-* regularly comes first in the RV. and the later Samhitās in some dozen Dvandvas²; e. g. *indrāgni*; otherwise *agni-* always precedes; *sōmu-* comes after *indrā-* and *agni-*, but before *pūṣan-* and *rudra-*. The longer word comes first, perhaps, as the more important, in *parjanya-vātā*³ 'Parjanya and Vāta' and in *turvāśa-yādū* 'Turvaśa and Yadu'. This can hardly be the reason in *sambādha-tandryās* (AV.) 'oppressions and weariness'. The shorter word comes first in *mitrā-varuṇā*, though Varuṇa is the more important of the two⁴; in *ṛk-sāmābhyām* the shorter word is at the same time the more important.

3. Determinative Compounds.

269. Classification.—The large class of determinative compounds in which the first member determines or limits the sense of the last, is best divided into two main groups. In the one, the final member is a verbal noun which governs the first member in meaning, and often even in form, as a verb governs its case. In the other, the final member is an ordinary noun (either adjective or substantive), the relation of which to the first member is a purely nominal one.

a. Verbal Noun as final member.

270. The final member is often a verbal noun either not occurring as a simple word or at least not belonging to a type used as simple words: either the bare root⁵ or a verbal derivative formed with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-i*, *-in*, *-man*, *-van*. These nouns limited to use as final members are agent nouns; e. g. *haviṛ-dā-* 'eating the oblation', *saṃ-dh-* 'flaming', *jyotiḥ-kr-* 'producing light', *abhi-kr-* 'causing injury', *go-ghn-* 'cow-slaying', *ā-kr-* 'scattering'; *amitra-dāmbh-ana-* 'injuring enemies', *tuvi-gr-* 'devouring much', *uru-cikri-* 'doing large work'; *bhadra-vād-in-* 'uttering an auspicious cry'; *āśu-ḥ-man-* 'swiftly speeding', *bhūri-dā-van-*⁶ 'giving much'.—Occasionally agent-nouns limited to use as final members are formed with other suffixes: *prati-dv-an-* 'adversary at play', *vi-bhṛ-an-* 'far-reaching' and *vi-bhṛ-in-* 'skilful'; *pra-py-ast-* (AV.) 'swelling', *sva-bhy-ast-* (AV.) 'spontaneously frightened';

¹ This form occurs 79 times in the RV. and *prthivī-dyāvā* only once.

² Otherwise only *agnindri-dābhyām* (VS.) 'Agni and Indra'. Cp. the list of dual divinities in Vedic Mythology, Grundriss III, I A, p. 126.

³ Once also *vātā-parjanya*.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2², p. 168 (middle).

⁵ Appearing in its weakest form or, if ending in a short vowel, with determinative *-t*.

⁶ *-mant* and *-van-* occasionally appear as variations for *-man* and *-van*, as *vi-rūk-mant-* 'shining'; *prīṇā-dā-vant-* (AV.) 'life-giving' (cp. WHITNEY on AV. IV. 35³); see RECTER, KZ. 31, 560 f.

duh-sās-u- 'malignant', *vi-bhīnd-ī-* 'splitting', *pra-yīy-u-* 'used for driving', *go-vind-ī-* 'seeking cows', *pari-lam-ī-* (AV.) 'encompassing', *pūm-cal-ī-* (VS.) 'prostitute'; *pūva-sphā-kā-*¹ (AV.) 'abounding in fat', *ni-hū-kā-* 'whirlwind'; *vi-bhāñ-ani-* 'shattering'; *pra-cal-īna-* 'affording a wide prospect'; *div-t-mant-* 'going to heaven'; *tuvi-kūrm-(n)-* 'stirring mightily'; *vāsah-palpal-i-* (VS.) 'washing clothes'.

a. The meaning of these agent-nouns restricted in use as final members is chiefly active. But in those of them which consist of the bare root (with or without the determinative *-i*) it is often intransitive; e. g. *namo-ṽdh-* 'growing by adoration'; it is not infrequently passive, as *mamo-yīj-* 'yoked at will', *su-yīj-* 'well-yoked'; *yāma-kū-* 'called by entreaties', *indra-ṽ-tama-* 'most eagerly drunk by Indra', *īva-sū-t-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass', *hṛdaya-vidh-* 'pierced to the heart' (AV.). The passive meaning also appears in one derivative formed with *-a*; *pari-mar-ā-* (TS.) 'died around' = 'around whom people die'. Final members formed with *-a*, *-ana*, (*-i*)-*tu* when compounded with *su-* or *du-* also have a passive (gerundive) meaning expressive of the ease or difficulty with which the verbal action is performed; e. g. *su-kār-a-* 'easy to be done', *su-mān-tu-* 'easily recognisable', *su-ved-ana-* 'easily acquired'; *du-āp-ana-* 'hard to attain'; *du-ni-yān-tu-* 'hard to restrain', *du-dhār-ītu-* 'irresistible', *du-dābha-* 'hard to deceive'; also an isolated derivative with *-i*, *du-ṽbh-i-* 'hard to catch', and one with *-na*, *su-trā-ṽ-* 'easily heard' (beside *su-ṽn-i-* 'hearing easily').

271. A certain number of verbal nouns restricted to employment as final members which are formed from the simple root (with or without determinative *-i*) or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-tha* are nouns of action; e. g. *śrad-dhā-* 'belief', *ātir-dā-* (VS. TS.) 'fulfilment of wishes', *īpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pari-pād-* 'snare', *sam-nim-* (AV.) 'affection'; *ksudhā-mār-ī-* (AV.) 'death by hunger', *pāpa-vād-ī-* (AV.) 'evil cry'; *deva-hēṭ-ana-* 'offence against the gods', *baddhaka-mōc-ana-* (AV.) 'release of a prisoner'; *go-pr-thā-* 'drink of milk', *putra-kṛ-thā-* 'procreation of sons', *sam-i-thā-* 'conflict'. *kāma-pr-ā-* is both a noun of action, 'fulfilment of desires' (AV.) and an agent-noun, 'fulfilling desires' (RV.)².

a. A class of secondary nouns of action is here formed by adding the suffixes *-ya* and *-yā* to agent nouns formed from the simple root (with or without *-i*). These are abstracts (neuter and feminine respectively); e. g. *haviṛ-dā-ya-* 'enjoyment of the oblation'; *pūva-pāy-ya-* and *pūva-p-ya-* 'precedence in drinking' (*pūva-pā-* 'drinking first'), *nr-pāy-ya-* 'protection of men', *bāhu-pāy-ya-* 'protection of many', 'large hall', *deva-yāj-ya-* n. and *-yāj-yā-* f. 'adoration of the gods' (*deva-yāj-* 'adoring the gods', VS.), *nr-sāh-ya-* 'overcoming of men' (*nr-sāh-* 'overcoming men'), *rāja-sū-ya-* (AV.) 'royal consecration' (*rāja-sū-* 'creating a king', VS.), *madhyama-sthēy-ya-* 'standing in the middle' (*madhyama-sthā-* adj., VS.); *su-kṛt-yā-* 'righteousness' (*su-kṛt-* 'righteous').

272. The close verbal connexion of these final members with the roots from which they are derived, shows itself formally. Thus they retain the palatal of the verb where the guttural would otherwise appear⁴. Again, agent nouns of this kind are formed from almost every kind of present stem. The following are examples of such nouns from present stems of: 1. the first class: *cakram-ā-sajit-* 'stopping⁵ the wheel'; 2. the sixth class: *ut-tudd-* (AV.) 'instigator' (*tudd-ī-*), *sam-girā-* (AV.) 'swallowing' (*sam-girāmi*). 3. stems with *-cha*: *go-ṽyacch-* (VS.) 'cow-tormentor' (from a lost present stem **ṽyaccha-*)

¹ For *pūvas-sphākā-*; the Mss. read *pūvasphākā-m* (pada *pūvas-phākām*): see WHITNEY on AV. IV. 73.

² But 'heart-piercing' (RV.).

³ Isolated examples of nouns of action formed with other suffixes are *su-papt-ani-* 'good flight', *sam-śreṣ-ṽd-* (AV.) 'conflict'(?).

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL 21, 76. Exceptions to this would be *tuvi-kūrm-(n)-* and *diṽ-karā-* (AV.) 'sun', if these words are derived from *car-* 'fare'.

⁵ From *ś sajāmi* 'I attach'.

4. the fourth class or passive with *-ya*: *akṛṣṭa-pacyá-*¹ (AV. VS. TS.) 'ripening in unploughed ground', *a-pasyá-* 'not seeing', *ugram-pasyá-* (AV.) 'fierce-looking', *mām-pasyá-* (AV.) 'looking at me', *adhi-pasya-* (AV. Paipp.) 'superintendent', *punar-manyá-* 'remembering' (*mānya-te* 'thinks'), *á-risanya-* 'not falling' (*risanyá-ti*), *bala-vi-jñāyá-* 'recognized by his strength', *a-vi-dasyá-* 'not ceasing' (*vi dasyanti* 'they cease'), *a-vi-driyá-* 'not bursting' (*dr-* 'split').

5. stems with *-aya*: *vācam-īkṣayá-* 'stirring the voice', *samudram-īkṣaya-* (only voc.) 'stirring the vat' (*īkṣhāya-nti* 'they shake'), *viśvam-ajaya-* (only voc.) 'exciting all' (*ajāya-ti* 'sets in motion'), *ati-pārayá-* 'putting across'.

6. the fifth (*-nu*) and ninth (*-nā*) classes: *viśvam-īnvá-* 'all-urging' (*īnī-ti*, *īnv-a-ti* 'urges'), *dhiyaṃ-jinvá-* 'stirring devotion' and *viśva-jinvā* (voc. du.) 'all-quickening' (*jīnv-a-ti* 'stirs'), *ā-daghnd-* 'reaching to the mouth'² (*dagh-nu-yāt* 'may reach', K.), *dura-dabhd-* (AV.) 'eluding doors' = 'not to be kept by bars and bolts' (*dabhdnuv-anti* 'they deceive'), *dānu-pinvá-* 'swelling with drops' (*pinv-ānd-* 'swelling'), *śadā-pṛnd-* 'always giving' (*pṛnd-ti* 'fills', 'bestows'), *a-miná-*³ (beside *á-minant-* 'undiminishing' (*mind-ti* 'diminishes'), *pra-mṛná-* 'destroying' (*pra-mṛndnt-* 'crushing', *prá mṛṇa* 'destroy'), *a-sinvá-*⁴ (beside *á-sinvant-*) 'insatiable', *a-suv-d-* 'not pressing Soma' (beside *á-suvv-ant-*).

7. the sixth and seventh classes: *agnim-īndhú-* 'fire-kindling' (*īndh-āte* 'they kindle'), *pra-kṛntá-* (TS. IV. 5. 3⁵) and *vi-kṛntá-* (VS.) 'cutting to pieces' (*kṛntá-ti* 'cuts'), *bhūmi-dṛmhd-* (AV.) 'firmly fixed on the ground' (*dṛmha-ta* 'make firm'), *ni-limpí-* (AV.) a kind of supernatural being (*ni limpāmi* 'I besmear', AV.).

8. the root class: *vrātya-bruvá-* (AV.) 'calling himself a Vrātya' (*bruv-ānti* 'they say').

9. the reduplicating class: *anu-jighrā-* (AV.) 'snuffing at' (*jighranti* 'smelling'), *sam-pibá-* (AV.) 'swallowing down' (*sdm pibāmi*, AV.)⁵.

a. In a few instances verbal nouns which are final members of compounds in the RV. or the later Saṃhitās subsequently appear as independent words. Thus *jāta-vidyā-* 'knowledge of things', *vidyá-* (AV. TS.) 'knowledge'⁶. On the other hand, verbal nouns derived from roots without suffix, which in the RV. appear both as independent words and as final members of compounds, often survive in the later Saṃhitās in their compound form only; such are *tír-* 'racing', *dā-* 'giver', *sā-* m. 'begetter', f. 'mother', *sthā-* 'standing'. As a rule verbal nouns which occur independently have the same general meaning as when they form the final member of a compound. But those formed without any suffix generally, and those formed with *-a* occasionally, have the sense of agent nouns at the end of compounds, but of action nouns or of designations of things conceived as feminine, when they are used independently. Thus *gṛbh-* f. 'act of seizing', *jva-gṛbh-* adj. 'seizing alive'; *vid-á-* 'with knowledge', *hitrā-vid-* adj. 'knowing the oblation', *yúdh-* f. 'fight', *pra-yúdh-* adj. 'assailing'; *bhar-á-* (AV.) 'act of carrying', *puṣim-bhāri-* 'bringing prosperity'. Sometimes the simple word has the meaning of an agent noun as well as of an action noun; e. g. *ap-* adj. 'seeing' and f. 'act of seeing'; *bhij-* adj. 'enjoying' and f. 'enjoyment'; *stūbh-* adj. 'shouting' and f. 'shout'; but at the end of a compound these three words express the agent only. Similarly *grābh-á-* m. 'seizer' (AV.) and 'grasp', but *grāva-grābh-á-* 'handling the Soma stones'⁷.

273. Independent verbal nouns.—Several kinds of verbal nouns which are also capable of independent use occur as final member of compounds. Among these the only ones of frequent occurrence are those in *-ta* which are adjectives (often used as substantives) and the corresponding abstract

¹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 179 (bottom), refutes the view that this *-ya* is identical with that of the gerundive.

² *-daghna-* forms the last member of several other compounds in the later Saṃhitās. See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 181.

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 181, note.

⁴ From a lost root **nī-nā-ti* 'satisfies'.

⁵ There is also a transition form (leading to the later *-dada-*) in *āyur-dād-am* (AV.);

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acc. f. 'life-giving' (beside *āyur-dā-*, AV. VS. TS.); *dād-ati* 'they give'.

⁶ For examples of verbal nouns which assume an independent character in the later language, see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 77 a.

⁷ On the origin of these verbal compounds and the relation of the final member to the independent word, see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 78 b and note (p. 186 f.).

substantives in *-ti*; e. g. *puro-hita-* adj. 'placed in front', m. 'domestic priest'; *puro-hiti-* f. 'domestic priesthood'.

1. **Agent nouns.** Those which are formed with *-aka* and *-snu* are compounded with prepositions only: *abhi-kṛś-aka-* (VS.) 'one who cries out', *vi-liy-aka-* (VS.) 'melter'; *abhi-śocayī-śnī-* (AV.) 'causing heat', *ni-śat-sni-* 'sitting firmly'. Agent nouns in *-tr* may be compounded with adverbs, as *pura-eti-* 'going before', *puraḥ-sthātī-* 'standing at the head', and rarely with substantives, as *nr-pātī-* 'protecting men', *man-dhātī-* 'applying (his) mind', 'thoughtful man'. Agent nouns formed with *-u* from secondary present stems are in a few instances compounded with substantives: *gir-vanasy-ā-* 'fond of hymns', *deva-piy-ī-* (AV. VS.) 'hating the gods', *rāṣṭra-dīps-ī-* (AV.) 'wishing to injure the country'.

2. **Action nouns.** A few action nouns formed with *-ā* from adjectives in *-u* derived from secondary verbal stems, begin in late passages of the RV. to appear in composition with a substantive: *māmsa-bhūks-ā-* (I. 162¹²) 'request for flesh', *śraddhā-manasy-ā-* 'faithful intent' (X. 113⁹); *sajāta-vanasy-ā-* (TS. II. 6. 6⁷) 'desire to rule over relatives'. Much more common are the abstracts in *-ti* (corresponding to adjectives in *-ta*), which may be compounded with indeclinables or nouns (adjective or substantive); e. g. *an-ūti-* 'no help', *ā-sasti-* 'curse', *nir-ṛti-* 'dissolution', *sā-hūti-* 'joint invocation', *su-ūti-* 'good aid'; *soma-pīti-* 'drinking of Soma', *sāma-suti-* 'pressing of Soma'. Some of these are becoming or have become agent nouns; thus *jarād-āgi-* 'attaining great age' as well as 'attainment of old age'; *vasu-dhiti-* 'bestowing wealth' as well as 'bestowal of wealth'; but *vasu-ṅiti-* (AV.) only 'bringing wealth'. Others, even in the RV., approximate to the type of the non-verbal determinatives, as *āsu-ṅiti-* 'world of spirits', *ṛjū-ṅiti-* 'right guidance', *devā-hiti-* 'divine ordinance', *nāmo-ṛjīti-* 'cleansing for adoration', *pūrvā-citti-* 'foreboding': these can, however, be understood as abstracts to corresponding compounds in *-ta*.

3. **Gerundives.** The gerundives formed with *-ya* are ordinarily compounded with adverbial prepositions, as *puro-nuvākyā-* (sc. *fe-* AV.) '(verse) to be repeated beforehand'. In the later Samhitās a noun here sometimes appears as first member: *ntvi-bhāryā-* (AV.) 'to be worn in a skirt', *prathama-vāsyā-* (AV.) 'worn formerly'. The Proper Names *kunḍa-pāyā-*, *puru-māyā-*, *vṛṣṭi-hāyā-*, if they are formed with the gerundive suffix *-ya*, would be examples from the RV.⁴—Gerundives formed with *-anīya* and *-anya*⁵ are compounded with prepositions and *a(n)*-only: *ā-mantranīya-* (AV.) 'to be asked'; *sam-carānyā-* 'suitable for walking on', *a-dviṣenyā-* 'not malevolent'.—Gerundives in *-tva* are not compounded at all except with *a(n)*.

4. **Participles.** Besides prepositions and *a(n)*-, only indeclinable words occurring in connexion with verbs are found compounded with participles (exclusive of the past passive participle): thus *alalā-bhūvant-* 'murmuring' (waters) and *jaṅjanā-bhūvant-* 'crackling' (flame), *astam-yānt-* (AV.) 'setting' and *astam-ṣyānt-* (AV.) 'about to set', *ā-punar-diyamāna-* (AV.) 'not being given back', *āviṣkrvānt-* 'making visible', *dūr-vidvāns-* 'ill-disposed', *sū-vidvāns-* 'knowing well'.

¹ From *manas-* through **man-dhātī-*.

² The verbal force is strongest when the preceding substantive has the sense of an object.

³ As *devā-hiti-* 'act of ordaining by the gods' beside *devā-hita-* 'ordained by the gods'.

⁴ The compounds *amā-vāsyā-* (AV.) sc. *vāsyā-* 'night of the new moon', *ekā-vādyā-*

(AV.) 'uttering a single sound', a kind of spectre, and *vār-kāryā-* (I. 88⁴) are obscure in their formation.

⁵ A few gerundives in *-tavya* begin to be compounded with prepositions or particles in the B. portion of the TS. and MS.: *pravastavyam* (TS.) 'one should go on a journey'; *a-bhārtavyā-* (MS.) 'not to be borne', *sv-ctavyam* (TS.) 'easy to go'.

a. By far the commonest verbal nouns occurring as final member are the past participles in *-ta*, which are compounded with nouns as well as prepositions and other indeclinables. The meaning is mostly passive. It is, however, sometimes active, but in the RV. almost exclusively when a preposition precedes, as *ūd-ita-* 'risen'; when a noun precedes, only in *sārga-takta-* 'speeding with a rush' and *sārga-prataakta-* 'darting forth with a rush'. In the AV. a noun appears also in *uda-plūhī-* 'swimming in the water'; occasionally even transitively governing the first member in sense: *kyti-dviṣṭa-* (AV.) 'hating what has been done' (by another)¹.

b. The past participle in *-na* is less frequent and occurs in the RV. only compounded with prepositions, *a(n)-* and *su-*; e. g. *pāri-cchinna-* 'lopped around'; *i-bhinna-* 'not split'; *śi-pūrṇa-* 'quite full'. But it is found a few times in the later Saṃhitās with a preceding substantive: *agñi-nunna-* (SV.) 'driven away by fire', *resmī-cchinna-* (AV.) 'rent by a storm'; and with active (transitive) sense *gara-gṛiṇī-* (AV.) 'having swallowed poison'.

5. There are besides some verbal adjectives in *-ra* or (after a vowel) *-tra*, *-la* and *-ma*, the first of which occurs compounded with nouns as well as prepositions: *i-sk-ra-* 'united'², *ni-mṛg-ra-* 'attached to', *tanū-śubh-ra-* 'shining in body', *hūri-ścaud-ra-* 'shining yellow'; *vi-bhṛ-tra-* 'to be borne about in various directions'; *i-miś-la-*, *ni-miś-la-*, *sām-miś-la-* 'commingling'; *dva-kṣā-ma-* (AV.) 'emaciated', *ūc-chuṣ-ma-* (TS. I. 6. 2²) 'hissing upwards', *ni-suṣ-ma-* (TS. I. 6. 2²) 'hissing downwards'.

6. Comparatives and superlatives in *-jyāms* and *-iṣṭha* having originally been verbal adjectives are found in composition with prepositions and *sām-* when they still retain their verbal meaning: *ūd-yamiyāms-* 'raising excessively', *pāri-svajjyāms-* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *prāti-cyaviyāms-* 'pressing closer against', *vi-klediyāms-* (AV.) 'moistening more'; *i-gamiṣṭha-* 'coming quickly', *śīm-bhaviṣṭha-* 'most beneficial'.

First member in verbal determinatives.

274. a. Prepositions. At the beginning of determinatives prepositions are employed in accordance with their use in verbal forms; e. g. *pra-nī-* and *prā-nīti-* 'furtherance', *pra-ñatī-* 'leader', *prā-ñita-* 'furthered', *pra-ñenī-* 'guiding constantly'. Even in the many instances in which the corresponding verbal combination has not been preserved, it may be assumed to have existed; e. g. in *abhi-pra-mūr-* 'crushing' and *abhi-pra-bhaṅgin-* 'breaking'. Occasionally, however, the preposition has a meaning which otherwise occurs only before non-verbal nouns; e. g. *ati-yājī-* 'sacrificing excessively'. A preposition belonging to the second member is once prefixed to the first in *saṃ-dhanā-jī-t* (AV.) 'accumulating (= *saṃ-jī-t-*) 'wealth'.

b. Adverbs. Various kinds of adverbs occur in this position, as *puro-jāvan-* 'going before', *akṣayā-drīh-* 'injuring wrongly'; *amutra-bhūya-* (AV. VS.) 'state of being there' (i. e. in the other world). The privative *a(n)-* though belonging in sense to the final member always precedes the first; e. g. *an-agni-dagdha-* 'not burnt by fire'; *i-paleud-daghvan-* 'not remaining behind'; *i-dāra-sr-t* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'.

c. Nouns. The first member, when a noun, expresses various relations to the last.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 195; but also WHITNEY on AV. VII 113¹.

² From *rac-* 'be associated'.

³ In TS. II. 5. 4¹ (B.) *ati-yaj-* means 'to pass over in sacrificing'.

It expresses: 1. the object, which is the prevailing meaning when the final member is an agent noun or an action noun; e. g. *ab-ṣṣ-t-* 'winning waters', *āsva-hayd-* 'urging on steeds', *nr-pāṭf-* 'protecting men', *vīja-sati-* 'act of winning booty', *vṛtra-hītya-* n. 'act of slaying Vṛtra'¹. When the final member is a verbal noun formed from *kr-* 'make', the first member does not necessarily express the product, but may mean the material with which the activity is concerned; thus *hiranya-kārd-* (VS.) is not 'gold-maker' but 'worker in gold', 'goldsmith'.

2. the agent when the last member has a passive sense; e. g. *indra-pā-tama-* 'most drunk by Indra', *sōma-śita-* 'excited by Soma'; occasionally also when the final member is an action noun, as *devā-hitt-* 'ordnance of the gods', *parṇa-śadd-* (AV. VS.) 'fall of leaves', *mitra-tārya-* (AV.) 'victory of friends'.

3. the instrument, the source, or the locality when the final member is an agent noun or a past passive participle; e. g. *ādri-dugdha-*² 'milked with stones', *aritra-pāraṇa-* 'crossing with oars', *gō-jāta-* 'produced from kine', *tīra-sit-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass', *uda-plutā-* (AV.) 'swimming in the water', *āhar-jāta-* (AV.) 'born in the day', *puru-bhū-* 'being in many places', *bandhu-ksī-* 'dwelling among relatives', *pṛṣni-ni-presita-*³ 'sent down to earth'.

4. in an appositionally nominative sense, that as or like which the action of the final member is performed; e. g. *śāna-kr-t-* 'acting as a ruler', *pūrva-pā-* 'drinking first', *vāmi-jāta-* 'born as one dear' = 'dear by nature'; *dhāra-vāki-* 'sounding like streams', *śyeni-jāta-* 'speeding like an eagle'.

5. in the sense of a predicative nominative before a past participle, or a predicative accusative before an agent noun expressive of 'saying'; e. g. *bhaksīm-kṛta-* (TS.) 'enjoyed', *stōma-tasja-* 'fashioned as a hymn of praise'; *vṛātya-bruvā-* (AV.) 'calling oneself a Vṛātya'.

6. adverbially the manner in which an action is done, sometimes by means of a substantive, more often by means of an adjective; e. g. *ṛtv-ij-* 'sacrificing at the proper time', that is, 'regularly', *sārga-takta-* 'speeding with a rush'; *āsu-pātvan-* 'flying swiftly', *dhruva-ksī-* (VS.) 'dwelling securely', *satya-yāj-* 'sacrificing truly'; with a numeral in *dvī-jā-* (AV.) 'twice-born'.

275. Before a verbal noun a nominal first member very often appears with a case-ending⁴, generally with that which the corresponding verb would govern in a sentence. The accusative is here the commonest case, the locative coming next, while the other cases are rarer. A singular case-ending (the acc. or inst.) may here indicate a plural sense; e. g. *āsvam-iṣṭi-* 'seeking horses', *puram-darī-* 'destroyer of forts', *śīneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śīnī-*). Plural (acc.) endings sometimes occur, but dual endings are never found in these compounds.

The accusative case-ending is very common, generally expressing the object of a transitive verb, as *dhanam-jayā-* 'winning booty'. But it also expresses other senses, as that of the cognate accusative; e. g. *subham-yi-(van)-* 'moving in brilliance'; or of an adverbial accusative, e. g. *ugram-pātyā-*⁵

¹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 198, quotes *bka-jit-am svargam* (AV. IV. 34⁸) as showing that the first member was felt to have an accusative sense = 'winning the heavenly world' (*svargam lokam*); but the Paipp. Ms. has the reading *svargyam*, which WHITNEY regards as better, translating 'world-conquering, heaven-going'.

² When the first member is a part of

the body it expresses the sense of 'with reference to', as *bāhū-jāta-* 'quick with the arms'.

³ The local sense here is that of the accusative of the goal.

⁴ Cp. LINDNER, *Nominalbildung* p. 28.

⁵ Occasionally the *-m* is inorganic, as in *maksam-gamā-* and *āsum-gā-* (AV.) 'going swiftly'. In *patam-gā-* 'bird', *patam-* probably

(AV.) 'looking fiercely'; or of a predicative accusative, e.g. *ayakṣmam-kāraṇa-* (AV.) 'producing health', *śṛtaṃ-kart-* (TS. III. 1. 4¹) 'making cooked'. The acc. pl. occurs in *kācit-karā-* 'doing all manner of things', *pśva-iṣi-*² 'desiring kine', *vīpaś-ct-* 'understanding eloquence', *vīpa-dhā-* 'granting eloquence', *huraś-ct-*³ 'intending evil'⁴.

a. The accusative form is commonest before agent nouns ending in *-a* or *-i* which begin with a single consonant and the first syllable of which is short; that is, the *-m* here appears in a syllable in which rhythmic lengthening would be allowed⁵. This accusative form is the regular rule in the RV. when the stem of the first member ends in *-a*, being found before *-kara-* 'making', *-caya-* 'collecting', *-jaya-* 'conquering', *-tara-* 'overcoming', *-dara-* 'cleaving', *-bhara-* 'bearing', *-ruja-* 'breaking', *-sani-* 'winning', *-saha-* 'overwhelming'; e.g. *abhayaṃ-karā-* 'procuring security'. The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *aśva-hayā-* 'urging on steeds', *śukra-digha-* 'emitting clear fluid'. In the RV. the ending *-im* also occurs in *puṣṭim-bharī-* 'bringing prosperity' and *harim-bharā-*⁶ 'bearing the yellow-coloured (bolt)'; and *-um* inorganically in *makṣuṃ-gamā-* 'going quickly'. In the later Saṃhitās also occur *iram-madā-* (VS.) 'rejoicing in the draught', *dūram-gamā-* (VS.) 'going far', *devaṃ-gamā-* (TS.) 'going to the gods', *yudhiṃ-gamā-* (AV.) 'going to battle', *viśvam-bharā-* (AV.) 'all-sustaining', *śakam-bharā-*⁷ (AV.) 'bearing ordure'⁸.

b. The accusative form in *-am* is not uncommon before a final member with initial vowel (coalescence of the two vowels being thus avoided); e.g. *cakram-āsajī-* 'obstructing the wheel', *viśvam-invi-* 'all-moving', *dśvam-iṣi-* 'desiring horses', *vācam-tūkhayā-* 'word-moving', *samudram-tūkhaya-* (only voc.) 'stirring the vat', *viśvam-ējyā-* 'all-exciting'; in *-im*: *agnim-indhā-* 'fire-kindler'; in *-ām*: *tvām-āhuti-* (TS.) 'offering oblations to thee'.

c. The accusative form is common when the final member is formed from a present stem, owing to the close connexion of such verbal nouns with the verb; e.g. *dhiyaṃ-jinvā-* 'exciting meditation', *ugram-pasyā-* (AV.) 'looking fiercely', *mām-pasyi-* (AV.) 'looking at me'.

d. Apart from the conditions stated above (a, b, c) the accusative case-ending rarely occurs in the first member of verbal determinatives; e.g. *vanāṃ-kīraṇa-*, a particular part of the body; *dhiyaṃ-dhī-* 'devout', *śubhaṇṇjā-(van)-* 'moving in brilliance'⁹.

e. In the great majority of instances the first member, if it has the accusative case-form, ends in *-am*, mostly from stems in *-a*, but also from monosyllabic consonant stems (*śur-am-* etc.)¹⁰, and from one stem in *-ī* (*dhiy-am-*). Otherwise there are three or

represents IE. *fetr-*; while in *pūram-dhi-* 'fertile woman' and *vīpaṃ-dhī-* 'bold', the origin of the nasal is doubtful; cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 202.

¹ In B. this predicative accusative sometimes comes to have the value of a predicative nominative when compounded with a gerundive or a derivative of *bhū-*, as *śṛtaṃ-kartā-* (TS.) 'to be made cooked', *nagnam-bhāvika-* (TS.) 'becoming naked'.

² *pśvās* acc. pl.

³ Here *huraś-* might be a genitive as *ct-* governs that case as well as the acc.

⁴ *puro-hā* 'destroying forts' may contain an acc.; also *īṣa-stūt-* 'praise of prosperity', which the Pada analyses as *īṣa-stūt-*.

⁵ How much the use of these forms is dependent on rhythm is seen in the alter-

nation of *ṣvaṃ-cayā-* and *ṣva-ct-* 'paying a debt', *kṛjāṃ-karā-* and *kṛjā-ct-* 'causing the din of battle', *dhanam-jayā-* and *dhanajit-* 'winning booty', *janam-sahā-* 'overcoming beings' and *vātā-sāhā-* 'conquering crowds'.

⁶ Beside *kavi-rydhā-* 'prospering the wise'.

⁷ Here the acc. of an *a*-stem is substituted for *śakān-*.

⁸ The compound *narām-dhīṣa-* (VS.) is of doubtful meaning and irregular accent.

⁹ For several other examples occurring in Brāhmaṇa passages of the later Saṃhitās see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 207 d, e.

¹⁰ In *hṛd-am-sini-* 'winning the heart' the neuter *hṛd-* is treated as if it were a masc. or fem.

four in *-in* (*agnin-* etc.), one in *-am* (*makṣam-*), and two pronominal accusatives in *-am* (*vām-*, *tvām-*). Polysyllabic consonant stems never have the accusative case-ending in the first member¹.

276. The locative case-ending is in the RV. almost limited to employment before agent-nouns formed from the simple root with or without determinative *-t*: *agre-gā-* 'going before', *agre-gū-* (VS.) 'moving forwards', *agre-ṇi-* (VS.) 'leader', *agre-pā-* 'drinking first', *agre-pū-* (VS.) 'drinking first', *āṅge-śthi-*² (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *ṛte-jā-*³ 'produced at the sacrifice', *kṛcchre-śrī-t-* 'running into danger', *gahvare-śthā-* (VS.) 'being at the bottom', *divi-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in heaven', *divi-yāj-* 'worshipping in heaven', *divi-śrī-t-* (AV.) 'sojourning in heaven', *divi-śād-* (AV.) 'sitting in heaven', *dāre-djī-*⁴ 'visible afar', *dosani-śrī-* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *rathe-śūbh-* 'flying along in a car', *rathe-śthā-* 'standing in a car', *vane-rāj-* 'shining in a wood', *vane-śth-* 'prevailing in woods', *sute-gṛbh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *hṛdi-śpf-* 'touching the heart'⁵.

2. The RV. has only two examples of a locative before an agent noun formed with the suffix *-a*: *divi-ksayā-* 'dwelling in heaven', *vahye-sayī-* 'resting in a litter'⁶. There are several others in the later Saṃhitās: *agre-vadh-* (VS.) 'killing what is in front', *talpe-sayā-* (AV.) 'resting on a couch', *divi-carā-* (AV.) 'faring in heaven', *divi-śambhā-* (AV.) 'supported on the sky', *dāre-vadh-* (VS.) 'far-striking', *hari-sayī-*⁶ (MS. I. 27) 'resting in gold'. In the AV. also occurs an example of the locative before an agent noun formed with *-in*: *parame-śth-in-* 'standing in the highest (place)'.

3. The locative plural is much rarer than the singular in the first member: *apsu-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-jī-* 'born in the waters', *apsu-jī-t-* 'vanquishing in the waters', *apsu-śād-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-vāh-* (SV.) 'driving in water', *apsi-samīka-* (AV.) 'excited in the waters', *gosu-yūdh-* 'fighting in (= for) kine', *pṛtsu-tir-* 'conquering in battles', *bhavesu-jā-* 'produced in fights', *hṛtsu-śi-* 'piercing to the heart'.

a. In these locative compounds the second member is most commonly *-śthā-* or *-śthā-* in the RV., while the first member is most usually *agre-*, *dāre-* or *vane-*. The locative in *-e* is the predominant one, even displacing *-i* in *pathe-śthā-* 'standing on the road' beside *pathi-śthā-* (AV.).

277. The instrumental case-ending occurs several times in the first member of verbal determinatives: *ksamā-carā-* (VS.) 'being in the ground', *gīrā-vj-dh-* 'rejoicing in song', *dhiyā-jīr-* 'aging in devotion', *yuvā-datta-* 'given by you two', *yuvā-ṇita-* 'led by you two', *yusmā-datta-* 'given by you', *yusmā-ṇita-* 'led by you', *śūneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śūnā*). When the stem of the first member ends in *-a* there is some doubt whether *-ā* here represents the instrumental ending or lengthening of the vowel⁷; thus *śaphā-rāj-* may mean 'breaking with the hoof' or 'hoof-breaker'; and in *yuvā-yāj-* 'yoked by you two' the vowel may be simply lengthened. In *divā-karā-* (AV.) 'sun' the first member is an old instrumental used adverbially⁸.

a. The examples of the ablative case-ending are rare: *dakṣiṇāt-sād-*

¹ *sakan-* substitutes the acc. of an *a*-stem; above p. 165, note 7.

² There are several other locatives compounded with *-śthā-*.

³ There are several other locatives compounded with *-jā-*.

⁴ In *nare-śthā-* (RV.), an epithet of the car, the first member may be a locative (*Sāyana*), but it may also be a dative of *nj-* (BR., GRASSMANN), 'serving for a man to stand on'.

⁵ In *sute-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', the accent shows that the final member has an adjectival, not a verbal sense. In the name *mātari-śvan-* the first member is interpreted in RV. III. 29¹¹ as a locative; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 247, note; MACDONELL, Grundriss III. I A, p. 72 (middle).

⁶ In VS. v. 8 *hari-sayā-*; *harā-* here is the locative of *hṛi-*.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 56.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 213 a, note.

(MS. II. 6¹) 'sitting in the south'; *divo-jā-* 'produced from heaven', *divo-dūh-* (SV.) 'milking from the sky', *divo-riic-* 'shining from the sky'.

b. The ending of the genitive would naturally appear only before derivatives from verbs governing the genitive. There seem to be no certain examples: *divā-kṣas-* 'ruling over the sky' (*divās*) however seems probable¹.

b. 1. Ordinary Adjective as final member.

278. Ordinary adjectives which are not of a verbal character may appear as final member of determinatives much in the same way as past participles in *-ta* and *-na* (273, 4). But adjectives ending in *-u* are almost exclusively compounded with the privative *a(n)-* and prepositions; e. g. *an-āśi-* 'not swift', *an-ṛju-* 'dishonest', *ā-dāśu-* 'impious', *ā-bhru-* 'not terrible'; *prāśi-* 'very (*prā*) swift' (*āśi-*). The only final members otherwise compounded are *-vasu-* 'rich' in *vibhā-vasu-* 'radiant' and other compounds, and *-raghu-* 'swift', in *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration'.

a. The first member may be a substantive in the relation of a case to the last; e. g. *tanū-subhra-* 'shining in body', *yajñā-dhira-* 'versed in sacrifice', *vakmarāja-satya-* 'faithful to the ordainers of hymns', *viśvā-sambhū-* 'salutary for all'. The relation is sometimes expressed by the case-ending: the locative in *gāvi-śhira-* (AV.) 'strong in kine (*gāvi*)' as a name, *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration', *sutā-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', *sumnā-āpi-* 'united in affection (*sumnā*)'; instrumental² in *dhiyā-vasu-* 'rich in devotion', *vidmanāpas-* 'working (*āpis-*) with wisdom (*vidmānā*)'. The first member may also appositionally express a comparison as representing a type: *śikā-babhru-* (VS.) 'reddish like a parrot'³.

b. The first member may be an adjective qualifying the final member in an adverbial sense; thus *aprāmi-satya* (voc.) 'eternally true', *urdhvā-prāni-*⁴ (VS.) 'spotted above', *try-āruṣa-* 'reddish in three (parts of the body)', *mahā-naṅgī-*⁵ (AV.) 'courtesan' ('very naked'), *mahā-mahī-vrata-* 'ruling very mightily', *mahā-vaśārin-* 'very broad', *viśvā-śāndra-* 'all-glittering'⁶.

c. Adverbs and particles often appear as first member; e. g. *an-āśi-* 'not swift', *anyāta-ant-* (VS.) 'variegated on one side (*anyātas*)', *evāra-* 'quite (*evā*) ready (*āra-*)', *duḥ-śva-* 'unfavourable', *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself', *satī-mahānt-* 'equally (*sa-his*) great', *satī-byhātī-* (VS.) 'the equally great' (a metre), *satyām-ugra-* 'truly mighty', *śi-priya-* (AV.) 'very dear'.

d. Several prepositions appear as first member, mostly with their original adverbial meaning; e. g. *āti-kṛṣṇa-*⁷ (VS.) 'very dark'; *ā-miśta-tama-* 'mixing very readily'⁸; *upottamī-* (AV.) 'penultimate'; *nī-dhruvi-* ('fixed down') 'persevering', *nī-kevalya-* (VS.) 'belonging exclusively'; *prāśi-* 'very swift', *pra-*

¹ But it has also been otherwise explained; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 213 c, note; who also quotes *ā-karya-vid-* 'knowing nothing' from the MS.

² The word *jāñi-śhira-* probably contains an old instrumental = 'naturally solid'; in *nābhā-nēdīpā-* 'nearest in kin' as a name, the first member though looking like a locative, probably represents an Ilr. stem *nabhā-*; cp. RICHTER, IF, 9, 209. The compounds *śā-gama-*, an epithet of Indra, and *gāst-ajra-* (VS.) are Bahuvrhis.

³ A transition to this compound use appears in *māno jāviṣṭham* (RV. VI. 9^b) 'very swift as thought'.

⁴ Here the adjectival stem is used for the adv. *urdhvām*.

⁵ From this is formed the m. *mahā-naṅgī-* (AV.) 'paramour'.

⁶ The meaning of *sādhv-aryā-* 'truly faithful' (?), which occurs only once, is doubtful; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 237 (top).

⁷ *āti* in the sense of 'very' does not occur in the RV., but in the later Samhitās it is the commonest of the prepositions compounded with adjectives.

⁸ 'Very slightly mixed', GELDNER, VS. 3, 181. — *ā-tura-* 'suffering' is obscure in origin.

śardha- (voc.) 'bold'; *vī-maht-* 'very great', *vī-sama-* (VS.) 'uneven', *vī-sadṛśa-* 'dissimilar', *vy-ant-* 'variously tinted' (dawn); *sām-vasu-* 'dwelling together', *sām-priya-* (VS.) 'mutually dear'.

b. 2. Ordinary Substantive as final member.

279. Determinatives with ordinary non-verbal substantives as their final member¹ are not common in the earliest period of the language. In the first nine books of the RV., except the frequent compounds in *-pati-* and *-patni-*, there are not many more than three dozen examples²; the tenth book has quite two dozen more, and the AV. seven dozen more.

The first member is frequently a substantive also. Its relation to the final member seems to be limited to the genitive sense in the Samhitās. This genitive sense appears when the final member is a word expressive of relationship, or *-pati-* 'husband' or 'lord'; e. g. *rāja-putri-* 'king's son', *mṛtyu-bīndhu-* 'companion of death', *vīś-pāti-* 'lord of the tribe'. It sometimes expresses the material, as *dru-padd-* 'post of wood', *hiraṇya-rathā-* 'car of gold' or 'car full of gold'. In *deva-kilbiṣā-* 'offence against the gods' we have an example of an objective genitive. There seems to be no instance in the RV. of a Proper Name appearing as the first member of a determinative in the genitive sense³ except in *indra-senī-* (x. 102⁴) 'Indra's missile'⁴, which compound is itself perhaps a Proper Name⁵. In *camasādhyaryu-* (AV.) 'the priest of the cups', the first member expresses quite a general genitive sense of relation = 'the priest who is concerned with the cups'.

280. As in determinatives with verbal noun as final member, the case-ending may appear in the first member. But it is less common here, and owing to the purely nominal character of the final member, is almost restricted to the genitive. The ending of this case is very common before *-pati-* 'lord' or 'husband': *aṅhas-as-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of distress', N. of an intercalary month, *gnī-s-pāti-*⁶ 'husband of a divine woman', *jā-s-pāti-* 'lord of the family', *bṛh-as-pāti-*⁷ and *brāhmaṇ-as-pāti-* 'lord of devotion', *mānas-as-pāti-* 'lord of mental power', *vān-as-pāti-*⁸ 'lord of the wood', 'tree', *vāc-is-pāti-* 'lord of speech', *vāstas-pāti-* 'lord of the dwelling', *śubh-ās-pāti-* 'lord of splendour', *sīdas-as-pāti-*⁹ 'lord of the sacrificial seat'. According to the analogy of these compounds which end in *-s-pāti-*, were also formed from *a-*stems *ṛta-s-pati-* (only voc.) 'lord of pious works' and *rātha-s-pāti-* 'lord of the car'. The word *dām-pati-* may stand for **dām-s-pati-*¹⁰ 'lord of the house' (*dām-*, the gen. pl. of which, *dam-ām*, occurs).

¹ Bahuvrhis with ordinary substantives as final member were common from the beginning; hence combinations which appear as Bahuvrhis in the older period, are often only found later as Tatpuruṣas, the latter being thus occasionally affected by the formal peculiarities of Bahuvrhis.

² See WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 241 (97 note).
³ If this compound is a Proper Name, it is the only instance with the stem-form in the first member; but the genitive case-ending appears in the first member of a few determinative Proper Names; see below, 280 a.

⁴ 'Indra's missile' (BR.), 'Indra's army' (GRASSMANN).
⁵ This is the opinion of GELDNER, VS. 2, 1, and of DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax 3, p. 202.

⁶ An anomalous f. *gnī-s-pātnī-* was formed from this word after the etymology had been forgotten, as conversely the m. *śapātna-* 'rival' was formed from *śa-pātnī-* 'co-wife'.
⁷ *bṛh-* here is synonymous with *brāhmaṇ-*, *brāhmaṇas-pāti-* being a parallel and explanatory formation. On *bṛhas-pāti-* and cognate compounds see OTTO STRAUSS, *Bṛhaspati im Veda* (Leipzig 1905), p. 14—17.

⁸ *van-* 'wood' appears also in the pl. G. *van-ām*, L. *vān-su-*.

⁹ It is unnecessary to assume the existence of a stem *sād-* to explain *sīdas-pāti-* and *sāt-pāti-* since the stem *sadas-* occurs; nor is *rād-* necessary to explain *rādhas-pāti-* (only voc.) as *rādhas-* is frequent.

¹⁰ FISCHER, VS. 2, 93 ff., 307 ff., rejects any connexion between *dām-pati-* and *dām-* 'house'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 249 c, note.

a. These compounds in *-pāti-* are treated by the Padu text in three different ways: 1. *gnāspāti-*, *bhāspāti-*, *vānāspāti-*, *vīspāti-* (and *vīspātī-*) appear as simple words; 2. *gnāh-pāti-*, *jāh-pāti-*, *sāc-pāti-*, *ṛta-pate* (voc.), *rādhā-pate* (voc.), and those with a single accent (except *vīspāti-*) as compounds separated by the Avagraha sign; 3. all other doubly accented compounds (e. g. *brāhmaṇas-pāti-*) as two separate words; even *rāthas-pātis* is written *rāthah | pātīh* | as if *rāthah* were a nom. sing.¹

a. Otherwise the genitive ending appears only two or three times in the RV. in Proper Names: *divo-dāsa-* 'Servant of heaven' (?), *śīnah-śṭpa-*² 'Dog's tail', and (with gen. pl.) *nārā-śāṃsa-* (for **nārāṇ-śāṃsa-*)³ 'Praise of men', an epithet of Agni. The VS. has also *rāyas-poṣa-* 'increase of wealth' in *rāyas-poṣa-dā-* 'bestowing increase of wealth' and *rāyas-poṣa-vāni-* 'procuring increase of wealth'.

b. Other case-endings are very rare in such determinatives. The locative appears in *svapne-dusvapnyā-* (AV.) 'evil dreaming in sleep'⁴; the instrumental in *vācā-stena-* 'thief by speech', 'one who makes mischief by his words'; the dative in *dasyave-vrka-* (voc.) 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; and possibly *dasyave śāhaḥ* (I. 36¹⁸) may be meant as a name with double accent.

281. In a few instances the first member is a substantive used appositionally to express sex or composite nature: *purusa-mṛgā-* (VS.) 'male antelope'; *ūtaka-yātu-* 'owl demon' (= demon in form of an owl), *śūśullika-yātu-* 'owlet demon'; *purusa-vyāghrā-* 'man-tiger', a kind of demon, *vṛṣā-kapī-* 'man-ape'.

282. An adjective may appear as first member determining the sense of the following substantive. This type, which is called *Karmadhāraya* by the Indian grammarians, is uncommon in the Saṃhitās. Among the oldest are *candrā-mās-*⁵ '(bright) moon'⁶ and *pūrṇā-mās-a-* (TS. III. 4. 4¹) 'full moon'. Besides these occur *eka-vīrā-* 'unique hero', *kr̥ṣṇa-śakunt-* (AV.) 'raven'⁷, *nava-jvārā-* 'new pain', *mahā-grāmā-* 'great host', *mahā-dhanā-* 'great booty', *mahā-vīrā-* 'great hero'⁸, *sapta-ṛṣāyas* 'the Seven Seers', N. of a group of ancient sages (beside the separate words *sap̄ti ṛṣayaḥ* and *ṛṣayaḥ sap̄ti* in Books I-IX), *sapta-gṛdhṛāḥ* (AV¹) 'the seven vultures'⁹.

a. A variety of *Karmadhāraya* is that in which the first member expresses a part of the last: *adhara-kaṅṭhā-* (VS.) 'lower part of the neck', *ardha-devā-*¹⁰ 'demi-god', *ardha-māśā-* (AV. VS.) 'half-month', *madhyam-dina-* 'midday'; also with change of gender: *agra-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue (*jihvā-*)'; with the suffix *-a-*: *ardha-re-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'hemistich', *pūrvāhṇā-* 'forenoon'¹¹.

283. Prepositions frequently occur as first member, all except *prī-* in their ordinary adverbial senses. Those which are thus used in the RV.

¹ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 241 (97 a a, note).

² This name occurs once with tmesis, *śīnah śic chēpam* (V. 2¹).

³ Cp. *nārāṇ nā śāṃsa-* (I. 1739 etc.) and *śāṃso nārāṇam* (VI. 24²); see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 248 d, note.

⁴ *svadā-cakṣus* 'mirrored in the lake' is regarded by GELDNER (VS. I, 173) as a Tatpuruṣa = 'eye in the lake'. For one or two doubtful examples of locative pl. see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 249 (bottom).

⁵ That this is a very old combination is shown by the fact that *mās-* 'moon' occurs almost exclusively in compounds (*sūryā-māsā* and *pūrṇā-mās-*, SB.), only two or three times alone (though often in the sense of 'month'), and is therefore obsolescent in the RV.

⁶ In the later Saṃhitās *candrā-* comes to

mean 'moon' as an abbreviation of *candrā-mās-*.

⁷ With change of meaning from 'black bird'.

⁸ In K. appears the dative *vīśva-devāya*, the expression *vīśve devāḥ* having become a *Karmadhāraya*.

⁹ Translated by WHITNEY (AV. VIII. 9¹⁸) as a Bahuvrīhi, 'seven-vultured'.

¹⁰ *ardhā-* 'half' is here used in a figurative sense.

¹¹ *pitā-mahā-* (AV. TS. VS.) and *taṭā-mahā-* (AV.) 'grandfather' and *prā-pitāmaha-* (VS. TS.) and *prā-tatāmaha-* (AV¹) 'great grandfather' (only voc.) are probably not *Karmadhārayas*, but formed in imitation of *mahā-mahā-* which appeared to be a gradation of *mahānt-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 255, note.

are *ādhi* 'over', *ni* 'down', *pāri* 'around', *prā* 'forward'¹; 'front part of'², 'extreme' (of high degree), 'great' (in names of relationship), *prāti* 'against', *vi* 'asunder', *sām* 'together' (also *sa-* in the same sense); and in the later Sāpṛhitās, *antar* 'between', *āpa* 'away', *ā* 'at hand', *ul* 'up', *īpa* 'beside', *īpari* 'above'. The following are examples in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *ādhi-pati* (AV. VS.) 'over-lord', *ādhi-patnī* (AV. VS.) 'sovereign lady', *ādhi-bhojana-* 'additional gift', *ādhi-rājā-* 'supreme king'; *antar-desh-* (AV.) 'intermediate region', *antah-pātri-* (AV.) 'inner (= interior of the) vessel'; *āpa-rūpa-* (AV.)⁴ 'absence of form', 'deformity'; *ā-pati-* (VS. MS. 1. 2⁷) 'the lord here'; **ut-sūrya-* 'sunrise' in *otsūryām* (AV.) 'till sunrise' (*ā-utsūryām*); *upa-pati-* (VS.) 'paramour' (lit. 'sub-husband'); *upari-layana-* (AV.) 'elevated couch'; *ni-dhāna-* (AV.) 'conclusion', *ni-pakṣasi-* (VS.) 'second rib', *ni-pādī-* 'low ground', *ny-dhāna-* (AV.) 'close of day'; *pāri-pati-* 'lord (of all) around', *pari-vatsarā-* 'full year'; *pragāthā-* (VS.) 'fore-song', a kind of stanza, *pra-dś-* 'region' and (AV.) 'intermediate quarter', *pra-dhāna-* 'prize of battle', *prādhvanā-* ('forward course', *ādhan-*) 'bed of a river', *prārthā-* (AV.) 'preparation', 'implement'; *prā-pada-*⁶ 'tip of the foot', *prā-uga-* 'forepart of the shafts (of a chariot)'; *prā-napāt-* 'great-grandson', *prā-tatāmaha-* (AV.) and *prā-pitāmaha-* (VS. TS.) 'great-grandfather'; *pra-dś-* (AV.) 'third (or fifth) heaven', *prā-patha-* 'distant path', *prā-maganda-* 'arch-usurer', *prā-vira-* 'great hero', *prāyus-* (MS. 1. 5¹) 'long life' (*āyus*); *prāti-jand-* (AV.) 'adversary', *prāti-dīvan-* 'adversary at play'; *vi-dś-* (VS.) 'intermediate region', *vi-madhya-* 'middle', *vi-manyu-* 'longing'⁸, *vi-vāc-* 'opposing shout', 'contest', *vy-ōdana-* (RV.) 'different food'⁹; *sa-pātnī-* 'co-wife', *saṃ-grāmā-* (AV.) 'assembly', 'encounter', *saṃ-anīka-* 'battle-array'¹⁰, *saṃ-bindhu-* 'akin', *saṃ-vatsarā-*¹¹ 'full year'.

284. Other indeclinables sometimes occur as first member, but very rarely in the RV. They include a few adverbs and the particles *a(n)*, *du-*, *su-*, *kim-*, *ku-*: *paścā-dosā-* (VS.) 'late evening', *purā-agni-* (VS.) 'fire in front'; *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *ā-hoty-* (AV.) 'incompetent Hoty'; *duc-chūnā-* 'calamity'¹²; *śi-brāhmaṇa-* (AV.) 'good Brāhman', *śi-bheṣaja-* (AV. TS.) 'good reinedy', *su-vasanā-*¹³ 'fair garment'; *kim-puruṣ-* (VS.) a kind of mythical being, *kū-sara-* (RV.), a kind of reed.

4. Bahuvrihi Compounds.

285. The term **Bahuvrihi**, employed by the Indian grammarians to designate this type, is perhaps the most convenient name for these secondary adjective compounds, as it represents their general character both in form and meaning. For the final member is practically always a substantive, and the relation of the first member to the last is mostly attributive

¹ Without perceptibly changing the meaning of the final member.

² This and the following meanings do not occur in the combination of *prā* with verbs.

³ Expressing separation, extension, derivation.

⁴ In *upa-kūmi-* 'aversion' the final member is a verbal noun. There seem to be no certain instances of this kind of compound with *āpi*: cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 259 β, note.

⁵ In *ny-arthā-* 'destruction' the second member is a verbal noun. On the relation of *ny-ārbuda-* (AV. VS.) and *ny-ārbudī-* (AV.) to *ārbuda-* and *ārbudī-*, see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 260 (top).

⁶ Once *prā-pad-* in AV.

⁷ Probably for *prā-yuga-*.

⁸ From *manyū-* 'zeal'.

⁹ This is Sāyana's explanation (*vividhe 'nne'*) of the word in VIII. 52⁹.

¹⁰ From *ānīka-* 'front'.

¹¹ *sām* in this compound expresses completeness.

¹² Cp. *śundam* 'with success'. On the Sandhi see p. 31, note 4.

¹³ Though *vasana-* has a concrete sense here, the compound may have arisen when the word had a verbal meaning.

(Karmadhāraya), less commonly dependent (Tatpuruṣa), and very rarely coordinative (Dvandva). The best name otherwise is 'possessive', as this is their meaning in the vast majority of instances. In a few examples, however, the more general sense of 'connected with' (which may usually be expressed more specifically) is required to explain the relation between the substantive and the Bahuvrīhi which agrees with it; thus *āsva-piṣṭha-* 'borne on horse-back', *devā-psaras-* 'affording enjoyment for the gods', *parjanya-relas-* 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya', *viśvā-kr̥ṣṭi-* 'dwelling with all peoples', *viśvā-nara-*¹ 'belonging to or existing among all men', *vīrā-pastya-* 'belonging to the abode of a hero', *śatī-sāvada-* 'lasting a hundred autumns', *śāra-vīra-* (AV.) 'characterized by heroic men' = 'making men heroic' (amulet).

286. **Attributive Bahuvrīhis.**—The commonest form of Bahuvrīhi is that in which an attributive noun is the first member. It is most frequently an adjective, as *ugrā-bāhu-* 'powerful-armed', *urvy-ūti-*² 'giving wide aid', *jīvā-putra-* 'having living sons', *śukrā-varṇa-* 'bright-coloured'³. The first member is also often a past passive participle in *-ta* or *-na*, the action expressed by which is usually performed by the person denoted by the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees; e. g. *prāyata-dakṣiṇa-* 'he by whom the sacrificial fee has been presented', *rātā-havis-* 'who offers an oblation'⁴. The action is, however, not infrequently supposed to be performed by others, always in the case of *hata-* 'slain'; e. g. *hatā-vṛṣṇi-* 'whose husband has been slain', *hatī-mātṛ-* 'whose mother has been slain'. Both senses appear in *rātā-havya-* 'he by whom' and 'to whom offerings have been made'. An outside agent is sometimes expressed by an additional member at the beginning of the compound, as *jīvā-pita-sarga-* 'whose streams have been drunk by the living'⁵. A present participle occasionally occurs as first member; e. g. *ā-yād-vasu-* (AV.) and *saṃ-yād-vasu-* (AV.) 'to whom wealth comes', *bhṛṅjad-ṛṣṭi-* 'having glittering spears', *riśad-vaṭsa-* 'having a shining calf', *śuśād-ratha-* 'having a brilliant car'; also a perfect-participle in *dadyā-* and *pazi-* 'whose felly is visible', *yuyujāmā-sapti-* 'whose steeds are yoked'.

a. The first member is further often a substantive used predicatively; e. g. *āsva-parṇa-* 'horse-winged' = 'whose wings are horses' (car); *indra-satru-* 'whose foe is Indra'; *tad-īd-ārtha-*⁶ 'having just that as an aim', *drōṇāhava-* 'whose pail (*āhāvā-*) is a trough', *śitā-deva-* 'whose god is a phallus', *śūradaka-* (AV.) 'whose water is spirit' (*śīrā-*). The final member is here sometimes a comparative or superlative (including *pāra-*) used substantively: *avaras-parā-*⁷ (VS.) 'in which the lower is higher' = 'topsy-turvy'⁸, *īsthi-bhāyams-* (AV.) 'having bone as its chief part' = 'chiefly bone', *indra-ijēṣṭha-* 'having Indra as chief', 'of whom Indra is chief', *yamā-śreṣṭha-* (AV.) 'of whom Yama is best', *sōma-śreṣṭha-* (AV.) 'of which Soma is best'.

¹ For other names see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 273 (107 a, note).

² For several other examples formed with *vīd-* see WHITNEY 1294 b.

³ Cp. p. 145, note 3.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 1298.

⁵ The sense is thus identical with verbal determinatives or verbally governing compounds such as *vājan-bhārā-* and *bhārā-vāja-* 'bearing booty'. In *vīthi-kotra-* 'having an invitation sacrifice' = 'inviting to sacrifice', a stem in *-ti* is used almost like a past participle in *-ta*; cp. *vīthi-havya-* as a name.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY 1299 a.

⁷ Cp. WHITNEY 1299 b.

⁸ Here a pronoun appears instead of a substantive in the first member.

⁹ Here the first member retains the *s* of the nom. surviving from the use of the two words in syntactical juxtaposition; the first member also is used substantively in this compound.

¹⁰ On *ekā-patrā-* (said of dice) see now LÜDERS, Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien (Abh. d. K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen 9, 2) p. 64.

A comparison is sometimes implied between the first substantive and the second: *varṣājya* (AV.) 'whose rain is like butter', *vrkṣā-keśa* 'tree-haired' = 'whose trees are like hair' = 'wooded' (mountain).

The first member further sometimes expresses the material of which the second consists; e. g. *rajatā-nābhi* (VS.) 'whose naval is (made of) silver'; *hṛanya-nemi* 'whose felines are (made of) gold'; or something closely connected with and characteristic of it, as *niyā-ratha* 'whose car is (drawn by) a team'.

287. **Dependent Bahuvrīhis.**—The first member is dependent on the last in the sense of a case-relation, the case-ending being sometimes retained.

a. It has often a genitive sense¹, as *pāti-kāma* (AV.) 'having desire for a husband'; with genitive ending, *raṇyā-kāma* 'having a desire of wealth'. Here the first member often implies a comparison (when it never has the case-ending): *agni-tejas* (AV.) 'having the brightness of fire', 'fire-bright', *śka-grīva* (AV.) 'having the neck of a bear' (demons), *gō-vapus* 'having the form of a cow', *jñātī-mukha* (AV.) 'having the face of (= like) relatives', *māno-javas* 'having the swiftness of thought' = 'swift as thought', *mayāra-roman* 'having the plumes of peacocks' (Indra's steeds).

b. In a few instances it has the sense of, and then always the ending of, the instrumental: *ā-giraukas* 'not to be kept at rest (*ikas*) by a song (*girā*)', *krātva-magha* 'constituting a reward (gained) by intelligence', *bhāsi-keṭu* 'recognisable by light'².

c. The locative sense is more frequent, being often accompanied by the case-ending: *asānu-īṣu* 'having arrows in his mouth', *divī-yoni* 'having origin in heaven'; also several formed with *dūre* 'in the distance', as *dūrā-anta* 'ending in the distance', *dūrā-gayūti* (AV.) 'whose sphere is far away'³.

There are further examples in which the last member has the locative sense when it is a part of the body and what is expressed by the first member appears in or on it: *asru-mukhī* (AV.) 'having tears on her face', 'tear-faced', *kīlālodhu-ṛ* (AV.) 'having sweet drink in her udder', *ghṛtā-prṣṭha* 'butter-backed', *pātra-hasta* (AV.) 'having a hand in which is a vessel', *maṇi-grīvā* 'having pearls on the neck', *mādhu-jihva* 'having a tongue on which is honey', *vājra-bāhu* 'having an arm on which is a bolt'.

288. **Coordinate Bahuvrīhis.**—No example is found in the RV. and hardly any in the other Saṃhitās of the first and last members of Bahuvrīhis being coordinated in sense. The VS. has *sāma-prṣṭha* 'containing Stomas and Prṣṭhas'; also *dhar-divā* (xxxviii.12) 'daily', which is a kind of Dvandva Bahuvrīhi, being formed from the adverb *dhar-divi* 'day by day'. The form *somendrī* 'belonging to Soma and Indra', occurs only in B. passages of later Saṃhitās (TS. MS. K.).

289. **Indeclinables as first member.**—In a number of Bahuvrīhis the first member is not a noun, but an indeclinable word, either a preposition or an adverb.

a. **Prepositions** are common as first member of Bahuvrīhis, expressing the local position of the final member in relation to the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees. Some sixteen prepositions are thus used, the most frequent being *vī* which occurs as often in the RV. as all the rest put together. They are *āti* 'beyond', *ādhi* 'on', *antār* 'within', *āpa* 'away', *abhi*

¹ An accusative in sense and form appears in *tvām-kāma* 'having a desire for thee', not a Bahuvrīhi with *āpas* 'work'; cp. 278 a and 91 B.

² The compound *vidmāṇas* 'working with skill' (*vidmāṇā*) is probably a determinative native formed with the adj. *āpas* 'working', p. 278 (bottom). ³ On a few doubtful instances of such locative compounds see WACKERNAGEL 2^d.

'around' and 'toward', *áva* 'down', 'away', *á* 'near', *úd* 'upward', *úpa* 'near', *ní* 'down', *nís* 'away', *pári* 'around', *prí* 'in front', 'very', *práti* 'against', *ví* 'apart', *sám* 'together'. Of these *úpa* is used thus in the RV. only, while *ántár*, *áva*, *ní* appear in the later Saṃhitās only. The following are examples of compounds thus formed in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *dy-ármí-* 'overflowing', *śi-ccandas-* (VS.) 'having redundant metres' (verse); *ádhi-nirñij-* 'having a garment on', *ádhy-akṣa-* 'having an eye on', 'overseer'; *antar-dívā-* (AV.) 'having fire within'; *ápodaka-* 'waterless', *apa-rth-* (AV.) 'unseasonable'; *abhi-níra-* and *abhi-satvan-* 'having heroes around', *abhi-rūpa-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *abhi-śeṇá-* 'directing arrows'; *ava-keśá-* (AV.) 'having hair hanging down', *dva-toka-* (AV. VS.) 'miscarrying'; *á-deva-* 'having the gods near', 'devoted to the gods', *á-manas-* (AV. TS.) 'kindly disposed'; *ú-sakthá-* (VS.) 'having the thighs raised', *úd-ojas-* 'highly powerful'; *upa-manyú-* 'having zeal at hand', 'zealous', *úpa-vasu-* 'bringing riches near'; *ní-manyu-* (AV.) 'whose anger has subsided', *ní-vakṣas-* (TS. v. 6. 23¹) 'having a sunken breast', *ní-kulí-* (VS.) 'going down hill', *ní-kilbisá-* 'deliverance from sin' (that in which sin has subsided); *nir-jarāyu-* (AV.) 'having cast its skin', *nir-māya-* 'powerless', *nir-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless'; *pari-marí-* (TS. v. 6. 21¹) 'having death around' = 'round whom people have died', *pari-manyú-* 'very angry'; *prá-śṛṅgá-* (VS. TS.) 'having prominent horns', *prá-vakṣas-* 'very energetic'; *prá-manas-* (AV.) 'very thoughtful'; *práti-rūpa-* 'having a corresponding form', 'like', *práti-varṣmín-* (AV.) 'having an opposite course', *práti-veśa-* 'neighbour' (living opposite); *ví* = 'apart': *ví-karṇá-* (AV.) 'having ears far apart', *ví-sákha-* (AV.) 'branched', *vy-ámsa-* 'having the shoulders apart', 'broad-shouldered'; = 'extensive': *ví-manas-* 'wide-minded', 'sagacious', *ví-hāyas-* 'of extensive power'; = 'divided': *vy-adhvá-* (AV.) 'having a divided course' = 'being midway between zenith and earth'; = 'various': *vy-śilaba-* (AV.) 'making all kinds of noises'; = 'divergent': *ví-pathi-* 'following wrong paths', *ví-vrata-* 'refractory'; = 'distorted': *ví-gríva-* 'having a twisted neck', *vy-ánga-* (AV.) 'having distorted limbs'; = 'different': *ví-rūpa-* 'having a different form', *ví-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking differently'; = 'devoid of', 'less': *ví-māya-* 'devoid of magic', *vy-śnas-* 'guiltless'; *sám-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together'.

b. Adverbs with a local meaning, which are akin to prepositions, also frequently appear as first member of Bahuvrīhis, being generally speaking equivalent in sense to predicative adjectives. Examples of such Bahuvrīhis in the alphabetical order of the adverbs are the following: *adhás* 'below': *adhá-varcas-* (AV.) 'powerful below'; *ánti* 'near': *ánti-mitra-* (VS.) 'having friends at hand', *ánti-sumna-* (AV.) 'having benevolence at hand', *ánty-úti-* 'having aid at hand'; *avás* 'down': *avá-deva-* 'attracting the gods down'; *áre* 'afar': *ár-ágha-* 'having evil far-removed', *ár-śatru-* (AV.) 'whose foes are far away'; *ítis* 'hence': *ítí-úti-* 'helping from hence'; *íhá* 'here': *íhā-mātṛ-* 'whose mothers are, the one here, the other there'; *íhá-kratu-* (AV.) 'whose will is hitherward', *íhá-citta-* (AV.) 'whose thought is hitherward'; *fdhak* 'apart': *fdhan-mantra-* (AV.) 'having a special sacred text'; *kuháya* 'where?': *kuháya-kríti-* (only voc.) 'where active?'; *dakṣiṇa-ús* 'on the right': *dakṣiṇatús-kaparda-* 'having a coil of hair on the right'; *nícá* 'downward': *nícá-vayas-* 'whose strength is low'; *purás* 'in front': *puro-rathá-* 'whose car is in front', *puro-vasu-* (TS. III. 2. 5¹) 'preceded by wealth' (only voc.); *prācá* 'forward': *prācá-śikva-* 'moving the tongue forward', *prācá-manyu-* (only voc.) 'striving forward'.

¹ According to WHITNEY on AV. v. 1; BR., pw. 'lacking speech'; LUDWIG 'of distinguished meditations'.

a. Bahuvrihis are also formed with a few adverbs of another kind as first member: *itūh-āhi-* 'having such thought', 'devout', *nānā-sūrya-* 'illuminated by various suns', *śūnar-magha-* (AV. TS.) 'repentedly offering oblations', *puruṣhā-śraṭika-* 'having various aspects', *śadyā-ūti-* 'helping at once'. There are also several formed with *sahā*, *sumā*, *smādā* 'together with', as *sahā-gopa-* 'having the cowherds with them', *sahā-puruṣa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the men', *sumā-jāmi-* 'accompanied by his wife', *sumā-gu-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the cows', *smād-abhīru-* 'provided with reins', *smād-iṣṭa-* 'having an errand', *smān-ādhan-* 'provided with an udder'.

c. Certain particles frequently appear as the first member of Bahuvrihis. These are the privative *a-* or *an-*, *ku-*³ expressing depreciation, *du-* 'ill', *su-* 'well'; e. g. *a-pād-* 'footless', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', *an-udakā-* 'having no water', 'waterless'; *kū-yava-* 'causing a bad harvest', *du-pād-* 'ill-footed'; *su-parṇā-* 'having beautiful wings'.

290. Bahuvrihis are very frequently used as m. (sometimes f.) substantives in the sense of Proper Names, in many instances without the adjectival sense occurring at all; thus *brhād-uktha-* m., as the N. of a seer and adj. 'having great praise'; *brhād-dīva-* m., N. of a seer (*brhad-dīvā-* f., N. of a goddess) and adj. 'dwelling in high heaven'; but *priyā-medha-* m. ('to whom sacrifice is dear') and *vāmā-deva-* m. ('to whom the gods are dear') only as the names of seers.

a. Bahuvrihis are further not infrequently used as neuter substantives with an abstract and a collective sense, especially when the first member is the privative particle *a-* or *an-* and *sarva-* 'all'; e. g. *a-satṛi-* 'free from foes', n. (AV.) 'freedom from foes', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', n. (AV.) 'peace', *a-sambādhi-* (AV.) n. 'non-confinement', *a-skambhanī-* (AV.) n. 'lack of support', *an-apatyā-* 'childless' (AV.), n. 'childlessness', *an-amitrā-* (AV.) 'foeless', n. (AV. VS.) 'freedom from foes'; *sarva-rathā-* 'the whole line of chariots', *sarva-vedasā-* (AV. TS.) 'whole property'; *ni-kilbiṣā-* n. 'deliverance from sin', *pity-bandhū-* (AV.) 'paternal kinship', *mātr-bandhū-* (AV.) 'maternal kinship', *rikta-kumbhā-*⁴ (AV.) 'empty-handedness', *su-mṛgā-* (AV.) 'good hunting'⁵.

b. A special category of Bahuvrihis used as substantives are those in which the first member is a numeral from *dvi-* 'two' upwards⁶. They express a collection or aggregate and are singular neuter⁷ except those formed with *-ahā-* 'day', which are singular masc.; e. g. *tri-yugā-* n. 'period of three lives', *tri-yojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of three Yojanas', *try-udāyā-* n. 'threefold approach to the altar', *daśaṅgulā-* n. 'length of ten fingers', *daśantarasyā-* n. 'distance of ten stations', *dvi-rājā-* (AV.) n. 'battle of two kings', *pañca-yojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of five Yojanas', *ṣaḍ-ahā-* (AV. TS.) m. 'series of six days'. These numeral collectives always end in accented *-ā*⁸.

291. Origin of Bahuvrihis.—Considering that Bahuvrihis, which are adjectives, are far commoner than the corresponding determinatives, which are substantives, it cannot be assumed that the former always passed through

¹ The Bahuvrihi compound *śir-ṣṭika-* is n. 'safety' (adj. 'free from danger'), and *śi-* of uncertain meaning; see WACKERNAGEL, *hrdaja-* (AV.) 'lack of courage'.

² Compounds formed with these three words might also be explained as belonging to the 'governing' class.

³ Also the cognate *kim-* in *kim-śilā-* (VS. TS.) (land) 'having small stones'.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 8⁴.

⁵ Accentuation of the final syllable (as in the cognate singular Dvandvas) prevails in these n. Bahuvrihis; exceptions are *ś-bhūṣā-*, n. (AV.) 'a thousand days' journey'.

⁶ These are called Dvigu by the Hindu grammarians, and are classed by them as a subdivision of Tatpuruṣas.

⁷ A few numeral collectives are determinatives used in the pl. and the original gender: *ṣaptarṣayas* 'the seven seers', *ṣaṣṭa-ḡḡdhṛās* 'seven vultures' (AV.); *tri-kāṣṭhā-* pl. 'three soma-vessels' (from *kāṣṭh-* f.).

⁸ With the suffix *-yā* is formed *sahasra-dhī-yā-*

the process of transmutation from the latter. They must in the vast majority of instances have been formed directly and independently in conformity with the type of these secondary adjectives which had come down from the Iir. period¹. WACKERNAGEL (2¹, 112) adopts the view that the origin of Bahuvrīhis is not to be explained by transmutation from determinatives, but from the predicative or appositional use of groups of words characterizing a substantive². This use he exemplifies by the following quotations from the RV.: *urīh kākṣo nā gāṅgyāh* (vi. 45³) 'like the broad shoulder dwelling on the Ganges', that is, for **urī-kākṣah* 'Broad-shoulder' as a Proper Name; *sū jayase sīho mahāt* (v. 11⁶) 'thou art horn a great power' (= **mahā-sakhā* 'one having great power'); *tvīcam kṛṣṇām arandhayat* (i. 130⁶) 'he delivered over the black skin' (that is, 'those having a black skin', 'the black-skins'); *drighāya cid vicasa ānavāya* (vi. 62⁹) 'to ānava, deceitful speech', that is, 'who utters deceitful speech'³; and *narīm . . śiṃsah* (ii. 34⁶) 'praise of men' as representing an earlier stage than *nārā-śiṃsa-* 'receiving the praises of men' as a Bahuvrīhi. Appositional Bahuvrīhis, he thinks, similarly arose from explanatory clauses, as *Indra-jyēsthā devīh* 'the gods having Indra as their mightiest' from *devīh Indra jyēsthah* 'the gods — Indra their mightiest'. The first step here would have been assimilation in case and number to the main substantive, involving change to a compound (with stem-form and single accent), followed by assimilation in gender. The change to the Bahuvrīhi had already become the rule in the pre-Vedic period.

5. Governing Compounds.

292. In a considerable number of compounds the first member governs the last in sense, being either a preposition (prepositional adverb) or a verbal noun. These compounds being adjectives are allied to Bahuvrīhis.

1. In the prepositional group the first member is a preposition or adverb capable of governing a case. There are about twenty examples in the RV. In some instances they seem to have arisen from the corresponding syntactical combination, as *ādhi-ratha-* n. 'wagon-load' from *ādhi rāthe* (x. 64¹²) 'on the wagon'. In other instances they seem to have originated from the corresponding adverb; thus the adjective in *pra-dīr-ā ketīmā* (v. 60⁸) 'with long-existing light' has been changed from the adverb *pra-dīvas* 'from of old' to agree with a substantive in the instrumental. The ending of the second member has been preserved for the most part only when it was *-a*; otherwise the suffix *-a* or *-ya* is generally added. Like Bahuvrīhis, compounds of this type may become neuter substantives; thus *upānas-ā-* 'being on the wagon', n. (AV.) 'space in a wagon'.

a. All prepositions which govern cases (except *āva*) as well as *prā* (though it never governs a case), besides several adverbs capable of being used with a case, are employed as first member in these compounds⁴. The following are examples of prepositional governing compounds: *ati-mātrā-* (AV.) 'beyond measure', *ati-rātrā-* 'lasting overnight', *āty-āpahas-* (VS.) 'beyond the reach of distress', *āty-avi-* 'running over the wool'; *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *adhi-gav-ā-* (AV.) 'derived from cows'; *adhas-pad-ā-* 'being

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 88; IF. 18, 63 ff.

² On substantives used instead of adjectives cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 89.

³ Cp. *drogha-vā-* 'uttering deceitful speech'.

⁴ This type of governing compound is

similar in form to the prepositional Bahuvrīhis; the meaning, however, is quite different, as in the latter the preposition does not govern the following member, but refers adverbially to the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees.

under the feet', *adho-akṣá-* 'remaining below the axle'; *ánu-path-a-* and *ánu-vartman-* (AV. VS.) 'along the road', *ánu-kāmd-* 'according to wish', *ánu-vrata-* 'obedient'; *ántas-path-a-* 'being within the path'; *api-prāya-* 'being on (= accompanying) the breath', *api-sarvārd-* 'bordering on night' (*sārv-art-*); *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven', *abhi-raṣtra-* 'overcoming dominion'; *a-jaras-á-* 'reaching to old age', *á-pathi-* and *ū-pathi-* 'being on the way', *á-bhaga-* 'taking part in', 'participator'; *upa-kakṣá-* 'reaching to the shoulder', *upānas-á-* 'being on a wagon', *úpa-trn-ya-* (AV.) 'lurking in the grass', *úpa-mās-ya-* (AV.) 'occurring every month'; *upāri-budhna-* 'raised above the ground', *upāri-martya-* 'being above men'; *úrdhv-á-nabhas-* (VS.) 'being above the clouds', *úrdhv-á-barhis-* (VS.) 'being above the litter'; *úr-á-ahn-ya-* ('being beyond a day' =) 'belonging to the day before yesterday'; *pari-panth-in-*² ('lying around the path') 'adversary', *pari-hastá-* (AV.) ('put round the hand') 'hand-amulet'; *pari-mātra-* ('being beyond measure') 'excessive', *pari-kṣ-a-* (AV.) ('lying beyond the eye') 'invisible'; *puro-gav-á-* ('going before the cows') 'leader'; *prati-kāmyá-* (AV.) 'being in accordance with desire'; *śam-gayá-* 'blessing the household'.

2. In verbal governing compounds the first member is either an agent noun or an action noun governing the last member as an object. The abnormal position of the verbal form before the object in this class is probably to be explained by the first member having originally been an imperative, which usually has this position. These compounds are an old formation, two types going back to the Indo-European period, and one to the Indo-Iranian. They are adjectives, but the final member never adds a compositional suffix except in *śikṣā-nar-á-* 'helping men'. Three types are to be distinguished.

a. The first member consists of a present stem or the root, which probably represents an imperative³; of this type there are few examples: *trasi-dasyu-* m., N. of a man ('terrify the foe'), *radā-vasu-*⁴ (only voc.) 'dispensing wealth', *śikṣā-nar-á-*⁴ 'helping men', *sthā-raśman-*⁵ 'loosening bridles'⁶.

b. Examples of the second type are more numerous. Here the first member ends in *-át-*, but the participle, being formed from present stems in *-a-*, *-á-* or *-aya-*, which appears in these compounds, in a few instances does not occur in independent use. This type, which is almost entirely restricted to the RV., is also Iranian. It seems to have taken the place of the older one (a), which owing to its form was apt to be confused with Bahuvrīhis though differing from them in meaning. The form which they assumed was probably aided by the analogy of Bahuvrīhis with a present participle as their first member, like *śucīd-ratha-* 'having a brilliant car', which are formed from intransitive verbs, while those in the governing compounds are of course transitive. Examples of this type are the following: *rdhād-ray-*⁷ ('increasing wealth') m., N. of a man, and *rdhād-vāra-*⁷ 'increasing goods', *kṣayád-vira-*⁸ 'ruling men', *codayán-mati-*⁹ 'stimulating devotion', *jamíd-*¹⁰

¹ Occurs only in the dative as an adverb meaning 'up to old age'.

² Formed with the suffix *-in* which is not properly attached to compounds; cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, 53 (p. 121 bottom).

³ See BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 76; DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax 3, 174; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz (1897), 46—82; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 315.

⁴ Rhythmically lengthened for *radā-*, *śikṣā-*.

⁵ The Pada has *sthāh-raśman-*. The meaning

is doubtful; it may be a simple Bahuvrīhi, 'having firm bridles' (GRASSMANN).

⁶ *kṣpā-nīda-* would be another example if it means 'arranging his abode', but the meaning of the first member is doubtful.

⁷ *rdhāt-* is an aorist participle of *rdh-* 'increase'.

⁸ From *kṣayati* 'rules'.

⁹ From *codayati* 'urges'.

¹⁰ *jamíd-* a palatalized form from *gam-* 'go'.

agni- ('going to Agni'), N. of man, *tarād-dveṣas-*¹ 'overcoming foes', *drāvayāt-sakha-*² 'speeding the comrade', *dhārayāt-kavi-* 'supporting the wise' and *dhārayāt-ksiti-*³ 'supporting men', *bharād-vāja-* ('carrying off the prize') m., N. of a man, and *ā-bharād-vasu-*⁴ 'bringing wealth', *manhayāt-rayi-*⁵ 'lavishing wealth', *mandād-vira-*⁶ 'gladdening men', **vidād-atva-*⁷ 'possessing steeds', *vidād-vasu-*⁸ 'winning wealth', *śrāvayāt-pati-* 'making his lord famous', and *śrāvayāt-sakhi-*⁹ 'making his friend famous', *sandd-rayi-* 'bestowing possessions' and *sandd-rāja-*¹⁰ 'bestowing booty', *sādād-yoni-*¹¹ 'sitting in one's place', *śprhayād-varṇa-*¹² 'striving after lustre'. Two such governing compounds are once combined in such a way that the final member common to both is dropped in the first: *patayān mandayāt-sakham* (I. 4⁷) 'causing his friend to fly (*patiya-*) and to be glad' (*mandāya-*)¹³.

c. In the third type, which goes back to the Indo-European period¹⁴, the first member is a noun of action variously accented. There are some half-dozen examples in the RV.: *dāti-vāra-* 'giving treasures', *pūṣṭi-gu-* ('rearing kine') m., N. of a man, *ṛṣṭy-āp-*¹⁵ 'causing waters to flow', *vitt-rādhas-* 'enjoying the oblation', *vitt-hotra-* 'enjoying the sacrifice', *ṛṣṭi-dyāv-* 'causing the sky to rain'¹⁶.

6. Syntactical Compounds.

293. There are some irregular formations in which words not in coordinate, attributive, dependent or governing relation are compounded owing to constant juxtaposition in the sentence.

1. The relative word *yāt* (abl.) 'in so far as' is compounded with a superlative in RV. III, 53¹⁷: *utbhiḥ ... yāc-chreṣṭhābhiḥ*¹⁷ 'with the best possible aids', lit. 'with aids in so far as (they are) the best'. The adverb *yād-rādhyām* (II, 38⁸) 'as quickly as possible', lit. 'in so far as possible', is analogous.

2. The initial words of a text begin to be compounded in the later Samhitās as a designation of that text; thus *ye-yajāmahū-* (VS.) in the nom. pl. m. means the text beginning with the words *ye yajāmahe*¹⁸.

3. Phrases, almost always consisting of two words, used in connexion with certain actions are compounded; thus *aham-uttarā-*¹⁹ (AV.) 'dispute for precedence', from the phrase used by each disputant *aham uttarāḥ* 'I (am) higher'; *mama-satyāsu* 'in disputes as to ownership', in which every one says *māma satyān* '(it is) certainly mine'; *mām-patyā-* (AV.) as the name of a plant used by a woman used to secure the love of a man with the words *mām paśya* 'look at me'²⁰. Similarly in connexion with persons, as *kuvit-sa-* 'some

¹ From *tāra-ti* 'overcomes'.

² From *drāvāya-* causative of *dru-* 'run'.

³ From *dhārayā-* causative of *dhā-* 'support'.

⁴ From *bhāra-ti* 'bears'.

⁵ From *manhāya-* causative of *manh-* 'be great'.

⁶ From *mānda-ti* 'gladdens'. The SV. has the wrong variant *vandād-vira-*.

⁷ To be inferred from the patronymic *vāida-tāṣṭi-*.

⁸ From *vidā-ti* 'finds'.

⁹ From *śrāvāya-* causative of *śru-* 'hear'.

¹⁰ From *sāna-ti* or *sanā-ti* 'wins'.

¹¹ Lengthened for *sādād-* from *sāda-ti* 'sits'.

¹² From *śprhaya-ti* 'desires'.

¹³ On the doubtful examples *arcād-dhūma-*, *krīdāvāsū*, *pratād-vasū*, *bhuvad vāsūḥ* (VIII, 1917), *ṛṣṭad-āṅji-* (voc.) see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 319 note.

Indo-ariete Philologie. I, 4.

¹⁴ See WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 320 (bottom).

¹⁵ This is the only example recognized by BR. as belonging to this type; GRASSMANN explains them all as Bahuvrīhis.

¹⁶ BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 70 f., explains these compounds as having originated in imperatives, while JACOBI, *Compositum und Nebensatz* p. 64 f., thinks the first member represents an original 3. pers. sing.

¹⁷ In AV. VII, 31² *yāvac-chreṣṭhābhis* is a corrupt variant. Compounds formed with *yāvat-* do not otherwise occur till the Sūtras.

¹⁸ In the TS. also occurs *idām-madhu-* m. as a designation of the text *idām evā śraṅghām mādhū*. This kind of compound becomes common in the ancillary literature when particular hymns are referred to.

¹⁹ Used in the locative only.

²⁰ One or two doubtful examples are discussed by WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 327 (top).

one' from the phrase *kvōt sā* 'is it he?'. This type is more commonly based on phrases used by people about themselves; thus *dham-sana*¹ (voc.) 'rapacious', that is, one who says *ahām saneyam* (*dhdnāni*) 'may I obtain (wealth)'; *aham-pūrvā* 'eager to be first', that is, one who says *ahām pūrvāḥ* (*syām*) 'I (should be) first'; *kim-tvā* (VS.) 'asking garrulously' that is, one who continually says 'what (are) you (doing)?'.

VI. DECLENSION.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 707—780. — WHITNEY, Grammar 261—526.

294. **General character.**—Declension means the inflexion of nominal stems by means of endings which express the various relations represented by what are called cases. The stems belonging to the sphere of declension are most conveniently divided, owing to difference of meaning, form, and use, into nouns, pronouns, and numerals. Pronouns have to be treated separately because they have certain peculiarities of inflexion, besides to some extent lacking the distinction of gender. Numerals again show other peculiarities of form as well as partial lack of gender. Nouns are divided into substantives as names of things and adjectives as names of attributes. But as no definite line of demarcation can be drawn between substantive and adjective in any of the classes of declension in the Vedic language, these two categories are nowhere treated separately in the present work.

I. Nouns.

LANMAN, Noun-inflection in the Veda, JAOS. vol. x (1880), p. 325—600.

295. Owing to considerable divergencies of inflexion, nominal stems are best grouped in the two main divisions of consonant and vowel declension. Stems ending in semivowels form a transition from the former to the latter. The stems contained in the two main classes have further to be sub-divided, owing to difference of derivation and, in part, consequent variety of inflexion, into radical and derivative stems.

a. Like other Aryan tongues, the Vedic language distinguishes in declension the three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter. It also distinguishes three numbers, the singular, dual, and plural, the dual being in full and regular use².

b. There are eight cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, all in regular and unrestricted use. The same ending, however, is to a limited extent employed to express the sense of two and sometimes of three cases. Thus the eight cases of the dual have among them only three endings; in the plural the single ending *-bhyas* does duty for both dative and ablative; while in the singular the same ending *-as* appears for both ablative and genitive in all but the *a*-declension.

c. The normal endings of cases are the following:

Singular: nom. m. f. *-s*, n. none; voc. of all genders, none; acc. m. f. *-am*, n. none; inst. *-ā*, dat. *-e*, abl. gen. *-as*, loc. *-i*.

Dual: nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-ā*, *-au*, n. *-ī*, inst. dat. abl. *-bhyām*, gen. loc. *-as*.

Plural: nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-as*, neut. *-i*; inst. *-bhis*, dat. abl. *-bhyas*, gen. *-ām*, loc. *-su*.

¹ RV. VIII 61⁹; cp. *ahām sātā* v. 75².

² But while the employment of the dual is generally strict, the plural is often used instead of the dual of natural pairs in the 'hieratic' parts of the RV.; see BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University Circular for 1905, p. 18 f., OLIPHANT, *ibid.* p. 22—31.

d. A distinction is often made in the stem between strong (or full) and weak (or reduced) case-forms. It appears in its full development only in derivative consonant stems, affecting the suffixes *-āñc'*; *-an*, *-man*, *-van*; *-ant*, *-mant*, *-vant*; *-lar*; *-yāñs*; *-vāñs*. The strong form of the stem appears in the masculine nom. voc.² acc. singular and dual, and in the nom. voc. plural; and in the neuter nom. voc. acc. plural only. The weak form of the stem appears in the remaining cases. But in the first four and in the last of the above suffixes the weak stem which appears before endings with initial consonant is further weakened before endings with initial vowel.

e. The way in which the normal endings are attached to the strong and the weak stem with accompanying shift of accent, may be illustrated by the inflexion of the stem *ad-ānt-* 'eating' in the masc.:

Singular: N. *ad-dn*. V. *ād-an*. A. *ad-āntam*. I. *ad-at-ā*. D. *ad-at-ā*. Abi. G. *ad-at-ās*. L. *ad-at-i*.

Dual: N. A. *ad-ānt-ā*, *-au*. V. *ād-ant-ā*, *-au*. I. D. Ab. *ad-ād-bhyām*. G. L. *ad-at-ās*.

Plural: N. *ad-ānt-as*. V. *ād-ant-as*. A. *ad-at-ās*. I. *ad-ād-bhis*. D. Ab. *ad-ād-bhyas*. G. *ad-at-dm*. L. *ad-at-su*.

The neuter differs only in the N. A. V. of all numbers: Sing.: N. A. *ad-āt*; V. *ād-at*. Du.: N. A. *ad-at-i*. Pl.: N. A. *ad-ānt-i*.

A. Consonant Stems.

296. Among these stems there are none ending in gutturals³ and only two ending in the cerebral *ḍ*. Those which end in the labials *p*, *bh*, *m* are fairly numerous. The majority end in dentals, the only class of consonants in which every sound contained in the group (*t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*) is represented. Of the semivowels, *y* is represented by one stem, *v* by three stems, and *r* by a large number of stems. There are many stems ending in the sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, and several in the breathing *h* as representative of both a new and an old palatal.

1. Palatal Stems.

297. 1. Radical stems in *-c*. — All uncompounded stems (being of course monosyllabic) are, with very few isolated exceptions, feminine substantives. The exceptions are: *tvāc-* 'skin', otherwise *f*, occurs twice in the L. sing. *tvāc* as a m.; *ārc-*, in its only occurrence, I. sing. *arc-ā*, is a m. adj. in the sense of 'shining'; and *krūñc-* 'curlew' (VS.) is a m. substantive.

Compounds, as being adjectives, are often m.; but excepting those formed with *āñc-* the only n. is *ā-pīk* (from *pīc-* 'mix'), used adverbially. Compounds ending in *-āñc'* regularly distinguish strong and weak forms. This distinction elsewhere appears to a limited extent only in compounds ending in the three roots *vyac-* 'extend', *vac-* 'speak', *sac-* 'accompany': the first by nasalization in *uru-vyāñcam*⁵ 'far-extending', the other two by lengthening the radical vowel in several compounds.

¹ Though in origin a radical element, *-āñc'* is practically a suffix; cp. 298. (as distinguished from the old palatals *j'* and *h'*).

² The voc. sing., however, generally assumes a somewhat shortened form owing to the accent invariably shifting to the initial syllable in this case. † These compounds formed with the root *āñc-* will, owing to the peculiar changes which the stem undergoes, be treated apart from other words ending in radical *c*.

³ The gutturals as finals of nominal stems having become the new palatals *c*, *j'* and *h'*: † 5 Through the influence of compounds formed with *-āñc'*, like *praty-āñcam*.

Inflexion.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *vāc*-f. 'speech', would be the following:

Sing.: N. V. *vāc*. A. *vācam*. I. *vācā*. D. *vācā*. Ab. G. *vācās*. L. *vācā*. — Dual: N. A. V. *vācā* and *vācāu*. I. *vāgbhyām* (VS.). — Plur.: N. V. *vācas*. A. *vācas* and *vācās*. I. *vāgbhī*. D. *vāgbhyās* (VS.). Ab. *vāgbhyās* (AV.). G. *vācām*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. f. *fk* (AV.) 'stanza', *mdk* 'skin', *vāk* 'speech', *sik* (AV. VS.) 'flame', *srik* 'ladle'; *ni-mrik* (AV.) 'sunset', *puruṣa-vāk* (VS. xxiv. 33) 'human-voiced', *puro-rīk* (TS. vii. 3. 13¹) 'forward light', *saṃ-vāk* (VS. ix. 12) 'argument'. — m. *krīn* (VS. xix. 43) 'curler'; *anṛta-vāk* (AV.) 'speaking untruth', *upa-pfk* 'adhering to', *tri-sik* (VS. xxxviii. 22) 'having triple light', *yatī-sruk* 'extending the ladle', *sārya-tvāk* (AV.) 'having a covering (bright) as the sun', *hiraṇya-tvāk* 'coated with gold'.

A. f. *fcam*, *tvācam*, *rīcam* (VS. TS.) 'lustre', *vicam*, *śīcam* (AV.), *sleam* 'hem', *sricam* (AV.); *ā-sleam* 'oblation', *vi-mūcam* 'unyoking', *sārya-tvācam*. — m. *aṃho-mūcam* 'delivering from distress', *ādrogha-vācam* 'free from treacherous speech', *kīya-vācam* 'speaking ill', *tanū-rīcam* 'brilliant in person', *dhānarcam* 'shining (*rcam*) with booty', *puro-rīcam* 'shining in front', *madhu-pfcam* 'dispensing sweetness', *mṛdhrī-vācam* 'speaking injuriously', *surīcam* 'shining brightly', *su-vācam* 'very eloquent', *sārya-tvācam* (Kh. iv. 6²). With strengthened stem: *uru-vyācam*; *satya-vācam* 'truth-speaking'; *apatya-sīcam* 'accompanied with offspring', *abhi-sīcam* 'accompanying', *drona-sīcam* 'clinging to the trough', *dhāma-sīcam* 'keeping his place', *rātī-sīcam* 'bestowing gifts'. — n. (adv.) *ā-pfk* 'in a mixed manner'.

I. f. *fcā*, *tvācā*, *mṛcā* 'injury', *rucā*, *vācā*, *śucā*, *sicā*, *srucā*; *puro-rīcā* (VS. xx. 36) 'forward light', *su-rīcā*. — m. *arcā* 'shining'; *uru-vyācā*, *sārya-tvācā*.

D. f. *fcā* (VS. xiii. 39), *tvācā* 'offspring', *tvācā* (AV.), *rucā*, *vācā* (VS. xxii. 23), *śucā* (VS. xxxix. 12); *uru-vyācā* (AV.). — m. *aṃho-mūcā* (TS. i. 6. 12³), *śūyāta-sruce* 'extending the ladle', *yatī-sruce*, *viśva-sīcā* 'all-enlightening'.

Ab. f. *tvācās*, *srucās* (AV. VS.); *ni-mrīcās*.

G. f. *fcās*, *tvācās*, *vācās*; *vi-mūcās* (*napāt*, V.). — m. *puro-rīcās* 'shining brightly', *su-rīcās*.

L. f. *tvācī*, *vācī*, *srucī*; *ā-tīcī* 'evening', *ud-fcī* 'end', *ni-mrīcī*, *vi-vācī* 'crying aloud'. — m. *tvācī* 'skin' (ix. 69³, 101¹⁶).

V. m. *dkṛtīa-ruk* 'possessing unimpaired lustre' (x. 84⁴).

Du. N. A. V. f. *vācāu*, *sleāu*; *ghṛta-pfcā* 'sprinkling fatness', *tanū-rīcā*. — With strengthened stem: *satya-vācā*. — m. *krūñcāu* (VS. xxx. 6); *tanū-rīcā*, *yatī-srucā*, *su-vācā*; *saṃ-pfcāu* (VS. ix. 4) 'united'.

I. m. *ati-rīgbhyām* (VS. xxv. 3) 'fetlocks'.

Pl. N. f. *fcās*, *pfcās* 'food', *rīcās*, *vācās*, *sīcās* (AV.), *sricās*; *ā-pfcās* 'filling' (viii. 40⁹), *divo-rīcās* 'shining from heaven', *ni-mrīcās* (AV. VS.), *vi-mūcās* (AV.), V. *bhadra-vācās* 'speaking auspiciously'. — m. *dudhrā-vācās* 'speaking confusedly', *yatī-srucās*, *vasu-rīcās* 'bright as the Vasus', *vi-pfcās* (VS. xix. 11) 'parted', *vi-vācās*, *saṃ-sleās* (AV.) 'shedding together', *saṃ-pfcās* (VS. xix. 11), *su-rīcās*, *su-vācās*, *sūktī-vācās* 'uttering good speech', V. *sārya-tvācās*. — With strengthened stem: *abhi-sīcās*, *dyajña-sīcās* 'not performing sacrifice', *drogha-vācās* 'speaking maliciously', V. *nr-sīcās* 'befriending men',

¹ AV. once (xix. 42¹) with wrong accent |

² According to BR., infinitive of *ā-pfcā* 'satisfy oneself'.

ranya-vācas 'speaking agreeably', *rayi-śācas* 'possessing wealth', *rāti-śācas*, *satya-vācas*, *smād-rāti-śācas* 'attended by liberal men', *hari-śācas* 'occupied with the tawny (Soma)'.

A. f. *rūcas*, *vācas* and (once) *vācās*, *śūcas* (AV.), *śūcas* (AV.), *srūcas* and (once) *srucās* (AV.); *dur-vācas* (AV.) 'having a bad voice', *mydhra-vācas*, *su-rūcas*. — m. *an-ścas* 'hymnless', *a-rūcas* 'lustreless', *mydhra-vācas*, *vādhri-vācas* 'talking idly', *vt-vācas*.

I. f. *ṛgbhīs*. — D. f. *srugbhīd*s (VS. II. 1). — Ab. f. *ṛgbhīd*s (AV.) — G. f. *ṛcām*, *tvacām* (AV.); *madhu-ṛcām* (AV.).

298. Stems in *-ānc*. A considerable number of compounds is formed by adding as final member the root *ānc-* 'bend', which almost assumes the character of a suffix 'expressing the meaning of '-ward'; e. g. *prānc-* (= *prā-ānc-*) 'for-ward'. Strong and weak forms are regularly distinguished, the nasal which appears in the former being always lost in the latter. If *-ānc* is preceded by a word ending in *i* or *u*, the syllables *ya* and *va* thus produced are further weakened to *ṛ* and *ṛ* before vowel endings, and if bearing the accent, shift it to those endings²; e. g. Sing. A. m. *pratyāncam*, N. n. *pratyānc*, G. *pratyāncās*.

In these compounds *-ānc* is added to words ending in *i*, *ū*, with which it coalesces: *atharānc-* 'tending downward' (*ādhara-*)³, *āpānc-* 'backward' (*āpa-*), *arvānc-* 'hitherward' (*arvā-*), *āvānc-* 'downward' (*āva-*), *asmātrānc-* 'turned toward us', *ghṛtānc-* 'filled with ghee' (*ghṛt-*), *devānc-* 'directed toward the gods' (*devā-*), *pārānc-* 'turned away' (*pārā-*), *prānc-* 'forward' (*prā-*), *viśvānc-* 'universal' (*viśva-*)⁴, *satrānc-* 'going together' (*satrā-*)⁵. 2. *i*: *akudhryānc-* 'going nowhere' (*aku-dhri-*), *asmādryānc-* 'turned towards us' (*asmād-ri-*)⁶, *ūdānc-* 'turned upward' (*ūda-*), *kadryānc-* 'turned towards what' (*kād-*), *tiryānc-* 'going across' (*tiri-*)⁷, *dadhryānc-* 'sprinkling curds' (*dādhi-*), *devādryānc-* 'turned towards the gods' (*devā-*), *nyānc-* 'turned down' (*ni-*), *pratyānc-* 'turned towards' (*prā-*), *madryānc-* 'turned towards me' (*mad-ri-*), *viśvādryānc-* 'going everywhere' (*viśva-dri-*), *svitryānc-* 'whitish' (*svit-*), *sadhryānc-* 'coming together' (*sa-dhri-* 'the same goal'), *samyānc-* 'going together' (*sam-i-*). 3. *u*: *amūnc-* 'going after' (*ānu-*), *ṛjvānc-* 'moving straight forward' (*ṛjū-*), *viśvānc-* 'going in all directions' (*viśva-*), *svānc-* 'going well' (*svā-*). The two feminines *purīnc-i-* 'abundant' and *urūnc-i-* 'far-reaching' presuppose similar stems (**purū-ānc-* and **urū-ānc-*).

Inflexion.

299. These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only, as they form a f. in *-ṛ* from the weak or contracted stem, e. g. *prānc-*, f. *prānc-ṛ-*; *pratyānc-*, f. *pratyānc-ṛ-*. The only cases occurring in the pl. are the N. A. and in the du. the N. A. and L.

The forms actually found, if made from *pratyānc-*, would be as follows: Sing. N. m. *pratyānc*, n. *pratyānc*. A. m. *pratyāncam*. I. *pratyāncā*. D. *pratyāncā*. Ab. G. *pratyāncās*. L. *pratyāncā*. — Du. N. A. m. *pratyāncāu*, *pratyāncāu* (AV.), n. *pratyāncā*. L. m. *pratyāncās*. — Pl. N. m. *pratyāncās*. A. m. *pratyāncās* and *pratyāncās* (AV.).

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *adharānc* (AV.), *āpānc*, *arvānc*, *āvānc* (TS. III. 2. 5³), *ūdānc* (AV.),

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 407; LINDNER, Nominalbildung, Addenda p. 167, prefers to treat *-ānc* as a suffix.

² The accent is similarly shifted to the suffix *-ṛ* with which the f. of these stems is formed (cp. 86 B 11, p. 87). This rule of accentuation applies to the RV. only, not to the later Samhitās; cp. A. pl. below (p. 182).

³ With shifted accent.

⁴ In this and some other of these compounds only the weak unnasalized form of the stem occurs.

⁵ With shift of accent.

⁶ The f. *narūnc-i-* (AV.), N. of a plant, is doubtless based on a similar stem formed from *nāra-* 'man', with shift of accent.

⁷ The suffix *-ri-* in these compounds perhaps spread from *sadhri-ānc-* (the *dh* also to *akudhryānc-*), while the *d* of *devādryānc-* and *viśvādryānc-* may be due to the pronominal forms *mād-* and *asmād-*.

⁸ The weak stem *ud-* being formed as if from **ūd-i-ānc-*.

⁹ *tiri-* appearing instead of *tirā-* 'across' from which the weak stem *tirānc-* (= *tirānc-*) is formed.

tiryān (AV.), *dadhyān*¹, *nyān*, *pārān* (AV.), *pratyān*², *prān*, *viśvan*, *sadhryān* (AV.), *su-prān*. — n. Nearly all the following forms are used adverbially: *akudhryāk*, *adharāk* (AV.), *āpāk*, *ārvāk* and *arvāk* (AV.), *asmadryāk*, *ūdāk*, *tiryāk* (AV.), *nyāk*, *pārāk* (AV.), *pratyāk*, *prāk*, *madryāk*, *viśvāk*, *viśvadryāk*, *sadhryāk*, *samyāk*³.

A. m. *adharāncam* (AV.), *anvāncam* (AV.), *āpāncam* (AV.), *arvāncam*, *ūdāncam*, *tiryāncam* (VS. x. 8), *nyāncam*, *pārāncam* (AV.), *pratyāncam*, *prāncam*, *madryāncam*, *viśvāncam*, *samyāncam*, *svāncam*.

I. m. *arvācā*. — n. *devadrīcā*, *satrīcā*; used adverbially with shifted accent: *tiraścā*, *ntcā*, *prācā*⁴.

D. m. *dadhyē*, *svitīcē*. — Ab. m. *praticē*s. — G. m. *dadhyē*s, *viśvācē*s.
— L. m. *prīcē*.

Du. N. A. m. *āpāncāu* (AV.), *arvāncā* and *arvāncāu* (AV.), *viśvāncāu* (AV.), *sadhryāncā*, *samyāncā* and *samyāncāu* (AV. VS.). — n. *praticē*, *samicē* (VS. I. 31, TS. IV. 1. 3⁵). — L. m. *viśvācō*s.

Pl. N. m. *adharāncas* (AV.), *āpāncas* (AV.), *arvāncas*⁶, *asmadrāncas*, *asmadryāncas*, *ūdāncas*, *rvāncas*, *tiryāncas* (AV.), *pārāncas*, *pratyāncas*, *prāncas*, *viśvāncas*, *svitīāncas*⁷, *sadhryāncas*, *samyāncas*, *svāncas*.

A. m. *adharācas*, *anvācas* and *anīcas* (AV.), *āpācas*, *arvācas*, *ārvācas*, *ūdācas*, *nīcas* (AV.), *pārācas*, *praticā*s and *praticā*s (AV.), *prācas*, *viśvācas*, *satrīcas*.

300. Radical stem in *-ch*. — Only one stem ending in *ch*, which occurs in a single form as a noun, has been found. This is made from the root *prēch-* 'ask', in the compound N. du. m. *bandhu-prēch-ā* 'asking after kinsmen'. The D. and A. of the same stem also appear as infinitives in the forms *prēchē* 'to ask', *sam-prēche* 'to greet'; *vi-prēcham* and *sam-prēcham* 'to ask'.

301. Stems in radical *-j*. — These stems are inflected in all three genders alike. The neuter would of course differ in N. A. V. dual and plural, but these forms do not occur. When uncompounded these stems are f. substantives except *yīj-* and *riīj-*, which appear as m. also; *bhrīj-*, which occurs as a m. adj. as well as a f. substantive; *āj-*, which is found once (AV.)⁸, and *nīj-* twice as a m. only. Neuter cases occur from *bhāj-*, *yīj-*, *riīj-* and *vīj-* as final members of adj. compounds, but no distinctively neuter forms (N. A. V. du. pl.) are met with even here.

The only stem showing traces of the distinction of strong and weak cases is *yīj-*, which has the nasalized form *yīīj-* beside the unaltered stem in the N. A. sing. and du.

In the N. sing. the *j*, when derived from a guttural, appears as *k*, but when it represents an old palatal, it becomes the cerebral *ṣ* except in *ṣtv-ij*⁹ 'priest'; but before the *-su* of the L. pl. both alike¹⁰ become *k*.

¹ On the doubling of the *n* before vowels, see LANMAN 456.

² *pratyān* before *ṣ* in TS. I. 8. 21¹.

³ The forms *tvadrik*, *madrik* and *madryadrik*, *yuvadrīk*, 'towards thee, — me, — you', are doubtless shortened forms of *āryāk*, which pronunciation is favoured by the metre in some instances: LANMAN 456 (bottom).

⁴ *prīcā* is probably used adverbially in III. 31⁵ also. As an adj. the form, being a compound, would be accented *prīcā*.

⁵ N. of a demon, formed with *-ānc*, from *riṣā*, an extension of *viṣu*, as in *viṣva-āryāncē*.

⁶ The weak form *arvācas* seems to be used for *arvāncas* in VII. 48¹.

⁷ A transition form, N. m. *svitīcāyas* (x. 46²): *svitīcācas*, is made from an *i*-stem *svitīc-* based on the regular f. *svitīc-*.

⁸ In AV. XIX. 50³, where the reading *ājam* is somewhat doubtful; see WHITNEY's note.

⁹ Which is derived from *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *ṣtv-ij-* 'sacrificing in due season'.

¹⁰ See above 34, 1.

Inflexion.

302. Sing. N. 1. with *-k*: m. *yūh*¹ (VS. x. 25) 'associate'; *a-bhūk* 'not having enjoyed', *ardha-bhūk* (AV.) 'sharer', *rta-yūh* 'duly harnessed', *rto-lik* 'priest', *ghṛtā-nirnik* 'having a garment of fat', *candrā-nirnik* 'having a brilliant garment', *parā-ryk* 'outcast', *bhi-śāk*² 'healing', *sati-bhīśak* (AV.) 'requiring a hundred physicians', *sam-ryk* 'overpowering', *sa-yūh* 'companion', *hiraṇya-srak* (AV.) 'having a golden garland'. — f. *ūrḥ* (VS. iv. 10) 'vigour', *nir-ṅik*³ 'bright garment', *hiraṇya-nirnik*. — n. N. A. *sv-ā-ryk* 'easily acquired', *su-yūh* 'well-joined' (adv.).

2. with *-t*: m. *bhrāt*⁴ 'shining', *rāt* 'king'; *eka-rāt* 'monarch', *jana-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'lord of men', *vane-rāt* 'shining in a wood', *vī-bhrāt* 'resplendent', *vī-rāt* 'ruling far and wide', *viśva-bhrāt* 'all-illuminating', *satra-rāt* (VS. v. 2) 'king of a Soma sacrifice', *sam-rāt* 'universal ruler', *sarva-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'ruler of all', *sva-rāt* 'self-ruler'. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root and retention of the N. *-s*: *īva-yīs*⁵ (I. 162⁵), a priest who offers the share of the oblation (*ava-yij-*). — f. *rāt* 'mistress'; *vī-rāt*. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root (*yaj-*) and retention of the N. *-s*: *ava-yīs*⁶ 'share of the sacrificial oblation' (I. 173¹²).

A. m. *djam* (AV.) 'driver', *yūḥjam*⁷, *yūjam*; *rto-ijam*, *jyēṣṭha-rūjam* 'sovereign', *tri-bhūjam* (AV.) 'threefold', *deva-yūjam* (VS. i. 17) 'sacrificing to the gods', *parā-ryjam*, *piśkara-srajam* (VS. ii. 33) 'wearing a lotus wreath', *pūra-bhūjam* 'first sharer', *pṛtanūjam* 'rushing (*-djam*) to battle', *prathama-bhūjam* 'receiving the first share', *pratar-yūjam* 'yoking early', *bhi-śajam* (VS. xxviii. 9), *yuvā-yūjam* 'yoked by both of you', *ratha-yūjam* 'yoking to a chariot', *vī-rūjam*, *saphā-rūjam* 'destroying with hoofs', *sūya-yūjam* 'worshipping truly', *sam-rūjam*, *sa-yūjam*, *su-tyūjam* 'easily letting loose', *su-yūjam* 'worshipping well', *su-yūjam* 'well-yoked', *su-srūjam* (AV.) 'wearing a beautiful garland', *sva-rūjam*, *sva-ryjam* 'appropriating to oneself'. — f. *ūrijam*, *thijam* 'offspring', *bhūjam* 'enjoyment', *bhrūjam* (VS. iv. 17) 'splendour', *srūjam* 'garland'; *upa-spijam*⁸ (x. 88¹⁰) 'emulation', *nir-ūjam*, *pari-ryjam* 'avoiding', *pra-yūjam* (VS. xi. 66) 'impulse', *mano-yūjam* 'yoked by thought', *vī-rūjam*, *sahśra-nirūjam* 'having a thousand adornments', *sva-rūjam* (AV.).

I. m. *yūjā*; *bhi-śājā* (VS. AV.), *mano-yūjā*, *vaco-yūjā* 'yoked by a mere word', *sa-yūjā* (AV.), *sahśra-nirūjā*, *su-yūjā* (VS. TS.) 'good sacrifice', *su-yūjā*. — f. *ūrijā*, *tūjā*, *bhr.ūjā* 'lustre'; *nir-ūjā*, *mano-yūjā* (AV.), *vī-rūjā*. — n. *śatra-bhūjā* 'strengthening'.

D. m. *yūj* (AV.); *mṛtā-bhrāj*⁹ (AV.) 'whose virility is dead', *rakṣo-yūje* 'associated with demons', *vī-rūje* (VS. AV.), *sam-rūje*, *sva-rūje*¹⁰. — f. *ūrij*, *tūj*¹¹, *bhūj*; *nir-ūje*. — Ab. m. *yūjās*; *vī-rūjas*. — f. *nir-ūjas*.

G. m. *sam-rūjas*, *sva-rūjas*. — f. *ūjās*, *bhrājās*¹² (AV.) 'virility', *yūjās*; *pra-yūjas* 'team', *ratna-bhūjas* 'dispensing gifts', *vī-rūjas* (AV.) — n. *sva-rūjas*.

¹ For *yūh*; cp. VPr. iv. 104.

² Probably 'one who conjures', cp. in the later language, *abhi-jajati* 'utters an imprecation'; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 8, bottom; UHLENBECK, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, rejects this etymology in favour of a derivation connected with Av. *-bis* 'healing'.

³ From *nir-ūj-* 'wash out'.

⁴ There is also the transition form *bhrājās* (IX. 170³).

⁵ See LANMAN 463.

⁶ See above 66 c β (p. 61).

⁷ Strong form (301).

⁸ According to Sāyana, used adverbially in the sense of 'emulously'.

⁹ *bhrāj-* is probably a reduced form of *bhrāj-*; cp. the later meaning of *ūjas* 'lustre'.

¹⁰ There is also the transfer form *bhrājāya* (VS. viii. 40; 'for the bright one').

¹¹ There is also the transfer form *tūjāye* (v. 467) from *tūj-*.

¹² Probably a reduced form of *bhrāj-* 'lustre'. Cp. WHITNEY on AV. vii. 90².

L. m. *dśva-nirñijā* 'adorned with horses'. — f. *saṃ-sfji* 'collision'.

V. m. *ghṛta-nirñikē, sam-rāj*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *yūñjā*¹, *yūñj*; *ṛtv-ljā, tanu-tyūñjā* 'risking one's life', *puru-bhujā* (V.) 'enjoying much', *puṣkara-srajā, prātar-yūñjā, brahma-yūñjā* 'harnessed by prayer', *bhi-sūñjā, mano-yūñjā* (VS. AV.), *vacy-yūñjā, sam-rājā, sa-yūñjā, sākam-yūñjā* 'joined together', *su-yūñjā; ant-ufjau* (AV.) a part of the body near the ribs, *apna-rājau* 'ruling over wealth' (*apna = apnas*), *bhi-sajau* (V.), *sa-m-rājau, sa-yūñjau* (AV.), *su-yūñjau* (AV.). — f. *aśva-yūñjau* (AV.) 'harnessing horses'.

D. m. *bhi-sūgbhyam* (AV.). — G. m. *sa-m-rājos*.

Pl. N. m. *yūñjas; ā-yūñjas* (AV.) 'joining on', *ṛtv-ljas, V. ṛtv-ljas* (AV.), *kṛtā-dhvajas* 'furnished with banners', *giri-bhrājas*² 'glittering on the mountains', *ghṛtā-nirñijas, tanu-tyūñjas, divi-yūñjas* 'worshipping in heaven', *dur-yūñjas* 'difficult to be yoked', *niḥ-sfjas* 'pouring out', *pitu-bhājas* 'enjoying food', *pārva-bhājas, pṛtanājas (-ajas), pra-yūñjas* (AV.), *brahma-yūñjas, bhi-sūñjas, mano-yūñjas, mitra-yūñjas* 'joined in friendship', *ratha-yūñjas, varṣā-nirñijas* 'clothed with rain', *vāma-bhājas* 'partaking of goods', *viśva-sfjas* (AV.) 'all-creating', *sa-m-rājas, V. sa-m-rājas, su-yūñjas, sva-yūñjas* 'allies', *sva-rājas, hṛita-srajās* (AV.) 'wearing yellow garlands'. — f. *hrjas, thjas, bhūjas; abhi-yūñjas* 'assailants', *go-bhūjas* 'bestowing cows', *nir-ñijas, prkṣā-prayajas* 'in which oblations begin to be offered', *pra-yūñjas, vi-rājas* (VS. xvii. 3), *stanā-bhūjas*³ 'enjoying the udder', *sv-ā-yūñjas* 'easy to yoke'.

A. m. *vjas* 'stakes' (at play); *idhi-nirñijas* 'covered over', *aśva-yūñjas, catur-yūñjas* 'yoked as (a team of) four', *laphā-rūjas, sa-yūñjas, su-yūñjas*. — f. *thjas, bhūjas, sṛjas; abhi-yūñjas*.

I. m. *aruṇa-yūgbhis* 'furnished with ruddy (rays)', *ṛta-yūgbhis, vi-yūgbhis*⁴ (AV.), *su-yūgbhis, sva-yūgbhis*.

D. f. *pra-yūgbhyas* (VS. xxx. 8) 'impulses'. — Ab. m. *bhi-sūgbhyas* (AV.). — G. m. *ṛtv-ljām, bhi-sājām*. — f. *urjām, bhujām; ntr-majām*⁵. — L. f. *sraṣṣi; pra-yāksu* (AV.) 'offerings'⁶.

303. Stems in derivative *-j*. — There are seven m. and f. adjectives or substantives formed with the suffixes *-aj* and *-ij*: *i-svapnaj-* 'sleepless', *trṣṇāj-* 'thirsty', *dhr̥śāj-* 'bold', *sanāj-* 'old'; *uś-lj-* 'desiring', *bhur-lj-* f. 'arm', *van-lj-* m. 'trader'. There is also the n. *āsrj-*⁷ 'blood', which is of obscure etymology, but the *-j* of which is probably a reduced suffix. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *uśik, vanik*. — n. *āsrk*. — A. m. *uśjam, trṣṇājam, vanijam* (AV.). — I. *uśijā* (VS. xv. 6) 'ghee'. — D. m. *trṣṇāje, vanije*. — G. m. *uśjas*.

Du. N. f. *sanjā*. — G. f. *bhurlijos*. — L. f. *bhurlijos*.

Pl. N. m. *uśjas, trṣṇājas, ā-trṣṇājas, dhr̥śājas, i-svapnājas*. — f. *uśjas*. — A. m. *uśjas*. — I. m. *uśigbhis*. — D. m. *uśigbhyas*. — G. *uśjām*.

2. Cerebral Stems.

304. There is only one doubtful derivative stem in *-f*, *raghāf-*, which occurs in the single form *raghāfās* (AV. viii. 7²⁴), possibly a mistake for *raghāvas*⁸ 'swift'.

¹ Strong form (301).

² Occurring once (x. 68¹), *bhrāj-* being a reduced form of *bhrāj-*; cp. D. m. *mytā-bhrāje*, G. f. *bhrājas* (AV.); cp. p. 183, notes 9 and 12.

³ The Pada text reads *stanā-bhūjas*.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. vii. 4¹.

⁵ A word of doubtful derivation and meaning, occurring only once (viii. 4²⁰).

⁶ The corresponding form is *pra-jātsu* in TS. iv. 1. 8¹ and VS. xxvii. 14.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559, 560.

⁸ See LANMAN 466, and WHITNEY, note on AV. viii. 7²⁴.

There are besides only two radical stems ending in *-d*, *id*¹ 'praise', and *id*² 'refreshment'. Of the former occurs only the sing. I. *idā*; of the latter only the sing. I. *idā* and the G. *idās*³.

3. Dental Stems.

305. Stems ending in all the dental mutes as well as the nasal are of frequent occurrence except those in *-th*. There are radical stems ending in each of the dentals, but no derivative stems in *-th* or *-dh*. The distinction of strong and weak appears with slight exceptions only in the derivative stems in *-ant* and *-an*.

306. Stems in radical *-t*. — The only four monosyllabic stems occurring are feminine substantives: *dyūt* 'splendour', *vft* 'dancing', *pf* 'battle', *vft*⁴ 'hostile array'. There are also two reduplicated stems, which are primarily adjectives: *cikt* 'knowing' (*√cit*) and *didyūt* 'shining'. The rest are compounds, used mostly in the masculine or feminine. Neuter cases occur from only four of them: *aksi-pūt* 'falling into the eye', *dn-apā-vft* 'not turning away', *tri-vft* 'three-fold', *saṃ-yāt*⁵ 'continuous'.

Inflexion.

The forms occurring would, if made from *tri-vft*, be as follows:

Sing. N. m. f. *tri-vft* (also n.). — A. m. f. *tri-vftam*. — I. m. f. *tri-vftā* (also n.). — D. m. f. *tri-vftic*. — Ab. G. m. f. *tri-vftas*. — L. n. *tri-vfti* (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. f. *tri-vftā*, *tri-vftau*. — L. f. *tri-vftos*.

Pl. N. A. m. f. *tri-vftas*. — I. n. *tri-vftbhis* (AV.). — G. m. f. *tri-vftām*. — L. f. *tri-vftsū*. — V. m. f. *tri-vftas*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *anā-vft* 'not returning', *dbandhu-krt*⁶ (AV.) 'not cutting off kin', *eka-vft* (AV.) 'one-fold', 'simple', *cikt* 'knowing', *tri-vft* (VS. x. 10) 'triple', *pra-vft* (VS. xv. 9), *manas-ct* 'thinking in the mind', *māla-kft* (AV.) 'cutting roots', *vipas-ct* 'inspired', *vi-vft* (VS. xv. 9), *viṣū-vft* 'rolling in various directions', *sa-vft* (VS. xv. 9), *su-vft* 'turning well'. — f. *ct* (VS. iv. 19) 'thought'; *apa-ct* (AV.) a noxious insect, *didyūt* 'shining', *vi-dyūt* 'flashing'. — n. *eka-vft* (AV.), *tri-vft*: as adv. *aksi-pūt* 'a little' and *dnapā-vft* 'unremittingly'.

A. m. *a-ctam* 'unthinking', *eka-vftam* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścītam* 'sprinkling ghee', *tri-vftam*, *duṣ-ctam* (AV.) 'thinking evil', *madhu-ścītam* 'distilling sweetness', *vipas-ctam*, *viṣu-vftam*, *su-vftam*, *huras-ctam* 'plotting deceit'. — f. *dyūtam*, *vftam*; *ā-vftam* 'turning home', *ghṛta-ścītam*, *vi-ctam* 'loosening', *vi-dyūtam*, *vipas-ctam*, *saṃ-yātām*, *saṃ-vftam* (AV.) 'approach', *saṃ-ctam* 'union'.

I. m. *tri-vftā*, *vipas-ctā* (VS. iv. 32), *su-vftā*. — f. *dyūtā*, *vftā*; *ā-ctā* 'attention', *ghṛta-ścītā*, *tri-vftā*, *pra-ctā* 'with concealment' (adv.), *vi-dyūtā*. — n. *saṃ-yātā*, *tri-vftā* (AV.).

D. m. *a-ctic*, *tri-vftic* (VS. xv. 9), *pra-vftic* (VS. xv. 9), *vipas-ctic*, *vi-vftic* (VS. xv. 9), *sa-vftic* (VS. xv. 9), *su-dyūtic*. — f. *vi-dyūtic*.

Ab. m. *tri-vftas* (VS. xiii. 54), *vi-dyūtas*? — f. *didyūtas*.

¹ Cp. above 17, 5.

² Derived from *ir* 'refreshment' which is of very frequent occurrence; cp. above p. 35, note 1.

³ This form is regarded by GRASSMANN in one passage (VII. 47¹) as an A. pl.: cp. LANMAN 466.

⁴ *vft* occurs once in the dual as a fem. adjective.

⁵ From *yat* 'unite'.

⁶ From *krt* 'cut'; but it may be 'not relative-making' (*kr*); see WHITNEY's note on AV. iv. 19¹.

⁷ The Ab. *didyūt* (TS. I. 8. 14¹) and *vidyūt* (VS. xx. 2) are probably irregular formations due to parallelism; cp. LANMAN 468.

G. m. *tri-vṛtas*, *vīpaś-citas*, *sa-citas* 'wise', *su-dyūtas* 'shining beautifully'. — **f.** *vi-dyūtas*. — **L. n.** *tri-vṛti* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. *vīpaś-cita* (V.), *iṣu-kṛtā*¹ (I. 184). — **f.** *vṛtau*; *ā-vṛtā*, *madhu-ścītā*, *vi-cṛtau* (AV.). — **L. f.** *vi-cṛtos* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. *ā-vṛtas*, *ṛṣi-vidyūtas* 'glittering with spears', *eka-vṛtas* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścītas*, *duś-citas* (AV.), *vi-dyūtas*, *vīpaś-citas*, *saṃ-yūtas*, *sūrya-śūtas* 'bright as the sun', *svā-vidyūtas* 'self-lightning', *hrādunt-vṛtas* 'bringing hail'. — **V.** *ṛṣi-vidyūtas*, *vi-dyūtas*. — **N. f.** *apa-citas* (AV.), *ā-vṛtas* (AV.), *upā-vṛtas* (VS. AV.) 'return', *ghṛta-ścītas*, *ghṛta-ścyūtas* (VS. xvii. 3), *madhu-ścītas*, *madhu-ścyūtas* (VS. xvii. 3), *vi-dyūtas*, *saṃ-yūtas*. — **V.** *āpa-citas* (AV.).

A. m. *a-citas*, *a-dyūtas* 'lacking brightness', *ghṛta-ścītas*, *vīpaś-citas*, *huraś-citas*. — **f.** *ṛtas* (AV.), *vṛtas*; *tri-vṛtas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇa-vṛtas*, *dīdyūtas*, *puru-vṛtas* (AV.) 'moving in various ways', *madhu-ścītas*, *vi-dyūtas*, *viṣṇu-vṛtas* (AV.), *saṃ-yūtas*, *saṃ-vṛtas* (AV.).

I. n. *tri-vṛtblis* (AV.). — **G. m.** *vīpaś-cītam*. — **f.** *apa-cītam* (AV.), *vi-dyūtam* (AV.). — **L. f.** *prtsi*².

307. Stems in determinative *-t*. — Derivative nominal stems are formed from nearly thirty roots ending in the short vowels *i*, *u* and *r* by means of the suffix *-t*³. The roots adding it are *i*- 'go', *kṛ*- 'make', *kṣi*- 'dwell', *gu*- 'sound', *ci*- 'pile', 'note', *cyu*- 'move', *ji*- 'conquer', *dhṛ*- 'hold', *dhru*- 'injure', *pi*- 'swell', *pru*- 'flow', *bhr*- 'bear', *mi*- 'fix', *yu*- 'join' and 'separate', *ri*- 'flow', *vṛ*- 'cover', *sri*- 'resort', *śru*- 'hear', *su*- 'press', *sr*- 'flow', *stu*- 'praise', *spr*- 'win', *sru*- 'flow', *hu*- 'sacrifice', *hr*- 'take', *hṛ*- or *hru*- 'be crooked'. Two other roots, *gam*- 'go', and *han*- 'strike', are modified so as to end in short *a* (representing the sonant nasal) before adding the suffix: *-gāt* and *hāt*.

These stems are mostly m. and f. Neuter cases are very rare, occurring from five or six stems only. The inflexion is exactly the same as that of the stems in radical *-t*.

Inflexion.

308. Sing. N. m. with *-kṛt*: *anukāma-kṛt* 'acting according to desire', *abhīṣi-kṛt* 'giving help', *āji-kṛt* 'instituting a contest', *iśāna-kṛt* 'acting as a lord', *ṛṣi-kṛt* 'making into a seer', *khaja-kṛt* 'causing the din of battle', *īyotis-kṛt* 'causing light', *tantā-kṛt* 'preserving life', *pathi-kṛt* 'path-making', *puru-kṛt* 'doing much', *pūrva-kṛt* (VS. xx. 36) 'active from of old', *bhadra-kṛt* 'bestowing blessings', *uloka-kṛt* 'procuring free space', *vayas-kṛt* 'creating youthful vigour', *varivo-kṛt* 'bestowing freedom', *vijesa-kṛt* 'procuring victory', *su-kṛt* 'acting well', *steya-kṛt* 'committing theft', *syona-kṛt* 'causing comfort', *sviṣṭa-kṛt* (VS. II. 9) 'offering right sacrifice'; with *-jit*: *apsu-jit* 'conquering in the waters', *ab-jit* 'winning waters', *abhimāti-jit* (VS. xxvii. 3) 'conquering foes', *aśva-jit* 'winning horses', *ṛta-jit* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of right', *go-jit* 'winning kine', *dhana-jit* 'winning booty', *ranya-jit* 'winning in battle', *ratha-jit* 'winning chariots', *viśva-jit* 'all-conquering', *samsṛṣṭa-jit* 'conquering combatants', *satya-jit* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of truth', *satrā-jit* 'wholly victorious', *samarya-jit* 'winning battles', *sahasra-jit* 'conquering a thousand', *sena-jit* (VS. xv. 19) 'conquering armies', *svar-jit* 'winning heaven', *hiranya-jit* 'winning gold'; with other roots: *acyuta-kṣit* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling immovably'; *acyuta-cyūt* 'shaking what is firm'; *d-dāra-sṛt* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'; *ā-kṣit* 'dwelling'; *ṛṇa-cit* 'avenging guilt', *ṛta-cit* 'observing sacred order';

¹ *iṣu-kṛtā* here may, however, be a D. sing. for *iṣukṛtā va*; see LANMAN 468.

² With double ending once (I. 1294) *ṛtsi-ṣi*.

³ This suffix *-t* partakes of the character of a root determinative, as roots in *-i-u-r* are hardly ever used without it as nominal stems.

kilbisa-spft 'removing sin'; *kṣatra-bhft* (VS. xxvii. 7) 'holder of sway'; *carṣant-dhft* 'preserving men'; *dirgha-srūt* 'heard afar', *deva-srūt* (VS. xxxvii. 18) 'heard by the gods'; *dhana-spft* 'winning booty'; *dhruva-kṣit* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling firmly'; *pari-hrūt* 'overthrowing'; *pūta-bhft* (VS. xviii. 21) a kind of soma vessel; *bhāra-bhft* 'bearing a load'; *mada-cyūt* 'reeling with excitement'; *maddhu-sūt* 'emitting sweetness'; *yakṣa-bhft* 'supporting pursuers' (?), *vajra-bhft* 'wielding a thunderbolt'; *vāja-sft* 'running for a prize'; *sapatna-kṣit* (VS. i. 29) 'destroying rivals'; *suparna-ct* (VS. xxvii. 45) 'heaped up like the bird Suparna'; *soma-sūt* 'pressing Soma'; *sra-sft* 'going one's own way'; *havana-srūt* 'hearing invocations'. — f. *upa-bhft* (VS. ii. 6) 'sacrificial ladle'; *upa-mīt* 'prop'; *ṛta-cit*; *pari-srūt* (VS. xix. 15) 'fermented liquor'; *prāśasta-kft* 'bestowing praise'. — N. A. n. *viśva-jit*; *dirgha-srūt*, *nava-gāt* (AV. TS.) 'first-bearing', *paritit* (VS. xxxix. 9) 'pericardium'; as adverbs: *upa-sft* 'invoked', *dyu-gāt* 'going to heaven', *sa-kft* ('one-making') 'once'.

A. m. *adhi-kṣitam* 'ruler', *adhvara-kṣtam* (VS. i. 24) 'performing sacrifice', *arṇo-cyitam* 'enclosing the waters', *uktha-bhftam* 'offering verses', *uda-prūtam* 'swimming in water', *ṛṇa-cyitam* 'inciting to (fulfil) obligations', *carṣant-dhftam*, *ṭvira-sitam* 'pressing pungent (juice)', *ṛṣu-cyitam* 'moving greedily', *dirgha-srūtam*, *duṣ-kftam* 'acting wickedly', *dreṣo-yitam* 'moving hostility', *dhana-jitam* (VS. xi. 8), *dhana-spftam*, *nadi-vftam* 'stream-obstructing', *pari-srūtam* 'flowing around', *prātar-jitam* 'conquering early', *mada-cyitam*, *mithu-kftam* 'fallen into trouble', *vayas-kftam* (VS. iii. 18), *vāja-jitam* (VS. ii. 7) 'winning spoil', *bravo-jitam* 'winning renown', *saṃ-jitam* 'conqueror', *satya-dhvftam* 'perverting truth', *satrā-jitam* (VS. xi. 8), *sahas-kftam* (VS. iii. 18) 'bestowing strength', *sāma-bhftam* 'bringing chants', *su-kftam*, *sva-jitam*, *sviṣṭa-kftam* (VS. xxi. 47), *havana-srūtam*, *haviṣ-kftam* 'preparing the oblation'. — f. *aram-kftam* 'making ready', *upa-prūtam* 'flowing near', *deva-srūtam*, *ni-yūtam* 'team', *pari-srūtam*.

I. m. *abhi-jitā* (VS. xv. 7) 'victorious', *upari-prūtā* (VS. vii. 3) 'falling from above', *carṣant-dhftā*, *brahma-kftā* 'offering prayers', *soma-sūtā*. — f. *ni-yūtā*, *pari-srūtā* (VS. xix. 83), *pari-hṛtā*² (VIII. 47⁶) 'deceiving'.

D. m. *aram-kfte*, *duṣ-kfte*, *dharma-kfte* 'establishing order', *brahma-kfte*, *su-kfte*; *ab-jite*, *aśva-jite*, *urvarā-jite* 'winning fertile fields', *go-jite*, *dhana-jite*, *ny-jite* 'conquering men', *viśva-jite*, *satrā-jite*, *sva-jite*; *giri-kṣite* 'dwelling in mountains', *parvata-cyūte* 'shaking mountains', *soma-bhfte* (VS. v. 1) 'bringing Soma'.

Ab. m. *pari-srūtas* (VS. xix. 75) 'foaming', *brahma-kftas*, *sarva-hūtas* 'offered completely'. — f. *abhi-hrūtas* 'injurious'.

G. m. *carṣant-dhftas*, *vāja-jitas* (VS. ix. 13), *vīrya-kftas* (VS. x. 25) 'doing mighty deeds', *saṃ-jitas*, *su-kftas*, *haviṣ-kftas*. — f. *iṣa-stūtas*³, *deva-stūtas* 'praising the gods', *pari-srūtas* (AV.).

L. m. *mada-cyūti*, *go-jīti*, *vasu-jīti* (AV.) 'winning goods', *saṃ-dhana-jīti*⁴ (AV.) 'winning booty together'.

V. m. *acyuta-cyut*, *uru-kṛt* 'making wide', *ṛta-cit*, *khaja-kṛt*, *puru-kṛt*, *rana-kṛt* 'causing joy', *vandana-srūt* 'listening to praise', *vāja-jit* (VS. ii. 7), *sahasra-jit*, *haviṣ-kṛt* (VS. i. 15). — f. *upa-bhṛt* (AV.), *rāṣṭra-bhṛt* (AV.) 'bearing sway'.

¹ The second part of the word may be derived from *tan-* 'stretch' like *ṣa-t-* from *gam-* 'go'.

² With anomalous accent; but the form may be L. of *pari-hṛti-*, the normal accent of which would be *pari-hṛti-*; see LANMAN 502 (bottom).

³ *iṣa* = *iṣ-* 'refreshment', BR.; but the Pada text reads *iṣa-stūtas*, and GRASSMANN regards *iṣa* = *iṣaḥ* (before *st-*) as G. of *iṣ-*.

⁴ Instead of **dhana-saṃ-jīti*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *go-jitā*, *divi-kṣitā* 'dwelling in the sky', *pari-kṣitā* 'dwelling around', *mada-cyūtā*, *su-śrūtā* 'hearing well', *havana-śrūtā*, V. *paṭhi-kṛtā* (AV.); *i-duṣ-kṛtau*, *kṛṣṇa-prūtāu* 'moving in darkness', *sa-kṛtau* (AV.) 'acting at once', *sa-kṣitāu* 'dwelling together', *su-kṛtau* (AV.), *bhadra-kṛtau* (AV.), *su-śrūtāu* (AV.). — f. *ugra-jitāu* (AV.) 'fierce-conquering' (name of an Apsaras). — G. f. *su-kṛtos*, *pari-kṣitos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *ctas* (VS. I. 18) 'heaping up', *hrītas* 'stumbling-blocks'; with *-kṛt*: *aram-kṛtas*, *īāna-kṛtas*, *karma-kṛtas* (VS. III. 47) 'skilful in work', *dudhra-kṛtas* 'boisterous', *duṣ-kṛtas*, *dhānyz-kṛtas* 'preparing grain', *brahna-kṛtas*, *yajña-ni-kṛtas* 'preparing the sacrifice', *vayas-kṛtas*, *su-kṛtas*, *havi-kṛtas*; with *-cyūt*: *dhanva-cyūtas* 'shaking the ground', *dhruva-cyūtas* 'shaking the immovable', *parvata-cyūtas*, *mada-cyūtas*; with *-kṣt*: *apsu-kṣitas* 'dwelling in the waters', *upa-kṣitas* 'dwelling near', *vraja-kṣitas* (VS. X. 4) 'resting in their station', *sa-kṣitas*; with other roots: *adhva-gḍtas* (AV.) 'travellers', *arthitas* (VS. X. 3) 'swift', *uda-prūtas*, *ūrūhva-ctas* (VS. I. 18) 'piling up', *kṛchre-śrītas* 'undergoing danger', *grāma-jītas* 'conquering troops', *carṣaṇī-dhītas*, *jana-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'supporting people', *divi-śrītas* (AV.) 'going to heaven', *deva-śrītas* (VS. VI. 30), *dveṣo-yūtas*, *ni-gūtas* 'enemies', *pari-ctas* (VS. XII. 46) 'piling up around', *pitu-bhītas* 'bringing food', *pūrva-ctas* (VS. XXVII. 4) 'piling up first', *mano-dhītas* 'intelligent', V. *vāja-jītas* (VS. IX. 9), *vī-ctas* (VS. IV. 24) 'sifting', *viśva-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'all-nourishing', *satya-śrītas* 'hearing the truth', *satra-jītas*, *su-kṛtas* (VS. XXXIII. 16), *su-śrītas*, *soma-sūtas*, *sva-sṛtas*, *havana-śrītas*. — f. *mītas* 'posts', *stūtas* 'praises'; *uda-prūtas*, *ni-yūtas*, *pari-śrītas*, *pitu-bhītas*, *saṃ-kṣitas* 'layers', *sa-śrītas* 'streaming'. — N. A. n. *dirgha-śrīt* 'far-renowned' appears to be used as a n. pl. in agreement with *vratā* (VIII. 25¹⁷).

A. m. *hrītas* and *hrutās*⁴ (AV.); *a-pṛtas* 'not swelling', *go-jītas*, *jyotiṣ-kṛtas*, *duṣ-kṛtas*, *ni-gūtas*, *mada-cyūtas*, *su-kṛtas*. — f. *rītas* 'flowing'; *ūpa-stūtas* 'invocations', *dirgha-śrītas*, *ni-yūtas*, *bali-hītas* 'paying tribute', *varuṇa-dhītas* 'deceiving Varuṇa', *vī-sṛtas* 'flowing asunder', *sa-śrītas*.

I. m. *soma-sūdbhis*. — f. *antarikṣa-prūdbhis* 'floating over the atmosphere', *ni-yūdbhis*.

D. m. *iṣu-kṛdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'arrow-makers', *dhanus-kṛdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'bow-makers', *paṭhi-kṛdbhyas*, *bandhu-kṣīdbhyas* 'dwelling among kinsmen'. — Ab. n. *tanū-kṛdbhyas*.

G. m. *agni-hotra-hūtām* (AV.) 'offering the oblation to Agni', *iṣu-bhūtām* (AV.) 'archers', *mantra-kṛtām* 'composers of hymns', *su-kṛtām*. — f. *abhi-hrūtām*, *upa-citām* (VS. XII. 97) a kind of disease, *upa-mītām* (AV.), *ni-yūtām*, *pari-mītām* (AV.) 'rafters', *prati-mītām* (AV.) 'props', *ratha-jitām* (AV.).

L. m. *su-kṛtsu*.

Derivative Stems in *-vat*, *-tāt*, *-it*, *-ut* and secondary *-i*.

309. The following stems are formed with the suffix (1) *-vat*⁵: *arvā-vāt* f. 'proximity', *ā-vāt* (AV.) f. 'proximity', *ud-vāt* f. 'height', *ni-vāt* f. 'depth', *parā-vāt* f. 'distance', *pra-vāt* f. 'height', *saṃ-vāt* f. 'region'; (2) *-tāt*⁶: *uparā-tāt* f. 'vicinity', *devā-tāt* f. 'divine service', *vṛkāt-tāt* f. 'wolfishness', *satyāt-tāt* f. 'reality', *survāt-tāt* f. 'totality'; (3) *-it*: *taṭ-it* f. 'contiguous', *dī-it*⁷

¹ *dhānya-kṛtas* in the Pada text.

² That is, 'going (*i-*) to the goal' (*ārtha-*).

³ See LANMAN 503 (bottom), and 474 on the N. A. pl. n.

⁴ With irregular accent.

⁵ See above, secondary nominal derivation, 233.

⁶ Cf. above 215 a.

⁷ In this word the suffix *-it* probably consists of the root *i-* 'go' with the primary (determinative) *-i* (307).

'going to the sky', *yos-it* f. 'young woman', *roh-it* f. 'red mare', *sar-it* f. 'stream', *har-it* f. 'fallow'; (4) -*ut*: *mar-it* m. 'storm-god'; (5) with secondary -*t*: the two neuters *ydkr-t*¹ (AV.) 'liver', *sákr-t*² 'excrement', and perhaps the etymologically obscure m. *ndpat*³ 'descendant', all three of which are supplemented in the weak cases by the stems *yakán-*, *sakán-* and *ndpkr-* respectively. The inflexion of this group of -*t* stems is the same as that of the radical -*t* stems.

Inflexion.

310. Sing. N. m. *tañt*, *tánū-ndpāt* 'son of himself', *ndpāt*, *prā-ndpāt* 'great-grandson'. — f. *parāvūt*, *pravūt*, *rohīt*, *sarīt* (VS. XXXIV. 11). — n. *ydkrīt* (VS. AV.), *sákrīt*.

A. m. *tánū-ndpātam*, *ndpātam*. — f. *arvāvdātam*, *parāvāvdātam*, *pravāvdātam*, *yoṣītām*, *rohītām* (AV.), *saṃvāvdātam* (AV.).

I. m. *divūtā*. — f. *udvūtā*, *devūtātā*⁴, *nivūtā*, *pravūtā*, *satyūtātā*⁴, *sarvūtātā*⁴, *harūtā*.

D. f. *devūtāte*. There is also the transfer form *avirat-e* (from *a-vira-tā* 'lack of sons')

Ab. f. *arvāvdātas*, *udvāvdātas*⁵, *nivāvdātas*⁵, *parāvāvdātas*, *pravāvdātas*, *saṃvāvdātas*. — G. f. *pravāvdātas*.

L. f. *arvāvdāti*, *uparvāvdāti*, *devvāvdāti*, *parāvāvdāti*, *vṛkātāti*.

V. m. *tánū-ndpāt*, *ndpāt*⁶.

Du. N. A. V. m. *ndpātā*. — f. *harītā*. — G. f. *harītās*.

Pl. N. m. *ndpātas*, *marūtās*, *harītās*. — f. *ūvātas* (AV.), *udvātas*, *tañtās*, *parāvāvdātas* (AV.), *pravāvdātas*, *yoṣītās* (AV.), *sarītās*, *harītās*.

A. m. *marūtās*. — f. *udvātas*, *nivāvdātas*, *parāvāvdātas*, *pravāvdātas*, *yoṣītās* (AV.), *rohītās*, *saṃvāvdātas*, *sarītās*, *harītās*.

I. m. *marūdibhis*. — f. *pravāvdibhis*. — D. m. *marūdibhyas*.

Ab. m. *marūdibhyas*. — G. m. *marūtām*. — f. *pravāvdātam*.

L. m. *marūtsu*. — f. *udvātsu*, *nivāvdātsu*, *pravāvdātsu*.

V. m. *indrā-marutas* 'O Indra and the Maruts', *ndpātas*, *marutas*.

Participial Stems in -*at* and -*ant*.

311. Participles in -*at* are almost limited to the present active form of stems made with reduplication, viz. those of the third class (457) and of intensives (545). The old reduplicated participle (from *gā-* 'go') *jīgat-* 'going', 'living', is used chiefly as a n. substantive meaning 'the animate world'. The analogy of these participles is followed by a few others formed from un-reduplicated stems: *dās-at-* 'worshipping', *sās-at-* 'instructing'⁷; also *dākṣat-* and *dhāksat-*, the aor. participle of *dāh-* 'burn'. A few others, again, originally participles, having come to be used as substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vah-dt*⁸ 'stream', *veh-dt*⁹ (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-dt*¹⁰ m. 'sacrificer', *srav-at*¹¹ f. 'stream'; like the regular participle *sāśc-at-* (from *sac-* 'accompany'), which as a substantive becomes *sāśc-dt* m. 'pursuer'. In

¹ Cp. Lat. *secur*.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559.

³ The suffix may here have been a primary -*t* added to the root *pā-*: cp. LEU-MANN'S etymology (1888), Festgruss an Böhtlingk 77 f.; BRUGMANN 2, p. 366.

⁴ These forms might be locatives of *devūtāti*, *sa'yūtāti*, *sarvūtāti*.

⁵ These forms might be A. pl.

⁶ Perhaps *marut* in *evayā-marut*.

⁷ LANMAN 505, would place *dāsat-* 'injuring' here, but there is no evidence, as only a weak case, *dāsatas* G. sing., occurs.

⁸ But *vāh-ant-* 'carrying'.

⁹ The derivation of this word is obscure.

¹⁰ In one or two passages *vāghūt-* still retains its participial sense.

¹¹ But *srāv-ant-* 'flowing'.

this class inascuales are frequent, but only about half a dozen neuter forms occur, and the feminines are limited to three substantives¹ and the adjective *a-sācāt* 'unequaled'². The inflexion is like that of the radical *-t* stems, the accent never shifting to the endings.

Inflection.

312. Sing. N. m. 1. reduplicating class³: *cikyāt, jāhat, jūhvāt, dādāt, dādhat, bāpsāt* (√*bhas-*), *bibhyāt, bibhrāt*. — 2. intensives: *kānikradāt* and *kānikrat*, *kārikrat* (*ky-* 'do') and (*ā-*)*kārikrat* (AV.), *ghānighnat* and *jānghanat* (√*han-*), *amīscadāt* (√*śand-*), *cārkyāt, cākaśāt* (√*kaś-*), *cākiāt* (√*cit-*), *iārbhurāt, jāgrāt, idvīvat, dārdrat, dāśīsat, dīdyāt, dāvīdyutāt, dādhuvat, dāvīdhwāt, nānadāt, nānamāt, pīniphānat, bhāribhrāt, mārmyāt, mārmysāt, mēmyāt, rārajāt, rārihāt, rōruvat, vārīryāt, vāvādāt, vēvidāt, vēviśāt, śīsucāt, śānīgyadāt* (√*śyand-*), *śīśidhāt*. — 3. non-reduplicating verbs: *vāghāt, śīśāt*; aor. *dīkśāt* and *dhīkśāt*. — N. A. n. 1. *jāgat, dāvīdyutāt, pīpīśāt, jāyuvāt* (AV.). — N. f. *vehāt* (AV. VS.).

A. m. 1. *ā-sācātam* (1. 112⁹), *dādātām, bibhrātām*. — 2. *kārikratām* (AV.), *ghānighnatām, dīdyātām, nānadātām, pīnīpnātām, rōruvatām* (AV.). — f. *a-sācātām* (11. 32³); *vehātām* (AV.).

I. m. *dādātā, śīsucātā*. — f. *a-sācātā*. — n. *jāgatā* (AV.).

D. m. 1. *jājyate, jūhvate, dādhat, bibhrate, śācate*. — 2. *ghānighvate*. — 3. *vāghāte*. — n. 1. *jāgate* (AV.).

Ab. m. 2. *kānikradatas*.

G. m. 1. *jāgatas, dādatas, dādhatas, bāpsatas*. — 2. *jānghnatas, tārītratas, dādhatas, vēviśatas*. — 3. *vāghātas, śīśatas, dhīkśatas* (aor.). — n. 1. *jāgatas*. — 2. *ā-vāryatatas* (AV.), *vāvadatas*. — L. n. *jāgati*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-sācātā, bāpsatā, bibhratā; tārītratā; śāsatā; dādhatāu, bibhratāu*. — f. *a-sācātā*. — G. m. *pīpratōs*.

Pl. N. m. 1. *jūhvatas, ītratas, dādatas, dādhatas, pīpratōs, bāpsatas, bibhratas, śīśratōs*. — 2. *kārikratōs, jāgratas, jūhvatas, dāvīdhwatas, dīdyatas, dādhatas, nānacatas, mārmyatas, śīsucatas*. — 3. *dāśīsatōs, vāghātas*. — f. *a-sācātās, vāghātas, śrāvītās*.

A. m. 1. *jūkśatas* (√*ghas-*). — 2. *jāgratas* (AV.), *dādhatas* (AV.), *śīśvasatas, śīsucatas* (AV.). — f. *sācātās; śrāvītās*.

I. m. 2. *nānadabhis, pīpruthabhis, vāvādadabhis, śīśvasadabhis*. — 3. *vāghādbhis*. — G. m. *jāgatām, bibhyatām* (AV.); *vāghātām*. — f. *śrāvītām*.

V. m. *jāgatas, vāghatas*.

313. Participles in *-ant* are formed from all present stems (except those of the reduplicating class and of intensives and the few others that follow their analogy), from all future stems, and from aorist stems. Their analogy is followed by *rkānt-* 'weak', *pfyānt-* 'spotted', *brhānt-* 'great', *rūśānt-* 'brilliant', which have lost their participial function; also by *dānt-*⁵ m. 'tooth'. The adjective *māhānt-* 'great', having lost its original participial meaning deviates from the participial declension in lengthening the vowel of the suffix in the strong forms. In the inflexion of this group the distinction between

¹ The f. of the regular participles is formed by the suffix *-ī*.

² But *ā-sācātā* from *śācāt*.

³ See below, Verb, 461.

⁴ There occurs once an anomalous N. pl. with *-ant* from a reduplicated stem: *vārydh-āntas*. See below, Perfect, 492, note on *vārydhvāntas*.

⁵ This word is probably an old pres. participle of *ant-* 'eat', with prehistoric loss of the initial *a* like *ānt-* 'being' from *a-* 'be' (25, 1). The RV. has one transfer form, N. *dāntas* (starting from the A. *dānt-ām*); the AV. has others, *dāntās* and *dāntās*.

strong and weak forms is regularly made, *-ant* appearing in the former only and being reduced to *-at* in the latter, which shift the accent, if resting on the suffix, to the ending. These participles are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form a special f. stem in *-ā*. The m. and n. forms are the same, except of course in the N. A.; the former are very frequent, the latter rare.

Inflexion.

314. The forms occurring, if made from *bhāvat* 'being', would be as follows:

Sing. N. m. *bhāvan*¹. — n. *bhāvat*. — A. m. *bhāvanta*m. — I. m. n. *bhāvata*. — D. *bhāvate*. — Ab. m. n. *bhāvatas*. — G. m. n. *bhāvatas*. — L. *bhāvati*.
Du. N. A. V. m. *bhāvanta* and *bhāvantau*. — n. *bhāvati*. — D. *bhāvad-bhān*. — G. m. n. *bhāvatas*.

Pl. N. m. *bhāvanta*s. — n. *bhāvanti*. — A. m. *bhāvatas*. — I. *bhāvadbhis*. — D. m. *bhāvadbhyas*. — Ab. m. *bhāvadbhyas*. — G. m. n. *bhāvata*m. — L. m. n. *bhāvatsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following. It is unnecessary to enumerate all the m. and n. forms, as in the RV. alone 228 forms of the N. sing., 121 of the A. sing., and 166 of the N. pl.² occur.

Sing. N. m. Examples are: *ārcan*, *sīdan*; *ghnān*, *yān*, *śin*; *pīśyan*; *icchān*; *kṛvān*, *sunvān*; *bhāñjān*; *jānān*; *janāyan*; *yhyutsan*; *karisyān*. Also *dān*, 'tooth'³; *māhān*⁴. — n. *anāt*, *āsata*⁵, *iśnāt*, *śjat*, *śsat*⁶, *kulāyāyat*, *cārat*, *citāyat*, *tipāt*, *dhyāt*, *pātāt*, *patīyat*, *mināt*, *yāt*, *raghuyāt*, *vārdhat*, *sānsat*, *śikyat*, *śvāyat*, *sāt*, *sunvāt*; adj. *brhāt*, *māhāt*, *rūsat*; aor. *sāksat* (√*sah*); fut. *bharisyāt* (AV.). As adv. with shift of accent: *drardī* 'swiftly' (*dru* 'run'), *drahyāt* 'firmly' (irregular formation from *drh* 'be firm').

A. m. Examples are: *cārantam*; *yāntam*, *usāntam*, *sāntam*; *yūdhyantam*; *vidhāntam*; *kṛvāntam*; *prñedāntam*; *gṛvāntam*; *dīsāntam*; *dāntam*; *brhāntam*, *māhāntam*.

I. m. *ā-ghnātā*, *āvātā*, *ā-sunvātā*, *cāratā*, *jānatā*, *tujatā*, *pīśyatā*, *bhīndatā*, *vanusyatā*; *datā*, *śyānt-datā* (AV.) 'dark-toothed', *brhātā*, *māhātā*, *rūsatā*. — n. *ā-āpīyatā*, *ā-sredhatā*, *ā-hejatā*, *āsata*⁷, *usātā*, *gavyatā*, *tvāyatā*, *dhyātā* (adv.), *śucatā*, *śravasyatā*, *samaryatā*, *sumnāyatā*; *brhātā*, *māhātā*, *rūsatā*.

D. m. 1. from stems accented on the suffix: *avasyatā*, *asvāyatā*, *iśyatā*, *iśudhyatā*, *iśīyatā*, *usātā*, *yjūyatā*, *rītyatā*, *kṛvātā*, *gavyatā*, *gṛvātā*, *jurātā*, *jānatā*, *tvāyatā*, *devayātā*, *dvīśatā*, *dhyāyatā*, *dhyūvatā*, *prñatā*, *prechatā*, *brahmanyatā*, *māhāyatā*, *manavasyatā*, *yajñāyatā*, *yātā*, *vāvatā*, *vidhatā*, *śṛvātā*, *śravasyatā*, *sakhiyatā*, *sātā*, *śiñcatā*, *sunvatā*, *stuvātā*; *rhatā*, *brhātā*, *māhātā*; fut. *avīsyatā*. — n. *śucatā*, *sanāyatā*.

2. from stems accented on the radical or the penultimate syllable: *ā-ghnate*, *ā-codāte*⁸, *ā-minate*, *ārcate*, *ārhatē*, *lyaksate*, *cārate*, *cīrate*, *tīrate*,

¹ On the difference in the form of this f. stem see 201, 377, 455, 461, etc. regarded by BENFAY as N. sing. m. (Göttinger Nachrichten 1878, p. 190).

² On the Sandhi of such nominatives see LANMAN 506. ³ For *ā-sat* (VII. 104¹²); the Pada reads *āsat*.

⁴ Lists of the participle stems will be found below under each of the conjugational classes, under the secondary conjugations, and under the future. ⁵ The Pada reads *ā-śat* (X. 89¹⁴).

⁶ Once (IV. 5¹⁴) with lengthened initial for *ā-sat-ā* 'not being', also once *āsata* (VII. 104¹²); the Pp. has *śsatā* and *śsatāk*. See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, under *ā-sat*.

⁷ Occurring also in several compounds *ā-dān* 'toothless', etc.; *ubhaya-dān* (AV. V. 19²) must be emended to *-dann*. ⁸ Wrong accentuation (in V. 44²) for *ā-codate*; see LANMAN 508 (top).

⁹ *māhām* in II. 24¹¹, IV. 23¹, IX. 109⁷ is

īṣyate, dāsate, pācate, pīṣate, pīṣyate, yājate, yūdhyaṭe, rājate, rīṣate, vādate, śāmsate, śārḍhate, śiṣasate, hāryate; a-dhīte¹ 'toothless'.

Ab. I. m. *kṛvātis, pṛvātis, vanuṣyātis; bṛhātis.* — **n.** *bṛhātis, mahātis.*
— **2. m.** *ā-bhuñjatas, ā-vadatas, jighāṃsatas, rīṣatas.* — **n.** *ā-satas.*

G. m. I. *arātīyatīs, undatīs, usatīs, rghāyatīs, rīyatīs, kṛvātīs, kṣiyātīs, grvātīs, tujātīs, turatīs, turanyatīs, tvāyatīs, durhanīyatīs, dūṣatīs, dhṛṣātīs, pītīyatīs, pṛvātīs, brahmanyatīs, minatīs, miṣātīs, yatīs, rudhātīs, vapuṣyatīs, vidhātīs, śucakātīs, satīs, saparyatīs, sunvatīs, stuvātīs, huvātīs; bṛhātīs, mahātīs; fut. karīyatīs.*

2. *ā-ghnatas, ā-jūryatas, ā-bhuñjatas, ārcatas, ā-sunvatas, ānakṣatas, ādratas, cātatas, jāyatas, jāratas, jighāṃsatas, jījyāsatas, jīvatas, tīrvatas, īṣiyatas, dīdāsatas, drāvatas, dhāmatas, dhṛṣjatas, pīyatas, bhūṣatas, yūdhyaṭas, rīrīkīṣatas, rābhatas, vāyatas, vārdhatas, vēnatas, śārḍhatas, śēcatas, śiṣasatas, sīdātas, hāṣṣatas; rīṣatas.*

n. I. *kṛpāyatīs, pṛvātīs², miṣātīs, yātīs, satīs; bṛhātīs, mahātīs.* — **2.** *dsatas³, cāratas, bhāvatas, vēnatas, śiṣasatas; rīṣatas.*

L. m. I. *yati, sunvati; mahati.* — **2.** *īrīyatī, ubhayā-dati (AV.).* — **n. I.** *mahati.* — **2.** *ā-sati.*

Du. N. A. V. a) forms in *-ā*. **1.** accented on the suffix: *āśnāntā, irājyāntī, usāntā, gmāntā⁴, garyāntā, dasasyāntā, dīśāntā, dukāntā, pāntā, pundntā, pṛcāntā, bhujāntā, mināntā, miśāntā, yāntā, yāntā, vanvāntā, vāsnayāntā, vājāyāntā, vyāntā, vṛdhāntā, kṛvāntā, sātā, saparyāntā, sumnyāntā; bṛhāntā, bṛhantā (V.), mahāntā.* — **2.** accented on the penultimate or antepenultimate: *ā-marḍhantā, ā-yatantā, ārhantā, īṣiyantā, kṣiyantā, cārantā, codīyantā, janāyantā, jārantā, drāvāntā, dhāmāntā, pāryāntā, pīpāntā, mīdāntā, rīdāntā, vādāntā, vāpāntā, vāhantā, vājāyāntā, vēnāntā, sādāntā, sāpāntā, sāhantā, sādāntā, hāyāntā.*

b) forms in *-au*. **1.** *āśnāntau, tīrīntau, yāntau, vṛdhāntau, sīntau; mahāntau.* — **2.** *īṣyāntau, kṛḍāntau, kṣyāntau, mīdāntau (AV.), vājāntau, rājāntau.*

N. A. n. *yati; bṛhati.* — **D. m.** *mṛḍayādbhyām; mahādbhyām.* — **G. m.** *jāratas.* — **n.** *sam-yatīs (AV.) 'going together'.*

Pl. N. m. From the very numerous forms occurring the following may be quoted: *mīdāntas; ghnāntas, yāntas, sīntas; pīyāntas; icchāntas; bhīndāntas; kṛvāntas; grvāntas; devayāntas, vājāyāntas; dīpsāntas⁵; aor. krāntas⁶, bhīdāntas⁷; pīṣatas (VS. XXIV. 11), mahāntas⁸.* — **V.** *usāntas; mahāntas.* — **N. A. n.** *sānti⁹; bṛhānti (AV. VIII. 9¹), mahānti.*

A. m. I. *usatīs, rghāyatīs, grvātīs, taruṣyatīs, tvāyatīs, pṛvātīs, pṛvanyatīs, bhāndanīyatīs, manīyatīs, yatīs, rudatīs, vanuṣyātīs, vājāyatīs, vidhātīs, śṛvātīs, śṛvācyatīs, śrudhīyatīs, sakhīyatīs, satīs, sasatīs, stuvātīs; bṛhātīs, mahātīs; datīs.*

2. *ā-pṛvatas, ā-prayucchatas, ārcatas, kṣyātas, dhāvatas, dhṛṣjatas, pātatas, rāyatas, rīṣatas, rīruṣṣatas (Vṛuh-), vādātas, vrīdhātas, śārḍhātas, śiṣṛpsatas; śṛv-ā-datas (AV.).*

¹ On the accent see 90 B c. The dative of *ad-ānt-* 'eating', would be *ad-āt-ē*.

² That is, *pro-avātīs*.

³ For *dsatas* according to the Pada text.

⁴ Aor. participle of *gam-* 'go'. In one passage (l. 122¹) the Pada reads *gmāntas*; the sense seems to require the pl. *gmāntas*. See LANMAN 509.

⁵ Desiderative of *dabh-* 'injure'; cp. LANMAN 508 (gen. masc.).

⁶ *gmāntas* should perhaps be read for *gmānti* in l. 122¹.

⁷ On the anomalous N. pl. perf. participle, *vajyāntas*, see above p. 190, note 4.

⁸ *ubhayā-datas* in X. 90¹⁰ is perhaps a metrical shortening for *datas*; cp. LANMAN 509 (bottom). The AV. has the transfer form *dātā*; cp. p. 190, note 5.

⁹ The Pada text reads *sānti*; see RPr. IX. 25.

I. m. *ā-nimiṣadbhis, ā-prayucchadbhis, ā-sredhadbhis, usadbhis, citkyadbhis, tujyadbhis, devayadbhis, dhāvaadbhis, patyadbhis, r̥bhadbhis, vādaadbhis, vājyadbhis, vr̥jadbhis, śucadbhis, śucyadbhis, śubhdyadbhis, śocadbhis; bṛhadbhis, mahadbhis, r̥śadbhis; dadbhis*¹. — n. *śucyadbhis, stanadyadbhis; bṛhadbhis, mahadbhis, r̥śadbhis*.

D. m. *usadbhyas, kṣudhyadbhyas, gr̥nadbhyas, tvayadbhyas, p̥atyadbhyas, pr̥yadbhyas, vādadbhyas, vāhadbhyas, sunvadbhyas; bṛhadbhyas, mahadbhyas; dadbhis* (AV.). — Ab. m. *parā-yadbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *adhvaryatām, usatām, r̥jyatām, gr̥natām, ghnatām, juratām, devayatām, dvīsatām, yatām, yatām, vanusyatām, vājayatām, satrūyatām, s̥nyatām, s̥ravasyatām, sakhyatām, satām, sasatām, sunvatām, stuvatām, sthātām², bṛhatām, mahatām; datām* (AV.). — 2. *ā-sunvatām, cūratām, jāyatām, n̥tyatām, pātatām, v̥vasatām, śardhatām*. — n. *rathir̥yātām*³.

L. m. *gr̥natsu, devayatsu, patyatsu, mahatsu*. — n. *juryatsu*.

Stems in *-mant* and *-vant*.

315. As these two suffixes have the same sense, that of 'possessing', and are inflected exactly alike, the stems formed with them are best treated together in declension. These stems are used in the m. and n. only⁴, as they form a separate f. by adding *-ī* to the weak stem. They are inflected like the participles in *-ant* except that they lengthen the vowel of the suffix in the N. sing. m. and never shift the accent from the suffix to the ending in the weak cases. Strong and weak forms are as strictly distinguished as in the *-ant* stems⁵. The regular vocative of these stems ends in *-mas* and *-vas* in the RV., but the AV. has neither⁶ in any independent passage, and the VS. has only *bhagavas* and *patnīvas*. The RV. has also three vocatives in *-van*, and the AV. adds five others; but no voc. in *-man* occurs.

Three stems in *-vant* and one in *-mant* have case-forms supplementing the inflexion of stems in *-an* and forming transitions from the latter declension to the former. Thus from *maghāvant* 'bountiful' alone are formed the pl. I.: *maghāvadbhis*, D. *maghāvadbhyas*, I. *maghāvatsu*; also the N. sing. *maghāvān* beside the usual *maghāvā* from *maghāvan-*; from *sāhūvant* the N. *sāhūvān* beside *sāhūvā*; from *yūvant* 'young', the A. n. *yūvat* beside the N. m. *yūva*; from *varimānt* the I. m. sing. *varimātā* beside forms from *varimān-* 'width'.

Inflexion.

316. Sing. N. m. 1. from stems in *-vant*: *akṣayvān*⁸, *agnivān*, *dūgirasvān*, *dnnavān*, *ā-pavitravān*, *āmarvān*, *ārvān*, *āśīrvān*, *lājvān*, *īśdvān*, *īghāvān*, *ātāvān*, *kakṣivān*, *kṣapāvān* and *kṣāpāvān*, *gh̥fuvān*, *jānivān*, *tāpasvān*, *tar̥yāvān*, *īdvāsvān*, *īr̥iṣvān*, *īāvān*, *īuvr̥āvān*⁹, *vāvān*, *damśānāvān*, *dākṣīnāvān*.

¹ The AV. (XI. 37) has the transfer form *dāntai*.

² From the aor. stem *sthāt-* 'standing'.

³ With irregular accent on the suffix instead of the ending, from *rathir̥-yāt-*.

⁴ In two or three instances the m. form seems to be used for the f., as *haviṣmatā* (I. 128²) and *rāthavate* (I. 122¹); see LANMAN 515 (bottom).

⁵ There seem, however, to be two or three instances of a weak form used instead of a strong: *kṣumātī* (IV. 21⁶), A. pl. n.,

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kr̥dmatā (x. 59¹), N. du. m., *indrāvatas* (IV. 27¹), N. pl.; see LANMAN 516.

⁶ In AV. XIX. 34⁸ the Mss. read *bhagavas* which is emended to *samābhavas* in the printed text.

⁷ On the other hand, *ārvant-* 'steed', has two forms representing a transition to the *-an* declension: N. *ārvā*, A. *ārvāyam*.

⁸ On the Sandhi of these forms, see LANMAN 517.

⁹ Probably for **uvr̥āvā-vān*.

vān¹, dītravān, dānāvān, dāsavān, durhānāvān, devāvān, devāvān, dyumnāvān, nāmasvān, niyūtāvān, nilāvān, pāyasvān, pavitravān, pavitravān, pastyāvān, pāramdhivān, pūṣanvān, praśāvān, prāyasvān, pravṛtvān, prahāvān, bhīgavān, maghāvān, mādvān, matsarāvān, mānasvān, marūtāvān, māhasvān, mayāvān, māhināvān, mehīnāvān, yāsavān, yātumāvān, rābhasvān, rāsavān, revān, vājāvān, vāṣṭāvān, vivāvān, vivāvān, vṣṣāvān, vṣṣāvān, śicāvān, śarāvān, śāsavān, śprāvān, śprītvān, śmtāvān, śakhāvān, śabhāvān, śārasvān, śāhasvān, śahāvān and śhāvān, sutāvān, sūnrtāvān, stavān², svadhāvān, svadhītāvān, svārvān, hārvān, hitāvān, hemyāvān.

2. From stems in *-mant*: abdimān, dvimān, aśnimān, ṣumān, udanīmān, ṛbhumān, kakūdmān, krātumān, garītmān, gōmān, ihviṣmān, tvāṣṣmān, tvīṣmān, dyumān, dhṛdjmān, nadanumān, parasumān, paśumān, pitumān, barhīsmān, mādhumān, vāsumān, virūkmān, vṣṣimān, śarumān, sociṣmān, suṣumān, haviṣmān, hīrīmān.

N. A. n. 1. apāśhāvāt, āmavat, arcivāt, āsvavat, āsvāvāt, ātmanvāt, avṣvat, lāvāt, fghāvāt, etāvāt, kṣātāvāt, gopīvat, grābhanāvāt, ghṛtvāt, candrāvāt, tāvat, tokāvāt, tvāvat, dākṣivāt, dyumnāvāt, dhānāvāt, dhvasmanvāt, nāmasvat, nilvat, nrvāt, padvāt, pāyasvat, pastyāvāt, pṣṣadvāt, praśivāt, barhānāvāt, yīvat, yīvat³, rāthavat, rāsavat, revāt, vayīnavāt, vayīnavāt, vājavat, vīpīkvāt, vivāvāt, viṣdvāt, virāvāt, satīvat, śaphāvāt, śāsvāt⁴, śahāsvāt, śāhasvat, sinavat, svārvāt, hīranyavat.

2. abhiṣimāt, ṛbhumāt, ketumāt, krātumat, ksumāt, gōmat, jyōtiṣmat, tvīṣmat, dasmāt, dānumat, dyumāt, nidhimāt, paśumāt, pitumāt, puṣimāt, mādhumat, manyumāt, yūvamāt, rayimāt, vāsumat, svastimāt.

A. m. 1. apīdhānavantam, apīpāvāntam, ārvantam, āsvāvāntam, aṣṭhāvāntam, ātmanvāntam, Indrasvāntam⁵, īrjasvāntam, āpāvāntam, etāvāntam, ānasvāntam, ājasvāntam, āmanvāntam, omyāvāntam, kākṣivāntam, ghṛtvāntam, dāsavāntam, devāvāntam, dhānāvāntam, dhīvāntam, nrvāntam, padvāntam, pārasvāntam, praśāvāntam, bhāsavāntam, marūtāvāntam, māhīsvāntam, rītmavāntam, revāntam, vāvāvāntam, vāvāvāntam, vājāvāntam, vārvāntam, vīrāvāntam, vīrāvāntam, vṣṣāvāntam, satīdvāntam, śāsvāntam, śacānāvāntam, śārasvāntam, hārvāntam, hāstāvāntam, hīranyāvāntam.

2. ṛbhumāntam, kāvāntam, ketumāntam, ksumāntam, gōmāntam, jyōtiṣmāntam, abhiṣmāntam, dyumāntam, nidhimāntam, pitumāntam, bāndhumāntam, bhānumāntam, mādhumāntam, vāsumāntam, vāṣṣmāntam, vṣṣimāntam, haviṣmāntam, hīrīmāntam.

I. i. m. ārvātā, āsvāvātā, udanvātā, fkvātā, kākṣivātā, niyūtātā, nrvātā, marūtātā, yāsavātā, revātā, vīsvādevyāvātā, viṣvātā, śubhrāvātā, śāhasvātā.— n. etāvātā, candrāvātā, praśāvātā, barhānāvātā, vivāvātā, sūnrtāvātā, hārvātā, śāsvātā.

2. m. gōmatā, jyōtiṣmatā, divltmatā, dyumātā, bhṛṣimātā, varimātā⁶, vāsumātā, virūkmātā, haviṣmatā. — n. divltmatā, virūkmātā, haviṣmatā; as adv. śāsvātā⁷.

D. i. m. ārvate, āsvāvate, kākṣivate, dākṣivāvate 'adroit' and 'bestowing gifts', datvite, dāsivate, niyūtivate⁸, pūṣanvite, marūtivate, māvate, yūvāvate, rāthavate⁹,

¹ Representing two words: 1. 'dexterous' (dākṣiṇā- 'right hand'); 2. 'possessing sacrificial gifts' (dākṣiṇā-).

² To be read stavān 'thundering', from *ṣtan-*; see GRASSMANN, s. v.

³ Transfer form from the *-an* stem *yīvan-*.

⁴ Also the *Amreṣita* compound *śāsvāchāvāt*.

⁵ With the N. *-r* anomalously retained.

⁶ Transfer form from the *-an* stem *varimān-*.

⁷ See LANMAN 516 (bottom).

⁸ Erroneously unaccented (l. 135¹).

⁹ The f. *rāthavatyai* should perhaps be read for *rāthavate* in l. 122¹, as the latter form agrees with a f. substantive, and the former is favoured by the metre; cp. LANMAN 519.

vīdsvate and *vīvasvate*, *śācīsvate*, *śāśvate*, *sāhasvate*, *sūnyūdsvate*, *svārsvate*, *lūdrīsvate*. — n. *padvāte*, *revdīte*, *śāśvate*.

2. m. *gōmate*, *cākṣuṣmate*, *tolṣimate*, *diviltimate*, *dyumāte*, *barhṣimate*, *haviṣmate*.

Ab. 1. m. *tvārvatas*, *vīdsvatas*, *vṣṣyāvatas*.

G. 1. m. *ārvatas*, *ātvāvatas*, *kakṣivatas*, *jīvatas*, *tvāvatas*, *dadhanvatas*¹, *dūsvatas*, *devtvātas*, *dhīvatas*², *niyūtvatas*, *nr̥vatas*, *prajāvatas*, *marūtvas*, *māvatas*, *mehānāvatas*, *yāsasvatas*, *revdātas*, *vāyasvatas*, *vājāvatas*, *vīdsvatas* and *vīvasvatas*, *vīrvivas*, *śīctvatas*, *śāśvatas*, *sārasvatas*, *sāhasvatas*, *sūtīvatas*, *śrīrvatas*, *svadhāvatas*, *hṣivatas*. — n. *ādvatus*, *yāvatas*, *viṣvūvatas*, *śāśvatas*.

2. m. *kṣumītas*, *gōmatas*, *dyumītas*, *haviṣmatas*. — n. *gōmatas*.

L. 1. m. *ārvati*, *dāksināvati* 'bestowing gifts', *nr̥vati*, *pastyāvati*, *yāsasvati*, *vānavati*, *vīdsvati* and *vīvasvati*, *saryandvati*. — n. *āsvārati*, *śīmivati*, *svārnavati*. — 2. m. *gōmati*.

V. m. 1. The normal form in *-vas*³ occurs in sixteen examples: *ṛṣīvas*, *gnāvas*⁴, *lavīṣvas*, *niyutvas*, *pativvas* (VS.), *bhagavas* (VS. TS.), *marutvas*, *rayivas*, *vajrivvas*, *vīravvas*, *śaktivas*, *śācīvas*, *sarasvas*, *sahasvas*, *svadhīvas*, *harīvas*. — Of the later V. ending in *-van*, the RV. has three examples: *arvan*, *śātīvan*⁵, *śavasāvan*. In the AV. the following five additional forms occur: *marutvan*⁶, *vājīvan*, *vṣṣyāvan*, *svadhāvan*, *harīvan*⁶. The MS. has *patīvan*⁷. — 2. There are six examples of the form in *-mas*: *tviṣmas*, *dyumas*, *bhānumas*, *mantumas*, *suciṣmas*, *haviṣmas*. — No vocative form in *-man* occurs.

Du. N. A. V. m. 1. with *-ā*: *āhīrasvantā*, *ānasvantā*, *ārvantā*, *indravantā*, *kāśīvantā*, *kāśāvantā*, *dhārmavantā*, *nāmasvantā*, *niyūtvantā*, *paivīravantā*, *marūtīvantā*, *mitrāvādrūṇavantā*, *vājāvantā*, *vīṣṇuvantā*, *vydāsvantā*, *śāśīvantā*⁸, *śāptīvantā*; with *-au*: *aṣṣītvāntau*, *yāvāntau* (AV.), *rīmanvāntau*, *sāhasvāntau* (AV.), V. *svadhāvāntau* (AV.). — 2. *arcimāntā*, *ṛbhūmāntā*, *krātumāntā*⁹, *vadhūmāntā*.

Ab. 1. m. *aṣṣītvādbhyām*. — G. 1. m. *vājīnīvatos*, *śīmīvatos*, *sārasvatīvatos*.

Plur. N. V. m. 1. *akṣuvāntas*, *ānasvantas*, *āmavāntas*, *ārvāntas*, *āśvāvantas*, *āśīrvāntas*, *īdārvāntas*, *indravāntas*, *indrāvāntas* (TS. IV. 7. 14)¹⁰, *ūrjāsvāntas*, *ānasvāntas*, *kakṣīvāntas*, *kāryāvāntas*, *ghṛtvāntas*, *caśālāvāntas*, *dāksīnāvāntas* 'bestowing gifts', *dāmanvāntas*, *dīvasvāntas* (VS. XVI. 63), *drītvīnāsvāntas*, *dhīvāntas*, *nāmasvāntas*, *niyūtvāntas*, *nr̥vāntas*, *pātīnīvāntas*, *padvāntas*, *pāyasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *pavitrāvāntas*, *pājasvāntas*, *puṣṣīvāntas*, *pūṣāvāntas*, *prāyasvāntas*, *prāyāsvāntas*, *pravāsvāntas*, *bhūgavāntas*, *marūtīvāntas*, *māhasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *yājīnīvāntas*, *vācanāvāntas*, *vāyasvāntas* (VS. III. 18), *vārmanvāntas*, *vīrvāntas*, *vrcīvāntas*, *śāktīvāntas*, *śāśvāntas*, *śīmīvāntas*, *śāptīvāntas*, *sulāvāntas*, *srkāvāntas* (TS. IV. 5. 11²), *svadhāvāntas* (V.), *svārīvāntas*, *hīmīvāntas*, *hṣīvāntas*.

2. *añjīmāntas*, *dyuṣmāntas* (TS.), *lṣumāntas*, *ṛṣīmāntas*, *kṣumāntas*, *jyōtīsmāntas*, *tvāṣṣmāntas* (VS. XXVII. 20), *tolṣmāntas*, *dyumāntas*, *mādhūmāntas*,

¹ 'containing curds'; cp. LANMAN 513.

² Also the Amreḍita compound *dhīvalodhīvatas*.

³ Elsewhere ten vocatives in *-vas* and *-mas* occur: five from perfect participle stems in *-vām*: *kāśīvas*, *cikīvas*, *tītvvas*, *dīvivas*, *mīhvas*; four from stems ending in *-van*: *plēvas*, *vayīvas*, *prātarīvas*, *mātarīvas*; and *fumas* from *pīmān-*. There are also two in *-vas* from comparative stems in *-vām*: *oīvas* and *jyāvvas*.

⁴ In II. 15 *gnāvas* should probably be read *gnāvas* as a vocative.

⁵ The Pada text reads *śātāvan*; cp. RPr. IX. 10.

⁶ These two forms occurring in passages taken from the RV. are substituted for *marutvas* and *harīvas* of the RV.

⁷ That is, *patīvāsm*.

⁸ The mysterious form *śāśīvantā* (X. 106⁵) should perhaps be corrected to *śāśīvāntā* = *śāśīvāntā*?

⁹ The weak form *krātumātī* seems to be used for *krātumāntā* in X. 59⁴.

¹⁰ The weak form *indrāvāntas* seems to be used for *indrāvāntas* in IV. 27¹.

māhīsmantas, yāvamantas, rayimāntas, vadhūmantas, vāśmantas, śiśumantas, śhivimāntas, harsumāntas, havīsmantas.

N. A. n. 1. *ghṛtāvānti*. — 2. *paśumānti*. The Padapāṭha reads *-anti*¹ in these forms, and the lengthening of the vowel seems to be metrical². — The weak form *kṣumānti* (used with *yāthā*) seems to be used for *kṣumānti* in IV. 2³.

A. m. 1. *ārvatas, indrāvatas, ṛtvīāvatas, kṛṣṇāvatas, jānīvatas, tāpasvatas, tṛsyāvatas, tvāvatas, nṛvatas, pātivratas, pārasvatas* (VS. xxiv. 28) 'wild asses', *paśyāvatas, pośyāvatas, prajāvatas, bhāṅgurīvatas, yāśvasvatas, yātumāvatas, rābhasvatas, rayīvatas, revātas, vānanvatas, vṛcāvatas, śaryāvāvatas, kākāvatas, śmīvatas, sutāvatas, śūrīāvatas, hiraṇyavatas, hāsavatas*. — 2. *ṛtumātas* (VS. xix. 61), *gīmatas, jyōtīsmatas, dyumātas*⁴, *prāśimatas, mādhumātas, vadhūmatas, virīkmatas, sūnumātas, svastimātas*.

I. 1. m. *ārvadbhis, dākṣiṇāvadbhis, pātivradbhis, maghāvadbhis*⁵, *rābhasvadbhis, revadbhis, vājavadbhis, kākavadbhis, śmīvadbhis, sutāsomavadbhis*. — **n.** *ghṛtīvadbhis*. — 2. **m.** *ṛśtimadbhis, kṛdumadbhis, gōmadbhis, barhīsmadbhis, bhānumadbhis, vidyūnmadbhis, havīsmadbhis*. — **n.** *mādhumadbhis*.

D. 1. m. *dīvasvadbhyas* (VS. ix. 35), *bhāṅgavadbhyas* (AV.), *maghāvadbhyas*⁶, *mijavadbhyas* (AV.), *śmāvadbhyas* (AV.). — 2. **m.** *astimadbhyas* (VS. xvi. 21), *kṣumadbhyas* (VS. xvi. 22), *māṛmīadbhyas* (AV.), *yātumadbhyas*. — **n.** *vibhumadbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *ārvatām, dākṣiṇāvātām, datvātām* (AV.), *bhāṅgurāvātām, yātumāvatām, śāśvatām, śmīvatām, sutāvātām, hīmāvātām* (AV.). — 2. *gōmatām* (AV.).

L. m. 1. *ārvatsū, ārvatsū, maghāvatsū*⁷, *yūsmāvatsū*. — 2. *dyumātsū*.

Stems in radical *-th*.

317. There are only three stems in *-th*: *kāpṛth*⁸ n. 'penis', *path*⁹ m. path', with its compound *su-path* 'fair path', and *abhi-śnāth* adj. 'piercing'. Among them these three furnish examples of all the cases in the singular, but there are no dual forms, and in the plural only the A. and G. occur.

Sing. N. *kāpṛt*; A. *kāpṛt*⁷; I. *pathā*⁸, *supāthā*; D. *path*⁹ (VS.); Ab. *pathās*, *abhi-śnāthas*; G. *pathās*⁹; L. *pathi*. — **Pl.** A. *pathās*¹⁰; G. *pathām*¹¹.

Stems in radical *-d*.

318. About a hundred stems ending in *d* are made in the form of compounds (only seven being simple stems) from the twenty roots *ad* 'eat', *kyad* 'divide', *chad* 'cover' and 'please', *pad* 'go', *mad* 'be exhilarated', *sad* 'sit', *syad* 'move on'; *chid* 'cut off', *nid* 'revile', *bhid* 'cleave', *vid* 'know', *vid* 'find'; *ud* 'wet', *nud* 'push', *mud* 'rejoice', *rud* 'weep', *sud* 'enjoy', *sūd*

¹ As also in the only N. pl. n. of the present part. in *-ant*, *sānti* (314). The SV. with Lat. *capere* (cp. Uhlenbeck, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s. v.).

² Cp. LANMAN 521.

³ In VI. 174 the Padapāṭha reads *dyumātsū* as *dyumātāḥ*; GRASSMANN explains it as a D. *dyumāte* agreeing with *vāy*. On the other hand *dyumāntuḥ* in AV. XVIII. 15; should probably be emended to *dyumāntāḥ*; cp. WHITNEY's note, and LANMAN 521⁴.

⁴ Forms transferred from the *-van* declension.

⁵ The derivation of this word is uncertain: the *-th* is radical if the word is derived from *prath* 'extend' (see GRASSMANN, s. v.);

but it is suffixal if the word is connected with Lat. *capere* (cp. Uhlenbeck, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s. v.). With this possible exception there are no derivative stems in *-th*.

⁶ This stem supplements *pānthā* and *pathi*.

⁷ *kāpṛthū-m* occurs once as a transfer form.

⁸ Once (I. 1299) nasalized before a vowel *pathām a*.

⁹ Once (II. 24) with the radical vowel lengthened, *pāthās*.

¹⁰ Accented as a weak form.

¹¹ The transfer form *pathīm* also occurs in TS. IV. 2. 53.

'put in order'; *trā-* 'pierce', *mṛd-* 'crush'. Of these roots only seven occur as monosyllabic substantives: *nīd-* 'contempt', *bhīd-* 'destroyer', *vid-* 'knowledge', *īd-* 'wave', *mīd-* 'joy', *mṛd-* 'clay', being f., and *pād-* 'foot', m. There is also the monosyllabic n. *hīd-* 'heart'².

Strong and weak forms are not distinguished except in *pād-*; and the inflexion is the same in all genders except, of course, the N. A. n. du. and pl.

a. The following peculiarities or irregularities of this declension are to be noted. 1. The weak reduplicated present stem *dād-* of *dā-* 'give', is once treated as a root in the form *āyur-dād-am* (AV.) 'giving long life'. — 2. The vowel of *mād-* is lengthened in *sadha-mād-* 'drinking companion', and *soma-mād-* 'intoxicated with Soma', of both of which, however, only strong cases occur. The vowel of *pād-* is lengthened not only in the strong cases, but occasionally in others also: *devipāt*, N. sing. n., beside *devipāt*, D. *devipāde*, I. pl. *devipātm*, while the N. pl. m. is once *devipādas* (AV.). — 3. The euphonic combination is irregular in the I. pl. of *pād-* which is *padbhīs*³ beside the Ab. du. *padbhīam*. — 4. The stem *hīd-* is found in weak cases only⁴. Its place is taken in the N. A. sing. pl. by *hīd-aya-*, which is also used in other cases (*hīdayāt*, *hīdaye*, *hīdayesu*), though in the KV. almost entirely in late passages. — 5. There are a few transitions to the *a*-declension in the inflexion of these stems. Starting from the strong A. *pād-am* are formed the N. sing. *pādās* and the N. pl. *pādās*, both in late passages of the RV.⁶ Similarly, starting from the A. *sadha-mād-am* are formed the locatives *sadha-māde* and *sadha-mādesu*. Beside *nīd-ās*, the ordinary Ab. of *nīd-*, the form *nīdayās* occurs once.

Inflexion.

319. The inflexion of these stems is identical with that of the radical *-t* stems. The forms actually occurring, if made from *pād-* 'foot', and *vid-* m. f. n. 'finding', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pāt*, *-vit*. — A. *pādam*, *-vidam*. — n. *-vit*. — I. *padā*, *-vidā*. — D. *padē*, *-vide*. — Ab. *padās*, *-vidas*. — G. *padīs*, *-vidas*. — L. *padī*, *-vidī*. — V. (*sīrva*)-*vit*.

Du. N. A. V. *pādā*, m. f. *-vidā*. — I. *padbhīam*. — Ab. *padbhīam*. — G. *padās*. — L. *padās*.

Pl. N. *pādās*, m. f. *-vidas*. — A. *padīs*, m. f. *-vidas*. — I. *padbhīs* (AV.), *-vidbhīs*. — D. *-vidbhīas*. — G. *padīm*, *-vidām*. — L. *padīs*, *-vidīs*.

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *i*. with lengthened vowel: *pād-* with its compounds and *sadha-mād-*: *pāt* (AV.); *a-pāt*, *eka-pāt*, *eka-siti-pāt* (VS. xxix. 58) 'having one white foot', *cātus-pāt*, *tri-pāt*, *dvi-pāt* and *dvi-pāt* (AV.), *viśvātas-pāt*, *siti-pāt* (AV.), *sīrva-pāt* (AV.), *sahāsra-pāt*; *sadha-māt* (iv. 21¹) and the abnormal *sadha-mīs*⁷ (vii. 18⁷).

2. with unchanged vowel, being compounds ending in various roots: from *ad-*: *agdhāt* (TS. iii. 3, 8²), *karambhīt*, *kravyāt*, *viśvāt*, *havyāt*; from *chad-*: *prathama-cchāt*³; from *pad-*: *anu-pāt* (VS. xv. 8) 'coming to pass'; from *chid-*: *ukha-cchīt*; from *bhid-*: *adri-bhīt*, *ud-bhīt*, *gotra-bhīt*, *pūr-bhīt*; from *vid-*: *ā-ksetra-vit*, *aśva-vit*, *kratu-vit*, *ksetra-vit*, *gātu-vit*, *go-vit*, *dravīno-vit*,

¹ Compounds formed with *-vid* and *-sad* are the commonest.

² The strong form of this word, *hīra-*, appears in composition with *dis-* and *su-*. Another word for 'heart', *hrūd-* (Lat. *cord*), n. occurs only in the A. sing. with the verbs *kr-* and *dhā-*.

³ The lengthening here is, however, metrical.

⁴ Owing to the confusing influence of the I. pl. *padbhīs* from *pāi-* 'look'.

⁵ Its high grade form *-hīrd* occurs in the N. sing. n.

⁶ Probably also the A. sing. m. *pāica-pādam*; see LANNAN 471⁴.

⁷ See above 55.

⁸ 'appearing first', 'typical' (x. 81¹); according to Śaṅkara from *chad-* 'cover' = 'covering first'.

nabho-ñt, *nātha-ñt* (AV.), *pañu-ñt* (AV.), *purāna-ñt* (AV.), *prajā-ñt* (AV.), *rayi-ñt*, *vaco-ñt*, *vayunā-ñt*, *varivo-ñt*, *vasu-ñt*, *viśva-ñt*, *vīra-ñt* (AV.), *śrūta-ñt*, *sarva-ñt* (AV.), *svar-ñt*, *hiranya-ñt*; from *sad-*: *adma-sāt*, *antarikṣa-sāt*, *upastha-sāt*, *ṛta-sāt*, *turanya-sāt*, *dakṣiṇa-sāt* (VS. xxxviii. 10), *durona-sāt*, *duvanya-sāt*, *prāgharma-sāt*, *vāra-sāt*, *vyoma-sāt*, *su-saṃ-sāt*; *camū-sāt*, *dru-sāt*, *nr-sāt*, *vedi-sāt*, *śuci-sāt*. Also *su-hārt*¹ (AV. II. 7⁵) 'friendly'.

f. 1. *a-pāt*. — 2. *ā-echāt* (VS. xv. 5), *pra-echāt* (VS. xv. 5) 'covering'; *sū-yavasāt* (-ad); *saṃ-ñt*; *saṃ-sāt*, *su-ā-sāt* (AV.)².

N. A. n. 1. -pad- appears with both unaltered and lengthened vowel: *dvi-pāt*, *cātus-pāt* and *tri-pāt*, *dvi-pāt*, *cātus-pāt*.

2. *ñt* (TS. IV. 4. 7²); *prakala-ñt* 'knowing very little'; *raghu-syāt* 'moving quickly' (√*syad-*).

A. m. 1. *pādām*; *a-pādām*, *tri-pādām*³, *dvi-pādām* (VS. XIII. 47), *sūi-pādām* (AV.), *sahasra-pādām*; *sadha-mādām*; *dur-hārdām* (AV.). — 2. from *ad-*: *kravyādām*, *viśvādām*; from *pad-*: *dvi-pādām* (VS. xxviii. 32) a metre; from *chid-*: *pra-echādām* (VS. xxx. 16) 'cutting to pieces'; from *bhid-*: *ud-bhidām*, *gotra-bhidām*, *pitr-bhidām*; from *vid-*: *ahar-vidām*, *kratu-vidām*, *kṣetra-vidām*, *gātu-vidām*, *go-vidām*, *varivo-vidām*, *vasu-vidām*, *viśva-vidām*, *saci-vidām*, *svar-vidām*, *hitr-vidām*; from *sad-*: *garta-sādām*, *su-saṃ-sādām*; *apsu-sādām*, *dru-sādām*, *dhūr-sādām*, *barhi-sādām*⁴, *vanar-sādām*; from *-syad-*: *raghu-syādām*, *havana-syādām*. — f. 2. *nīdam*⁵, *mīdam* (VS. xi. 55; TS. IV. 1. 5²); *āyur-dīdam* (AV.)⁶, *upa-sādām*, *go-vidām* (AV.), *ni-vidām*, *pari-pādām* 'snare', *pari-sādām* (AV.), *pitr-sādām*, *barhi-sādām*⁴, *vaco-vidām*, *viśva-vidām*, *saṃ-vidām*, *saṃ-sādām*, *sa-mādām* 'battle' ('raging together').

I. m. *pādā*?; *dpa-dus-pādā*, *cātus-pādā*, *dvi-pādā*; *kṣetra-vidā*, *varivo-vidā*, *svar-vidā*, *su-sādā* (AV.). — f. *udā*, *mudā*, *vidā*; *upa-vidā*, *ni-vidā*, *ni-sādā*, *pra-mīdā* (VS. xxxix. 9), *pra-vidā*, *saṃ-sādā*, *svar-vidā*. — n. *hṛdā*; *cātus-pādā* (AV.), *dus-pādā*, *dvi-pādā*. With adverbial shift of accent: *sarva-hṛdā*.

D. m. *a-pāde*, *kuhacid-vidē*, *kravyāde*, *cātus-pāde*, *tad-vidē* (AV.), *vedi-sāde*, *sadanā-sāde*, *sarva-vidē* (AV.), *svar-vidē*. — f. *nīdā*, *mudā*; *pitr-sāde*, *pra-mīde* (VS. xxx. 8), *pra-mīde* (VS. xxx. 10), *saṃ-pāde* (VS. xv. 8). — n. *hṛdā*; *cātus-pāde*, *dvi-pāde*⁸.

Ab. m. *pādās* (AV.); *dvi-pādās*. — f. *nīdās*⁹; *uttanā-padas*, *saṃ-vidās* (AV.). — n. *hṛdās*; *sīt-padas* (AV.).

G. m. *ka-padas* (AV.), *dur-hārdas* (AV.), *nr-sādas*, *yavēdas* (-adas), *raghu-syādas* (AV.), *svar-vidas*. — f. *pra-mīdas*, *saṃ-sādas* (AV.). — n. *hṛdās*; *cātus-padas*, *dvi-pīdas*.

L. m. *pādī*; *svar-vidī*. — f. *ni-sādī*, *saṃ-sādī*. — n. *hṛdī*¹⁰.

V. m. *viśva-ñt*, *sarva-ñt* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. 1. *pādā*; *pādau*. — 2. V. *ahar-vidā*, *kavi-echādā* 'delight-

¹ This seems to be the preferable reading (*suhārt tēna*); the Pada has *su-hāh*. Otherwise the N. appears as *su-hāh* in MS. IV. 2⁵ (p. 26, l. 19) in *suhār nah*; see LANMAN's note in WHITNEY's AV. Translation on XIX. 45², and Grammar 150 b.

² Perhaps also *nīdāt* in AV. XX. 132⁶, 7, where the edition has *vanīdāt*.

³ *pāñca-pāda-m* (I. 164¹²) is probably a transfer to the *a*-declension; see LANMAN 471².

⁴ For *barhi-sādām*; see above 62.

⁵ In the Amreḍita compound *nīdam-nīdam*.

⁶ From a secondary root *dad-* formed from the present stem of *dā-* 'give'.

⁷ BR. take *sādā* in AV. IV. 47 as I. of *sād-* 'position', but owing to the accent it must be taken as an adv. 'always', see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁸ Beside *dvi-pāde* occurring eleven times, *dvi-pāde* occurs once (I. 121³), when the lengthening is metrical.

⁹ The transfer form *nīdās* occurs once.

¹⁰ On the possibility of *hṛdī* representing an A. sing. n. in two or three passages, see LANMAN 473⁴.

ing in sages', *kratu-vidā*, *vasu-vidā*, *viśva-vidā*, *svar-vidā*¹; *ātma-sāda*. — f. *ut-bhīdā*, *barhi-sāda*²; *śrānta-sāda* (AV.).

I. m. *padbhyām* (AV.). — Ab. m. *padbhyām*. — G. m. *padīs* (AV.).³ — L. m. *padīs*. — f. *prā-pādos* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. 1. *a-pādas*, *cātus-pādas*, *dvi-pādas*⁴, *śiti-pādas*⁵; *sadhā-mādas*, *soma-mādas*; *su-hārdas* (AV.). — 2. *ūrjādas*, *pūru-śādas*, *madhu-śādas*, *yavasūśādas*, *somāśādas*, *havir-śādas*; *ā-śādas*⁶, V. *prā-śādas*; *deva-nīśādas*; *ud-bhīdas*; *abhinoda-mīśādas* (AV.), *svādī-sam-mūśādas* (AV.); *anna-vidas* (AV.), *ahar-vidas*, V. *gātu-vidas* (AV.), *ni-vidas* (AV.), *nī-vidas* (AV.), *nīthā-vidas*, *brahma-vidas* (AV.), *vajur-vidas* (AV.), *vaco-vidas*, *varīco-vidas*, *vasu-vidas*, *viśva-vidas* (AV.), *svar-vidas*, *hoṭrā-vidas*; *adma-śādas*, *antarikṣa-śādas* (AV.), *apsu-śādas* (TS. I. 4. 10¹), *upa-śādas* (AV.), *paścat-śādas* (VS. IX. 36), *purah-śādas*, *śarma-śādas*, *sabhā-śādas* (AV.), *svādu-saṃ-śādas*; *camū-śādas*, *divi-śādas* (AV.), *dūr-śādas*, *barhi-śādas*, V. *barhi-śādas*, *vanar-śādas*, *vedī-śādas* (VS. II. 29); *raghu-śādas*. — f. 1. *dur-hārdas* (AV.); *nīśādas*, *mīśādas*; *agha-rīśādas* (AV.), *amīśādas* (-śādas), *upa-śādas* (AV.), *niṣ-pādas*, *pra-mūśādas*, *viśva-su-vidas*, *saṃ-śādas*, *suhutīśādas* (-śādas), *svar-vidas*.

A. m.⁷ *padīs*; *dur-hārdas* (AV.), *su-hārdas* (AV.); *apsu-śādas* (AV.), *kravyāśādas*, *cātus-pādas* (AV.), *tvā-nīśādas*, *deva-nīśādas*, *dvi-pādas* (AV.), *pari-śādas*, *paśtya-śādas*, *bāhu-kṣādas*, *saltra-śādas* (AV.). — f. *nīśādas*, *bhīśādas*; *ni-vidas*, *pra-mūśādas*, *vasu-vidas*, *vi-vidas*, *sa-mūśādas*, *sa-śyāśādas*, *havya-śādas*.

I. m. *padbhīs* (AV. TS. VS.), *padbhīs* in RV. and VS.⁸; *gharma-sādbhis*, *śatī-padbhis*. — n. *hr̥dbhis*.

D. m. *antarikṣa-sādbhyas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇā-sādbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *divi-sādbhyas* (AV. TS.), *paścat-sādbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *pṛthivi-sādbhyas* (AV.).

G. m. *su-hārdām* (AV.); *adma-sādām*, *cātuspadām* (VS. TS. AV.), *dvi-pādām*, *barhi-śādām* (VS. XXIV. 18), *svā-pādām* (AV.), *su-śādām* (AV.). — f. *upa-sādām* (VS. XIX. 14) a kind of ceremony, *pari-pādām*, *śrānta-sādām* (AV.), *sa-mādām*.

L. m. *patsū*. — f. *sa-mātsu*. — n. *hr̥tsū*.

Stems in derivative -d.

320. There are some six stems formed with suffixal *-d*, seemingly all feminine⁹, which with one exception (*śarīd-*) are of rare occurrence. They are *dṛśīd-* and *dhr̥śīd-* (RV.¹) 'nether millstone', *bhasīd-* 'hind quarters', with its compound *su-bhasīd-* 'having beautiful buttocks', *vanīd-*¹⁰ (RV.²) 'longing', *śarīd-* 'autumn'; *kakūīd-*¹¹ 'summit', with its compound *tri-kakūīd-* (AV.) 'three-peaked', *kakūīd-* 'palate'. The inflexion is like that of radical *-t* stems. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. f. *kakūīt*, *kakūīt*, *dhr̥śīt*, *bhasīt*, *śarīd*. — m. *tri-kakūīt* (VS. AV.).

¹ In AV. XVIII. 24 occurs the ungrammatical form *pathi-jādī* an imitation of *pathi-śākṣī* of RV. X. 14¹¹. (XXIII. 13) owing to confusion with *padbhīs*, I. pl. of *pās-* 'look'.

² The form *raśśādā*, occurring once, is of uncertain meaning and origin.

³ This form is used with an ablative sense in AV. I. 18².

⁴ AV. X. 26 has *dvi-pādas*.

⁵ The transfer form *pādās* occurs once in the RV. (I. 163⁹).

⁶ Used as ablative infinitive.

⁷ There are no N. A. V. forms in the n. pl. Cp. LANMAN 474.

⁸ Four times in RV. and once in VS.

⁹ Except the adj. *tri-kakūīd-* (AV.), *śiti-kakūīd-* (TS.) 'white-humped' and possibly *vanīd-*.

¹⁰ This stem occurs only once (II. 4⁵) in the form *vanīśādas*, N. pl. m. 'Verlangen' (from *van-* 'desire') according to BR.; G. sing. m. of *van-īd-* 'wood-consuming' according to GRASSMANN.

¹¹ The origin of this *-d* is obscure. On the relation of this word to *kakūīd-* see LANMAN 471⁴.

A. f. *kakūdam*, *dyśādām*, *bhasādām* (AV.), *śarādām*. — m. *tri-kakūdam* (AV.).
 I. f. *dyśādā*, *śarādā* (TS. IV. 4. 12³). — D. f. *śarādē*. — Ab. f. *kakūdas*.
 — L. f. *kakūdi* (AV.), *śarādī*. — Pl. N. f. *vanādas*, *śarādas*. — A. f. *śarādas*.
 — I. f. *śarādābhis*. — G. f. *śarādām* (AV.). — L. f. *śarātsu* (AV.).

Stems in radical *-dh*.

321. Stems ending in *-dh* are all radical, simple or compound. There are some fifty derived, with only two or three exceptions, from the following sixteen roots: *bād-* 'oppress', *sīdh-* 'succeed'; *idh-* 'kindle', *vidh-* 'pierce' (= *vyadh-*), *sīdh-* 'succeed', *sridh-* 'blunder' (?); *ksudh-* 'be hungry', *budh-* 'waken', *yudh-* 'fight', *rudh-* 'grow' and 'obstruct'; *idh-* 'thrive', *mṛdh-* 'neglect', *vṛdh-* 'grow', *spṛdh-* 'contend'.

In this declension there occurs no stem distinguishing strong and weak cases. Masculines and feminines are inflected exactly alike. No distinctively neuter forms (N. A. du. pl.) occur, and only four case-forms (G. L. sing.) are found as neuters. There are two monosyllabic m. nouns: *vīdh-* 'strengthening' and (perhaps) *bīdh-*¹; besides seven f. substantives: *nādh-*² 'bond'; *srīdh-* 'foe'; *ksīdh-* 'hunger', *yīdh-* 'fight'; *mṛdh-* 'conflict', *vṛdh-* 'prosperity', *spṛdh-* 'battle'; *ksīdh-* 'hunger', *yīdh-* 'fight'; *mṛdh-* 'conflict', *vṛdh-* 'prosperity', *spṛdh-* 'battle'. Neuter cases occur in the sing. (I. G.) of compounds of *vīdh-*, *yudh-*, and *vṛdh-*.

a. Three or four stems are of doubtful origin: *agnīdh-* is probably to be explained as *agni-dh-* 'priest who prepares (*dhi-* 'put') the fire', rather than as a shortened form of *agnīdh-* 'fire-kindler' (from *idh-* 'kindle') which does not occur in the RV.³; *śīdh-* 'offering' (RV⁴) is perhaps a shortened form of *niṣ-śīdh-* 'offering'⁴; *prkṣīdh-* (RV⁵) is obscure in meaning and origin; *śrīdh-* f. 'invigorating draught' is perhaps derived from *śrīdh-* 'be defiant' with Svarabhakti⁵.

Inflexion.

322. Sing. N. m. *agnī*, *anu-rīt* (VS.) and *anū-rīt* 'loving'; *uṣar-bhūt* 'waking (*budh-*) at morn', *yavyīṣṭ*⁶ 'eager to fight', *śva-rīt* (AV. VS.) 'porcupine' ('dog-piercer', *vīdh-*), *śam-it* 'flaming'. — f. *ksī* (AV.); *pra-rīṣṭ* 'growth', *vṛ-rīt* 'plant' (AV.), *śam-it*⁷ 'fuel'.

A. m. *vīdham*, and its compounds: *annā-vīdham* 'prospering by food', *āhuti-vīdham* 'delighting in sacrifices', *gīrā-vīdham* 'delighting in praise', *tugryā-vīdham* 'favouring the Tugryas', *namo-vīdham* 'honoured by adoration', *payo-vīdham* 'full of sap', *parvatī-vīdham* 'delighting in pressing stones', *madhu-vīdham* 'abounding in sweetness', *yajña-vīdham* (AV.) 'abounding in sacrifice', *vayo-vīdham* 'increasing strength', *sadyo-vīdham* 'rejoicing every day', *saho-vīdham* 'increasing strength', *su-vīdham* 'joyous'; *agnīdhām*, *anu-rīdhām* (VS. xxx. 9), *a-srīdhām* 'not failing', *uṣar-bīdhām*, *goṣu-yīdhām*⁸ 'fighting for kine', *marmā-vīdhām* (AV.) 'piercing the vitals', *yajña-sīdhām* 'performing sacrifice', *hṛdayā-vīdhām* (AV.) 'wounding the heart'. — f. *ksīdhām*, *yīdhām*, *sīdhām*; *a-srīdhām*, *uṣar-bīdhām*, *niṣ-sīdhām*, *vīrīdhām*, *suṣu-rīdhām* (AV.) 'check' (in gambling)⁹, *śam-idhām*.

I. m. *su-vīdhā*. — f. *ksūdā* (AV.), *yudhā*, *vṛdhā*; *śam-idhā*, *su-bīdhā* (AV.) 'good awakening', *su-vīdhā* (AV.), *su-śam-idhā* 'good fuel'. — n. *payo-vīdhā*, *yavyīdhā*, *sākaṃ-vīdhā* 'growing together'.

¹ In *bādhas* A. pl. in VI. 11¹ (GRASSMANN); BR. do not acknowledge a m. use of *bād-*, and in VIII. 45¹⁰, IX. 109⁶ they would join the word with the preceding *śāri*.

² In *nādhīyas* (X. 60⁹) if derived from *nādh-* = *nāh-* 'bind' (BR. s. v. *nāh-*); but it is more probably = **nādhīyas* from *nādh-*; stem *go-*. weak stem of *nādh-*, as also indicated by the accent.

³ See above p. 18, note 6.

⁴ Cp. *is-kyti-* for *niṣ-kyti-*.

⁵ Cp. above 21.

⁶ From the intensive stem of *yudh-* 'fight'.

⁷ In the *Amṛdīta samit-samit*.

⁸ With the I. pl. *goṣu* instead of the stem *go-*.

⁹ Cp. WHITNEY'S note on AV. VII. 50⁸.

D. m. *uṣar-būdhe*, *rtā-vēdhe* 'fostering truth', *puru-niṣṣidhe* 'repelling many (foes)', *mahi-vēdhe* 'greatly rejoicing', *vī-nēdhe* (VS. VIII. 44) 'dispeller of foes', *sam-ēdhe* (AV.) 'welfare', *sa-vēdhe* (VS. XVI. 30) 'growing'. — f. *ksudhē*, *yudhē* (AV.)¹, *vēdhē*, *sam-ldhe*.

Ab. f. *ksudhās*, *yudhās*, *sridhās*.

G. m. *goṣu-yūdhas*, *vī-mēdhās*² 'foe', *sumatr-ēdhas* (VS. XXII. 12) 'delighting in prayer'. — f. *ksudhās*. — n. *hṛdaya-vēdhas*.

L. f. *mēdhi*, *yudhi*, *sprēdhi*; *pra-būdhi* 'awaking'.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-sridhā*, *rtā-vēdhā*, V. *rtā-vēdhā*, *namo-vēdhā*, *puro-yūdha* 'fighting in front'; *rtā-vēdhau*. — f. *rdā-vēdhā* 'increasing sweetness', *ghṛtā-vēdhā* 'rejoicing in fatness', *payo-vēdhā*, *vayo-vēdhā*, *sākaṃ-vēdhā*; *sam-ldhau* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. *rtā-vēdhas*, V. *rtā-vēdhas*, *tugryā-vēdhas*, *payo-vēdhas*, *parvatā-vēdhas*, *vayo-vēdhas*, *sugē-vēdhas* 'rejoicing in good progress', *su-vēdhas*; *a-sridhas*, *āyur-yūdhas* (VS. XVI. 60) 'struggling for life', *uṣar-būdhas*, *goṣu-yūdhas*, *jñu-būdhas* 'bending the knees', *pra-yūdhas* 'assailing', *vṛṣā-yūdhas* 'combating men', *suridhas*, *soma-pari-būdhas* 'despising Soma'. — f. *ksūdhas* (AV.), *nēdhas*, *sprēdhas*, *sridhas* (VS. XXVII. 6) 'foes'; *amitrā-yūdhas* 'fighting with enemies', *a-sridhas*, *iṣidhas*, *rtā-vēdhas*, *niṣ-śidhas*, *pari-būdhas* 'oppressors', *pari-sprēdhas* 'rivals', *vī-ridhas*, V. *vī-rudhas*, *suridhas*, *sam-ldhas*.

A. m. *bādhas*; *rtā-vēdhas*, *tamo-vēdhas* 'rejoicing in darkness', *rayi-vēdhas* 'enjoying wealth', *uṣar-būdhas*, *suridhas*. — f. *mēdhas*, *yūdhas*, *sprēdhas*, *sridhas*; *vī-ridhas*, *suridhas*, *sam-ldhas*, *sam-ēdhas*, *sa-vēdhas* 'increasing together'⁴.

I. f. *sam-ldhis*, *vī-ridhis* (AV.). — D. f. *nādhayas*⁵. — Ab. f. *vī-ridhis* (AV.).

G. m. *vēdhām*; *rtā-vēdhām*, *pra-būdham* 'watchful'. — f. *yudhām*⁶ (AV.), *sprēdhām*; *niṣ-śidhām*, *vī-ridhām*, *vī-rudhām*⁷ (AV.).

L. f. *yutsh*, *vī-ritsu*.

Stems in radical -n.

323. The radical stems ending in -n are formed from half a dozen roots: from *tan-* 'stretch', *ran-* 'rejoice', *van-* 'be pleasant', are formed monosyllabic substantives meaning 'succession', 'joy', 'wood', respectively; from *svan-* 'sound' is formed the adj. *svan-*⁸ 'sounding' and the compound *tuvī-svān-* 'roaring aloud'; from *san-* 'gain', the compound *go-sān-* 'winning cows'. From these six nouns very few case-forms occur. But from *han-* 'strike' no fewer than 35 compounds are made in the RV., and all the singular cases as well as several of the du. and pl. cases are formed. All the stems formed from these six roots⁹ are m. except *tān-*, which is f.¹⁰, and only a single n. case-form occurs from a compound of *han-* (*dasyu-ghnā*). The distinction between strong and weak forms is made in *-han-* only. Here in the weak cases *a* as

¹ The infinitive *yudhāye* is a transition to the *i*-declension, there being no stem *yudhi*.

² With irregular accent; cp. LANMAN 477 (top).

³ Fifteen times accented *sridhas*, once (IX. 71^b) *sridhās*.

⁴ In VIII. 43¹⁰, IX. 105⁶ *pari-būdhas* should perhaps be read instead of *pāri būdhas*.

⁵ If from *nādh-*, according to BR. (cp. *akṣā-nāhas* (A. p. I.); according to WEBER, IS. 13, 109, from *nāp-*. It is probably from *nāpt-* = *nāpāt*. See above 321, note on *nādh-*.

⁶ In the V. *yudhām pāte*.

⁷ In the V. *vīrudhām pāte*.

⁸ The accent of the monosyllabic stems is irregular in remaining on the radical syllable except *tānā* (beside *tānā*) and *vāndm*: cp. LANMAN 479⁴ and above 94, 1 a.

⁹ Other roots in -n used as nominal stems have gone over to the *a-* or *ā-* declension; thus *jan-* becomes *ja-* or *jā-*.

¹⁰ *-han-* forms a separate fem. stem in *-ī-* from its weak form: *ghnā-ī-*.

representing the sonant nasal appears for *an* before consonants, while before vowels the root, by syncope of its vowel, assumes the form of *-gh-*. The N. sing. n. of *-han* is *-ha-m*, a transition to the *a*-declension¹ (for *-ha*, which does not occur).

Inflexion.

324. All forms are represented in this declension except Ab. sing., the weak cases of the du., and the D. Ab. pl. The forms made from *-han* are: Sing. N. *-hā*², A. *-hānam*, I. *-ghnā*, D. *-ghnē*, G. *-ghnās*, L. *-ghnī*, V. *-han*. — Du. N. A. *-hānā*, *-hānau* (VS. TS.), V. *-hanā*. — Pl. N. *-hānas*, A. *-ghnās*, I. *-hābhī*. The G. would be *-ghnām* and the L. *-hāsu* according to the analogy of other stems in this declension. The forms of radical *n*-stems which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *aghasansa-hā* 'slaying the wicked', *adṛṣṭa-hā* 'slaying unseen (vermin)', *abhimāti-hā* 'destroying adversaries', *amitra-hā* 'killing enemies', *amīva-hā* 'destroying pains', *arusa-hā* 'striking the dark (cloud)', *d-vīra-hā* 'not slaying men', *asasti-hā* 'averting curses', *asura-hā* 'demon-slaying', *ahi-hā* 'killing the serpent', *kṛṣṭi-hā* 'subduing nations', *go-hā* 'killing cattle', *dasyu-hā* 'destroying the Dasyus', *durnāma-hā* (AV.) 'destroying the ill-named', *nr-hā* 'killing men', *puro-hā* 'destroying strongholds'³, *pr̥ṣṭi-hā* (AV.) 'slaying the speckled (snake)', *mano-hā* (AV.) 'mind-destroying', *muṣṭi-hā* 'striking with the fist', *yātu-hā* (AV.) 'destroying witchcraft', *rakṣo-hā* 'destroying demons', *vasar-hā* 'destroying at dawn', *vītra-hā* 'Vītra-slaying', *sarya-hā* 'killing with arrows', *satrā-hā* 'destroying entirely', *sapatna-hā* 'slaying rivals', *sapta-hā* 'slaying seven'. — n. Only two transition forms occur: *vītra-hā-m* and *satrā-hā-m*⁴.

A. m. *ā-pra-haṇam*⁵ 'not hurting', *abhimāti-hānam*, *ahi-hānam*, *tamo-hānam* 'dispelling darkness', *dasyu-hānam*, *rakṣo-hānam*⁵, *valaga-hānam* 'destroying secret spells' (VS. v. 23), *mano-hānam* (AV.), *vīra-hānam*⁵ (VS. xxx. 5) 'homicide', *vītra-hānam*⁵, *satrā-hānam*⁵, *sapatna-hānam* (AV.).

I. m. *vītra-ghnā*⁶. — n. *dasyu-ghnā*. — f. *tanā* (once) and *lānā* (19 times).

D. m. *rāne*⁷; *abhimāti-ghnē* (VS. vi. 32), *asura-ghnē*⁶, *ahi-ghnē*, *nr-ghnē*⁶, *makha-ghnē* (TS. iii. 2. 4. 1²), 'slayer of Makha', *vītra-ghnē*⁶. — f. *tine*⁷.

G. m. *go-ṣanas* (in the V. *goṣano napāt*); *asura-ghnās*⁶, *vītra-ghnās*⁶.

L. m. *svāni*⁸ (ix. 66), *turi-śvāni*; *bhṛāṇa-ghnī* (AV.) 'killer of an embryo'. Without an ending: *rān*⁹.

V. m. *amitra-han*, *ahi-han*, *vītra-han*.

Du. N. A. V. *tamo-hānā*, *rakṣo-hānā*⁵, *vītra-hānā*, V. *vītra-hānā*⁵. With *-au*: *rakṣo-hānau* (VS. v. 25), *valaga-hānau* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2¹).

Pl. N. V. m. V. *turi-śvanas*; *a-bhog-ghānas*¹⁰ 'striking the niggardly one', *punar-hānas*⁵ 'destroying in return', *yajña-hānas* (TS.) 'destroying sacrifice', *satru-hānas*⁵ 'slaying enemies'.

A. m. *sāta-ghnās* (AV.) 'gain-destroying'. With strong form: *rakṣo-hānas*⁵ and *valaga-hānas* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2¹).

I. m. *vītra-hābhī*. — **G. m.** *vanām*. — **L. m.** *rāṇsu*⁷, *vāṇsu*⁷.

¹ The forms made from *-ghna-*, viz. *-ghnās*, *-ghnām*, *-ghnāya*, *-ghnāya*, *-ghne*, are probably to be explained as transition forms starting from the weak stem *-ghn-*.

² Formed like the N. of derivative *-an* stems (327).

³ That is, *puras*, A. pl. of *pūr-*, the case termination being retained.

⁴ The normal forms would be **vītra-hā* and **satrā-hā*.

⁵ See above 47, A b 2 (p. 39).

⁶ See above p. 38, note 4.

⁷ Against the rule of accentuation in monosyllabic stems (94).

⁸ This form may, however, be the 3. sing. passive nor. See below 501, note on *sādi*.

⁹ With loss of the loc. ending as in the *-an* declension (325).

¹⁰ *-ghānas* for *-hānas*, see above 80, 81.

Derivative stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*.

325. This declension embraces a large number of words, the stems in *-van* being by far the commonest, those in *-an* the least frequent. It is almost limited to masculines and neuters; but some forms of adjective stems serve as feminines, and there is one specifically f. stem, *yī-an* 'woman'¹.

The distinction of strong and weak forms is regularly made. In the strong cases the *a* of the suffix is usually lengthened, e. g. *ādhvān-am*; but in half a dozen *-an* and *-man* stems it remains unchanged; e. g. *arya-man-am*. In the weak cases the *a* is often syncopated before vowel endings, though never when *-man* and *-van* are preceded by a consonant², e. g. I. sing. *grī-ā*³ from *grī-van-*, 'pressing stone', while before consonant endings the final *n* disappears⁴, e. g. *vīja-bhis*. In the RV. the syncopation never takes place in the N. A. du. n., nor with one exception (*sata-dīrī-i*) in the L. sing.

As in all other stems ending in *-n*, the nasal is dropped in the N. sing.; e. g. m. *ādhvā*, n. *kārma*. But there are two peculiarities of inflexion which, being common to these three groups, do not appear elsewhere in the consonant declension. Both the L. sing. and the N. A. pl. n. are formed in two ways. The ending of the L. sing. is in the RV. dropped more often than not, e. g. *mūrdhān-i* and *mūrdhān*, the choice often depending on the metre⁵. The N. A. pl. n. is formed with *-āni* from 18 stems and with *-a* from 19 stems⁷ in the RV.; seven of the latter appear with *-ī* in the Saṃhitā text, but with *-ā* like the rest in the Pada text. The evidence of the Avesta indicates that there were in the Indo-Iranian period two forms, *nāman* and *nāmāni*, the former losing its *-n* as usual when final after a long vowel. On this ground the *-ā* form of the Saṃhitā, though the less frequent, would appear to be the older⁶.

There are here many supplementary stems and numerous transitions to the *a*-declension.

I. Stems in *-an*.

326. These stems, which are both m. and n., are not numerous. They include some which at first sight have the appearance of belonging to one of the other two groups: *yī-an*⁹ 'youth', *śū-ān* 'dog', *yī-śvan*¹⁰ N. of a man, *mātari-śvan*¹⁰ N. of a demi-god, *vī-bhū-an*¹¹ 'far-reaching'; *pāri-jan*¹² 'going round'. The n. *śīr-ān* is an extended stem from *śīras* 'head' = *śīr(a)s-ān*.

a. Besides the N. pl. *yī-ān-as* 'women', six or seven forms of this declension appear to be feminine as agreeing with f. substantives: *vī-ā* 'training' (*kāśā*, *vāk*), *vī-ānam* (*vācam*), *vī-ānā* (*dyāvā-pṛthivī*), *pāri-jmānas* 'going round' (*vidyūtas*), *śū-ān-udhābhis* 'having distended udders' (*dhānūbhis*)¹³, *vīja-karmābhis* (SV. TS.) and *vīja-bharmābhis* (VIII. 1930) 'bringing rewards' (*ūtibhis*).

¹ The stems in *-van* regularly form their f. in *-vāi*, e. g. *pī-van*, *pī-vāi*; those in *-an* and *-man* by adding *-ī* to the syncopated stem at the end of compounds; e. g. *śma-rājī-ī*, *pāncu-nimn-ī* (AV.).

² This exception does not apply when *-an* is preceded by two consonants, e. g. *sakth-nā*.

³ But also G. sing. *vī-śan-as* (AV.). The syncopation nearly always takes place in *-an* stems and in nearly half of the *-man* and *-van* stems.

⁴ When the accent is on the suffix it is thrown on the ending in these syncopated forms, e. g. *mānā* from *mān-ān*.

⁵ That is, *a* here represents an original consonant nasal, see p. 17, note 2.

⁶ 48 locatives (occurring 127 times) have the *i*, 45 (occurring 203 times) drop it. See LANMAN 535.

⁷ But those in *-āni* occur nearly twice as often.

⁸ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 483 and LANMAN 538.

⁹ Cp. the comparative *yav-īyān* and the Avestan *yran*.

¹⁰ *śvan* in both these compounds is probably derived from *śū-* 'grow'.

¹¹ From *bhū-* 'be'.

¹² From *gam-* 'go'.

¹³ The f. of *-an* stems at the end of compounds is formed with *-ī* in *āchidra-ūdhū-ī* 'having a faultless udder', *sam-rājī-ī*

b. In the strong forms the stems *ṛbhu-kṣān-* 'chief of the Ṛbhus', *pūśān-*, and the f. *yōjan-*, retain the short *a*, while *ukṣān-* 'ox' and *vṛjan-* 'bull' fluctuate between *d* and *d̄*. The words *śrān-* and *yāvan-* form their weak stems before vowels with Samprasāraṇa, *śrān-*, *yān-*; the latter is once used in the N. du. m. form *yānū* instead of *yāvānū*. In the weak cases syncope always takes place: except in the forms *ukṣānas* and *vṛjanas*.

c. A number of *-an* stems have supplementary forms from other stems: *akṣān-* from *akṣi-*; *asthān-* from *asthi-*; *āhan-* from *āhas-* and *āhar-*; *āsān-* from *āsyā-*, *ās-*, and *āś-*; *udān-* from *ūd-* and *udā-kā-*; *ūghan-* from *ūghas-* and *ūghar-*; *dashān-* from *dādhi-*; *dośān-* from *dās-*; *yakān-* from *yakṛt-*; *yōjan-* from *yōjanā-* and *yōjā-*; *śākan-* from *śakṛt-*; *saktān-* from *sakti-*. As no stem in *-an* has been found in the N. A. sing. n., such forms appear to have been avoided and to have been purposely replaced by forms from supplementary stems. These forms are the N. A. n. *akṣi*, *asthi* (AV.), *āhar*, *āsyām*, *uakdam*, *ūghar*, *yakṛt* (AV.), *śakṛt*, *sakti*; also *yāvan* instead of *yāvān*, as well as *śrān* and *śrān-m* (AV.) instead of *śrāvān*.

d. There are here several transitions to the *a*-declension. The A. sing. *pūśānam* is the starting point for the N. *pūśān-as* and the G. *pūśānā-sya-*. The N. A. pl. n. is the starting point in other instances: the two pl. forms *śrāvān* and *śrāvāni* give rise to the I. sing. *śrāvā* (AV.) beside *śrāvāni*, as well as to the du. N. A. *śrāvā* and the N. A. sing. *śrāvām* (AV.); similarly the two plurals *āhā* and *āhāni* led to the G. pl. *āhānam* beside *āhāni*; and *yāvāni*, the pl. of *yāvān*, which has the appearance of a pl. of a stem *yāvā-*, led to the formation of an I. sing. *yāvā* (TS.) beside the regular *yāvā* (VS.). Again, the weak forms *ānas*, *ānās* etc., gave rise to the transition stems *dāna-* and *āhna-*, from which are formed the I. pl. *dānās* and the I. sing. *pūrāhna-*.

Transition *a*-stems often take the place of *-an* stems at the end of compounds. Thus *akṣā-* appears in several compounds for *akṣān-*, and *vṛjā-* (AV.) for *vṛjan-*; *an-asthān-* once forms the N. sing. m. *an-asthā-s* (VIII 134); beside the N. sing. m. *brhād-ukṣā* appears the D. *brhād-ukṣāya* (VS.); beside *rājānam* is found the A. m. *adhī-rājā-m* (X. 1289) 'over-lord'; and beside *saptābhis* 'seven', the compound *tri-saptābhis*.

Inflection.

327. The normal forms, if made from *rājan-* 'king' in the m., and from *āhan-* 'clay' in the n., would be as follows:

1. m. Sing. N. *rājā*. A. *rājānam*. I. *rājānā*. D. *rājāne*. Ab. *rājānā*. G. *rājānās*. L. *rājāni* and *rājan*. V. *rājan*.

Du. N. A. *rājānū* and *rājānau*. I. *rājābhyām*. D. *rājābhyām*. G. *rājānōs*.

Pl. N. V. *rājānās*, A. *rājānās*. I. *rājābhis*. D. *rājābhyas*. Ab. *rājābhyas* (AV.). G. *rājānām*. L. *rājāsu*.

2. n. Sing. N. A. —. I. *āhna*. D. *āhne*. Ab. G. *āhnas*. L. *āhani* and *āhan*. — Du. N. A. *āhanī*. G. *āhnōs* (AV.). — Pl. N. A. *āhanī*. I. *āhabhis*. D. Ab. *āhabhyas*. G. *āhnām*. L. *āhasu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *an-asthā* 'boneless', *dyah-śrāvā* 'iron-headed', *a-śrāvā* 'headless', *ukṣā* 'bull', *ṛjī-śrāvā* N. of a man, *tikṣā* 'carpenter', *tīpur-mūrdhā* 'burning-headed', *try-udhā*⁶ 'three-uddered', *dvī-bārha-jmā*⁷ 'having a double course', *pāri-jmā* 'surrounding', *pūśā* 'Pūśan', *plhā* (VS.) 'spleen', *brhād-ukṣā* 'having great oxen', *majjā* (VS. AV.) 'marrow', *mātari-śrāvā* 'Mātariśvan', *mūrdhā* 'head', *yāvā* 'youth', *rājā* 'king', *vī-bhāvā* 'far-reaching', *vī-rājā* (TS. v. 7. 4)⁸ 'sovereign', *vṛjā* 'bull', *śrāvā* 'dog', *sahśra-śrāvā* 'thousand-headed'.

'queen', *soma-rājānī* 'having Soma as king', *katā-vṛjānī* 'whose lord has been slain', *rānu-śrāvānī* 'deer-headed', *saptā-śrāvānī* 'seven-headed', *ika-mūrdhānī* (AV.) 'having the head turned in one direction', *sindhu-rājānī* (AV.) 'having Sindhu as queen'.

¹ The restoration of the *a* seems to be metrically required in a few instances: see LANMAN 525.

² The N. sing. n. of the adj. *vṛjan-* is avoided in several ways: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

³ With shifted accent.

⁴ On the other hand there are two transitions from the *a*-declension to the *an*-declension in *nī-kāmabhis* beside *nī-sāmās* and *naktā-bhis* for *naktam*, but these forms are due to somewhat artificial conditions; see below, I. pl. p. 206, notes 3 and 4.

⁵ Only supplementary forms occur: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

⁶ The metre seems to require *try-ūdhā* (III, 56³).

⁷ Here *bārha-* = *bārhas-*.

A. m. *ukṣānam, tikṣānam* (VS. xxx. 6), *tri-mūrdhīnam* 'three-headed', *tri-śrīṣṭānam* 'three-headed', *pāthīnam* (VS. AV.) 'path', *pāri-jmīnam, pṛthū-gmānam* 'broad-pathed', *plīhīnam* (AV.), *majjīnam, mātari-śvānam, mūrdhīnam, yūvānam, rājānam*², *vṛṣānam, śvānam, sapta-śrīṣṭānam* 'seven-headed'. — **With short a:** *ukṣānam, rōhu-ukṣānam*³ 'chief of the Rbhū', *pūśānam, vṛṣānam*⁴.

I. m. I. *ṛjī-śvānā, mātari-śvānā, vi-bhūdānā*. — **2. With syncope:** *śrīṣṭā, pūśnā, plīhā* (VS.), *majjīnā* (AV.), *mūrdhā* (VS. xxv. 2), *rājñī, vṛṣnā*. — **3. With Samprasāraṇa:** *śrīṣṭā* (AV.). — **n.** *asni* (VS. xxv. 9) 'blood', *āhnā* 'day', *āsni* 'mouth', *udnā* 'water', *dadhni* 'curds', *mahnā* 'greatness', *yaknā* (VS. xxxix. 8) 'liver', *yūsnā* (VS. xxv. 9) 'broth', *vi-śrīṣṭā* (Kh. I. I 11¹) 'headless', *saknā* (VS.) 'excrement', *śrīṣṭā* 'head', *sakthnā* (VS.) 'thigh'.

D. m. I. *ṛjī-śvāne, pāri-jmāne, mātari-śvāne, vi-bhūdāne, vṛṣāne* (TS. III. 2. 5²). — **2.** *pūśnā, pṛthī-dīvne* 'adversary at play', *mūrdhā* (VS. xxii. 32), *rājñe, vṛṣnā*. — **3.** *yāne*. — **n. I.** *dhāru-āne* 'hurting'. — **2.** *dhne, āsnā, śrīṣṭā*.

Ab. m. 2. *plīhnās* (AV.), *mūrdhnās, vṛṣnās*. — **n. 2.** *akṣnās* 'eye', *āhnās, āsnās*¹⁰, *udnās*¹¹, *ādhnās, yaknās* 'liver', *vṛṣnās* 'shedding rain', *śrīṣṭnās*.

G. m. I. *durgbhī-śvānas* 'continually swelling', *pāri-jmānas, mātari-śvānas* (VS. I. 2), *vṛṣānas*¹² (AV.). — **2.** *āśnās*¹³, *ukṣnās, pūśnās, yūśnās* (or n.), *rājñās, vṛṣnās*. — **3.** *yīnās, śīnās*. — **n.** *akṣnās* (VS. IV. 32; TS.), *asni*¹⁴ (AV.) 'blood', *asthnās* (AV.) 'bone', *āhnās, udnās, dadhnās, vṛṣnās, saknās* (AV.), *śrīṣṭnās*¹⁵.

L. m. I. *ṛjī-śvāni, mātari-śvāni, mūrdhāni, rājāni*. — **2.** *jmān* 'way', *pāri-jmāni, mātari-śvāni* (AV.), *mūrdhāni*. — **n. I.** *āhani, āsni, udnā, udhāni* 'udder', *ksāmanī* 'earth', *rājāni, śrīṣṭni; dhni* (AV.). — **2.** *āhan, āśni, udān, ādhan, ksāmanī*¹⁶, *gāmbhān* (VS. xiii. 30) 'depth', *śrīṣṭān*¹⁷.

V. m. I. *uru-jmān* (AV.) 'extension', *pāri-jmān, pṛthū-jmān* (AV.), *pūśan, mūrdhān* (VS. xviii. 55), *yūvān, rājān, vṛṣān, śata-mūrdhān* (VS. xvii. 71; TS.) 'hundred-headed', *satya-rājān* (VS. xx. 4) 'true king'. — **2.** *mātari-śvān*¹⁸.

Du. N. A. V. m. I. *pāri-jmānā, V. mītra-rājānā* 'ye kings Mitra (and Varuṇa)', *yūvānā, V. yūvānā, rājānā, śvānā*. **With short vowel:** *indrā-pūśānā, pūśānā, vṛṣānā, V. vṛṣānā, somā-pūśānā*. **With weak stem:** *yūvānā* (IX. 68⁵) for *yūvānā* (probably through *yūvānā*). — **2.** **With au:** *rājānau, vṛṣānau* (AV.), *śvānau; V. vṛṣānau, somā-pūśānau*.

N. A. n. *āhani, cakṣānī* (AV.) 'eyes', *dośānī* (AV.) 'fore-arms'¹⁹.

L. m. *vṛṣābhyām*. — **D. m.** *somā-pūśābhyām*. — **G. m.** *pāri-jmānos, indrā-pūśnās*. — **n.** *āhnos* (AV.). — **L. n.** *akṣnās* (Kh. I. I 11⁸).

¹ *man* = *jan* 'path'.

² There is also the transfer form *adhī-rājā-m* (X. 128⁹).

³ Perhaps from *khā* = *ki* 'possess'.

⁴ In the RV. *vṛṣānam* occurs 53 times, *vṛṣānam* only twice.

⁵ This form (occurring thrice) may possibly be shortened for *āimanī* (which occurs twice) from *āiman* 'stone'.

⁶ For **hī-āu-ā*; hence no shift of accent as in monosyllabic stems.

⁷ Also *udān* (VI. 201¹) according to BENFEY, *Orient und Occident* 2, 242.

⁸ There is also the transition form *āyān* (VS. VIII. 8).

⁹ BENFEY, *Gött. Abh.* 19, 261, regards *vibhūdā* (X. 763) as = *Ab. vībhūdānā*.

¹⁰ Also the supplementary forms *āsni, ās dā*.

¹¹ Also the supplementary form *udakāt*.

¹² For *vṛṣā-māna* (IX. 97⁵⁴) GRAESMANN would read *vṛṣāno udā*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 68 a, note (p. 160).

¹³ This form (occurring once) may be shortened for *āimanās* (occurring four times).

¹⁴ With supplementary stem *asr-j*.

¹⁵ The G. *pūśānā*, occurring once, seems to be a transfer form starting from the A. *pūśānam* (326 d).

¹⁶ There are also the transition forms *śrīṣṭā, pūrdhānā*; see LANMAN 536.

¹⁷ The compound *nemānī-ś* 'following guidance' probably contains a loc.

¹⁸ Following the analogy of some stems in *-van*.

¹⁹ Also the transition form *śrīṣṭā*.

Pl. N. V. m. *ukṣānas* (VS. XXIV. 13), *tigmā-mūrdhānas* 'sharp-edged', *pānthānas* (AV.), *mūrdhānas*, *yivānas*, *rājānas*, *śvānas*. — With short vowel: *ukṣānas*, *rāhu-ksānas*, *vṣānas*.

N. A. n. 1. *akṣāni*, *asthāni* (TS. IV. 7. 1²), *āhāni*, *śrīṣāni*, *sakthāni*. — 2. *āha*, *śrīṣā*³.

A. m. 1. *mātarī-śvanas*, *ukṣānas*, *vṣānas*. — 2. *ukṣāns*, *jana-rājānas* 'king of men', *majjāns* (AV.), *mūrdhāns*, *yamā-rājāns* 'subject to Yama', *rājāns*, *vṣāns*. — 3. *yānas*, *śīnas*.

I. m. *ukṣābhis*⁴, *yivābhis*, *rājābhis*, *vṣābhis*, *śvābhis* (Kh. v. 157)⁴. — n. *akṣābhis*, *asthābhis*, *āhābhis*, *āśībhis*, *udābhis*, *ādhatābhis*, *mahābhis*, *vṣābhis*, *śākābhis* (TS. v. 7. 23¹), *su-kṛta-karmābhis* (Kh. III. 12³) 'doing good deeds'⁵.

D. m. *ukṣābhyas* (VS.), *majjābhyas* (TS. VS. XXXIX. 10), *yivābhyas*, *rājābhyas*, *śvābhyas* (AV. VS.). — n. *asthābhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10; TS. v. 2. 12²), *āhābhyas*. — Ab. m. *majjābhyas* (AV.). — n. *āhābhyas*.

G. m. *vṣānam*, *rājānam* (VS. AV.), *śīnam* (AV.). — n. *āhānam*⁶.

L. m. *majjāsu* (AV.), *yamā-rājasu* (AV.), *rājasu*. — n. *āhasu*, *śrīṣāsu*.

2. Stems in *-man*.

328. These stems are about equally divided between the masculine and the neuter gender, the former being agent nouns, the latter verbal abstracts. These stems seem to have been used normally for the f. as well as the m.; for though no simple stem in *-man* occurs as a f., about a dozen of them are used as f. at the end of compounds, while no certain example appears in the RV. of a f. being formed by adding *-i* to *-man*⁷. A peculiarity of the inflexion of the stems in *-man*, as compared with those in *-an* and *-van*, is that in the syncopated forms of the I. sing. several words drop the *m*, while two drop the *n* of the suffix; e. g. *mahinā*⁸ for *mahinnā*, and *raśmī* for *raśmnā*.

a. The f. forms which occur at the end of compounds are: Sing. N. *purī-śarmā* (VS. X. 9) 'giving wide shelter' (*āditi*), *sā-lakṣmā* (X. 10²) 'similar'; A. *dyutād-yamānam* (v. 80¹) 'having a shining course' (*nyāsam*); *su-tārmānam* (VIII. 42³) 'easily conveying across' (*nāvam*), *su-trātmānam* (X. 63¹⁰) 'protecting well' (*prthivīm*), *su-tārmānam* (X. 63¹⁰) 'granting secure refuge' (*āditi*); V. *śrīṣa-bhāman* (VIII. 134) 'yielding security' (*āditi*), *prthivī-yāman* (VI. 64¹) 'having a broad path' (*dhitar*); Du. N. *su-jānamā*⁹ (I. 160¹) 'producing fair things' (*dhīśūc*); Pl. A. *śrī-jaṇmanas* (VI. 39³) 'of radiant birth' (*śrīśas*); I. *vāja-bharmābhis* (VIII. 19¹⁰) 'winning rewards' (*śībhis*), *su-kārmābhis* (IX. 70⁴) 'skillful' (singers); G. *śrīśāśadmanām* (VI. 47⁵) 'having a bright dwelling-place' (*nyāsam*)¹⁰. From *nāman* 'name' the AV. forms with *-i* the f. stem *nāmnī-* at the end of five compounds: *dur-nāmnī-* 'ill-named', *pāñca-nāmnī-* 'having five names', *mahā-nāmnī-* 'great-named', *vīśvā-nāmnī-* 'having all names', *sahasra-nāmnī-* 'thousand-named'. The f. *dur-adman-i* (VS. II. 20) 'noxious food' is perhaps similarly formed¹¹.

¹ In the corresponding passage of VS. (XVIII. 3) *āsthini*.

² Both these might be formed from the transition *a*-stems *āha*, *śrīṣā*. This is perhaps the reason why these are the only two plurals of this declension which retain the *ā* in the Pada text; *āha* appears in I. 92³.

³ The form *ni-kāmābhis* 'eager' for *ni-kāmais* is due to the parallelism of *evayivābhis* in X. 92⁹.

⁴ There is also a transition form *āhāis* 'stones', beside the stem *āhan-*.

⁵ The unique form *naktābhis* (as if from a stem *naktān-*) is doubtless used for metrical reasons instead of *naktām* in VII. 104¹⁸.

⁶ There is also the transition form *āhānam*.

⁷ The AV. has five stems thus formed at the end of compounds.

⁸ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, BB. 23, 105 ff., JPh. 16, 409—434; BARTHOLOMAE IF. 8, Anzeiger 17.

⁹ With the ending of the neuter; see LANMAN 433 (top).

¹⁰ Possibly also *su-śāmā* (II. 32⁷) 'bearing well'; but it is derived from **śi-ma-* according to BR. and GRASSMANN.

¹¹ The f. *brāhmī-* (IX. 335) formed from *brāhman-* is quite exceptional, being due to a play on words (see LANMAN 528). The form *tmānyī* = *tmānā* in sense, occurring twice in the RV., may be an I. sing. f. of *tmān-i*; cp. GRASSMANN and BR.

b. In the strong forms *aryamān-* 'Aryaman', *tmān-* 'self', and *j'man-* 'victorious' retain the short vowel of the suffix. In the weak forms, even when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, about a dozen forms do not syncopate the *a*: I. *omānā*, *pravādyāmanā*, *bhūmānā*, *bhūmanā*, *vyāmanā*, *hemānā*; D. *vānyān*, *dāman*; Ab. G. *bhūmanas*; G. *mahimānā*, *dāmanā*, *yāmanā*, *vydmanā*. The forms which, besides syncopating, drop the *m* or the *n* of the suffix are: *prathinā*, *freṇā*, *bhūnā*, *mahinā*, *varinā*; *drāghmā*, *raimā*.

c. Beside the *-man* stems there are several transfer stems in *-mā*, which are, however, of rare or late occurrence: *darmā-* 'destroyer' beside *darmān-*; *dharma-* (AV. etc.) 'law' beside *dhārman-*; *ēma-* (VS.) 'course' beside *ēman-*; *kōma-* (VS. AV.) 'offering' beside *kōman-* (RV.); *djma-* 'course' beside *djman-*; *yāma-* 'course' beside *yāman-*; *priyā-dhāma-* (I. 140¹) 'fond of home' beside *priyā-dhāman-* (AV.); and occasional forms of *karma-* at the end of compounds beside the regular *-karmān-*: *vīrā-karma-m* (X. 61²) 'doing manly deeds'; *vīrā-ka-mcā* (X. 1644) 'all-creating' beside *vīrā-karmānā*, etc.

Inflexion.

329. The normal forms actually occurring would, if made from *dśman-* 'stone' in the *m*, and from *kārman-* 'act' in the *n*, be as follows:

Sing. *m*. N. *dśmā*. A. *dśmānam*¹. I. *dśmanā*². D. *dśman*³. Ab. *dśmanas*⁴. G. *dśmanas*⁵. L. *dśmani* and *dśman*. V. *dśman*. — Du. N. A. V. *dśmānā*⁶. L. *dśmanos*. — Pl. N. V. *dśmānas*. A. *dśmanas*. I. *dśmabhis*. D. *dśmabhyas*. G. *dśmanām*. L. *dśmasu* (AV.).

Sing. *n*. N. A. *kārma*⁷. I. *kārmanā*⁸. D. *kārman*⁹. Ab. *kārmanas*⁵. G. *kārmanas*⁵. L. *kārmani* and *kārman*. — Du. N. A. *kārmani*. G. *kārmanos*. — Pl. N. A. *kārmani*, *kārma*, *kārmā*. I. *kārmabhis*. D. *kārmabhyas*. Ab. *kārmabhyas*. G. *kārmanām*⁸. L. *kārmasu*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. *m*. *a-karmā* 'wicked', *i-brahmā* 'lacking devotion', *aryamā* 'Aryaman', *dśmā* 'stone', *a-sremā* 'faultless', *atmā* 'breath', *āsu-hēma* 'speeding swiftly', *iṣṭi-yāmā* 'going according to desire', *usrā-yāmā* 'moving towards brightness', *rtā-dhāmā* (VS. IV. 32) 'abiding in truth', *kṛtā-brahmā* 'having performed devotion', *jarimā* 'old age', *jātū-bharmā* 'ever nourishing', *jemā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'superiority', *ṛpāla-prabharmā* 'offering what is refreshing', *darmā* 'demolisher', *dāmā* 'giver', *dur-pāmā* 'ill-named', *dur-mānmā* 'evil-minded', *dvūtā-yāmā* 'having a shining path', *drāghimā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'length', *divjānmā* 'having a double birth', *dharmā* 'arranger', *dhvasmā* 'darkening', *pāka-sthāmā* N. of a man, *pāpmā* (VS. VI. 35) 'misfortune', *prthi-pragāmā* 'wide-striding', *prathimā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'width', *brahmā* 'devout man', *bhujmā*⁹ 'abounding in valleys', *bhūmā* (TS. VII. 3. 13¹) 'plenty', *bhūri-jānmā* 'having many births', *mahimā* 'greatness', *yajñā-manmā* 'ready for sacrifice', *raghu-yāmā* 'going quickly', *reṣmā* (AV.) 'tempest', *vadmā* 'speaker', *varimā* 'width', *varimā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'height', *viśvā-karmā* 'all-creator', *viśvā-sāmā* (VS. XVIII. 39) 'having the form of all Sāmāns', *vṛṣa-prabharmā* 'to whom the strong (Soma) is offered', *śatātāmā* 'possessing a hundred lives', *satyā-dharmā* 'whose laws are true', *satyā-manmā* 'whose thoughts are true', *saptā-nāmā* 'seven-named', *sakāśra-yāmā* 'having a thousand courses', *sādhi-karmā* 'acting well', *su-kārmā* 'working skillfully', *su-jitnimā* 'producing fair things', *su-trimā* 'guarding well', *su-dyōtmā* 'shining bright', *su-brāhmā* 'accompanied by good prayers', *su-māntu-nāmā* 'bearing a well-known name', *su-mānmā* 'benevolent', *su-vāhmā*

¹ The vowel has also to be restored in several other forms (see LANMAN 524 f.).

² With short vowel *aryamānam*, *tmānam*.

³ Without syncopate after vowel *bhūmanā*, etc.; with syncopate *mahimnā*, *mahinā*, *drāghmā*, etc.

⁴ Also with syncopate, *mahimnā*, etc.

⁵ Also with syncopate, *mahimnā*, etc.

⁶ Also with short vowel *aryamānā*, *j'manā*.

⁷ Sometimes *kārma* in the Saphita text.

⁸ Also with syncopate, *nāmā*, etc.

⁹ *bhijmā* (I. 65) should probably be read *bhujmā*; see BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN 530 (top).

'driving well', *su-sārma* (VS. viii. 8) 'good protector', *su-sthāma* 'having a firm support', *svādu-kṣādma* 'having sweet food'¹.

N. A. n. *ājma* 'track', *āma* 'food', *ēma* 'course', *kārma* 'deed', *kāryma* 'goal', *kṣādma* 'carving knife', *cārma* 'skin', *jānima* 'birth', *jānma* 'bitth', *tikma* 'young blade of corn', *dāma* 'cord', *dhārma* 'ordinance', *dhāma* 'abode', *nāma* 'name', *pātma* 'flight', *brihma* 'prayer', *bhāsma* (TS. VS. xii. 35) 'ashes', *bhāma* 'earth', *mānma* 'thought', *mārma* 'vital part', *yāma* 'course', *lōma* (TS. VS. xix. 92) 'hair', *vīrtma* 'path' (Kh. v. 2'), *vārma* 'mail', *vāsma* 'garment', *vēma* (VS. xix. 83) 'loom', *vāsma* 'house', *vyōma* 'sky', *śikma* 'power', *sārma* 'refuge', *sādma* 'seat', *sāma* 'chant', *sāma* 'wealth', *sthāma* 'station', *syāma* 'strong', *svādma* 'sweetness', *hōma* 'oblation'. — With final vowel lengthened in the Saphitā text; *kārmā*, *jāntmā*, *dhāma* (AV.), *bhāmā*, *vyōmā*, *su-sārīmā*² (TS. v. 1. 11³) 'forming an excellent couch', *svādma*⁴.

A. m. *āsmānam*, *a-sremānam*, *ātmanam*, *asmānam* (AV.) 'heat', *ojmānam* 'power', *omānam* 'favour', *klōmānam* (VS. xix. 85) 'right lung', *jarimānam*, *twi-brahmānam* 'praying much', *darmānam*, *dāmānam* 'gift', *dur-mānmānam*, *dyulād-yāmānam*, *dvi-jānmānam*, *dharmānam*, *pāka-sthāmānam*, *pāpmānam* (VS. xii. 99; TS. i. 4. 41'), *puru-tmānam* 'existing variously', *puru-āmānam* (AV.) 'having many names', *brahmānam*, *bhūmānam*, *mahimānam*, *rejmānam* (VS. xxv. 2), *varimānam*, *varsmānam* 'height', *viśvā-karmānam*, *vi-sarmānam* 'dispersion', *satātmanam*, *satyā-dharmānam*, *sadmānam* 'sitter', *sahā-sāmānam* 'accompanied by songs', *su-tārmānam* (TS. i. 2. 2⁵) 'crossing well', *su-dyātmanam*, *su-brāhmānam*, *su-sārmānam*, *somānam* 'preparer of Soma', *stāmānam* (AV. v. 13⁶) 'track' (?), *svādmanam* 'sweetness', *harimānam* 'jaundice'. — With short *a*: *aryamānam*, *tmānam* 'breath'.

I. m. *āsmānā*, *ātmanā* (VS. xxxii. 11), *asmānā* (VS. xxv. 9), *tmānā*, *pāpmānā* (VS. xix. 11), *bhāsmānā* 'chewing', *majmānā* 'greatness', *varsmānā*, *viśvā-karmanā*. — 1. *omānā*, *pravādyāmānā* 'having a precipitous course', *bhūmānā* 'abundance', *satā-yāmānā* (AV. SV.) 'having a hundred paths'. — 2. *aryamānā* (AV.), *pāmnā* (AV.) 'scab', *bhūmnā* (VS. iii. 5), *mahimnā*, *varimnā* (VS. AV.), *satā-yāmnā*. — 3. *prathimnā*⁷, *prejnā*⁸ 'love', *bhūnā*⁹, *mahinā*¹⁰, *varinā* (TS.)¹¹; *drāghmā*, *raśmā*¹². — **n.** *kārmanā*, *jānmanā*, *dhārmanā* 'ordinance', *pātmanā*, *brāhmanā*, *bhāsmānā* (VS. vi. 21) 'ashes', *mānmanā*, *vārmanā*, *vādmānā* 'wisdom', *vi-dharmānā* 'extension', *śākmanā*, *sārmanā*, *śākmanā* 'might', *svā-janmanā* 'self-begotten', *hānmanā* 'stroke'. — 1. *bhūmanā* 'earth', *syāmanā*, *hemānā* 'zeal'. — 2. *dāmānā* (AV.) 'tie', *dhīmānā*, *nāmānā*, *līmānā* (AV.) 'hair', *sāmānā*, *sutrāmānā* (VS. xx. 35) 'protecting well'.

D. m. i. *ātmanē* (VS. vii. 28), *takmanē* (AV.) a kind of disease, *tmānē*, *pāpmānē* (AV. VS.), *brahmānē*, *bhāri-karmanē* 'doing much', *viśvā-karmanē* (TS. VS. viii. 45). — 2. *aryamnē*, *jarimnē*, *bhūmnē* (VS. xxx. 13) 'plenty', *mahimnē*; *ān-usra-yāmnē* 'not going out during daylight', *usra-yāmnē*, *su-trāmānē* (VS. x. 31), *su-yāmānē* N. of a man ('having beautiful songs'), *suhāntu-nāmānē* 'whose name is to be invoked successfully'. — **n.** *kār-*

¹ *su-dhārma* (VS. xxxviii. 14) 'well support- ing' seems to be meant for a V. (wrong accent), but perhaps *su-dhārmā* should be read.

² *su-sārīmā* in the Pada text.

³ See LANMAN 531¹.

⁴ Once also the transfer form *varimānā*, according to the declension in *mant*.

⁵ For *prathimnā* from *prathimānā*.

⁶ For *prejnā* from *prejānā*.

⁷ For *bhūmnā* beside *bhūmānā*.

⁸ *mahinā* occurs 35 times, *mahimnā* only 3 times.

⁹ Beside *varimnā* (AV.). The TS. twice has *varinā*, which in the corresponding passages of the VS. is replaced by *varimnā*; cp. LANMAN 533.

¹⁰ In these two forms the *m* being preceded by a consonant remains, the *n* being dropped: = *drāghmānā* 'breadth', and *raśmānā* 'rein'. Probably also *dāmā* for *dāmānā* 'gift', and possibly *śīmā* = *śīmānā*.

maṇe, jānmaṇe, dhārmaṇe, brāhmaṇe, bhārmaṇe 'support', vidmaṇe, vi-dharmaṇe, śārmaṇe. — 1. trāmaṇe 'protection', dāmaṇe. — 2. dhāmne, sāmne 'acquisition'.

Ab. m. āsmanas, ātmānas, āsmānas (VS. VI. 18), satya-dharmaṇas (AV.). — 2. klonnās (AV.), jarimnās (AV.), varimnās (AV.). — n. cārmaṇas, jānmanas, dhārmaṇas, mānmanas, vāsmanas 'nest', sādmanas. — 1. bhīmanas. — 2. dāmnaś, dhāmnaś (VS. VI. 22)¹, lōmnaś.

G. m. a-mārmanas 'having no vital spot', brahmānas, vi-patmanas 'speeding away', vipra-manmanas 'having an inspired mind', śūci-janmanas 'of radiant birth', su-śārmaṇas, viśvā-karmanas (VS. XXXI. 17). — 1. mahimnās. — 2. aryamnās, jarimnās (AV.), mahimnās, sthīrā-dhāmnaś (AV.) 'belonging to a strong race'. — n. kārmaṇas, jānmanas, dhārmaṇas, brāhmaṇas, mānmanas, vārmaṇas. — 1. dāmanas, bhīmanas, yāmanas, vyōmanas. — 2. dhāmnaś, sāmnaś.

L. m. 1. āsmāni, ātmāni, tmāni, brahmāni, mahmāni (AV.) 'greatness', su-śāmāni. — 2. āsman, tmān, ātmān (VS. AV.). — n. 1. ājmani (AV.), kārmaṇi, cārmaṇi (AV.), jānmani, dāmani, dirghā-prasadmani 'affording an extensive abode', dhārtmani 'established usage', dhārmaṇi, dhāmāni, pārimāni 'abundance', prā-bharmāni 'presenting', prā-yāmani 'setting out', brāhmaṇi, mānmani, mārmaṇi, yāmani, lākṣmaṇi (TS. VII. 4. 19²) 'mark', vākmani 'invocation', vi-dharmaṇi, vāsmāni (AV.), vyōmani, śārmaṇi, śārtmani 'current of air', śārtmani 'impulsion', su-śāmāni, śārtmani 'strewing', hāvīmani 'invocation', hōmani 'offering' and 'invocation'. — With syncope: lōmni (AV.), vi-jānni (AV.) 'knuckle' (?), sthāmni (AV.). — 2. ājman, ā-yāman 'no expedition', lman (VS. TS.), śdman (TS. VS.) 'flooding', kārman, kārṣman, cārman, jāniman, jānman, dārīman 'destruction', dhārman, dhāman, pātman, brāhmaṇ, bhāsmān (VS. TS.) 'consuming', bhārman 'table', mānman, mārman, yāman, vārīman, vārīman 'width', vārṣman, vi-jāman 'related to each other', vi-dharman, vyōman, śārman, śāsman 'song of praise', sākman 'attendance', sādman, sāmān, svādman, hāvīman.

V. m. aryaṇan, āsman (TS. IV. 6. 1¹), āsu-heman (TS. I. 7. 7²), śakman (AV.), tri-nāman (TS. AV.) 'three-named', pāpman (AV.), puru-nāman, puru-hanman N. of a seer, brahmaṇ, vi-dharman, viśvā-karman, viśvā-sāman N. of a seer, vṛṣa-karman 'doing manly deeds', satya-karman 'whose actions are true', sahasra-dhāman (AV.) 'having thousandfold splendour', su-dāman 'giving good gifts', su-yāman (AV.), sva-dharman 'abiding in one's own customs'.

Du. N. A. V. m. brahmānā, satya-dharmānā, sa-nāmānā 'of the same kind', su-śārmānā; aryamānā, jīmanā 'victorious', sāmātmanā (Kh. III. 22⁵; cp. TB. II. 8. 9¹) 'endowed with chants', su-kārmaṇā (VS. XX. 75).

N. A. n. śārmanī, jānmanī, sādmanī. — 1. dhāmāni, sāmāni (VS. X. 14). — 2. nāmāni (AV.). — G. n. sādmanas. — L. m. āsmanas.

PI. N. V. a-dāmānas 'unbound' and 'not giving gifts', a-dhvasmānas 'undarkened', ānu-vartmānas (VS. XVII. 86) 'followers', ā-brahmānas, a-raśmānas 'having no reins', śha-brahmānas 'conveying sacred knowledge', jarimnānas, brahmānas (VS. XXVII. 2), bhīrjaj-jānmānas 'having a brilliant birthplace', mahimnānas, śūci-jānmānas, satya-dharmānas, śā-lakṣmānas (TS. I. 3. 10¹) 'having the same marks', su-kārmānas, su-jānimānas, su-rāmānas (VS. XXI. 42) 'very delightful', su-śārmānas, śhū-raśmānas 'having firm reins', svādāmānas. — With short a: aryamānas, mahātāmānas (Kh. III. 12²) 'high-minded'.

N. A. n. 1. rīk-sāmāni (VS. XVIII. 43), kārmaṇi, cārmaṇi, jānimāni, jānmani, dāmāni (AV.), dhārmāni, dhāmāni, nāmāni, pākṣmāni (VS. XIX. 89) 'eyelashes', brāhmaṇi, mānmani, mārmaṇi, rāmāni 'hair', lāmāni (AV.), vārtmāni, vārmāni (AV.), śārmāni, sādmanī, sāmāni. — 2. kārma, jānima, jānma, dhārma,

¹ BR. and EGGELENG suggest that this is short final a in the Pada as well as the a corruption for dāmānas 'bond'. Sāmhitā text.

² This and the following forms have Iado-urische Philologie. I. 4.

dhāma, nāma, brāhma, bhīma, māna, rōma¹, śarma, sādma. — 3. *jūnima², dhārma, nāma, brāhmā, bhīma, rōmā, sādma³*.

A. m. *āsmanas, takmānas* (AV.), *brahmānas*. — 2. *dur-nāmas* (AV.).

I. m. *ā-khāra-yāmabhis* 'unwearied in course', *a-dhvasmābhis, āsmābhis, āsma-hanmābhis* 'strokes of the thunderbolt', *āsu-hēmābhis, śmābhis, kīsmābhis* (VS. xxv. 8), *brahmābhis, mayūra-romābhis* 'peacock-haired', *viśu-pātma⁴bhis* 'flying strongly', *su-kārmābhis, su-mānmābhis, su-śarmābhis*. — n. *śjmābhis, śmābhis, kārmābhis, kīkmābhis* (VS. xix. 81), *trāmābhis, dhārmābhis, dhāmābhis, nāmābhis, pātma⁵bhis, brāhmābhis, bhārimābhis* 'nourishment', *mānmābhis, yāmābhis, vārtmābhis, vāja-karmābhis⁶* (SV. TS. III. 2. 11⁷) 'active in war', *vāja-bharmābhis* (VIII. 19⁸) 'bringing reward', *vi-gāmābhis* 'strides', *śākmābhis, śāmābhis, hūvmābhis*.

D. m. *brahmābhyas*. — n. *dhāmābhyas*. — Ab. n. *lōmābhyas*.

G. m. *brahmānām*. — 2. *dur-nāmnām* (AV.). — n. *dhārmanām, brāhmanām, mānmanām, mārmānām* (Kh. I. 5⁹). — 2. *dhi-nāmnām⁵* 'animals named snake', *sāmnām* (AV.).

L. m. *āsmasu* (AV.). — n. *kārmasu, jānmasu, dhāmasu, vārmasu, sādmasu*.

3. Stems in -van.

330. The -van stems are by far the most numerous of the three groups. They are chiefly verbal adjectives and are almost exclusively declined in the masculine. Hardly a dozen of them make neuter forms, and only five or six forms are used as feminines.

a. The few feminine forms are cases of adjectives agreeing with f. substantives. They are: sing. N. *ra-yūgva* (X. 130⁴) 'companion' (*gāyatrī*), *an-arcā* (II. 40⁵) 'irresistible' (*āditi*); A. *an-arvāyam* (X. 92⁴) 'irresistible' (*āditi*); du. N. *san-sthāvānā* (VIII. 37⁴) 'standing together' (*rādasī*); pl. I. *indhān-vābhis⁶* (II. 34⁵) 'flaming' (*āhenūbhis*); G. *sahasra-dātām* (I. 17⁵) 'giving a thousand gifts' (*sumatīnām*). The f. of these stems is otherwise formed with -ī, which is however never added to -van, but regularly to a collateral suffix *vāva⁷*. Twenty-five such stems in *vāva* are found in the RV. and several additional ones in the later Samhitās. It is perhaps most convenient to enumerate them here: *agrītvāva⁸* (AV.) 'going in front', *abhi-kītvāva⁹* 'bewitching' (AV.), *abhi-bhūtvāva⁹* 'superior', *abhūtvāva⁹* (TS. VS.) 'attacking', *utāna-śvāva⁹* (AV.) 'lying extended', *ṛtāvāva⁹* 'regular', *śva-yāvāva⁹* 'going quickly', *kītvāva⁹* (AV.) 'bewitcher', *talpa-sīvāva⁹* 'lying on a couch', *ni-pīthvāva⁹* 'bestowing', *śvāva⁹* 'fat', *śivva-yāvāva⁹* 'born before', *pra-śvāva⁹* 'furnished with flowers', *bahu-sīvāva⁹* 'bearing many children', *bhūti-dāvāva⁹* 'munificent', *mātari-bhāvāva⁹* 'being with her mother', *mātari-īvāva⁹* (AV.) 'mother-growing', *yājvāva⁹* 'worshipping', *vākvāva⁹* 'rolling', *vahya-sī-īvāva⁹* (AV.) 'reclining on a couch', *vī-bhūtvāva⁹* 'brilliant', *vī-mīgvāva⁹* (AV.) 'cleansing', *īdvāva⁹* ('powerful') a kind of metre, *śarvāva⁹* 'star-spangled night', *śrūti-ārī⁹* 'obedient', *śveta-yāvāva⁹* 'white-flowing', *saṁ-sīvāva⁹* 'having a calf in common', *sa-jitvāva⁹* 'victorious', *sa-yāvāva⁹* 'accompanying', *sumnāvāva⁹* 'gracious', *śūnptāvāva⁹* 'glorious', *śvītvāva⁹* 'streaming', *svadhāvāva⁹* 'constant'.

¹ Perhaps singular.

² The Pada text has always *ā* in this and the following forms.

³ This lengthening is found in neither -van stems nor -an stems, except *dhū* and *śrū*, which may be formed from transfer stems and in which the Pada as well as the Samhitā text has the long vowel.

⁴ *vāja-karmābhis* is a v. l. of *vāja-bharmābhis*, and both adjectives as agreeing with *ūtībhis* have the value of feminines.

⁵ The G. *chando-nāmnām* (VS. IV. 24) 'named metre' seems to be a transfer to the *a*-declension.

⁶ Formed from *indhān-* 'fuel', with loss of the final vowel.

⁷ The f. *atharvāva*, formed from *ātharvan-* 'fire-priest', is quite exceptional.

⁸ That is, *agra-ī-īvāva*.

⁹ That is, *abhi-ī-īvāva*.

¹⁰ From what only seems to be a -van stem which is really = -bhū-an.

¹¹ This seems to be a corruption in AV. v. 2⁹ of *mātari-bhāvāva* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

¹² The f. of *śarvāva* 'variegated' occurring in *api-śarvāva* n. 'early morning'; a stem *śarvāva* does not occur.

¹³ The f. of what only seems to be a stem in -van but is really = *śhu-an*.

¹⁴ Also *śūnptāvāva*.

b. In the strong cases there is one instance in which the *a* remains short: *an-arāṇam*¹ (X. 92¹⁴), and two others in which the weakest stem is used: A. sing. *maghānam* (VS. xxviii. 9) instead of *maghāvānam*, N. pl. *maghānas* (VI. 44¹²) instead of *maghāvānas*². In the weak cases when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, the *a* is always syncopated in the Saphita text except in the forms *dāvāne*, *vamāne* (VS.), and *śhāvāni*, but it may have to be restored in one or two instances³.

c. The three words *śhāvan-* 'singing', *maghāvan-* 'bountiful', *sahāvan-* 'powerful' make a few forms from supplementary stems in *-vant*: I. sing. *śhāvātā*; pl. I. *maghāvadhīs*, D. *maghāvadhīyas*, I. *maghāvātū*; N. sing. *sahāvān* and *sahāvān*. Beside *dadhīkrāvan-*, N. of a mythical horse, also occurs the stem *dadhīkrā-*.

d. Eight or nine words in *-van* show transitions to the *a*-declension by extending the stem with *-a* or, more commonly, by dropping the *n*. Thus *satvānā-m* and *satvānā-s* occur beside the numerous regular forms from *sātvan-* 'brave'. The N. sing. m. *anarvān-a-s* (V. 51¹¹, VIII. 31¹²) may have started from the A. *anarvān-am* (X. 92¹⁴), while the n. *anarvā-m* (I. 16¹²) may have been due to the f. (*āditi*) *anarvā* which appears like the f. of the *a*-declension. Other transitional forms are *śhāvā-s* beside *śhāvan-*; *śhāvā-m* 'dexterous' beside *śhāvan-*; *tāvā-s* 'swift' beside *tāvān-*; *vāvā-s*, N. pl. 'rolling' beside *vāvān-*; *vibhāvā-m* 'brilliant' beside *vibhāvan-*; *śhāvā-s* (AV.) 'skilful' beside *śhāvan-*.

Inflexion.

33r. The normal forms occurring, if made from *grāvān-* 'pressing stone' in the m. and from *dhānvān-* 'bow' in the n., would be:

Sing. m. N. *grāvā*. A. *grāvānam*. I. *grāvā*. D. *grāvā*. Ab. *grāvā*. G. *grāvā*. L. *grāvāni* and *grāvān*. V. *grāvān*. — Du. N. A. V. *grāvānā* and *grāvānau*. I. *grāvābhyām* (AV.). G. *grāvānos*. — Pl. N. V. *grāvāṇas*. A. *grāvānas*. I. *grāvābhis*. D. *grāvābhyas*. G. *grāvānām*. L. *grāvāsu*.

Sing. n. N. A. *dhānvā* and *dhānvā*. I. *dhānvā*. D. *dhānvā*. Ab. G. *dhānvā*. L. *dhānvāni* and *dhānvān*. — Pl. N. A. *dhānvāni*, *dhānvā*, *dhānvā* (AV.). I. *dhānvābhis*. D. *dhānvābhyas* (VS.). Ab. *dhānvābhyas* (AV.). G. *dhānvānām* (AV.). L. *dhānvāsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *agra-yāvā* 'going in front', *ātharvā* 'fire-priest', *adma-sāvā* 'companion at a meal', *ādhvā* 'road', *an-arvā* 'irresistible', *abhi-yāvā* (VS. xvii. 86) 'attacking', *abhisasti-pāvā* 'protecting from curses', *abhi-sāvā* 'surrounded by heroes', *abhiyārāha-yāvā* 'receiving sacrifices apart', *amatvā* 'suffering want', *arātvā* 'hostile', *ā-rāvā* 'not giving', 'hostile', *ārvā* 'steed', *dvātata-dhanvā* (VS. iii. 61) 'whose bow is unbent', *āsu-pāvā* 'flying swiftly', *ugrā-dhanvā* 'having a mighty bow', *śhāvā* 'praising', *śhāvā* 'impetuous', *śhāvā-yāvā* 'pursuing guilt', *śhāvā* 'guilty', *śhāvā* 'pious', *śhāvā* 'dexterous', *śhāvā-dhāvā* 'having a black track' (*adhvā*), *krātu-prāvā* 'granting power', *ksīprā-dhāvā* 'having an elastic bow', *grāvā* 'pressing stone', *tāvā* 'bird of prey', *dadhīkrāvā* N. of a divine horse, *deva-yāvā* 'going to the gods', *dru-sāvā* 'sitting on the wood', *nr-sāvā* 'sitting among men', *pāsharvā* N. of a man, *pāvā* 'flying', *puru-kītvā* 'doing much', *pūrva-gītāvā* 'leader', *pūrva-yāvā* 'leader', *pra-tāvā* (VS. v. 32) 'steep', *pra-rikvā* 'extending beyond', *prāna-dāvā*⁴ (AV.) 'breath-giving', *prātar-ītvā* 'coming in the morning', *hulhu-sītāvā* 'striding mightily', *brhād-grāvā* (VS. i. 15) 'like a great stone', *bhāri-dāvā* 'giving much', *maghāvā*⁵ 'bountiful', *mādvā* 'exhilarating', *mākṣa-kītvā* 'rubbing to pieces', *yāvā* 'sacrificer', *yāvā* 'aggressor', *yuktī-grāvā* 'having yoked the pressing stones', *yūdhvā* 'warlike', *raḡhu-pāvā* 'flying swiftly', *rāvā* 'giving abundantly', *rāvā* (VS. vi. 30) 'giving', *vāvā* 'rolling', *vasu-dāvā* 'giving goods',

¹ This seems to be a metrical shortening; according to GRASSMANN it is an A. of a transfer stem *an-arvāna-*.

² The form *kītvānas* in AV. XIX. 35⁵ as N. pl. m. is a conjecture; cp. p. 213, note 2.

³ See LANMAN 524 (bottom).

⁴ *an-arvāna-s* is a transition to the *a*-declension.

⁵ Emendation for *prāna-dāvān* in AV. IV. 35⁵.

⁶ Also once *maghāvān*, transition form from a stem in *-vant*.

vāja-dīva 'granting wealth', *vi-jāva* 'bodily', 'own', *vi-bhāva* 'brilliant', *vi-bhṛtvā* 'bearing hither and thither', *vīṣa-parvā* 'strong-jointed', *vyōmā* (VS. IV. 23) 'heaven', *śubhāṅ-yāva* 'flying swiftly', *śūbhvā* 'bright', *śyenī-patvā* 'borne by eagles', *śrutārvā* N. of a man. *śruṣṭvā* 'obedient', *satnā-satvā* 'truly brave', *satyā-madā* 'really exhilarated', *sātvā* 'brave', *samāddvā* 'eager for battle', *sahāvā* 'mighty', *sītva* 'Soma-pressing', *su-dhānvā* 'wielding a good bow', *sṭvā* 'speeding', *soma-pāvā* 'drinking Soma', *soma-sītva* 'pressing Soma', *stūbhvā* 'praising', *hṛtvā* 'speedy'.

N. A. n. *dhānvā*¹ 'bow' and 'desert', *pārva* (AV.) 'joint', *vi-vāsva* 'bright flame', *snāva* (AV.) 'sinew'.

A. m. *ādhvānam*, *an-arvānam*, *ī-yajvānam* 'not sacrificing', *ārvānam*, *ṛjivānam* N. of a man, *ṛnāvānam*, *ṛtvānam*, *grāvānam*, *dadhi-krāvānam*, *dhitā-vānam* 'bountiful', *plvānam* 'fat', *puru-niṣṭhānam* 'bestowing many gifts', *purv-yāvānam* 'going in front', *prātar-yāvānam* 'coming in the morning', *maghāvānam*, *muṣṭvānam* 'thief', *satā-yāvānam* (Kh. I. 3²) 'having a hundred ways', *śruṣṭvānam*, *sa-jitvānam* 'victorious', *sātvānam*, *sa-yāvānam* 'accompanying', *sahāvānam*, *śkāvānam* 'corner of the mouth', *hārvānam* (VS. xxxviii. 12) 'strengthening hearts'.

L. m. i. *ātharvānā*, *abhi-yūgvānā*, *cikītvānā* 'wise', *satī-parvānā* 'having a hundred joints', *śikvānā* (TS. II. 5. 12³) 'skillful'. — **2.** *grāvānā*. — **n. i.** *dhānvānā*, *pārvaṇā*. — **2.** *snāvānā* (AV.).

D. m. i. *ādhvane*, *ī-pāśād-daghvane* 'not staying behind', *kṛtvane* 'active', *jāsvane* 'needy', *drūhvane* 'hostile', *prsthā-yajvane* 'sacrificing on the ridge', *mādvane*, *yajvane*, *vasuvāne* (VS. XXI. 48) 'winning of wealth', *śikvane* (VS. V. 5) 'skillful', *satā-dhanvane* (VS. XVI. 29) 'having a hundred bows', *śrutārvane*, *sītvene*, *su-kṛtvane* 'pious', *su-dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 36), *sthīrā-dhanvane* 'having a strong bow'. — **2.** *ī-rāvne*, *ṛhīvne*, *oṣiṣṭhā-dīvne* (TS. I. 6. 12⁴) 'giving immediately', *vīṣa-prayāvne* 'going with stallions', *suta-pāvne* 'Soma-drinker', *su-dāvne* 'giving abundantly', *soma-pāvne*, *sva-dhāvne* 'independent'. — **n. i.** *turvāvne* 'victory', *dīvāne* 'giving', *dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 14).

Ab. m. i. *ādhvānas* (VS. XXVI. 1; TS.), *pīka-sūtvānas* 'offering Soma with sincerity'. — **2.** *ī-rāvānas*, *puru-rāvānas* (VS. III. 48) 'loud-roaring'. — **n. i.** *dhānvānas* (AV.), *pārvaṇas*.

G. m. i. *ātharvānas*, *ādhvānas*, *ī-yajvānas*, *ī-stṛta-yajvānas* 'sacrificing indefatigably', *yajvānas*, *ṛv-ādhvānas* 'striding through'. — **2.** *ī-rāvānas*, *dadhi-krāvānas*, *bhāri-dāvānas*, *yuktā-grāvānas*, *suta-pāvānas*, *soma-pāvānas*; *maghānas*⁵. — **n. i.** *dhānvānas* 'bow'.

L. m. i. *ātharvāni*, *ādhvāni*, *ṛtvāni*, *śrutārvāni*, *su-kṛtvāni*. — **2.** *satā-dāvni*⁵. — **3.** Without ending: *ādhvān*. — **n. i.** *tūgvāni* 'ford', *pārvaṇi*. — **3.** *an-arvān*, *a-parvān*, *dhānvān*, *pārvaṇ* (AV.).

V. m. i. *ātharvān* (AV.), *āśva-dāvān* 'giving horses', *dāvān* (AA. V. 2. 2¹³), *maghāvan*, *vasu-dāvān*, *vīśvato-dāvān* (SV. I. 5. 2. 1⁴) 'giving everywhere', *vīśva-dāvān* (AV.) 'giving everything', *satya-satvān* 'truly strong', *satrī-dāvān* 'giving everything', *sahasāvān* 'strong', *suta-pāvān*, *soma-pāvān*, *sva-dāvān* 'having good taste', *sva-dhāvān*, *sva-yāvān* 'going one's own way'. — **2.** With *-vas*: *ṛtvāvas*, *eva-yāvāvas* 'going quickly', *prātar-itvāvas*, *vībhāvāvas*⁶.

¹ As a masculine.

² Also *sahāvān* and *sāhāvān* from a stem in *-van*.

³ Once with final vowel lengthened in the Sapphitā text, *dhānvā*.

⁴ Sometimes to be read as *maghāvanas*; see LANMAN 534.

⁵ The only example of syncope in the L. of this declension in the RV. (V. 27²), where

however the *a* must be metrically restored; there are no examples in the *-an* or *-man* stems, but the AV. has one in the former and three in the latter.

⁶ *khidvāvas* (VI. 22¹) is perhaps best taken as V. of a stem *khid-vāvas*; BR. and LANMAN explain it as from *khid-van*. The V. *mātariṣvān* is formed as if from *mātariṣvan* instead of *mātariṣvan*; cp. p. 210, notes ¹⁰ and ¹¹.

Du. N. A. V. m. *agrāvānā* 'eating (*advan-*) first', *a-druhvānā* 'not hostile', *ṛtvānā*, *grāvānā*, *prātar-yāvānā*, *maghāvānā*, *ratha-yāvānā* 'driving in a car', *śubhra-yāvānā* 'driving stately', *śruṣṭvānā*, *sa-jītvānā*. — With *-au*: *ṛtvānau*, *grāvānau* (AV.). — I. m. *grāvabhyām* (AV.). — G. m. *maghīnos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *akṣna-yāvānas* 'going across', *dīharvānas*, *an-arvānas*, *ā-yāvānas*, *upa-hāsvānas* 'mocking', *ūrāhvā-grāvānas* 'lifting the pressing stone', *ṛkvānas*, *ṛtvānas*, *grāvānas*, *ghṛta-pāvānas* (VS. vi. 19) 'drinking ghee', *drīhvānas*, *ni-kṣtvānas* 'deceitful', *pari-sādvānas* 'besetting', *pāvānas* (TS. III. 2. 85), *prā-sṭhāvānas* 'swift', *prātar-yāvānas*, *n. aghāvānas*, *raghu-pāvānas*, *vānicvānas* 'demanding', *vasā-pāvānas* (VS. vi. 19) 'drinkers of fat', *śubham-yāvānas*, *śruṣṭvānas*, *sūtvānas*, *su-dhūvānas*, *su-sūtvānas* 'shining brightly'. — Weak form for strong: *maghīnas* (VI. 44¹²)².

N. A. n. I. *dhānvāni*, *pārvāni*, *snāhvāni* (AV.). — 2. *dhānva*, *pārva*³; with long final vowel only *pārvā* (AV. XII. 5¹²).

A. m. I. *ādhvānas*, *ā-yāvānas*, *drīhvānas* (AV.). — 2. *ā-rāvānas*, *eva-yāvānas*, *grāvānas*, *prātar-yāvānas*; *maghīnas*.

I. m. *ādhvābhis*, *ā-prayutvābhis* 'attentive', *ṛkvābhis*, *eva-yāvābhis*, *grāvābhis*, *prātar-yāvābhis*⁴, *yāvābhis*, *rāvābhis* 'agreeable', *śkvābhis*, *sātvābhis*, *sanitvābhis* 'bestowers', *sa-yāvābhis*, *su-pra-yāvābhis* 'speeding well', *sva-yāvābhis* 'allies'. — n. *pāvābhis*, *pārvābhis*, *vivāsvābhis*, *soma-pārvābhis* 'times of Soma offerings'.

D. m. *dīharvābhyas*, *grāvābhyas*, *gharma-pāvābhyas* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'drinking hot (milk)'⁵. — n. *snāhvābhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10). — Ab. n. *snāhvābhyas* (AV.).

G. m. I. *ādhvānām* (VS. v. 33), *an-arvānām*, *ā-yāvānām*, *sātvānām*. — 2. *grāvānām*, *rāvānām*, *vāja-dhānām*⁶, *soma-pārvānām*; *maghīnām*. — n. I. *dhānvānām* (AV.).

L. m. *ādhvāsu*, *kṣtvāsu*, *grāvāsu* (Kh. I. 12⁷), *yāvāsu*⁸. — n. *dhānvāsu*, *pārvāsu*.

Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*.

332. The suffixes *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, which have the sense of 'possessing', are used to form secondary adjectives. The stems in *-in* are very common, those in *-min* are fairly frequent, numbering nearly twenty, but there is only one in *-min*: *rg-min-* 'praising'. They are declined in the m. and n. only⁹; but the neuter forms are very rare, amounting to fewer than a dozen altogether. The inflexion presents hardly any irregularities. The vowel of the suffix remains accented throughout¹⁰, and is not liable either to syncope or to lengthening in the G. pl. It is lengthened in the N. sing. m. only¹¹. As in all derivative stems ending in *-n*, the nasal disappears in the N. sing. m. n. and before terminations beginning with consonants.

a. There are a few transition forms to the *a*-declension starting from the A. sing. m. in *-in-am* understood as *-ina-m*. Such are *paramēsth-ina-m* (AV. XIX. 91) 'most exalted', N. sing. n.; the V. *mahin-a* and the G. *mahina-sya* from *mah-in-* 'mighty', and

¹ From the intensive of *√van-*.

² The form *kṣtvāno* in AV. XIX. 35⁵ is a conjecture for the *kr̥tvāno* of the Mss.

³ In Pada as well as *Saṃhitā*.

⁴ Also the supplementary form *maghāvādvābhis*.

⁵ Also the supplementary form *maghāvādvābhyas*.

⁶ The form *sahasra-dhānām* is read as a f. in L. 17⁵.

⁷ Accented *grāvāsu* in the edition.

⁸ There is also the transfer form *maghāvāvatū*.

⁹ They form a special f. stem by adding *-i*; e. g. from *āv-in-* 'possessing horses' *āvīn-ī*.

¹⁰ Except *irin-*, *lākin-*, *sārin-*, and the compounds *kāru-lātin-*, *mahā-vatūrin-*, *Indra-medū-*, from each of which a single form occurs; also the compounds formed with the negative *a-*; e. g. *ā-nāmin-*.

¹¹ It would doubtless be lengthened in the N. A. n. pl. also if that form occurred.

the n. pl. *vanāni* (x. 66²); from *van-in-* m. 'forest-tree'. The isolated form *mandi-m* (i. 9²) is a transition to the *i*-declension, starting probably from the I. sing. *mandhi-s* 'exhilarating' understood as *mandi-nā*.

Inflexion.

333. All the case-forms are represented in the m., but in the n. the three singular case-forms, N. A., I., and G. only. As only eight or nine n. forms occur, they may most conveniently be enumerated separately:

Sing. n. N. *ā-nāmi* 'unbending', *ubhaya-hasti* 'filling both hands', *tsari* (AV.) 'hidden', *patatri* 'winged', *vāji* 'vigorous' (Kh. iv. 6²), *sakalyesi* (AV.) 'seeking shavings'¹. I. *kirina* 'praising', *su-gandhinā* 'fragrant'. G. *prahsiṅas* 'offering oblations'⁴.

The m. forms actually occurring, if made from *hast-in-* 'having hands', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *hastī*. A. *hastīnam*. I. *hastīnā*. D. *hastīna*. Ab. *hastīnas*. G. *hastīnas*. L. *hastīni*. V. *hastīn*. — Du. N. A. *hastīnā* and *hastīnau*. I. D. *hastībhyam*. G. L. *hastīnos*. — Pl. N. *hastīnas*. A. *hastīnas*. I. *hastībhis*. D. *hastībhyas* (VS. AV.). G. *hastīnām*. L. *hastīṅsu*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. 1. Stems in *-in-*: *ahkī* 'possessing a hook', *ati-ryadhī* (VS. xxii. 22) 'wounding', *abhyā-vartī* 'coming near', *arhī* 'active', *asvi* 'possessed of horses', *br̥h̥* 'powerful', *uj-jesi* (VS. xvii. 85) N. of one of the Maruts, *udri* 'abounding in water', *ṛjīpī* 'moving upwards', *ṛjīpī* 'receiving the residue of Soma', *ekiki* (VS. TS.) 'solitary', *kuṇḍī* 'wearing braided hair', *kḍrā-jatī*⁶ 'having decayed teeth', *kāmi* 'desirous', *kulīyī* (TS. iv. 1. 9⁶) 'forming a nest', *kevatādī* 'eating by oneself alone', *keśī* 'having long hair', *krīḍī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'sporting', *gr̥ha-madhī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'performing the domestic sacrifices', *candri* (VS. xx. 37) 'golden', *tsari* 'hidden', *dyumni* 'majestic', *niṣ-ṣapī* 'lustful', *pakthī* 'cooking the oblation', *patatri* (TS. i. 7. 7²) 'winged', *parame-ṣhī* (VS. viii. 54) 'most exalted', *pari-panthī* 'waylayer', *pr̥stī-amavī* 'suffering from a pain in the side', *pra-ghāsi* (VS. xvii. 85) 'voracious', *pra-bhāṅgi* 'destroying', *pra-repanī* 'causing to tremble', *bāhu-sardhī* 'relying on his arms', *brahma-c-trī* 'practising devotion', *brahma-ṛarcasi* (VS. xxii. 22) 'eminent in sacred knowledge', *bhadra-vādī* 'uttering auspicious cries', *manṣī* 'thoughtful', *manthī* (VS. vii. 18) 'stirred Soma juice', *mandī* 'exhilarating', *marāyī* 'destructive' (?), *mahā-hastī* 'having large hands', *māyī* 'crafty', *malī* 'ally', *rathī* 'possessing a car', *rambhī* 'carrying a crutch', *rukmi* 'adorned with gold', *rajri* 'armed with a bolt', *varmi* 'mailed', *vālī* 'having power', *vāji* 'vigorous', *vi-rapsī* 'copious', *śata-svī* 'having a hundred possessions', *śaktī* 'strong', *śipri* 'full-cheeked', *śusmi* 'roaring', *ślokī* 'sounding', *śvaghmī* 'gambler', *soḍaśī* (VS. TS.) 'having sixteen parts', *sāri*⁵ 'hastening', *sahasri* 'thousandfold', *sāci* 'companion', *somī* 'offering Soma', *svadhī* 'bellowing', *hastī* 'having hands'. — 2. stem in *-mīn-*: *ṛgmī* 'praising'. — 3. stems in *-vīn-*: *ā-dvayāvī* 'free from duplicity', *ā-yudhvī*⁸ 'not fighting', *āstrāvī* 'obeying the goad', *āstrāvī* (VS. xix. 88) 'bold'.

A. 1. *atrinam* 'devourer', *adhi-kalpnam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'gamble-manager'.

¹ Instead of *vanīnas*, probably due to the metre.

² The Pada text reads *sakalya-esi*; but the Paippalāda recension has the better reading *sakalyeṣu* 'among the shavings': see WHITNEY'S note on AV. i. 25¹.

³ But this form might be from *su-gandhi*.

⁴ The isolated form *krudhmī* (vii. 56⁸) agreeing with *mānṣī* is a N. pl. n. of a stem *krudh-mī*, rather than of *krudh-min-* 'angry'.

⁵ With abnormal accent.

⁶ Accented like a Bahuvrīhi.

⁷ Thus accented VS. xvii. 85, but *śaktī* RV. i. 51⁶; the latter is probably an error as the suffix is accented in the three other forms *śakīnam*, *śakīne*, *śakīnas*.

⁸ RÖHLING (pw.) regards this as a gerund: *ā-yud-dhvī* 'without fighting'.

abhi-praśnam (VS. xxx. 10) 'inquisitive', *abhi-mātnam* 'insidious', *arknam* 'praising', *ava-krakṣnam* 'rushing down', *i-vājinam* 'a bad horse', *aśvinam*, *ādarīnam* 'breaking open', *aynam* (TS. II. 4. 7¹) 'hurrying up', *iśminam* 'speeding', *uktha-saṁśnam* 'uttering verses', *ukthīnam* 'praising', *udrīnam*, *rjīnam*, *kapardīnam*, *karambhīnam* 'possessing gruel', *kalpinam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'designing', *kalmatikīnam* 'flaming', *kāminam*, *kārīnam* 'singing', *kutayīnam*, *kūdd-arthīnam* 'striving to get anywhere', *catnam* 'lurking', *jana-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 17) 'prattler', *tri-śthīnam* (VS. xxx. 14) 'having a threefold footing', *dyumnīnam*, *dhanīnam* 'wealthy', *ni-yaynam* 'passing over', *pakṣnam* 'winged', *patatrīnam* (VS. xix. 10), *pari-panthīnam*, *piśha-sarpīnam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'cripple', *putrīnam* 'possessing sons', *purīśnam* 'possessing land', *pra-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 13) 'speaking pleasantly', *praśnam* (VS. xxx. 10) 'questioner', *bahu-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 19) 'talkative', *manīśnam*, *manthīnam*, *mandīnam*, *manu-śavīnam* 'pressing Soma with zeal', *māyīnam*, *medīnam* (TS. IV. 7. 10⁴), *rathīnam*, *vaṁśa-nartīnam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'pole-dancer', *vajrīnam*, *vanīnam* 'bountiful', *vanīnam* 'forest tree', *vayik'nam* 'rainfying', *vareṇam* N. of a demon, *vājinam*, *vi-rapśīnam*, *vi-śthīnam* (VS. xxiii. 29) 'wetting', *śata-gvīnam* 'hundredfold', *śatīnam* 'hundredfold', *śakīnam*, *śuśmīnam*, *śrīgīnam* 'horned', *śvanīnam* (VS. xxx. 7) 'keeping dogs', *sahasra-pośnam* 'thriving a thousandfold', *sahasrīnam*. — 3. *i-dvayāvinam*, *ubhayāvinam* 'partaking of both', *tarasvīnam*, *namasvīnam* 'reverential', *māyāvinam* 'employing deceit', *mulhāvīnam* (VS. xxxii. 14) 'possessed of wisdom', *rakṣasvīnam* 'demoniacal'.

I. 1. *arcinā* 'shining', *aśvinā*, *kimūdinā* 'evil spirit', *kirīnā* 'praising', *balinā* (TS. III. 3. 8²) 'strong', *mandinā*, *mahī-vaṭarīnā* 'very wide', *vaṭarīnā* 'wide', *vājinā*. — 3. *rakṣasvīnā*.

D. 1. *abhyā-vartīne*, *a-mitrīne* 'hostile', *ava-bhedīne* (VS. xvi. 34) 'splitting', *i-tatayīne* (VS. xvi. 18) 'having one's bow drawn', *ā-yudhīne* (VS. xvi. 36) 'warrior', *upa-zīlīne* (VS. xvi. 17) 'wearing the sacred cord', *uśīśīne* (VS. xvi. 22) 'wearing a turban', *kapardīne*, *karucīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'mailed', *kīrīne*, *kimūdinē*, *tantrayīne* (VS. xxxviii. 12) 'drawing out rays', *ni-vyādīne* (VS. xvi. 20) 'piercing', *ni-śaṅgīne* (VS. xvi. 20) 'sword-bearer', *pra-sakṣīne* 'victorious', *hīlmīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'having a helmet', *bhāmīne* 'angry', *manīśīne*, *mantrīne* (VS. xvi. 19) 'wise', *mandīne*, *mahīne* 'mighty', *rathīne*, *vajrīne*, *varathīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'wearing armour', *varmīne* (VS.), *vi-napśīne* (VS. IX. 20) 'vanishing', *vi-rapśīne*, *vy-aśuv-in-*³ (VS. XII. 32) a genius of food, *vyādīne* (VS. xvi. 18) 'piercer', *śakīne*, *śīprīne*, *śuśmīne*, *śoḍaśīne* (VS. VIII. 33), *sv-ayudhīne* (VS. xvi. 36) 'having good weapons'. — 3. *rakṣasvīne*.

Ab. 1. *abhi-prabhāṅgīnas* 'breaking completely', *patatrīnas*, *manthīnas* (TS. VS. XIII. 57), *somīnas*.

G. 1. *arthīnas*, *rjīśnas*, *kapardīnas* (TS. VS. xvi. 10), *dhanīnas*, *patatrīnas* (TS. IV. 7. 13¹), *parīnas* 'winged', *pra-gardhīnas* 'pressing onwards', *bhūri-pośnas* 'much-nourishing', *manthīnas* (VS. VII. 18), *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *ratnīnas* 'possessing gifts', *rasīnas* 'juicy', *retīnas*⁷ 'abounding in seed', *vajrīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest tree', *vareṇas*, *vājinas*, *vi-rapśīnas*, *vīṣu-harṣīnas*

¹ *rjīnam* in I. 32⁵ is possibly a metrically shortened form for *rjīśnam*: cp. LANMAN 543⁴.

² As this compound occurs only once beside the simple adj. *vayī*, which occurs several times, the former is perhaps a transfer from the *i*-declension.

³ *mandi-m* (I. 92) is probably a transition form; but BR. regard it as a contraction in pronunciation of *mandīnam*.

⁴ GRASSMANN in I. 100⁹ proposes to read *kirīne*.

⁵ Accented like Bahuvrīhi; but cp. p. 154⁵.

⁶ Formed from the present stem of *Val*: *vi-aś-uv-in-*.

⁷ From *retā* for *retas* 'seed'.

'refractory', *vrandīnas* 'becoming soft', *śatīnas*, *śuśmīnas*, *śṛṅgīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*. — 3. *ā-dvayāvīnas*, *dvayāvīnas* 'double-dealing', *namavīnas*.

L. 1. *āśvīni* (AV.) 'leopard', *paramo-śthīni* (AV.), *brahmacārīni* (AV.), *māyīni*, *vājīni*, *somīni*.

V. 1. *ānā-bhayīn* 'fearless', *abhya-vartin* (VS. XII. 7), *amatrin* 'having a large drinking vessel', *rjīpin*, *rjīsin*, *tuvī-karmin* 'working powerfully', *pra-pathin* 'roaming on distant paths', *yaksīn* 'living', *vajrin*, *vājīn*, *viraplin*, *śarasin* 'mighty', *śīprin*, *śuśmin*, *sahasīn* 'mighty'. — 3. *ubhayvīn*.

Du. N. A. V. 1. *āśvīnā*, V. *āśvīnā* and *āśvīnā*, *kumārīnā* 'having children', *keśīnā*, V. *pajra-hosīnā* 'having rich oblations', *parīnīnā*, *putrīnā*, *purīśīnā*, *pra-sakṣīnā*, *manthīnā*, V. *māyīnā*, *vajrīnā*, *vājīnā*, V. *vājīnā*, *vī-ghanīnā* 'slaying', *śuśmīnā*, *sarathīnā* (VS. XXIX. 7; TS.) 'driving in the same car', *sama-cārīnā* (Kh. III. 22⁵) 'faring with chants'. — 3. *māyāvīnā*. — Forms with *-au*: *āśvīnau*, V. *āśvīnau* and *āśvīnau*, *patatrīnau* (VS. XVIII. 52), *vājīnau*.

I. *āśvībhyām*, *Indra-medhībhyām* (AV.) 'whose ally is Indra'. — D. *āśvībhyām*. — G. *āśvīnos*. — L. *āśvīnos*.

Pl. N. V. 1. *ānūksīnas* 'having a hook', *atrīnas*, *arkīyas*, *arcīnas*, *arthīnas*, *avarokīnas* (VS. XXIV. 6) 'brilliant', *iśmīnas*, *ukthīnas*, *upa-mantrīnas* 'persuading', *rjīśīnas*, *kapardīnas*, *kabandhīnas* 'bearing casks', *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *kīrīnas*, *kṛśanīnas* 'adorned with pearls', *keśīnas*, *khādīnas* 'adorned with rings', *gāpīnas* (TS. I. 4. 11) 'having attendants', *gāthīnas* 'singers', *gāyatrīnas* 'singers of hymns', *gharmīnas* 'preparing the Gharma offering', *daśagvīnas* 'tenfold', *drapsīnas* 'falling in drops', *dhāmīnas* 'smoking', *nī-kārīnas* (TS. VS. XXVII. 4) 'injurers', *nī-toḍīnas* 'piercing', *nī-rāmīnas* 'lurking', *nī-saṅgīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *patatrīnas*, *parī-panthīnas*, *parī-parīnas* (VS. IV. 34) 'adversaries', *parīnas*, *pāśīnas* 'laying snares', *purīśīnas*, *pra-kṛīdīnas* 'sporting', *pra-sakṣīnas*, *balīnas*, *manīśīnas*, *mandīnas*, *mahīnas*, *māyīnas*, *meālīnas*, *rathīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest trees', *varmīnas*, *vājīnas*, *vī-rapsīnas*, *vī-rokīnas* 'brilliant', *vīśānīnas* 'holding horns' (a people), *vṛata-cārīnas* 'performing vows', *śatagvīnas*, *śatīnas*, *śakīnas*, *śuśmīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *svanīnas* 'resounding', *hastīnas*, *hīranīnas* 'golden'. — 2. *rgmīnas*. — 3. *tarasvīnas*, *dvayāvīnas*, *dhyādīnas* 'bold', *namasvīnas*, *māyāvīnas*.

A. 1. *atrīnas*, *a-rājīnas* 'lacking splendour', *arthīnas*, *āśvīnas*, *uktha-āśvīnas*, *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *grathīnas* 'false', *dyumnīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *pra-gṛhīnas* (VS. III. 44), *bhāmīnas*, *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *mītrīnas* 'befriended', *rathīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest trees', *vājīnas*, *vrandīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *hastīnas* (VS. XXIV. 29), *hīranīnas*. — 3. *rakṣasvīnas*.

I. 1. *āśvībhis*, *keśībhis*, *nī-saṅgībhis*, *patatrībhis*, *manīśībhis*, *mandībhis*, *rukībhis*, *vājībhis*, *śuśmībhis*, *hastībhis*. — 2. *rgmībhis*.

D. 1. *ṛta-vādībhyas* (VS. V. 7) 'speaking the truth', *kṛīdībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *grāha-medhībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *dhanvīyībhyas* (VS. XVI. 22) 'carrying a bow', *rathībhyas* (VS. XVI. 26), *śikhībhyas* (AV.) 'peaked', *śvanībhyas* (VS. XVI. 27), *śṛkāyībhyas* (VS. XVI. 21) 'having a spear', *svadhāyībhyas* (VS. XIX. 36) 'owning the Svadhā'.

G. 1. *kārīnām*, *māyīnām*, *vasīnām* (AV.), *vājīnām*, *śṛṅgīnām*. — 3. *stuka-śīnām* 'shaggy'. — L. 1. *khādīsu*, *dvarīsu* 'obstructing', *hastīsu* (AV.).

4. Labial Stems.

a. Stems in (radical) *-p*.

334. These stems are inflected alike in the masculine and feminine, there being no neuters. All the monosyllables are feminine substantives.

⁵ According to LANMAN 544 the *-ā* forms occur 369 times, the *-au* forms 32 times.

They are: *āp-* 'water', *kīp-* 'beauty', *ksāp-* 'night', *ksīp-* 'finger', *rip-* 'deceit', *rīp-* 'earth', *vīp-* 'rod'. Feminine are also the compounds *ā-tāp-* 'heating', *pāti-rip-* 'deceiving a husband', *vī-śtāp-* 'summit', *ṛta-sāp-* 'performing worship'. All other compound stems are masculine. They are: *agni-tāp-* 'enjoying the warmth of fire', *abhi-lāpa-tāp-*² (AV.) 'excessively whimpering', *asu-tīp-*³ 'delighting in lives', *keta-sāp-* 'obeying the will (of another)', *pari-rāp-* 'crying around', *paśu-tīp-*⁴ 'delighting in herds', *pra-sāp-*⁵ 'slumbering', *ṛity-āp-* 'having streaming (*ṛiti-*) water'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms appears in *āp-* and its compound *ṛity-āp-*, as well as in the two compounds of *śat-* 'serve', *ṛta-sāp-* and *keta-sāp-*. The strong form *āpas* is used a few times in the A. pl., but the long vowel in *pari-rāpas* as A. pl. is due to the metre; on the other hand, the weak form *āpās* appears twice in the AV. as N. pl.

b. The A. pl. *āpās* is nearly always accented on the ending as a weak case; *ksāpās* similarly appears two or three times, and *vīpās* once.

c. No N. sing. m. or f. occurs, but a n. transition form once appears in this case: *vīśāpam* (IX. 113¹⁰), a form which doubtless started from the A. sing. f. *vīśāp-am*. The n. pl. of the same transition stem occurs once as *vīśāpā* (VIII. 80¹¹). Two other transition forms are *ksāpābhī* and *ksīpābhī*.

Inflexion.

335. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. A. m. *paśu-tīpam*. — f. *vī-śāpam*. — I. m. *vīpā* 'priest'. — f. *apā*, *ksāpā*, *ksāpā*, *vīpā*. — Ab. f. *āpās*; *ā-tāpas*, *vī-śāpas*. — G. m. *vīpas*². — f. *apās*, *ksāpās*, *vīpās*, *rupās*. — L. f. *vī-śāpī*.

Du. N. m. *ṛity-āpā*; *asu-tīpau*³.

Pl. N. m. *ṛta-sāpas*, *keta-sāpas*, V. *ṛiti-āpas*; *vīpas*; *agni-tāpas*, *abhi-lāpa-lāpas* (AV.), *asu-tīpas*, *pra-sāpas*. — f. *āpas*, V. *āpas*, *ṛta-sāpas*; *ksīpas*, *vīpas*, *ripās*; *pāti-ripās*. The A. form *āpās* occurs twice in the AV. for the N.⁷

A. m. *asu-tīpas*, *pari-rāpas*⁸. — f. *apās* and *āpas*⁹, *ksāpās* and *ksāpas*¹⁰, *vīpās* and *vīpas*¹¹, *ripās*.

I. f. *adbhī*¹². — D. f. *adbhī*¹³ (VS. VI. 9). — Ab. f. *adbhī*¹². — G. m. *vīpām*. — f. *apām*¹³, *ksāpām*, *vīpām*. — L. f. *apsī*¹⁴.

b. Stems in (radical) -bh.

336. Both masculines and feminines occur in this declension, but there are no neuters. The stems comprise five monosyllables formed from roots, together with compounds of three of the latter (*grabh-*, *śubh-*, *stūbh-*), and *kakūbh-*. The stems are: *ksūbh-* f. 'push', *gṛbh-* f. 'seizing', *nūbh-* f. 'destroyer', *śībh-* f. 'splendour', *stībh-* adj. 'praising', f. 'praise'; *jīva-gṛbh-* m. 'capturing alive', 'bailiff', *suta-gṛbh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *syūma-gṛbh-* 'seizing the

¹ *vīp-* as an adjective is used as a m. times in books I and X of the RV., and 16 also. times in the AV.; it also occurs in Kh. III. 9.

² An irregular intensive formation.

³ Cp. KLUGE, KZ. 25, 311f.

⁴ From *svap-* 'sleep'.

⁵ With irregular accent.

⁶ Cp. LANMAN 482 (middle).

⁷ There is also the transition form in the n. *vī-śāpā*.

⁸ Metrical for *pari-rāpas*, which is the reading of the Pada text in II. 23¹⁴; see RPr. IX. 26.

⁹ *āpas* is the regular form occurring 152 times in the RV. and 26 times in the AV. The strong form *āpas* is used half a dozen

times in books I and X of the RV., and 16 times in the AV.; it also occurs in Kh. III. 9. ¹⁰ *ksāpas* 6 or 8 times in RV., *ksāpās* 2 or 3 times.

¹¹ *vīpas* thrice, *vīpās* once in RV.

¹² By dissimilation for **ab-bhī*, **ab-bhī*; cp. JOHANSSON, IF. 4, 134-146. See LANMAN 483. There are also the two transfer forms *ksāpābhī* and *ksīpābhī*, each occurring once.

¹³ On the metrical value of *apām* see LANMAN 481 (top).

¹⁴ BR. regard *apsī* in VIII. 4¹⁴ as = *apsī* with inserted -*u*. See LANMAN 484.

reins'; *rathe-súbh-* 'flying along in a car'; *anu-štúbh-* f. 'after-praise', a metre, *ṛta-štúbh-* 'praising duly', *tri-štúbh-* 'triple praise', a metre, *pari-štúbh-* 'exulting on every side', *saṃ-štúbh-* (VS.) 'shout of joy', a metre, *gharma-štúbh-* 'shouting in the heat', *chandaḥ-štúbh-* 'praising in hymns', *ṛṣa-štúbh-* 'calling aloud', *su-štúbh-* 'uttering a shrill cry'; *kakúbh-* f. 'peak', *tri-kakúbh-* 'three-pointed'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms does not appear except in the N. and A. pl. of *nábh-*. The inflexion of these stems is incompletely represented, there being no dual forms, and no plural forms the endings of which begin with a consonant.

Inflexion.

337. The forms occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *stúp*; *tri-kakúp*. — f. *anu-štúp* (VS. AV.), *anu-štúk* (TS. v. 2. 11¹), *tri-štúp*; *kakúp* (VS. AV.).

A. m. *rathe-súbham*, *sute-gúbham*. — f. *gúbham*, *súbham*; *ṛta-štúbham*, *anu-štúbham*, *tri-štúbham*; *kakúbham*.

I. m. *stúbhā*; *su-štúbhā*. — f. *ḥsúbhā*, *grbhā*, *śubhā*; *anu-štúbhā*, *tri-štúbhā* (VS. xvii. 34; TS. ii. 2. 4²); *kakúbhā* (VS. xxviii. 44).

D. m. *gharma-štúbhe*, *syama-gúbhe*. — f. *súbhe* (AV. VS. xxx. 7); *anu-štúbhe* (VS. xxiv. 12), *tri-štúbhe* (VS. xxiv. 12); *kakúbhe* (VS. xxiv. 13).

Ab. m. *ṛṣa-gúbhas*. — f. *gúbhas* (VS. xxi. 43); *anu-štúbhas* (VS. xiii. 54), *tri-štúbhas* (AV.).

G. m. *su-štúbhas*. — f. *śubhás* (in *śubhás pátr*, du. N. A. and *śubhas pátr*, V.).

L. f. *tri-štúbhi* (VS. xxxviii. 18); *kakúbhi* (TS. iii. 3. 9²; VS. xv. 4).

Pl. N. m. *chandaḥ-štúbhas*, *ṛṣa-štúbhas*, *pari-štúbhas*, *su-štúbhas*. — f. *nábhás*², *súbhas*, *štúbhas*.

A. f. *nábhás*, *štúbhas*; *tri-štúbhas*, *pari-štúbhas*; *kakúbhas*.

G. f. *kakúbhām*.

c. Stems in -m.

338. There are only about half a dozen stems in -m which among them muster a few more than a dozen forms. All are monosyllables except a compound of *nam-* 'bend'. Neuters are *sám-* 'happiness' and perhaps *dám-* 'house'. A possible m. is *hím-* 'cold'; and there are four feminines: *ḥyám-*, *gám-*, and *jám-*, all meaning 'earth', and *saṃ-ndm-* (AV.) 'favour'. Strong and weak forms are distinguished in *ḥyám-*, which lengthens the vowel in the strong cases, and syncopates it in one of the two weak cases occurring; *gám-* and *jám-* are found in weak cases only, where they syncopate the vowel. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. A. n. *sám*. — L. f. *ḥyamā*, *jmā*; m. *hím-ā*³. — Ab. f. *ḥyamás*, *gmás*, *jmás*. — G. f. *gmás*, *jmás*⁴; n. *dám*⁵. — L. f. *ḥyámi*⁶. — Du. N. f. *ḥyámā*, *dyāvā-ḥyámā* 'heaven and earth'. — Pl. N. f. *ḥyámás*; *saṃ-námas* (AV.). — G. n. *damām*.

¹ The form *dúbhas* in v. 19¹ is regarded by BR. and GRASSMANN as N. sing. m. 'destroyer'. LANMAN 485 thinks it may be a G. sing. f. with wrong accent.

² Strong form.

³ This is the only form, occurring twice, from a possible stem *hím-*, beside *hiména*, from *himé-*. It might, however, be an I. from the latter stem. Cp. 372.

⁴ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 580.

⁵ For **dám-s* (like *á-gan* for **á-gam-s*) occurring only in the expressions *pátr dán* and *pátr dán* and equivalent to *dám-pátr* and *dám-pátr* at the end of a triṣṭubh line. Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 453.

⁶ With irregular accent; cp. above 94 a.

5. Stems in Sibilants.

I. a. Stems in radical *s* and *ś*.

339. In radical stems ending in *s* and *ś*, the sibilants are identical in origin, both being alike etymologically based on the dental *s*, which remains after *ā*, but is cerebralized after other vowels and after *ḷ*. In the RV. there are of radical *s*-stems some 40 derived from about 15 roots; of radical *ś*-stems, some 50 derived from about 15 roots; in both groups taken together there are nearly 20 monosyllabic stems, the rest being compounds. Masculine and feminine stems are about equally numerous; but there are altogether only 7 or 8 neuters.

a. The distinction between strong and weak forms appears in three words: *pīmāns* and *pūms* 'male'; *nās* and *nas* 'nose'; *uttha-śās* and *uttha-sās* 'uttering verses'. The A. pl. has the accentuation of weak stems in the masculines *jñās-ds*, *pūns-ās*, *mās-ds* and in the feminines *ip-ds*, *us-ās*, *divs-ās*.

b. The stem *ds* 'face' is supplemented in its inflexion by the *an*-stem *ās-ān*; the stem *is* is supplemented before consonant endings by *idā-*¹; and *dis* 'fore-arm' is supplemented by *dis-ān* in the dual form *doḥānī* (AV. IX. 7¹).

c. Transitions to the *a*- or *ā*-declension appear in forms made from *ās* 'face', *is* 'refreshment', *kās* 'cough', *nās* 'nose', *mās* 'month', *ā-śās* 'hope', *ni-miś* 'winking'. 1. From *ās*, 'beside and probably through the influence of the I. sing. *ās-ā*, is formed the adv. *āsāvā* 'before the face of' (as from a stem *āsā-*, and with adverbial shift of accent instead of **āsāvā*); — 2. Forms like G. *ip-ds* gave rise to *isā-m*; and the supplementary stem *idā-* probably started from the I. sing. *idā-*, which itself was probably due to *id-* the form assumed by *ip* before *bh*-endings; the stem *ip* further shows a transition to the *i*-declension in the D. *isāye*. — 3. From *kās* 'cough' there is the transition V. *kās* (AV.). — 4. The strong dual form *nās-ā* furnished a transition to an *ā*-stem, from which is formed the dual *nās* (AV.). — 5. As *pā-d-am* gave rise to a new N. *pāda-s*, so from *mās-am* arose the new stem *māsa-*, from which are formed the N. sing. *māsa-s* and the A. pl. *māsān*. — 6. In the RV. the stem *ā-śās* alone is used; but in the AV. appears the A. *āśām* (perhaps a contraction for *ā-śāsam*) which, understood as *āśām*, was probably the starting point of the *āśā-*, the only stem in the later language. — 7. From *ni-miś* 'winking' there appear, beside the regular compound forms A. *ā-nimiś-am*, I. *ā-nimiś-ā* f. 'non-winking', the transition forms N. *ā-nimiś-ā-s*, A. *ā-nimiś-ā-m*, I. *ā-nimiś-ā*, N. pl. *ā-nimiś-ās*, adj. 'unwinking', with the regular Bahuvrīhi accent (90 B c).

Inflexion.

340. In the N. sing. the sibilant is of course dropped if preceded by a consonant, as *an-āk* 'eyeless', *pīmān* 'man'. Otherwise *s* remains, while *ś* becomes *ʃ*². Before *bh*-endings, *s* becomes *d* in two forms which occur (*māu-bhīś*, *mād-bhīś*)³ and *r* in the only other one (*dar-bhīś*); while *ś* becomes *d* in the only example occurring (*vi-prīḷ-bhīś*).

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mās*⁴ m. 'month' as an *s*-stem, and from *divs* f. 'hatred' as a *ś*-stem, would be as follows:

Sing. N. *mās*; *divś*. A. *māsam*; *divśam*. I. *māsā*; *divśā*. D. *māś*; *divś*. Ab. *māsās*; *divśās*. G. *māsās*; *divśās*. L. *māśi*; *divśi*. — Du. N. A. *māsā*; *divśā*. G. *māsās*. L. *māsās* (AV. TS.). — Pl. N. *māsas*; *divśas*. A. *māsās*; *divśas* and *divśās*. I. *mādbhīś*; *divīdbhīś*. D. *mādbhīś* (AV.). Ab. *mādbhīś* (AV.). G. *māsām*; *divśām*. L. *māsāi* (AV.).

The forms actually occurring are:

¹ As *kṣp* and *kṣip* by *kṣpā* and *kṣpī* respectively.

² It becomes *k* only in the n. form *dadhīk* 'boldly', used as an adv. from *dadhīś*, if the word is derived from *dhrīś* 'be bold'; but the word is perhaps more probably derived from *dṛh* 'be firm', see BR. s. v. *dadhīk*, and cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 12, Anzeiger p. 28.

³ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 340.

⁴ In this word (derived from *mā* 'measure') the *s* is really secondary, probably representing the suffix *-as* (*mās* = *mā-as*); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 398.

⁵ The only V. occurring is *pūmas*.

Sing. N. I. m. *pūmān*¹ 'male'; *candri-mās* 'moon', *dūrē-bhās*² 'shining to a distance', *su-dās*³ 'worshipping well'. — f. *ā-jhās* 'having no kindred', *ā-śis*⁴ 'prayer'. — n. *bhās* 'light', *mās* 'flesh'; *ās* 'arm', *yās* 'wellfare', *saṃ-yās* 'luck and wellfare'. — 2. m. *an-āk*⁵ 'blind', *adhamāna-dvā*⁶ 'hating the insolent'. — f. *vi-prīṣ* (AV.) 'drop'.

A. I. m. *māsam* 'month', *pūmānsam*; *a-yāsam* 'dexterous', *uktha-śāsam*⁷ 'uttering verses', *su-dāsam*, *su-bhāsam* 'shining beautifully', *sv-āśīsam*⁸ 'well-praising', *sv-āsam* 'fair-mouthed'. — f. *kāsam*⁹ (AV.) 'cough'; *ā-śīsam*⁴, *pra-śīsam*⁴ 'precept'. — 2. m. *ghṛta-prīṣam* 'sprinkling ghee', *jara-dvīṣam* 'hating decrepitude', *brahma-dvīṣam* 'hating sacred knowledge', *viśvā-pīṣam* 'all-nourishing'. — f. *īṣam* 'refreshment', *dvīṣam* 'hatred', *prīṣam* 'satiation'; *a-nimīṣam* 'non-winking', *doṣaṇi-śrīṣam* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *hṛdaya-śrīṣam* (AV.) 'clinging to the heart'. Also the adverbial A. *ā-zy-uṣām* (AV.) 'till the dawn'. — n. *dadhīk* 'boldly' as adv.

I. I. m. *māsā*. — f. *kāsā* (AV.), *nasā* (AV.) 'nose', *śāsā* 'ruler'¹⁰; *abhi-śāsā*¹¹ 'blame', *ava-śāsā* (AV.) 'wrong desire', *ā-śāsā* 'hope', *ā-śīṣā*, *niḥ-śāsā* 'blame', *parā-śāsā* (AV.) 'calumny', *pra-śīṣā* (AV. VS.). — n. *āsā* 'mouth', *bhāsā*. — 2. m. *viśva-pīṣā*¹². — f. *īṣā*, *tvīṣā* 'excitement'; *a-nimīṣā*, *prā-ṛṣā* (AV. TS.) 'rainy season', *preṣā*¹³ 'pressure'. — n. *ghṛta-prīṣā*.

D. I. m. *pūmā* (AV.); *su-dāse*. — n. *bhāsā* (VS. XIII. 39). — 2. m. *ā-prī-yuṣe*¹⁴ 'not careless'; *ā-ṛi-dvīṣe* (AV.) 'for non-enmity', *ṛṣi-dvīṣe* 'hating the seers', *brahma-dvīṣe*; *gav-īṣe* 'wishing for cows', *paśu-īṣe* 'wishing for cattle'; *sūkam-ūṣe*¹⁵ 'sprinkling together'. — f. *īṣā*¹⁶, *tvīṣā*, *prīṣā*, *ṛiṣā* 'injury', *prīṣe* (VS. v. 7).

Ab. I. m. *pūmās*. — f. *kāsās* (AV.) — n. *āsās*. — 2. f. *īṣās*, *tvīṣās*, *dvīṣās*, *ṛiṣās*; *abhi-śrīṣās* 'ligature', *ni-mīṣās* 'winking'.

G. I. m. *pūmās*; *a-śāsas* 'not blessing', *su-dāsas*, *sv-āsas*. — f. *ā-śīṣas* (TS. IV. 6. 6³). — 2. m. *śṛiṅga-ṛṣas*¹⁷ a man's name. — f. *īṣās*, *uṣās* 'dawn', *dvīṣās*, *prīṣās*; *abhra-prīṣas* 'sprinkling of the clouds', *ni-mīṣas*.

L. I. m. *pūmā*, *māsi*. — f. *upāsī* 'in the lap', *nasī* (VS.); *ā-śīṣī* (AV.), *pra-śīṣī* (AV.). — 2. f. *ni-mīṣī*, *prā-ṛṣī*, *ṛy-īṣī* 'dawn'.

V. m. *pumas*¹⁸.

Du. N. A. I. m. *uktha-śāsā*¹⁹, *sūrya-māsā*²⁰ 'sun and moon'. — f. *nāsā*²¹. — I. I. n. *dorbhyām* (VS. XXV. 3). — G. I. f. *nasās*. — L. I. f. *nasās* (AV. TS.).

Pl. N. I. m. *a-yāsas*, V. *ayāsas*, *uktha-śāsas*¹⁹, *su-samśāsas*²² (AV.) 'well-directing'. — f. *ā-śāsas*, *ā-śīṣas*, *pra-śīṣas*, *vi-śīṣas* (AV.) 'explanations',

¹ On the Sandhi of this N. see LANMAN 495¹.

² See LANMAN 495¹.

³ There are also the transition forms *māsa-s* and *a-nimīṣā-s*.

⁴ The root in *ā-śīṣ* and *pra-śīṣ*, being a reduced form of *śās* 'order', is here treated as belonging to the *s*-class.

⁵ From *an-ākṣ* 'eyeless'.

⁶ The N. of *īṣ* would be **īṣ*; its place is supplied by the extended form *īṣā*.

⁷ Strong stem from *śas* = *śams* 'proclaim'.

⁸ Accented *kāsām* (AV. v. 22¹¹).

⁹ Also the transition forms *a-nimīṣam* and *āśām* (AV.).

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 495 (bottom).

¹¹ From *śas* = *śams* 'proclaim'.

¹² There is also the transition form *a-nimīṣā*.

¹³ Accented thus as a monosyllabic stem instead of *preṣā* (= *pra-īṣā*).

¹⁴ From *pra+yū* 'separate' with *s* as root determinative.

¹⁵ Perhaps also *drām-īṣe* (VIII. 46¹⁷) 'hastening near', Pada *āram īṣe*; cp. LANMAN 496¹.

¹⁶ Also the transfer to the *i*-declension *īṣāye*.

¹⁷ In a compound vocative with *napī*.

¹⁸ In the f. are found the transfers to the *ā*-declension *īṣe* and *kāse* (AV.).

¹⁹ Strong forms; Pp. *uktha-śāsā*, *śāsas*.

²⁰ This might be from the transition stem *-māsa-*.

²¹ There is also the transition form *nāsē* (AV.).

²² There are also the transition forms *māśās*, *a-nimīṣās*.

saṃ-īśas (AV.) 'directions'; *vi-srīśas* (AV.) 'falling apart', *su-srīśas* (AV.) 'falling off easily', *svayam-srīśas* (AV.) 'dropping spontaneously'. — 2. m. *mīśas* 'flies', *mīśas* 'mice'; *anṛta-dvīśas* 'persecuting untruth', V. *a-saca-dvīśas* 'hating non-worshippers', *gav-īśas*, *ghṛta-prīśas*, *pari-prīśas* 'sprinkling', *bṛhad-īśas* 'shedding copiously', *brahma-dvīśas*, *yajña-mīśas* (TS. III. 5. 4¹) 'sacrifice stealer', *vāta-tvīśas* 'having the impetuosity of the wind'. — f. *īśas*, *trīśas*, *pfīśas*; *ān-ā-dhīśas* (AV.) 'not checking', *ghṛta-prīśas*, *ni-mīśas* (AV.), *nemān-īśas* 'following guidance', *pāti-dvīśas* 'hating her husband', *vy-īśas* (AV.), *sam-īśas* 'darts', *sākam-īśas*, *su-pfīśas* 'abounding with food'.

A. I. m. *jñāsās* 'relatives', *pūṃsās*, *māsās*; *an-āsas* 'faceless', *an-ardhva-dhīśas* 'whose splendour does not rise', *a-yīśas*, *a-īśas*, *hṛtsv-āsas* 'throwing into the heart'. — f. *ā-śāsas*; *ā-śīśas*, *pra-śīśas*. — 2. m. *brahma-dvīśas*. — f. *īśas* and *īśās*⁴, *usās*, *dvīśas* and *dvīśās*⁵, *pfīśas*; *camrīśas*⁶, *vi-prīśas* (AV.).

I. I. m. *mādbhīs*. — 2. f. *vi-prīśbhīs* (VS.). — D. I. m. *mādbhīs* (AV.). — Ab. I. m. *mādbhīs* (AV.). — G. I. m. *pūṃsām* (AV.), *māsām*, *vasām*⁷ 'abodes'; *a-yāsām*. — 2. f. *īśām*, *dvīśām*. — L. I. m. *pūṃsā*⁸ (AV.).

i. b. Stems in derivative -s.

a. Stems in -īs and -us.

341. The stems formed with the suffixes -īs and -us may best be treated together, as their inflexion is identical. The -īs stems, numbering about a dozen, consist primarily of neuters only⁹; these when they are final members of compounds are secondarily inflected as masculines also, but only in a single form (N. sing. *svī-locīs* 'self-radiant') as feminine. The -us stems, numbering sixteen (exclusive of compounds) in the RV., include primary masculines (two also as f.) as well as neuters; three of the latter as final members of compounds are also inflected as feminine. Eleven of the -us stems are neuter substantives, all but one accented on the radical syllable; four of these are also used as m. adjectives¹¹ accented in the same way (*drus-*, *cakṣus-*, *tāpus-*, *vāpus-*). Three of those -us stems which are exclusively m. are adjectives accented on the suffix, while two are substantives accented on the root (*nūh-us-*, *mān-us-*)¹².

a. The N. A. pl. n. are distinguished as strong forms by lengthening and nasalizing the vowel of the suffix (as in the -as stems), e. g. *jyālmī* and *cakṣmī*.

b. Among these stems appear a number of transitions to, and a few from, other declensions. 1. The N. sing. n., as in *loc-īs* and *cakṣ-us*, having in some passages the appearance of a N. sing. m. *loc-s* and *cakṣ-u-s*, led to formations according to the f- and ū-declension. Such are N. pl. *locīyas* (AV.) 'flames', V. ring. *pāvaka-loc* 'shining brightly', *bhadra-loc* 'shining beautifully', *śukra-loc* 'shining brilliantly'; N. pl. *arcīyas* 'beams', I. pl. *arcī-bhīs*. The form of *krav-īs* 'raw flesh' in the compound *ā-kravī-hasta* 'not having bloody hands' is probably due to the same cause. From *cakṣ-us* 'eye' is once formed the Ab. *cakṣ-s* and the V. *sahasra-cakṣo* (AV.) 'thousand-eyed'. From *tāp-us* 'hot' is once

¹ The Mss. read *vi-trāśas*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. XIX. 34).

² *nemān* is here probably a locative.

³ There is also the transition form *māsām*.

⁴ *īśas* occurs 63 times, *īśās* 7 times in the RV.

⁵ *dvīśas* occurs 39 times, *dvīśās* 4 times in the RV.

⁶ The meaning of this word is perhaps 'libations in ladles'.

⁷ There is also the transition form *i-lābhīs* as an I. pl. of *ī-*.

⁸ This word, occurring in this form only, might be a f.

⁹ *māsū-* occurs Pañc. Br. IV. 4. 1 and *māśū* (like *pūṃsū* for *pūṃs-sū*) TS. VII. 5. 2². The f. transition form *īśāsū* occurs as the L. pl. of *ī-*.

¹⁰ There seems no reason why *ām-īs* occurring in L. s. only, should exceptionally be regarded as m. (BR., LANMAN, GRASSMANN).

¹¹ One of these, *tāpus-* 'hot', has a single f. form, A. du. *tāpūā*.

¹² See above p. 84, 19.

formed the G. *śājo-s*; from *van-ī-* 'desiring', as if *vanī-s* in N., the A. sing. *vanū-m* and pl. *vanīn*; from *āy-us* 'life' occurs not only the I. sing. *āy-u-si*, but several compound forms, V. *dirghāyo* 'long-lived', *atadbhāyo* (VS.) 'having unimpaired vigour', A. *vāddhīyu-m* 'full of vigour', n. *vīśhīyu* 'all-quickening', A. m. *vīśhīyu-m*, D. *vīśhīyav*, G. *vīśhīyū-si*. — 2. There are also some transition forms from three masculines in *-us*, by extension of the stem, to the *a*-declension: from *nāh-us* 'neighbour', starting perhaps from the G. *nāhus-as* taken as a N. sing. *nāhus-a-s*, are made the G. *nāhus-a-sya* and the I. *nāhus*; from *mān-us* 'man', starting from the N. pl. *mānus-as* taken as a N. sing. *mānu-s-a-s*, come the D. *mānuśāya* and the G. *mānuśāya*; from *vāj-us* 'beauty', once D. *vājuśāya* beside the frequent *vājus-c*. — 3. On the other hand, there are a few transitions from the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems to that of stems in *-is* and *-us*. Beside *su-rabhi* 'fragrant', the superlative form *su-rabhīśamam*² occurs once; and beside numerous compounds formed with *uvī-* appear the stems *uvīś-mant-* 'powerful' and *uvīś-jama-* 'strongest'. Beside the G. *dhāk-o-s* and *dāk-o-s* 'burning', there appears once the form *dākūś-as*³, which is doubtless due to the false analogy of forms like *tasthūśas*. Though *mān-us* 'man' may be an independent formation beside *mān-u-*, the probability is rather in favour of regarding it as secondary (starting from a N. *mānu-s*), because *mānu-* shows eight case-forms, but *mānu-s* only three⁴. The stem *d-śrīyus-*, occurring only once beside the less rare *d-śrāyu-*, probably represents a transition from the latter stem.

Inflexion.

342. The final *s* becomes *ś* before vowel endings, and *r* before *-bh*. The inflexion of the n. is the same as that of the m. except in the A. sing., N. A. du. and pl. The only f. forms occurring are in the N. or A. They are the following: N. sing. *svā-śocis* 'self-radiant'; *cakṣus* 'seeing', *ā-ghora-cakṣus* 'not having an evil eye', *hrād-cakṣus* 'reflected in a lake'; *citrīyus* 'possessed of wonderful vitality'; A. du. *tīpuśā* 'hot'; A. pl. *gī-vapuśas* 'having the form of cows'.

The actual forms occurring, if made from *śocis-* 'glow' in the n., and from *śocis-* in the m. (when it differs from the n.), and from *cakṣus-* 'eye' as n. and 'seeing' as m., would be as follows:

1. Sing. N. *śocis*. A. *śocis*; m. *śocīśam*. I. *śocīśā*. D. *śocīśe*. Ab. *śocīśas*. G. *śocīśas*. L. *śocīśi*. V. *śocis*. — Pl. N. A. *śocīśāsi*; m. *śocīśas*. I. *śocīrbhis*. D. m. *śocīrbhyas*. G. *śocīśām*. L. *śocīśsu*.

2. Sing. N. *cakṣus*. A. *cakṣus*; m. *cakṣūśam*. I. *cakṣusā*. D. *cakṣuse*. Ab. G. *cakṣūśas*. L. *cakṣūśi*. — Du. N. A. *cakṣūśi*; m. *cakṣūśā*. D. *cakṣurbhyām* (VS.). — Pl. N. A. *cakṣūśāsi*; m. *cakṣūśas*. I. *cakṣurbhis*. D. *cakṣurbhyas* (VS.). G. *cakṣūśām*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. *d-barhis* 'not offering oblations', *kṛśnā-vyathis* 'whose path is black'; *citrā-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'shining brilliantly', *śukrā-jyotis* (VS. xii. 15) 'brightly shining', *satyā-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'truly brilliant', *su-jyotis* (VS. xxxvii. 21) 'shining well'; *citrā-śocis* 'shining brilliantly', *durīka-śocis* 'glowing unpleasantly', *śukrā-śocis* 'bright-rayed'; *śivā-barhis* (AV.) 'having a fresh litter', *su-barhis* (VS. xxi. 15) 'having a goodly litter', *śīrūd-barhis* 'who has strewn the litter'; *svā-śocis* 'self-shining'; *śr-arcis*⁵ 'flashing beautifully'. — 2. *cakṣus* 'seeing', *vāpus*⁶ 'beautyful', *vidhis* 'attentive'⁷; *d-dabdhā-cakṣus* (AV.) 'having undamaged sight', *kṣibhīyus* 'whose life goes to an end', *dirghāyus* 'long-lived', *duḥ-śīśus* 'malignant', *vī-parus* (AV.) 'jointless', *viśvatas-cakṣus* 'having eyes on all sides', *sārva-parus* (AV.) 'having all joints', *sahisrīyus* (AV.) 'living a thousand years'.

¹ There is probably insufficient reason to assume a primary independently formed stem *-āy-u-* beside *āy-us*; cp. LANMAN 569 (bottom).
² Retaining the *s* of the N. like *indra-vant-*.

³ *uvī-is* as an independent formation would be irregular, since the radical vowel otherwise shows Guṇa before the suffix *-is* (134).

⁴ Desiderative adj. from *dah-* 'burn'.

⁵ The Pada text has *dhakṣūśas*.

⁶ Cp. LANMAN 570 (bottom).

⁷ There are also the transition forms *arcī-s* and *śocī-s*, the neuters becoming masculines of the *i*-declension.

⁸ Also the transition forms *cakṣu-s*, *tapī-s*.

⁹ This may be an *u*-stem: *vidū-s*.

N. A. n. 1. *arcis* 'flame', *kravis* (AV.) 'raw flesh', *chadls* 'cover', *chardls* 'fence', *jyōtis* 'light', *barhls* 'litter', *varhls* 'circuit', *vyāthis* 'course', *soctls* 'lustre', *sarplls* 'clarified butter', *havls* 'oblation'; *vaiśvānarā-jyōtis* (VS. xx. 23) 'light of Vaiśvānara', *śukrā-jyōtis* (TS. iv. 1. 9³), *svār-jyōtis* (VS. v. 32) 'light of heaven'. — 2. *ārus* (AV.) 'wound', *āyus* 'life', *cākṣus* 'eye', *tāpus* 'glow', *dhānus* 'bow', *pārus* 'joint', *yājus* 'worship', *vāpus* 'beauty', *śāsus* 'command'; *indra-dhanis* (AV.) 'Indra's bow', *sv-āyils* (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour'.

A. m. 1. *ā-grbhāta-sociṣam* 'having unsubdued splendour', *ajirā-sociṣam* 'having a quick light', *ardhvā-sociṣam* 'flaming upwards', *citrā-sociṣam*, *dirghāyusociṣam* 'shining through a long life', *pāvakā-sociṣam* 'shining brightly', *śīrā-sociṣam* 'sharp-rayed', *śukrā-sociṣam*, *śrēṣṭhā-sociṣam* 'most brilliant'; *citrā-barhiṣam* 'having a brilliant bed', *vṛktā-barhiṣam* 'having the litter spread', *su-barhiṣam*, *stīrṇā-barhiṣam* (VS. xiv. 49); *dākṣiṇā-jyōtiṣam* (AV.) 'brilliant by the sacrificed gift', *hīranya-jyōtiṣam* (AV.) 'having golden splendour'. — 2. *janūṣam* 'birth', *dirghāyusam*, *pūrv-āyūṣam* 'bestowing much vitality', *śatāyusam* 'attaining the age of a hundred'.

I. 1. n. *arcīṣā*, *kravīṣā*, *chardīṣā* (VS. xiii. 19), *jyōtiṣā*, *barhiṣā* (VS. xviii. 63; TS.), *rocīṣā* 'brightness', *soctīṣā*, *sarplīṣā*, *havīṣā*. — **m.** *manthi-sociṣā* (VS. vii. 18) 'shining like mixed Soma', *śukrā-jyōtiṣā* (VS.). — 2. **n.** *āyusā*, *cākṣusā*, *janūṣā*, *tāpusā*, *dhānuṣā* (Kh. iii. 9), *pāruṣā*, *yājuṣā*, *śatāyusā*, *santiṣṭa-yajūṣā* (VS. xix. 29) 'sacrifice and formula', *sv-āyūṣā* (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour of life'. — **m.** *tāpuṣā*, *nāhuṣā* 'neighbour', *mānuṣā* 'man', *vanūṣā* 'eager'.

D. 1. n. *arcīṣe* (TS. VS. xvii. 11), *jyōtiṣe* (VS. AV.), *barhiṣe* (VS. II. 1), *soctīṣe*, *havīṣe*. — **m.** *tigmā-sociṣe* 'sharp-rayed', *pāvakā-sociṣe*, *śukrā-sociṣe*, *vṛktā-barhiṣe*, *stīrṇā-barhiṣe*, *rādhā-havīṣe* 'liberal offerer', *su-havīṣe* 'offering fair oblations'. — 2. **n.** *āyuse* (VS. AV.), *cākṣuse*, *janūṣe*, *tāpuse* (AV.), *yājuse* (VS. I. 30), *vāpuse*. — **m.** *cākṣuse*, *mānuṣe*, *vanūṣe*.

Ab. 1. n. *jyōtiṣas* (AV.), *barhiṣas*, *havīṣas*. — 2. **n.** *āyusas* (TS. iv. 1. 4³), *cākṣusas* (TS. v. 7. 7¹), *janūṣas*, *pāruṣas* (TS. iv. 2. 9²), *vāpuṣas*. — **m.** *nāhuṣas*, *mānuṣas*, *vāpuṣas*.

G. 1. n. *kravīṣas*, *chardīṣas*, *jyōtiṣas*, *barhiṣas*, *soctīṣas*, *sarplīṣas*, *havīṣas*. — **m.** *pāvakā-sociṣas*, *vṛddhā-sociṣas* 'blazing mightily', *vāsu-rocīṣas* 'shining brightly', *vṛktā-barhiṣas*⁴. — 2. **n.** *āyusas*, *cākṣusas*, *tāpuṣas*, *tāruṣas* 'superiority', *pāruṣas*, *vāpuṣas*. — **m.** *cākṣusas*, *nāhuṣas*, *mānuṣas*, *vanūṣas*⁵; *iṣṭi-yajūṣas* (VS. viii. 12) 'having offered the sacrificial verses'.

L. 1. n. *arcīṣi*, *āmiṣi*⁶ 'raw flesh', *jyōtiṣi*, *barhiṣi*, *sādhīṣi* (VS. xiii. 53) 'resting-place', *havīṣi*; *tri-barhiṣi* 'with threefold litter'. — 2. **n.** *āyusi*⁷, *tāruṣi*, *pāruṣi*, *vāpuṣi*.

V. 1. n. *barhiṣ*⁸; *deva-havīṣ* 'oblation to the gods' (VS. vi. 8). — 2. **m.** *dhāyus*⁹ 'first of living beings'.

Du. N. A. 2. n. *cākṣuṣi* (AV., Kh. iv. 11¹¹), *janūṣi*. — **m.** *cākṣuṣā*, *jayīṣā* 'victorious'. — **D. 2. n.** *cākṣurbhāyam* (VS. vii. 27).

¹ Also the transition form *vīvāyū* 'all-quickenings'.

² Also the transition forms *vanū-m*, *vṛddhāyū-m*, *vīvāyū-m*.

³ Transition forms: *vīvāyave*; *mānuṣāya*, *vāpuṣāya*; *ā-prāyuse* 'not careless'.

⁴ Also perhaps a transition form *soct-ṣ*; cp. LANMAN 508.

⁵ Also the transition forms *tāpus*, *vīvāyos*; *nāhuṣāya*; *mānuṣāya*; *dhakṣiṣas* (341b, p. 222).

⁶ Accounted a m. by BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN.

⁷ Also the transition form *āyuni*; and m. *nāhus*.

⁸ Also the transition forms *pāvaka-loc*, *bhadra-loc*, *śukra-loc*.

⁹ Also the transition forms *adabdhāyo* (VS.), *dirghāyo*, *sahasra-akṣo* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. 1. *ágrbhúta-lociṣas, ajirá-lociṣas, váta-dhrájiṣas* (Kh. 1. 3⁵) 'having the impulse of wind', *vykṭi-barhiṣas*, V. *vykṭa-barhiṣas, sádma-barhiṣas* 'preparing the litter', V. *su-barhiṣas, su-jiṣas* and *su-jiṣas, sud-rociṣas*¹. — 2. *náhuṣas, mánuṣas*, V. *manuṣas, vaniṣas, vāpuṣas*.

N. A. n. 1. *arciṣi, jyṣiṣi, barhiṣi* (VS. xxviii. 21), *lociṣi, haviṣi*. — 2. *iyūṣi, caksuṣi, janūṣi, tūpūṣi, páruṣi* (TS. VS. AV.), *yūṣi* (VS. AV.), *vāpūṣi*.

A. m. 1. *su-jiṣas*. — 2. *náhuṣas, mánuṣas, vaniṣas*².

I. 1. n. *haviṣis*³. — 2. n. *dhánurbhis* (AV.), *yájurbhis* (VS. IV. 1), *vāpurbhis*. — D. 1. m. *ardhrá-barhishyas* (VS. xxxviii. 15) 'being above the litter'. — 2. n. *yájurbhis* (VS. xxxviii. 11).

G. 1. n. *jiṣám, haviṣám* (AV.). — 2. n. *caksuṣám* (AV.), *janūṣám, yájūṣám* (AV.), *vāpuṣám*. — m. *vaniṣám, viśvá-manuṣám* 'belonging to all men'.

L. 1. n. *haviṣu*.

β. Stems in -as.

343. Primarily this declension consists almost entirely of neuters, which are accented on the root, as *mín-as* 'mind'; but these as final members of adjective compounds may be inflected in all three genders, as N. m. f. *su-mínas*, n. *su-mínas* 'well-disposed'. There are besides a few primary masculines, which are accented on the suffix, being either substantives, as *raks-ds* 'demon', or adjectives, some of which occur in the f. also (as well as n.), as *ap-ds* 'active'; and one feminine, *us-ds* 'dawn'.

a. Strong cases are regularly distinguished only in the N. A. pl. n., where the vowel of the suffix is lengthened and nasalized⁵ (as in the *is* and *us* stems), as *ámhūṣi* 'troubles'. Otherwise the stem *us-ds* shows in the A. sing., N. A. du., N. V. pl. strong forms with lengthened vowel in the suffix, which occur beside the unlengthened forms⁶, the latter being nearly three times as frequent in the RV. The long vowel is here required by the metre in 20 out of 28 occurrences, and is favoured by the metre in the rest⁷; so that the lengthening may be due to metrical exigencies. The strong form *us-ds* occurs once (X. 39⁸) for the weak *us-ds* as the G. sing. or A. pl. There is further the single strong form N. du. m. *toṣi*⁹ 'bestowing abundantly'.

b. Supplementary stems ending in -ar beside -an are *śhvas* 'skillful' (as well as *śhva-*) beside *śhvan-*, and *śikva-* 'strong' (as well as *śikva-*) beside *śikvan-*.

c. There is here a large number of transition forms both to and from the *ā*-declension. Many pairs of stems in -a and -ar are common in both forms and seem therefore to be of independent derivation. But there are also a good many such doublets of which the one is the normal stem, while the other has come into being through mistaken analogy or metrical exigency. 1. In the transitions to the *ā*-declension several may be explained as starting from the misleading analogy of contracted forms. To this group belong the following: from *dhgiras*, a name of Agni, I. sing. *dhgīve* beside N. pl. *dhgirās*; from *án-āgar* 'sinless', A. pl. *án-āgān* beside A. sing. *án-āgām* and N. pl. *án-āgarī*; from *ap-sarás* 'water-nymph', *apsarābhyas* (AV.), *apsarāsu* (AV.), *apsarā-patī* (AV.) beside *apsarāsu* (AV.); from *us-ds* 'dawn', N. du. *usī* (VS.), *usābhyām* (VS.), beside A. sing. *usām* and pl. *usās*; from *jarás* m. 'old age', f. sing. N. *jarī* (AV. VS.), D. *jarāyai* (AV.), beside

¹ Also the transition forms *arcāyas, śocāyas*.

² Also the transition form *vanūn*.

³ Also the transition form *arci-bhis*.

⁴ The derivation of a few stems ending in -as is obscure; as *up-ds* 'lap' (only I. sing.) and *ritádas* 'destroying enemies'.

⁵ On the origin of this form as a combination of *-ān-* and *-ās-* see JOHANSSON, BB. 18, 3 and cp. GGA. 1890, p. 762.

⁶ The lengthened vowel never occurs in the Pada text in these forms (excepting of course the N. *usī*).

⁷ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, p. 130, 11 (a); cp. LANMAN 546.

⁸ The Pada text has *usdāh*.

⁹ Here the long vowel appears in the Pada text also. This is the only form made from the stem *toṣ-* (from *tu-* 'drip').

¹⁰ The form *sa-pārāśas* 'enjoying in common(?)', occurring once, must be the pl. of *sa-pārā-* (BR., GRASSMANN), not of **sa-pārā-* (LANMAN 546, GELDNER, VS. 3, 197), because *-as* is never accented in Bahuvrīhi compounds; see WACKERNAGEL 2, p. 301 d, note. *su-medhās* 'very wise' is not a Bahuvrīhi.

Inflexion.

344. The N. sing. m. f. lengthens the vowel of the suffix; e. g. m. *dūgīrās*¹, f. *usās*. In about a dozen compounds the long vowel appears (owing to the influence of the m.) in the n. also; e. g. *ūrṇa-mradās* 'soft as wool'. Before endings with initial *bh* the suffix *-as* becomes *-o*². The forms actually occurring, if made from *āpas-* n. 'work' and *apās-* m. f. 'active', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *āpas*; *apās*. A. *āpas*; *apāsam*. I. *āpasā*; *apāsā*. D. *āpase*; *apāse*. Ab. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. G. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. L. *āpasi*; *apāsi*. V. *āpas*; *apās*. — Du. N. A. V. *āpasī*; *apāsī* and *apāsau*³. D. *apābhyām* (VS.). G. *āpasos* (VS.). — Pl. N. *āpāsi*; *apāsas*. A. *āpāsi*; *apāsas*. I. *āpobhīs*; *apobhīs*. D. *āpobhyas*; *apobhyas*. Ab. *āpobhyas*. G. *āpasām*; *apāsām*. L. *āpassu*; *apāssu*⁴.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

Sing. N. m. *dūgīrās*⁵ an epithet of Agni, *dāmtātās* 'domestic', *nudhās* name of a seer, *yasās* 'glorious', *raḥsās* 'demon', *vedhās* 'ordainer'; compounds: *a-cetās* 'senseless', *dty-amhās* (VS. xvii. 80) 'beyond distress', *ādri-barhās* 'fast as a rock', *i-dvayās* 'free from duplicity', *dn-āgās*⁶ 'sinless', *an-nāhās* 'udderless', *ānīna-varcās* 'having full splendour', *an-enās* 'guiltless', *i-pracetās* 'foolish', *abhībhūty-ājās* 'having superior power', *āmītaujās* 'almighty', *a-rapās* 'unhurt', *āvayāta-hehās* 'whose anger is appeased', *āsamāty-ajās* 'of unequalled strength', *a-hanās* 'exuberant', *uru-cakṣās* 'far-seeing', *uru-nyedās* 'widely extending', *īsi-manās* 'of far-seeing mind', *īśvīnūjās* 'having sublime (*īśvā-*) power', *kārṇ-dhāyās* 'favouring the singer', *kṣīti-nāsās* (VS. iii. 61) 'wearing a skin', *kṣāta-vedās* 'knowing the intention', *khādo-arnhās* 'having a devouring flood', *gabhrī-ropās* 'deeply moved', *gārtā-manās* 'having a grateful mind', *gārtī-śravās* 'the praise of whom is welcome', *gū-nyeghās* 'streaming among milk', *ghṛtī-prayās* 'relishing ghee', *jātī-vedās* 'knowing created beings', *tād-āpās* 'accustomed to that work', *tād-akās* 'rejoicing in that', *tād-ajās* 'endowed with such strength', *tarīd-dveṣās* 'overcoming foes', *tiḡmī-tejās* (VS. i. 24) 'keen-edged', *trī-vayās* 'having threefold food', *duhhrī-ctās* 'little-minded', *dusmī-varcās* 'of wonderful appearance', *dirghā-tamās* N. of a seer, *dirghīpās* 'having a long fore-part', *dur-īśās* 'hard to excite', *devī-psarās* 'serving the gods as a feast', *devī-śravās* 'having divine renown', *dvi-bārhās* 'doubly strong', *nī-vedās* 'cognisant', *ny-edkṣās* 'watching men', *ny-mānās* 'mindful of men', *ny-īkās* 'domestic', *pāvakī-varcās* 'brightly resplendent', *purū-rāvās* (VS. v. 2) N., *pythū-jrīyās* 'widely extended', *pythū-pājās* 'far-shining', *prū-ctās* 'attentive', *prū-vayās* 'vigorous', *bāhū-ājās* 'strong in the arm', *bṛhīc-śravās* 'loud-sounding', *bṛhād-rāvās* (VS. v. 22) 'loud-sounding', *bṛhād-vayās* (TS. i. 5. 10²) 'grown strong', *bodhīn-manās* 'watchful-minded', *bhūri-retās* (VS. xx. 44) 'abounding in seed', *bhūry-ajās* 'having great power', *mādhu-vacās* 'sweet-voiced', *māno-javās* 'swift as thought', *mahā-yasās* (Kh. iv. 8⁸) 'very glorious', *mitrā-mahās* 'rich in friends', *raghu-pātma-jamhās* 'having a light-falling foot',

¹ The stems *svā-tavas-* and *sv-ātas-* form the irregular N. *svā-tavān* and *sv-ātān*, VS. *usānī*; but this form may be a transition, starting from the A. *ulānim* (= *ulānasam*).

² Except in f. *usādhhīs* and m. *svā-tavadbhīyas* (VS.); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 713 (bottom).

³ The ending *-au* is here very rare and occurs chiefly in the later Samhitās.

⁴ Represented in f. by *apsarāssu* (Kh.) and WHITNEY'S note. LANMAN 443, places it under radical *-ā* stems.

⁵ The *s* of the N. sing. is perhaps lost in the irregular N. *svā-tavān* and *sv-ātān*, VS. *usānī*; but this form may be a transition, starting from the A. *ulānim* (= *ulānasam*) after the analogy of the f.; another instance is perhaps *an-ehī* (x. 61¹²).

⁶ The form *dn-āvayās* (AV. vii. 90¹), meaning perhaps 'not producing conception', may belong to this declension. See WHITNEY'S note. LANMAN 443, places it under radical *-ā* stems.

vīthaujās (VS. xv. 15) 'having the strength of a chariot', *viśvāś* 'destroying enemies', *viśva-śravās* 'famous for wealth', *vāta-ramhās* 'fleet as wind', *vi-śetās* 'clearly seen', *vi-manās* 'very wise', *viśva-śakṣās* 'all-seeing', *viśva-dhāyās* 'all-sustaining', *viśva-bharās*¹ (VS. xi. 32) 'all-supporting', *viśva-bhōjās* 'all-nourishing', *viśva-manās* 'perceiving everything', *viśva-vedās* 'omniscient', *viśva-vyacās* (VS. xiii. 56) 'embracing all things', *viśvuljās* 'all-powerful', *vi-hāyās* 'mighty', *vīlu-dhās* 'hating strongly', *vīlī-harās* 'holding fast', *vīddhā-mahās* 'of great might', *vīddhā-vayās* 'of great power', *vīddhī-śravās* 'possessed of great swiftness', *śakti-tejās* (VS. i. 24) 'having a hundredfold vital power', *śakti-payās* (TS. VS.) 'having a hundred draughts', *śukrī-varcās* 'having bright lustre', *śraddhā-manās* 'true-hearted', *śrī-manās* (VS.) 'well-disposed', *śi-śanās* 'being in harmony with', *śi-śetās* 'unanimous', *śa-śjās* 'united', *śatyā-rādhas* 'truly beneficent', *śatyāujās* (AV. VS. TS.) 'truly mighty', *śa-prāthās* 'extensive', *śim-ōkās* 'dwelling together', *śahāsra-śakṣās* 'thousand-eyed', *śahāsra-śetās* 'having a thousand aspects', *śahāsra-pāthās* 'appearing in a thousand places', *śahāsra-śetās* 'having a thousandfold seed', *śahāsra-śokās*² 'emitting a thousand flames', *śahāsra-śapās* 'thousand-shaped', *śu-dāśās* 'performing splendid actions', *śu-māśās* 'well-disposed', *śu-medhās*² 'having a good understanding', *śu-rādhas* 'bountiful', *śu-śkṣās* 'having fair possessions', *śu-śētās* 'having much seed', *śu-śarvās* 'splendid', *śu-śvās* 'having beautiful garments', *śi-ma-śakṣās* (TS. ii. 2. 12⁴) 'looking like Soma', *śi-ma-śvās* 'receiving praise', *śpārśhā-rādhas* 'bestowing enviable wealth', *śv-śnās*¹ 'going well', *śv-śpās* 'skillful', *śvābhūty-ōjās* 'having energy from inherent power', *śvā-śvās* 'glorious through one's own acts', *śvā-śakṣās* 'brilliant as light', *śvā-śanās* 'lovely as light', *śv-śjās* 'very strong'.

f. *usās* 'dawn'; *ūti-śchandās* (TS., VS. xxi. 22) a metre, *ū-dvayās*, *ap-śarīs* 'water-nymph', *a-śepās* 'spotless', *a-śanās*, *uru-śvāśās*, *ūru-śradās* 'soft as wool', *ūti-śarhās*, *ūti-śvayās* 'whose strength is low', *ū-śmāśās*, *prā-śetās*, *mādhu-śvacās*, *yātray-ū-dvayās* 'driving away enemies', *vi-śchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11¹) 'containing various metres', *vi-hāyās*, *vīśva-manās* 'manly-spirited', *śukrī-śvās* 'bright-robed', *śi-śetās*, *śi-śchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11¹) 'consisting of the same metres', *śa-śjās*, *śa-prāthās*, *śi-bharās*¹ 'furnished with gifts' (?), *śah-śvās* (TS. iv. 4. 12²) 'glorious', *śu-dāśās*, *śu-śētās* 'well-adorned', *śu-māśās*, *śu-medhās*², *śu-śvās*.

N. A. n. *āśhas* 'distress', *āśhas* 'ointment', *a-śvās* 'without malevolence', *āśhas* 'cart', *an-śhās* 'without a rival', *āśhas* 'darkness' and 'plant', *āśhas* 'work', *āśhas* 'active', *āśhas* 'property', *āśhas* 'hidden part of the body', *āśhas* 'water', *āśhas* 'metal', *a-śakṣās* 'harmless', *a-śapās*, *āśhas* 'flood', *āśhas* 'favour', *āśhas* 'sin', *āśhas* 'religious ceremony', *āśhas* 'breast', *āśhas* 'udder', *āśhas* 'sin', *āśhas* 'abode', *āśhas* 'strength', *āśhas* 'rushing water', *āśhas* 'delight', *āśhas* (VS. xxxiv. 3) 'intellect', *āśhas* 'metrical hymn', *āśhas* 'course', *āśhas* 'quickness', *āśhas* 'expanse', *āśhas* 'heat', *āśhas* 'darkness', *āśhas* 'tūras 'velocity', *āśhas* 'sharp edge', *āśhas* 'abandonment', *āśhas* 'marvellous power', *āśhas* 'worship', *āśhas* 'property', *āśhas* 'hostility', *āśhas* 'vapour', *āśhas* 'obedience', *āśhas* 'side', *āśhas* 'milk', *āśhas* (VS. xx. 9) 'penis', *āśhas* 'vigour', *āśhas* 'place', *āśhas* 'fat', *āśhas* 'greatly nourishing', *āśhas* 'ornament', *āśhas* 'width', *āśhas* 'enjoyment', *āśhas* 'feast', *āśhas* 'radiance', *āśhas* 'light', *āśhas* 'mind', *āśhas* 'joy', *āśhas* 'greatness', *āśhas* 'great', *āśhas* 'disclaim', *āśhas* 'fat', *āśhas* 'fame', *āśhas* 'damage', *āśhas* 'region of clouds', *āśhas* 'infirmity', *āśhas* 'violence', *āśhas* 'bounty', *āśhas* 'wealth', *āśhas* 'flow', *āśhas* 'stain', *āśhas* 'bank', *āśhas* 'breast', *āśhas* 'speech', *āśhas* 'bird' and

¹ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3, 4). -as stem occurs only in *śu-medhāsam* (once)

² Perhaps a transfer form from *medhā-*, and *śu-medhāsas* (four times in a refrain) since the latter stem is common, while the

'food', *vāriṣas* 'space', *vārcas* 'vigour', *vārpas* 'figure', *vāg-śjas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'speech-energy', *vāsas* 'garment', *vāhas* 'offering', *vāhas* 'wealth', *vāpas* 'quivering', *vyāhas* 'expanse', *vṛāyas* 'superior power', *sārdhas* 'troop', *sāvas* 'power', *śiras* 'head', *śhas* 'offspring', *śrāvas* 'renown', *sa-śjasas*, *sādas* 'seat', *sānas*¹ (Kh. III. 15⁵) 'gain', *sa-prāthas*, *sa-bādhās* 'harassed', *sāras* 'lake', *sāhas* 'force', *sahājas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'endowed with strength', *su-rāhas*, *srāhas* 'stream', *svā-tavas* 'inherently strong', *hāras* 'flame', *hāhas* 'passion', *hāras* 'crookedness'. — Ending in *-ās*² (like m.): *asri-vāyās*³ (VS. XIV. 18), *uru-prāthās* (VS. XX. 39) 'far-spread', *śrā-mradās*, *gūrā-vacās* 'speaking agreeably', *devā-vyacās* 'affording space for the gods', *dvi-bārhās*, *viśvā-vyacās* (AV.), *vī-spardhās* (VS. XV. 5) 'emulating', *vīrā-peśās* 'forming the ornament of heroes', *vīhā-harās*, *sa-prāthās* (AV. VS. TS.), *sumānās* (TS. IV. 5. 1²).

A. m. *jarāsam* 'old age', *tavāsam* 'strong', 'strength', *tyajāsam* 'offshoot', *dāmānasam*, *pārīnasam* (160) 'abundance', *bhīyāsam* 'fear', *yaśāsam*, *rakṣāsam*, *vedhāsam*; *a-cēdasam*, *ānasā-vedāsam* 'having one's property unimpaired', *ān-āgasam*, *ānu-gāyasam* 'followed by shouts', *an-enāsam* (TS. I. 8. 5³), *an-chāsam*, *apāsam*, *ā-prāthā-dhṛṣṭa-sāvasam* 'of irresistible power', *abhībhāty-śjasam*, *arī-maṇāsam* 'obedient', *a-rādhasam* 'not liberal', *a-repāsam*, *arcandāsam* 'having a rattling carriage' (N. of a man), *ā-hanāsam*, *loccāś-śravāsam* (Kh. V. 14⁵) 'neighing aloud' (N. of Indra's horse), *upāś-cakṣāsam* 'seen close at hand', *uru-cakṣāsam*, *uru-jrāyasam* 'extending over a wide space', *uru-vyāsam*, *śrā-mradāsam* (VS. II. 2), *ardhvat-nabhasam* (VS. VI. 16) 'being above the clouds', *kṣetra-sādhāsam* 'who divides the fields', *gāthā-śravāsam* 'famous through songs', *gāyatrī-cchādasam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Gāyatrī metre belongs', *gāyatrī-vepāsam* 'inspired by songs', *gīr-vānasam* 'delighting in invocations', *gīr-vāhasam* 'praised in song', *gūrā-śravāsam*, *gī-ārjāsam* 'abounding in cattle', *gī-dhāyasam* 'supporting cows', *cikīrṣi-manāsam* 'attentive', *citrā-mahāsam* 'possessing excellent bounty', *citrā-rādhasam* 'granting excellent gifts', *śigac-chādasam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Jagatī metre belongs', *jāthā-vedāsam*, *tuvi-rādhasam* 'granting many gifts', *tuvi-svāśam*⁴ 'loud-sounding', *tuvi-śjasam* 'very powerful', *triśhāp-chādasam* (VS. VIII. 47), *dānūkasam* 'delighting (śkas-) in a sacrificial meal', *dyukṣi-vacāsam* 'uttering heavenly words', *dvi-bārhāsam*, *dvi-sāvasam* 'having twofold strength', *dhṛṣṭi-śjasam* 'endowed with resistless might', *nāryāpāsam* 'doing manly (nārya-) deeds', *m-cakṣāsam*, *pañkti-rādhasam* 'containing fivefold gifts', *puru-peśāsam* 'multiform', *puru-bhājasam*, *puru-vārpāsam* 'having many forms', *puru-vāpāsam* 'much-exciting', *prā-cetasam*, *prā-tvakṣāsam* 'energetic', *brāhma-vāhasam* 'to whom prayers are offered', *bhūri-cakṣāsam* 'much-seeing', *bhūri-dhāyasam* 'nourishing many', *māno-javāsam* (TS. I. 4. 7¹), *yajñā-vānasam* 'loving sacrifice', *yajñā-vāhasam* 'offering worship', *riśādasam*⁵, *vāja-śravāsam* 'famous for wealth', *vī-cetasam*, *vī-jośāsam* 'forsaken', *vī-dveśāsam* 'resisting enmity', *viśvā-dhāyasam*, *viśvā-bharāsam*⁶, *viśvā-vedāsam*, *viśvā-nyacāsam*, *viśvāvyu-pośāsam*⁷ 'causing prosperity to all men', *viśvāvyu-vepāsam* 'exciting all men', *vī-hāyasam*, *vīhā-rādhasam* 'granting enjoyment', *sā-cetasam*, *sa-śjasam*, *satyā-gīr-vāhasam* 'getting true praise', *satyā-rādhasam* (VS. XXII. 11), *satyā-sāvasam* 'truly vigorous',

¹ Though *sānas* does not otherwise occur. + Cp. LANMAN 560; see also the neuters (*sana-* m. is found as last member of a compound), the context in Khila III. 15⁵ seems to require an A.: *ahān gāndhārvā-rāpēva sāna ā vastayāmi te*.
² Cp. LANMAN 560.
³ Of doubtful meaning; the form may possibly be N. pl. of *asri-*. Cp. BR.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 560; see also the neuters (*sana-* m. is found as last member of a compound), the context in Khila III. 15⁵ seems to require an A.: *ahān gāndhārvā-rāpēva sāna ā vastayāmi te*.
⁵ For this form, TS. III. 3. 11² has erroneously *tuvi-mānasam*.
⁶ Also the transition form *vajyā-dhāsam* (VS.) 'bestowing strength'.
⁷ Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

and wide', *dymnā-śravase* 'producing a clear sound', *nr-cakṣase*, *ny-akase*, *purn-rāvase*, *prthu-frāyase*, *prthu-pājase*, *prś-cetase*, *prś-tavase* 'very strong', *brāhma-vāhase*, *mṛktā-vāhase* 'carrying off what is injured', N. of a seer, *yajñā-vāhase*¹, *viśvā-cakṣase*, *vi-hāyase*, *satyā-rādhasse*, *śahśra-cakṣase*, *śvā-tavase*, *śvā-yāśase*.

f. *uśāse*, *vydhāse* 'furtherance'; *āti-echandase* (VS. XXIV. 13), *dur-vāśase* 'ill-clothed', *parjānya-retase* 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya'.

n. *apāse*, *a-peśāse* 'formless', *āvase*, *īyase*, *cakṣase*, *javāse*, *tāpase*, *tāmase*, *tīrase*, *tījase* (VS. XV. 8), *dākṣase* 'ability', *dhūyase*, *dhruvāse* 'stopping', *nābhase* (VS. VII. 30), *nāmase*, *pājase*, *prāyase*, *psārase*, *mānase*, *māhase* (VS. XIX. 8), *yāśase* (VS. XX. 3), *yūdase* (VS. XXX. 20) 'voluptuousness', *rākṣase*, *rādhasse*, *rltase*, *vīcase*, *vīrcase*, *śīrase* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'skin of boiled milk', *śivase*, *śrīvase*, *sāhase*, *śvā-yāśase*, *hārase*.

Ab. m. *a-rādhasas*, *javāsas*, *tavāsas*, *pārīnasas*, *rakṣāsas*², *sāhasas*. — f. *uśāsas*. — n. *āpahasas*³, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *ārnhasas*, *āgasas* (TS. IV. 7. 15⁴), *ānasas*, *ākasas*, *ājasas*, *kśāsas*, *prāyasas*, *tāpasas*, *tāmasas*, *drāvīnasas*, *pāyasas*, *pājasas*, *prāthasas*, *bhāṃsasas* 'intestine', *mānasas*⁵, *rājasas*, *rādhasas*, *rēdasas*, *sādasas*, *sārasas*, *sāhasas*.

G. m. *āṅgirasas*, *apāsas*, *āpnasas*, *tavāsas*, *pārīnasas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*; *in-āgasas*, *āpaka-cakṣāsas* 'shining from afar', *abhi-vayasas* 'refreshing', *a-rakṣāsas*, *upamā-śravasas* 'most highly famed', *kṣṇā-japahasas* 'having a black track', *jātā-vedasas*, *dāmīpnasas* 'having abundance of gifts', *dirghā-śravasas*, *dvi-bārhasas*, *nr-cakṣāsas*, *pārī-āvāsas* 'enemy', *puru-bhājasas*, *prthu-śrāvāsas* 'far-famed', *prś-cetasas*, *prś-mahasas* 'very glorious', *prayāsas* (TS. IV. 1. 8⁷), *bhā-ivakṣāsas* 'having the power of light', *vi-cetasas*, *vidmanāpasas* 'working with wisdom', *viśvā-manasas*, *vīka-dvarasas*⁸, *satyā-rādhasas* (TS. III. 3. 11⁹), *satyā-savasas* (VS. IV. 18) 'having true impulsion', *sa-bādhasas*, *su-prayāsas* (VS. XXVII. 15), *śvā-yāsasas*. — f. *uśāsas*⁶.

n. *āpahasas*, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *āyasas*, *ārnhasas*, *āśāsas* (VS. XII. 97) 'piles', *āvasas*, *ānasas* (VS. VIII. 13), *ākasas*, *ājasas*, *g-ārnhasas*, *tāpasas* (VS. IV. 26; Kh. IV. 11¹⁰), *tāmasas*, *tyājasas*, *dākṣāsas*⁷, *drāvīnasas*, *nābhāsas*, *nāmāsas*, *pāyasas*, *pājasas* (Kh. I. 7⁸), *prāyasas*, *mānasas*, *mēdasas*, *rājasas*, *rāpasas*, *rādhasas*, *rīhasas*, *vīrcasas*, *vīpsasas* 'milk form', *vāyasas*, *vārpasas*, *vāsasas*, *śīcasas*⁹, *śrāvāsas*, *sādasas*, *sārapasas*⁸, *sāhasas*, *hārasas*⁹. — Contracted form: *nr-mānās* (X. 92¹⁰).

L. m. *āṅgirasī*¹⁰ (VS. IV. 10), *g-ārnasī*, *jātā-vedasī*, *dāmīnasī*, *prthu-śrāvāsī*, *yajñā-vāhāsī* (VS. IX. 37), *satyā-śravāsī* 'truly famous', N. of a man. — f. *uśāsī*. — n. *āpāsī*, *āpnāsī*, *āpāsī*, *āvāsī*, *āgāsī*, *āknāsī*, *krāndāsī* 'battle-cry', *cakṣāsī*, *tāmāsī*, *udmāsī*, *pāyāsī*, *pāthāsī* (VS. XIII. 53), *mānāsī*, *rājāsī*, *rādhasī*, *rltāsī*, *śrāvāsī*, *sādāsī*, *sārasī*, *hāhāsī* (TS. III. 3. 11⁴).

V. m. *āṅgiras*, *nodhas*, *vedhas*; *uktha-vāhas*, *upama-śravas*, *kāru-dhāyas*,

¹ Also the transition form *vayo-dhāse* (VS. XXVIII. 46).

² Also the transition form *retā-dhāsas* (VS. VIII. 10).

³ In VI. 31 *āpahas* is probably the stem used instead of the very frequent Ab. *āpahasas*, rather than the Ab. of *āpahas*, as this would be the only form from such a stem, and the accent would be irregular.

⁴ Also the adv., in the sense of the Ab., *mēdas-tās* (VS. XXI. 60).

⁵ Of uncertain meaning.

⁶ Once the strong form *uśāsas* (X. 39¹) for the weak.

⁷ This, as well as the D. n. *dākṣas*, is a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁸ The stem *sāvas* in VIII. 36 may be used for the G. Perhaps also *sādas-pāth-* stands for *sādasas-pāth-*. Cp. LANMAN 563¹.

⁹ Transition forms are *kārdhaya*, *nir-avāyā*; *candrā-masas*, *retā-dhāsas* (VS.); *dākṣasas*, *doḍhasas* (AV.).

¹⁰ Also the transfer forms *āṅgire*, *hāre*; *candrā-masī* (AV.).

gir-vāhas, *gir-vāhas*¹, *jāta-vedas*, *deva-śravas*, *dhr̥ṣan-manas* 'bold-minded', *ṛc-cakṣas*, *nr-manas*, *puru-ravas*, *pra-cetas*², *brahna-vāhas*, *mitra-mahas*, *vāja-pramahas* 'superior in strength', *viśva-cakṣas*, *viśva-dhāyas*, *viśva-manas*, *vṛṣa-manas*, *satya-rādhas*, *su-draviṇas* 'having fine property', *su-mahas* 'very great', *sva-tarvas*, *sv-ojas*³. — *f. usas*; *ā-hanas*, *tigma-tejas* (AV. VS.). — *n. draviṇas*, *śārdhas*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *apāsā*, *tavāsā*, *tasāsā*⁴ 'showering', *yaśāsā*, *vedhasā*; *a-repāsā*, *āsu-hṛṣāsā* 'having neighing horses', *īya-cakṣāsā* 'of far-reaching sight', *uktha-vāhasā*, *uru-cakṣāsā*, *kṛṣṭy-ojasā* 'overpowering men', *gambhīra-cetasā* 'of profound mind', *gō-pariṇāsā*, *jāta-vedasā*, *tād-okasā*, *na-vedasā*, *nr-cakṣāsā*, *nr-vāhasā* 'conveying men', *puru-dhṛṣāsā* 'abounding in wonderful deeds', *puru-bhōjasā*, *pātā-dakṣāsā*⁵ 'pure-minded', *pṛthu-pakṣāsā* 'broad-flanked', *prī-cetasā*, *prī-mahasā*, *bodhin-manasā*, *mata-vacasā* 'heeding prayers', *mano-jarvasā*, *yajña-vāhasā*, *riśāsā*, *vatsa-pracetāsā* 'mindful of Vatsa', *vi-cetasā*, *vi-pakṣāsā* 'going on both sides', *vipra-vāhasā* 'receiving the offerings of the wise', *viśvā-bhōjasā*, *viśvā-vedasā*, *vy-ṇasā* 'guiltless', *śrīṣṭha-varcasā* 'having most excellent energy', *sa-jōsasā*, *V. sātyatjasā* (TS. iv. 7. 15⁶), *sā-manasā* 'unanimous', *samāni-varcasā* 'having equal vigour', *sīm-okasā*, *sā-rayasā* 'having equal vigour', *sā-vedasā* 'having equal wealth', *sindhu-vāhasā* 'passing through the sea'(?), *su-dhṛṣāsā*, *su-prayāsā*, *su-rādhasā*, *su-rētāsā*, *su-ricāsā* 'very eloquent', *sv-ārāsā*, *hitī-prayasā* 'who has offered an oblation of food', *hiranya-peśāsā* 'having golden lustre'⁶. — **With au:** *a-repāsau*, *V. jāta-vedasau* (TS. i. 3. 7⁷), *nr-cakṣasau*, *prī-cetasau* (VS. xxviii. 7), *viśvā-śārdhasau* 'forming a complete troop', *sā-cetasau* (VS. v. 3; Kh. iii. 15⁸), *sa-jōsasau* (VS. xii. 74), *sā-manasau* (TS. i. 3. 7⁹), *sīm-okasau* (TS. i. 3. 7¹⁰). — **f. usāsā** and *usāsā*¹¹, *nīkṣāsā* 'night and morning', *an-ehāsā*, *uru-ryicāsā*, *nr-cakṣāsā* (AV.), *bhūri-retāsā*, *bhūri-varpasā* 'multiform', *viśvā-peśāsā*, *sā-cetasā*, *sā-manasā*, *su-dhṛṣāsā*⁹, *su-pēśāsā*. — **With -au:** *ap-sardāsau* (AV.), *a-repāsau*, *usāsau* (VS. xxi. 50), *yaśāsau*; *nr-cakṣasau*, *viśvā-śārdhasau*, *vy-ṇasau* (AV.)¹⁰. — **n. ānhasi**, *krāndasi*, *jñasi*, *drādhasi* (TS. iii. 2. 2¹¹) 'garments', *nībhasi* (AV.), *nūdhasi* 'refuges', *pākṣasi* (AV.), *pājasī*, *rījasī*, *vīcasī*, *vīśasi* (TS. i. 5. 10¹²).

D. m. *sa-jōshbhān* (VS. vii. 8).

G. n. *dikṣā-tapāsas*¹³ (VS. iv. 2) 'consecration and penance'.

Pl. N. V. m. *āngirasas*, *apāsas*, *tavāsas*, *dīmānasas*, *duvītas* 'restless', *mrgayītas* 'wild animals', *yaśāsas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*, *śikvasas*; *ā-giraukasas* 'not to be kept back by hymns' (*girā*), *a-cētāsas*, *a-cōdāsas* 'unurged', *ādbhutainasas* 'in whom no fault (*ēnas*) is visible', *an-avabhri-rādhasas* 'giving undiminished wealth', *ān-āgasas*, *an-ehāsas*, *a-repāsas*, *ā-ricāsas* 'unwise', *a-śēgasas* 'without descendants', *āśna-rādhasas* 'equipping horses', *ā-sāmi-śavāsas* 'having complete strength', *ā-hanasas*, *ukthī-vāhasas*, *śārdhasas*, *uru-ryicāsas* (VS. xxvii. 16), *kṣetra-śārdhasas*, *gambhīrī-vēpasas*,

¹ In vi. 24⁶ GRASSMANN would read *gir-vāhas*, as N.; cp. LANMAN 564².

² TS. i. 5. 11³ has *pracetā rājan*; the original passage, RV. i. 24¹⁴, has *pracetā rājan* (Pada, *pracetā*); see LANMAN 564³.

³ Transition forms are *sā-pratha* (TB.), *candri-mar* (AV.), *vayo-dhas*, *draviṇo-das*.

⁴ With lengthened vowel.

⁵ Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁶ Also the transition forms *candrāmāsā*, *sūryā-candrāmāsā*.

⁷ Also the transition forms *sūryā-candrāmāsā*, *varco-dāsau* (VS. vii. 27), *sa-jōsan*.

⁸ In the Pada text *usāsā*.

⁹ In vii. 73¹ *puru-dhṛṣā* is perhaps a contracted form.

¹⁰ Also the transition forms *usī* (VS.), *a-dveṣī*, *vi-drahitī*.

¹¹ There are also in the f. the transition forms *usābhān* I. and *vādhas* G.

ghṛṣvi-rādhasas 'granting with joy', *ghorā-varpasas* 'of terrible appearance', *citrā-rādhāsas*, *tād-okāsas*, *tuvī-śvāndāsas*¹, *devī-bārhasas*, *dhṛṣṇv-śjasas*, *nā-vedāsas*, *nṛ-cākṣāsas*, *paṭhī-rākṣāsas* (VS. xvi. 60) 'protecting roads', *pātā-dakṣāsas*², *pṛthū-pājasas*, *prā-cetasas*, *prati-jūti-varpasas* 'assuming any form according to impulse', *prī-tavasas*, *prī-śvakṣāsas*, *prī-śravāsas* 'farfamed', *bahī-śjasas*, *bhālāndāsas* N. of a people, *mādhū-śsarāsas* 'fond of sweetness', *mīdhya-cchandāsas* (TS. iv. 3. 11³) 'sun' or 'middle of the year' (Comm.), *yajñā-vāhasas*, *yutī-dveśāsas* 'delivered from enemies', *riśādāsas*, *rukmi-vakṣāsas* 'wearing gold ornaments on the breast', *vāruṇa-śeśāsas* 'resembling sons of Varuṇa', *vāta-vaṅhasas*, *vāta-śvanāsas* 'roaring like the wind', *vī-cetasas*, *vidmanūpasas*, *vidyān-mahasas* 'rejoicing in lightning', *vīpra-vacasas* 'whose words are inspired', *vī-mahasas* 'very glorious', *vīśv-dhāyasas*, *vīśv-d-mahasas* 'having all splendour', *vīśv-vedāsas*, *vī-śardhasas* 'vying', *vī-hāyasas*, *vādhā-sarvasas* 'of great strength', *śrēṣṭha-varcasas*, *sā-cetasas*, *sa-jūśāsas*, *śalya-śavasas*, *śa-bharāsas*⁴, *śā-manāsas*, *sām-okāsas*, *sā-śayasas*, *sā-srotāsas* (VS. xxxiv. 11) 'flowing', *śahā-cchandāsas* 'accompanied by metre', *śahāśra-pājasas* 'having a thousandfold lustre', *śahūjūśāsas* (VS. x. 4), *śu-cākṣāsas* 'seeing well', *śu-cetasas*, *śu-dāśāsas*, *śu-śrīśāsas* 'very fat', *śu-śeśāsas*, *śu-śrīcetasas* 'very wise', *śu-śrajūśāsas*⁵ (TS. i. 6. 2¹; AV.) 'having a good son', *śu-mānasas*, *śu-mahasas*, *śu-medhasas*⁶, *śu-rādhasas*, *śīra-cākṣāsas* 'radiant as the sun', *śīrya-śvacasas* (VS. x. 4) 'having a covering bright as the sun', *śīrya-varcasas* (VS. x. 4) 'resplendent as the sun', *śīma-vāhasas* 'giving praise', *śvī-tavasas*, *śv-śeśāsas*, *śv-śpāsas* 'wealthy', *śvī-yāsasas*, *śv-śivasas*, *śvī-prayasas*. — Contracted forms: *ūngirās*, *ūn-āgās*⁷, *nāvedās*, *śajūśās*. — f. *apāsas*, *uśāsas* and *uśāsas*⁸, *yaśāsas*; *agnī-bhrāśāsas* 'fire-bright', *an-ehāsas*, *ap-sarāsas*, *uru-nyūśāsas* (TS. iv. 1. 8²), *īśu-civāśāsas* 'moving greedily', *dhānu-ārṇāsas* 'overflowing the dry land', *nṛ-śeśāsas* 'adorned by men', *prā-cetasas*, *prā-śvādāsas* 'pleasant', *mīdhya-ārṇāsas* 'having a sweet flood', *vī-cetasas*, *śu-śeśāsas*, *śīda-dohāsas* 'milking sweetness', *śv-śpāsas*, *śvī-yāsasas*. — Contracted forms: *medhās*; *ś-jūśās* 'insatiable', *nā-vedās*, *śu-rādhasas*.

N. A. n. *ūnāśāsas*, *ūnāśāsas* 'bends', *ūndhāśāsas*, *ūpāśāsas*, *ūruāśāsas*, *ūvāśāsas*, *ūgāśāsas*, *ūnāśāsas*, *ūkāśāsas*, *ūjāśāsas*, *ūkārāśāsas* 'deeds', *chīndāśāsas*, *jāvāśāsas*, *śrīyāśāsas*, *tīmāśāsas*, *śrīkṣāśāsas*, *dāśāsas*, *dāvāśāsas*, *dāvāśāsas*, *pāyāśāsas*, *pājāśāsas*, *pāthāśāsas* (VS. xxi. 46), *śeśāsas*, *śrīyāśāsas*, *śhāsāśāsas*, *mānāśāsas*, *māhāśāsas*, *rākṣāśāsas*, *rājāśāsas*, *rāpāśāsas*, *rādhasas*, *relāśāsas*, *rodhasas*, *rōhāśāsas* 'heights', *vākṣāśāsas*, *vācāśāsas*, *vāyāśāsas*, *vādrāśāsas* 'expanses', *vārivāśāsas*, *vārcāśāsas* (VS. ix. 22), *vārpāśāsas*, *vāsāśāsas*, *śārdhāśāsas*, *śāvāśāsas*, *śrīvāśāsas*, *śādāśāsas*, *śārāśāsas*, *śāhāśāsas*, *śkāndhāśāsas* 'branches', *hēśāsas*, *hūdāśāsas*.

A. m. *ūngirāsas*⁹, *dhvarāsas*, *yaśāsas*, *rākṣāsas*, *vedhasas*; *ūn-āśāsas*, *an-ehāsas*, *ā-pracetasas*, *a-rādhasas*, *uru-cākṣāsas*, *tuvī-rādhasas*, *pātā-dakṣāsas*¹⁰, *prā-cetasas*, *brhīc-śhravāsas*, *yajñī-vāśāsas*, *riśādāsas*, *vī-mahasas*, *vī-śardhasas*, *sa-jūśāsas* (VS. iii. 44), *śā-manāsas* (VS. vii. 25), *śu-śeśāsas*, *śu-rādhasas*, *śv-śpāsas*¹¹. — Contracted forms: *ūn-āgās*, *śu-medhās*¹². — f. *apāsas*, *uśāsas*¹³, *yaśāsas*; *a-javāsas* 'not swift', *an-āpāsas* 'destitute of wealth', *an-ehāsas*, *ap-sarāsas*, *ari-dhāśāsas* 'willingly yielding milk', *gharmā-svarāsas*¹⁴ 'sounding like (the contents of) a boiler', *tād-apāsas*, *bhīri-varpasas*, *vāja-draśāsas* 'richly

¹ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

² Probably a transition form (p. 225, 2).

³ Probably a transfer form; see p. 227, note 2.

⁴ Perhaps also *an-ehās* (x. 61²); see LANMAN 551¹.

⁵ In the Pada text *uśāsas*.

⁶ In i. 112¹⁸ LANMAN would take *ūngirās* as A. pl. m. without ending.

⁷ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁸ Also the transition forms *śārdhān*, *ūn-āgās*.

⁹ It is somewhat doubtful whether this is a contracted A. pl. (vii. 91³).

¹⁰ Once also *uśāsas*. In iii. 6⁷ and viii.

¹¹ LANMAN (566) would take *uśās* as A. pl. without ending.

rewarded', *vāja-śravasas*, *viśvā-dohasas*, *viśvā-dhāyasas*, *su-pāsasas*¹. — **Contracted form:** *uśās* (IX. 41⁵).

I. m. *āngirobhis*; *agni-rābhis* 'having the heat of fire', *svī-yāsbhis*. — **f.** *svī-yāsbhis*; with **-ad-** for **-o-**: *uśādbhis* (44 a, 3).

n. *ā-yārbhis* (VS. XII. 74) 'dark halves of the month', *āryobhis*, *āvobhis*, *ijobhis*, *chāndobhis* (Kh. v. 3⁴), *tāpobhis*, *tāmobhis*, *tārobhis*, *dāmsobhis*, *dvāsbhis*, *dhāyobhis*, *nābhobhis*, *nāmobhis*, *pāksobhis* (VS. XXIX. 5; TS. v. I. 11²), *pāyobhis*, *prāyobhis*, *māhobhis*, *rājobhis*, *rādhobhis*, *vācobhis*, *vāyobhis*, *vārobhis*, *śāvobhis*, *śrāvobhis*, *sāhobhis*.

D. m. *āngirobhyas*; with **-ad-** for **-o-**: *svī-tavadbhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16). — **n.** *mēdobhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10), *rāksobhyas*, *vāyobhyas* (AV.), *śārobhyas* (VS. XXX. 16). — **Ab. n.** *dvāsbhyas*.

G. m. *āngirasām*, *apāsām*, *tavāsām*, *yaśāsām*, *vedhāsām*; *ādbhutainasām*, *dasmā-varcasām*, *mahā-manasām* 'high-minded', *śīma-vāhasām*. — **f.** *apāsām*, *uśāsām*; *ap-sarāsām*, *nīkṣatra-śavasām* 'equalling the stars in number'. — **n.** *chāndasām*, *tīrasām* (AV.), *mīdasām* (VS. XXI. 40), *rāksasām* (VS. II. 23), *rādhasām*, *vīdasām*³.

L. f. *ap-sarāssu* (Kh. IV. 8³). — **n.** *āmhassu*⁴ (AV.), *ūdhassu*, *vājassu*, *vākhassu*, *vāyassu* (AV.), *śrāvassu*, *sīdassu*⁴.

γ. Stems in -yāms.

345. The primary suffix *-yāms* (137)⁵ is used to form comparative stems. It is added either directly or with connecting *-r-* to the root, which is always accented. There are seven duplicate stems formed in both ways: *tāv-yāms-* and *tāv-ryāms-* 'stronger'; *nāv-yāms-* and *nāv-ryāms-* 'new'; *pān-yāms-* and *pān-ryāms-* 'more wonderful'; *bhūyāms-* and *bhūvryāms-* 'more'; *rābhryāms-* and *rābhryāms-* (VS.) 'more violent'; *vāsyāms-* and *vāsvryāms-* 'better'; *sāh-yāms-* and *sāh-ryāms-* 'mightier'. **Strong and weak forms** are regularly distinguished. In the latter the suffix is reduced by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel to *-yas*. These stems are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form their f. by adding *-r-* to the weak stem; e. g. *prīyas-r-* 'dearer'. No forms of the dual occur, and in the plural only the N. A. G. are found.

Inflexion.

346. The V. sing. m. ends in *-as*⁶. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kāntyāms-* 'younger', would be as follows:

Sing. N. m. *kāntyān*, n. *kāntyas*. **A. m.** *kāntyāmsam*, n. *kāntyas*. **I. m. n.** *kāntyasā*. **D. m. n.** *kāntyase*. **Ab. m. n.** *kāntyasas*. **G. m. n.** *kāntyasas*. **L. m.** *kāntyasi*. **V. m.** *kāntyas*. — **Pl. N. m.** *kāntyāmsas*. **A. m.** *kāntyasas*. **N. A. n.** *kāntyāmsi*. **G. m.** *kāntyasām*.

The forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ā-tavyān*⁷ 'not stronger', *śīyān* 'stronger', *kāntyān*, *jāvryān* 'swifter', *jyāvryān* 'mightier', *tāvryān*⁸ 'easily passing through', *tāvryān* 'stronger', *tāvryān* 'stronger', *dhāvryān* 'running fast', *nāvryān* 'new', *māmhryān* 'more bountiful', *yāvryān* 'worshipping more', *yāvryān* 'more warlike', *vāntryān* 'imparting more', *vāvryān* 'better', *vāvryān* (VS. XXXIII. 48) 'higher', *vāvryān*

¹ Also the transition forms *īda-prājasas* for m. *apāsū*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 111, (TS. I. 5. 6¹; MS. I. 5¹, p. 70).

² The form *vayām* is perhaps contracted for *vayāmsam* (I. 165³ etc.); see LANMAN 552³.

³ All the Mss. read *āmhassu*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. VI. 35².

⁴ The form *apānu* (VIII. 41⁴) is perhaps

for m. *apāsū*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 111, note.

⁵ Cp. J. SCHMIDT KZ. 26, 377—400; HIRT, IF. 12, 201 f.

⁶ As in the *-mant-*, *-vant-* and *-vāms-* stems.

⁷ On the Sandhi of these nominatives see LANMAN 514 (middle).

⁸ Cp. REICHELT, BB. 27, 104f.

'better', *vēdyān* 'knowing better', *śrīyān* 'better', *sāntyān* (TS. III. 5. 5¹) 'winning much', *sāhīyān* 'mightier', *skābhīyān* 'supporting more firmly'.

N. A. n. *śītyas* 'straighter', *śītyas*, *kāntyas*¹, *jyōyas*, *tīvtyas*, *dāvtyas* 'farther', *drāghītyas* 'longer', *nāvtyas*, *nāvtyas*, *udītyas* 'quite near', *prītyas* 'dearer', *bhītyas*² 'more', *vāvtyas*, *vāvtyas*, *vāvtyas* (TS. VS.), *vāvtyas*, *śrītyas* (TS. VS.), *svādītyas* 'sweeter'.

A. m. *jyōyāmsam*, *tīvtyāmsam*, *drāghītyāmsam*, *nāvtyāmsam*, *pānyāmsam* 'more wonderful', *vāvtyāmsam* (AV.), *śāhītyāmsam*³ 'more frequent', *śrītyāmsam*, *sāhītyāmsam* (AV.).

I. m. *jīvtyasā*, *nāvtyasā*, *bhītyasā*, *sāhītyasā* (Kh. I. 1¹). — **n.** *tīvtyasā* 'keener', *tvākṣītyasā* 'very strong', *nāvtyasā*, *nāvtyasā*, *pānyasā*, *bhāvtyasā* 'more abundant', *bhītyasā*, *vāvtyasā*, *sāhītyasā*.

D. m. *tīvtyase*, *nāvtyase*, *pānyase*, *pānyase*, *bāhītyase* (AV.) 'mightier', *vāvtyase* (VS. XVI. 30), *śrītyase* (VS. XXXI. 11), *sānyase* 'older', *sāhītyase*⁴, *sāhītyase*, *hāvtyase* (VS. XVI. 40) 'more destructive'. — **n.** *nāvtyase*, *nāvtyase*, *sānyase*.

Ab. m. *tīvtyasas*, *rābhītyasas* 'more violent', *sāhītyasas*, *sāhītyasas*. — **n.** *bhītyasas*.

G. m. *kāntyasas*, *jyōyasas*, *tīvtyasas*, *nāvtyasas*, *nāvtyasas*, *bhītyasas*. — **n.** *nāvtyasas*.

L. m. *vāvtyasī* (VS. VI. 11), *sāhītyasī*. — **V. m.** *śītyas*, *jyōyas*.

Pl. N. m. *tīkṣṇītyāmsas* (AV.) 'sharper', *bhāvtyāmsas* (TS. VS. AV.), *śrītyāmsas*. — **n.** *nāvtyāmsī*.

A. m. *kāntyasas*, *nāvtyasas*, *bhītyasas*, *rābhītyasas* (VS. XXI. 46), *vāvtyasas* (AV.), *vāvtyasas*, *vāvtyasas* 'driving better', *śrītyasas* (VS. TS.).

G. m. *ś-sthēyasām* 'not firm' (137). The f. form *nāvtyasānam* is twice used owing to metrical exigencies instead of *nāvtyasām* in agreement with *maritām*⁵.

ḍ. Stems in -vāms.

347. The suffix *-vāms*⁶ is used to form the stem of the perfect participle active. **Strong and weak stem**⁷ are regularly distinguished; but the latter assumes two different forms according as it is followed by a vowel or a consonant. The suffix is reduced before vowels, by loss of the nasal and Samprasāraṇa, to *-us* which becomes *-us*; before a consonant (i. e. *bh*), it is reduced, by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel, to *-vat*, which becomes *-vat*⁸. The latter form of the stem occurs only three times in the RV. There are thus three stems employed in the inflexion of these participles: *-vāms*, *-vat*, *-us*. The weakest form of the stem (*-us*) appears instead of the strong twice in the A. sing. m. and once in the N. pl. m. The accent rests on the suffix in all its forms except in compounds formed with the negative *a-* or with *su-* 'well' and *dus-* 'ill', where it shifts to these particles. This declension is restricted to the m. and n., as the f. is formed by adding *-t* to the weakest stem, as *jaḡmīṣ-t-* 'having gone'. There are altogether (including compounds) about 75 stems in *-vāms* in the RV.

Inflexion.

348. No specifically n. forms occur except two in the A. sing. No I. has been met with in any number; all the other weak cases are wanting in

¹ The form *jāvtyas* occurs in VS. XL. 4 (1śā Up.).

² Once to be read *bhāvtyas*; LANMAN 514⁴.

³ Comparative of the root from which *jāv-vat* 'constant' is derived.

⁴ To be read *sāhītyas* in I. 71⁴.

⁵ See LANMAN 515.

⁶ On this suffix cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 329—377.

⁷ On the formation of this perfect stem, see above 181 and below 491.

⁸ This form was transferred to the N. A. sing. n. in which no consonant (*-bh* or *-ṣ*) followed; cp. 44 a, 3.

the dual as well as the D. Ab. in the plural. The V. sing. m. is regularly formed with *-vas*¹. The forms actually occurring, if made from *cakrvāms-* 'having done', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *cakrvān*. A. m. *cakrvāmsam*, n. *cakrvāt*. I. *cakrīṣā*. D. m. *cakrīṣe*. Ab. *cakrīṣas*. G. *cakrīṣas*. V. m. *cakrvas*. — Du. N. A. m. *cakrvāmsā*. — Pl. N. m. *cakrvāmsas*. A. m. *cakrīṣas*. I. m. *cakrvāddhis*. G. m. *cakrīṣām*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ā-cikītvān*² 'not knowing', *ā-proṣivān* 'not gone away'³, *ā-rarivān* 'not liberal', *ā-vidvān*⁴ 'not knowing', *cakrvān* 'having done', *cikītvān* 'having noticed', *jaganvān* 'having gone', *jaghavān* 'having slain', *jajñītvān*⁵ 'having recognized', *jigtvān*⁶ 'having conquered', *jujurvān* 'having grown old', *jujṣvān* 'having enjoyed', *fajurvān* 'having sped', *tatanvān* 'having stretched', *tasthivān* 'having stood', *dadaśvān*⁷ 'having bitten', *dadasvān* 'become exhausted', *dadrśvān* 'having seen', *dadvān* 'having given', *dadhanvān*⁸ 'having streamed', *dadhṛsvān* 'having become bold', *daśvān*⁹ 'worshipping', *didivān* 'having shone', *nir-jagmivān* (TS. IV. 2. 14) 'having gone out', *popivān* 'having drunk'¹⁰, *pupūsvān* 'having made abundant', *bahāvān* 'having become', *bibhāvān* 'having feared', *mamṛvān* 'having died', *mūhāvān*¹¹ 'bountiful', *yayivān* 'having gone', *rurivān* 'having given', *rurukvān* 'having shone', *vavanvān* 'having accepted', *vidvān*¹² 'knowing', *vivikvān*¹³ 'having divided', *vicivdān* 'having found', *vividhvān*¹⁴ 'having wounded', *śuśukvān*¹⁵ 'having shone', *śuśruvān* 'having heard', *sasavān* 'having won', *sāsahvān* 'having conquered', *sāhvān*¹⁶ 'having overcome'.

A. m. *tyivāmsam*¹⁷ 'having gone', *cakrvāmsam*, *cakhvāmsam*¹⁸ 'stretching out', *cikītvāmsam*, *jāgrvāmsam* 'waking', *fajurvāmsam*, *tastabhvāmsam* 'having held fast', *tasthivāmsam*, *daśvāmsam*¹⁹, *dtūivāmsam*, *dūr-vidvāmsam* 'ill-disposed', *papivāmsam*²⁰, *paptivāmsam* 'having flown', *pīpivāmsam* 'having swelled', *mamṛvāmsam*, *ririhvāmsam* 'having licked', *vavrvāmsam* 'having enclosed', *vāvṛdhvāmsam* 'having grown strong', *vidvāmsam*²¹, (*pra*-)*viviśivāmsam* (TS. IV. 7. 15), *śūśuvāmsam* 'having increased', *sasavāmsam*, *sasṛvāmsam* 'having sped', *sāsahvāmsam*, *sī-vidvāmsam*²² 'knowing well', *suśupvāmsam* 'having slept', *suśuvāmsam* 'having pressed (Soma)'. — Weak forms for strong: *cakrīṣam* (X. 137²³) for *cakrvāmsam*; *emūśam* (VIII. 66²⁴)²⁵ 'dangerous'.

A. n. *talavvāt* 'extending far', *saṃ-vavṛvāt* 'enveloping'.

I. m. *ā-bibhyuṣā* 'fearless', *cikīṭṣā* 'wise', *vidhṣā*²⁶. — n. *ā-bibhyuṣā*, *bibhyuṣā*.

D. m. *ā-raruṣe*, *ūcṣe*²⁷ 'pleased', *cakrīṣe*, *cikīṭṣe*, *jagmīṣe* 'having gone', *jigyūṣe*, *dadaśīṣe* 'worshipping', *daśīṣe*²⁸, *bibhyūṣe*, *mīhūṣe*²⁹, *vidhīṣe*³⁰, *sedhīṣe*³¹ 'having sat down'.

Ab. m. *ā-raruṣas*, *jujurīṣas*. — n. *tasthīṣas*³².

¹ Cp. the *-mant* and *-vant* stems (316) and the *-yāms* stems (346).

² On the Sandhi of these nominatives see LANMAN 512.

³ From *pra* and *vas* 'dwell'.

⁴ Without reduplication.

⁵ From *jñā-* 'know'.

⁶ From *ji-* 'conquer'.

⁷ From *dam-* 'bite'.

⁸ From *dhruv-* 'run'.

⁹ LANMAN adds *puprivān* (?).

¹⁰ From *vic-* 'separate'.

¹¹ From *vyadh-* 'pierce'.

¹² From *śuc-* 'shine'.

¹³ From *i-* 'go'.

¹⁴ From a root *khā-*.

¹⁵ LANMAN adds *paprivāmsam* (?).

¹⁶ From *am-* 'be injurious', with weak stem, together with anomalous accent, for **m-ivāmsam*; cp. LANMAN 512³.

¹⁷ From *uc-* 'find pleasure'.

¹⁸ Unreduplicated form.

¹⁹ From *sad-* 'sit down'.

²⁰ This may be A. pl. m.

G. m. *ā-dāsūṣas* 'not worshipping', *ā-rarūṣas*, *īyūṣas*, *cikīthūṣas*, *jaḡmūṣas*, *jaḡhūṣas*, *jānūṣas*¹ 'knowing', *jīgyūṣas*, *tatarūṣas* 'having crossed', *tasthūṣas*, *dadūṣas*, *dāsūṣas*², *dīdyūṣas*, *papūṣas*, *bībhūṣas*, *mamrūṣas* (AV.), *mīlūṣas*³, *vidūṣas* 'having found', *sedūṣas*, *susuvūṣas*. — **n.** *vavavūṣas*⁴ 'enveloping'.

V. m. *cikīvas* 'seeing', *tītirvas* 'having crossed', *dīdivas* 'shining', *mīdhvas*. — **With -van:** *cikīvan*⁵ (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. *okītvāmsā*⁶ 'accustomed to', *jaganvāmsā*, *jaḡrvāmsā*, *tasthivāmsā*, *dīdivāmsā*, *papivāmsā*, *vavanvāmsā*, *vidvāmsā*⁷, *śūśuvāmsā*, *śūśruvāmsā*. — **With au:** *vidvāmsau*⁸.

Pl. N. m. *ā-vidvāmsas*, *caḡrvāmsas*, *cikītvāmsas*, *jaḡstvāmsas* (TS. I. 4. 44⁹) 'having eaten', *jaganvāmsas*, *jaḡrvāmsas*, *jīgyvāmsas*, *tasthivāmsas*, *tītirvāmsas*, *tustvāmsas* 'having praised', *dadrvāmsas* 'having burst', *dāstvāmsas*¹⁰, *papivāmsas* (TS. I. 4. 44¹¹), *paptivāmsas*, *mīdhvāmsas*¹², *rīrivāmsas*¹³ 'having abandoned', *vidvāmsas*¹⁴, *śūśukvāmsas*, *śūśuvāmsas*, *sasavāmsas*, *sasrvāmsas*, *sāśahvāmsas*, *sāhvāmsas*¹⁵, *sū-vidvāmsas* (TS. IV. 6. 5¹⁶), *susupvāmsas*. — **Weak form for strong:** *ā-bībhūṣas*¹⁷ (I. 11¹⁸). The AV. has the hybrid form *bhaktivāmsas*¹⁹.

A. m. *cikīthūṣas*, *jaḡmūṣas*, *jīgyūṣas*, *tasthūṣas*, *dāsūṣas*²⁰, *mīlūṣas*²¹, *vidūṣas*²², *sedūṣas*.

I. m. *jaḡrvuddhīs*. — **G. m.** *ā-dāsūṣām*²³, *jīgyūṣām*, *dadūṣām*, *mīlūṣām*²⁴, *vidūṣām*²⁵.

2. Radical Stems in -ś.

349. This declension comprises only radical stems, both monosyllabic and compound, formed from some dozen roots, numbering altogether about sixty. Some forty of these occur in the m., nearly thirty in the f., and half a dozen in the n. Nine monosyllabic stems are f., viz. *dāś-* 'worship', *dīś-* 'direction', *dīś-* 'look', *nāś-* 'night', *pāś-* 'sight', *pāś-* 'ornament', *prāś-*⁹ 'dispute', *viś-* 'settlement', *vriś-* 'finger'; but only two m., viz. *īś-* 'lord' and *spāś-* 'spy'; all the rest are compounds, about 20 of which are formed from *dīś-*. The inflexion is the same in all genders: the only n. forms which would differ from the m. and f. (N. A. du. and pl.) do not occur.

a. The only trace of the distinction of strong and weak forms appears in the nasalization of the stem in the N. sing. m. of some half dozen compounds of *-dīś-* 'look'¹⁰.

b. As the *ś* represents an old palatal (40), it normally becomes the cerebral *ṣ* before terminations beginning with *bh*, as *viś-bhīs*; but in *dīś-* and *-dīś-* it becomes a guttural, owing doubtless to the influence of the *k* in the N. sing. and I. pl. It regularly becomes *k* before the *-su* of the L. pl., where it is phonetic (43 b 2); it usually also becomes *k* in the N. sing. (which originally ended in *-s*). But in four stems it is represented by the cerebral *ś*, e. g. *vīś*, owing to the influence of forms in which the cerebral is phonetic. In *puro-dāś-* 'sacrificial cake', the palatal is displaced by the *-s* of the N.¹¹

¹ Unreduplicated form from *jñā-* 'know'.
² With anomalous additional reduplicative syllable.

³ AV. VII. 97¹ for *cikīvas* of the corresponding verse of the RV. (III. 29¹⁶), as if from a *-vant* stem.

⁴ From *uc-* 'be wont'.

⁵ Without reduplication.

⁶ From *vic-* 'leave'.

⁷ See LANMAN 513³.

⁸ In AV. VI. 79¹ for the reading of the edition *bhaktivāmsāḥ syāma* the Paipp. has *bhaktimahi*.

⁹ From *pras-* 'question'. LANMAN would correct the reading of AV. II. 27⁷ to *prāśi*, explaining the word as a compound (*pras āś-*), where the accent *prāśi* would be regular.

¹⁰ That is, *-dīś-*, which in its three occurrences in the RV. appears before vowels and doubles the *ī*: *-dīśi*.

¹¹ It cannot, however, have been directly ousted by the N. *-s* (the former existence of which in consonant stems must have been long forgotten), but was doubtless due to the influence of *ā-* stems, such as *dravīṇo-dā-s*.

c. There are two transition forms to the *a*-declension from *puro-dās*: *euro-lāhena* (VS. XIX. 85) and *puro-jāhī-vatsā* (AV. XII. 4³⁵) 'having a sacrificial cake as a calf'. The D. infinitive *dyāye* is a transition to the *i*-declension, for *dyāi*.

Inflexion.

350. The normal forms actually occurring, if made from *vis-* f. 'settlement', would be as follows:

Sing. N. V. *vis-* A. *visam*, I. *visā*, D. *visē*, Ab. *visās*, G. *visās*, L. *visī*. — Du. N. A. *visā* and *visau*. — Pl. N. *visas*, A. *visas*, I. *visāhīs*, D. Ab. *visāhīs*, G. *visām*, L. *visāhī*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *i* with nasalized stem: *ki-dhī*⁶ 'of what kind?', *sa-dhī*³ 'resembling'; in VS. XVII. 81: *anya-dhī* 'of another kind', *i-dhī* 'such', *prāti-sādī* 'similar'. — 2. ending in *-k*: *i-dīk* (AV.), *da-dīk* 'such', *tā-dīk* 'such', *divi-spīk* 'touching heaven', *ni-spīk*⁵ 'caressing', *yā-dīk* 'of what kind', *ranvā-samdrīk* 'appearing beautiful', *svar-dīk* 'seeing light', *hiranya-samdrīk* 'resembling gold', *hrdi-spīk* 'touching the heart'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *spāt*; *vi-spāt* 'spy'. — 4. ending in *-s*: *puro-dās* 'sacrificial cake' (occurs twice).

f. 2. ending in *-k*: *dīk* (VS. AV.), *nīk*; *an-apa-spīk* (AV.) 'not refusing', *upa-dīk* 'aspect', *ranvā-samdrīk*, *sam-dīk* 'appearance', *su-dīkīka-samdrīk* 'having a beautiful appearance'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *vis*; *vi-pāt* ('fetterless') N. of a river.

N. A. n. *da-dīk*⁶, *su-samdrīk* 'handsome'; *tā-dīk* may be a neuter in v. 44⁶.

A. m. *spāsam*; *puro-dāsam*; *upari-spīsam* 'reaching above', *divi-spīsam*, *hrdi-spīsam*; *tvesā-samdrīsam* 'of brilliant appearance', *piśānga-samdrīsam* 'of reddish appearance', *ranvā-samdrīsam*, *su-samdrīsam*; *dure-dīsam* 'visible far and wide', *su-dīsam* 'well-looking', *svar-dīsam*; *dārd-ādīsam*⁷ 'announcing far and wide'. — f. *dīsam*, *prāsam* (AV.), *visam*; *ā-dīsam* 'intention', *rta-spīsam* 'connected with pious works', *piśānga-samdrīsam* (AV.), *pra-dīsam* 'direction', *vt-pāsam*, *śukra-pīsam* 'radiantly adorned', *sam-dīsam*.

I. m. *vīva-pīśā* 'all-adorned', *su-samdrīśā*⁸. — f. *dāśā*⁹, *dīśā*, *pīśā*, *visā*; *pra-dīśā*. — n. *divi-spīśā*, *dure-dīśā*.

D. m. *anar-vīśe* 'seated on the car', *i-dīśe*, *divi-spīśe*, *dū-dīśe* (AV.) 'irreligious', *dure-dīśe*. — f. *dīśe* (AV. VS.), *visī*; *sam-dīśe*¹⁰.

Ab. m. *svar-dīśas*. — f. *dīśas* (AV.), *visās*; *sam-dīśas*, *sam-spīśas* (VS. XXXVIII. 11).

G. m. *upa-spīśas* (AV.) 'touching', *divi-spīśas*, *prāti-prāsas*¹¹ (AV.) 'counter-disputant', *su-dīśas*, *svar-dīśas*, *hiranya-samdrīśas*, *hrdi-spīśas*. — f. *dīśas* (AV.), *visās*. — n. *sādāna-spīśas* 'coming into one's house'.

L. m. *divi-spīśī*. — f. *dīśī* (AV.), *drīśī*, *prāśī* (AV.), *visī*; *pra-dīśī*, *vt-pāśī*, *sam-dīśī*. — V. m. *tvesā-samdrīk*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *rta-spīśā*, *divi-spīśā* and *divi-sprīśā*, *mithū-dīśā* 'appearing alternately', *svar-dīśā*. — f. *mithū-dīśā*. — With *-au*: *visau*.

Pl. N. m. *spāsas*; *upari-spīśas* (AV.), *rta-spīśas*, *divi-spīśas*, *mandi-ni-spīśas* 'fond of Soma', *ratha-spīśas* 'touching the chariot', *hrdi-spīśas*; *dure-*

¹ Cp. LANMAN 490¹.

² *kīlīhī i.* (X. 108³).

³ *sādīhī* always before *a*. in RV. In TS. II. 2. 8² (B) the final *k* is preserved before *ai* *sādīk samdūśī*.

⁴ Also *sādīhī*: all four before *ca*. Cp. LANMAN 456¹ and 463¹.

⁵ From *ni-spīhī*, BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN; from *ni-spīhī* 'desirous of' (loc.), BÖHTLINGK (pw.).

⁶ The form *manānāk* (X. 61⁶), perhaps the same as *manāk* 'a little', is explained by GRASSMANN as *manī-nīś* 'dispelling wrath'.

⁷ For *dūrī-ā-dīam*.

⁸ In the *Īśā* Upaniṣad (VS. XL. 1) also occurs *īśī*.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 490 (bottom).

¹⁰ There is also the transition form *dyāye*.

¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. II. 27¹. The accent should be *prāti-prāsas*.

dīśas, *yakṣa-dīśas* 'having the appearance of a Yakṣa', *su-dīśas*, *svar-dīśas*; *tvēd-saṃdīśas*, *su-saṃdīśas*; *viśva-pīśas*, *su-pīśas* 'well adorned'; *śi-sadīśas* 'handsome'. — f. *dīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *ud-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'upper quarters', *upa-spīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *vi-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'intermediate quarters', *saṃ-dīśas*.

A. m. *spīśas*; *ahar-dīśas* 'beholding the day', *bhīmad-saṃdīśas* 'of terrible appearance', *svar-dīśas*, *hiraṇya-saṃdīśas*. — f. *dīśas*, *vīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *saṃ-dīśas*.

I. m. *su-saṃdīśas*. — f. *padbhīś* (IV. 2¹²) 'with looks', *vidbhīś*. — D. f. *dīghyāś* (VS. VI. 19). — Ab. f. *dīghyāś*, *vidbhīś*. — G. f. *dīśam*, *vīśam*; *ā-dīśām*. — L. f. *dīkṣ* (AV. VS.), *vikṣ*.

6. Radical stems in -h.

351. This declension comprises some 80 stems formed from about a dozen roots. All three genders appear in its inflexion; but the neuter is rare, being found in only two stems and never in the plural. Of monosyllabic stems six or seven are f., one m., and one n. All the remaining stems are compounds, about three-fourths of which are formed from the three roots *drūh-*, *vah-* and *sah-* (over 30 from the last). The origin of the two stems *uṣṣh-* (AV.) a metre, and *sardh-*² 'bee' is obscure.

a. The distinction of strong and weak appears in compounds of *vah-* and *sah-*,³ the vowel being lengthened in the N. A. sing. and N. pl. m.; also in the N. A. du. m. forms *indra-vāhā*, *indra-vāhau*, *anaḍ-vāhau*; and in the f. sing. N. *dakṣiṇā-vāḥ* and A. *harya-vāham*. The strong stem *-vāh-* twice appears in weak cases, while it is metrically shortened 18 times in strong cases⁴. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* 'ox' (lit. 'cart-drawer') distinguishes three stems, the strong one being *anaḍ-vāh-*, and the weak *anaḍ-vāh-* before vowels and *anaḍ-vāh-*⁵ before consonants.

b. As *h* represents both the old guttural aspirate *gh* and the old palatal *jh*, it should phonetically become *g* and *ḍ* respectively before *bh*. But the cerebral appears for both in the only two case-forms that occur with a *-bh* ending: *sardḍbhīśas* from *sarāh-*, and *anaḍ-vāhīśas* (AV.) from *anaḍ-vāh-*, where the dental *d* takes the place of the cerebral by dissimilation. Before the *-su* of the L. pl., *h* would be phonetic; but here again, in the only form occurring, the cerebral appears: *anaḍ-vāhīśas*. On the other hand the phonetic *h* appears in the N. sing. in the six forms *-dhak*, *-dhāk*, *-dhrīk*⁷, *vīk*, *-spīk*, *uṣṣīk* (AV.)⁸; while the unphonetic *h* appears in the two forms *-rāh* and *-rāś*⁹. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* forms, instead of **anaḍ-vāh-*, the anomalous *anaḍ-vāh-* as if from a stem in *-vant*.

c. The stem *māh-* is perhaps a transfer to the *a*-declension from the far more frequent but defective *mūh-* 'great'. Several cases are formed from it: sing. N. *māh-*, G. *māhīśa*, I. *māh-*; pl. N. *māh-* and *māhāni*, n., G. *māhānām*. The D. sing. *māhīśa*, used as an infinitive, is a transfer to the *i*-declension from *māh-*.

Inflexion.

352. The forms actually occurring, if made from *śih-* 'victorious', would be as follows:

¹ BLOOMFIELD is of opinion that here, as well as in the 5 other passages in which this form occurs in the RV., it means 'with feet'; Johns Hopkins University Circular, 1906, p. 15-19.

² That the *h* here represents an original guttural is shown by the N. pl. *sarāghas* (SB.) and the derivatives *sarāghā-* and *sarāgha-* (TB.).

³ The Pada text has always *vāh-* on the one hand, but *dh-* on the other.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 498 (middle).

⁵ For *anaḍ-vāh-* by dissimilation.

⁶ The dental again by dissimilation for the cerebral *ḍ*.

⁷ Occurring respectively in *uśā-dhak* 'burning with eagerness', in three compounds of *duh-* 'milk', and in five compounds of *drūh-* 'injure'. These three forms, together with *uṣṣr-bhūt*, are the only examples of the restoration of initial aspiration in the declension of the RV.

⁸ The derivation of this word (AV. VS.) is uncertain; it occurs in the RV. only in the extended form of *uṣṣīhā-*.

⁹ When the final *h* becomes *ś*, the initial *s* is cerebralized.

Sing. N. *śāt*. V. m. f. *śāt*. A. m. f. *sāham*. I. *sahā*. D. *sahē*. Ab. *sahās*. G. *sahās*. L. *sahē*. — Du. N. A. V. m. f. *sāhā* and *sāham*. N. A. n. *sahē*. — Pl. N. V. m. f. *sāhas*. A. m. *sāhas* and *sahās*, f. *sāhas*. D. m. f. *śāt-bhyās*¹. G. m. *sāhām*. L. m. *śātsā*¹.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. I. with -k: *uś-dhuk* 'burning with eagerness'; *go-dhūk* 'milkman', *prati-dhūk*² (AV. TS.) 'fresh milk'; *akṣayā-dhruk* 'injuring wrongly', *a-dhruk* 'free from malice', *antaka-dhruk* 'demon of death', *abhi-dhruk* 'inimical', *asma-dhruk* 'inimical to us'.

2. with -ī: *śāt*; *abhi-śāt* 'overpowering', *īsi-śāt* 'overcoming the seer', *janā-śāt* 'overcoming men', *turā-śāt* 'overpowering quickly', *ni-śāt* 'overpowering', *ni-śāt*³ (AV.) 'overcoming', *purā-śāt* 'victorious from of old', *prtanā-śāt* 'conquering hostile armies', *prāśu-śāt* 'finishing swiftly', *bhūri-śāt* 'bearing much', *vai-śāt* 'ruling over wealth', *vane-śāt* 'prevailing in woods', *vīrā-śāt*⁴ 'ruling men', *vīsvā-śāt*⁵ (AV.) 'all-conquering', *vṛthī-śāt* 'conquering easily', *satrū-śāt*⁶ (AV.) 'overcoming foes', *satrū-śāt* 'always conquering'; *turya-vāt* (TS. iv. 3. 3²) 'four-year-old ox', *ditya-vāt*⁸ (VS. xiv. 10; TS. iv. 7. 10¹) 'two-year-old ox', *paśtha-vāt* (VS. xiv. 9) 'four-year-old ox'⁹, *mudhyama-vāt* 'driving at middling speed', *havir-vāt* 'conveying the oblation', *harya-vāt* 'conveying the offering'. — Irregular form: *anaq-vān* (AV. TS. VS.) 'ox'¹⁰.

f. I. *uśnik* (VS. AV.) a metre, *garta-rūk*¹¹ 'ascending the car-seat', *sabar-dhūk* 'yielding nectar'. — 2. *dakṣiṇā-vāt* 'borne to the right'¹². — n. I. *puru-śpīk* 'much desired'.

A. m. I. Strong forms with -vāham and -sāham (after ā) or -śāham (after ī or ṛ): *anaq-vāham*, *turya-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 28), *ditya-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 25), *paśtha-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 29), *vīra-vāham* 'conveying men', *svasti-vāham* 'bringing welfare', *harya-vāham* (also f.); *pra-sāham* 'victorious', *yajñā-sāham*¹³ 'mighty in sacrifice', *vīsvā-sāham*, *satrū-sāham*; *abhimāti-śāham* 'conquering adversaries', *ṛtī-śāham* 'subduing assailants', *ni-śāham* 'overcoming men', *prtanā-sāham*¹⁴. — With metrical shortening of -sāh- or -śāh-: *ṛtī-sāham*, *prtanā-sāham*¹⁴; *carṣaṇī-sāham*¹⁵ 'ruling over men', *prā-sāham*, *vibhū-sāham* 'overcoming the rich', *sadī-sāham* 'always holding out'. — 2. *a-drūham*, *puru-śpīham*. — f. *gūham* 'hiding-place', *drūham* 'fiend', *mīham* 'mist'; *uśīham* (VS. xxviii. 25); *parī-śīham* 'enclosure'.

I. m. *dhanvā-sāhā* 'skilled in archery', *puru-śpīhā*, *viśu-drūhā* 'injuring in various parts'. — f. *gūhā*¹⁶, *druhā*, *mahā* 'great'; *uśīhā* (VS. xxi. 13); *prā-sāhā*¹⁷ 'might', *vi-srūhā* 'plant'. — n. *mahā*.

D. m. *druhā*¹⁸, *mahā*; *a-drūhe*, *abhi-drūhe*, *abhimāti-śāhe*¹⁹ (TS. v. 2. 7³), *carṣaṇī-sāhe*²⁰, *satrū-sāhe*²⁰. — f. *mahē*; *uśīhe* (VS. xxiv. 12); *go-dūhe*²¹. — n. *mahē*.

¹ To be inferred from *anaśūdhhya* and *anādīst*.

² There is no evidence to show the gender of this word.

³ For *ni-śāt*.

⁴ For *bhūri-śāt*.

⁵ For *vīra-śāt*.

⁶ For *vīsvā-śāt*.

⁷ For *satrū-śāt*.

⁸ Here *ditya-* seems to be = *divītya-*.

⁹ Probably from *paśtha-* = *prāśtha-* 'back'. The TS. (iv. 3. 3² etc.) has *paśtha-vāt* with dental *t* for cerebral *t*.

¹⁰ There is also the transfer form *mahā-*, supplying the place of a N. of *māh-*.

¹¹ For *garta-rūk*.

¹² The N. of *sarāh-* 'bee', occurs as *sarāt* in TS. v. 3. 12² (B) and in SB. xiii. 3. 1⁴.

¹³ For *yajñā-sāham*.

¹⁴ With unphonetic cerebral after *ū* owing to the influence of the N. *prtanā-śāt*.

¹⁵ The *s* is here not cerebralized after *ī*.

¹⁶ *gūhā* which occurs 53 times (beside *gūhā*, once) is used adverbially, 'in secret', with retracted accent.

¹⁷ From *prā-sāh*, beside *pra-sāh*.

¹⁸ This form is perhaps f.

¹⁹ Strong form for weak.

²⁰ Strong form for weak (ii. 21²), but the Pada text has *satrū-sāhe*.

²¹ There is also a transfer to the *i*-declension: *mahāye* (as an infinitive).

Ab. m. *druhás*, *mahás*; *ṛt̥-sáhas*. — f. *druhás̃*. — n. *mahás*.

G. m. *druhás*, *mahás*²; *a-drúhas*, *anaúhas* (AV.), *ṛt̥ana-sáhas*; with strong form: *abhimāti-sáhas*³. — f. *druhás*, *mihás*; *pr̥a-sáhas*. — n. *mahás*; *puru-sṛhas*.

L. m. *anaúhi* (AV.)⁴. — f. *upā-níhi* (AV.) 'shoe', *part-níhi* (AV.).

V. 1. m. *turā-sāṭ* (VS. x. 22), *ṛt̥ana-sāṭ* (AV.), *havya-vāṭ*. — 2. m. *go-dhuk* (AV.). — f. *á-dhruk*⁵.

Du. N. A. V. 1. m. *anaḍ-vāhau*, *indra-vāhā* and *indra-vāhau* 'conveying Indra', *dhār-sāhau* (VS. iv. 33) 'bearing the yoke'; shortened: *carṣaṇī-sahā*, *rathā-sāhā* 'drawing the chariot'. — 2. m. *a-drúhā*, *an-abhidruhā* 'not inimical', *puru-sṛhā*. — f. *a-drúhā*, *a-druhā*. — n. *mahī*.

Pl. N. V. 1. m. *anaḍ-vāhas* (AV.), *indra-vāhas*, *turya-vāhas* (VS. xxiv. 12), *ditya-vāhas* (VS.), *paśtha-vāhas* (VS.), *ṛṣṭi-vāhas* (AV.) 'carrying on the sides', *vajra-vāhas* 'wielding a thunderbolt', *vīra-vāhas*, *saha-vāhas* 'drawing together', *susṭhu-vāhas* 'carrying well', *havya-vāhas*; *abhimāti-sáhas*, *śatrū-sáhas*; shortened: V. *carṣaṇī-sahas*. — 2. m. *drúhas*, *mahás*⁶; *a-drúhas*, V. *a-druhas*, *go-díhas*, *puru-sṛhas*, V. *puru-sṛhas*.

f. *míhas*, *rúhas* 'sprouts'; *a-drúhas*, *ā-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *ghṛta-dúhas* 'giving ghee', *puru-drúhas* 'injuring greatly', *puru-sṛhas*, *pr̥a-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *mano-múhas* (AV.) 'bewildering the mind', *vī-srúhas*.

A. m. *druhás*⁷, *mahás*⁸, *a-drúhas*, *anaúhas* (AV.), *puru-sṛhas*. — f. *drúhas*, *níhas*⁹ (AV. VS.) 'destroyers', *míhas*, *rúhas* (AV.); *akṣā-náhas* 'tied to the axle', *a-drúhas*, *upā-rúhas* 'shoots', *pr̥a-rúhas* (AV.), *saṃ-díhas* 'mounds'.

D. m. *anaḍúdbhyas* (AV.) — f. *sarḍúdbhyas* 'bees'. — G. m. *mahám*¹⁰, *carṣaṇī-sāhām* (VS. xxviii. 1). — L. m. *anaḍútsu*.

7. Stems in semivowels: *r*, *y*, *v*.

353. This group forms a transition from the consonant to the vowel declension inasmuch as the stem often assumes a vocalic form before endings with initial consonant, and in some cases takes endings which otherwise appear in the vowel declension only. The *-r* stems are nearest the consonant declension as their radical division conforms almost without exception to that type; their derivative division, however, has several points in common with the inflexion of vowel stems.

i. Stems ending in *-r*.

354. A. Radical stems. Here the stems ending in radical *r* must be distinguished from those in which the *r* belongs to a suffix. The radical stems numbering over 50 are formed from some sixteen roots, the vowel of which is nearly always *i* or *u*. Only three of these stems contain *a* and only two *ā*. Nearly a dozen are monosyllabic, but the rest (numbering over 40) are compounds, almost a dozen of which are formed with *-tur*.

¹ *ámhas* (vi. 3¹) is probably not an Ab. of *ámh-* 'distress' (which does not occur elsewhere), but by haplogy for *ámhas-as*, which is very frequent.

² There is also the transition form *mahásya*.

³ The Pada text has *-sahas*.

⁴ There is also the transition form *mahī* (m. n.).

⁵ See WHITNEY's note on AV. vii. 73⁶.

⁶ With irregular accent.

⁷ There are no neuters except the transition forms *mahā* and *mahīni*.

⁸ With irregular accent as if weak forms.

Cp. above 94, note ⁶ and LANMAN 501 (middle).

⁹ The derivation of this word is uncertain:

it is explained by Mahidhara as = *nihantṛ*.

WHITNEY (AV. ii. 6²) would emend to *nidas*.

¹⁰ There is also the transition form *mahúnām*.

The inflexion is the same in all genders except the N. A. neuter. A peculiarity is the lengthening of the radical *i* and *u* when a consonant ending follows or originally followed¹.

a. The distinction of strong and weak appears in *dvār*-f. 'door', which is reduced to *dūr*- in weak cases; in *tār*- and *stār*- 'star', from which are made *tāras* and *stāhis*; and in the n. *vār* 'light' two weak cases, the D. and G. sing., are formed from the contracted stem *sūr*.

b. There are here a few transitions to the *a*-declension: *śatā-durasya* and *śatā-durasya* 'having a hundred doors', which started from weak cases like *dīras*; *su-dhūra-s*, N. sing. m. 'well-yoked', due to the A. *su-dhūr-am*; perhaps also the A. sing. f. *an-apa-sphurā-m* 'not pushing away', which occurs beside the N. pl. *an-apa-sphur-as*². On the other hand the N. pl. m. *vandhūr-as* 'car-seats' seems to be a transition from the *a*-declension, as *vandhūra-* is probably the older stem.

c. The form *yan-tār-am* 'guide', which occurs twice for *yan-tār-am* has been formed as if from *-tūr* owing to the parallelism with *ap-tūram* which once appears beside it³.

Inflexion.

355. The forms actually occurring, if made from *pūr*- f. 'stronghold', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pūr*. A. *pūram*. I. *purā*. D. *purā*. Ab. *purās*. G. *purās*. L. *purā*. — Du. N. A. *pūrā* and *pūram*. — Pl. N. V. *pūras*. A. *pūras*. I. *pūrbhās*. D. *pūrbhās* (VS.). G. *pūrām*. L. *pūrbhā*.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

Sing. N. m. *gīr* 'praising', *vār*⁴ 'protector'; *muhur-gīr* 'swallowing suddenly'; *dūr-āśir* 'badly mixed'; *rajas-tūr* 'traversing the air', *ratha-tūr* 'drawing a chariot', *vīśra-tūr* 'all-surpassing', *su-pra-tūr* 'very victorious'⁵. — f. *gīr* 'praise', *dvār* (AV.) 'door', *dhūr* 'burden', *pūr*; *amā-jūr* 'aging at home', *ā-śir*⁶ (AV. TS.) 'mixture'.

N. A. n. *vār* 'water', *śār*⁷ 'light'⁸, *śīvar* (TS. II. 2. 12⁹).

A. m. *tūram* 'promoter'; *ap-tūram*⁹ 'active', *āji-tūram* 'victorious in battles', *rajas-tūram*, *ratha-tūram*, *vīśra-tūram* 'conquering enemies'; *a-jūram* 'unaging', *apa-sphūram* 'bounding forth', *pā-jūram* 'grown old in (observing) the law', *gāvāśiram* 'mixed with milk', *yāvāśiram* 'mixed with corn', *sahāsra-dvāram* 'having a thousand doors', *su-dhūram* 'well yoked'¹⁰. — f. *gīram*, *dvāram* (AV.), *dhūram*, *pūram*; *ā-śiram*, *upa-śīram* 'cover', *saṃ-gīram* 'assent'.

I. m. *bīndhūrā*¹¹ (AV.) 'binder' (?). — f. *gīrā*, *dhūrā*, *purā*; *abhi-pra-mūrā* 'crushing', *abhi-svārā* 'invocation', *ā-śīrā*. — n. *vīśra-tūrā*.

D. m. *gīrā*; *niṣ-tūre* 'overthrowing'. — f. *upa-śīre*. — n. *sūrā*.

Ab. f. *dhūras*; *ni-jūras* 'consuming by fire'.

G. m. *gāvāśiras*, *yāvāśiras*, *radhra-tūras* 'encouraging the obedient'. — f. *amā-jūras*. — n. *śūras*¹²; *śāsāśiras* 'mixed with juice'.

¹ That is, the *-r* of the N. sing. m. and f. This rule also applies in *vār* (L 132³) if GRASSMANN is right in explaining this form as a N. sing. m. meaning 'protector', from *vār* (*ap*- 'cover'); but BK., s. v. *vār*-, regard this form as a corruption.

² In the later language *dvār*- f. and *pūr*- f. went over to the *a*-declension as *dvāra*- n. and *pūra*- n., while *vār*- n. went over to the *i*-declension as *vāri*-.

³ See LANMAN 486 (bottom).

⁴ If this form is not a corruption.

⁵ There is also the transition form *su-dhūra-s*.

⁶ From *śr*- 'mix'.

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⁷ This is the only declensional form of this word occurring in the AV.

⁸ Neuter compounds ending in *-r* are avoided; thus the AV. has the transition form *nīva-dvāra-n*, N. n.

⁹ For *ap(a)-tūram* 'getting over work'.

¹⁰ There is also the anomalous form *yantūram* for *yantāram*.

¹¹ Probably a transfer from the *a*-declension.

¹² With the accentuation of a dissyllabic stem (*sūr*). In VII. 61¹⁷ for *śūra ā* the Pada text has *śūre ā*, but it is probably the G. *śūras*. In I. 66¹⁰, 69¹⁰ the uninflected form *śūra* seems to be used in a G. sense.

L. f. *dhurī*, *purī*. — n. *śhar*¹.

Du. N. A. m. *vr̥tra-t̥hrā*, *sanā-j̥rā* 'long grown old', *su-dhūrā*. — f. *dvārā*; *mīthas-t̥rā* 'alternating'; with *au*: *dvārau*, *dhūrau*.

Pl. N. V. m. *gīras*, *gīras*, *mīras* 'destroyers'; *ap-t̥hras*, *ā-mīras* 'destroyers'; *g̥dvāśīras*, *try-āśīras* 'mixed with three (products of milk)', *dādhy-āśīras* 'mixed with curds'; *dur-dhūras* 'badly yoked', *dhiyā-j̥hras* 'grown old in devotion', *niṣ-j̥hras*, *bandhūras* (AV.), *vandhūras* 'seat of the chariot', *vr̥tra-t̥hras* (VS. VI. 34). — f. *gīras*, *gīras* (AV.), *t̥hras* 'stars'², *dvāras*³, *dvāras*, *p̥īras*; *in-āpasphuras* 'not struggling', *amā-j̥hras*, *mīthas-t̥hras*.

A. m. *gīras*; *ā-mīras*, *g̥dvāśīras*, *mīthas-t̥hras*, *y̥dvāśīras*, *saṃ-gīras*, *su-dhūras*. — f. *gīras*, *dūras*⁴, *dhūras*, *p̥īras*, *p̥śīras*⁵ 'victuals'; *ni-p̥īras*⁶ (VS. AV.), *parā-p̥īras*⁶ (VS. AV.), *vi-j̥hras* 'expansion', *saṃ-j̥hras* 'contraction'.

I. m. *ratha-t̥rbhis*. — f. *gīrbhis*, *p̥urbhis*⁷, *st̥rbhis*⁸ 'stars'. — D. n. *vārbhyās* (VS.). — G. m. *sām-āśīrām* 'mixed'. — f. *gīrām*, *purām*. — L. m. *t̥r̥ṣh*. — f. *gīr̥ṣh*, *dhūr̥ṣh*, *p̥r̥ṣh*. — n. *p̥r̥ṣu-t̥r̥ṣu*⁹ 'victorious in battle'.

356. B. Derivative stems. — Derivative stems ending in *r* consist of two groups, the one formed with the suffix *-ar*, the other with *-tar*. The former is a small group containing only eight stems, the latter is a very large one with more than 150 stems. Both groups agree in regularly distinguishing strong and weak cases. The strong stem ends in *-ar* or *-ār*, which in the weak forms is reduced to *r* before vowels and *r̥* before consonants. Both groups further agree in dropping the final of the stem in the N. sing. m. f., which case always ends in *-ā*¹⁰. They resemble the vowel declension in adding the ending *-n* in the A. pl. m., and *-s* in the A. pl. f. and in inserting *n* before the *-ām* of the G. pl. They have the peculiar ending *-ur* in the G. sing.¹¹.

a. Stems in *-ar*.

357. There are only five simple m. and f. stems in *-ar*, viz. *us-dr* f. 'dawn', *dev-ār* m. 'husband's brother', *nānānd-ār* f. 'husband's sister', *nār*¹² m. 'man', *svāsar*¹³ f. 'sister'; and the two compounds *svār-ṇar* m. 'lord of heaven' and *saptī-svasar* 'having seven sisters'. Of these, *usār* shows only case-forms according to the consonant declension, while *nār* and *svāsar* have some according to the vowel declension also. Of *nānāndar* only the G. and L. sing. and of *devār* only the A. sing. and the N. and L. pl. occur. Nearly all case-forms are represented by these five stems taken together. There are also the three neuters *dh-ar* 'day', *ūdh-ar* 'udder', and *vādḥ-ar* 'weapon', which occur in the N. A. sing. only. The first two supplement the *-an* stems *dh-an* and *ūdh-an* in those cases.

¹ This form is used 5 times as a L. sing. dropping the *-i* like the *-an* stems, as *dhān* beside *dhani*.

² Strong form of *t̥r̥* = *st̥r̥* 'star'. The gender is uncertain.

³ Once the weak form *dūras*.

⁴ The strong form *dvāras* is once used. The accentuation of a weak case, *dūras*, occurs once.

⁵ Occurring only in x. 26³; it is a n. sing. according to BR.

⁶ The meaning and derivation of these two words is uncertain; see WHITNEY's note on AV. XVIII. 21⁶.

⁷ From *p̥ūr* 'stronghold' and *p̥ūr* 'abundance'.

⁸ Weak form, accented like a disyllabic stem. In Kh. I. 11⁶ normally accented, but spelt with *ri* as *st̥ribhis*.

⁹ With L. pl. ending kept in the first member.

¹⁰ In this they resemble the N. m. of nouns of the *-an* declension.

¹¹ Except *nār-as* and *us-ār*.

¹² This word is probably derived with the suffix *-ar*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 359.

¹³ Here *-sar* is probably a root; cp. BRUGMANN, op. cit., 2, p. 8, footnote.

Inflexion.

358. Sing. N. m. *hatī-svasā* (AV.) 'whose sisters have been slain'. — f. *svāsā*; *saptā-svasā* 'having seven sisters'. — n. *ātar*, *ūtar*, *vātar*.

A. m. *devāram*, *nāram*. — f. *svāsāram*. — I. f. *svāsā*. — D. m. *nāre*; *svār-nare*. — f. *svāsre*. — Ab. f. *svāsūr*¹. — G. m. *nāras*. — f. *svās*; *nānāndur* (AV.), *svāsūr*. — L. m. *nāri*. — f. *svāsī*² and *svāsīm*³, *nānāndarī*⁴. — V. f. *svās*.

Du. N. A. m. *nārā*, V. *nārā* and *nārau*. — f. *svāsārā* and *svāsārau*. — L. f. *svāsros*.

Pl. N. m. *devāras*, *nāras*, V. *nāras*, *svār-nāras*. — f. *svāsāras*. — A. m. *nān*⁵. — f. *svāsīs*, *svāsīs*. — I. m. *nābhīs*. — f. *svāsībhis*. — D. m. *nābhyas*. — Ab. m. *nābhyas*. — G. m. *nārām*⁶ and *nānām*⁷. — f. *svāsīrām*⁶ and *svāsīnām*. — L. *devāsu*, *nāsu*.

b. Stems in -tar.

359. This group includes two subdivisions, the one forming its strong stem in -tar, the other in -tār. The former consists of a small class of five names of relationship: three masculines, *pitār* 'father', *bhrātār* 'brother', *nīpātār*⁸ 'grandson', and two feminines, *duhitār* 'daughter', and *mātār* 'mother'; and the m. and f. compounds formed from them. The second class consists of more than 150 stems (including compounds), which are either agent nouns accented chiefly on the suffix, or participles accented chiefly on the root. These are never used in the f., which is formed with -ī from the weak stem of the m., e. g. *jānitār-ī* 'mother' (377).

a. This declension is almost restricted to the m. and f. gender. The only n. stems are *dhātār* 'prop', *dhmātār* 'smithy', *sthātār* 'stationary', *vi-dhātār* 'meeting out'; and from these only about half a dozen forms occur. The only oblique cases met with are the G. *sthātār* and the L. *dhmātārī* (Pada-tārī). The N. A. sing. which might be expected to appear as -tār, seems to have attained to no fixity of form, as it was of extremely rare occurrence. It seems to be represented by the following variations: *sthātār* (VI. 49^b), *sthātār* (I. 72^b), *sthātār* (I. 58^b, 68^b, 70^b), *dhātārī* (IX. 86^a; II. 23¹⁷), *vi-dhātārī* (VII. 59^a; IX. 47^a)⁹.

Inflexion.

360. The inflexion is exactly the same in the m. and f. except that the A. pl. m. ends in -tān, but the f. in -tās.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mātār* f. 'mother', as representing a name of relationship, and from *janitār* m. 'begetter', as representing an agent noun, would be as follows:

Sing. N. *mātā*; *janitā*. A. *mātāram*; *janitāram*. I. *mātā*; *janitā*. D. *mātā*; *janitā*. Ab. *mātār*; *janitār*. G. *mātār*; *janitār*. L. *mātārī*; *janitārī*. V. *mātār*; *janitār*.

Du. N. A. *mātārā* and *mātārau*; *janitārā* and *janitārau*. I. *janitābhyām* (VS.). D. *janitābhyām*. G. *mātārōs*; *janitārōs*. L. *mātārōs*; *janitārōs*.

¹ The ending -ur in this declension appears to represent original -r₂ through -r; cp. LANMAN 426, BRUGMANN, KG. p. 381 (middle).

² The metre requires *svāsī*. As to the *sv* cp. 57, 1 a.

³ The ending -ām is a transfer from the *r*-declension. The metre requires *svāsīrām* in which -ām is added direct to the stem.

⁴ The metre requires *nānāndarī* (x. 85^a6).

⁵ On *nān* as a metrically shortened form for other cases see FISCHER, VS. I, p. 42 f.

⁶ The only two forms in the derivative-(*tār*) declension in which -ām is added direct to the stem.

⁷ Often to be read as *nānām*; see LANMAN 43.

⁸ In the RV. this stem occurs in weak forms only, being supplemented in the strong by *nīpāt*. The TS. (I. 3. 4¹) however has the strong form *nīpātāram* with long vowel, like *svāsāram*.

⁹ See LANMAN 422 f.

Pl. N. *mātāras*; *janitāras*. A. *mātṛs*; *janitṛn*. I. *mātṛbhīs*; *janitṛbhīs*. D. *mātṛbhyas*; *janitṛbhyas*. Ab. *mātṛbhyas*; *janitṛbhyas*. G. *mātṛñām*; *janitṛñām*. L. *mātṛsu*; *janitṛsu*. V. *mātāras*; *janitāras*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. 1. m. *pitā*, *bhrātā*; *dkṣa-pitā* (TS. IV. 3. 4¹; VS. XIV. 3) 'having Dakṣa as father', *tri-mātā* 'having three mothers', *dvī-mātā* 'having two mothers', *hatī-bhrātā* (AV.) 'whose brothers have been slain', *hatī-mātā* (AV.) 'whose mother has been slain'. — f. *duhitā*, *mātī*; *a-bhrātā* 'brotherless', *śudhu-mātī* 'having a stream as mother'.

2². m. *am-ā-gantā* (VS. XVIII. 59)³, *avitā* 'protector', *upa-sattī* (TS. VS. AV.) 'attendant', *krośī* 'jackal' ('yeller'), *janitā*, *janitā* 'praiser', *trātā* 'protector', *tvāṣṭā* 'fashioner', *dātā* 'giver', *dhartā* 'supporter', *netā* 'leader', *prati-grahitā* (VS. VII. 48) 'receiver', *prati-dhartā* (VS. XV. 10) 'one who keeps back', *pravaktā* (Kh. IV. 8⁴) 'speaker', *vadhā* and *vāhā* 'driving'; etc.

A. 1. m. *pitāram*, *bhrātāram*; *dūri-mātāram* 'having a rock for a mother', *jī-mātāram* 'son-in-law', *śudhu-mātāram*. — f. *duhitāram*, *mātāram*, *saptī-mātāram* 'having seven mothers'.

2. m. *adhi-vaktāram* 'advocate', *anu-ksattāram* (VS. XXX. 11) 'doorkeeper's mate', *abhi-śaktāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'consecrator', *abhi-sartāram* (VS.) 'assistant', *ava-sātāram* 'liberator', *avitāram*, *dstāram* 'shooter', *a-yantāram* 'restrainer', *iṣ-kartāram* 'arranging', *upa-manthitāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'churner', *upa-śaktāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'pourer-out', *kirtāram* 'agent', *ksattāram* (VS. XXX. 13) 'door-keeper', *gantāram* 'going', *guptāram* (Kh. V. 3³) 'protector', *cltāram* 'attentive', *janitāram* (VS. XIII. 51), *janitāram*, *jñāram* 'victorious', *joṣṭāram* (VS. XXVIII. 10) 'cherishing', *tarutāram* 'victor', *trātāram*, *tvāṣṭāram*, *dātāram* 'giver', *dātāram* 'giving', *dhartāram*, *ni-dātāram* 'one who ties up', *niṣ-kartāram* (TS. IV. 2. 7⁴), *netāram* 'leader', *punitāram* 'praising', *pari-veṣṭāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'waiter', *pavitāram* 'purifier', *pura-dātāram* (VS. XXXIII. 60) 'leader', *peśitāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'carver', *pru-kartāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'sprinkler', *pra-netāram* 'leader', *pra-dātāram* (VS. VII. 46; TS.) 'giver', *prahetāram* 'impeller', *bodhayitāram* 'awakener', *bhettāram* (TS. I. 5. 6⁴) 'breaker', *mandhātāram* 'pious man', *marṣitāram* 'comforter', *yantāram* 'ruler', *yantāram* 'restraining', *yātāram* 'pursuer', *yoktāram* (VS. XXX. 14) 'exciter', *rakṣitāram* 'protector', *vanditāram* 'praiser', *vi-bhaktāram* 'distributor', *vi-moktāram* (VS. XXX. 14) 'unyoker', *śamitāram* (VS. XXVIII. 10) 'slaughterer', *śṛtaṃ-kartāram* (TS. III. 1. 4⁴) 'cooking thoroughly', *śrotāram* 'hearer', *sanitāram* 'bestower', *sam-ādātāram*⁵ 'kindler', *savitāram* 'stimulator', *stotāram* 'praiser', *hanitāram* 'slayer', *has-kartāram* 'inciter', *hātāram* 'driver', *hētāram* 'invoker'.

I. 1. m. *napitrā*, *pitṛā*, *bhrātṛā* (AV.). — f. *duhitṛā*, *mātṛā* (VS. AV.). — 2. m. *āstrā*, *tvāṣṭṛā* (AV.), *dhātṛā* 'establisher', *pra-savitṛā* (VS. X. 30) 'impeller', *savitṛā*.

D. 1. m. *napitrē*, *pitṛē*. — f. *duhitṛē*, *mātṛē*. — 2. m. *āstre* (AV.), *kartṛē* (AV.), *krośṛē* (AV.), *janitṛē*, *joṣṭṛē* (VS. XVII. 56), *tvāṣṭṛē* (VS. XXII. 20), *dātṛē*, *dhartṛē* (VS. XVII. 56; TS. IV. 6. 3³), *dhātṛē* (AV.), *prati-grahitṛē* (VS. VII. 47), *rakṣitṛē* (AV.), *vi-dhātṛē* (AV.) 'disposer', *śamitṛē* (TS. IV. 6. 3³), *savitṛē*, *stotṛē*, *hanṛē* (VS. XVI. 40), *hōṭṛē*.

Ab. 1. m. *pitūr*, *bhrātūr*, *vi-jāmātur* 'son-in-law'. — f. *duhitūr*, *mātūr*. — 2. m. *āstur*, *tvāṣṭūr* (AV.), *dhātūr*, *savitūr*, *hōṭūr*.

¹ On the Sandhi of these nominatives in -ā see LANMAN 423-5.

² The nominatives of the m. agent nouns are so numerous (140 in the RV. alone) that examples only can be given here.

³ Used with the A., an example of in-

ipient use as a periphrastic future: = 'will follow'.

⁴ RV. X. 140⁵ and VS. XII. 110 have *iṣ-kartāram* in the same passage.

⁵ For **adh-tāram*, from *idh-* 'kindle'.

G. I. m. *nāptur*, *pitūr*, *bhrātūr*. — f. *duhitūr*, *nānāndūr* (AV.), *mātūr*. — 2. m. *abhi-ksāthūr* 'carver', *avītūr*, *āstūr*, *utthātūr* (AV.) 'resolving', *kartūr* (Kh. IV. 5⁶ 10), *cedūr* (AV.), *janitūr*, *jaritūr*, *trātūr*, *tvāstūr*, *dātūr*, *dhātūr* (VS. TS. AV.), *ni-dhātūr* 'one who lays down', *netūr*, *neštūr* 'leader', *mandhātūr*, *yantūr* (VS. IX. 30), *vanditūr*, *vāvātūr* 'adherent', *vōdūr* 'draught-horse', *samitūr*, *sanitūr*, *savitūr*, *sotūr* 'presser of Soma', *stotūr*, *hātūr*.

L. I. m. *pitāri*. — f. *duhitāri*, *mātāri*. — 2. m. *netri*, *vaktāri* (AV.) 'speaker', *sozāri*. — With metrically protracted -ī: *etāri*², *kartāri*, *vaktāri*³.

V. I. m. *jāmātar*, *pitar*, *bhrātār*. — f. *duhitār*, *mātār*. — 2. m. *ava-spartār* 'preserver', *avītār*, *janītār*, *jarītār*, *trātār*, *tvāstār*, *dartār* 'breaker', *deśā-vastār* 'illuminer of the dark', *dhartār*, *dhātār*, *netār*, *neštār*, *prā-netār*, *prā-yantār* 'bringer', *yajña-kotār* 'offerer at a sacrifice', *vi-dhartār* 'ruler', *vi-dhātār*, *vi-śastār* (AV.) 'slaughterer', *sanītār*, *savitār*, *su-sanītār* 'liberal giver', *sotār*, *stotār* (VS. XXIII. 7; TS. VII. 4. 20), *sthātār* 'guider', *hotār*.

Du. N. A. V. I. m. *pitārā*, *bhrātārā*; *iḥhā-mātārā* 'whose mother is here and there', *dikṣa-pitārā*, *mātrā-pitārā*⁴ 'father and mother', *sindhu-mātārā*. — f. *duhitārā*, *mātārā*, *sam-mātrā* 'twins'. — With -au: m. *pitārau*, *sam-mātrāu* (AV.). — f. *duhitārau* (AV. Kh. III. 15¹³), *mātrāu*. — 2. m. *avītārā*, *a-smātārā* 'not (fond of) bathing', *uśārā* 'ploughing bulls', *gātārā*, *coditārā* 'instigators', *janitārā*, *dhartārā*, *ni-cetārā* 'observers', *pretārā* 'lovers', *yantārā* 'guides', *rakṣitārā*, *samitārā*, *sthātārā*, *hātārā*. — With shortened vowel: *manotārā* 'disposers'. — With -au: *anu-śhātārau* (AV.) 'undertakers', *ksāthārau* (AV.) 'carvers', *goptārau* (AV.), *dātārau*, *rakṣitārau*, *hātārau* (VS. XX. 42), *hotārau* (TS. IV. 1. 8²). — With shortened vowel: *dhānūtārau*⁶ 'running swiftly', *savātārau* (VS. XXVIII. 6) 'having the same calf'?

I. 2. m. *hṛbhyām* (VS. XXI. 53). — D. I. m. *pitḥbhyām*⁸. — G. I. m. *pitṛs*. — f. *mātrīs*. — 2. m. *prā-śāstrīs* (VS.) 'directors'. — L. I. m. *pitṛs*. — f. *mātrīs*⁹.

Pl. N. I. m. *pitāras*, V. *pitāras*, *bhrātāras*; *dikṣa-pitāras*, *dikṣa-pitāras*¹⁰ (TS. I. 2. 3¹), *gō-mātāras* 'having a cow for mother', *ṛṣṇi-mātāras* 'having Ṛṣṇi for a mother', *sindhu-mātāras*, *su-mātāras* 'having a beautiful mother'. — f. *duhitāras*, *mātāras*, V. *mātāras*; *a-bhrātāras* and *a-bhrītāras* (AV.). — 2. m. *agnī-hotāras* 'having Agni for a priest', *abhi-ksāthāras*, *abhi-svartāras* 'invokers', *āstāras*, *upa-ksētāras* 'dwelling near', *gātāras*, *cedāras* 'avengers', *jaritāras*, *joštāras*, *trātāras*, *daditāras* (VS. VII. 14) 'keepers', *dātāras*, *dhartāras*, *dhātāras*, *ni-cetāras* 'observing' and 'observers', *ninditāras* 'scorners', *ny-pātāras* 'protectors of men', *netāras* and *netāras*, *panitāras*, *pari-veštāras* (VS. VI. 13), *paṇitāras* 'purifiers', *pura-etāras* (VS. XVII. 14; TS. IV. 6. 1¹), *prā-jñātāras* 'conductors', *prā-netāras*, *prāvītāras* 'promoters', *pretāras*, *yantāras*, *rakṣitāras*, *vantāras* 'enjoyers', *vi-dhātāras*, *vi-yotāras* 'separators', *samitāras*, *śrītāras*, *sanitāras*, *sotāras*, *stotāras*, *sthātāras*, *svāritāras* 'roaring', *hātāras*, *hātāras*¹¹.

¹ For **vāh-tur*, from *vah-* 'draw'.

² GRASSMANN takes this form (V. 41¹⁰; VI. 12⁴) as a N. f. of *chir-* 'one who approaches or asks'.

³ The Pada text has *i* in all these forms. Cp. NEISSER BB. 20, 44.

⁴ In the RV. the ending -ā occurs 176 times, -au only 10 times: LANMAN 427 (mid.).

⁵ A Dvandva compound in which both members are inflected.

⁶ The shortening is probably metrical.

⁷ This is the interpretation of the commentator; but the derivation of the word is obscure.

⁸ No form in -*bhyām* with the Ab. sense occurs.

⁹ These G. I. forms as well as *svāstāras* must be pronounced trisyllabically in the RV. except *mātrīs* in VII. 3⁹. See LANMAN 428.

¹⁰ With long grade vowel.

¹¹ The form *vāsu-dhātāras* (AV. V. 27⁶) may be N. pl. with shortened vowel, but WHITNEY regards it as a comparative N. sing. 'greater bestower of wealth'. See his note on AV. V. 27⁶.

A. 1. m. *pitṛn*¹; *dākṣa-pitṛn*, *pṛṣni-mātṛn*. — **f.** *mātṛs*². — **2. m.** *āstṛn*, *a-smātṛn*, *kartṛn* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5³⁰), *goptṛn* (AV.), *jaritṛn*, *trātṛn*, *dātṛn*, *pātṛn* (AV.) 'drinkers', *pra-vodhṛn* 'carrying off', *stotṛn*, *sthatṛn*, *hōtṛn*.

I. 1. m. *nīpṛbhis*, *pitṛbhis*, *bhrātṛbhis*; *saptā-mātṛbhis*. — **f.** *mātṛbhis*. — **2. m.** *āstṛbhis*, *kartṛbhis*, *dhātṛbhis*, *partṛbhis* 'with aids', *satṛbhis* 'bindings', *stotṛbhis* and *sōtṛbhis*, *hetṛbhis*, *hōtṛbhis*.

D. 1. m. *pitṛbhyas*. — **f.** *mātṛbhyas*. — **2. m.** *ksatṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'charioteers', *raksitṛbhyas* (AV.), *stotṛbhyas*, *saṃ-grahitṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'drivers'.

Ab. 1. m. *pitṛbhyas*. — **f.** *mātṛbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *pitṛnām*³. — **2.** *unnepṛnām* (VS. VI. 2) kind of Soma priests, *jaritṛnām*, *dātṛnām*⁴ (AV.), *dhātṛnām*, *stotṛnām*, *hōtṛnām*. — **With P:** 1. *pitṛnām* (TS. I. 3. 6¹ etc.); 2. *dhātṛnām* (TS. IV. 7. 14³), *netṛnām* (TS. I. 3. 6¹)⁵.

L. 1. m. *pitṛsu* (AV.). — **f.** *mātṛsu*. — **2. m.** *hōtṛsu*.

2. Stems in *y* and *v*.

361. These stems, of which there are only five, form a transition to the vowel declension because, while taking the normal endings like the ordinary consonant declension, they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. and show a vowel before the endings with initial consonant. There are no neuter forms⁶.

a. Stem in *-āy* (*-ai*).

362. This type is represented by only one word, usually stated in the form of *rāi-*, which never appears in any case. This word, which is both m. and (rarely) f., means 'wealth', being in origin doubtless connected with the root *rā-* 'give'. The stem appears as *rāy-* before vowels and *rā-* before consonants. The forms occurring are: Sing. A. *rām*. I. *rāyā*. D. *rāyā*. Ab. *rāyāis*. G. *rāyās*⁷. — Pl. N. *rāyas*. A. *rāyās*⁸. G. *rāyām*.

a. The inflexion of *rāy-* is supplemented by *rāyi-*, m. f., from which occur the additional cases sing. N. *rāyis*, A. *rāyim*, I. *rāyā* and *rāyānā*; pl. I. *rāyibhis*, G. *rāyīnam*.

b. There are three forms which seem to be irregular compounds of *rāy-*: sing. G. *rāhād-rāyas* ('increasing wealth') N. of a man, D. *rāhād-rāye* 'having much wealth', and du. N. *sata-rā* 'having a hundred goods'. In the first two forms the vowel of the stem has probably been shortened metrically⁹; in the third form, the stem as it appears before consonants has been used.

b. Stems in *-av* (*-o*) and *-āv* (*-au*).

363. There are two stems in *-av*, viz. *gāv-* m. 'bull', f. 'cow', and *dyāv-* m. f. 'heaven', 'day'. Both distinguish strong forms, in which the vowel is lengthened; both take *-s* in the N. sing. before which the end of the stem assumes the form of *-au*. Both show various irregularities in their inflexion.

¹ On the Sandhi of these accusatives see LANMAN 429.

² Once with m. ending *mātṛn* (x. 35²).

³ With *n* before the ending *-ām* as in the vowel declension, and accent shifted to the ending as in the *i-* and *u-* declension when those vowels are accented.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. v. 24³.

⁵ Also *udgātṛnām* (TS. III. 2. 9³) and *dhātṛnām* (TS. II. 6. 6⁴). See BENFAY, *Vedica*, p. 1—38; IS. 13, 101; LANMAN 430.

⁶ Except the isolated *dyāvī* occurring once as V. du. of *dyāv-* 'heaven'.

⁷ The G. a few times has the irregular accent *rāyas*.

⁸ Accented thus 22 times as a weak case in the RV., and four times *rāyas* as a strong case (also VS. II. 24). The SV. I. 4. 1. 4¹ has the A. pl. *rās* in the variant *adhā rāh* for *adhāta* of RV. VIII. 96¹.

⁹ According to BR. and GRASSMANN, they are formed from the stems *rāhād-rā-* and *rāhād-rā-*. Cp. LANMAN 431.

The inflexion of *gáv-*, which is almost complete (the only forms not represented being the weak cases of the dual) is as follows:

Sing. N. *gāus*. A. *gām*. I. *gāvā*. D. *gāve*. Ab. *gās*. G. *gās*. L. *gāvi*. — Du. N. A. *gāvā* and *gāvau*. — Pl. N. *gāvas*. A. *gās*. I. *gābhis*. D. *gābhyas*. G. *gāvām* and *gāmām*. L. *gāvū*. V. *gāvas*.

a. Three of these forms, *gām*, *gās*, *gās* must, in the RV., be read as dissyllables in a few instances, though this is doubtful in the case of *gās*¹.

b. The normal G. pl. *gāvām*, which is by far the commoner, occurring 55 times in the RV., is found only 3 times at the end of a Pāda (which in two of these instances ends iambically); the irregular G. *gāmām*², occurring 20 times in the RV., is found at the end of a Pāda only. The use of the latter form thus seems to have arisen from metrical exigencies.

c. It is to be noted that from the point of view of accentuation the stem is not treated as a monosyllable, since the Udātta never shifts to the ending in weak cases.

d. There are three compounds formed from this stem: *āger*³ G. sing. m. 'having no cows'; *pfīni-gāvas*⁴ N. pl. m. 'having dappled cows'; *vātad-gāvi* I. sing. f. 'having bright cows'.

364. The strong form of *dyāv-* (in which the *y* has often to be read as *i*) is *dyāv-*, which appears as *dy.tu-* before the *-s* of the N., and with loss of the final *u*, in the A. sing. *dyām*⁵. The normal stem *dyāv-* appears in weak cases only, in the contracted Ab. G. *dyās*⁶ and the L. *dyāvi*; it is otherwise entirely displaced by the Samprasāraṇa form *div-* (from which the accent shifts to the ending in weak cases) before vowels and *dyū-* before consonants.

The weak grade stem *div-* has not only entirely ousted *dyāv-* from the I. D. sing., and largely from the Ab. G. L. sing., but has even encroached on the strong forms: *divam* occurring (21 times) beside *dyām* (79 times), and *divas* (once) beside *dyāvas* (22 times) in the N. pl. Similarly *dyū-*⁷ has displaced *dyāv-* in the weak plural forms: A. *dyūn* (for **dyāvas*) and I. *dyūbhis* (for **dyābhis*).

The inflexion of *dyāv-* is less complete than that of *gāv-*, the D. Ab. G. L. pl. being wanting as well as all the weak cases of the dual. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. *dyāus*. A. *dyām*; *divam*. I. *dyāvā*. D. *dyāve*. Ab. *dyās*; *divās*⁸. G. *dyās*; *divās*⁹. L. *dyāvi*; *divī*¹⁰. V. *dyāus* and *dyāus*¹¹. — Du. N. A. V. *dyāvā*¹²; *dyāvū*¹³. — Pl. N. V. *dyāvas*; *divas*¹⁴ (once). A. m. *dyūn*; f. *divas*¹⁵ (twice); I. m. *dyūbhis*¹⁶.

a. The A. *dyām* seems to require dissyllabic pronunciation in a few instances. The form *dyāus* occurs once (I. 71⁸) as an Ab. instead of *dyāv*. The form *divam* doubtless made its way into the A. sing. owing to the influence of the very frequent weak cases *divās* etc., which taken together occur more than 350 times in the RV.

¹ See LANMAN 431 (bottom). The form *gāvas* is actually used for the A. in Kh. II. 6¹⁸.

² Formed on the analogy of the vowel declension.

³ This might be formed from the reduced stem *ā-gu-*.

⁴ There is also from the reduced stem *gu-* the A. sing. m. *pfīni-gūm*, as the N. of a man.

⁵ For **dyā[u]m* like *gām* for **gā[u]m*.

⁶ Like *gās* for **gāvas*.

⁷ Based on *dyū-*.

⁸ In the RV. *dyāv* occurs only twice as Ab., *divās* 50 times.

⁹ In the RV. *dyāv* occurs 4 times as G., *divās* 180 times.

¹⁰ *dyāvi* occurs 12 times, *divī* 118 times in the RV.

¹¹ *dyāus*, that is, *divas* occurs only once and is to be read as a dissyllable.

¹² In the G. du. of the Dvandva *divis-pṛthivyās*, the G. sing. takes the place of the G. du., which would be *divās*.

¹³ The neuter form used once for the m.

¹⁴ Also twice in AV.

¹⁵ Also 3 or 4 times in AV.

¹⁶ *dyūn* and *dyūbhis* occur only in the RV. or in verses borrowed from the RV.

b. Starting from *div-ás* etc. a transition stem *divá-* according to the *a*-declension came into being. From this occur the forms *divá-m* 'heaven' and *divá-dive* 'every day', and in compounds *tri-divá-m* (AV.) 'third heaven', *tri-divá*, *su-divá-m* (AV.) 'bright day'.

c. It is to be noted that the accentuation of forms from *div-* follows the rule of monosyllables, while that of forms from *dyāv-* and *dyá-*, as may be inferred from *dyáśi* and *dyábhīś*, does not, being the same as that of *gáv-*.

d. The following case-forms of compounds of *dyāv-* occur: sing. N. *pra-dyāv* (AV.) 'highest heaven', I. *pra-dyāvā*, Ab. *pra-dyāvāś*, L. *pra-dyāvāś*; *dyāv-dī* 'day by day'; du. N. A. *prthivī-dyāvā* 'earth and heaven', *dyāvā-kṣāmā*, *dyāvā-prthivī*, *dyāvā-bhāmī* 'heaven and earth', *prthi-dyāvā* 'having a raining sky'; pl. N. *prthi-dyāvāś*, *su-dyāvāś*.

365. There are two stems in *-āv*, viz. *nāv-* (*nāu-*) f. 'ship', and *glāv-* (*glāu-*) m. or f. 'lump'. The inflexion is very incomplete, as no dual and only two plural forms are found; but as far as can be judged from the forms occurring it is quite regular, the accentuation being that of monosyllabic stems. The forms of *nāv-* are:

Sing. N. *nāus*. A. *nāvam*, *su-nāvam* 'good ship' (VS. XXI. 7). I. *nāvā*, G. *nāvās*. L. *nāval*. — Pl. N. *nāvāś*. I. *naubhīś*.

From *glāv-* occur only the two forms N. sing. *glāus* (AV.) and I. pl. *glāubhīś* (VS. XXV. 8)².

B. Vowel stems.

366. The vowel declension comprises stems ending in *a*, *i*, *u*, both long and short. These differ considerably in their inflexion according as they are radical or derivative. The radical stems, which virtually all end in the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*³, are allied to the consonant declension in taking the normal endings; but they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. The derivative stems, which end in both long and short vowels, modify the normal endings considerably; though they for the most part add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f., those in *-ā* and *-ī* regularly drop it.

i. a. Stems in radical *-ā*.

367. Radical *ā*-stems are frequent in the RV., but become less common in the later Samhitās where they often shorten the final vowel to *ā* and are then inflected like derivative *a*-stems. The great majority of the forms occurring are nominatives or accusatives, other cases being rare and some not occurring at all. In the RV. the N. sing. forms with *ā* occur ten times oftener than those with the shortened vowel *ā*, and five times oftener than the forms with *ā* in the AV. On the other hand, the AV. has only slightly more forms with *ā* than with *ā*, and no m. forms at all from *ā*-stems in the oblique cases⁴. This tendency to give up the *ā* forms in the later Samhitās may be illustrated by the fact that the forms of the RV. N. sing. *carṣāni-prā-s* 'blessing men', *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giver', *prathama-jā-s* 'first-born', V. *soma-pā-s* 'soma-drinker', are replaced in the AV. by *carṣāni-prā-s*, *nāma-dhā-s*, *prathama-jā-s*⁵, V. *soma-pā* respectively.

This declension includes stems formed from about thirty roots. Of these, four appear as monosyllables in the m.: *jā-* 'child', *trā-* 'protector', *dā-* 'giver', *sthā-* 'standing'; and seven in the f.: *kṣā-*⁶ 'abode', *-kṣī-* 'well', *gnā-*⁷ 'divine

¹ There is also the transition form according to the *ā*-declension I. sing. *nāvāyā*, the accentuation of which indicates that it started from *nāvā*.

² The N. pl. *glāvāś* also occurs in the AB.

³ These, however, by being shortened often appear secondarily as *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, when they are inflected like derivative stems. Radical *ī* *ū* and *r* stems have joined the

consonant declension by almost always adding the root determinative *-ā*.

⁴ See LANMAN 435¹.

⁵ The form *prathama-jā-s*, however, also occurs in the AV.

⁶ From *kṣā-* = *kṣī-* 'dwell', 'rule'.

⁷ Perhaps formed with suffixal *ā* from a root **gan-* and sometimes to be pronounced as a dissyllable (*ganā*), but inflected as if a radical stem.

woman', *jā-* 'child', *jyā-* 'bowstring', *mā-* 'measure', *vri-*¹ 'troop'; the rest appear only at the end of compounds; *krā-*² 'doing', *krī-*³ 'scattering', *kyā-* 'ruling', *khā-* 'digging', *khyā-* 'seeing', *gā-* 'going', *gā-* 'singing', *jā-* 'born', *jñā-* 'knowing', *jyā-* 'power', *-ā-* 'stretching', *-dā-* 'giving', *-drā-* 'sleeping', *-dhā-* 'putting', *-dhu-* 'sucking', *-pā-* 'guarding', *-pā-* 'drinking', *-prā-* 'filling', *-bhā-* 'appearing', *-mā-* 'measuring', *-yā-* 'going', *-vā-* 'blowing', *-sā-* 'winning', *-sthā-* 'standing', *-snā-* 'bathing', *-hā-* 'starting'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and f. only. There are no distinctively n. forms⁶, as the stem shortens the radical vowel to *i* in that gender and is consequently inflected according to the derivative *a*-declension.

a. Three anomalously formed m. derivative stems in *-ā* follow the analogy of the radical *a*-stems. 1. From the adverb *tā-thā* 'thus' is formed the N. sing. *tā-thā-s* 'not saying "yes"'. 2. *usā-*, N. of a seer, forms its A. *usānam* and D. *usāne*⁷; the N. sing. being irregularly formed without *-s*, has the appearance of a N. sing. f. from a derivative *a*-stem⁸. 3. The strong stem of *pathi-* 'path' is in the RV. *pānthā-* only: N. sing. *pānthā-s* (+ AV.), A. *pānthā-m* (+ AV.), N. pl. *pānthās*. The AV. also uses the stem *pānthā-*, from which it forms N. sing. *pānthā* (once), A. *pānthānam* (once), and N. pl. *pānthānas*. Though the stem *pānthā-* never occurs in the RV., the evidence of the Avesta points to its having been in use beside *pānthā-* in the Indo-Iranian period⁹. The A. *pānthām*¹⁰, as a contraction of *pānthānam*, may have been the starting point of the N. sing. *pānthā-s*.

Inflection.

368. The forms occurring in the oblique cases are so rare that some endings, such as those of the L. sing., G. I. du. and G. pl. are not represented at all. The m. always takes *-s* in the N. sing., but the f. often drops it, doubtless owing to the influence of the f. of derivative *a*-stems. Excepting the few forms occurring in the D. and G. sing.¹¹, the N. sing. with *-s* is the only case in which the inflexion of the radical stems can be distinguished in the f.¹² from that of the derivative *a*-stems in form¹³. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *jā-* 'offspring', be the following:

Sing. N. m. f. *jā-s*, f. also *jā*. A. m. f. *jā-m*. I. f. *jā*. D. m. f. *jā*. G. m. *jā-s*. V. m. *jā-s*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *jā*, *jā*. I. *jā-bhyām*¹⁴.

Pl. N. m. f. *jās*. A. f. *jās*. I. m. f. *jā-bhis*. D. f. *jā-bhyas*. Ab. m. *jā-bhyas*. L. f. *jā-su*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *jā-s*¹⁵ 'child', *dā-s*¹⁶ 'giver', *sthā-s* 'standing'. — *dadhī-krā-s*¹⁷,

¹ From an extended form of the root *vr-* 'surround'.

² An extension with *-ā* of *kr-* 'do'.

³ An extension with *-ā* of *kr-* 'scatter'.

⁴ The root *mlā-* 'soften' occurs in the modified form of *-mā-* in *carma-mnā-* 'manner'.

⁵ Four of these roots, *khā-*, *gā-*, *jā-*, *sā-*, are collateral forms of others ending in a nasal, *khan-*, *gam-*, *jan-*, *san-*; cp. DELBRÜCK, *Verbum*, p. 92 f., LANMAN 442.

⁶ Five N. sing. m. forms with *-s* are found in agreement with n. substantives.

⁷ There is also a L. sing. *usāne*, which is formed as if from an *a*-stem.

⁸ The starting-point of this may have been *usānam* as a contracted A. for *usānasam*.

⁹ See LANMAN 441.

¹⁰ The analogy of *pathi-* is followed by *mathi-* 'churning-stick', which once has the A. form *mānthā-m*.

¹¹ There are otherwise only the f. trans-

ition forms L. sing. *āpāyām*, N. of a river, and *purā-dhāyām* (AV.).

¹² The N. sing. with *-s* is about as common as that without it in the RV., the latter occurring in late hymns; in the AV. the former are less common.

¹³ But on etymological grounds other cases may commonly be distinguished as belonging to either one group or the other; thus A. f. *ā-gopām* 'having no herdsman' must be regarded as a radical *a*-form, because the m. is almost without exception *gopām*, and not as a derivative f. from *gopā-*.

¹⁴ Contrary to the rule generally applicable to monosyllable stems, the accent remains on the radical syllable throughout.

¹⁵ LANMAN 443 thinks *gā-s* in x. 127⁹ is a N. sing. 'singer' (*gā-* 'sing'), but it is probably the A. pl. of *gā-* 'cow'.

¹⁶ Also *dhā-s* in TS. II. 6. 41.

¹⁷ These compounds are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the roots.

N. of a divine horse. — *ṛbhu-ksā-s* 'lord of the Ṛbhus'. — *bisa-khū-s* 'digging up lotus fibres'. — *agre-gā-s* (VS. xxvii. 31; Kh. v. 6') 'going before', *an-ā-gā-s* 'not coming', *puro-gā-s* 'leader', *samana-gā-s* 'going to the assembly'. — *sāma-gā-s* 'singing chants'. — *adri-jā-s* 'produced from stones', *apsu-jā-s* 'born in the waters', *ab-jā-s* 'born in water', *abhra-jā-s* (AV.) 'born from clouds', *ṛta-jā-s* 'truly born', *ṛte-jā-s* 'produced at the rite', *go-jā-s* 'born from the cow', *tapo-jā-s* (VS. xxxvii. 16) 'born from heat', *divi-jā-s* 'born in the sky', *deva-jā-s* 'god-born', *avi-jā-s* 'twice-born', *nakṣatra-jā-s* (AV.) 'star-born', *nabho-jā-s* 'produced from vapour', *nava-jā-s* 'newly born', *purā-jā-s* 'primeval', *pūrva-jā-s* 'born before', *prathama-jā-s* 'first-born', *bahu-pra-jā-s* 'having numerous progeny', *manuṣya-jā-s* 'born of men', *vane-jā-s* 'born in woods', *vāta-jā-s* (AV.) 'arisen from wind', *sana-jā-s* 'born long ago', *saha-jā-s* 'born together', *saho-jā-s* 'produced by strength', *su-pra-jā-s* 'having good offspring', *hiranya-jā-s* (AV.) 'sprung from gold'. — *ṛta-jñū-s* 'knowing the sacred law'. — *parama-juṣ* 'holding supreme power'. — *apāna-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'giving the downward air', *ātma-dā-s* 'granting breath', *āyur-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'granting long life', *āstr-dā-s* (VS. xviii. 56) 'fulfilling a wish', *ojo-dā-s* 'granting power', *go-dā-s* 'giving kine', *caḥsur-dā-s* (TS. iv. 6. 1⁵) 'giving sight', *dravino-dā-s* 'giving wealth', *dhana-dā-s* 'giving booty', *prāṇa-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'life-giving', *bala-dā-s* 'giving power', *bhūri-dā-s* 'giving much', *rāṣṭra-dā-s* (VS. x. 2) 'giving dominion', *varito-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving space', *varco-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving vigour', *vasu-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving wealth', *vyāna-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving breath', *sahasra-dā-s* 'giving a thousand', *saho-dā-s* 'giving strength', *svasti-dā-s* 'giving happiness', *havir-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving oblations', *hiranya-dā-s* 'yielding gold'. — *abhi-dhā-s* (VS. xxii. 3) 'surrounding', *kīye-dhā-s* 'containing much', *cano-dhā-s* (VS. viii. 7) 'gracious', *dhāma-dhā-s* 'founder of dwellings', *dhiyam-dhā-s* 'devout', *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giving', *bhāga-dhā-s* (TS. iv. 6. 3¹) 'paying what is due', *ratna-dhā-s* 'procuring wealth', *reto-dhā-s* 'impregnating', *rayo-dhā-s* 'bestowing strength', *varco-dhā-s* (AV.) 'granting vigour', *viśv-dhā-s* (VS. i. 2) 'all-preserving', *sarva-dhā-s* 'all-refreshing'. — *adhi-pā-s* 'ruler', *apāna-pā-s* (VS. xx. 34) 'protecting the downward breath', *abhi-ṣasti-pā-s* 'defending from imprecations', *abhi-ṣi-pā-s* 'protecting with assistance', *āprta-pā-s* (VS. viii. 57) 'guarding when gladdened', *āyus-pā-s* (VS. xxii. 1) 'life-protector', *ṛta-pā-s* 'guarding divine order', *go-pā-s* 'herdsman', *ā-gopā-s* 'lacking a cowherd', *devā-gopā-s* 'having the gods for guardians', *su-gopā-s* 'good protector', *sīma-gopā-s* 'keeper of Soma', *caḥsur-pā-s*² (VS. ii. 6) 'protecting the eyesight', *tanu-pā-s* 'protecting the person', *nidhi-pā-s* (AV. VS.) 'guardian of treasure', *paras-pā-s*³ 'protecting afar', *paśu-pā-s* 'keeper of herds', *prāṇa-pā-s* (VS. xx. 34) 'guardian of breath', *ṛta-pā-s* 'observing ordinances', *śevadhī-pā-s* 'guarding treasure', *sti-pā-s* 'protecting dependents', *sva-pā-s*⁴ (AV.) 'protector of his own'. — *an-ṛtu-pā-s* 'not drinking in time', *ṛtu-pā-s* 'drinking at the right season', *pūrva-pā-s* 'drinking first', *suta-pā-s* 'drinking the Soma-juice', *soma-pā-s* 'drinking Soma', *hari-pā-s* 'drinking the yellow (Soma)'. — *antarikṣa-pri-s* 'traversing the air', *kratu-pri-s* 'granting power', *carṣayi-pri-s* 'satisfying men', *rodasi-pri-s*⁴ 'filling heaven and earth'. — *ṛya-yā-s* 'exacting obligations', *cva-yā-s* 'going quickly', *tura-yā-s* 'going swiftly', *deva-yā-s* 'going to the gods'. — *ap-sā-s* 'giving water', *aśva-sā-s* 'giving horses', *dhana-sā-s* 'winning wealth', *vāja-sā-s* 'winning booty', *śata-sā-s* 'gaining a hundred', *sahasra-sā-s* 'gaining a thousand', *go-sā-s* 'acquiring cattle', *nr-sā-s* 'procuring men', *su-sā-s* 'gaining

¹ In *abhiṣṭiṣṭi* (ii. 20²), where the Pada ³ The Pada text of AV. iii. 3¹ divides text reads *abhiṣṭi-ṣṭi-ṣṭi*. See LANMAN 443 *sva-pā-s*; but the correct division may be (bottom).

² On the Sandhi in this compound cp. 78 c.

⁴ For *rodasi-pri-s*.

easily', *svar-gā-s* 'winning light'. — *adhara-sthā-s*¹ (Kh. II. 8¹) 'subordinate', *ṛta-sthā-s* (AV.) 'standing right', *rocana-sthā-s* 'abiding in light', *sāpa-sthā-s*² (VS. XXI. 60; TS. I. 2. 2³) 'forming a good lap'; *aṅge-sthā-s* (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *adhivare-sthā-s* 'standing at the sacrifice', *giri-sthā-s* 'mountain-dwelling', *nī-sthā-s* 'excelling', *puru-nī-sthā-s* 'excelling among many', *bhuvane-sthā-s*³ (AV.) 'being in the world', *manhane-sthā-s* 'liberal', *madhyame-sthā-s* (AV. VS. TS.) 'standing in the middle', *ratho-sthā-s* 'standing on a car', *vandane-sthā-s* 'mindful of praises', *vandhure-sthā-s* 'standing on the car-seat', *sayya-sthā-s*⁴ (AV.), *hari-sthā-s* 'borne by bay horses'. — *ghṛta-snā-s* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal forms *ā-tathā-s* 'not saying "yes"', *pānthā-s* 'path'.

f. *ksā-s* 'abode', *gnā-s* 'divine woman', *vri-s*⁵ (I. 124⁶) 'troop'. — *ṛta-pā-s*, *ṛte-ji-s*, *kuta-pā-s* (AV.) 'chief of a family', *go-dhā-s*⁶ 'sinew', *go-pā-s* (AV.) 'female guardian', *go-gā-s*, *divi-jā-s*, *divo-jā-s* 'born from heaven', *vane-jā-s*, *vayo-dhā-s* (AV.), *vasu-dā-s* (AV.), *śata-sā-s*, *samana-gā-s*, *sahasra-sā-s*⁷. — Without -s in the Pada but with hiatus in the Saṃhitā⁸: *jyā* 'bowstring'; *nī-drā* 'sleep', *pra-pā* 'place for watering', *śrad-dhā* 'faith', *sva-dhā*⁹ 'self-power'; *un-mā* (TS.) 'measure of height', *prati-mā* (TS.) 'counter-measure', *pra-mā* (TS.) 'fore-measure', *vi-mā* (TS.) 'through-measure'¹⁰. — Without -s as in the derivative ā-declension: *jā* (AV.), *mā* (TS. IV. 3. 7¹) 'measure'. — *āpa-gā*¹¹ (AV.) 'going away', *abhi-bhā* 'apparition', *ā-samjñā* (AV.) 'discord', *upa-jā* (AV.) 'distant posterity', *go-dhā*¹², *dur-gā* (AV.) 'hard to go upon', *devā-gopā*, *dyu-ksā* 'heavenly', *pra-jā* 'offspring', *prati-mā* 'image', *pra-pā* (AV. III. 30⁶), *pra-mā* 'measure', *madhu-dhā*¹³ 'dispensing sweetness', *śrad-dhā* (AV.), *sana-ju*, *svā-gopā* 'guarding oneself', *sva-dhā*.

n. With -s and agreeing with n. substantives: *sthā-s* 'stationary'; *indra-jā-s* (AV.) 'descended from Indra', *śata-sā-s*, *su-pra-yā-s* 'pleasant to tread on', *soma-jā-s*¹⁴ (AV.) 'Soma-born'.

A. m. *jām*, *trām* 'protector', *sthām*. — *dadhi-krām*, *rudhi-krām* N. of a demon. — *tano-gām* 'roaming in the darkness', *tavā-gām* 'moving mightily', *svasti-gām* 'leading to prosperity'. — *sama-gām*. — *agra-jām* 'first-born', *ab-jām*, *nabho-jām*, *purā-jām*, *prathama-jām*, *bharcu-jām* 'existing in battles'. — *an-āśva-dām* 'not giving horses', *an-āśir-dām* 'not giving a blessing', *a-bhikṣa-dām*¹⁵ 'giving without being asked', *upa-dām* (VS. XXX. 9) 'giving a present', *jani-dām* 'giving a wife', *draviṇo-dām*, *dhana-dām*, *rabho-dām* 'bestowing strength', *vasu-dām*, *saho-dām*, *havir-dām* (AV.). — *ratna-dhām* (AV., VS. IV. 25), *reto-dhām* (VS. VIII. 10), *vayo-dhām*, *varivo-dhām* 'granting space', *varco-dhām* (VS. IV. 11), *vīpo-dhām* 'inspiring'. — *adhiśasti-pām*, *go-pām*, *tanū-pām*, *nī-sikta-pām* 'protecting the infused (semen)', *vṛata-pām*. — *añjas-pām* 'drinking instantly', *śya-pām* 'drinking boiled milk', *soma-pām*. — *antarikṣa-prām*, *kakṣya-prām* 'filling out the girth',

¹ The Ms. reads *ādhira-sthā nīnatat*.

² That is, *su-upa-sthā-s*.

³ While Kh. III. 22² has in the same verse *bhūmane-sthā-s* (sic).

⁴ The Pada reads *sayya-sthā-s*; see APr. II. 95, and cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VIII. 8²³.

⁵ N. sing. GRASSMANN and LANMAN, N. pl. ROTH and SAYANA.

⁶ The derivation is uncertain.

⁷ The above are the only N. sing. f. forms written with -s in the Pada text.

⁸ It may therefore be assumed that the N. was formed with -s.

⁹ Cp. RPr. II. 29. With regard to *sva-dhā*, the Saṃhitā text is inconsistent, writing it contracted with a following vowel in *svadhāsi*

(I. 165⁶) and *svadhāmīti* (V. 34¹), where it must be pronounced with hiatus.

¹⁰ All these four compounds of *mā*-measure occur in TS. IV. 4. 11²; see TPr. X. 13, IS. 13, 104, note 2.

¹¹ BR. would accentuate *apa-gā*; cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. I. 34⁵.

¹² Probably *go-dhās* in X. 28¹¹; cp. LANMAN 445.

¹³ Also *maryādā* 'limit' if *maryā-dā*, but the derivation is doubtful.

¹⁴ These forms must be regarded as m. used as n. Cp. the -ās forms of -as stems used as n. Cp. (344).

¹⁵ According to the Pada text *abhi-ṣya-dām* ('destroying').

carṣayi-prām, *ratha-prām* 'filling a car', *rodasi-prām*¹. — *ap-sām*, *arvarā-sām* 'granting fertile land', *kṣetra-sām* 'procuring land', *dhana-sām*, *saddā-sām* 'always gaining', *sahasra-sām*; *go-sām*, *svar-sām*. — *rocana-sthām*, *sv-āsa-sthām* (VS. II. 2) 'offering a good seat'; *giri-sthām*, *nare-sthām* 'serving for a man'² to stand on', *ni-sthām*, *karma-nisthām* 'diligent in religious acts', *pathi-sthām* (AV.) 'being on the way', *pathe-sthām*³ 'standing in the way', *pari-sthām* 'surrounding', *parvate-sthām* 'dwelling on the heights', *barhi-sthām*⁴ 'standing on the sacrificial grass', *rathe-sthām*, *rayi-sthām* (AV.) 'possessed of wealth', *hari-sthām*. — Also the abnormal derivative forms *pānthām*, *mānthām* 'churning-stick'.

f. *ksām*, *khām* 'well', *gnām*, *jām*, *jyām*, *vām*. — *ā-gopām*, *antarikṣa-prām*, *ava-sām* 'liberation', *āsva-sām*, *upa-vām* (AV.) 'act of blowing upon', *uru-sām* 'granting much', *ṛa-jhām*, *tiro-dhām* (AV.) 'concealment', *dūr-dhām* 'disarrangement', *dhana-sām*, *pra-jām*, *prati-dhām* (AV.) 'draught', *prati-sthām* 'standpoint', *pra-vām* (AV.) 'blowing forth', *pra-hām* 'advantage', *yakṣmo-dhām*⁵ (AV.) 'maker of disease', *vāja-sām*, *śrad-dhām*, *sabhām*⁶ 'assembly', *su-prajām*, *sva-jām* 'self-born', *sva-dhām*, *svar-sām*.

I. f. *apa-dhā* 'concealment', *abhi-khyā* 'splendour', *a-sthā* 'without standing'⁷, *āstir-dhā* (VS.) 'fulfilment of a wish', *prati-dhā*, *prati-sthā*⁸, *sva-dhā*.

D. m. *dē*; *kitāta-pē* 'drinking (the beverage called) *kitāta*', *dhiyaṃ-dhē* 'devout', *paśu-pē* 'bestowing cattle', *riyas-poṣa-dē* (VS. V. 1) 'granting increase of wealth', *śuci-pē* 'drinking the clear (Soma)', *śubham-yē* 'flying swiftly along', *havir-dē*.

f. *ksē*; *śrad-dhē*⁹. — Also the infinitives *pra-khyā* 'to see', *vi-khyā* 'to look about'; *para-dā* 'to give up'; *vayo-dhā* 'to strengthen'; *prati-mā*¹⁰ 'to imitate'; *ava-yā* 'to go away', *ā-yā* 'to approach', *upa-yā* 'to come near', *pra-yā* 'to go forward'; *ava-sā*¹¹ 'to rest'¹².

G. m. *krṣti-prās* 'pervading the human race', *paśu-śās*¹³.

V. m. *ṛa-pā-s* (TS. III. 2. 8¹), *ṛtu-pā-s*, *puro-gā-s* (TS. V. 1. 1. 11¹), *bhūri-dā-s*, *śukra-pāta-pā-s* 'drinking bright and purified (Soma)', *śuci-pā-s*, *śrotra-pā-s* (VS. XX. 3. 4) 'protecting the ear', *suta-pā-s*, *soma-pā-s*¹⁴.

Du. N. A. V. m. *kakṣya-prā*, *go-pā*, *gharmye-sthā* 'being in a house', *charḍi-pā* 'protecting a house', *jagat-pā* 'protecting the living', *lanū-pā*, *tapuṣ-pā* 'drinking warm beverage', *dravino-dā*¹⁵, *paras-pā*, *purā-jā*, *pūru-trā* 'protecting much', *vāja-dā* 'bestowing vigour', *śuci-pā*, *su-gopā*, *soma-pā*, *sti-pā*. — With -au: *ā-krau*¹⁶ 'inactive', *ā-doma-dhū* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *adhra-gū* 'travelling', *go-pāu*, *go-pau*, *madhu-pāu* 'drinking Soma', *rayi-dāu* 'bestowing wealth', *suta-pāu*¹⁷.

¹ For *rodasi-prām*.

² The D. case-form of *nr̥* 'man' being retained in the compound.

³ The L. of the stem *patha* = *pathi* being retained in the compound.

⁴ *barhi-* for *barhiṣ-*: see 62.

⁵ With the N. case-form retained in the compound; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. IX. 8⁹.

⁶ The derivation of this word is uncertain.

⁷ Used adverbially = 'at once'.

⁸ Cp. LANMAN 447¹. There are also the transition forms *jyāyā*, *prajāyā*.

⁹ Also the transition form *prajāyā*.

¹⁰ The infinitive *prati-mē* is probably a locative.

¹¹ These dative infinitives are formed by combining the full root with the ending -e, while in the ordinary datives the radical ā is dropped before the ending.

¹² See below, the Dative Infinitive, 584.

¹³ The form *jās-* in *jās-pā-* (I. 185^b) 'lord of the family' is probably a f. G. of *jā-*; and *gnās* probably G. of *gnā-* in *gnās-pā-* 'husband of a divine woman'. There are also the transition forms *jyāyās* and *prajāyās*.

¹⁴ There are also in the f. the transition forms *gāge*, *śrad-dhē*, *tiro-dhē* (AV.) 'concealment'.

¹⁵ The Pada text reads *dravino-dāu*.

¹⁶ Some of these duals in -au may be formed from radical stems with shortened -ā; cp. LANMAN 450¹.

¹⁷ There are also the f. transition forms *pāti-pē* 'drinking what is sweet', *pūru-yē* 'born before', *sv-āsa-sthē* 'sitting on a good seat'.

I. Only four compounds of *-pā* in TS. III. 2. 10¹: *kratu-pābhyām* 'watching one's intentions', *caṅsus-pābhyām*, *vāk-pābhyām* 'protecting speech', *śrotra-pābhyām*².

PI. N. V. m. *rbhu-ksās*. — *agni-jās* (AV.) 'fire-born', *ā-pra-jās* 'childless', *apsu-jās* (AV.), *ośadhi-jās* (AV.) 'born among herbs', *khala-jās* (AV.) 'produced on a threshing-floor', *deva-jās*, *purit-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pravāte-jās* 'grown in an airy place', *raghu-jās* 'produced from a racer', *śaka-dhūma-jās* (AV.) 'produced from cow-dung', *su-pra-jās*, *sva-jās*. — *ṛta-jās*, *ṛta-jūās*, *pada-jūās* 'knowing the track'. — *asva-dās* 'giving horses', *āśtr-dās* (VS. VIII. 5), *go-dās*, *dravino-dās*, *dhana-dās*, *vara-dās* (AV.) 'granting boons', *vastra-dās* and *vāso-dās* 'giving garments', *hiranya-dās*. — *jani-dhās*³ (x. 29²), *dhiyaṇ-dhās*, *ratna-dhās*, *retodhās*, *vayo-dhās*. — *payo-dhās* 'sucking milk'. — *kula-pās* 'heads of the family', *go-pās*, *indra-gopās* 'protected by Indra', *devā-gopās*, *vāyū-gopās* 'protected by Wind', *su-gopās*; *tanū-pās*, *paśu-pās*, *vṛata-pās*. — *agre-pās* 'drinking first', *aijas-pās*, *payas-pās* 'drinking milk', *manthi-pās*⁴ (VS. VII. 17) 'drinking the stirred Soma', *soma-pās*, *śma-pās* (AV.), *havis-pās* 'drinking offerings'. — *carma-mndās*⁵ 'tanners'. — *jma-yās* 'going on the earth'. — *dhana-sās*, *sada-sās*, *sahasra-sās*. — *prthivi-śhās*⁶ 'standing on the earth', *rathe-śhās*⁶, *haruṇye-śhās*⁶ 'dwelling in the house'. — *ghṛta-snās* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal derivative *pinthās*⁷.

f. *gnās*, *vṛās*. — *ā-gopās*, *ava-sthās* 'female organs', *dhi-gopās* 'guarded by the dragon', *ā-tās* 'frames', *ṛta-jūās* (AV.), *giri-jās* 'mountain-born', *jarani-prās*⁸, *devā-gopās*, *deva-yās*, *pada-jūās* (AV.), *pra-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pra-yās* 'advance', *manuṣya-jās* (AV.), *vakṣaṇe-śhās* 'being in Agni (?)', *vāja-dās*, *śuśma-dās* 'bestowing strength', *su-gopās*, *soma-pās*, *svayaṇ-jās*⁸ 'self-born'.

A. m. There is no certain example: *vane-jās* (x. 79⁷) is possibly one⁹.

f. *ksās*, *gnās*, *jās*. — *ān-agni-trās* 'not maintaining the sacred fire', *anu-śhās* 'following in succession', *asva-dās*, *deva-yās*, *pari-jās* (AV.) 'places of origin', *pari-śhās* 'impediments', *pra-jās*, *manuṣya-jās*, *vi-śhās* 'positions', *sahā-gopās* 'accompanied by herdsmen', *su-gās* 'easy to traverse', *sva-dhās*.

I. m. *agre-pābhis*. — f. *gnābhis*; *ṛtu-pābhis*, *ratna-dhābhis*, *prajābhis*, *śrad-dhābhis*, *sva-dhābhis*.

D. f. *pra-jābhyas*. — Ab. m. *bhūri-dābhyas*¹⁰.

L. f. *ksāsu*, *gnāsu*, *jāsu*; *ā-tāsu*¹¹, *pra-jāsu*, *sabhāsu*.

I b. Stems in Radical -a.

369. These consist almost entirely of stems in radical *ā* which has been shortened to *ā*. With the exception of *khā*¹² 'aperture' they occur at the end of compounds only. They are: *-kṣā* 'dwelling', *khā*, *-gā* 'going', *-gā* 'singing', *-jā* 'born', *-jya* 'bowstring', *-tā* 'stretching', *-trā*¹³ 'protecting', *-dā* 'giving'¹⁴, *-dā* 'binding', *-dhā* 'putting', *-pā* 'guarding', *-pā* 'drinking', *-pā* 'filling', *-mndā*.

¹ In the L. du. there also occur the f. transition forms *janghāyas* (AV.) and *sva-dhāyas*.

² Of doubtful meaning.

³ The stem is *manthi-pā*. according to BR.

⁴ From *ṣmā*: 'softening hides'.

⁵ *Prthivi* = *prthivī*.

⁶ With the L. ending retained in the first member of the compound.

⁷ The form *pinthās* also occurs once. It is doubtful whether the plurals *dyu-kpās* and *prīyasās* are to be regarded as formed from *ā*-stems. Such plurals are probably made from *a*-stems.

⁸ There is also the f. transition form *nāva-gvās*.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 451⁴.

¹⁰ In the G. occur the f. transition forms *pra-jhānām* (AV.) 'fore-knowing', *vi-bhānām* 'radiant'.

¹¹ Probably from *tā* = *tan* 'stretch'.

¹² The nominatives *drā-s* and *vṛā-s* in AV. XI. 7¹ (also *nyā-s*, 7¹) are of unknown meaning (see WHITNEY'S note).

¹³ Cp. GARRE in KZ. 23, 476, 480.

¹⁴ Perhaps also *-dra* 'running' in *kṛya-drā-m* (AV.).

'thinking', *mla-*¹ 'softening', *-sā-* 'winning', *-sthā-* 'standing'; also *-grā-*² 'swallowing', *-gva-*³ 'going', *-hā-*⁴ 'slaying'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only. This is the form assumed in the n. by all radical *ā*-stems (367).

Inflection.

370. The inflexion of the radical *a*-stems is identical with that of the derivative *a*-stems (371). The forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *dyu-ksā-s* 'dwelling in heaven'. — *su-khā-s* 'having a good (axle) hole'. — *agre-gā-s* 'going in front', *āsun-gā-s* (AV.) 'swift-going', *ṛju-gā-s* (AV.) 'going straight on', *patan-gā-s*⁵ 'going by flight', *vala-gā-s* (AV.) 'hidden in a cave'⁶, *śitip-gā-s* (AV. xi. 5¹²) 'white-goer', *su-gā-s* 'easy to traverse'. — *dāśa-gva-s*⁷ 'going in tens', *nāva-gva-s*⁸ 'going in nines'. — *a-jā-s* 'unborn', *adhri-jā-s* 'irresistible', *eka-jā-s* (AV.) 'produced alone', *jarāyu-jā-s* (AV.) 'viviparous', *ni-jā-s* (AV.) 'familiar'⁹, *prathama-jā-s* (AV.) 'first-born', *samudra-jā-s* (AV.) 'sea-born', *stamba-jā-s* (AV.) 'shaggy' (?). — *an-ānu-dā-s* 'not giving way', *dānu-dā-s* 'dripping', *dāyā-dā-s* (AV.) 'receiving (*ā-da-*) inheritance (*dāya-*)', *prāya-dā-s* 'life-giving'. — *nāma-dhā-s* (AV.) 'name-giver'. — *āktā-prā-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling wishes', *kāma-prā-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling desire', *carsani-prā-s* (AV.) 'satisfying men', *pṛthivī-prā-s* (AV.) 'earth-filling'¹⁰. — *apnah-sthā-s* 'possessor', *go-sthā-s* (AV.) 'cow-pen', *puru-niśthā-s* 'excelling among many'. — *śatru-hā-s* (AV.) 'slaying enemies', *sahasra-hā-s* (AV.) 'slaying a thousand'.

N. A. n. *khām* 'aperture'. — *a-doma-dām* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *antīri-ksām* 'air', *kyāna-drām* (AV.) 'black runner' (?),¹¹ *tuvi-ksām* 'destroying many', *dur-gām* 'impassable', *dyu-ksām*, *prathama-jām* (AV. VS.), *vāta-gopām* (AV.) 'guarded by the wind', *vṛtra-hām* 'slaying foes', *śatra-hām* 'always destroying', *sadhā-sthām* 'abode', *su-gām*, *su-mnām* 'benevolent'.

A. m. *atīthi-gvām* ('to whom guests go') N. of a man, *an-ānu-dām*, *arāti-hām* (AV.) 'destroying adversity', *asva-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'groom', *i-sva-gam* (AV.) 'homeless', *eka-jām*, *garbha-dhām* (VS. TS.) 'impregnator', *grha-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'guardian of a house', *go-pām* 'herdsman', *carma-mnām* (VS.) 'tanner', *tri-śhām* 'having three seats', *dāśa-gvam*, *dāva-pām* (VS. xxx. 19) 'forest-fire guard', *dyu-ksām*, *patan-gām*, *prathama-jām* (VS. xxxiv. 51), *madhur-pām* 'honey-drinker', *vana-pām* (VS. xxx. 19) 'wood-ranger', *vāta-gām* (AV.), *vitta-dhām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'possessing wealth', *su-khām*, *su-gām* (AV.), *hasti-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'elephant-keeper'.

I. m. *rathe-śthāna* 'standing on a car'. — n. *antīri-ksāna*, *ṛd-jyena* 'whose bowstring is truth', *kāma-prāna*, *su-gāna* (AV.), *su-mnāna*.

D. m. *atīthi-gvāya*, *dyu-ksāya*, *patan-gāya*, *rathe-śthāya*¹². — n. *paris-pāya* (VS.) 'protecting from afar', *su-mnāya*. — **Ab. m.** *ṛśya-dāt* (x. 39⁵) 'pit for antelopes'. — n. *antīri-ksāt*¹³, *dur-gāt*, *sadhā-sthāt*.

¹ In the form of *-mna-* in *carma-mnā* 'tanner'. BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. 17, 422—27; cp. above p. 153 (mid.).

² An extension of *gr-* 'swallow'; cp. *-krū-* and *cr-* among the radical *ā*-stems. ³ In its original form perhaps *gvā-*; a reduced form *-su-* appears in *vanar-gā* 'forest-roaming'.

⁴ A reduced form of *han-* 'slay'.

⁵ See BARTHOLOMAE, BR. 15, 34 and cp. BB. 18, 12.

⁶ The etymology and meaning are somewhat doubtful; cp. IS. 4, 304.

⁷ These two compounds as well as *atīthi-gvā-* and *tu-gva-*, are with more probability derived from a reduced form of *gva-* 'cow' by

⁸ The compound *puru-gvā-s* 'leader' possibly = **puru-gvā-s*; but it is probably a governing compound; cp. above, p. 170.

⁹ See WHITNEY's note on AV. III. 5⁴.

¹⁰ Also *patan-gā-s* (v. 41¹) if it is N. sing. and not a G. of *patan-gā-*.

¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. IX. 7⁴.

¹² *svājāya* (AV.) is analyzed by the Commentator as *sva-jāya* 'self-born', but is explained by WHITNEY (AV. VI. 56²) as 'constrictor' (from *svaj-* 'embrace').

¹³ See LANNAN 337.

G. m. *a-jāsya*, *atīhi-gvāsya*. — n. *antāri-kṣasya*, *asthi-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced in the bones', *tanū-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced from the body', *su-mnāsya*.

L. m. *dāsa-gvā*, *nāva-gvā*, *ratha-saṅgē* 'encounter of war-cars', *saṅ-ssthē* 'presence', *saṅ-gē* 'conflict', *su-khē*, *sva-gē* 'going to heaven'. — n. *antāri-kṣe*, *khē*. — *karañja-hē* 'pernicious to the Karañja tree', *dur-gē*, *bhaya-sthe* 'perilous situation', *sadhū-sthe*, *su-mnē*. — V. m. *eka-ja*, *dyu-kṣa*, *patan-ga* (AV.), *soma-pa* (AV.) 'drinking Soma'.

Du. N. A. m.² *ta-gvā* 'going swiftly'. — A. n. *sadhū-sthe*.

Pl. N. V. m. *āja-pās* (VS. XXI. 40) 'drinking clarified butter', *ta-gvās*, *tanū-jās* (AV.), *tapo-jās* (AV.) 'produced by austerity', *dāsa-gvās*, *nāva-gvās*, *patan-gās*, *vala-gās* (AV.), *su-gās*. — Also four forms with *āsas*: *dāsa-gvāsas*, *dyu-kṣāsas*, *nāva-gvāsas*, *priya-sāsas*³ 'granting desired objects'.

N. A. n. 1. *āmsa-trā* 'armour protecting the shoulder', *antāriksā*, *dur-gā*, *prathama-jā*⁴ (AV.), *sadhū-sthā*, *su-gā*, *su-mnā*. — 2. *khāni*. — *antāri-kṣāni*, *ararīn-dāni*⁵, *dur-gāni*, *sadhū-sthāni*, *su-gāni*, *su-mnāni*.

A. m. *go-pān*, *tapo-jān*, *dur-gān* (AV.), *patan-gān*, *pūrva-jān* (TS.) 'born before', *śyā-pān* 'drinking boiled milk', *saha-jān* (TS.) 'born at the same time', *su-gān*, *soma-pān* (AV.).

I. m. 1. *tuvi-gr̥bhis* 'swallowing much', *mīth-avadya-pebhis* 'mutually averting calamities', *ratna-dh̥bhis* 'preserving wealth', *sāma-g̥bhis* (AV.) 'reciting chants', *su-g̥bhis*. — 2. *ā-tais*⁶ 'frames', *dāsa-gvāis*, *nāva-gvāis*, *dhana-sūis* 'winning wealth', *nāva-gvāis*, *patan-gvāis*, *su-khūis*. — n. 1. *madhu-pebhis*, *su-g̥bhis*, *su-mn̄bhis*. — 2. *su-mn̄dis*.

D. m. *pūrva-jēbhyas*. — G. m. *dvi-jānam* (AV.) 'twice-born', *sakaṃ-jānam* 'being born together'. — L. m. *draviṇo-dēsu* 'giving wealth', *su-khēsu*. — n. *dur-gēsu*, *sadhū-ssthēsu*, *su-gēsu*, *su-mnēsu*.

2 a. Derivative stems in -a.

BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* p. 293—317. — WHITNEY, *Grammar* 326—334 (p. 112—116). — LANMAN, *Noun-Inflection* 329—354.

371. This is the most important of the declensions as it embraces more than one-half of all nominal stems. It is also the most irregular inasmuch as its ending diverge from the normal ones more than is elsewhere the case. This is the only declension in which the N. A. n. has an ending in the singular. Here the I. D. Ab. G. sing. are peculiar; and in the plural, the A., the G., one of the forms of the I. and of the N. A. n. do not take the normal endings. The final vowel of the stem is also modified before the endings with initial consonant in the du. and pl. Three of the peculiar case-endings of the sing. (I. Ab. G.) are borrowed from the pronominal declension, while in the pl. two of the case-endings (G. and N. A. n.) are due to the influence of the stems in -n. This is the only declension in which the Ab. sing., as a result of taking the pronominal ending, is distinguished from the G. As elsewhere in the vowel declension, the N. sing. n. here adds the ending -s throughout; but the V. sing. shows the bare stem unmodified. This declension includes

¹ *swājāsya* in AV. X. 410. 15 is according to WHITNEY 'constrictor', not *swa-jāsya* 'self-born'; cp. p. 254, note 12.

² Some of the m. duals given under the radical ā-declension ought possibly to be placed here.

³ There is no reason to suppose that any of these are plurals of ā-stems, since the first three appear as ā-stems only and *priya-n.* does not otherwise occur. The pl.

pānthāsas, occurring once beside the ordinary *pānthās* formed from the anomalous derivative ā-stem *pānthā*, proves nothing regarding radical ā-stems.

⁴ This is the reading of the Pada text, the Saṃhita having -jā r- (70 a).

⁵ A word of uncertain meaning.

⁶ Two other forms, *dās* and *dāsu* are formed from the f-stem of this word, *dā-*, which is probably a radical ā-stem.

m. and n. stems only, as the corresponding f. follows the derivative *a*-declension. There is here no irregularity in the accent, which remains on the same syllable in every case except the V., where it of course shifts to the first.

Inflexion.

372. The inflexion of the n. differs from that of the m. in the N. sing. and the N. A. du. and pl. only. In the G. L. du. *y* is inserted between the final *-a* of the stem and the ending *-os*. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyá-* 'dear', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *priyá-s*, n. *priyá-m*. A. *priyá-m*. I. *priyá* and *priyá*. D. *priyáya*. Ab. *priyát*. G. *priyásya*. L. *priyá*. V. *priya*.

Du. N. A. m. *priyá* and *priyádu*, n. *priyá*. V. m. *priyá* and *priyáu*. I. D. Ab. *priyábhyaṃ*. G. L. *priyáyoḥ*.

Pl. N. m. *priyás* and *priyásas*, n. *priyá* and *priyáni*. A. m. *priyá*, n. *priyá* and *priyáni*. I. *priyás* and *priyábhīḥ*. D. Ab. *priyábhyaḥ*. G. *priyánām*. L. *priyésu*. V. *priyás* and *priyásas*.

Owing to the enormous number of words belonging to this declension, only forms of commonest occurrence will be given below as examples under each case.

Sing. N. m. This case is formed in the RV. by 1845 *a*-stems and occurs more than 10000 times. The most frequent substantive is *Indras* N. of a god, found more than 500 times; next in order come *sómas* (220) N. of a plant, *devás* (203) 'god', *mitrás* (132) N. of a god, *váruṇas* (94) N. of a god.

A. m. After the N. sing. m., the A. sing. m. is the commonest declensional form in the RV., being made from 1357 stems¹ and occurring nearly 7000 times. The nouns most frequently found in this case are *Indram* (335), *símam*, (212), *yajñám* (183) 'sacrifice', *véjam* (123) 'vigour', *súryam* (90) 'sun', *hívam* (88) 'invocation', *vṛtrám* (82) N. of a demon, *slómam* (77) 'praise'.

N. A. n. This is the only declension in which these cases take an ending. They here add *-m*, being thus identical in form with the A. sing. m.² They are very frequently used, being formed from about 950 stems and occurring, taken together, more than 4000 times. Examples are: *ṛtám* (70) 'sacred order', *ghṛtám* (47) 'clarified butter', *padám* (46) 'step', *vátnam* (44) 'wealth', *sakhyaṃ* (43) 'friendship', *dráviṇam* (41) 'wealth', *satyaṃ* (40) 'truth'.

I. m. n. i. The usual form of this case ending in *-ena* is very frequent, being formed from more than 300 stems nearly equally divided between m. and n. The commonest forms are: m. *súryeṇa* (37), *Indreṇa* (34), *vájreṇa* (33) 'thunderbolt', *yajñéna* (13). — n. *ghṛtēna* (31)³.

a. The final vowel appears lengthened in about twenty-five forms: *amṛteṇā* (AV.) 'ambrosia', *á-siveṇā* 'malevolent', *ájyeṇā* 'melted butter', *ṛtēṇā*, *kávyēṇā* 'wisdom', *kūlīṣeṇā* 'axe', *pṛveṇā* 'ram', *tavīṣeṇā* 'strong', *dákṣiṇeṇā* 'right', *dáivyeṇā* 'divine', *bákurcyeṇā* 'bagpipe', *bhadreṇā* (AV.) 'excellent', *mṛtyeṇā* 'mortal', *máruṭeṇā* 'consisting of storm-gods', *rauṭhēṇā* 'roar', *váruṇeṇā*, *vīthureṇā* 'staggering', *vi-raveṇā* 'roar', *vīryeṇā* 'heroic power', *vṛjāneṇā* 'might', *vṛṣabhēṇā* 'bull', *sahasyeṇā* 'mighty', *sāyakeṇā* 'missile', *súryeṇā*, *skāmbhaneṇā*

¹ The pronominal forms *tám* and *yám* occur 509 and 259 times respectively in the RV. mining whether a word is m. or n.; cp. LANMAN 331 (middle).

² On the occasional elision of the *-m* before *eva* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331.

³ For this reason there is in some instances not sufficient evidence for determining whether a word is m. or n.; cp. LANMAN 331 (middle).

⁴ On occasional elision of the final *-m* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331.

⁵ The final vowel is twice nasalized: *śāntānām* *īkas* (I. 334) and *tjānenām* *īkam* (I. 110^b).

'support'. These forms regularly occur where the metre at the end of a Pāda favours a long vowel; e. g. *skāmbhanenā jānitri* (III. 31¹²), but *kāmbhanena skābhyan* (X. 111³); on the other hand, the long vowel appears to be used arbitrarily at the beginning of a Pāda, though the short vowel here is much more frequent. Hence the *ā* seems to be a survival and not to be due to metrical exigencies.

2. There are also more than a dozen forms made with the nominal ending *-ā*. In the m. there are no quite certain examples beyond *yajñā*; possibly also *krāyā* 'acting', *ghanā* 'club', *danā* 'gift', *camasā*³ 'cup'. The n. forms are *kavitā* and *kavitvā* 'by wisdom', *tarānitvā* 'by energy', *māhitrā* and *māhitravā* 'by greatness', *ratna-dhēyā* 'by distribution of wealth', *rāthya* 'belonging to a car', *vīryā* 'with heroism', *sakhyā* 'with friendship', *sarva-rathā* 'with the whole line of chariots', *su-hāvā* 'with good invocation'. — This ending is also preserved in a few instrumental adverbs: *anī* 'hereby', *uccā* 'above', *paścā* 'behind', *śānī* 'from of old'⁵.

D. m. n. This case, which has the abnormal ending *-āya*, is of very frequent occurrence, being formed in the RV. from over 300 stems in the m. and from nearly 150 in the n. The commonest forms are: m. *Indrāya* (188), *mīdhyā* (76) 'exhilaration', *devāya* (26), *mārtvyāya* (25), *mitrīya* (23), *vāruṇīya* (23), *yājamañīya* 'sacrificing', *śīryāya* (11); n. *suvitīya* (34) 'welfare', *sakhyāya* (29), *tokāya* (21) 'offspring', *śānāyāya* (18) 'line of descendants'⁶.

a. The normal form would have been for example **yajñāi* = *yajñā-e*⁷. This would in Sandhi have become **yajñāy*, which was ultimately extended with *-a*, owing to the frequent combination with a following *a* in Sandhi (e. g. *yajñāy-a pi* for *yajñāy api*, or with the shortened form of the preposition *ā*⁸).

Ab. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the Ab. is formally distinguished from the G. Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they take the *-ā* which appears in the pronominal declension (e. g. *mā-ā* 'from me'), lengthening the *-a* of the stem before it⁹. This Ab. in *-ād* is formed in the RV. from over 200 stems, nearly equally divided between m. and n. Some of the n. forms are used as adverbs. Forms of common occurrence are: m. *samudrā* (15) 'sea', *upasthāt* (9) 'lap', *Indrāt* (8); n. *antāri-kyāt*¹⁰ (15) 'air'; *dūrāt* (19) 'from a distance', *paścāt* (26).

G. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the G. sing. does not end in *-s*¹¹. Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they add *-sya*¹² which is

¹ In all these forms the Pada text has the short final vowel *ā*; see RPr. VIII. 21 and cp. Afr. III. 16. The pronominal forms *śānā*, *yānā*, *śānā* also appear, and always with the short vowel in the Pada text; on the other hand, *śānā* is always *śānā* in the Pada, while the unaccented *śānā*, beside *śānā*, has the short vowel in the Pada. See LANMAN 332 (bottom).

² See LANMAN 334 (middle).

³ Nasalized in *camasāi* *īva* (X. 25⁴), Pada *camasān*. On these forms see LANMAN 335.

⁴ This form of the instrumental also appears a few times in the pronoun *tvā* beside the usual *tvayā*; it also occurs in a few compounds, as *tvā-datta-* and *tvā-dāta-* 'given by thee'; cp. LANMAN 334 (middle).

⁵ Perhaps also *nicā* 'below', cp. *nicāis*; but it may be the I. of *nyādi-*.

⁶ Such D. forms are twice nasalized be-
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fore vowels; *śānā-vakhyānā* *epi* (II. 14²) and *savāyānā* *evā* (I. 113¹).

⁷ The normal ending *-e* is actually used in the pronominal declension, e. g. *tāsmā* = *tāsmā-e*.

⁸ See JOHANSSON, BB. 20, 96 ff. and BARTHOLOMAE, Arische Forschungen 2, 69; 3, 63.

⁹ Cp. JOHANSSON, BB. 16, 136 and BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 588.

¹⁰ This is really a radical *a-* stem; see above, 370.

¹¹ In the G. sing. of stems in *-ar* and *-ar-*, the final *r* seems to represent original *-s*; see above 358, note on *svāsur*.

¹² The *y* is never to be read as *i*; possibly however about five times in the pronominal *asvā*. The final *a* in two or three instances undergoes protraction of a purely metrical character; see LANMAN 338³.

otherwise found in the pronominal declension only. This case is very common, being formed in the RV. from over 500 stems in the m. and 175 in the n., occurring altogether over 3300 times¹. Among the frequent forms² are: m. *Indrasya* (123), *sūryasya* (93), *śhmasya* (88), *dēvāsya* (60), *yajñāsya* (55), *sutāsya* (53) 'pressed'; n. *ṛtāsya* (187), *bhūvanasya* (39) 'world', *amftasya* (35)³.

L. m. n. This case is formed with the normal ending *-i*, which combines with the final *-a* of the stem to *-e*. It is formed in the RV. from 373 stems in the m., and over 300 in the n., occurring altogether about 2500 times. Among the frequent forms are: m. *adhvarī* (68) 'sacrifice', *sutī* (53), *upī-sthī* (49), *māde* (48), *dāmic* (40) 'house', *Indre* (33), *yajñe* (28), *jāne* (26) 'man', *grhē* (23) 'house'; n. *vidūthe* (49) 'assembly', *āgre* (43) 'front', *sīdane* (35) 'seat', *padē* (33), *dūrōnē* (31) 'abode', *mādhye* 'middle' (29).

V. m. n. In this case the bare stem (always accented on the first syllable) is employed. It is formed in the RV. from about 260 stems, occurring about 2500 times in the m.; but in the n. there is no undoubted example⁴. The AV. however has four or five n. vocatives. Among the commonest forms are: m. *sōma* and *soma* (240), *deva* (132), *śīra* (94) 'hero', *pavamāna* (63) 'bright Soma', *puru-hūta* (49) 'much invoked', *varuṇa* (45), *mitra* (35), *yavīstha* (29) 'youngest', *vṛṣabha* (27) 'bull', *ugra* (23) 'mighty', *amṛta* (12)⁵; n. *antarikṣā*⁶ (AV. vi. 130⁴), *trūṅkakuda* 'coming from the three-peaked (mountain)' and *dēvāṅjana* (AV. xix. 44⁶) 'divine ointment', *talpa* (AV. xii. 2⁴⁹) 'couch', *vīṣa* (AV. iv. 63) 'poison'⁷.

Du. N. A. V. m. The ending of these cases in the RV. is ordinarily *-ā*, much less frequently *-au*⁸. The former is taken by over 360 stems occurring about 1150 times, the latter by fewer than 90 stems occurring about 170 times. The ending *-ā* is therefore more than seven times as common as *-au*. The rule is that *-ā* appears before consonants⁹, in pausa at the end of a Pāda¹⁰, or within a Pāda in coalescence with a following vowel; while *-au*¹¹ occurs in the older parts of the RV. only before vowels in the Sandhi form of *-āv*, within a Pāda. Examples of this rule are *tū vām* (i. 184¹); *ṛtvōdḥi* (i. 47^{1b}); *dasrā āt*¹² (i. 116^{10c}) for *dasrā āt*; *mitrāgnim* (i. 14¹) for *mitrā agnim*; but *tāv*¹³ *aparīm* (i. 184¹). Hiatus, when the metre requires two

¹ The pronominal genitives *asya* and *asyā*, *tāsya*, *yāsya*, *śhvasya* occur over 900 times in the RV.; cp. LANMAN 338.

² The commonest G. in *-ya* is the pronominal *asyā* which (accented or unaccented) occurs nearly 600 times in the RV.

³ The final vowel is once nasalized at the end of a Pāda in *ṛtāyanā tkam* (viii. 39¹); cp. RPr. II. 31.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 339.

⁵ There are two instances of the final *-a* being nasalized: *ugrān ākar* (vii. 25¹) and *puru-gutām tko* (viii. 153¹¹); cp. RPr. xiv. 20. There is a purely metrical lengthening of the final vowel in *vṛṣabhā* (viii. 45², 38), *simā* (viii. 4¹), and *hāriṅjanā* (i. 61¹⁰); perhaps also *maryā* (i. 6¹); cp. LANMAN 339.

⁶ Properly a radical *a*-stem.

⁷ By a syntactical peculiarity the N. *Indraś ca* is some ten times coupled with a vocative *vāyo*, *āgne* etc. See LANMAN 340 (top).

⁸ In the AV. *-au* is more than twice as common as in the RV.; it is there some-

times a various reading for *-ā* of the RV. In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. there are at least seven forms in *-ā* and fourteen in *-au*. In the Khilas *-ā* is nearly three times (32) as common as *-au* (12).

⁹ *-au* occurs 23 times before a consonant within a Pāda; mostly in passages showing signs of lateness. Cp. LANMAN 576.

¹⁰ *-au* occurs 5 times at the end of an odd Pāda before a consonant; and 4 times as *-āv* at the end of an odd Pāda before a vowel. At the end of an even Pāda *-au* occurs 4 times.

¹¹ LANMAN 343 enumerates the forms in *-au* which occur in the RV.

¹² At the end of an odd Pāda *-ā* is always written in the Saṅhita contracted with a following vowel, but must always be read with hiatus.

¹³ This is the normal use of *-au*, which in 70 per cent of its occurrences is found as *-āv* before a vowel within a Pāda; in the AV. the percentage is only 26.

syllables, is thus removed¹ by the use of *-āu*, except when *u* or *ī* follows². In the latter case the Samhitā text writes *-ā u-*³, e.g. *ubhā upāntū* (x. 83⁷), though the Pada always has *-au u-*.

There are seven or eight passages of the RV. in which *-ā* is written with hiatus before other vowels (*a-ī-ō-*)⁴, but those passages are all obscure or corrupt⁵.

a. About a dozen forms, occurring altogether some 20 times, shorten the dual *-ā* to *a*, mostly owing to the metre, but in a few instances against the metre. In the forms *asuri*, *āditya*, *deva*, *dhyā-vrata*, *mitra*, *varuṇa*, *indrā-varuṇa*, *mitrā-varuṇa*⁶ the Pada text has *-ā*; but in *pāra* (v. 74⁸) and *vāra* (vi. 63¹⁰) the short vowel appears in the Pada also⁷. A similar shortening occurs in the first member of the dual compounds *indrā-vāyā* (i. 2⁴) and *mitrā-vājānā* (v. 62³).

N. A. n. This form takes the normal ending *-ī*, which combines with the final *-a* of the stem to *-e*. It is made in the RV. from about 30 nominal stems. The vocative does not occur. Only seven of these n. forms are found more than once, *śṅge* 'two horns' being the commonest (5)⁸.

a. The n. *nāktā* 'night' is irregular in forming its du. N. as a m. in the compound *nāktā naktā* 'dawn and night', in agreement with which a f. adjective is used, owing doubtless to the predominance of 'Dawn', in the combination. In ii. 39⁴, *yugā nabhyaeva* 'like two yokes, like two naves', though analyzed by the Pada as *yugā iva* and *nabhya iva*, must be explained as regular n. forms *yugā* and *nabhya+va*.

I. D. Ab. Before the normal ending *-bhyām*⁹ which forms these cases, the final *-a* of the stems is lengthened, e.g. *nīsatyābhyām*. In the RV. this form is made from only about a dozen nominal stems in the m. and three in the n. The cases can of course only be distinguished exegetically.

I. m. *kārṇābhyām* (AV.) 'ears', *adīpītrābhyām* (TS. AV.) 'teeth', *dakṣiṇa-savyābhyām* (AV.) 'right and left', *dāśa-śakṣābhyām* 'having ten fingers', *mitrā-varuṇābhyām*¹⁰, *yuktābhyām* 'yoked', *vrihi-yavābhyām* (AV.) 'rice and barley', *śubhābhyām* 'shining', *sūryā-caudramśabhyām* (AV.)¹⁰ 'sun and moon', *hastābhyām* 'hands', *haryatābhyām* 'desirable'. — **n.** *ṛk-sāmābhyām* 'hymn and chant', *śṅgābhyām* (AV.).

D. m. *tesābhyām* 'violent', *nīsatyābhyām* 'truthful', *nicirābhyām* 'attentive'.

Ab. m. *śṅsābhyām* 'shoulders', *kārṇābhyām*. — **n.** *parśvābhyām* (AV.) 'sides', *prā-pādābhyām* 'tips of the feet', *māta-snābhyām* certain internal organs.

G. L. These cases take the normal ending *-os*, between which and the stem *y* is inserted. In the RV. only eight nominal¹¹ forms occur with the genitive sense, and twelve with the localive sense. One form, *dhuvasrdyos* (ix. 58³), seems to be used as an Ab. There are one or two others which anomalously drop the final *-a* of the stem, instead of inserting *y*, before the ending *-os*¹².

¹ In two instances hiatus is removed by nasalization: *upāsthām* 'ekā' (i. 35⁶) and *jānām* 'dīyamā' (vi. 67¹).

² There are 40 instances of this in the RV.; see LANMAN 575.

³ This is also the practice of the Brāhmanas; see AUFRECHT, AB. 427; cp. Sarvānukramant, ed. MACDONELL, p. x. In the AV. (as in the later language) *-āu u-* is regularly written (except *muṣkā upāvadhū*, xx. 136²).

⁴ See LANMAN 341⁴.

⁵ Except vii. 70⁴ where *devā śpadhīsu* (Pada *devau*) is written, *o-* being treated like *u-*, perhaps owing to its labial character.

⁶ See RPr. iv. 39, 40.

⁷ The shortening of the du. *-ā* at the end of odd Padas before *r*, occurring in four passages (ii. 37; vi. 68²; viii. 66¹¹; x. 66¹³) is due to Sandhi; see 70.

⁸ These neuter duals are enumerated by LANMAN 343.

⁹ To be read *-bhīim* in two or three forms.

¹⁰ In this compound only the second dual takes the proper case-ending.

¹¹ There are also the pronominal forms G. I. m. *ayā*, *ubhāyos*, *tāyos*, *yāyos*; *tāyos* also as G. n.

¹² Also the pronominal forms *av-īs*, *en-īs*, *y-īs*. Cp. LANMAN 344.

The forms occurring are:

G. m. *Indra-narunayos*, *isāndyos* 'ruling', *devdyos*, *mitrdyos*, *mitrā-vārunayos*, *yamdyos* 'twins', *vārunayos*, *vaikarndyos* 'descendants of Vikarna'. — n. *pṛṣṭyās* (for **pṛṣṭyā-yās*) 'pressing stones', *purāṇyās*¹ (for **purāṇā-yās*) 'ancient'.

L. m. *ānsayos*, *āsvayos*, *upākdyos* 'closely connected', *kārnayos* (AV.), *jāmbhayos* (TS. IV. 1. 10³) 'jaws', *tuvī-jātdyos* 'of powerful nature', *dānstrayos* (AV.), *nadddyos* 'roarers', *mitrdyos*, *muskdyos* 'testicles', *vārunayos*, *vāhīshthayos* 'drawing best', *ol-vratayos* 'refractory', *sthūrdyos* 'strong', *hīstayos*.

Pl. N. V. m. Here there are two forms. In the more common form the normal ending *-as* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e. g. *devās*. The less common form appears to be made by adding the normal ending *-as* over again², e. g. *devās-as*. The form in *-ās* is about twice as frequent in the RV. as that in *-āsas*³, the former being made from 808 stems, the latter from 403. In the original parts of the AV. *-ās* is 24 times as frequent as *-āsas*, the former occurring 1366 times, the latter only 57 times⁴. Both forms frequently occur side by side, the choice of the one or the other being often no doubt determined simply by the metre; e. g. *bṛhda vadema vidāthe svīrāḥ* (II. 1¹⁶) 'abounding in heroes we would speak aloud in the assembly', but *svīrāso vidītham ā vadema* (II. 12¹⁵) 'abounding in heroes we would speak to the assembly'.

Examples of the most frequent forms made with the two endings are: 1. *devāsas* (86), *jānāsas* (41), *sōmāsas* (41), *sūtāsas* (29), *ādityāsas* (24) 'Ādityas', *yajñiyāsas* (21) 'holy', *amītāsas* (11). — 2. *devās* and *devās* (311), *sōmās* (42), *ādityās* (39), *sūtās* (27), *jānās* (24), *amītās* (22), *yajñiyās* (10).

N. A. n.⁵ Here, as in the N. m. there are two forms, a shorter and a longer, the former being the older and original, as well as the more frequent one. The older form is made not by adding the normal ending *-i*, but by lengthening the final *-a* of the stem, e. g. *havyā* 'oblations'⁶. The later form ends in *-āni* and is doubtless due to transitions from the stems in *-an*⁷ which form the n. pl. N. A. with both *-ā* and *-āni*, e. g. *nāmā* and *nāmāni*. The form in *-ā* is in the RV. made from 394 stems, that in *-āni* from 280, the proportion of the occurrences of the former being roughly three to every two of the latter. The proportion in the AV. is almost exactly reversed, the form in *-ā* being there made from 102 stems, that in *-āni* from 158⁸. The two forms are so common side by side that when two n. plurals occur in the same Pāda, the one generally ends in *-āni* and the other in *-ā*; e. g. *yā te bhīmdni dyudhā* (IX. 61¹⁰) 'thy terrible weapons'. This phenomenon

¹ With *y* inserted though *-a* is dropped. ² See BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 661, where several examples are given of endings being repeated in other languages.

³ The form in *-āsas* seems to be an Indo-Iranian innovation, as there are no certain traces of it in other Indo-European languages; cp. BRUGMANN I. c.

⁴ In the original Mantra portions of the TS. the pl. in *-ās* is very numerous, but I have noted only 11 forms in *-āsas*. In the Khilas, forms in *-ās* are three times (30) as numerous as in *-āsas* (10).

⁵ There is no example of a V. in the RV., and only one, *citāni* (III. 2⁴), in the AV. where the Mss. have *citāni*.

⁶ This form in *-ā* is commonly supposed to have started from a N. sing. f. in *-ā* as

a collective; this would account for the agreement of the singular verb with this pl. in Greek; cp. also *sūrā ā . . . astu* (RV. I. 162⁸); see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 682.

⁷ The G. *dhānam* is an example of the transference of another case from an *-an* stem.

⁸ In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the forms in *-ā* seem to outnumber those in *-āni* in about the same proportion as in the RV.: there are at least 20 forms of the former and 14 of the latter. In the Khilas the two forms are almost equally divided, as 10 examples of *-ā* and 12 of *-āni* occur.

⁹ Similarly, the form in *-ā* appears beside n. pl. forms in *-āni*, *-āni* or even *-āni*, *-āni*, *-āni*; e. g. *bhūrīni bhadrā* (I. 166¹⁰);

is clearly due to the influence of metre. The *-ā* here seems never to be shortened to *-i*, as is so frequently the case in the N. A. n. pl. of *-an* stems¹. Nor does it avoid hiatus (like the *-ā* of the N. A. du. m.), though coalescence with a following vowel sometimes takes place².

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *havyā* (44), *bhūvanā* (36), *duritā* (31) 'distresses', *sivanā* (30), *ukthā* (25) 'praises'. — 2. *bhūvanāni* (57), *vṛtrāni* (36) 'foes', *vratāni* (34) 'laws', *havyāni* (25), *kṛtāni* (20) 'done'.

A. m. The ending of this case is not the normal *-as*, but *-n*, before which the final vowel of the stem is lengthened³, e. g. *āsvā-n*. The form is frequent, being made from more than 250 stems in the RV. That the ending was originally *-ns* is shown by the treatment of *-an* in Sandhi, where it becomes *-ān* before vowels and the sibilant itself occasionally survives before *-c* and *-t*.

I. m. n. In this case there are two forms, the one adding the normal ending *-bhis* (before which the final vowel of the stem becomes *-e*), while the other ends in *-ais* (which does not appear in any other declension). The form in *-ais* is only slightly commoner in the RV., being made from 221 stems, while that in *-bhis* is made from 211. In the AV., however, the former is 5 times as frequent as the latter⁵. The two forms⁶ often appear in the same Pāda; e. g. *upambhir arkāis* (I. 33²) 'with highest songs'. The choice is often due to the metre; e. g. *yātīm āsvēbhir āsvinā* (VIII. 5⁷) 'come with your steeds, O Āsvins', and *āditydir yātam āsvinā* (VIII. 35¹³) 'with the Ādityas come, O Āsvins'.

In the RV. the m. forms are roughly twice as numerous as the n. Examples of the most frequent forms are: 1. *arkāis* (43), *ukthāis* (35), *yajñāis* (34), *devāis* (31), *āsvāis* (30), *śimāis* (25). — 2. *devēbhis* (52), *śimēbhis* (26), *vijēbhis* (21).

D. m. n. This case is formed with the normal ending *-bhyas*, before which the final *-a* of the stem appears as *-e*. In the RV. it is made from over 40 stems in the m., but from only one in the n. In about half the forms occurring the ending has to be read as a dissyllable *-bhias*. The forms occurring are: *ajārebhyas* 'unaging', *ānavattarebhyas* 'mightier', *āranēbhyas* (Kh. v. 1²) 'foreign', *arbhakēbhyas* 'small', *ādityēbhyas*, *āśinēbhyas* 'aged', *āsv-āpas-tarebhyas* 'working more quickly', *āmebhyas* 'helpers', *gārbhebhyas* 'infants', *grhēbhyas*, *jānebhyas*, *jivēbhyas* 'living', *jñātēbhyas* (Kh. III. 16¹) 'known', *tāvakēbhyas* 'thy', *dāta-kaksyēbhyas* 'having ten girths', *dāta-yoktrēbhyas* 'having ten traces', *dāta-yojanēbhyas* 'having ten teams', *devēbhyas*, *pajrēbhyas* 'strong', *pārvatēbhyas* 'mountains', *pasprdhānēbhyas* 'striving', *pitu-kṣittarebhyas* 'procuring more nourishment', *plśunēbhyas* 'treacherous', *putrēbhyas* 'sons', *pūruṣēbhyas* 'men', *pūrvēbhyas* 'former', *bādhītēbhyas* 'oppressed', *bharatēbhyas* 'descendants of Bharata', *mārye-*

sivanā purāṇi (III. 36²); *ārdhvā loṅgī prāsthītā rajānsi* (III. 4¹); *rabhasā vipūṇi* (III. 1³).

¹ There seems no sufficient reason to assume that in *vītēd āha* (I. 92³) as compared with *āhā vīsvā* (I. 130²), *āha* is formed from the transition stem *āha-* rather than from *āhan-*; cp. LANMAN p. 348.

² On some probable mistakes made by the Pada in contracted forms see LANMAN 348.

³ This lengthening is at least Indo-Iranian: BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 672².

⁴ See above 77; and cp. LANMAN 346 on the Sandhi of *-ān* in general.

⁵ In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the proportion is about the same as in the AV. The following four forms with *-bhis* occur: *śātebhis* (I. 2. 4¹), *devēbhis* (III. 1. 4³), *rudrēbhis* (II. 1. 11²), *su-yāmebhis* (IV. 7. 15³). In the Khilas 5 forms in *-ais* to 7 in *-ebhis* occur. The latter are: *amīva-cātanēbhis* (I. 11⁷), *ārtavēbhis* (III. 16⁶), *ukthēbhis* (V. 6³), *ṛṣvēbhis* (III. 1¹), *kāvarebhis* (I. 5¹), *rāthēbhis* (I. 11⁷), *sāraghēbhis* (I. 11⁷). In the later language the form in *-bhis* survives in the pronominal *ebhis* alone.

⁶ On the origin of the two forms cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 717.

bhyas, *mānavābhyas* 'men', *mānuṣebhyas* 'men', *mānebhyaḥ* 'descendants of Māna', *yajñābhyas* 'adorable', *yajñīyebhyas*, *rāthēbhyaḥ* 'chariots', *vidīṣṭarebhyaḥ* 'very wise', *vīprebhyaḥ* 'seers', *vṛ-śvebhyaḥ* 'horseless', *śaśamāndbhyaḥ* 'toiling', *śvaidatīyebhyas* 'bountiful', *śma-rabhuṣṭarebhyaḥ* 'intoxicated with Soma', *soṃyēbhyaḥ* 'preparers of Soma', *steṇbhyaḥ* 'thieves'. — n. *bhūvanēbhyaḥ* 'beings'.

Ab. m. n. This case is formed like the D. with the normal ending *-bhyas* from nearly two dozen stems in the RV. about equally divided between the m. and n. In more than half of these forms the ending must be pronounced as a dissyllable. The forms occurring are: m. *antēbhyaḥ* 'ends', *āsuraēbhyaḥ* 'divine spirits', *ugrēbhyaḥ*, *grhēbhyaḥ*, *jānēbhyaḥ*, *jīvēbhyaḥ* 'living beings', *devēbhyaḥ*, *pārvatebhyaḥ*, *makkhēbhyaḥ* 'vigorous', *vīprebhyaḥ*, *śrēbhyaḥ*, *śyēbhyaḥ* 'eagles'. — n. *anyt-kṛtēbhyaḥ* 'done by others', *antṛēbhyaḥ* 'entrails', *duritēbhyaḥ*, *nakkhēbhyaḥ* 'nails', *padbhyaḥ*, *pārthivēbhyaḥ* 'terrestrial spaces', *bhūvanēbhyaḥ*, *mydrhēbhyaḥ* 'contempt', *vānēbhyaḥ* 'forest trees', *harmyēbhyaḥ* 'houses'.

G. m. n. Instead of the normal ending *-ām* these stems almost invariably add the ending *-nām*, before which the final vowel is lengthened as in the *-i*, *-u* and *-r* stems. This ending (like *-āni* in the n. pl.) must have been due to the influence of the *-n* stems¹. The case is thus formed in the RV. from over 100 stems in the m. and over 20 in the n. In nearly half these forms the final syllable may be metrically read as *aam*². Two-thirds of these resolutions are, however, not necessary as they occur at the end of octosyllabic Pādas which may be catalectic; but many undoubted resolutions are required within the Pāda³. Among the forms of most frequent occurrence are m. *devānām* (148), *jānānām* (34), *yajñīyanām* (12), *ādityīnām* (11), *adhvarīnām* (10). — n. *dhūnānām* (13).

a. The organic form e. g. from *devā-* would have been *devām* (= *devā-ām*). Not more than three or four examples of this survive in the RV., and only two of these seem undoubted: *yūthyām āvānām* (viii. 56⁴) 'of horses belonging to the herd' and *carāthām* in *gurbhat ca śhātām gurbhat carāthām* (i. 70⁵) 'offspring of things that are stationary, offspring of things that move'. There are further some half dozen forms written with final *-ān* or *-ān* which seem to stand for the G. pl. in *-ām*: *devān jānma* (i. 71⁶); vi. 11⁷) 'the race of the gods' (Pāda *devān*); *devān jānmanā* (x. 64⁸) 'with the race of the gods' (Pāda *devān*); *vīśā ā ca mūrān* (iv. 2⁹) 'and hither to the dwellings of mortals' (= *mūrān*); *oṣkūyāte vīśā indro manuzūn* (vi. 47¹⁰) 'Indra protects the tribes of men'.

L. m. n. This case adds the normal ending *-su* before which (as before *-bhis* and *-bhyas*) *-e* takes the place of the final vowel of the stem and cerebralizes the following sibilant. It is formed from some 123 stems in the m. and some 92 in the n.⁵ It is almost invariably⁶ to be read with hiatus, even before *u-7*.

Among the most frequently occurring forms are: m. *devēsu* (99), *vājēsu* (41), *yajñēsu* (35), *adhvarēsu* (27), *mārtyēsu* (25), *sutēsu* (16). — n. *vidīṣṭhēsu* (33), *vānēsu* (20), *sāvaneṣu* (14), *bhūvanēsu* (12), *uktthēsu* (10).

¹ See LANMAN 352 c; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 691.

² LANMAN (352, bottom) enumerates the forms in which resolution takes place.

³ LANMAN 352⁴, gives a list of the forms in which resolution is required; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 143 (p. 92).

⁴ Perhaps also *himsānām* (x. 142¹) if G. pl. of a participle *himsāna*, and *śāśām* if G. of *śāś-* 'ruler' (ii. 23¹²). *vandm* (x. 46⁵) is G. pl. of *vān-* rather than *vāno-*. Cp. LANMAN 353.

⁵ The gender is doubtful in some instances.

⁶ The only undoubted exception to this rule in the RV. occurs in a lute hymn (x. 121⁶), where *devīṣv sūhī* must be read. (cp. LANMAN 354.

⁷ On the probable origin of the ending *-su* cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 700.

2 b. Derivative Stems in *-ā*.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 335-365. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 131-137. — Cp. COLLITZ, die herkunft der *ā*-deklination, BB. 29, p. 81-114.

373. The derivative *ā*-declension corresponds to the derivative *a*-declension, for the m. adjectives of which it furnishes the f. stems. It includes more feminines than any other declension. Like the *a*-declension it has many irregularities of inflexion, every case in the singular, except the A., and two cases in the plural showing some abnormal feature. The N. sing. shares with the derivative *r*-declension the peculiarity of not adding the ending *-s*; the I. sing. has an alternative form borrowed from the pronominal declension; the D. Ab. G. L. sing. are formed under the influence of the derivative *i*-stems; and the V. sing. ends in *-e* instead of appearing in the form of the bare stem. In the plural the N. has to a limited extent the same alternative form in *-āsas* as the m. of the *a*-declension, and the G. is similarly formed with *-nām*.

As in the *a*-declension, the accent remains in the same position throughout except the V., where it of course shifts to the first syllable.

Inflexion.

374. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyā* 'dear', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *priyā*. A. *priyām*. I. *priyā* and *priyayā*. D. *priyāyai*. Ab. G. *priyāyas*. L. *priyāyam*. V. *priyē*.

Du. N. A. *priyā*. I. Ab. *priyābhyām*. G. L. *priyāyos*.

Pl. N. *priyās* and *priyāsas*. V. *priyās*. A. *priyās*. I. *priyābhis*. D. Ab. *priyābhyas*. G. *priyānām*. L. *priyāsu*.

Sing. N. This case never adds the normal ending *-s*¹. It is formed in the RV. from 424 stems and occurs more than 1000 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *yāṣā* (24) 'maiden', *dīkṣiṇā* (24) 'good milch cow', *līā* (17) 'refreshment', *jāyā* (17) 'wife', *su-bhūgā* (13) 'beautiful', *sāṃptā* (10) 'joyful', *citrā* (9) 'brilliant'.

a. At the end of odd Pādas the final *-ā* of this N. is regularly written with Sandhi, but must always be read with hiatus; coalescence with *-e* and *-r* is, however, twice avoided by nasalization², while twice³ the *-ā* is shortened before *r*.

b. Within a Pāda the *-ā* is written with Sandhi in 160 instances in the RV., but is pronounced (unlike the *-ā* of the N. A. du. m.) with hiatus in 23 of these instances; while the nominatives *īyā* 'car-pole' and *manīyā* 'devotion' are written as well as pronounced with hiatus⁴, the former once, the latter four times.

A. This case, which is formed with the normal ending *-m*, is in the RV. made from over 200 nominal stems occurring more than 400 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *manīyām* (21), *jāyām* (11), *āmtvām* (9) 'distress', *yāṣām* (7), *yāṣānām* (6) 'maiden'.

a. This case is often identical in form with the L. sing. f. of stems in *-ī*; thus *pūrvām* may be the A. of *pūrvā* 'previous' or L. of *pūrvā* 'much'. In one instance at least elision of the *-m*, followed by contraction, takes place⁵: *tatātāmdivēṣṭh* (VII. 19⁵) for

¹ The stem *gnā* 'woman', though originally disyllabic, came to be regarded as a radical *ā*-stem and accordingly forms its N. sing. *gnā* (IV. 9⁴).

² *śikadānām* (I. 12310) and *yāṣā* (I. 12310) and *yāṣā* (I. 12310).

³ *priyā* (I. 151⁴), *rju-hūta* (V. 41¹⁵).

Cp. 70.

⁴ *īyā* (VIII. 50⁹); *manīyā* (I. 101⁷);

manīyā (V. 11⁵; VII. 70⁷); *manīyā* (VII. 34¹); cp. RPr. II. 29. LANMAN 356 suggests that the comparative frequency of this hiatus justifies the restoration of the augment in Pādas short of a syllable; e. g. *prā* (VII. 58⁹).

⁵ On some contractions in which *-m* has probably been elided but explained wrongly by the Pāda as containing nominatives in *-ā*, see LANMAN 356.

śatamān avivṛṣṭh. In two or three instances the metre seems to require *-ām* to be read as *-aam*¹.

I. There are two forms of this case. In the one, the normal ending *-ā* is added directly to the stem and, by contracting with its final *-ā*, produces a form identical in appearance with the N., e. g. *jihvā* (= *jihvā-ā*) 'tongue'. In the other, *y* is interposed between the ending *-ā* and the final *-ā* of the stem, which is shortened, e. g. *jihvā-y-ā*. The latter form is due to the influence of the regular pronominal I. sing. f., e. g. *dyā*². This form is already slightly the more common in the RV.³, being made from 113 stems⁴ as compared with 95 which take the older form with *-ā*. In the later Saṃhitās the I. in *-ā* is very rare in original passages, the AV. using only five such forms independently⁵. Both forms are (unlike the N. pl. m. in *-āsas* and *-ās*) comparatively seldom made from the same stem, as *jihvā* and *jihvāyā*. Two thirds of the total number of 95 stems which have the older form, end in the suffixes *-tā* and *-yā*, as *puruṣā-tā* 'after the manner of men', *hiranyayā* 'golden'. The choice of the alternative forms is, as elsewhere, often determined by the metre⁶.

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *doṣā* (13) 'evening', *barhṇā* (13) 'might', *manṣā* (13), *manṣānā* (11) 'willingness', *śrāvayā* (7) 'desire to praise'. — Also *āśir-dāyā* (TS. III. 2. 81) 'fulfilment of blessing', *riśā-pṣnyā* (TS. I. 5. 3³; VS. XII. 10) 'omniform'. — 2. *dhārayā* (53) 'stream', *jihvāyā* (24), *mdyāyā* (20) 'craft'.

a. There are some instrumentals sing. f. formed from derivative *a*-stems, which are used as adverbs with shift of accent to the ending. Such are: *a-dotrayā* 'without a gift' (*a-datra-*), *ubhayā* 'in both ways' (*ubhaya-*), *ṛṭayā* 'in the right way' (*ṛṭā-*), *daśyā* 'on the right' (*daśyina-*), *naktayā* 'by night' (*nakta-*), *madhyā* 'in the middle' (*mādhyā-*), *samāyā* 'together' (*sāmāna-*), *svapnāyā* (AV.) 'in dream' (*svāpna-*)⁷.

D. This case is anomalously formed by adding *-yā* to the stem, e. g. *jari-yā*⁸. It is not of common occurrence, being made from only 14 nominal¹⁰ stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *a-gōṭayā* 'lack of cows', *a-vīratayā* 'lack of sons', *ukhāyā* (TS. IV. 1. 9³) 'pot', *uttānāyā* (TS. IV. 1. 4²; Kh. V. 16¹) 'supine', *ghṛāyā* N. of a woman, *carīyā* 'for going', *jariyā* (AV.) 'old age', *tva-yatayā* 'presented by thee', *duccchināyā* 'mischievous demon', *putrā-kāmāyā* (Kh. IV. 13⁴) 'desiring sons', *putrā-kratayā* N. of a woman, *mandayā* 'eagerness', *vīpdlāyā* N. of a woman, *śīrḍayā* 'auspicious', *śvetanāyā* 'dawn', *sanṭayā* 'joy', *śūryāyā* 'sun-goddess'.

a. Two forms have been preserved in which the D. is made by adding the normal ending *-e* directly to the stem with the *-ā* of which it coalesces to *-ai*: *mahīyā* (I. 113⁹) 'greatness', *sv-afalyā*¹¹ (I. 54¹¹) 'accompanied with fair offspring'. These are formed like the D. infinitives from radical *a*-stems such as *vī-khyā* (584).

b. In one passage (VII. 119) the form *a-vīratā*, for *a-vīratayā* 'lack of sons',

¹ See LANMAN 357 (top).

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629, 783.

³ The corresponding later form in the Avesta is much commoner than the older: BRUGMANN 2, p. 629.

⁴ This number given by LANMAN 357 includes some pronominal stems. BRUGMANN's statement (2, p. 629) that the form in *-yā* is less common than the form in *-ā* in Vedic, is not applicable even to the RV.

⁵ The forms are *daśyā*, *devātā*, *doṣā*, *sumnāyā*, *vitta-kāmāyā*; only the last is peculiar to the AV.

⁶ Euphony also has some influence; thus *hiranyayā* does not occur.

⁷ LANMAN 358 enumerates the homophonous instrumentals.

⁸ These forms may have been due to the influence of the pronominal adverb *a-yā* 'in this way' (with adverbial shift of accent, cp. *dyā* etc.); see J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 212 ff., and BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629; otherwise BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 20 f.

⁹ Formed in the Indo-Iranian period, probably under the influence of the derivative stems in *-i* originally *-yā*, i. e. *-yā* for *-yā-c*.

¹⁰ Also *svīyā* from the possessive pronoun *svī-*.

¹¹ BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 600, thinks this form may be shortened for *sv-afatyāyā*.

takes the ending *-e* direct, but with elision of the stem vowel, as in the radical *ā*-declension¹.

Ab. This case is formed anomalously by adding the ending *-yās* to the stem. It is rare, being made in the RV. from only seven stems, the AV. having three additional examples. The forms occurring are: *urdhvīyās* (AV.) 'upright', *kaniyās* 'maiden', *jihvīyās*, *dakṣiṇyās*, *dur-dvīyās* 'ill-disposed', *dur-hīnyās* 'mischief', *dīnyīyās* 'divine', *dhruvīyās* (AV.) 'firm', *nīdyās* 'dis-grace', *vy-adhvīyās* (AV.)² 'lying half-way'.

G. This case is formed in the same way as the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 26 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghnyās* and *aghnīyās* 'cow (not to be killed)', *līyās*, *ukhīyās*, *usryās* 'muddy cow', *ūrmyās* 'night', *kanīyās*, *kāṣṭhīyās* 'course', *jihvīyās*, *dakṣiṇīyās*, *darśatīyās* 'conspicuous', *dārvīyās* 'Dūrvā grass', *dhiśānyās* 'offering', *dhiśānīyās*³ 'longing', *pājīyās* 'vigorous', *pāritakmyās* 'wandering', *mihīnyās* 'mighty', *rasīyās* a mythical river, *vayīyās* 'branch', *viśpātīyās*, *śaśattamīyās* 'most recent', *śīphīyās* N. of a river, *śucīyās* 'pure', *sabar-dighīyās* 'yielding nectar', *śahīyās*⁴ 'victorious', *sūrīyās* 'intoxicating liquor', *saryīyās*.

L. This case is formed by adding the anomalous ending *-yām* to the stem, e. g. *bhadrā-yām*. It is not common, being formed from only 16 or 17 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *āpāyīyām*⁵ N. of a river, *amāyām* 'raw', *utkṛmāyām* 'outstretched', *usryīyām*, (*ā*)-*gatīyām* 'come', *grīvīyām* 'neck', *jāruyām* 'ancient', *nīvāyām* 'new', *pāritakmyāyām*, *bhadrīyām* 'beneficent', *yamūnīyām* N. of a river, *varatrīyām* 'thong', *vāsāyām* (Kh. II. 10⁵) 'cow', *śiṃśīpīyām* N. of a tree, *śrīpīyām* 'night', *sabhāyām* (TS. I. 8. 3¹) 'assembly', *śūryām*, *su-śmāyām*⁷ N. of a river, *hariyūpīyām* N. of a locality.

V. This case has the abnormal ending *-e*⁸ and is in the RV. formed from over 50 stems; e. g. *āśve*. The original form must have been the bare stem with the final vowel shortened; e. g. **āśva*, but of this there is no certain survival. The form *amba* which occurs in the RV. three times (unaccented) may originally have been an exclamation, and it can have this sense alone in one of the three passages of the RV. (x. 97²), where it is used with a plural. In the two other passages it may very well mean 'O mother' (II. 41¹⁶; x. 86⁷). The VS. (xxiii. 18) and the TS. (VII. 4. 19¹) have the V. *āmba* as from a stem *āmba* 'mother'⁹.

The forms occurring are: *āghnyāśye*¹⁰ (Kh. IV. 5^{26. 12}) 'cow-faced', *aghnye*, *apre* N. of a disease, *amartye* 'immortal', *āmbike* (TS. VS.) 'mother', *ambitame* 'most motherly', *āśve* 'mare', *āśva-sūrye* 'rich in horses', *āditya-varṇe*¹¹ (Kh. II. 6⁶) 'sun-coloured', *arjikiye* N. of a river, *iḥ* goddess of devotion, *iṣṭake* (TS. IV. 2. 9²) 'brick', *ugra-pūtre* 'having mighty sons', *uttare* 'mightier', *uttāna-parṇe* 'having extended leaves', *uru-vraje* 'extending afar', *ūrmye*, *rāṣe* 'exalted', *kadhā-priye* 'ever pleased', *kāne* 'one-eyed', *kāma-dughē* (TS. IV. 2. 9⁶) 'cow of plenty', *kṛtye* (Kh. IV. 5²⁵) 'magic', *ghōra-rūpe* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶) 'of awful form', *gaṅge* 'Ganges', *ghore* 'awful', *citre*, *citrā-maghe* 'having brilliant gifts', *jāye*, *dāre* (TS. IV. 2. 9¹), *deva-jūte* 'impelled by the gods'

¹ This forms a transition to the consonant declension like *devātāte* beside *devātāte*; cp. LANMAN 359².

² Like the D. it is due to the influence of the stems in derivative *-ī*, to the fuller form of which, *-īā*, the normal ending *-as* was added.

³ Also the pronominal *svīyās* 'own'.

⁴ Participle, perhaps desiderative, of *dhi-* 'think'.

⁵ Perfect participle middle of *śah-* 'conquer'.

⁶ A transition form from the radical *ā*-declension, see p. 249, note 11.

⁷ Also the pronominal form *svīyām*.

⁸ The origin of this ending is uncertain; cp. BRUGMANN 2, 541.

⁹ This is a common stem in post-Vedic Sanskrit.

¹⁰ The ed. has *aghnyāśye*.

¹¹ The ed. has *ādityā-varṇe*.

devi-tame 'most divine', *dhiyane* 'goddess of devotion', *nadi-tame* 'best of rivers', *pathye* 'path' (as goddess), *pastye* 'goddess of the house', *putra-kāme*, *puru-priye* 'much beloved', *pythu-jāghane* 'broad-hipped', *pythu-stūke* 'having broad braids of hair', *priye* (TS. VII. 1. 6⁶), *brahma-samsite* 'sharpened by prayer', *marud-nydhe* N. of a river, *yamune*, *rāke* N. of a goddess, *vapuṣṭame* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'most beautiful', *vāra-rūpe* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶) 'of excellent form', *vi-kāse* 'monstrous', *vivasvat-vāte* (TS. IV. 4. 12¹) 'desired by Vivasvat', *viśva-rūpe* (TS. IV. 2. 5²) 'omniform', *viśva-vāre* 'possessed of all goods', *saravye* 'arrow', *śīlike* 'cool', *śiṅge* (Kh. V. 15⁸) N. of a goddess, *śubhre* 'shining', *sa-dānte* 'associated with demons', *sarame* N. of a goddess, *śite* 'furrow', *su-jāte* 'well-born', *su-putre* 'having good sons', *su-bhage*, *su-lābhike* 'easy to win', *su-snuṣe* 'having fair daughters-in-law', *sū-nyte*, *sūrya-varṇe* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'sun-coloured', *sūrye*, *śūma-trayastrīṅse* (TS. IV. 4. 12¹), *hāriklike* (Kh. V. 15¹) 'yellowish', *hiranya-parṇe* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'gold-winged', *hlādike* 'refreshing'.

Du. N. A. V. These cases are identical in form, having final *-e* which doubtless contains the same dual ending *-ī* as N. A. V. du. of the *a*-declension². They are of frequent occurrence, being made from over 130 stems in the RV. The ending *-e* is Pragrhya, being distinguished by the Pada text with an appended *ī* from the *e* of the V. sing. f.; e. g. V. du. f. *śubhre ī*, but V. sing. f. *śubhre*.

Examples of the most frequent forms are: *ubhī* (66) 'both', *su-mkē*³ (8) 'well-established', *devi-putre* (7) 'having gods as sons', *vi-rūpe* (7) 'of different forms', *śpre* (5) 'cheeks'. The compound *śtāsīte* 'black and white' occurs in a Khila (p. 171⁵).

I. Ab. These cases, made with the ending *-bhyām*, are identical in form with the I. D. Ab. m. n. of the *a*-declension. They are represented by only two forms in the RV.: *śprābhyām* (x. 105⁵) which seems to be I. 4, and *nāsik-ibhyām* (x. 163¹) 'nostrils', Ab. No form with a D. sense occurs.

G. L. Both these cases add, with interposing *-y-*, the normal ending *-as* to the final *-ā* of the stem, which is shortened. They are thus identical in form with the G. L. du. m. n. of the *a*-declension. There are only four nominal forms in the RV. and AV.: in the G. sense *jāṅghayos* (AV.) 'legs', *yamyos* 'twins'; and in the L. sense *utbādyos*, *svadhāyos* 'homestead'⁵.

Pl. N. V. The regular form ends in *-ās* and is very common, being formed from nearly 260 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *bhadrās* (19), *dhīrās* (16), *manīśās* (10)⁶.

There is, however, a second form in *-āsas* which occurs nearly 20 times in the RV. Considering the rarity of this form here, while it is the commoner as N. pl. m. in the *a*-declension, the probability is that its introduction was due to those very numerous masculines. The forms occurring are: *ā-tandrāsas* 'indefatigable', *a-mṛtāsas* (AV.) 'immortal', *dur-mitrāsas* 'unfriendly', *pasprdhānāsas* 'vying'⁷, *pārthivāsas*⁸ 'terrestrial', *pāvakāsas* 'pure', *bhejānāsas*⁹ 'having obtained', *vanvānāsas*¹⁰ (SV.) 'having obtained', *vaśāsas*,

¹ Superlative of *devī*, the final being shortened as in the simple vocative *devī*.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 286 (p. 643).

³ Cp. WINDISCH in Festgruss an O. v. BÖHTLINGER 114 f.

⁴ The pronominal form *idbhām* (x. 88¹⁵) has a locative meaning.

⁵ There are also the pronominal forms *ayās* and *yāyos*. In III. 54³ the Pada text reads *ayās* probably for *ayās*.

⁶ In two or three passages the Pada text seems to confuse forms in *-ās* with others in *-ā*; see LANMAN 362.

⁷ Perfect participle middle of *Ṛsprdh-*.

⁸ Cp. LANMAN 362.

⁹ Perfect participle middle of *bhaj-* 'share'.

¹⁰ The variant of the SV. for *bhejānāsas* of the RV.

vātrīsas 'roaring', *vidānsās* 'being found', *vydhāsas* 'helping', *ā-sugāṇāsas*² 'stimulating', *śughāṇāsas*³ 'swift', *sāmmitāsas* (AV.) 'corresponding', *smīyamānāsas* 'smiling', *hīvamānāsas* 'calling'⁴.

A. This case is formed with the normal ending *-as* which coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e. g. *sūnftās*. It is very frequent, being made from more than 160 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *māyās* (22), *pītanās* (13) 'battles', *usrās* (12) 'dawns', *dhārās* (11), *usrīyās* (10)⁵. Two instances occur of forms in *-āsas* being wrongly used as A. pl. f.: *samvidānāsas* (X. 30¹¹) 'united' and *aram-gamāsas* (AV. XIII. 2¹³) 'ready to help'.

I. This case is always formed by adding the ending *-bbhis* directly to the stem, e. g. *sūnfta-bbhis*. It is made from over 80 stems in the RV. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *māyābbhis* (13), *citrābbhis* (8), *dhārābbhis* (7), *hārābbhis* (7) 'libations', *lābbhis* (6). The form *dr̥ghīśhābbhis* (III. 62¹⁷) 'for longest times'⁶ is used adverbially.

D. Ab. These cases are formed with the same ending *-bhyas* (sometimes to be read as two syllables) added directly to the stem. In the RV. only 4 datives and 11 ablatives occur from nominal stems⁷. The forms occurring are: D. *aghnyābhyas*, *usrīyābhyas*, *duccchinābhyas*, *devātābhyas* (TS. IV. 2. 9⁶) 'deities', *vytābhyas* 'movements'. — Ab. *dāharābhyas* 'lower', *āsābhyas* 'regions', *ittarābhyas*, *uṣṇhābhyas* 'nape of the neck', *kikasābhyas* 'cartilages of the breast-bone', *gūdābhyas* 'intestines', *grvābhyas*, *damsānābhyas* 'wondrous powers', *dhīṣṇābhyas* 'Soma bowls', *vaksānābhyas* 'bellies', *śyāvyābhyas* 'darkness'.

G. This case being made with the abnormal ending *-nām* is identical in form with the G. pl. m. of the *a*-declension. It is formed in the RV. from 22 stems. There is no certain example here of forms with the normal ending *-ām* which is found in a few genitives of the *a*-declension (372). There are only a couple of instances in which the resolution of the final syllable as *-aam* seems required by the metre⁸. The G. of *kanyā* 'girl' always appears in the contracted form of *kaninām*⁹ (occurring five times) in the RV.¹⁰

The forms actually occurring are: *dhīṣṇānām* 'speech', *aghnyānām*, *a-nivṛṣṇānām* 'affording no place of rest', *ā-bhayanām* 'free from danger', *āśma-vrajānām* 'whose pen is a rock', *āsānām* (TS. IV. 4. 12³), *urvdraṇām* 'arable fields', *usrānām*, *usrīyānām*, *kāṣṭhānām*, *kṛtyānām* (Kh. IV. 5²⁰), *jihvānām* 'transverse', *divyānām* 'heavenly', *dūghanām* 'milch kine', *devtānām* (Kh. II. 4¹), *deva-senānām* 'hosts of the gods', *dhīṣṇānām*, *nṛvānām*, *navyānām* 'navigable rivers', *paśyānām* 'abodes', *manīṣānām*, *rāmyānām* 'nights', *sāmānām* 'years', *sūnftānām* 'songs of joy', *stīyānām* 'still waters'.

L. This case is formed by adding the ending *-su* directly to the stem. The final *-u* though always combined with a following vowel both at the end of an internal Pāda or within a Pāda, is invariably to be read with hiatus

¹ Participle middle, with passive sense, of *vid* 'find'.

² Participle middle of *visas*.

³ This word (AV.) is of uncertain derivation.

⁴ There are besides two or three doubtful instances which may be m.; see LANMAN 362.

⁵ In several instances *-ās* is most probably to be read where the Pāda text has *-ī*, see LANMAN 363. In a few forms the resolution of *-ās* as *-aas* or *-āās* seems necessary; LANMAN l. c.

⁶ Cp. *aparābhyas* 'for future times'.

⁷ There are also the pronominal forms *ābhyas* and *ābhyas*, *tābhyas*, *yābhyas*.

⁸ *dhānānām* in VIII. 59¹² and *pītanānām* in VIII. 59¹. In *sūnftānām* (I. 3¹¹) the metre seems to require the shortening of the final of the stem: *sūnftānām*; LANMAN 364.

⁹ This is a form of some importance as showing how the suffix *-f* arose from *-yā*.

¹⁰ It also occurs once in Kh. I. 5⁷.

in the RV.; e. g. *svāsu urvīrasu* (x. 50³) for *svāsurvīrasu*⁴. This case is formed from over 50 nominal stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghasu* 'evil', *anītasu*, *dvarāsu* 'later', *amāsu*, *ārtanāsu* 'uncultivated', *lhasu*, *īparāsu* 'neighbouring', *urvīrasu*, *usriyasu*, *ūrmyāsu*, *kanyāsu*, *kāśhāsu*, *kṛpnāsu* 'black', *grivāsu* (TS. iv. 2. 5¹), *citī-garbhāsu* 'visibly pregnant', *citrīsu*, *jagmānāsu* 'having gone', *jātīsu* 'born', *tīgryāsu* 'descended from Tugra', *dīryāsu* 'abodes', *devātāsu* (TS. i. 6. 4²), *dhisnyāsu* 'fire-places', *dhruvāsu* 'unchangeable', *nivāsu*, *pathyāsu*, *pādyāsu* 'footsteps', *pastyāsu*, *pāñca-janyāsu* 'relating to the five tribes', *puru-pīśāsu* 'multiform', *pūrvāsu* 'earlier', *pītanāsu*, *pradhanyāsu* 'forming the spoil', *priyāsu*, *mādyāsu* 'fond of exhilaration', *madhyamāsu* 'middlemost', *manuṣyāsu* 'human', *mandrāsu* (TS. iv. 1. 8²), *māryāsu* 'mortal', *mahnāsu* 'mighty', *yajñyāsu* 'devout', (*prā-*) *yātasu* 'presented', *yīśanāsu*, *rāmyāsu*, *ropanākāsu* a kind of bird, *rakṣināsu* 'bellies', *vyādhrāsu* 'great', *vyāhasānāsu* 'growing', *śayāsu* 'resting-places', *śāśkāsū* 'dry', *śyāvāsu* 'nights', *śrutāsu* 'famous', *śānyāsu* 'old', *saptī-śivāsu* 'blessing the seven (worlds)', *sirīsu* 'streams', *su-ryjānāsu* 'dwelling in fair regions', *hīryāsu* 'to be invoked'.

3. a. Stems in radical -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365-400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 348-359.

375. This declension consists primarily of fewer than 50 m. and f. nouns derived from 9 roots. Only four of these words appear as monosyllables, the rest being compounds. The analogy of this primary group (A) is closely followed both in inflexion and accentuation by a second group of about 80 polysyllabic stems which, though formed with derivative -ī, are for the sake of clearness best treated as a division (B) of this declension. The normal endings as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems are taken throughout this declension. The G. pl., however, with the exception of a single form occurring only once (*dhiyām*), takes the ending -nām; and the N. sing. always adds -s. Accentuation on the final syllable of the stem is characteristic of this declension; and except in monosyllabic stems the acute remains on that syllable throughout⁴. Before vowel endings the -ī is split to -iy in the monosyllabic nouns; e. g. *dhiy-am*; this is also the case in compounds formed with these nouns, except -īhī when it is accented, e. g. *jana-sriyam*, *nānā-dhiyas*, but *ā-dhīam*; in compounds formed with roots it is split only when two consonants precede; e. g. *yajña-priyam*, but *yajña-nīam*; in the secondary group it is split in *samudrī-* and partly in *cakrī-*, e. g. *samudriyas* and *cakriyau*, but *cakriyas*. Otherwise the *r* is always written as *y*, but is in the RV. invariably⁵ to be pronounced as a vowel; e. g. *nadyām* pronounced *nādīam*⁶.

A. The stems belonging to the primary group are: f. the monosyllabic feminines *dhi-* 'thought', *bhi-* 'fear', *sri-* 'glory'; and the m. *vi-* 'receiver' (which occurs only once in the N. sing.). — 2. Compounds (mostly Bahuvrīhis) formed with the first three: *ā-dhī-* f. 'care', *itthī-dhī-* 'right devout', *atīghadhī-*

¹ Cp. the L. pl. of the *a*-declension.

² Perfect participle middle of *gam-* 'go'.

³ Participle middle from *vyādh-* 'grow'.

⁴ There are one or two exceptions to this rule in compound words in the A group, and a few others, in the AV., in the B group.

⁵ There are only two exceptions in the RV.: A. sing. *saryām* (VII. 68^b) in a late

verse (cp. LANMAN 379¹) and N. pl. *nadyām* (VII. 50¹). The AV. has six such forms: *āvataryās*, *nadyās*, *naptyās*, *nādyās*, *pīpalyās*, *vyākṣa-sarpyās*.

⁶ The resolved forms are therefore always given below, spelt with *ī* in this declension. This will not lead to any confusion with the written forms of the Samhita text in which the *ī* of the stem always appears as *iy* or *y*.

'having a far-reaching mind' (*ā-dh-*), *dur-ā-dh-* 'malevolent', *dūrī-ādhi-* 'longing for the distance', *sv-ādhi-* 'attentive', *dā-dh-* 'malevolent', *nānā-dh-* 'of various intent', *visṭito-dh-* 'all-attending', *su-dh-* 'devout'; *aradya-bh-* f. 'fear of blame'; *agni-sri-* 'fire-bright', *adhvara-sri-* 'adorning the sacrifice', *ksatra-sri-* 'blessing dominion', *ghṛta-sri-* 'glittering with ghee', *janu-sri-* 'blessing men', *darśata-sri-* 'of beauteous splendour', *mārya-sri-* 'adorned like a wooer', *yajña-sri-* 'beautifying the sacrifice', *su-sri-* 'glorious', *hari-sri-* 'of golden glory'. — 3. Compounds formed with the roots *kr-* 'buy', *ni-* 'lead', *pr-* 'love', *mi-* 'diminish', *vi-* 'move' and 'cover', *si-* 'lie', *sri-* 'mix': *pra-kr-* (AV.) 'purchasable', *sadyah-kr-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *agre-ni-* (VS.) 'leading', *ṛta-ni-* 'leading the rite', *grāma-ni-* 'leading the community', *pada-ni-* (AV.) 'following the steps of another', *pra-ni-* f. 'furtherance', *pra-neni-* 'powerfully furthering', *mana-ni-* 'spirit-leading', *yajñi-ni-* 'leading the sacrifice', *vaśa-ni-* m. 'commander', *vratā-ni-* 'carrying out the ordinance', *sadha-ni-* 'accompanying', *seni-ni-* m. 'leader of an army', *skambha-ni-* (VS.) 'furnishing a prop'; *abhi-pri-* 'gladdening', *kadha-pri-* 'gladdening whom?', *pari-pri-* 'dear', *brahma-pri-* 'prayer-loving', *yajña-pr-* 'sacrifice-loving'; *manya-mi-* 'rage-obstructing', *vīta-pra-mi-* 'surpassing the wind'; *takva-vi-* m. '(swiftly darting) bird', *deva-vi-* and *deva-vi-* 'god-refreshing', *pada-ni-* m. 'leader', *parva-vi-* 'moving with wings', *prati-vi-* 'gladly accepting', *hiranya-vi-* 'gold-bringing'; *pra-vi-* (VS.) 'wound round'; *jihma-si-* 'lying prostrate', *patsu-tās-si-* 'lying at the feet', *madhyama-si-* 'lying in the midst', *syona-si-* 'lying on a soft couch'; *abhi-sri-* 'admixture', *gaya-sri-* 'mixing in troops'.

B. This secondary group comprises upwards of 80 polysyllabic stems, accented on the final vowel, which are all substantives except about half a dozen. It includes fewer than a dozen masculines. Of the remainder, which are feminine, more than half are names of female beings; about 30 are the f. form of m. stems that are not accented on the final vowel, as *puruṣ-* 'woman' beside *puruṣa-* 'man'. There are also some f. adjectives corresponding to m. in *ya*, as *svar-* beside *svarya-* 'resounding'. This derivative group closely follows the analogy of the third division of the radical group (compounds ending in roots with final accented *-i*); it joined the radical declension doubtless owing to the accentuation of the final vowel.

The m. stems are: *ahi-* 'serpent', *upāvi-* (VS.) 'encouraging', *dakṣ-* 'flaming'; *prīvi-* 'attentive', *duṣ-prīvi-* 'unfriendly', *su-prīvi-* 'very attentive'; *yay-* 'going'; *rath-* 'charioteer', *d-rath-* 'not a charioteer'; *sahasra-stari-* 'having a thousand barren cows', *hiranya-vāsi-* 'wielding a golden axe'.

The f. stems are: *athar-* 'flame', *atharvi-* 'priestess' (m. *ātharvan-*), *d-durmanṅali-* 'not unlucky', *apar-* pl. 'future days' (m. *āpara-*), *apasi-* (VS.) 'industrious' (m. *apāsya-*), *amb-* 'mother', *arāy-* 'demoness' (m. *ārāya-*), *aruṇ-* 'dawn', *aśvatar-* (AV.) 'she-mule', *aṣṭa-karn-* 'cow with notched ear', *ā-pāthi-* 'impediment', *en-* 'doe' (m. *ēa-*), *on-* 'breast', *kalyāni-* 'fair woman' (m. *kalyāna-*), *kavaṣ-* 'creaking' (m. *kavāṣa-*), *kilāsi-* 'spotted deer' (m. *kilāsa-*), *kumār-* (AV.) 'girl', *kū-* (AV.) 'fetter', *kyāni-* 'night', *kyāni-* 'flood', *khāri-* 'measure', *gandharvi-* 'female Gandharva', *gauri-* 'buffalo cow', *cakri-* 'wheel', *tandri-*

¹ For *dūrī-ādhi-*.

² From *duṣ-dh-*.

³ Mostly Tatpuruṣas, generally with accusative sense; some Karmadhārayas.

⁴ An intensive formation from *nī-* 'lead'.

⁵ 'Coming towards', *prā-*, with lengthened final vowel.

⁶ From *patsu-tās*, an adverb anomalously

formed by adding the suffix *-tas* to the l. pl. of *pad-* 'foot'.

⁷ Formed directly from the root *si-* = 'mix', and not from the substantive *sri-*.

⁸ From *upa* and *pra+av-* 'favour'.

⁹ To be assumed as the stem of the V. *dakṣi*, Pāda text *dhakṣi*.

¹⁰ The final vowel is here perhaps radical in origin.

(AV.) 'weariness' (m. *tāndra-*), *tapan-* 'heat' (m. *tāpana-*), *tila-piñj-*¹ (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *tila-piñja-*), *tikṣṇa-śṛṅg-* (AV.) 'sharp-horned' (m. *tikṣṇa-śṛṅga-*), *dāt-* 'messenger', *deh-* 'dam', *nad-* 'stream', *napti-* 'daughter' (m. *napti-*), *nād-* 'pipe', *nānd-* 'joy', *niṣṭigri-* N. of Indra's mother, *palā-*² (AV.) 'stalk', *pippali-* (AV.) 'berry' (m. *pippala-*), *purusi-* 'woman' (m. *pūruṣa-*), *praphar-* 'voluptuous girl', *maṇḍūki-* 'female frog' (m. *maṇḍūka-*), *māvṛ-* 'peahen' (m. *māvṛa-*), *mahi-nad-* 'great stream', *mahiṣ-* (TS.) 'buffalo cow', *mest-* 'ewe', *yami-* 'Yami', *yay-*³ 'quick', *yātudhanti-* 'sorceress' (m. *yātudhāna-*), *rathi-* 'female charioteer' (m. *rātha-* 'car'), *lakṣmi-* 'mark', *lalami-* 'speckled mare' (m. *lalīma-*), *vakṣ-* 'flame', *vi-keti-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *vibāl-* N. of a river, *vi-lipti-* (AV.) 'cow', *vi-lidhi-* (AV.) 'female monster', *viśva-rūpi-* 'brindled cow' (m. *viśva-rūpa-*), *vṛki-* 'she-wolf' (m. *vṛka-*), *vṛkṣa-sarpi-* (AV.) 'tree-serpent', *veś-* 'needle', *vyasta-keti-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *śakāṣ-* 'cart' (*śikāṣa-*), *śabali-* (TS.) 'cow of plenty' (m. *śabdā-*), *sakthi-* 'thigh' (n. *sákthi-*), *sasarpā-* 'trumpet', *sahasra-pari-* (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *sahāsra-parva-*), *siṃhi-* 'lioness', *su-māṅgal-*⁴ 'lucky woman' (m. *su-māṅgala-*), *sūrm-* 'pipe', *spṛi-* 'sickle', *stari-* 'barren cow', *sphig-* 'hip', *hastini-*⁴ (AV.) 'female elephant', *hiranya-keṣi-* 'gold-haired' (AV.) (m. *hiraṇya-keṣa-*).

a. There are further a few f. adjectives in *-r* from m. stems in *-ya*: *dpt-* 'watery' (m. *dpya-*), *samudr-*⁵ 'belonging to the sea' (m. *samudriya-*), *svart-* 'resounding' (m. *svaryā-*).

α. There are a few transition forms from the *i*-stems: *karkaryas*⁶ (AV.) from *karkari-* 'ute' (*karkari-*); N. sing. *arī-* (VS. vi. 36) from *ar-* 'faithful' beside the usual *ar-*; and the stems *yay-*, *sakth-*, *spṛ-* also occur beside *yay-*, *sakth-*, *spṛ-* respectively. The only certain transition from the derivative *-r* declension to the radical *-i* declension is represented by *str-* 'woman', originally a dissyllable⁷, from which occur the forms A. sing. *striyam*, N. A. pl. *striyas*, I. *strihis*. Other transition forms are probably *prānias* G. sing. N. pl., *yahvas* A. pl., *suparṇias*⁸ N. A. pl.

Inflexion.

376. The forms actually occurring if made from *dhi-* 'thought', *yajña-* *śr-* m. f. 'adorning the sacrifice', *senā-ni-* m. 'leader of an army', *rathi-* m. f. 'charioteer' respectively, would be the following:

A. I. sing. N. *dhis*. A. *dhiyam*. I. *dhiyā*. D. *dhiyē*. G. *dhiyās*. — Pl. N. *dhiyas*. A. *dhiyas*. I. *dhibhis*. G. *dhinām*⁹. L. *dhiṣu*.

2. sing. N. *yajña-śris*. A. *yajña-śriyam*. I. *yajña-śriyā*. D. *yajña-śriyē*. G. *yajña-śriyas*. — Du. N. A. *yajña-śriyā* and *yajña-śriyau* (AV.). — Pl. N. *yajña-śriyas*. A. *yajña-śriyas*. I. *yajña-śribhis*.

3. sing. N. *senā-nis*. A. *senā-nīam*. D. *senā-nīe*. G. *senā-nīas*. — Du. N. A. *senā-nīā*. G. *senā-nīos*. — Pl. N. *senā-nīas*. A. *senā-nīas*. D. *senā-nībhyas*. G. *senā-nīnām*.

B. Sing. N. *rathis*. A. *rathīam*. I. *rathīā*. D. *rathīe*. G. *rathīas*. V. *rathī*. — Du. N. A. *rathīā*. I. f. *rathībhyām*. G. f. *rathīos*. L. *rathīos*. — Pl. N. *rathīas*. A. *rathīas*. I. *rathībhis*. D. f. *rathībhyas*. G. *rathīnām*. L. f. *rathīṣu*.

¹ In these words the accent is shifted to a vowel ending in weak cases.

² The final vowel in this word is perhaps radical in origin (from *yā-* 'go').

³ The V. pl. *su-hastias* (ix. 46¹), presupposes a stem *su-hast-*, but as the form is a m., the reading ought perhaps to be emended to *su-hastās* with BR.

⁴ *hastin-* (ix. 3¹⁷) means 'having a hand'.

⁵ GRASSMANN regards this as a f. of an adjective *samudr-*.

⁶ See WHITNEY on AV. iv. 37⁵.

⁷ See LANMAN 371³.

⁸ In 1. 122⁷ *stari-* seems to be the equivalent of *str-*. See pw. s. v.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 372².

¹⁰ The form *dhinām* occurs 7 times in the RV., *dhiyām* only once.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. A. 1. m. vs. — f. *dhīs, bhīs, śrīs*. — 2. m. *itthādhis, kṣatra-śrīs, ghṛta-śrīs, darśata-śrīs, dard-ādhis, mārya-śrīs, viśvato-dhīs, sv-ādhis*. — f. *abhi-śrīs*. — 3. m. *agre-nīs* (VS. vi. 2), *grāma-nīs, takva-uis, deva-uis* and *deva-uis, patsu-taś-śīs, pada-nīs* (AV.), *pada-uis, pari-uis* (VS. vi. 6), *parva-uis, pra-kṛīs* (AV.), *pra-nēnīs, madhyama-śīs, manyu-mīs, yajña-nīs, yajña-prīs* (VS. xxvii. 31), *vāśa-nīs, sadyaḥ-kṛīs, senā-nīs, skambha-nīs* (VS. i. 19), *syona-śīs*. — f. *pra-kṛīs* (AV.), *vrata-nīs*. — **B. m.** *ā-rathīs¹, prāvīs, su-prāvīs, rathīs², sahsra-startīs, hṛanya-vāśīs*. — f. *ā-dur-māṅgalīs, aruṅīs, kālyānīs, kṛṣṇīs, kṣonīs³, gandharvīs, gaurīs, jātrīs⁴* (AV.), *tandṛīs* (AV.), *datīs, naptīs, nāḍīs, mahīśīs⁵* (TS. i. 2. 12²), *yamīs, yātudhānīs* (AV.), *rathīs, lakṣmīs, lalānīs, viśva-rūpīs* (TS. i. 5. 6²), *vṛkīs, śakāśīs, śabālīs* (TS. iv. 3. 11²), *sasarparīs, śiphīs* (TS. i. 2. 12²), *su-māṅgalīs⁶, startīs⁷*.

Acc. A. 1. f. dhīyam, bhīyam, śrīyam. — 2. m. *dur-ādhiām, sv-ādhiām, adhvara-śrīyam, kṣatra-śrīyam, ghṛta-śrīyam, jana-śrīyam, yajña-śrīyam, su-śrīyam, hari-śrīyam⁸*. — f. *abhi-śrīyam*. — 3. m. *gāthā-nīām, grāma-nīām* (VS. xxx. 20), *yajña-nīām; deva-ūlām, pratī-ūlām; abhi-śrīyam, ghṛta-śrīyam* (AV.), *brahma-śrīyam*. — f. *deva-ūlām⁹*. — **B. m.** *rathīām, su-prāvīām*. — f. *atharvīām, arāyīām, kumārīām* (AV.), *kudīām* (AV.), *gaurīām, nadīām, naptīām, nāndīām, prapharvīām, yamīām, lakṣmīām* (AV.), *lalāmīām* (AV.), *vibālīām, vilīptīām* (AV.), *viltāhīām* (AV.), *viśva-rūpīām, vṛkīām, śiphīām, sūrnīām, startīām¹⁰, sphigīām, svarīām*.

I. A. 1. f. dhīyā, bhīyā, śrīyā. — 2. m. *dū-dhīā*. — f. *avadya-bhīyā¹¹, ā-dhīā¹²* (AV.). — **B. m.** *rathīā*. — f. *tila-pīñjīā¹³* (AV.), *palālīā¹⁴* (AV.), *maṇḍakīā, veśīā, sahasra-panīā¹⁵* (AV.), *sūrnīā, sphigīā*. — The form *tapantī* may be a contraction for *tapantīā¹⁶*.

D. A. 1. f. dhīyē, bhīyē, śrīyē. — 2. m. *itthā-dhīyē, dur-ādhyē, dū-dhyē*. — f. *ā-dhyē*. — 3. m. *gāṇa-śrīyē* (VS. xxii. 30), *yajña-śrīyē; jihma-śte, senā-nīē* (VS. xvi. 17). — **B. m.** *rathīē, su-prāvīē¹⁷*. — f. *nandīē, meṣē, vṛkīē*.

G.¹⁸ A. 1. f. dhīyās. — 2. m. *dū-dhīās, su-dhīās*. — n. *sv-ādhyās¹⁶*. — 3. m. *gāṇa-śrīyās; gāthā-nīās, manyu-nīās¹⁷*. — **B. m.** *ahīās, su-prāvīās*. — f. *atharvīās, āpīās¹⁸, nadīās, niṣṭi-gṛīās, pṛśantīās, meṣās, śṛīās*.

L. f. gaurī (ix. 12²) and *sarasi* (vii. 103²) may be locatives containing the normal ending *-ī*.

¹ There is also the transition form *arīs* (VS. vi. 36).

² On *rathīās* occurring once or twice for *rathīr īva*, cp. LANMAN 375 (bottom).

³ The N. sing. once (i. 180²) appears without the *-s* as *kṣonī*. This word has other forms also according to the derivative *-ī* declension; cp. LANMAN 372 (bottom).

⁴ The reading of the Ms. in AV. xx. 48² is *jātrīs*; the edition has *jānīs*.

⁵ This is a transition from the derivative *-ī* declension for the *māhīśīs* of the RV.

⁶ The AV. has *su-māṅgalī* three times; cp. LANMAN 377 (top).

⁷ There are also the transition forms *drīlīs* (vi. 43), *śakvarīs* (TS. iv. 4. 4¹), *devīs* (AV. vi. 59²); *varīantīs* (L. 140²) is a purely metrical lengthening; cp. LANMAN 377².

⁸ This form is also once (Val. ii. 10) used in agreement with a neuter substantive (*gotrām*).

⁹ In agreement with *tvācam* (ix. 74²).

¹⁰ This form is once (vii. 68²) pronounced *staryām*, being one of the two only examples in the RV. of the *ī* in this declension being pronounced as *y* before a vowel.

¹¹ Accented as if *bhīyā* were used independently; the form occurs in a late hymn (x. 107²).

¹² Irregular accentuation of the ending.

¹³ Otherwise it may be an I. of the derivative *-ī* declension.

¹⁴ Cp. LANMAN 382¹.

¹⁵ There is no example of an ablative.

¹⁶ This seems to be the only actual n. form of this declension in the RV.

¹⁷ The form *ahī-ghnyās* (AV.) is a transition form with shift of accent from the derivative *-ī* declension.

¹⁸ The form *aruṅīs* (i. 121²) may be contracted for *aruṅīās*.

V. B. m. *dakṣi*¹. — f. *arāyi*, *maho-nadi*², *yami*, *lakṣmi* (AV.).

Du. N. A. A. 2. f. *abhi-śrīyā*, *ghṛta-śrīyā*. — 3. m. *mana-nīdā*, *sadha-nā*; *senānt-grāmanyāu* (VS. xv. 15). — f. *abhi-śrīyau* (AV.). — B. m. *rathīa*. — f. *cakrīyā*, *nadī*, *napṭā*, *yamā*, *sakthīā*, *spṛtā*; *cakrīyau* (SV.), *nādyāu* (AV.), *sakthīau* (AV.)³.

I. B. f. *kṣonibhyām*. — G. A. 3. m. *yajña-nlos*. — B. f. *onlos*⁴, *cakrlos*. — L. B. f. *onlos*, *napṭlos*.

Pl. N. V. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *śrīyas*⁵. — 2. m. *dirghādhiyas*, *durādhiyas*, *dādhiyas*, *nīmi-dhiyas*, *su-dhiyas*, *sv-ādhiyas*; *agni-śrīyas*, *adhvara-śrīyas*, *su-śrīyas*. — f. *ādhiyas*, *vyādhiyas*⁶ (AV.). — 3. m. *grāma-nlas* (AV.), *devā-nlas*, *pada-nlas*, *sadha-nlas*; *abhi-priyas*, *kadha-priyas*, *gaṇa-śrīyas*, *pari-priyas*. — f. *abhi-śrīyas*, *ā-priyas* (AV.), *pra-nlas*, *vāta-pramiyas*. — B. m. *ahīas*, *āpathīas*, *rathīas*, *su-hastīas*⁷. — f. *apasīas* (VS. x. 7), *arāyīas* (AV.), *arunīas*, *enīas*, *kalyānīas*, *kaṛaśīas* (VS. xx. 40, 60), *gaurīas*, *tikṣṇa-śrīngīas*, *nadīas*, *naṣṭīas* (AV.), *māyūrīas*, *yātu-dhānīas* (AV.), *rathīas*, *lakṣmīas* (AV.), *vakṣīas*, *vī-keśīas* (AV.), *vyasta-keśīas* (AV.), *samudrīyas*, *sahasra-parṇīas* (AV.), *starīas*. — With *i* pronounced as *y*: once *nadyīs* (VII. 50⁴) and 6 forms in the AV., *atrataryīs*, *nadyīs*, *napṭyīs*, *nūlyīs*, *pippalyīs*, *vykṣa-sarpyīs*.

Acc. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *bhiyas* (AV.), *bhiyās* (TS. IV. 1. 7³ = VS. xxvii. 7), *śrīyas*. — 2. m. *durādhiyas*, *dādhiyas*, *su-śrīyas*⁸. — f. *ādhiyas* (AV.). — 3. m. *sadha-nlas*. — B. m. *ahīas*, *duṣprīvīas*, *rathīas*. — f. *arāyīas* (AV.), *aṣṭa-kaṇṇīas*, *kīlīas*, *khārīas*, *dehīas*, *nadīas*, *napṭīas*, *mūśīas*, *yamīas*, *yātu-dhānīas*, *samudrīyas*, *sambādha-tandīas* (AV.) 'affliction and exhaustion', *starīas*⁹.

I. A. 1. f. *dhibhis*, *śrībhis*¹⁰. — 2. m. *sv-ādhibhis*. — 3. m. *gaṇa-śrībhis*¹¹. — B. m. *hiraṇya-vāsibhis*. — f. *kalyānibhis*, *kṣonibhis*, *nadibhis*, *napṭibhis*.

D. ¹² A. 3. m. *ṛta-nibhyas*¹³, *śva-nibhyas*¹⁴ (VS. xvi. 27), *senā-nibhyas*¹⁵ (VS. xvi. 26). — B. f. *aparibhyas*, *nadibhyas* (VS. xxx. 8).

G. A. 1. f. *dhinām* and *dhiyām*, *śrīnām*. — 3. f. *hiraṇya-vinām*. — B. m. *ahīnām*, *nadinām* 'invokers', *rathīnām*¹⁶. — f. *arunīnām*, *krīmīnām* (AV.), *nadinām*, *puruṣīnām*, *svarīnām*.

L. A. 1. f. *dhiṣū*. — B. f. *aparīṣu*, *arunīṣu*, *nadīṣu*¹⁷.

3. b. Stems in derivative -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 362—366.

377. 1. This declension embraces a very considerable number of stems which are formed by means of the suffix *-ī* (originally *-yā*) and, except seven masculines, are restricted to the f. gender. It largely supplies the f. form of words requiring inflexion in more than one gender. Feminine stems are thus made from nouns in *-a*, e. g. *devī-* (m. *devā-*); from adjectives in *-u*; e. g. *ṛthī-* (m. *ṛthī-*); from present participles in *-ant*; e. g. *maddant-*

¹ Pada *dhakṣi*; cp. RPr. IV. 41.

² Treated as a compound in the Pada (VIII. 74¹⁵) though *make* is V.

³ The AV. shows no example of *-ī*. It has three transition forms *āṅghāu*, *phāḥ*, *nyāu*, *akṣyāu*.

⁴ Cp. APr. III. 61.

⁵ Also the transition form *śrīyas*.

⁶ This would be *vyā-dhiyas* in the RV. where in compounds ending in *-dhi-* the *ī* if unaccented is split.

⁷ See above, 375 B a, note 3.

⁸ Also the transition form to the deriva-

tive *ī*-declension *deva-īrīs* (TS. IV. 6. 3² = VS. XVII. 56) 'worshipping the gods'.

⁹ Also the transition form *śrīyau*; on *yabhiyas* and *suparṇīas* see 375 a a.

¹⁰ Also the transition form *śrībhis* (accented as a monosyllabic stem).

¹¹ Metrical shortening; see LANMAN 372³.

¹² There is no example of an Ab. m. or f.

¹³ The accent of the G. *atastūm* 'heggers' would seem to require a stem *ata-* and not *ata-*.

¹⁴ There is also the transition form *śrīyū* accented as a monosyllable.

(m. *midant-*), *-ant*, e. g. *adat-ī* (m. *adant-*), or *-at*, e. g. *plprat-ī* (m. *plprat-*); from perfect participles in *-vāms*, e. g. *jagmṣ-ī* (m. *jaganvāms-*); from comparatives in *-yāms*, e. g. *ndvīyas-ī* (m. *ndvīyāms-*); from words in *-tar* (*-tr*), e. g. *avit-ī* (m. *avitār-*); from adjectives in *-mant*, e. g. *dhenu-māt-ī* (m. *dhenu-mānt-*), and *-vant*, e. g. *āma-vat-ī* (m. *āma-vant-*); from nouns in *-an*, e. g. *sam-rājñ-ī* (m. *rājñ-*), *-van*, e. g. *ṛtā-var-ī* (m. *ṛtā-van-*); from adjectives¹ in *-in*, e. g. *arkñ-ī* (m. *arkñ-*); from compounds ending in *-ānc*, e. g. *arvāc-ī* (m. *arvānc-*), in *-dṛs*, e. g. *su-dṛs-ī*, in *-pad*, e. g. *a-pād-ī*, and in *-han*, e. g. *d-pati-ghn-ī*.

2. There is besides a large group of miscellaneous f. stems of an independent character, having no corresponding m., e. g. *śūc-ī* 'might'.

3. 'The seven m. stems', of which five are proper names, are: *Tirascī-*, *Nāmī-*, *Pfthī-*, *Mātātī-*, *Sibharī-*; *rājñ-ī* 'ruler', *sirī-* 'weaver'.

a. The stems of this declension (in contrast with those of the B group of the radical *-ī* declension) do not normally accent the suffix. The exceptions to this rule are of a definite character.

1. When in the first f. group there is a corresponding m. accented on a final syllable which is liable to be reduced in such a way as to be incapable of bearing the accent, the acute is thrown forward on the *-ī*; e. g. m. *urū-*, f. *urū-ī*; m. *netār-*, f. *netār-ī*; m. *ad-ant-*, f. *ad-ant-ī*; m. *fraty-dhā-*, f. *fraty-dhā-ī*; m. *han-*, f. *ghn-ī*. When the m. ends in *-ā*, the accent also in several stems remains on the corresponding *-ī*; thus m. *devā-*, f. *devā-ī*; *pāpā-* 'evil', f. *pāpā-ī*; m. *puro-gavā-* 'leader', f. *puro-gavā-ī*; m. *rāmā-* 'might', f. *rāmā-ī*; m. *vamrā-* 'ant', f. *vamrā-ī*. More usually, however, the accent of such feminines is thrown back on the first syllable²; thus m. *āyāt-* 'made of iron', f. *āyāt-ī*; m. *arṣā-* 'red', f. *arṣā-ī*; m. *gāndharvā-* 'belonging to the Gandharvas', f. *gāndharvā-ī*; m. *lavṣā-* 'strong', f. *lavṣā-ī*; m. *śūc-ī* 'strength'; m. *parṣā-* 'reed', f. *parṣā-ī*; N. of a river; m. *palīd-* 'grey', f. *palīd-ī*; m. *māhīpā-* 'buffalo', f. *māhīpā-ī*; m. *rohītā-* 'ruddy', f. *rohītā-ī*; m. *śāṃgāyā-* 'procuring prosperity for the household', f. *śāṃgāyā-ī*; m. *śyāvā-* 'brown', f. *śyāvā-ī*; m. *śyētā-* 'white', f. *śyētā-ī*; m. *śyētā-* 'white cow'.

2. Again, the miscellaneous group of feminines hardly ever accents the final *-ī* of the stem except when it is a proper name, a shift of accent having here probably taken place to indicate a change of meaning; thus *aranyānī-* 'Forest-goddess', *arundhatī-*³ (AV.) N. of a plant and a star, *indrānī-* 'Indra's wife', *rotānī-* N. of the *Āśvins*' wife, *vadhri-matī-* N. of a mythical female, *varuṇānī-* 'Varuṇa's wife', *śarānī-* N. of Indra's mother, *nīlānī-* N. of a goddess; and the river names *āśīnī-*, *āsīnī-*⁴ (but *āsīnī-* 'black' and 'night'), *gō-matī-* (but *gō-mat-ī* 'rich in cows'), *śūdrī-*.

Inflexion.

378. The inflexion of the derivative *-ī* stems stands in marked contrast with that of the radical *-ī* stems in three respects: (1) no *-s* is added in the N. sing. masculine or feminine; (2) the endings diverge considerably from the normal ones, the Sing. A. taking *-m*, the D. *-ai*, the Ab. G. *-ās*, the L. *-ām*, the du. N. A. *-ī*, the pl. N. A. *-s*; (3) stems accented on the final vowel shift the acute to the ending in the weak cases of the sing., in the G. L. du., and the G. pl.

¹ Adjectives ending in *-a* do not form their f. in *-ī* unless they are accented on the final syllable, when the accent almost always shifts to the first syllable; e. g. *arṣā-* from *arṣā-*; but *pāpā-* has *pāpā-* beside *pāpā-*.

² A list of these is given by GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1722—23.

³ Cp. ZUBATY, zu den altindischen männlichen *-ī*-stämmen, Sitzungsberichte d. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. 1897, XIX (treats also of the radical *-ī*-stems used in the masc.).

⁴ Beside *pāpā-*. The great majority of Indo-arian Philologie. I. 4.

adjectives and all participles ending in *-a* form their f. with *-ā*.

⁵ This is the converse of the accentuation in the B group of the radical *-ī* declension, where the m. in unaccented *-a* throws the acute on the final *-ī* of the f.

⁶ Similarly *varūt-* 'protector', f. *varūt-ī*.

⁷ Originally a present participle **d-śundhat-ī* 'not hindering'.

⁸ *āsīnī-* also occurs once as the N. of the river.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *devī* 'goddess', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *devī*. A. *devīm*. I. *devyā*. D. *devyāi*. Ab. *devyās*. G. *devyās*. L. *devyām*. V. *devī*.

Du. N. A. *devī*, V. *devī*. D. Ab. *devibhyām*. G. L. *devyās*.

Pl. N. *devīs*. A. *devīs*. I. *devibhis*. D. *devibhyas*. Ab. *devibhyas*. G. *devinām*. L. *devīsu*. V. *devīs*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. The m. forms are: *nāmī*, *pīthī*, *mītalī*, *rāṣṭrī*, *sābhārī*. The f. forms are very common, being made from nearly 300 stems in the RV. Among the most frequent are: *pṛthivī* 'earth' (57), *devī* (48), *sarasvatī* (43) N. of a goddess, *māhī* 'great' (35), *ucchāntī* 'shining' (16), *yātī* 'going' (14), *jānitrī* 'mother' (10), *brhātī* 'great' (10), *ghṛtācī* 'filled with ghee' (9), *maghānī* 'bountiful' (9), *strī*¹ 'woman' (3)².

A. m. *nāntm*. — The f. is formed from over 100 stems in the RV. Among the commonest forms are: *pṛthivīm* (62), *māhīm*³ (35), *devīm* (18), *tāvīṣīm* (13), *urvīm* (9) 'wide', *pīpyūṣīm*⁴ (9) 'swelling'⁵.

I. This case is formed with the normal ending *-ā*. The only m. form is *nāmīā*. But there are about 40 f. forms in the RV. In more than two-thirds of these the suffix is pronounced as a vowel⁶ *-iā* (in oxytones *-iā*), in the rest as a semivowel *-yā* (in oxytones *-yā*). The stem *sāmī* 'labour' has, beside *sāmīyā*, the contracted form *sāmī*, which also appears in the compound *su-sāmī* 'with great care'. At the end of a Pāda and before vowels⁷ this I. *sāmī* is shortened to *sāmī*⁸. The forms occurring are: 1. *dhṛvyā* 'subtile', *asvābhidhānyā* (AV.) 'halter', *āsvāvatyā* 'furnished with horses', *āsiknyā*⁹ (AV.), *kundṛṇīcyā* 'house lizard', *kumbhīyā* (TS. II. 2. 8¹) 'jar', *gātū-mātyā* 'spacious', *gāyatrīyā* (TS. II. 2. 4²) a metre, *ghṛtācyā*, *cikīntīyā* 'observing', *cikīyāntīyā* 'appearing', *jūṣātyā* (TS. II. 2. 1. 4³), a metre, *tmātīyā* 'by oneself', *dāvīdyutatyā* 'glittering', *devīcyā* 'directed towards the gods', *dīvyā* (AV.) 'divine', *nāvīyasyā* 'new', *pātīyā* 'wife', *mādhū-matyā* 'accompanied by sweetness', *rohīnyā*, *vāsīyā* 'good', *vājaratīyā* 'rich in treasure', *vāsīyā* (AV.) 'knife', *viśvā-bheṣajīyā* (AV.) 'all-healing', *viśvācyā* 'universal', *vīśvīyā* 'everywhere' (adv.), *śūcyā* 'might', *sāmīyā*, *sarmayāntīyā* 'protecting', *śhīnyā* 'work', *satrīcyā* 'attentive', *samīcyā* (Kh. III. 10⁴) a goddess, *sarasvatīyā* (AV.), *soma-vatīyā* 'accompanied with Soma', *st. bhāntīyā* 'praising', *hārinīyā* 'yellow', *hīranyīyā*¹⁰ 'golden'. — Oxytones with shift of accent: *annādyā* (AV.) 'proper food', *āsiknyā*, *devyā*, *purānyā* 'ancient', *pṛthivīyā*, *māhīyā*, *samānyā* 'similar', *sādharānyā*¹¹ 'common', *sūcyā* 'needle', *sautrāmanīyā* (AV.) a kind of Indra sacrifice. The TS. and VS. also have *urvyā* as an adverb 'afar', which in the RV. appears only in the modified form *urvyā*.

D. The ending looks like *-ai*, e. g. *devy-āi*; but it is doubtless in origin the normal ending *-e* fused with the suffix *-yā*, i. e. *-yai = -yā-e*¹². Only 13 forms (all f.) occur in the RV. These are, besides a few others from the later

¹ Cp. WIDEMANN, BB. 27, 211, footnote.

² In the AV. there are also the transition forms *ā-dur-māṅgālī*, *su-māṅgālī*, *nādī*. In RV. I. 180⁵ *śyā* has perhaps dropped its *-ow*ing to the following *-ā*.

³ Perhaps to be read uncontracted as *māhīam* in x. 50⁶; *vāṇīm* (II. 11⁶) is also to be read as *vāṇīam*.

⁴ Perfect participle of *pt-* 'swell'.

⁵ There is also the transition form *nādīm* (AV.).

⁶ The vocalic pronunciation seems to be the commoner in the AV. also; cp. LANMAN 381.

⁷ This also occurs in the compound *urvy-āi* (VI. 24⁷), if *urvi-* = the adv. instr. *urvyā*.

⁸ The compound *su-sāmī* also occurs once in the TS. VS. as well as the RV.

⁹ Probably an error for *āsiknyā*; see WHITNEY on AV. v. 13⁸.

¹⁰ For *hīranyīyā*.

¹¹ Cp. LANMAN 368 (top).

¹² An indication of this origin is perhaps to be found in the fact that of the 13 stems in the RV. taking this dative only one, *śātīyāi*, has the vocalic pronunciation *śai*

Samhitās: 1. *arvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'hitherward', *dvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'downward', *d-avyai* 'not desiring', *lyai* 'so great', *ūdcyāi* (VS. XXII. 24) 'northern', *jāgatyaī* (VS. XXIV. 12), *jāryāi* (TS. III. 2. 2¹) 'mistress', *jāryantyaī* 'aging', *jyāyasyai* 'elder', *dhenudtyai* 'yielding milk', *parjanya-patnyai* 'having Parjanya for a husband', *paśumātyai* 'consisting of cattle', *praticyāi* (VS. XXII. 24) 'western', *prācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'eastern', *yaśo-bhaglyai* (VS. II. 20) 'rich in glory', *rātryai* (VS. XXIV. 25) 'night', *vijavatyaī*, *viś-pātnyai*, *sahā-patnyai* (AV.) 'united with the husband'. — 2. Oxytones: *indrānydi* (VS. XXXVIII. 3), *urvyāi* (VS. XXII. 27), *kalyānyāi* (AV.) 'good', *gāyatryāi* (VS. XIII. 54), *devyāi*, *prthivyaī*, *brhatyāi*, *mahyāi*, *rājāsandyāi* (VS. XIX. 16) 'Soma stand', *sintvālyāi*, *striyāi* (AV.), *hiraṇya-keśyāi* (AV.) 'gold-haired'.

Ab. The ending looks like *-ās*, e. g. *prthivy-ās*; but it is doubtless the normal ending *-as* fused with the suffix *-yā*, i. e. *-yās = -yā-as*⁵. Only five forms occur in the RV., besides a few others in the later Samhitās: *aradydvatyās* (AV.) 'disgraceful', *urvāyās* N. of a nymph, *jāgatyaīs* (VS. XIII. 56), *jivāntyaīs* 'living', *dur-admanyās* (VS. II. 20) 'bad food', *pātantyās* 'flying', *prthivyās*, *brhatyās* (AV.), *mahyās*⁶.

G. The ending is the same as in the Ab. and of similar origin. m. *iraseyās*⁷, *prthivyās*, *sūbharyās*. — f. The forms occurring in the RV.⁸ are: 1. *amṛt-mātyās*⁹ N. of a river, *amṛt-bhedyās* (VS. XXIII. 28) 'having a narrow slit', *uśinārānyās* N. of a people, *ūrjāyāntyaīs* 'vigorous', *śadhyās* (VS. I. 25) 'plant', *lāṅgyās*, *dānūmatyās* 'rich in drops', *māṃs-pācanyās* 'flesh-cooking', *rātryās*, *vivāsvatyās* 'shining', *sāmyās*, *śobucatyās* 'shining', *sūsyāntyaīs* 'about to bear'. — 2. *urvyās* 'earth', *devyās*, *prthivyās*, *mahatyās* 'great', *yatyās*, *yatyās* 'going', *vadhriṃatyās* N. of a woman, *striyās*¹⁰.

L. This case seems to be formed with the ending *-ām*, e. g. *devy-ām*; but it may be due to the fusion of a particle *-am*¹¹ with the suffix *-yā*. It is formed from 15 stems in the RV., where the pronunciation *-ām* is considerably less than half as common¹² as *-yām*. Forms occurring are: 1. *āsiknyām*, *ucchāntnyām*, *ūdcyām* (TS. II. 4. 14¹), *jāgatyaām* (VS. XXXVIII. 18), *jahnūnyām* 'race of Jahnū', *drśādvatyām* N. of a river, *nāryām* (Kh. IV. 13²) 'woman', *pāruṣnyām* N. of a river, *pricyām* (TS. II. 4. 14¹), *yayāvātyām* 'rich in streamis', *rātryām*, *varaṇdvatyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *vasānyām* 'treasury', *śācyām*, *sūrasvatyām* N. of a river, *soma-kṛdyānyām* (VS. VIII. 54) 'serving as the price of Soma'. — 2. *aranyānyām*, *āṣṭryām* 'fire-place', *āsandyām* (AV.) 'stool', *gavṛnyām* (Kh. IV. 13³) 'groin', *gāyatryām* (VS. AV.), *catvāriṃśyām* 'fortieth', *jyesthaghnyām* (AV.) N. of an asterism, *devyām*, *naracyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *prthivyām*, *striyām* (AV.)¹³.

and here the *i* is preceded by two consonants).

¹ To be pronounced *-iāi*.

² This is an emendation for the reading *kalyānyāi* of the edition; cp. LANMAN 383².

³ With split *ī* as in the radical *ī*-stems.

⁴ There are also the transition forms *bhūyāi*, *striyāi* (VS. XIX. 94), *hriyāi* (VS. XIV. 35) from the radical *ī*-declension, and from the *i*-declension *devā-hūtyāi*, *turyāi*, *nirṛtyāi*, *paṣṭyāi*, *bhūjyāi*, *bhytyāi*, *brūtyāi*.

⁵ *-yās* is read *-iās* 4 times out of 25 in the RV.; *prthivyās* 3 times and *jivāntyaīs* once, always for metrical reasons, cp. LANMAN 384 (top).

⁶ There are also the transition forms from the *i*-declension, *mābhyās*, *bhūmyās*, *hetyās*; and from the AV. *ā-bhūtyās*, *ā-rūtyās*, *ā-śastyās*,

ābhūtyās, *kṛtyās*, *devā-hetyās*, *rātryās*, *brhatyās*; probably also *prthivyās* (VI. 121¹), Pada *yānyā*.

⁷ Pronounced *irāciās*. But cp. KOTH, ZDMG. 48, 115 (bottom).

⁸ This case is formed from more stems in the AV. than in the RV.; cp. LANMAN 355.

⁹ In about 15 per cent of the following genitives the ending is pronounced *-iās*.

¹⁰ There are also half a dozen transition forms from the *i*-declension in the RV.: *anumātyās*, *āśtyās*, *nirṛtyās*, *prṣṇyās*, *bhūmyās* (once with crasis in *bhūmyopāi* X. 753¹), *yuvatyās*; there are many others in the AV.; as *jāmyās* (also Kh. v. 5¹⁹); see LANMAN 385².

¹¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 265 (p. 619).

¹² It is much less common than this is in the AV.

¹³ There are also two transition forms

(II.8¹), *bahryās* (III. 11²), *pāramānyās* (III. 10³). The VS. has about 10 such forms: *devyās* (XXXVII. 4) beside *drovī*, *pātnyās* (XXIII. 36) beside *pātnī* (VI. 34), *phālavatyās* (XXII. 22), *bahryās* (XIX. 41) beside *baholī*, *mahānāmyās* (XXIII. 35), *maitrāvāryās* (XXIV. 2), *maitrīyās* (XXIV. 8), *vatsaryās* (XXIV. 5), V. *vamryās* (XXXVII. 4), *vaiśvadyās* (XXIV. 5), *śīravatyās* (XXIV. 4).

b. There are no transitions from the radical *i*-declension to this one in the RV., and in the AV. only *nadyās* (beside *nadyās*) and *lakṣmī* (beside *lakṣmīyās*). But the transitions from the *i*-declension are numerous: *aṅgūhī* (AV.), *avāntī*, *ājāntī*, *ūtī*, *ṛyū* (AV.), *dhāmānī* (AV.), *nāhī*, *nāhī* (AV.), *niryās*, *nīkṛtī*, *pārṣṇī* (AV.), *pāramāhī*, *ṛyū* (AV.), *bhāmī*, *vāśā-kṛyū*, *krīyū*, *śyoyī*.

A. This case is identical in form with the N., and its origin is doubtless similar. It is very frequent, being made from more than 100 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *pūrnī* (40), *śśadhī* (24), *mahī* (18), *byhātī* (12), *dāsī* (9) 'demonesses', *pātnī* (7), *ṛyāsī* (7)² 'dappled mares'.

I. This case is fairly frequent, being made from 32 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *śśātibhī* (36), *śśvītibhī* (13), *śśmītibhī* (8), *śśadhītibhī* (6), *ṛyāsītibhī*³ (5). The TS. has also *śśmītibhī* (V. 2.12¹), *śśātibhī* (V. 2.11¹,²); the VS. *arunībhī* (XII. 74), *jḡgātībhī* (I. 21), *śśhālībhī* (XIX. 27) 'cooking-pots'.

D. This case is rare, being formed from only three stems in the RV. and a few others in the later Saṃhitās: *avyādhīnībhī* (VS. XVI. 24) 'assailing bands', *śśadhībhī*, *keśīnībhī* (AV.) 'hairy', *gandharvī-pātnībhī* (VS. AV.) 'having Gandharvas for spouses', *ghoṣṇībhī* (AV.) 'noisy', *śśvītibhī*⁴, *śśhantībhī* (VS. XXII. 25) 'standing', *śśṛṅhātībhī* (VS. XVI. 24) 'piercing', *mānuṣībhī* (TS. IV. 1. 4³; VS. XI. 45) 'human', *vṛṣanyāntībhī* 'desiring a male', *śśāvatībhī*⁵ (AV.) 'everlasting', *śśrīvātībhī* (VS. XXII. 25) 'flowing', *hratūnībhī* (VS. XXII. 26) 'hail'.

Ab. Only three forms of this case occur in the RV.: *śśadhībhī*, *pātnītibhī*, 'possessed of feet', *byhātībhī*.

G. This case, which as is usual in the vowel declension takes the ending *-nām*, is found in only one m. form, *śśībharīnām*; but it is fairly common in the f., being formed from 34 stems in the RV. The oxytones which number only six⁶, throw the accent (as in the *i*-declension) on the ending: *bahvīnām*, *bhāṣjātīnām* 'breaking', *bhātīnām*, *bhūjātīnām* 'gladdening', *māhīnām*⁷, *yātīnām*. This rule does not, however, hold in the SV. and VS., which have *māhīnām* (VS. I. 70; IV. 3); nor in the AV. where the forms *nārāśśāpīnām* 'eulogies' and *rāthajīyīnām* 'chariot-conquering' occur. Of the remaining 28 genitives in the RV.⁸ the commonest are: *śśśvātīnām* (10), *śśadhīnām*⁹ (9), *mānuṣīnām* (8), *śśācīnām* (4), *īyīśśīnām*¹⁰ (3) 'having departed'. From the VS.: *avyādhīnām* (XVI. 21).

L. This case is fairly common, being formed from 30 stems (all f.) in the RV. The most frequent forms are: *śśadhīśśu* (20), *mānuṣīśśu* (8), *nāhūśśu* 'neighbouring', *jḡgātīśśu* (2) 'females', *śśvīśśu* (2), *yāvīśśu* (2), *rōhīnīśśu*¹¹ (2). The rest occur only once each¹². From Khila III. 15¹⁷: *śśīddhā-dantīśśu* 'white-toothed'.

¹ This form should perhaps be read as *trīpāyās* in V. 597.

² Also the transitions from the radical *i*-declension *arunī* and *yātūdhānī* (AV.).

³ The stems forming this case in the RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 396.

⁴ *nīrī* 'woman', by shortening its final vowel, forms its D. according to the *i*-declension: *nāribhī*.

⁵ Irregularly accented on the final of the stem, otherwise, *śśīvatī*.

⁶ Or 7 including *śśrī*: *śśrīnām*.

⁷ On the exceptions *māhīnām* (X. 134¹), *yātīnām* (I. 158²), *devayātīnām* (I. 36¹), see LANMAN 398 (bottom).

⁸ The G. *nāvyāśśīnām* is once used in agreement with the m. *marūtām*.

⁹ *kantūnām*, with contracted *-yā-*, is the only G. pl. of *kanyā-* in the RV., *kanyānām* occurs once in the AV.; see LANMAN 399 (top).

¹⁰ Perfect participle of *i-* 'go'.

¹¹ There is also the transfer form from the *i*-declension *śśvāhākṛīśśu*, in which the long vowel is perhaps metrical. On the other hand *śśrīśśī* (accent) is a transfer to the radical *i*-declension.

¹² LANMAN enumerates the stems, 399 (bottom).

4. a. Radical stems in *-i*.

379. No nominal *i*-stems are derived from roots originally ending in *-i*, as these (some six or seven) have all joined the consonant declension by adding a determinative *-i*. There are, however, about a dozen stems in which *i* is probably radical in a secondary sense, as representing a reduced form of roots ending in *-i*. These are with one or two exceptions m. compounds formed with *-dhi = dhā* 'put': *api-dhi* 'covering', *ū-dhi* 'pledge', *utsa-dhi* 'receptacle of a spring', *uda-dhi* 'receptacle of water', *uṣa-dhi* 'part of the wheel between nave and felly', *garbha-dhi* 'nest', *ni-dhi* 'treasury', *pari-dhi* 'fence', *prati-dhi* 'cross-piece of car-pole', *pra-dhi* 'felly', *śva-dhi* 'treasure', *sā-dhi* 'abode'; perhaps also *śa-dhi* f. as a shortened form of *śa-dhi* 'plant'. Besides these there is *prati-śhi* f. 'resistance', from *sthā* 'stand', and probably the reduplicated stem *yī-* 'speeding', in which the *i* is secondarily reduced through the older form *yayī-* from the *-i* of the root *yā-* 'go'. These few stems have nothing distinctive in their inflexion, which follows that of the derivative *i*-stems in every particular.

The forms which occur from these words are the following:

Sing. N. *ū-dhi-s*, *śa-dhi-s*, *ni-dhi-s*, *pari-dhi-s*, *prati-śhi-s*, *yayī-s*, *sā-dhi-s*. — A. *utsa-dhi-m*, *uda-dhi-m*, *śva-dhi-m*, *garbha-dhi-m*, *ni-dhi-m*, *pari-dhi-m*, *pra-dhi-m*, *yayī-m*, *śva-dhi-m*. — I. *yayīni*. — Ab. *uda-dhi-s*. — Du. N. *upa-dhi*, *pra-dhi*. — Pl. N. *śa-dhāyas*, *ni-dhāyas*, *pari-dhāyas*, *prati-dhāyas*, *pra-dhāyas*. — A. *api-dhin*, *uda-dhin*, *ni-dhin*, *pari-dhin*, *pra-dhin*. — I. *ni-dhibhis*. — G. *ni-dhinām*. — L. *ni-dhiṣu*.

4. b. Derivative stems in *-i*.

LANMAN, Noun Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Grammar 335—340, 343. — Cp. REICHEL, Die abgeleiteten *i*- und *u*-stämme, BB. 25, 238—252.

380. This declension embraces a large number of m. and f. stems. There are comparatively few neuter stems; and, except the N. A. sing. and pl., neuter forms are rare, not occurring at all in several cases. The regular inflexion is practically the same in all genders, except that the N. A. sing. and pl. n. differ from the m. and f., and the A. pl. m. and f. differ from each other. There are several peculiarities here as regards the formation of the stem, the endings, and accentuation. The final vowel of the stems shows Guna in three of the weak cases of the singular (D. Ab. G.) as well as in the V. sing. and the N. pl. m. f., while it is abnormally strengthened in the L. sing. The normal ending *-as* of the Ab. G. sing. is reduced to *-s*, while that of the L. sing. is lost. Oxytone stems, when the vowel is changed to *y*, throw the accent on a following vowel not as Svarita but as Udātta; and even on the *-ām* of the G. pl., though the stem vowel in that case does not lose its syllabic value.

a. The only word which distinguishes strong forms is *sākhī* 'friend', which takes Vyddhi in its strong stem *sākhīy-*. These strong forms are frequent: Sing. N. *sākhā*¹, A. *sākhāyam*. Du. N. A. *sākhāyā*² and *sākhāyau*, Pl. N. *sākhāyas*. This word has two further irregularities, the simple stem *sākhī* adding *-e* in the D. *sākhī-e*, and the abnormal ending *-ur* in the Ab. G. *sākhī-ur*. The other forms occurring are regular: Sing. I. *sākhīyā*, V. *sākhī*, Pl. A. *sākhīn*, I. *sākhībhis*, D. Ab. *sākhībhyas*, G. *sākhīnām*. Eight compounds in the RV.³ are inflected in the same way (also *śma-sākhā*, VS. iv. 20); but of four others, which have joined the *a*-declension, there occur the forms A. *śvāyāt-sākhā-m* (X. 39¹⁰), N. *yāyāt-sākhā-s* (X. 26⁵), A. *patayāt-sākhā-m* and *mandayāt-sākhā-m* (I. 4¹).

¹ See above, stems in derivative *-i* (307).

² Cp. LINDNER 56 and LANMAN 453.

³ See J. Schmidt, KZ. 29, 526, note 2.

⁴ *sākhāyā* occurs 6 times (also VS. XXVIII.7) *sākhāyau* only once.

⁵ See LANMAN 400³.

b. 1. The stem *pāti-*, when it means 'husband' and is uncompounded, shows irregular inflexion in the Sing. D. and G. (like *sākti-*) and the L.: D. *pātye*, G. *pātyur*¹, L. *pātyam*. When it means 'lord's' or is compounded, it is regular: D. *pātye*, *ś'ha pātye*, G. *pātes*, *prajā-pātes* (TS.), L. *pā-pātau*. — 2. The stem *jāni-* 'wife' also takes the abnormal ending *-ur* in the G. sing.: *jānyur*². This stem has the further irregularity of forming its N. sing. *jāni* according to the derivative *ī-* declension. — 3. The stem *arī-* 'devout' is irregular in forming several cases like the radical *ī-* stems (except in accentuation): Sing. A. *aryam* (beside *arim*), G. *aryās*³, Pl. N. A. m. f. *aryis*. The VS. has also the N. sing. *arī* beside the *aris* of the RV.

c. Twenty-seven stems in the RV. show forms according to the derivative *i-* declension in the D. Ab. G. L. sing. f. s, perhaps from a desire to add a distinctively *f.* ending in a declension which does not distinguish genders in these cases. There is a steady increase of such forms in the later Samhitās; thus while the RV. has only 7 datives in *-ai* from *i-* stems, the VS. has about 40.

d. In the RV. 4 or 5 stems show the influence of the *n-* declension in the incipient use of the ending *-mī* in the N. A. n. du., and (*ī-*)*mī* in N. A. n. pl.; and in the L. sing., stems taking the ending *-mī* are already 5 times as numerous as those adding the normal *-ā*.

Inflexion.

38r. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s*⁴, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. V. gunate the suffix, to which the Ab. G. add only *-s* instead of *-as*. The L. sing. has an altogether abnormal form ending in *-ā* or *-au*. The N. pl. m. f. gunates the *-ī*, to which the normal ending *-as* is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds *-n*, in the f. *-s*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes *-nām*, lengthening the preceding vowel. The frequent adjective *śuci-* 'bright' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring in the three genders:

Sing. N. m. f. *śucis*, n. *śuci*. A. m. f. *śucim*, n. *śuci*. I. m. *śucya*, *śucinī*, f. *śucyā*, *śucē*, *śuci*. D. m. f. n. *śucaye*. Ab. m. f. *śuces*. G. m. f. n. *śuces*. L. m. f. n. *śucā*, *śucau*. V. m. f. *śuce*.

Du. N. A. V. m. f. n. *śucī*. I. m. f. n. *śucibhyām*. D. m. *śucibhyām*. Ab. m. f. *śucibhyām*. G. m. f. *śucyos*. L. m. f. n. *śucyos*.

Pl. N. m. f. *śucayas*. N. A. n. *śucī*, *śuci*, *śucīni*. A. m. *śucīm*, f. *śucīs*. I. m. f. *śucibhis*. D. m. f. *śucibhyas*. Ab. m. f. n. *śucibhyas*. G. m. f. *śucinām*. L. m. f. n. *śucīsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. This form is very frequent, being made from nearly 250 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnis* (389) 'fire', *karis* (90) 'sage', *hāris* (58) 'tawny', *bṛhas-pāti* (52) 'Lord of Prayer', *śucis* (38) 'bright', *śris* (32) 'seer', *brāhmaṇas-pāti* (23) 'Lord of Prayer', *atithis* (20) 'guest'⁵.

a. The stem *vi-* 'bird', besides the regular N. *vi-s*, which occurs 6 times, has the anomalously gunated form *vi-sī*⁶, which occurs 5 times in the RV.

b. The pronominal forms *nā-ki-s* (50) and *mā-ki-s* (13) 'no one' are old nominatives which have become indeclinable.

N. f. This form is frequent, being made from 136 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *aditis* (78) 'freedom', *su-matīs* (22) 'benevolence', *rātīs* (22) 'gift', *nābhīs* (19) 'navel', *matīs* (18) 'thought', *yuvātīs* (18) 'maiden', *bhūmīs* (12) 'earth', *prā-matīs* (11) 'providence'⁸.

¹ This ending is probably due to the analogy of the words of relationship, *pātur* etc.; cp. KZ. 25, 289 and 242 f.

² The VS., however, has *pātye vishvaya bhūmanas* 'lord of the whole world'.

³ Cp. BB. 25, 242; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 49-78.

⁴ Cp. REICHEL, Bl. 25, 234-238, and J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 27, 382.

⁵ Except the irregular m. *sākhā* and the f. *jāni* (*jāni* in AV. xx. 48^a is an emendation).

⁶ There is also the transition form from the radical *ī-* declension *vīpa-tri-s* 'beautifully adorned' (TS.).

⁷ Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 250.

⁸ Also the transition forms from the *ī-* declension *aranyānis*, *śradhis*, *napīs* (AV.), *rātrīs* (AV., VS. xxxvii. 21).

N. A. n. This form has no ending¹. It is made from 37 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *māhi* (84) 'great', *bhūri* (47) 'much', *sv-asti* (35) 'welfare', *hārdi* (9) 'heart'². From other Samhitās: *du-abhiṣasti* (VS.v.5) 'blameless', *a-meni* (VS.xxxviii.14) 'not casting', *āsthi* (AV., VS.) 'bone', *a-stūri* (VS. ii. 27) 'not single-horsed', *ātma-sdūi* (VS. xix. 48) 'life-winning', *ika-nemi* (AV.) 'having one felly', *krūvi* (VS. x. 20) 'active' (?), *kṣatra-vāni* (VS. i. 17) 'devoted to warriors', *gāyatrī-vartani* (TS. iii. 1. 10⁴; VS. xi. 8) 'moving in Gāyatrī measures', *dūdhi* (AV., VS., Kh. iii. 16⁵) 'sour milk', *paśu-sdūi* (VS. xix. 48) 'cattle-winning', *pīśni* (AV.) 'dappled', *brahma-vāni* (VS. i. 17) 'devoted to Brahmans', *loka-sdūi* (VS. xix. 48) 'causing space', *vādhi* (AV.) 'emasculated', *vāri*³ (VS. xxi. 61) 'choice-worthy', *sajāta-vāni* (VS. i. 17) 'conciliating relations'.

A. m. This form is very frequent, being made from 205 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 1200 times. The commonest examples are: *agnim* (269), *rayim* (180) 'wealth', *yānim* (61) 'receptacle', *pātim* (49) 'lord' or 'husband', *āhim* (40) 'serpent', *ādrim* (30) 'rock', *kavim* (28), *ālīhim* (25), *bṛhaspātim* (25), *hārim* (24), *ūrmim* (23) 'wave', *pūraṇḍhim* (8) 'bountiful', *yayim* (2) 'speeding' cloud', *arim*⁴ (2) 'devout'⁵.

f. This is a frequent form, being made from 156 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 600 times. It is thus about half as common as the m. The examples occurring oftenest are: *su-matim* (41), *su-stutim* (35) 'excellent praise', *vṛṣṭim* (26) 'rain', *matim* (22), *rātim* (20), *bhūmim* (19), *pūraṇḍhim* (5), *rayim* (4)⁶.

I. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Five stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-i* is generally pronounced as *y*, but half a dozen times as a vowel: *pātyā* 'husband', *sākhya*, *ūrmyā*⁷, *pavyā* 'felly', *rayyā*⁸. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 25 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *agninā*, *ānghriṇā* (VS. ii. 8) 'foot', *ādrinā*, *asīnā* 'sword', *āhinā*, *ūrmīnā*, *kavīnā*, *kāśīnā* 'fist', *kīkī-dvīnā* 'blue jay', *jamūdaginā* N. of a scer, *devāpīnā* N. of a man, *dhasīnā* 'draught', *paunā* 'niggard', *pātinā* 'lord', *pāprīnā* 'delivering', *paridhīnā* (VS. xviii. 63; TS. v. 7. 7⁹) 'fence', *pāpīnā* (VS. i. 16) 'hand', *pīśnīnā* (Kh. iii. 15⁷), *bṛhas-pātīnā*, *maṇīnā* 'gem', *yayīnā*, *rayīnā*, *raśmīnā* 'rein', *vādhrīnā*, *vavriṇā* 'vesture', *vastīnā* (VS. xxv. 7) 'bladder', *vṛṣa-nābhīnā* 'having strong naves', *vṛṣṇīnā* 'strong', *śūcinā*, *sāsīnā* 'bountiful'.

f. This case is formed in two ways. 1. About 30 stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-i* is pronounced as a vowel in about three-fourths of the occurrences of this form, and as *y* in the rest⁹. The forms occurring are (a) oxytones: *asītyā* 'eighty', *ūtyā* 'aid', *kīrtyā*¹⁰ (AV.) 'fame', *paṅktyā* (VS. xxiii. 33) a metre, *pātyā* 'draught', *puṣtyā* (AV. TS.) 'prosperity', *matyā*, *mīhatyā* 'emulation', *vasatyā* 'abode', *vṛṣtyā*, *sanyā* (VS. v. 7; TS. iv. 2. 1¹) 'gain', *su-kīrtyā* 'praise', *su-matyā*, *su-stutyā*, *svastyā* (VS.

¹ The only *i*-stem taking *-m* is the pronominal *ā-m*, probably owing to the false analogy of *kā-m*.

² LANMAN 377 enumerates the forms.

³ The Pada text reads *vāri*. According to BR. *vāry ā* here stands for *vāryam ā*.

⁴ Also *aryām* formed like a radical *i*-stem (though differently accented).

⁵ There are also the transitions from the *i*-declension *pīthim* and *sābharim*.

⁶ Also the transfers from the *i*-declension *aranyānim*, *onim*, *śadhīm*, *rātrim* (AV.), *sūhītīm* (SV.).

⁷ Pronounced *ūrmiā*, sometimes also *pātiā*, *sākhīā*.

⁸ *ghṛṇvā* (ii. 33⁶) possibly stands for *ghṛṇī-īva* (Pada *-ī-īva*), *ghṛṇī* then possibly being a contracted *i* for *ghṛṇyā*; cp. LANMAN 379 (middle).

⁹ On the other hand *yā* is pronounced 5 times as often as *-iā* in the AV.; see LANMAN 380.

¹⁰ All the Mss. but one read *kīrtyā* or *kīrtyā*; see WHITNEY's note on x. 6⁷.

vii. 15; TS. I. 4. 44¹); (b) otherwise accented: *abhī-śastyā* (AV.) 'curse', *drātyā* (AV.) 'malignity', *śvartya* 'distress', *asānyā* 'thunderbolt', *śikṭyā* 'purpose', *śbhūtyā* 'ability', *śṣtyā* 'sacrifice', *śṣṭyā* 'whispering', *śṣṭyā* (AV.) 'satisfaction', *śṣṭyā* 'brilliance', *śṣṭyā* 'invocation of the gods', *śṣṭyā* 'impulse'; *nābhya* (VS. xxv. 9), *pārṣṇya* 'heel', *pūramdhya*, *pūṣṭyā* (TS. III. 1. 5¹), *prāmatyā*, *bhūtyā* (AV.) 'growth', *bhūmyā*, *rāṇhyā* 'speed', *rīṣṭyā* 'direction', *rūcyā* (AV.) 'lustre', *rūcyā* 'seduction', *śaktya* (VS. XI. 2; TS. IV. 1. 5¹) 'power', *sūbhūtyā* (AV.) 'welfare', *śṣṭyā* 'sickle', *śṣṭyā* (AV.) 'knife', *hāṣṭyā* 'excitement'.

2. A contracted form in *-ī* is made by 35 stems in the RV. and occurs more than twice as often as the uncontracted *-yā*. The forms occurring are: *ī-citr* 'thoughtlessness', *ī-prabhūti* 'little effort', *ā-vyathī* 'sure-footedness', *āhūti* 'oblation', *ūti*, *ṣṣṭyā* 'right guidance', *citr* 'understanding', *śṣṭyā* 'favour', *śṣṭyā* 'devotion', *du-śṣṭyā* and *śṣṭyā* 'faulty hymn', *śṣṭyā* 'thought', *nī-śṣṭyā* 'kindling', *pārī-śṣṭyā* 'attendance', *pārī-śṣṭyā* 'previous acquisition', *prā-śṣṭyā* 'guidance', *prā-bhūti* 'violence', *prā-yati* 'offering', *prā-yuti* 'absence', *matī*, *vartanī* 'felly', *viśṣṭyā* 'effort', *vīti* 'enjoyment', *vṣṣṭyā*, *śaktī* and *śakti*, *śṣṭyā* 'willingness', *śṣṭyā* 'joint invocation', *śṣṭyā* 'bright radiance', *śṣṭyā* 'good guidance', *śṣṭyā*, *śṣṭyā* 'being well fixed', *śṣṭyā* (Kh. II. 10²) 'good recitation', *śṣṭyā*, *śṣṭyā* 'quick motion of the hand'. Also *śṣṭyā* (I. 182³) 'with swift flight' (in Pada with *-ī*); perhaps also the two forms *hēī* (VI. 18¹⁰) 'missile' and *-īṣṭyā* (I. 180⁴) 'desire', which occurring before *r-* are given by the Pada as *hēīḥ*⁵ and *-īṣṭyā*.

a. This form is further shortened to *-ī* in about a dozen words⁶ in the RV., occurring altogether some 25 times: *īśāni* 'setting in motion', *īpa-śṣṭyā* 'giving ear to', *upādhyāti* 'bringing near', *tri-viśṣṭyā* 'thrice' (= adv.), *nī-tikṭyā* 'haste', *prī-yukti* 'impulse', *vīśat-kṛti* 'exclamation vīśat', *sadhā-stuti* 'joint praise', *śṣṭyā* 'excellent praise', *śṣṭyā* 'good praise', *śṣṭyā*, *haviṣ-kṛti* 'preparation of the oblation'. Perhaps also *śṣṭyā* (AV. VII. 106¹) 'through forgetfulness'.

b. A few forms follow the analogy of the m. in adding *-nā*: *dhāsīnā* 'abode', *nābhīnā*, *prāthīnā* (VS. xv. 6) 'advance'.

n. There is no certain instance of a neuter I: *śūcinā* (II. 38⁸) is perhaps an example, but it may be taken as a masculine.

D. m. The stem regularly takes Guṇa before adding the normal ending *-e*; e. g. *īśāy-e*. This is a form of frequent occurrence, being made from 44 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnīye* (48), *dṛāye* (12) N. of a seer, *śānīye* (12), *ghṣṭyāye* (6) 'gladdening', *dadhīṭyāye* (5) N. of a man⁷. From the VS.: *brāhmaye* 'holy', *bhuvantīye* (xvi. 19) 'earth-extender'(?), *vṣṣṭyāye* (xxxviii. 6) 'rain-winning', *sandhīye* (xxx. 9) 'agreement'.

a. The only two stems not taking Guṇa are *pāti-* 'husband' and *śakhi-*, which make *pātye* and *śakhye*⁸. When compounded *pāti-* 'lord' forms its D. regularly as *patāye*; e. g. *bṣṣṭyāpatāye*⁹, *prajā-patāye* (VS. XI. 66) 'Lord of Creatures', *amhasas-patāye*

¹ This form is, except in two instances, written with *y* before *ā*, but is to be read with hiatus; it coalesces in the written text with *ī* or *ī*, but is not always to be so pronounced.

² This is the only contracted form occurring in the independent parts of the AV.

³ The form *śṣṭyā* (II. 13⁸) is probably an adverb 'to the same goal' from *śṣṭyā* (LINDNER p. 112), or it might be an inst. f. of *śṣṭyā* (LANMAN 380³).

⁴ See RPr. VII. 15.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 380⁴.

⁶ These occur eight times at the end of a line or stanza, four times at the end of an internal Pada before vowels, two or three times within a Pada before vowels.

⁷ The stems which form this dative are enumerated by LANMAN 382.

⁸ These words are never pronounced as *pātye* and *śakhye*.

⁹ This is the only compound in the RV. formed with the D. of *pāti-*.

(VS. VII. 30) 'Lord of distress', *thāraṇa-pātaye* (VS. II. 2) 'Lord of the world', *bhūva-pātaye* (VS. II. 6) 'Lord of the atmosphere', *vācīs-pātaye* (VS. VII. 1) 'Lord of speech', *samevā-pātaye* (VS. II. 20) 'Lord of rest'; also in the expressions *epithosya pātaye* (AV) 'Lord of the Field' and *bhūtāsya pātaye* (AV) 'Lord of the world', which are virtually compounds²; similarly *dānā-pātaye* (VS. XVI. 17)³; but *pātaye* *viśvasya bhūmanas* (VS. XVII. 78) 'Lord of all the earth'.

f. This form is made like the m.; e. g. *iṣṭy-e*. It is very frequent, being formed from 50 stems and occurring over 500 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūṭhye* (88), *pītḥye* (67), *sōma-pītḥye* (49) 'draught of Soma', *vāja-sūtḥye* (34) 'winning of booty', *sītḥye* (34) 'acquisition', *vītḥye* (31), *devā-vītḥye* (22) 'feast for the gods', *iṣṭy-e* (20) 'impulse'.

a. The form *ñī* is frequently used as a dative, similarly *an-ñī* 'no help' once and *vā* twice. *vasti* occasionally has this value at the end of a Pāda and when it alternates with *scantāye* in v. 51¹², 13, but it may be intended for an adverb⁵.

b. In the RV. seven stems in -i (all but 2 of which occur in Maṇḍala X), follow the analogy of derivative *ī* stems and take the ending -ai; *turyāi* 'victory', *devā-hūyāi* 'invocation of the gods', *nīryāi* 'dissolution', *ṣṣyāi*, *bhūyāi* 'favour', *bhṣyāi* 'support', *īryāi* 'blessing'. The AV. forms such datives from at least 11 stems; the TS. has *ā-samarjyāi* (III. 3. 8²) 'non-injury', *śrī-ṣṣyāi* (III. 2. 8³) 'failure in sacrifice', *śāhyāi* (IV. 1. 1¹); the VS. has nearly 40: *ā-kūtyāi* (VI. 28) 'imperishableness', *ādhyāi* (I. 30) 'Aditi', *ānu-matyāi* (XXIV. 32) 'assent', *ā-bhūtyāi* (XI. 64) 'not bursting', *āhī-ṣṣyāi* (II. 5), *ā-bhūtyāi* (XXX. 17) 'wretchedness', *ā-rādhyāi* (XXX. 9) 'mischance', *ā-ṣṣyāi* (II. 3) 'safety', *ā-ṣṣyāi* (XXX. 12) 'distress', *ā-hantāi* (XVI. 18) 'non-killing', *ā-kūtyāi* (IV. 7), *ā-v-ñī* (XXX. 9. 17) 'trouble', *ūkrāntāi* (XV. 9) 'upstriding', *thvāi* (XXVII. 45) 'arrival', *krpāi* (IX. 22) 'illage', *śrī-ṣṣyāi* (II. 20), *śrī-ṣṣyāi* (VI. 18), *nābhyaī* (XXXIX. 2), *nīryāi* (XXX. 9) 'atonement', *ṣṣyāi* (XIII. 58), *prāṭi-ṣṣyāi* (XV. 10) 'firm footing', *prā-ṣṣyāi* (II. 20) 'attack', *prāyāi-citṣyāi* (XXXIX. 12) 'expiation', *prāyāi* (XXVII. 45), *bhūtyāi* (XII. 65), *bhūmyāi* (XXIV. 26), *matyāi* (XXIV. 39), *māhyāi* (XXII. 20), *rayāi* (IX. 22), *vīkṣyāi* (XXX. 13) 'separation', *ṣṣyāi* (XVIII. 28), *vādyāi* (XIX. 16) 'altar', *vyāṣṣyāi* (XXII. 34) 'dawn', *vyāṣṣyāi* (XXX. 17) 'failure', *śāntāi* (III. 43) 'quiet', *su-kṣyāi* (XXXVII. 10) 'secure dwelling', *hetṣyāi* (XVI. 18) 'missile'.

n. The only form which seems to occur is *śhēaye*.

Ab. m. The stem takes Guṇa, to which -s only, instead of -as, is added; e. g. *śhēas*. It is not common, being formed from only 8 or 9 stems in the RV.: *agnīs* (TS. IV. 2. 10⁴; Kh. IV. 6⁵), *dhes*, *udadhīs* 'water-receptacle', *gīrīs* 'mountain', *ghṣṣes* 'heat', *śrāści-rāṣes* (AV) 'striped across', *parṇa-dhīs* (AV) 'leather-holder', *prajāpātes* (TS. IV. . 11⁴), *plāśes* (AV) 'intestine', *yānes*, *vyāś-kāpes* 'inan-ape', *śatī-m-ātes* 'granting a hundred aids', *sūm-ṣtes* 'conflict'.

f. This form is made in the same way as in the m. from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādītes*, *āpītes* 'entering (*īli-*) into (*api-*)', *abhī-śastes*, *abhī-hrutes* 'injury', *āmātes* 'indigence', *āśātes*, *āhutes* (AV.), *dhāsīs* 'abode', *dhūrīs* 'injury', *ñfṣtes* (AV.), *pārī-śātes* 'oppression', *bhūmes* (AV.), *vasatīs*, *śrūtīs* 'course'.

a. The RV. has three forms according to the derivative *ī* declension: *nībhyaī* (X. 90⁴), *bhūmyāi* (I. 80⁴), *hetṣyāi* (X. 87¹⁰). Besides these the AV. has: *ā-bhūtyāi*, *ā-rāṣyāi*, *ā-śastyāi* 'imprecation', *āhūtyāi*, *krpāi*, *deva-hetṣyāi* 'divine weapon', *śrīpātyāi* 'headache'; probably also *yānyāi* in *yānyāya* (VI. 121⁴) for *yānyā īca*.

G. m. The regular form of this case is identical with that of the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnīs* (55), *vās* (14), *ādres* (10), *pānds* (8), *bīhas-pātes* (6), *śārīs* (5) 'patron', *śātes* (4), *kārīs* (4), *dhāsīs* (4) 'draught', *bhūres* (4); *pātes* 'lord'

¹ Equivalent to *kytra-pati-* (K.) and *bhūta-pāti-* (AV.).

² And a number of other epithets in VS. XVI. 17-23.

³ *pātaye* otherwise means 'husband'.

⁴ LANMAN 382 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 383 (top).

⁶ Used in the sense of the ablative with *pāhi* 'protect from'.

⁷ Cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 5.

⁸ This form *ñfṣtes* is probably an error for *āṣtes* 'skin'; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. VI. 18³.

occurs once. Elsewhere are found: *jamā-agras* (VS. III. 62; Kh. v. 3⁶), *prajāpates* (TS. III. 1. 4¹; Kh. III. 15¹³), *yayā's*¹ (Kh. I. 10²).

a. The two stems *ari-* and *āvi-* 'sheep' do not take Guṇa, and add the normal ending *-a*: *aryās*² which occurs nearly 40 times, and *āvās* which occurs nearly 20 times. The stem *pati-*, when meaning 'husband', and *sāhhi-* do not take Guṇa either, but add the anomalous ending *-ur*: *pātyur*, *sāhhyur*³.

f. This case, identical in form with the m., is made from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādites*, *abhi-sastes*, *āmātes*, *istās*, *kṛṣṣās* 'tillage', *devā-sites*, *nirṛtas*, *pustās*, *pīśnes*, *vṛśās*, *vratites* 'creeper'. This form is also made by at least 8 stems in the AV.

a. Six stems in the RV. form genitives according to the derivative *ī* declension, occurring 17 times altogether: *am-matyās*, *ārātyās*, *nirṛtyās*, *pīśnyās*, *bhāmnyās*, *yuvatyās*. In the AV. such forms are made from at least 16 stems and occur over 50 times: *jāmyās* 'akin' etc. One of these, *ādityās*, occurs also in the TS. (I. 6. 5¹) and VS. (I. 11).

n. The only example is *bhāras*, which occurs 16 times.

L. This case in all genders ends very anomalously in *-ā* or *-au*. The latter ending occurs more than twice as often as the former in the RV. (272 times to 126), while in the N. A. dual *-ā* is nearly 7 times as frequent as *-au* (1145 times to 171)⁴. The general conditions under which the parallel L. forms *-ā* and *-au* occur⁵ are the same as apply to the dual *-ā* and *-au*: *-ā* appears before consonants, *-au* (as *-ā*) before vowels, e. g. *īr yōnā vasatīv ira* (IX. 62¹⁵) 'a bird in the receptacle as in a nest'. But while the dual *-ā* is the regular form at the end of a Pāda, the L. *-au* is almost exclusively found in that position⁶. As in the dual N. A. and the perfect sing. 1 and 3, the *-ā*-form is doubtless the earlier. It is most probably derived from a locative form with Guṇa (like the D. Ab. G. V. sing.), e. g. **agnāy-i*, which dropped the ending (like some other locatives), **agnāy* then losing its *y*⁷ before consonants and lengthening its *-a*: *agnā*. The later form *agnāu* must have been due to the influence of the *u*-stems, the inflexion of which is closely parallel to that of the *i*-stems, through the Sandhi form *-ā* which is common to both⁸.

m. 1. The *-ā* form is made from 7 stems and occurs 40 times in the RV.: *agnā*, *ājā* 'contest', *armā*, *kuksā* 'belly', *ghṛṇā*, *yānā*, *su-rakhi*⁹ 'fragrant'. The AV. TS. VS. have no *-ā* form in independent passages, but Kh. III. 15¹⁰ has *agnā*.

2. The form in *-au* is taken by 27 stems in the RV.: *agnāu*, *ādrau*, *arātīu*¹⁰ 'manager', *arātīu* 'elbow', *ājū*, *āyū* 'pin of the axle', *ūrmū*, *gābhastau* 'hand', *gīrū*, *gō-patāu* 'lord', *jīrū*¹¹ 'stream', *tykṣū* N. of a prince, *dhvasīmau* 'sprinkler', *nāmucāu* N. of a demon, *nīpātīthau* N. of a man, *pañtū*, *pīṣṭī-sūtīu* 'hostile attack', *mādhyātīthau* N. of a seer, *yajñī-patāu* 'lord of sacrifice', *yōnau*, *rāthantāu* N. of a man, *vānas-pātāu*¹² 'lord of

¹ Emendation for *yayā's*.

² Once or twice to be pronounced *ariās*.

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 25, 289 f.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 514.

⁵ See LANMAN 385 ff.; and cp. for the dual 340 ff. and 574—576.

⁶ The L. *-ā* appears only 5 times at the end of a Pāda, and then only in the two forms *devātītā* and *sārvatātā*.

⁷ Cp. the N. *sākhā* for **sākhāy*. The old L. may be preserved in feminines like *agnāy-i* 'she who is beside Agni'; cp. IF. 12, 3.

⁸ Cp. MERINGER, BB. 16, 224.

⁹ LANMAN 388², suggests the possibility of restoring *ājāyī* in I. 112¹⁰ and *yōnāyī* in X. 46⁶. The n. l. *a-pratī* is used adverbially = 'without recompense' (VIII. 32¹⁶); cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 9, 255 f.

¹⁰ BR. would read *arātīu*.

¹¹ *jīrī* may be f, as there is nothing to show the gender of the word.

¹² The form *vānas-pātāu* occurs in Kh. II. 10⁵ also.

the forest', *śalmallu* 'silk-cotton tree', *śānitau* 'attainment', *śāṃvarāṇau* 'descendant of Śāṃvarāṇa', *śyāma-raśmau* N. of a man, *svāddhitau*. The AV. also forms the L. in *-au* from at least 16 stems; among them appears the uncompounded *pātāu* (AV. III. 183) 'husband'¹ as a variant for *jāne* in the corresponding passage of the RV. (X. 145⁴). The TS. has *īhan* (V. 6. 1² = AV. III. 13¹).

f. 1. The form in *-ā* is made from 21 stems in the RV.: *avānā* 'river-bed', *ājā*, *ādītā* 'sunrise', *kṣātra-sātā* 'acquisition of land', *gū-sātā* 'winning of cows', *tokā-sātā* 'attainment of offspring', *devā-tātā* 'worship of the gods', *dyumnd-sātā* 'obtainment of strength', *nābhā*, *uf-sātā* 'capture of men', *nemā-dhītā* 'conflict', *pītā*, *prā-bhītā* 'offering', *medhā-sātā* 'receiving the oblation', *yāma-hūtā* 'invocation by prayer', *śāra-sātā* 'battle', *sām-ṛtā*, *sarvā-tātā* 'perfect prosperity', *sātā*², *srutā*, *svār-sātā* 'attainment of heaven'. The AV. has *nābhā* (VII. 62¹); and the SV. reads *śāntātā* 'beneficent', as a variant for *śāntātā* of RV. VIII. 187. The TS. and VS. have no independent I. f in *-ā*.

2. The form in *-au* is more than twice as frequent, being made from 49 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *sātāu* (17), *vāja-sātāu* (16), *vyūṣṭāu* (16) 'flush of dawn', *abhīṣṭāu* (10) 'help', *su-matāu* (14), *gūvīṣṭāu* (7) 'fight', *iṣṭāu* (6), *rātāu* (5), *pūrva-hūtāu*³ (5) 'first invocation'. The AV. makes this form from 7 stems in independent passages. The TS. has *ādītāu* (I. 8. 12¹), *pūrva-cittāu* (IV. 2. 10²) 'first thought'; the VS. *ratha-nābhāu* (XXXIV. 5) 'chariot nave', *rātrāu* (XXIII. 4) 'night'; and Kh. I. 11⁴ *śāra-sātāu*.

a. There are 5 locatives f. formed according to the derivative *-i* declension with the ending *-ām*: *pūramdhyām*, *bhūmyām*, *bhīṣyām*, *yuvatyām*, *sāṃ-gatyām* 'assembly'. The AV. has 9 more: *āvayām*, *ākūtyām*, *cittiyām*, *devā-hūtyām*, *prītyām* 'rid', *bhūtyām*, *yānyām*, *vīdyām* (+ VS. XXVIII. 12), *sāmītyām* 'assembly'. The VS. has *sanyām* (VIII. 54).

b. The locative *vēdī*⁴ occurring twice (VI. 11²; II. 3⁴) is the only one formed from an *i*-stem with the normal ending *-i* (= *vēdī-i*). The form *prāyīṣi* may also possibly be a I. in III. 51⁷.

L. n. The only form in *-ā* is *a-pratī* (VIII. 32¹⁶) 'without recompense' (used adverbially), and the only one in *-au* is *saptī-raśmau* (AV. IX. 5¹⁵) 'seven-rayed'.

V. This case regularly gunates the final vowel in the m. and f. It is very frequent in the m., being formed from 72 stems and occurring over 1100 times in the RV. In the f. it is not common, being formed from only 11 stems and occurring only 27 times in the RV.

m. The commonest examples are: *āgne*⁵ (799), *pate* (35), *bṛhas-pate*⁶ (32), *kave* (26), *brahmanas-pate* (17), *vanas-pate* (14), *āghrīne* (13) 'glowing', *sat-pate* (13) 'lord of the seat', *sakhe* (11)⁷. In Kh. I. 5⁷ the anomalously formed compound *bhuvan-as-pate*⁸ 'lord of the world' occurs; in the VS. *aighāre* (IV. 27) a guardian of Soma, *dīte* (XXXVI. 18) 'bag', *drāpe* (XVI. 47) 'causing to run', *bāmbhāre* (IV. 27) a guardian deity of Soma, *bhuvas-pate* (IV. 34) 'lord of the earth', *sātesudhe* (XVI. 13) 'hundred-quivered', *sapte* (XXXIX. 2) 'steed'.

a. The V. *sābhāre* is a transfer from the *-i* declension; and the compounds *pāvaka-locē*, *bhadra-locē*, *śukra-locē* are transfers from the *-is* declension, doubtless meant to avoid the unusual form *-locis* in the V.

¹ The RV. has only the form *pātānu* 'husband'.

² For this form in VI. 46¹ the SV. and VS. have the variant *sātāu*.

³ This form occurs also in AV. V. 1¹.

⁴ Cp. RPr. I. 28; II. 35.

⁵ Written with Plati VS. VIII. 10: *āgnēsi*.

⁶ Once (IX. 80¹) with double accent *bṛhas-pāte*.

⁷ In *make-mate* 'O great-souled' (Indra), the first member is anomalously gunated as well as the second; cp. *make-nadi* 'O great stream'.

⁸ Formed like *vanas-pate*.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *adite*, *anumate*, *asu-nīte* 'spirit-world', *iṣṭe*, *upa-māte*¹ 'granting (of wealth)', *ṛjīte* 'radiant', *bhūme*, *mate*, *yuvate*, *satyatāte* 'truth', *cv-aigure* 'fair-fingered'. The AV. has *darve*² 'spoon'; the VS. *svadhite*.

a. There is also the transfer *opadhe* from the *ī*-declension.

Du. N. A. V. This form ends in *-ī* and can be used in all genders alike. The *m.* is very frequent, being made from 72 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *indrāgnī* (78) 'Indra and Agni', *hāri* (78), *pūtī* (33), *śubhīḥ-pūtī* (21) 'lords of light'. Elsewhere also occur: *sa-tītī* (TS. III. 2. 2²) 'contiguous'; *bhūri-rasmi* (Kh. IV. 22⁸) 'many-rayed'; *viśva-vāparī* (Kh. II. 22⁸) 'extending(?) everywhere'. The final vowel is shortened in *sahsāni* (X. 32¹) 'united'.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *itā-ūtī* 'extending from hence', *atī*, *ijitī*, *jāmi*, *dārvī*, *dyāvā-bhāmī* 'heaven and earth', *dhārayāt-kavī* 'protecting the wise', *pāraṇdhī*, *bhuji* 'patrons', *yuvatī*, *vāsu-dhītī* 'treasuries', *śīctī*, *sā-yonī* 'of the same origin', *su-prātūrtī* 'very victorious', *srutī*.

n. The only two regular forms are *śīctī*⁴ and *tigmā-hetī* (AV.) 'having a keen thrust'; also *mūhi* (with shortened final)⁵. There are besides one or two secondary forms with *-nī* made under the influence of the *n*-declension: *akṣīnī* (AV.) 'eyes' and perhaps *hārinī* (IX. 70⁷) from *hāri*⁶.

I. m. *indrāgnībhyām*, *dāmpatībhyām* (AV.) 'husband and wife', *hāribhyām*. — f. *vartanībhyām*, *śrūṇībhyām* (VS. XXV. 6) 'hips'. — n. *sāktībhyām* 'thighs'.

D. m. *indrāgnībhyām*, *indrā-bḥaspātībhyām* (VS. VII. 23) 'Indra and Bḥaspati', *hāribhyām*.

Ab. m. *kukṣībhyām* (AV. VS.) *pāṇībhyām* (AV.). — f. *pārṣṇībhyām*, *śrūṇībhyām*. — G. m. *indrāgnīyās*, *hāryās*. — f. *yuvatyās*.

L. m. *kukṣyās*, *gābhastyās*⁸, *hāryās*. — f. *jāmyās*; *gavīnyās* (AV.) 'groins', *pārṣṇyās* (AV.). — n. *sāktīyās* (VS. XXIV. 1).

Pl. N. V. This form gunates the final vowel of the stem, adding the normal ending *-as* in the m. and f.; e. g. *agnīy-as*, *ūtīy-as*. It is of very frequent occurrence, but is nearly twice as common in the m. as the f.

m. This form is made from 109 stems in the RV. and occurs 523 times. The commonest examples are: *kāvīyās* (45), *vāyās* (38), *sūrīyās* (36), *hārayās* (31), *agnīyās* (27), *ādrayās* (26), *ṛṣayās* (26), *śīcayās* (18), *pātayās* (16), *raśmīyās* (16), *vāhnyās* (15) 'conveyers'. In the VS. also occur: *ajāvīyās* 'goats and sheep' (III. 43), *vīṣa-pāṇayās* (XXIX. 44) 'strong-hoofed', *urīhīyās* (XVIII. 12) 'rice-plants'.

a. The stem *arī-*, being the only *i*-stem that does not take *Guṇa*, forms its N. pl. like the B group of the radical *ī*-stems (except the accent): *ary-ās*, which occurs 16 times in the RV.

b. The form *ā-hvayās* 'shameless' is a transfer from the radical *ī*-declension, and *śbhanayās* 'descendants of Sobhari' from the derivative *ī*-declension.

f. This form is made from 66 stems and occurs 290 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūtīyās* (42), *dhītīyās* (21), *matīyās* (20), *arātayās* (18), *rātīyās* (18), *kr̥ṣṭīyās* (17), *kṣītīyās* (13) 'traces', *jānīyās* (12), *vṛṣṭīyās* (12).

a. The stem *arī-* has the same anomalous form as in the m.: *ary-ās*, which occurs 4 times in the RV.

¹ Agreeing with *agne*.

² The VS. (II. 49) has *darvi* from *dārvī* = *dārvī*. The VS. (VIII. 43) also has *vi-śruti* which seems to be an irregular V. for *vi-śrute*; cp. pw. s. v.

³ The derivative *-ī*, *-u* and *-ī* stems are the only ones which do not take *-ā* or *-au* in the dual.

⁴ Occurring in X. 85¹² and possibly IV. 56⁵.

⁵ Occurring X. 97⁵⁴ and perhaps also IV. 56⁵.

⁶ BR. and GRASSMANN place this form under *hāri*.

⁷ No n. forms occur in the D. Ab. dual.

⁸ This word may be f. also.

b. About 10 *i*-stems in the RV. have also N. pl. forms according to the derivative *i*-declension: *arānis* 'streams', *āpnis* 'births', *ūtis*, *udkās* 'nights', *nirpās*, *nirpās*, *pīrandhīs*, *bhūmīs*, *cāra-kṛyās* 'dwelling among all men', *śyoniś*. The AV. also has: *akṣūśīs*, *ṛṣīs* 'spears', *dhamānis* 'tubes', *mibhis*, *ṣarṣūśīs*, *ṛṣīs*.

c. The stems *yayī* 'speeding', *śubhrī* 'shining', *karkarī* 'late' form their N. pl. according to the radical *i*-declension: *yayīyas*, *śubhrīyas* (AV.), *karkarīyas* (AV.).

d. Some *i*-stems have transfer forms according to the *i*-declension: *ambāyas*, *arūṇīyas*, *kṛpāyas*; *śādhāyas*, *śākhāyas* (TS. v. 4. 12^a; VS. xviii. 22). The TS. has also: *garbhīnyas* (II. 1. 2^b), *śāmanīyas* (v. 2. 11^a etc.), *śāśānyas* (v. 2. 11^b), *vāśīnyas* (IV. 1. 6^a).

N. A. n. i. The normal form, in which the ending *-i* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ī*, is made from 4 stems in the RV.: *a-pratī* 'irresistible', *kṛiddhmī* 'irascible', *trī* 'three', *śīcī*. The final vowel of this form is further shortened in six stems: *apratī*, *a-sthūrī* 'not single-horsed', *śāmi*, *bhūri*, *śāmi*³ 'work', *śurabhī*. The AV. has also *māhi* (besides *apratī* and *bhūri*). The forms in *-ī* and *-i* (which are of about equal frequency) taken together occur about 50 times in the RV.

2. There is a secondary form (following the analogy of the *n*-stems) in *-īni*, which is taken by 4 stems having the primary form also: *apratīni*, *bhūriṇī*, *śīcīni*, *śurabhīṇī*. These forms occur about 14 times. The AV. has also *akṣīṇī* and *asthūrīni*; the latter form occurs in the TS. as well (v. 7. 2¹); the VS. has *śhigīni* (xxxix. 8) 'entrails'.

A. m. The ending *-n* here (as in the *-ā* and *-u* declension) represents original *-ns*, which in one half (42) of the total occurrences (84) of these forms in *-in* in the RV. is preserved as *-ns* or (before vowels) *-nr*. This A. is made from 31 stems in the RV⁴. The commonest examples are *śurīn* (14), *vānas-pātin* (11), *paṇin* (9), *raśmīn* (6), *śākhīn* (5), *girīn* (4). The TS. also has *śūhi-pātin* (I. 6. 6¹) 'lords', *śhīn* (IV. 5. 1²; VS. xvi. 5); the VS. has *śūrin* (xxiv. 20) 'partridges', *śhīn*^o (xxiii. 8) 'parched grain', *śhīn*^o (xxiii. 8) 'groats'.

a. The stem *arī-* is the only one which does not take *-n*, but adds the normal ending *-ns* instead, the A. *arīns* (which occurs 7 times in the RV.) being thus identical with the N. pl. The stem *ī-* in its only occurrence (I. 104¹) in the A. pl. uses the N. pl. form *īnyas*.

f. This form, which is made by adding simple *-s* (instead of *-as*), e. g. *bhūmīs*, occurs from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *śrātīs* (16), *kṛyīs* (16), *kṛyīs* (8), *caryānīs* (7) 'people', *pīrandhīs* (7), *arānis* (6), *śāstīs* (5)⁷. The TS. has *abhiṣīs* (v. 4. 14²), *dmātīs* (III. 1. 4¹), *yōnīs* (I. 5. 3¹), *vyūṣīs* (IV. 3. 11¹); and *śācīs* occurs in a Khila (p. 171, 6)⁸.

a. As in the m., the stem *arī-* has *arīns* (occurring 4 times). Two N. forms, *cit-śāyas* (x. 140²) 'granting wonderful gifts' and *śhāyas* (AV. v. 13³), appear to be used for the A.

I. m.^o This form is made with the regular ending *-bhis* from 40 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *śādrībhis* (43), *raśmībhis* (36), *paṭhībhis* (28) 'paths', *śhībhis* (23), *śākhībhis* (15), *śūrībhis* (14), *agnībhis* (10), *anṣībhis* (10) 'ornaments', *ṛṣībhis* (10), *vibhis*¹⁰ (9). — From the VS.: *plāsībhis* (xxv. 8).

¹ Beside *arānyas*, *ūtīyas*, *bhūmayas*, *vīśvā-kṛyāyas*.

² The Pada text has *apratī*.

³ BR. set up a n. stem *śāmi-* beside f. *śāmi-*. GRASSMANN recognizes *śāmi-* only, making *śāmi* always the I. sing. with shortened final vowel. Cp. the I. sing. of *śāmi-* above (p. 274).

⁴ LANMAN 395 enumerates the stems which take this accusative.

⁵ On the Sandhi of the final *-n* in this form see LANMAN 394 f.

⁶ Written with pluti in the text as *śhīn*, *śhīn*.

⁷ The stems which take this form in the RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 395.

⁸ See SCHEFFLEWITZ' note, p. 171 (bottom).

⁹ No n. form occurs.

¹⁰ Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.

f. This form is made in the same way as the m. from 48 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *utibhis* (100), *svastibhis* (82), *matibhis* (37), *dhātibhis* (27), *su-vyatibhis* (18).

a. The form *ūtī* is used 9 times as an I. pl. in the RV., as is shown both by the sense and by the forms agreeing with it; e. g. *tuḥhīr ūtī* (II. 208) 'with thine airts'.

b. A transfer from the *i*-declension is *arātibhis* 'under-sticks'.

D. m. This form is made with *-bhyas* from 9 stems in the RV.: *āsva-patibhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'masters of horses', *śribhyas*¹, *gaṇā-patibhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of troops', *dīśāvanibhyas* 'having ten courses', *pātibhyas*, *yātibhyas* N. of a race, *raśmibhyas* (VS. XXII. 28), *vī-bhyas*², *vrāta-patibhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of companies', *śucibhyas*, *śvā-patibhyas* (VS. XIV. 28) 'masters of dogs', *sākhībhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sandhibhyas* (VS. XXIV. 25), *sūribhyas*.

f. *ksītibhyas*, *carṣanībhyas*, *deva-jāmībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 24) 'sisters of the gods'. There is also the transfer from the *i*-declension *nārībhyas* 'women'.

Ab. m. This case, identical in form with the D., is made from 12 stems in the RV.: *agnībhyas*, *ātrībhyas*, *kavāribhyas* 'niggardly', *girībhyas*, *paṇībhyas*, *paṇībhyas*, *plāśībhyas*, *yōnībhyas* (VS. XIII. 34), *vānas-pātībhyas*, *vībhyas*², *sākhībhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sthibhyas* 'bushels'. — f. *amhātībhyas* 'distresses', *angātībhyas* (AV.), *ksītibhyas*, *carṣanībhyas*, *jānībhyas*, *dhamānībhyas* (AV.) 'blasts'. — n. *asthībhyas*³ (AV. II. 33⁶).

G. m. This form is made from 28 stems in the RV.: (a) oxytones are *agninām*, *kavinām*, *giriṇām*, *carṣaninām*, *deva-jāminām* (AV.), *nidhīnām* 'treasures', *paṇinām*, *pathinām*, *maṇinām* (AV.), *matinām*⁴, *rayinām*, *vāpinām*⁵ (AV.), *vinām*, *saninām*⁶; (b) otherwise accented: *ātrinām*, *āvinām*, *dhīnām*, *śṣinām*, *gandhārinām* N. of a people, *carḍinām* 'active', *tuviśvānām* 'loud-roaring', *dhūnām* 'roaring', *mahī-śvānām* 'very noisy', *mūnām* 'seers', *vānas-pātīnām*, *vī-mahīnām* 'very great', *vyātīnām* 'steeds', *śucinām*, *sākhīnām*, *hārinām*, *havīr-māthīnām*⁷ 'disturbing sacrifices'. Also *grhā-patīnām* (VS. IX. 39) 'householders', *dhārma-patīnām* (VS. IX. 39) 'guardians of law'.

f. This form is made from 18 stems in the RV.⁸: (a) oxytones: *kavinām*, *ksītinām*, *carṣaninām*, *jāminām*, *dur-matīnām* 'hatred', *dhautinām* 'wells', *puṣṣinām*, *matīnām*, *rayinām*, *su-ksītinām*, *su-matīnām*, *su-śtutinām*; (b) otherwise accented: *arātīnām*⁹ (Kh. I. 5⁵), *ūpa-stutinām* 'invocations', *jūtinām*, *nīrytinām*, *mārcīnām* 'particles of light', *śucinām*.

L. m. This form is made with the ending *-su*, which becomes *-su*, from 16 stems in the RV.: *ā-kaviṣu* 'not wise', *agnīsu*, *anjīsu*, *ā-samāṣīsu* 'incomparable', *ājīsu*, *āpīsu* 'kinsmen', *śīsu*, *khādīsu* 'rings', *girīsu*, *nidhīsu*, *pathīsu*, *paṇīsu*, *yōnīsu*, *raśmīsu*, *śubhrīsu*, *sūrīsu*.

f. This form is made from 21 stems, all but three of which (*a-vyathī-*, *jāmī-*, *śubhrī-*) end in *-ti-*: *abhi-māṭīsu* 'plots', *a-vyathīsu*, *īṣīsu*, *ūtīsu*, *śīṣīsu*, *ksīṣīsu*, *ksīṣīsu*, *gāv-īṣīsu*, *jāmīsu*, *dīv-īṣīsu* 'devotions', *devā-hūṭīsu*, *pīṣīsu* 'distresses', *puṣṣīsu*, *prā-ṇīṣīsu*, *prā-tūṭīsu* 'speedy motions', *prā-yukṭīsu*, *prā-sastīsu* (TS. I. 7. 7¹; VS. IX. 6) 'praises', *yāma-hūṭīsu*, *rātīsu*, *vyūṣīsu*, *śubhrīsu*, *sūrīsu*. The form *nārīsu*¹⁰ is a transfer from the *i*-declension.

n. The only example that occurs is *bhūrīsu*.

¹ Once accented *śībhyas* in Vākhilya XI. 6, doubtless an error.

² Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.

³ With wrong accent for *asthībhyas*; cp. *asthībhyas* (VS. XXII. 44).

⁴ Val. 5⁶; BR. and GRASSMANN would read *matīnām*, which is actually the reading of the Kashmir Ms.; SCHEFFELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des Rgveda 40.

⁵ See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 24⁶.

⁶ Also the numeral *vinām*.

⁷ In about a dozen out of 128 occurrences resolution of *-ām* to *-am* seems necessary.

⁸ Resolution of *-ām* to *-am* seems to be necessary in 4 out of 98 occurrences.

⁹ Wrong accent for *arātīnām*.

¹⁰ On the other hand *śākhā-kyṭīsu* is a transfer from this to the *i*-declension.

5. a. Radical *ū*-stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Grammar 348—352.

382. This declension comprises strictly speaking only *m.* and *f.* stems; for the few distinctively *n.* forms which occur are made only from stems in which the *n* is shortened and which therefore in form belong to the *ū*-declension. The normal endings, as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems, are taken throughout. The G. pl., however, adds the ending *-nam* to compound stems¹; and the N. sing. always has *-r*.

This declension contains seven monosyllabic stems, one of which is *m.*, five *f.*, and one *m.* and *f.*; two reduplicated *f.* substantives and one adjective; and about 60 compounds, almost exclusively adjectives, made with the roots *jā*- 'speed', *dyū*- (*dīy*-) 'play', *pū*- 'purify', *bhū*- 'be', *sū*- 'swell', *sā*- 'bring forth', *hū*- 'call', and with the modified forms *krū*-, *gū*- 'go', *drū*- 'run', *snū*- 'drip', which may be treated as roots. The stems occurring are: 1. **monosyllables**: *m.* *jū*- 'speeding', 'steed', *rū*- 'begetter'; *f.* *dū*- 'gift', *bhū*- 'earth', *bhrū*- 'brow', *sū*- 'mother', *syū*- 'thread' (VS.), *sru*- 'stream'. 2. **reduplicated stems**: *jūhū*- 'tongue', *juhū*- 'sacrificial spoon', *jīgū*- 'singing aloud'. 3. **compounds** (in the alphabetical order of the roots): *apt-jā*- 'impelling', *kaśo-jā*- 'hastening to the water (?)', *N.* of a man, *dhi-jū*- 'inspiring the mind', *nabho-jū*- 'cloud-impelling', *mano-jū*- 'swift as thought', *yātu-jū*- 'incited by demons', *vayo-jū*- 'stimulating strength', *vasū-jū*- 'procuring goods', *viśva-jū*- 'all-impelling', *sadyo-jū*- 'quickly speeding', *śnā-jū*- 'swift as an arrow'. — *eka-dyū*- *m. N.* of a seer, *kama-dyū*- *f. N.* of a woman. — *agre-pū*-² 'drinking first', *udā-pū*- 'purified by water', *keta-pū*- (VS. TS.) 'purifying the will', *ghṛta-pū*- 'clarifying ghee', *madhu-pū*- 'purifying itself by sweetness', *vāta-pū*- 'purified by the wind', *viśvā-pū*- *m. N.* of a man, *su-pū*- 'clarifying well', *sva-pū*- 'broom'. — *an-ābhū*- 'disobedient', *abhi-bhū*- 'superior', *ā-bhū*- 'present', *pari-bhū*- 'surrounding', *punar-bhū*- 'being renewed', *puro-bhū*- 'being in front', *pra-bhū*- 'excelling', *mayo-bhū*- 'causing pleasure', *vi-bhū*- 'far-extending', *viśvā-bhū*- 'being everywhere', *viśvā-sambhū*- 'beneficial to all', *śam-bhū*- 'beneficent', *sacā-bhū*- 'associate', *su-bhū*- 'good', *svayam-bhū*- 'self-existing', *sv-ābhū*- 'helping well'. — *sura-sū*- 'exultant with liquor'. — *a-sū*- 'not bringing forth', *a-sūsū*- (AV.) 'barren', *nava-sū*- 'having recently calved', *pārva-sū*- 'bringing forth first', *prā-sū*- 'bringing forth', *yama-sū*- 'bringing forth twins', *raha-sū*- 'bringing forth secretly', *rāja-sū*- 'king-creating', *viśva-sū*- 'all-generating', *vira-sū*- 'hero-bearing', *sakṛt-sū*- 'bringing forth once', *su-sū*- 'bringing forth easily'. — *ā-hū*- 'invoking', *u-hū*-³ 'crying aloud', *varṣā-hū*- (VS.) *f.*, *sumna-hū*- (TS.) 'invoking favour', *su-hū*- (VS.) 'invoking well'. — *mitra-krū*- *f.* a kind of demon. — *agre-gū*-⁴ 'moving forwards'. — *raghu-drū*- 'running swiftly'⁵. — *ghṛta-snū*-⁶ 'tripping ghee'⁶.

a. **Vocalic pronunciation.** Before vowels the *ū* has regularly a vocalic value in pronunciation. In monosyllabic stems it is always written as *ur*; generally also in compounds even when preceded by a single consonant. In the minority of compounds (some 9 stems in the RV.) it is written as *r*, but pronounced as a vowel. In the latter instances it is always given as *u* below; e. g. *vibhūr* as *vibhūā*.

b. **Accentuation.** Except in the monosyllabic stems, which follow the general rule, the accent remains throughout on the same syllable, which is almost always the radical one.

¹ The monosyllabic and the reduplicated stems, on the other hand, added *-am*, as far as can be inferred from *bhuvām* and *jōsvām*, the only examples which occur.

² *pū*- here = *pū*- 'drink'.

³ Perhaps an onomatopoeic word.

⁴ *gū*- here = *gū*- 'go'.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 402.

⁶ About a dozen of the above compounds (all but 3 or 4 of them being formed with *bhū*-) also shorten the final of the stem, which is then inflected like an *ū*-stem.

Inflexion.

383. The inflexion is identical in the m. and f. Several of the cases do not occur at all in the m., viz. Ab. L. V. sing., I. D. Ab. G. L. du., D. Ab. pl. In the monosyllabic stems several cases are wanting in both genders, viz. A. D. V. sing., and all the cases of the pl. except the N. A. G. The forms actually occurring, if made from *bhū-* f. 'earth' and the adjectives *a-bhū-* 'present' and *vi-bhū-* 'far-reaching', would be as follows:

1. Sing. N. *bhūs*. I. *bhuvā*. Ab. *bhuvās*. G. *bhuvās*. L. *bhuvā* (VS.).
Du. N. *bhīvā*. I. *bhūbhyām* (VS.). L. *bhuvās*. Pl. N. *bhīvas*. A. *bhīvas*. G. *bhuvām* (VS.).

2. Sing. N. *abhūs*; *vibhūs*. A. *abhīvam*; *vibhīvam*. I. *abhīvā*; *vibhīvā*. D. *abhīve*; *vibhīve*. Ab. f. *vibhīvas* (AV.). G. m. *abhīvas*.

Du. N. A. *abhīvā*. Pl. N. *abhīvas*; *vibhīvas*. A. m. f. *abhīvas*; f. *vibhīvas*. I. m. f. *abhūbhyām*. G. m. f. *abhūvām*. L. m. f. *abhūva*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *jūs* (VS. IV. 17), *sūs*; *eka-dyūs*. — *uda-pūs* (AV.), *keta-pūs* (VS. IX. 1; TS. IV. 1. 1³), *madhu-pūs* (AV.), *vāta-pūs* (AV.). — *abhi-bhūs*, *pari-bhūs*, *puro-bhūs*, *prā-bhūs* (AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *vi-bhūs* (AV.), *viśvā-sambhūs*, *śam-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *sacā-bhūs*, *su-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *svayam-bhūs*. — *sumna-hūs* (TS. IV. 6. 3⁴), *su-hūs* (VS. I. 30) 'invoking well'. — f. *bhūs*, *sūs*, *syūs* (VS. V. 21); *juhās* (AV. VS.). — *kama-dyūs*. — *abhi-bhūs* (AV.), *punar-bhūs*, *prā-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *śam-bhūs* (AV.). — *prā-sūs* (AV.), *yama-sūs*, *raha-sūs*, *vira-sūs*, *su-sūs*. — *varṣā-hūs* (VS. XXIV. 38) 'frog'.

A. m. 1. *kaśo-jīvam*, *mano-jīvam*, *vasū-jīvam*; *abhi-bhīvam* (AV.), *ā-bhīvam*, *mayo-bhīvam*, *viśvā-sambhūvam*, *śambhīvam*, *sacā-bhīvam*, *su-ābhīvam*; 2. *viṣṭi-ṣṭam*; *vi-bhīvam*, *su-bhīvam*. — f. *juhām* 'sacrificial spoon'; 1. *kama-dyūvam*, *viśvā-jīvam*, *sacā-bhīvam*; 2. *a-śām*⁵, *viśvā-śām* (AV.), *sakṛt-śām*.

I. m. 1. *mano-jīvā*, *senā-jīvā*, *su-ābhīvā*; 2. *vi-bhīvā*. — f. *bhuvā*; *juhā* 'tongue' and 'spoon'; 1. *punar-bhīvā* (AV.), *mayo-bhīvā* (TS. I. 8. 3⁴; VS. III. 47). — n. 1. *mayo-bhīvā*; 2. *su-ṣṭā* (VS. I. 3).

D. m. 1. *abhi-bhīve*, *vi-bhīve* (VS. XXII. 30), *viśvā-bhīve*, *sacā-bhīve*; 2. *viśvā-ṣṭe*, *vi-bhīve*, *su-bhīve*.

Ab. f. *bhuvās*; *a-sāsās* (AV.). — G. m. *śam-bhīvas*, *sacā-bhīvas*². — f. *bhuvās*. — L. f. *bhuvā* (VS.). — V. f. *jūhu* (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. *mano-jīvā*; *mayo-bhīvā*, *śam-bhīvā*, *sacā-bhīvā*; *ghṛta-mīvā*³. — f. *srīvā*; *apī-jīvā*; *punar-bhīvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvā* (VS. X. 9), *śambhīvā*, *sacā-bhīvā*. — I. f. *bhrābhyām* (VS.). — L. f. *bhruvās*.

Pl. N. m. *jīvas*; 1. *a-duvas*, *ā-bhīvas*, *u-hīvas*, *nabho-jīvas*, *pari-bhīvas*, *mano-jīvas*, *mayo-bhīvas*, *raghu-drīvas*, *vayo-jīvas*, *śam-bhīvas*, V. *sacā-bhūvas* (VS. III. 47), *sadyo-jīvas*, *su-bhīvas*, *su-ābhīvas*⁴; 2. *vi-bhīvas*, *su-bhīvas*; *surā-śīvas*. — f. *dīvas*, *bhīvas*; *juhāvas* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; 1. V. *agre-gūvas* (VS.), V. *agre-pūvas* (VS.), *dhī-jīvas*, *punar-bhīvas*, *mayo-bhīvas*, *mitra-kriīvas*; V. *viśvā-sambhūvas* (VS. IV. 7); 2. *ghṛta-ṣṭas*, *nava-śīvas*, *prā-śīvas*, *vi-bhīvas*, *su-bhīvas*.

A. m. *in-ābhūvas*, *mayo-bhīvas*⁵. — f. *dīvas*, *bhīvas*; *ā-bhīvas*, *ā-hīvas*,

¹ The transition form *a-śām* (VS.) under the influence of the derivative *ī-* stems also occurs. The form *ayogām* (VS. XXX. 5) is perhaps of the same kind.

² The AV. has also the transition form *punar-bhīv-ās*.

³ Cp. LANMAN 413 (middle).

⁴ There are also the transfers from the u-declension *ā-prāyūvas*, *madhyūyūvas*, *mitrā-yūvas*, *śramayūvas*.

⁵ In II. 14³ *jūs* is perhaps contracted for *jūvas*.

ghṛta-sukṛas, *mayo-bh'vas*, *sanj-jīvas*; *pra-sīas*, *rāja-sīas* (VS. x. 1) 'king-creating', *vi-bh'vas*¹.

I. m. *ā-bhūbhis*. — f. *jukūbhis* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; *sua-pūbhis*.

G. m. *jūgūvām*; *yātu-jānām*. — f. *bhūvām*² (VS. xxxvii. 18); *pārva-sūnām*.

L. m. *ā-bhūsu*, *puru-bhūsu* 'appearing to many'. — f. *pra-sīsu*.

5. b. Derivative *ū*-stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400-419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 355-359, 362-364.

384. This declension is almost entirely restricted to f.³ stems, which (like the derivative or B group of the radical *i*-declension) accent the final vowel and in inflexion are practically identical with the radical stems. The f. stems which it comprises may be divided into two groups. The first contains about 18 oxytone f. substantives corresponding in several instances to m. or n. stems in *-u* accented on the first syllable; *a-grū-* (m. *d-gru-*) 'maid', *kadrū-* (m. *kādrū-* 'brown') 'Soma vessel', *kuhū-* (AV.) 'new moon', *guggulū-* (n. *gūggulu-*) (AV.) N. of an Apsaras, *guṅgū-* N. of a goddess, *camū-* 'bowl', *jatū-* (n. *jatū-*) (AV. VS.) 'bat', *tanū-* 'body', *dhanū-* (*dhanu-*) 'sandbank' (AV.), *nabhanū-* 'well', *ṛtū-* 'dancer', *prākū-* (m. *prāku-*) 'serpent' (AV.), *prajānū-* (AV.) 'organ of generation', *vadhū-* 'bride', *svasrū-* (m. *svasura-*) 'mother-in-law', *saranyū-* N. of a goddess; also *kyāmbū-*⁴ (n. *kyimbu-*) an aquatic plant (AV.). The second group comprises oxytone f. adjectives corresponding to m. oxytones: *amhoyū-* 'troublesome', *aghryū-* 'malicious', *apasyū-* 'active', *abhi-dipsū-* 'wishing to deceive', *avasayū-* 'desiring favour', *asitū-jū-* (AV.) 'black-kneed', *ayū-* 'active', *udanyū-* 'seeking water', *caranyū-* 'movable', *carisū-* 'moving', *jihatsū-* 'hungry', *tanū-* 'thin', *didhī-*⁵ 'wishing to gain', *dur-hanyū-* 'meditating harm', *duvasyū-* 'worshipping', *devayū-* (VS.) 'devoted to the gods', *dravitū-* 'speeding', *palayātū-* 'flying', *panasyū-* 'glorious', *pārayisū-* 'victorious', *prtanīyū-* 'hostile', *prtanīyū-* 'tender', *phalgū-* 'reddish', *babhrū-* 'reddish brown', *bibhatsū-* 'loathing', *makhasyū-* 'cheerful', *madhū-*⁶ 'sweet', *mandrayū-* 'gladdening', *mahīyū-* 'joyous', *mmukṣū-* 'wishing to free', *vacasyū-* 'eloquent', *vi-panyū-* 'admiring', *sundhyū-* 'radiant', *sanyitū-* 'wishing for gain', *sudayitū-* 'yielding sweetness'; also *sū-drū-* 'having good wood' (*dru-*)⁷.

a. Vocalic pronunciation. Before vowels the *ū* has almost invariably a vocalic value in pronunciation. It is written as *ur* in the substantives *agrū-* and *kadrū-*, and in adjectives when the *ū* is preceded by *y*, also in *bibhatsū-*⁸. Otherwise though always written as *v* it is (except four or five times at the most in the RV)⁹, here also to be pronounced as a vowel. Hence the forms written in the Saṃhitā with simple *r* are given below with *ū*.

b. Accentuation. The derivative *ū*-stems not only accent the final syllable¹⁰ but

¹ VS. xxiv. 25 has the form *ścī-pās* a kind of bird.

² In the V. *visvīnām bhūvām pate*.

³ There are only five m. forms: N. *prāsīs* 'guest', *āpta-tanūs* 'whose body is not cooked', *sīrva-tanūs* (AV.) 'whose body is entire'; A. *kyka-dūnām* a kind of demon; I. pl. *makṣūbhis* 'swift'.

⁴ This is the only f. stem in this declension not accented on the final vowel; but T.A. vi. 4¹ has the normally accented *kyāmbū-*.

⁵ The corresponding m. in this instance is not oxytone, *mādhū-*.

⁶ Also as a substantive f. 'good beam'. BR. and pw. however regard *sū-drū-* as A. of a m. substantive *sū-drū-* 'starkes Holz'.

⁷ This is the regular practice in the TS. even when a single consonant precedes the *ū*, e. g. *tanūr-am*; cp. IS. 13, 105 f.

⁸ *tanvās* 3 times. *carvās* once, *tanvām* perhaps once; cp. LANMAN 408 (top).

⁹ Except the f. *kyāmbū-* (AV.) and the two m. Bahuvrīhis *āpta-tanū-* and *sīrva-tanū-*.

retain the accent on that syllable throughout their inflexion. In this respect they agree with the B group of the radical *i*-declension and differ from the ordinary derivative *i*-declension.

c. Transition forms. There is an incipient tendency here to be affected by the analogy of the derivative *i*-stems. The only certain example in the RV. is the L. *kyāmūm* (X. 85^{4b}) for **iśvirūi*; the I. *dravituū* is perhaps another instance¹. But the AV. has at least 10 such forms; A. *kuhūm*, *tanūm*, *vadhūm*; D. *agrivai*, *vadhvāi*, *svāvrudī*; Ab. *punar-bhūvāi*; G. *urvānūās*² 'gourd', *prādikūās*, *svāvrūās*; I. *tanūm*. The VS. has A. *pumścalūm*, D. *tanvāi*, G. *tanvās*.

Inflexion.

385. In the L. sing. the *-i* may be dropped in the RV. In the later Samhitās *-m* sometimes appears in the A. for *-am*, and *-ai*, *-ās*, *-ām* are occasionally taken as the endings of the D. G. L. respectively. The ending *-ām* appears once in the RV. also. The forms actually occurring, if made from *tanū*-f. 'body', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *tanūs*. A. *tanīam*. I. *tanūā*. D. *tanūe*. Ab. *tanīas*. G. *tanīas*. L. *tanūi* and *tanū*. V. *tānu*.

Du. N. A. *tanūā*. D. *tanūbhyām*. L. *tanūos*.

Pl. N. *tanūas*. A. *tanūas*. I. *tanūbhis*. D. *tanūbhyas*. G. *tanūnām*. L. *tanūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *prāsūs*, *ā-tapta-tanūs*, *sīrva-tanūs* (AV.). — f. *asita-jñūs* (AV.), *kuhūs* (TS. AV.), *kyāmūs*³ (AV.), *guggulūs* (AV.), *guṅgūs*, *jatūs* (VS.), *tanūs*, *dhanūs* (AV.), *nrītūs*, *patayālīs* (AV.), *prākūs* (AV.), *phalgūs* (VS. xxiv. 4), *madhūs* (AV.), *vadhūs*, *sundhyūs*, *svāsrūs*, *saranyūs*.

A. m. *krkadāsūam*⁴. — f. *carīṣṇūam*, *jighatsūam* (AV.), *tanīam*⁵, *prādkūam*⁶ (AV.), *vadhūam*, *su-drūam*⁷; *avasyūvam*, *dur-haṇyūvam*, *devayūvam* (VS. I. 12), *makhasyūvam*, *vacasyūvam*, *sundhyūvam*, *su-drūvam* (SV.). — With ending *-m* for *-am*: *kuhūm* (TS. AV.), *tanūm* (TS. AV.), *pumścalūm* (VS. xxx. 5), *vadhūm* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5¹).

I. f. *tanūā*⁸, *vadhūā*; *duvasyūvā*. — D. f. *tanūe*⁹. — With ending *-ai*: *agrivai* (AV.), *tanvāi* (VS. xxiii. 44), *bābhruvāi* (VS. xx. 28), *vadhvāi*¹⁰ (AV.), *svāvrudī* (AV.). — Ab. f. *kadrīvas*; *tanīas*.

G. f. *agrīvas*, *sundhyīvas*; *tanīas*¹¹, *vadhīas*. — With ending *-ās*: *tanvās* (VS. iii. 17), *prādkūās* (AV.), *svāvrūās* (AV.).

L. f. *camūi*, *tanūi*¹². — Without ending: *camū*¹³, *tanū*¹⁴. — With ending *-am*: *svāvrūām*; *tanvām*¹⁵ (AV.), *tanivām*¹⁶ (TS. I. 7. 12²).

V. f. *bābhru*, *vādhu*.

¹ Because the accent is shifted to the ending as in the derivative *i*-declension; cp. LANMAN 404.
² See LANMAN 411.
³ The TA. has the normal accentuation *kyāmūh*; the corresponding stem in the RV. is *kyāmūn*.
⁴ That the word is m. is probable because *sīrva* seems to agree with it (l. 297). The A. m. *āhūram* 'fearless' is a transfer from the *u*-declension.
⁵ The AV. has *tanvām* once, *tanīam* 16 times. The TS. regularly has *tanivām* (I. 8. 10², etc.).
⁶ The Mss. all read *prākvām*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. x. 4¹⁷.
⁷ As an adj. in vii. 32²⁰, 'made of good wood'; as a subst. in x. 28⁸ 'good beam'.
⁸ The AV. has *tanūā* 4 times, *tanvā* 5 times. The TS. has *tanvā* (I. 1. 10³ etc.) In RV. x. 24¹ *camū* is once perhaps a contracted I.; see LANMAN 409 (top).
⁹ The AV. has *tanūe* 6 times, *tanvā* 7 times. The TS. has *tanūe*.
¹⁰ The AV. has *vadhvāi* and *vadhvāi* once each.
¹¹ The AV. has *tanīas* 10 times, *tanvās* 4 times. The TS. has *tanīvas*.
¹² Three or four times *tanūi*, metrically lengthened (the Pada has 1); cp. LANMAN 411 (bottom). The TS. (IV. 3. 13¹) has *tanivī*.
¹³ *camū* occurs 6 times, *camūi* once.
¹⁴ *tanū* occurs once, *tanūi* 3 times.
¹⁵ This should doubtless be read *tanvām*; see LANMAN 412.
¹⁶ This form in TS. IV. 2. 6³ is a variant for the G. sing. *tanvās* of RV. x. 97¹⁰.

Du. N. A. f. *camīā, tanīā*. — D. f. *hanūbhyām*² (TS. VII. 3. 16'). — L. *camīas*³.

Pl. N. f. 1. *agrīvas; camīas, jatīas* (AV.), *tanīas*⁴, *prāukīas* (AV.), *prajaniās* (AV.). — 2. *amho-yīvas, apasyīvas, avasyīvas, ayīvas, udanyīvas, caranyīvas* (AV.), *didhīśas, paṇasyīvas, pṛayīśīas, pṛtanāyīvas, pṛśanyīvas, bibhatsīvas, makhasyīvas, mandrayīvas, mahīyīvas, mumukśīas, sanzyīvas, sūdayitnīas*. — *yuva-yīs* (IV. 41⁸), agreeing with N. f. *dhīyas*, appears to be a contracted form for *-yī-as*⁵.

A. f. 1. *agrīvas; tanīas*⁶, *nabhanīas, vadhyās*. — 2. *abhi-dīpīas, dravītnīas; vi-panyīvas, śunilyīvas*⁷. — I. m. *makśābhīs*⁹. — f. *tanūbhīs*. — D. f. *tanūbhyas*. — G. f. 1. *tanūnām, vadhinām* — 2. *aghāyūnām*¹⁰ (AV.), *babhrāṇām, bibhatsīnām*.

L. f. 1. *camīsu, tanīsu*. — 2. *babhrīsu*.

6. a. Radical *u-* stems.

386. There are not many *u-* stems derived from roots originally ending in *-u*, as several of these (about nine) have joined the consonant declension by adding the determinative *-i*¹¹. Some eight stems are, however, formed from roots in *-u*, all of them but one (*dyī-*) being compounds. These are: *dyī-* 'day', *abhi-dyū-* 'heavenly'; *mitī-dru-*¹² 'firm-legged', *raghu-drū-* 'running swiftly'; *ī-prā-yu-*¹³ 'assiduous'; *īdhri-gu-*¹⁴ 'irresistible', *vanar-gī-* 'forest-roaming'; *su-śī-* 'highly praised'¹⁵. There are besides some 12 stems in which *u* is radical in a secondary sense as representing the shortened form of the vowel of three roots ending in *-ū*¹⁶. These are: *dhi-śū-* 'inspiring the mind', from *śū-* 'impel'; *su-śū-* 'clarifying well', from *śū-* 'purify'; and compounds of *bhū-* 'be': *ī-prā-bhū-* 'powerless', *abhi-bhū-* 'superior', *ā-bhū-* 'empty', *ud-bhū-* 'persevering', *pāri-bhū-* 'surrounding', *puru-bhū-* 'appearing in many places', *pra-bhū-* 'powerful', *mayo-bhū-* 'delighting', *vi-bhū-* 'far-extending', *sam-bhū-* 'beneficent', *su-bhū-* 'good'.

387. The inflexion of these words is identical with that of derivative *u-* stems. Forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *īdhri-gus, ī-prā-bhus, pra-bhūs, mayo-bhūs, mitī-drus, vanar-gūs, vi-bhūs, sam-bhūs*¹⁷. — n. *ī-prā-bhū, ī-prā-yu, ā-bhū, ud-bhū* (AV.), *pra-bhū, mayo-bhū, raghu-drū, vi-bhū, sam-bhū, su-bhū*.

A. m. *īdhri-gum, abhi-dyum, abhi-bhūm* (AV.), *ā-bhūm, pra-bhūm, vi-bhūm*¹⁸. I. m. *mayo-bhūnā*. — n. *su-śūnā* (AV.).

¹ There are also two m. transfers from the *u-* declension, *madhūyevā* and *fatvā*; cp. LANMAN 403 and 413 (mid).

² This is really a transition form from the derivative *u-* declension.

³ *camīas* occurs 14 times, *camīas* possibly once (IX. 96²¹).

⁴ Once *tanīas*; see LANMAN 408 (top). The TS. has *tanīvas*.

⁵ On *ratha-yūs* (X. 70⁵) standing possibly for *-yūs = yū-as*, see LANMAN 415².

⁶ RV. 20 times, AV. 3 times *tanīas*; RV. twice, AV. once *tanīas*. The TS. has *tanīvas*. On WEBER's conjecture (IS. 13, 58) *viśvās* as A. pl. of **viśū-* see LANMAN 416³.

⁷ The Mss. of the AV. once read *badhvās* (= *vadhūas*).

⁸ On *ratha-yūs* (VII. 2⁵) for *-yūs = yūas*, see LANMAN 416³. The VS. (XXI. 25) has *jatūs*.

⁹ This is only a metrical lengthening of the stem vowel (Pada ū).

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 418³.

¹¹ See above, stems in derivative *-i* (307).

¹² From *dru-* 'run'. On *śidru-* see WHITNEY's note on AV. XV. 7¹.

¹³ From *yu-* 'separate', 'keep away'.

¹⁴ 'going unrestrained', from *gū-* 'go' = *gū-*.

¹⁵ The words *sabar-dhū-* 'yielding nectar', and *ā-smṛta-dhru-* 'not caring for enemies', seem to be compounded with *-dūh* (*-dhūh*) and *-druh* (*-dhruk*: see pw.).

¹⁶ They are therefore transfers from the radical *ū-* declension, all the N. A. neuters of which are thus formed.

¹⁷ *sabar-dhūs* (VS. V. 26; Kh. IV. 5²⁰) = *sabar-dhūk*.

¹⁸ *sabar-dhūm* A. f. = *sabar-dūham*.

- D. m. *ādhrī-gave*, *abhi-dyave*.
 G. m. *pra-bhūs*, *su-śśās*. — L. n. *ud-bhāu* (VS. xv. 1), *mitā-drau*.
 V. m. *adhri-go*, *pra-bho* (AA. iv. 1 = Kh. v. 4)¹.
 Du. N. A. V. m. *ādhrī-gū²*, *abhi-dyū* (Kh. i. 3³), *pari-bhū* (AV.), *puru-
 bhū*, *puru-bhū*, *vanar-gū*, *śam-bhū*, *śam-bhū*.
 Pl. N. m. *ādhrī-gāvas³*, *abhi-dyavas*, *dhi-jēvas*, *mitā-dravas⁴*, *vi-bhāvas*,
 V. *vi-bhū-as⁵*. — n. *mayo-bhū*.
 A. m. *mayo-bhūn*, *dyūn*, *vi-bhūn* (VS. xx. 23).
 I. m. *dyūbhis*; *ā-prū-yubhis*, *abhi-dyubhis*, *vanar-gūbhis* (AV.), *vi-bhūbhis*.

6. b. Derivative *u-* stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400-419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 335-346.

388. This declension embraces a large number of nouns of all genders. The masculine stems greatly preponderate, being about four times as numerous as the feminine and neuter stems taken together; while the neuters considerably outnumber the feminines. Thus the N. and A. sing. are formed by about 430 stems in the m., by 68 in the n., and by 46 in the f. in the RV. The normal inflexion which is practically the same in all genders, except the N. A. sing. du. pl. n., is closely parallel to that of the *i-* stems (380). The stem takes Guṇa in the same cases; but while in the *i-* declension only one word (*ari-*) ever uses the unmodified stem, 8 or 9 words may do so here. The endings, too, are closely analogous; but while in the *i-* declension the ending of the L. sing. is always dropped, it is here retained in several words; and while the *n-* declension has affected only the I. sing. of the *i-* declension, it has here affected all the other cases of the singular which take vowel endings. Finally, the accentuation is exactly parallel to that of the *i-* stems.

a. Adjectives in *-u* often use this stem for the feminine also; e. g. *airu-* 'dear'; otherwise they form the f. in *-ū*, as *tanū-* m., *tanū-* f. 'thin'; or in *-ī*, as *urū-* m., *urū-* f. 'broad', *prthū-* m., *prthū-* f. 'broad', *lakū-* m., *lakū-* f. 'much', *mydū-* (AV.) m., *mydū-* f. (VS.) f. 'soft'.

b. The 8 stems which are analogous to *ari-* in having forms that attach the normal endings to the unaltered stem are: *paśū-*, *pitū-*; *kṛtū-*, *krātū-*, *mādhū-*, *vāsu-*, *śiśū-*, *śakū-*, *śābhū-*.

c. Oxytone stems when the final vowel is changed to *v*, throw the accent on a following vowel not as Svarita but as Udātta; they also shift it to the *-nām* of the G. pl. even though the stem vowel does not in that case lose its syllabic value; e. g. *paśū-nām*.

d. Transition forms. 1. There are in the RV. only three forms which follow the analogy of the derivative *i-* declension: D. *īp-ai*, G. *īp-āi*, *su-śśāste-āi*, all in late passages; the AV. also has *rājū-ām*⁶. — 2. Transitions to the *ū-* declension appear in the A. *ābhīram*, from *ā-bhīru-*, and in several words formed with the suffix *-u* which make their N. pl. or du. as *yucas*, *yucū*. — 3. Besides some 46 I. forms m. and n. sing., there are several transitions to the *n-* declension in the remaining cases of the sing., all neuter forms (except the m. G. *cāruyas*: D. *mādhūn*; Ab. *mādhūnas*, *sāmunas*; G. *cāruyas*, *sāmunas*, *drūvas*, *mādhūnas*, *vāsunas*; L. *dyūni*, *sānuni*; also a few other forms from the later Saṁhitās.

Inflexion.

389. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s*, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. sing. sometimes attach the normal endings to the unmodified stem; but

¹ In the f. V. *prthū-śī* 'broad-tufted', the radical *ū-* declension *ā-prūyucas*, *raghū-* of the stem *stu-* = *stukū-* 'tuft' may be radical. *drūvas*.

² *ā-mya-dhrū* = *ā-mya-druhā*.

³ For *ādhrī-gāvas* owing to the false analogy of *gāvas* 'cows'.

⁴ There are also the forms according to

⁵ See LANMAN 414¹.

⁶ The Mss. in AV. vi. 121² read *rājūām* the only form of this word which occurs in the RV. is the N. sing. *rājūas*.

they generally gunate the stem, which then adds only *-s* instead of *-as* in the Ab. G. The L. sing. sometimes gunates the stem and adds *-i*, but generally takes *ṽddhi* without an ending. The V. always gunates the stem. The N. pl. m. f. nearly always gunates the *-u*, to which the normal ending *-as* is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds *-n*, in the f. *-s*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes *-ām*, lengthening the preceding vowel. The N. A. V. du. m. f. have no ending, simply lengthening the final vowel. The adjective *mādhū* 'sweet' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring:

Sing. N. m. f. *mādhus*, n. *mādhū*. A. m. f. *mādhum*, n. *mādhū*. I. m. f. n. *mādhvā*, m. n. *mādhunā*. D. m. f. n. *mādhave*, m. *mādhve*. Ab. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*, n. *mādhunas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*; n. *mādhunas*. L. m. f. n. *mādhau*, m. n. *mādhavi*, n. *mādhuni*. V. m. f. *mātho*, n. *mādhū*.

Du. N. A. V. m. f. *mādhū*, n. *mādhvī*. I. m. *mādhubhyām*. D. m. *mādhubhyām*. Ab. m. n. *mādhubhyam*. G. m. *mādhvos*, n. *mādhunos* (AV). L. m. f. *mādhvos*.

Pl. N. V. m. f. *mādhavas*; *mādhvas*. N. A. n. *mādhū*, *mādhū*; *mādhini*. A. m. *mādhun*; *mādhvas*, f. *mādhūs*; *mādhvas*. I. m. f. n. *mādhubhis*. D. m. f. n. *mādhubhyas*. Ab. m. f. *mādhubhyas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhunām*. L. m. f. n. *mādhūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. This form is very frequent, being made from 250 stems in the RV. and occurring nearly 900 times. The commonest examples are: *indus* (64) 'drop', *viṣṇus* (34) 'Viṣṇu', *su-krātus* (32) 'skillful', *vāsus* (25) 'good', *ketis* (23) 'brightness', *ṛbhīs* (21) 'delf', *vayīs* (20) 'wind', *viśvāyus* (18) 'kind to all men', *sinīs* (18) 'son', *sindhus* (17) 'river', *cārus* (16) 'dear', *asmayīs* (16) 'desiring us', *devayīs* (15) 'devoted to the gods', *mānus* (15) 'man'. — *iṣus* 'arrow', otherwise f., is once (VIII. 66⁷) m.

a. The form *yūs* 'moving' is perhaps a corruption in VIII. 18¹³, where BLOOMFIELD (JAOS. 1906, p. 72) would read, for *riṣiṣya yūr*, *riṣiṣyāyūr* = *riṣiṣya āyūr*.

b. In VII. 86³ *aidhīkṣu* perhaps stands for *aidhīkṣu+ūpo*; but the Pada reads *dhiṣkṣu*, and desiderative adjectives otherwise accent the final syllable; cp. LANMAN 405 (bottom).

f. This form is made from 31 stems and occurs 73 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *dhenūs* (22) 'cow', *sindhus* (11), *śārus* (4) 'arrow', *vashīyīs* (3) 'desiring goods', *iṣus* (2), *gātīs* (2) 'course', *cārus* (2), *īvatūs* (2) 'life'¹.

N. A. n. This form, which has no ending, is made from 68 stems and occurs over 400 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *mādhū* (77) ('sweetness'), *vāsu* (77) 'wealth', *urū* (51) 'wide', *cāru* (27), *sinū* (18) 'summit', *prthū* (15) 'broad', *tri-dhītu* (13) 'threefold', *purū* (13) 'much'. The RV. once has *paśū* and the VS. (XXIII.30) *paśū* 'animal'. In other Saṃhitās occur *tālu* (VS.) 'palate', *trīpu* (AV, VS.) 'tin'.

a. The final *-n* is metrically lengthened in *purū* (12 times), *mithū* (twice) 'wrongly', and *urū* (once)².

b. The metre seems to require the forms *dyu* (III. 49²), *javānītyu* (AV. XIX. 30¹), *īṣṇū* (AV. III. 19¹), *īṣṇayīṣṇū* (AV. VIII. 22⁶), *loḥū* (AV. XX. 135¹²), instead of the corresponding forms with *-s*, *āyus* etc., of the Saṃhitā text.

A. m. This form is made from 179 stems and occurs over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *krātum* (55) 'ability', *ketim* (34), *gātum* (33) 'course' and 'song', *indum* (27), *śiṣum* (26) 'child', *sindhum* (22),

¹ LANMAN 406 enumerates the stems which form this N. ² The Pada text here always has *purū*, *mithū*, *urū*. Cp. RPr. VII. 9, 19, 31; IX. 3.

āsūm (20) 'swift', *urūm* (18), *manyūm* (18) 'wrath', *vāyīm* (18), *amśūm* (17) 'shoot', *sūnūm* (17), *dāyūm* (15) 'fiend', *paśūm* (15), *bhānūm* (15) 'lustre', *hujyūm* (15) N. of a man, *sātrum* (15) 'enemy'.

f. This form is made from 15 stems and occurs 50 times in the RV.: *ā-dhenuṃ* 'yielding no milk', *arunā-psum* 'of ruddy appearance', *īsum*, *krīnum* N. of a river, *cārum*, *jāsum* 'resting-place', *jigatnīm* 'speeding', *jitradānum* 'sprinkling abundantly', *jitātum*, *dhānum* 'sandbank', *dhenīm*, *bhujyīm* 'viper', *rasyīm*, *sārum*, *sindhūm*.

I. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Four stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-u* is almost invariably pronounced as *v*: *paraśi-ā* 'axe', *paśv-ā*; *krātū-ā*, *śīk-ā*. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 30 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *amśūnā*, *akṣūnā* 'light', *an-āśīnā* 'not swift', *a-bandhūnā* 'kinless', *Indunā*, *īsumā* (Kh. iv. 7³), *urūnā*, *rjūnā* 'straight', *rthūnā* 'fixed time', *kadūnā*, *krātūnā*, *calūnā* 'heed', *jīṣūnā* 'victorious', *tri-dhātunā*, *dhūmā-keṭunā* 'smoke-bannered', *dhṛṣṇūnā* 'bold', *paśūnā*, *bhānūnā*, *mānūnā*, *manyūnā*, *ripīnā* 'deceiver', *raṣṇūnā* 'roar', *vahatūnā* 'bridal procession', *vāyūnā*, *vi-bhīndīnā* 'splitting', *viṣṇūnā*, *vīṣa-psunā* 'of strong appearance', *sādhitnā* 'straight', *su-ctānā* 'benevolence', *śūnā* (TS. III. 2. 2¹) 'bridge', *stanayīnā* 'thunder', *śūnā*⁵ 'summit'.

f. This form is made from 7 stems in the RV. by adding the normal ending *-ī*, before which the *u* is pronounced as a vowel in five stems: *ek-krā* (AV.), *parā* 'praise'; *ā-dhenā*, *īṣvā* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5 3¹), *mādhvā*, *mehatīvā* N. of a river, *rājīvā* (AV.) 'rope', *sārvā*, *su-sārvā* N. of a river, *hārvā* 'jaw'.

a. Six oxytone stems and also *mīthu-* form instrumentals with interposed *-y-*; they are used adverbially with shift of accent to the ending: *anu-śhuyā* 'immediately', *amuyā* 'thus', *āhuyā* 'quickly', *dhṛṣṇuyā* 'boldly', *raṣhuyā* 'swiftly', *sādhuyā* 'rightly'; *mīhuyā* 'falsely'.

n. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-ā* is added directly to the stem. Of this formation there is only one example: *mādhvā*⁴ 'honey'. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 15 stems in the RV. add *-nā*: *urūnā*, *krādūnā* 'defective', *ghṛtā-snūnā* 'dripping with ghee', *jarīyūnā* 'after-birth', *tīṭānā* 'sieve', *trṣṇūnā* 'greedy', *tri-dhātunā*, *dānūnā* 'fluid', *drūnā*⁵ 'wood', *dhṛṣṇūnā*, *purūrūnā* 'far and wide', *prthūnā*, *mādhvā*, *vīśunā*, *sānūnā*, *svādūnā* 'sweet'.

D. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the unmodified stem in three words in the RV.: *krātve*⁶, *śīkve*, *sahasra-bāhve*⁷ 'having a thousand arms'. — 2. The ending *e* is added to the gunated final vowel in over 60 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *mānave* (36), *vāyāve* (23), *vīṣāve* (13), *manyāve* (12), *āyāve* (10) 'living', *sūnāve* (10), *dāsāve* (9), *ripāve* (7), *mṛtyāve* (6) 'death', *pūrāve* (5)⁸ 'man'.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. from only three stems in the RV.: *jvātave*, *dhenāve*, *sārvave*.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the

¹ Twice out of 59 occurrences pronounced *krātū*. The form *krātū* occurs VS. xxx:11. 72 and twice in the Khilas (III. 16¹; v. 6¹); and in Kh. iv. 53⁶ *krātū* is perhaps meant for *krātū*.

² For the *īṣvā* of AV. v. 5⁴.

³ The form *krātunā* occurs 12 times, *krātū* 59 times, in the RV.

⁴ This form also occurs in VS. xx. 56 etc., TS. iv. 1. 8¹ (twice) and Kh. v. 6⁴.

⁵ The words *mī-* and *drū-* are not accented as monosyllabic stems because they are the reduced form of the dissyllables *sānu-* and *dānu-*.

⁶ *krātve* also occurs VS. xiv. 8; xxxviii. 28.

⁷ Pronounced *-bāhur*.

⁸ LANMAN 409 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

unmodified stem in one word: *pāśve*¹. — 2. The ending *-e* is added to the gunated stem in two words: *urāve*, *viśvāyave*.

3. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension *-ne* is added to the stem in one word in the RV.: *mādhune*. The AV. also has *kaśipune* 'mat'.

Ab. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in one word only: *pītv-ās* 'draught'. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the gunated stem in 20 words in the RV.: *amhós* 'distress', *adhvaryós* 'officiating priest', *rās*, *kṛśānos* N. of a divine archer, *kṣīpanós* 'archer', *gānós* 'course', *tanayitnós* 'thundering', *tanyatós* 'thunder', *devayós*, *ninitśós* 'wishing to blame', *pūrós*, *babhros* (Kh. v. 15¹¹) 'brown', *manyós*, *mptyós*, *ririkśós* 'wishing to injure', *vanīśthís* 'intestine', *vāyós*, *vīśnos*, *śátros*, *śudhos*, *śubós*.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. The only two examples are: *dīdnos* and *vāstos* 'dawn'. There is also one transition form due to the influence of the *r*-declension: *īr-ās*.

n. This case is made in three ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in one word only: *mādhvas*. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the gunated stem: *urós*, *drós*², *mādhos* (Kh. iv. 12¹; TS. iv. 4. 12¹), *sānos*, *svādós*. — 3. Under the influence of the *n*-declension *-nas* is added to the stem: *mādhunas*, *śinunas*.

G. m. This case is made in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in six words: *paśvós*, *pītvós*; *krátvas*, *mādhvas*, *vāsvas*, *śīsvas*³. — 2. The prevailing form is made by adding *-s* to the gunated stem, and appears in 70 words. The commonest examples are: *āyós* (22), *vīśnos* (14), *śindhos* (13), *aktós* (11), *vāyós* (10), *dāsyos* (8), *mīnos* (8), *śátros* (5), *kārós* (4) 'singer'.

a. There is a single transition form according to the *n*-declension *cāruṇas*, which occurs only once (VIII. 5¹⁴).

f. This case is formed in one way only, like the second form of the m., from 5 stems: *aktós*, *dhenís*, *vāstos*, *sarāyos* N. of a river, *śindhos*.

n. This case is made like the Ab. n. 1. *mādhvas*⁵, *vāsvas*. — 2. The commonest form, made from 8 stems in the RV.: *urós*, *kśós* 'food', *gūggulos* (AV.) 'bellium', *cāros*, *mādhos* (+AV.), *vāsvos* (+AV.), *vāstos* (+AV.) 'dwelling', *śādhós*, *svādós*. — 3. *cāruṇas*, *dānunas*, *drūnas*⁶, *mādhunas*⁷, *vāsvunas*⁸.

L. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-i* is added to the gunated final vowel in 7 stems: *duari* 'non-Aryan man', *trāsādasyari* N. of a king, *dāsyari*, *druhydvi* N. of a man, *pāvīrari* N. of a man, *vīśnari*, *śūndvi*. — 2. More usually the ending is dropped, leaving the final stem vowel with *Vṛddhi* instead of *Guṇa*. This form of the L. is taken by 19 stems in the RV.: *aktidu* 'at night', *āydu*, *urāu*, *krātāu*, *cārdū* 'pot', *druhydu*, *pārśāu* N. of a man, *paśidu*,

¹ The stem *pāśu-* occurs once in the N. as a neuter, and *pāśve* must owing to the accent be taken as the D. of that stem; the m. stem is *paśi-*, D. *paśve*.

² The form *drós* also occurs in Kh. iv. 5¹¹.

³ Possibly 4 other words written with *-os*, should be pronounced with *-nas*: *dhyāśas* (X. 22³), *vīśās* (iv. 3³), *śīrūnas* (vi. 22²), *vīśruas* (VIII. 31¹⁰).

⁴ LANMAN 410 gives a list of the stems taking this form of the genitive.

⁵ Pronounced *mādhvas* twice out of 67 occurrences.

⁶ There is no certain evidence as to the gender of *drī-* 'wood', but, as it is a reduced form of *dāru-* which is n., it may be assumed to be n. There is also the form *drīs*.

⁷ *mādhvas* occurs 67 times, *mādhos* 13 times, *mādhunas* 9 times in the RV. The VS. has all three forms in independent passages.

⁸ *vāsvas* occurs 38 times, *vāsvos* 8 times, *vāsvunas* 11 times in the RV.

phṣṭi-gau N. of a man, *paṭā-kratau* N. of a man, *pārū*, *mānau* and *manū*¹, *yādu* N. of a man, *śrīṣṭi-gau* N. of a man, *sindhau*, *sṭau* 'bond', *svārau*² 'sacrificial post'.

f. This case is made in one way only, like the second form of the m. The only example in the RV. is *sindhau*; the AV. has *śīrau*³ and *sītau* 'birth'.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. With the ending *-i* added to the gunated stem only in *sānari*, which occurs 9 times. When the adjective *āya-* or *aryāya-* 'made of sheep's wool' immediately follows, the L. of this word appears as *sāno*. The Pada here always has *sānau*, but as the metre requires a short syllable it seems likely that the ending has been dropped to avoid a disagreeable sequence of syllables in *sānary ānye*, but without leaving the lengthened form of the stem (*sānār*) because of the metre. A parallel form appears to be *vāsto* in the formula *vāsta usrās* 'at break of dawn', which occurs 5 times in the RV.⁴ — 2. As in the m., the usual form is that in *-au* formed from 8 stems: *a-rajū* 'not consisting of ropes', *urū*, *ghīṣau* 'lively', *prthū*, *mādhau*, *vāsau*, *vīṣū* 'stronghold', *sānau*. — 3. According to the *n-* declension: *āyuni*, *dāruṇi* (AV.), *drūṇi* (Kh. I. 5⁴⁰), *sānuni*⁵.

V. m. This case, which gunates the final vowel, is formed from 58 stems. The commonest examples are: *indo* (144), *vaso* (62), *śata-krato* (47) 'having a hundred powers', *vāyo* (43), *sāno* (36), *su-krato* (22)⁶.

f. This case which has the same form as the m., is made from 6 stems: *adri-sāno* 'dwelling on mountain tops', *dur-haṇo* 'ugly-jawed', *prthu-ṣṭo* 'having a broad tuft of hair', *sindho*, *su-bāho* 'having strong arms', *sva-bhāno* 'self-luminous'.

n. The V. n. seems to have been identical in form with the N. judging by the only example which occurs: *gūggulu*⁷ (AV. XIX. 38²).

Du. N. A. V. m. This form, which is made by lengthening the final vowel, occurs from 69 stems. The commonest examples are: *indra-vāyū* (22) 'Indra and Vāyu', *vājint-vasū* (21) 'rich in swift mares', *bāhū* (20) 'arms', *vīṣṇu-vasū* (18) 'possessing great wealth', *indra-vīṣṇū* (13) 'Indra and Viṣṇu'. The TS. has also *āgnā-vīṣṇū* (I. 8. 22) 'O Agni and Viṣṇu'. There are besides two forms in which the final vowel is shortened⁸: *jigatnū* (VII. 65) 'speeding' and *su-hāntu* (VII. 19)⁹ 'easy to slay'.

f. This form is made in the same way as the m. but is much rarer, occurring from 5 stems only: *jigatnū*, *dhenū*, *sū-bandhū* 'akin', *samānd-bandhū* 'having the same kin', *hānū*.

n. This form adds the regular ending *-ī*. The only example in the RV. is *urū-ī*. The VS. has according to the *n-* declension *jānu-n-ī* (XX. 8) 'knees'.

I. m. *amśībhīyām* (VS. VII. 1), *an-āmāyīmbhīyām* 'curative', *ny-bāhībhīyām* 'man's arms', *bāhībhīyām*. — f. *hānūbhīyām* (VS. XI. 78)¹⁰.

D. m. *indra-vāyībhīyām* (VS. VII. 8), *indra-vīṣṇūbhīyām* (VS. VII. 23), *bāhībhīyām*.

¹ Accented *manū* only when followed by *ādhi*.

² A possible m. L. with *n* would be *rājūni*, an emendation for *rajani* of the Mss. (AV. XX. 133¹). For the reading of AV. XX. 131¹² *vaṅṣhū* the Mss. have *vaṅṣhū* which, if correct, would be a unique example of *-ā* in the L. of the *n-* declension.

³ Emendation for *śīrau* of the Mss.; see WHITNEY's note on AV. V. 25¹.

⁴ See KÄGGI, Festgruss an Böhlingk 48 f.

⁵ *sānari* occurs 9 times, *sāno* (ānye) 8 times, *sānau* 10 times, *sānuni* once.

⁶ The V. *vāhāvāso* in Kh. I. 8² is wrongly accented.

⁷ The Mss. read *gūggulū* or *gūggulū*. See WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁸ In both Saṃhitā and Pada text.

⁹ The RV. three times has the curious A. m. du. *bāhāvā* = *bāhū* apparently from a stem *bāhāva*.

¹⁰ *hānūbhīyām*, a transition to the *ū-* stems, in TS. IV. 1. 10²; VII. 3. 16¹.

Ab. m. *arūbhyam* 'thighs', *bāhūbhyam*. — **n.** *jānubhyām* (AV.).

G. m. *arūś*, *bāhūś*. — **n.** according to the *n*-declension: *jānuś* (AV.).

L. m. *arūś* (AV.), *bāhūś*. — **f.** *hānuś*.

Pl. N. V. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem. Of this formation the only example is *mādhv-as* (occurring 4 times). — 2. The ending *-as* is added to the gunated stem, e. g. *aktv-as*. This form is very frequent, being made from 161 stems and occurring over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *imlavas* (67), *rbhāvas* (57), *vāsavas* (46), *sudānavas* (42) 'bounteous', *sīndhāvas* (34), *āśvas* (30), *adhvāryavas* (27), *dyavas* (27), *kāriavas* (18), *mild-jānavas* (2) 'firm-kneed'.

f. This case is formed in the same two ways as the m. 1. Of this formation there are only two examples: *mādhv-as*, *śata-kṛatv-as*. — 2. The regular form is made from 15 stems in the RV.: *an-āśriavas* 'tearless', *d-bhāriavas* 'fearless', *a-reṇiavas* 'dustless', *lāvas*, *tri-dhātavas*, *dhendvas*, *pāśavas*, *vastūyavas*, *śātravas*, *sauśyavas* 'desirous', *sā-manyavas* and *sa-manyavas* 'unanimous', *sīndhavas*, *su-ketavas*, *svi-setavas* 'forming one's own bridge', *hānavas*.

N. A. n. This form is made in two ways. 1. Twelve stems take no ending, four of them also lengthening the final vowel sometimes. These forms occur 76 times altogether in the RV., 48 times with short, 28 times with long vowel. The words occurring are: *urū*, *ṛjū*, *cāru*, *tri-dhātu*, *purū*, *bahū*, *mādhū*, *vāsu*, *vīṣū*, *sānu*, *su-dhātu* 'manifest', *su-hāntū*; *urū*, *purū*, *vāsu*, *vīṣū*. The Pada text always has the short vowel. — 2. The more usual form follows the *n*-declension, adding *-ni*, before which the final vowel is lengthened. It is made by 14 stems⁵ and occurs 127 times altogether in the RV.: *aghāyāni* (Kh. iv. 5³) 'malicious', *anūni* (AV.) 'minute', *alībūni* (AV.)⁶ 'gourds', *āśrāni* (AV.) 'tears', *karkāndhūni* (VS. xix. 23) 'jujube berries', *cārāni*, *tri-dhātāni*, *dānūni* 'fluid', *dārāni*, *devayāni*, *purāni*, *prthūni*, *bahūni*, *mādhūni*, *yurayāni* 'longing for you both', *vāsūni*, *vāstāni*, *sindhāni*, *sāntāni*.

A. m. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem. The only two examples of this formation are *paśū-as* and *kṛtv-as*⁷ 'times'. — 2. The usual form is made from 43 stems with the ending *-n*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The original ending *-ns* still survives as *-nr* 45 times before vowels and once as *-ni* before *ca*⁸. The commonest examples are *śāstran* (43), *dāsyūn* (27), *sīndhūn* (23), *aktūn* (9), *ṛjūn* (8), *paśūn* (5)⁹. From the VS.: *ākhdn* (xxiv. 26) 'moles', *nyānkūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes', *madgūn* (xxiv. 22) 'diver-birds', *malimlūn* (xi. 78; TS.) 'robbers', *rūrūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes'. From the Khilas: *hūn* (iii. 16⁸).

f. This like the m. is formed in two ways. 1. The only example is *mādhv-as*, which occurs twice. — 2. The ending *-s* is added, before which the vowel is lengthened. The only two examples in the RV. (occurring 5

¹ To be pronounced *arūś*, *bāhūś*, *hānuś* in the RV.

² *purū* seems to be the only form of this kind in the AV., where it occurs once (xix. 49⁴).

³ *purū* occurs 24 times, *purū* 12 times (all but once at the end of a Pada).

⁴ *vāsu* occurs twice, *vāsu* 19 times (12 times at the end of a Pada).

⁵ Half of these also take the form without *n* in the RV.

⁶ The Mss. in AV. xx. 134¹ read *alībūni*.

⁷ The A. of a noun *kṛtv* 'making', used adverbially: *bhūri kṛtv* (iii. 18¹) 'many times', *śāvat kṛtv* (iii. 54¹) 'innumerable times', *dātū kṛtv* (AV. xl. 2⁹) 'ten times'.

⁸ On the Sandhi of these accusatives in *-n* see LANMAN 415 (bottom) and 416 (top).

⁹ LANMAN 416 enumerates the stems which form this A.

times) are: *īstis* and *dhenūś*. The Khila after RV. x. 9 has the form *vāreṇya-kratūś* 'intelligent', but the text of Kh. III. 13¹ reads *vāreṇya-kratus¹*.

I. m. This form is frequent, being made from 50 stems and occurring over 200 times. The commonest examples² are: *vāsubhis* (24), *aktībhīś* (17), *ṛbhīś* (15), *āśībhīś* (12), *pṛyībhīś* (12) 'protectors', *indubhis* (11), *bhānubhis* (7), *ṛbhūbhīś* (6), *sindhūbhīś* (5), *snūbhīś*³ (5).

f. This case, formed in the same way as the m., is rare, only 3 examples occurring in the RV.: *ika-dhenubhis* 'excellent cows', *tri-dhātubhis*, *dhenūbhīś*.

n. *a-reṇūbhīś* 'dustless', *āśrubhis* (VS. xxv. 9), *karkāndhubhis* (VS. xxi. 32), *jaṛiubhis* (AV.), *bahūbhīś*, *mādhūbhīś* (Kh. I. 11¹), *vāsubhis*, *śmāśrubhis* (VS. xxv. 1; SV.) 'beards', *su-māntubhis* 'benevolent'.

D. m. *a-jatrībhyas* 'foeless', *ṛbhīyas* (VS. xxii. 28), *ṛbhūbhīyas*, *guṅgībhyas* 'descendants of Guṅgu', *tṛtsubhyas* 'the Tṛtsus' (a tribe), *dāśabhīśubhyas*, 'having ten reins', *dāsyubhyas*, *paśībhyas*, *pārībhyas*, *bahūbhīyas*, *mṛgayībhyas* (VS. xvi. 27) 'hunters', *vāsubhyas*, *sindhūbhīyas*.

f. There is no example in the RV. The AV. has two: *īsubhyas*, *dhenūbhīyas*. — **n.** *sūnubhyas* (VS. xxx. 6).

Ab. m. *aktībhyas*, *jaṛībhyas* 'cartilages of the breast bone', *jighatsībhyas* (AV.) 'seeking to devour', *dāsyubhyas*, *bahūbhīyas*, *bhṛgubhyas* 'Bhrgus', *mṛtyībhyas* (AV.), *sī-bandhūbhīyas* (AV.). — **f.** *dhānubhyas*, *sindhūbhīyas*.

G. m. This case is formed from 23 stems in the RV., 12 being oxytones and 11 otherwise accented: 1. *ṛtānām*, *ṛbhānām*, *ṛṣānām* 'flames', *carānām*, *devayānām*, *paśānām* (AV. VS. TS.), *pītanām*, *purānām*, *prāśānām* 'very swift', *bahṛtānām*, *bahānām*, *yātānām* 'spectres', *ṛiptānām*, *stāyānām* (VS.) 'thieves'. — 2. *abhi-kratānām* 'insolent', *abhiśānām* 'reins', *ahy-irṣānām* 'gliding like a snake', *krātānām*, *tṛtsānām*, *dāsyānām* (AV.), *piyārānām* (AV.) 'mischievous', *bhṛgānām*, *mānānām*, *vāśānām*, *śātrānām*, *sī-bandhūnām* (AV.), *sindhūnām*, *svāyānām* 'sacrificial posts'. — **f.** *dhenūnām*; *sindhūnām*. — **n.** *mādhūnām*, *yātānām* 'embraces', *vāśānām*.

L. m. *anvīśu* (VS. viii. 57), *aktīśu*, *dnūśu*, *āśīśu*, *druhyīśu*, *paśīśu* (AV.), *pārīśu*, *bahūśu*, *yātuśu*, *vī-bandhuśu* (AV.) 'kinless', *vīśvā-bhānuśu* 'all-illuminating', *śātruśu*, *sindhūśu*. — **f.** *vāśuśu*, *sindhūśu*⁴. — **n.** *urīśu*, *vāśuśu*, *śmāśruśu*, *sānuśu*, *snūśu*⁵ (VS. TS.).

II. Pronouns.

BENFV, *Vollständige Grammatik* 773–780 (p. 333–340). — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 490–526 (p. 185–199). — FISCHEL, *ZDMG.* 35, 714–716. — DELBRÜCK, *Syntaktische Forschungen* 5, 204–221; cp. BRUGMANN, *KG.* 494–525, and *Die Demonstrativa der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1904.

390. The pronouns occupy a special position in declension, as being derived from a limited class of roots with a demonstrative sense, and as exhibiting several marked peculiarities of inflexion. These peculiarities are in some degree extended to a certain number of adjectives.

1. Personal Pronouns.

391. These are the most peculiar of all, as being for each person derived from several roots or combinations of roots, as being specially anomalous in inflexion, as not distinguishing gender and, to some extent,

¹ The m. *A. sūdhūn* occurs once (x. 35¹) in the sense of a f.

² LANMAN 416 (bottom) enumerates the stems taking this case.

³ Accentuated like a dissyllable as elsewhere.

⁴ *āvīśu* (i. 58²) is perhaps a transfer form for *āvīśu*; cp. LANMAN 419¹.

⁵ With dissyllabic accent as usual.

not even number. Some resemble neuters in form; a few have no apparent case-ending; in two of them the acc. pl. masc. does duty as fem. also.

The forms of the first and second person¹ which occur are:

1. Sing. N. *ahám*². A. *mám*, *mā*. I. *māyā*. D. *māhyam*, *māhya*, *mē*.
 Ab. *mā*³. G. *māma*, *mē*. L. *māyī*⁴.
 Du. N. *vām* (RV⁵).⁶ A. *nau*. D.⁷ *nau*. Ab. *āvā* (TS.). G.⁸ *nau*.
 Pl. N. *vayām*. A. *asmān*⁹, *nas*¹⁰. I. *asmābhis*. D. *asmābhyam*, *asmā* (RV.), *nas*. Ab. *asmād*. G. *asmākam*¹⁰, *asmāka*¹¹ (RV¹), *nas*. L. *asmē*, *asmāsu*¹².
 2. Sing. N. *tvām*¹³. A. *tvām*, *tvā*. I. *tvāyā*, *tvā* (RV.). D. *tibhyam*, *tibhya*, *tē*¹⁴. Ab. *tvād*. G. *tvā*, *te*. L. *tvā*¹⁵ (RV. VS.), *tvāyī* (AV. VS. TS.).
 Du. N. *yuvām*. A. *yuvām*, *vām*. I. *yuvābhyam*, *yuvābhyām*. D. *vām*.
 Ab. *yuvād* (RV¹). G. *yuvās* (RV. and Kh. 1.12¹), *yuvāyos* (TS. III. 5.4¹), *vām*.
 Pl. *yūyām*¹⁶. A. *yusmān*¹⁷, f. *yusmās* (VS¹), *vas*¹⁸. D. *yusmābhyam*, *vas*. Ab. *yusmād*. G. *yusmākam*¹⁰, *yusmāka* (RV²), *vas*. L. *yusmē*.

a. The usual stems representing these personal pronouns in derivation or as first member of a compound are *ma-*, *ama-*; *tvā-*, *yuvā-*, *yusma-*; e. g. *mā-vant-* 'like me', *ama-druh-* 'hating us', *tvā-vant-* 'like thee', *tvā-yata-* 'presented by thee'; *yuvā-yū-* 'desiring you two', *yuvā-dhita-* 'established by you two', *yuvā-datta-* 'given by you two'; *yusmā-yant-* 'desiring you', *yusmā-ūta-* 'supported by you'; *yusmā-datta-* 'given by you'¹⁹.

b. The forms *mad-*, *amad-*, *tvad-* occur a few times as first member of compounds; thus *māt-kṛta-* 'done by me', *māi-sakhi-* 'my companion', *mat-tās* (AV.) 'from me'; *asmāi-sakhi-* 'having us as companions', *asmād-vāta-* (VS.) 'given by us'; *tvād-pitṛ-* (TS.) 'having thee as father'; *tvād-yoni-* (AV.) 'derived from thee', *tvād-vācāna-* (TS.) 'having thee as umpire'.

c. *aham-*, *mām-*, *mama-*; *am-*; *tvām-* are also sometimes found as first member of compounds; thus *aham-uttarā-* (AV.) 'struggle for precedence', *aham-fūrva-* 'eager to be first', *aham-yū-* 'proud'; *mam-pāyū-* (AV.) 'looking at me'; *mama-satyā-* 'dispute as to ownership'; *asmā-hiti-* 'errand for us'; *tvām-kāma-* 'desiring thee', *tvām-āhuti-* (TS.) 'offering to thee'.

2. Demonstrative Pronouns.

392. *Ti-* 'that', which also serves as the personal pronoun of the third person, 'he', 'she', 'it', is typical, in its inflexion, of the adjectival pronoun. It has the special peculiarity of using the stem *sa-* for the nom. masc. and fem. sing. and, in the RV., for the loc. sing. masc. and neut. The general peculiarities of the adjectival pronominal declension, as distinct from

- ¹ Cp. GAEDICKE, Akkusativ 12-14.
² On the formation of *aham* cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 36, 405 ff. — All the nominatives of the personal pronouns are formed with *-am* as also the N. sing. of the demonstrative *ay-ām* and the reflexive *svayām*.
³ The unaccented forms of the personal pronoun (85) may be accompanied by accented words in agreement with them; e. g. *te jāyatah* 'of thee when conquering'; *yo vṛtibhyah* 'for you that were confined'; *nas tribhyah* 'to us three'.
⁴ *mā* is two or three times unaccented in the AV.
⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 725.
⁶ This seems to be the only nom. form (VI. 55¹) occurring in the Samhitās. The nom. in the ŚB. is *āvām*, in the AB. *āvām*; the acc. in the ŚB. is *āvām*. The form *vām* must be an abbreviation of *āvām*.
⁷ The AB. has *āvābhyām*.
⁸ The ŚB. has *āvāyos*.
⁹ *asmān* and *yusmān* are new formations according to the nominal declension; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 519, 2, note.
¹⁰ *asmākam* and *yusmākam* are properly acc. n. of the possessives *asmāka-*, *yusmāka-*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 4.
¹¹ Occurs only in I. 173¹⁰.
¹² *asmāsu* is a new formation according to the inst. *asmā-bhis*.
¹³ *tvām* must often be read as *tīam*.
¹⁴ *te*, originally only loc., is used as dat. and gen.; similarly *mē*; the loc. *asmē* is also used as dat.
¹⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, loc. cit.
¹⁶ Originally **yūṣ-ām* where *y* was substituted for the sibilant owing to the influence of *vayām*; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, op. cit. 726, note; BRUGMANN, KG. 513 and note 3, 518.
¹⁷ *yusmān* is a new formation according to the nominal declension (like *asmān*).
¹⁸ The inst. was originally in all probability *yusmā* (like *tvā*), which later became *yusmābhis* (like *asmābhis*).
¹⁹ This compound may preserve the old inst.

the nominal *a*-declension, are that 1. in the singular they take *-d* instead of *-m* in the nom. and acc. neut.; the element *-sma-* in the dat., abl., loc. masc. and neut.; the element *-sya-* in the dat., abl., gen., loc. fem.; the suffix *-su* in the loc. masc. and neut.¹; 2. in the plural they take *-e* for *-ās* in the nom. masc.; *s* for *n* in the gen. before *-ām*.

1. The inflexion of *tā-* accordingly is as follows:

Sing. N. m. *sā-s*², f. *sā*, n. *tā-d*. A. m. *tā-m*, f. *tā-m*, n. *tā-d*. I. m. *tānā*³, f. *tāyā*. D. m. n. *tā-smai*, f. *tā-syai*. Ab. m. n. *tā-smit*, f. *tā-syās*. G. m. n. *tā-sya*, f. *tā-syās*. L. *tā-smin*⁴, *sā-smin* (RV.), f. *tā-syām*.

Du. N. A. m. *tā, tāu*, f. *tā*, n. *tā*. I. m. f. *tā-bhyām*⁵. Ab. m. *tā-bhyām*. G. m. n. *tāyos*. L. m. *tāyos*.

Pl. N. m. *tā*, f. *tās*, n. *tā, tāni*. A. m. *tān*, f. *tās*, n. *tā, tāni*. I. m. n. *tābhis, tāis* (AV.; Kh. II. 10⁴), f. *tābhis*. D. m. n. *tā-bhyas*, f. *tā-bhyas*. G. m. *tā-sām*, f. *tā-sām*. L. m. *tā-su*, f. *tā-su*.

a. The stem *tā-* is frequently used in derivation, especially that of adverbs; e. g. *tā-ti* 'thus', *tā-vant-* 'so great', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many', and in the compound *tā-dī-* 'such'.

b. The neuter form *tād* is often used as the first member of a compound; thus *tād-anna-* 'having that food'; *tād-apa-* 'accustomed to that work'; *tād-id-ārtha-* 'having just that as an object'; *tād-oka-* 'delighting in that'; *tād-aja-* 'possessing such power'; *tād-vid-* 'having a desire for that'; *tād-vid-* (AV.) 'knowing that'.

2. Two other demonstrative pronouns are formed from *tā-*. a. One of them, *etā-*, formed by prefixing the pronominal element *e-*⁶, means 'this here'. It is inflected exactly like *tā-* and is of common occurrence. The forms which occur are:

m. Sing. m. N. *esās* or *esā*⁷. A. *etām*. I. *etāna*. D. *etāsmāi* (TS.). Ab. *etāsmāt* (AV.). G. *etāsya* (AV.). — Du. N. *etā, etāu*. — Pl. N. *etā*. A. *etān*. I. *etābhis, etāis* (AV.). D. *etābhyas*.

f. Sing. N. *esā*. A. *etām*. I. *etāyā*. L. *etāsyaṃ*. — Du. N. *etā*. — Pl. N. *etās*. A. *etās*. I. *etābhis* (AV.). L. *etāsu* (AV.).

n. Sing. N. *etād*. — Pl. N. *etā* (+VS.), *etāni*.

a. The stem used in derivation and composition is *etā-*; thus *etā-vant-* 'so great'; *etā-dī-* 'such'.

b. The other secondary demonstrative, *tyā-*, is derived from *tā-* with the suffix *-ya*⁸ and means 'that'. It is common in the RV., but rare in the later Sāṃhitās⁹. It is used adjectivally, being nearly always accompanied by its substantive. It is never found at the beginning of a sentence except when followed by *u*, *cid*, *nū*, or *sū*¹⁰.

The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *tyā*¹⁰ (+VS.). A. *tyām*. G. *tyāsya*. — Du. N. *tyā*. — Pl. N. *tyā*. A. *tyān*. I. *tyābhis*.

f. Sing. N. *tyā*. A. *tyām*. I. *tyā* (for *tyāyā*). G. *tyāsya*. — Du. N. *tyā*. — Pl. N. *tyās*. A. *tyās*.

n. Sing. N. *tyād* (+TS.). — Pl. *tyā, tyāni*.

393. The demonstrative which appears as *ayām* in the nom. sing. masc. and means 'this here', employs the pronominal roots *a-* and (in various modifications) *i-* in its inflexion, the latter being used in nearly all the

¹ This suffix is once found in the RV., in the form of *-min*, attached to *yādī-* 'having what appearance', though the stem ends in a consonant.

² On the Sandhi of *sā-* and *epā-* see 78.

³ The Pada text always reads *tāna*.

⁴ *sāsmīn* occurs nearly half as often as *tāsmīn* in the RV.

⁵ In IX. 66² this form (f.) seems to have a loc. sense; see LANMAN 343⁴.

⁶ According to BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6, note 3, originally loc. sing. of *a-*.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 401 and 495, 2.

⁸ It occurs two or three times also in B.

⁹ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *tyā*.

¹⁰ *tyā-* and *tyā-* are often to be read with *Vyāha*.

nom. and acc. forms, the former in the other cases. The acc. sing. masc. and fem. starts from *i-m*¹, the acc. of *i*, and is followed by the nom. acc. du. and pl., all these forms having the appearance of being made from a stem *ima-*. The nom. sing. fem. is formed from *i*², and the nom. acc. sing. neut. from *i-d* (the N. A. n. of *i*), both with the suffix *-am* added. The nom. sing. masc. is formed from *a* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *y*. The remaining cases formed from *a*³ are inflected throughout like *tá*.

The inflexion of this pronoun is accordingly as follows:

Sing. N. m. *a-yám*, f. *i-yám*, n. *i-dám*. A. m. *imám*, f. *imám*, n. *i-dám*. I. m. *e-ná*⁴, f. *ayá*⁴. D. m. *a-smá*⁵, f. *a-syá*. Ab. m. *a-smá*⁶, f. *a-syás*. G. m. *a-syá*⁷, f. *a-syás*. L. m. *a-smá*, f. *a-syám*.

Du. N. A. m. *imá*, *imá*, f. *imá*, n. *imá*. D. m. *a-bhyám* (RV¹). Ab. m. *a-bhyám*. G. m. *a-yás* (RV.)⁸. L. m. *a-yás*⁹ (RV.).

Pl. N. m. *imá*, f. *imás*, n. *imá*, *imáni*. A. m. *imán*, f. *imás*, n. *imá*, *imáni*. I. m. *e-bhís*, f. *a-bhís*¹⁰. D. m. *e-bhyás*, f. *a-bhyás*. G. m. *e-sím*, f. *a-sím*. L. m. *e-sú*, f. *a-sú*.

394. The corresponding demonstrative employed to express remoteness, 'that there', 'yon', appears in the nom. sing. masc. fem. as *asáu*. The pronominal root employed throughout its inflexion is *a*, but always in an extended form only. The fundamental stem used in every case, excepting the nom. sing., is *a-m*, acc. masc. of *a*; this is extended by the addition of the particle *u* to *amu*, which has become the stem in the oblique cases of the sing. (with long *u* in the acc. fem.); in the plur. *amú-* is the fem. and *amí-* the masc. stem (except the acc.). The nom. sing. forms are quite peculiar. In the masc. and fem. the pronominal root *a* seems to be compounded with *sa-* extended by the particle *u*: *a-sá-u* and *a-sá-u*¹¹; while the neut. has the pronominal *-d* extended with the suffix *-as*: *a-d-ás*. Only one dual form has been noted, and several plural case forms are wanting. The forms found in the Samhitās are the following:

m. Sing. N. *asáu*. A. *amám*. I. *amínā* (VS.). D. *amí-smái*. Ab. *amú-smat* (AV. TS.). G. *amú-sya*¹². L. *amú-smín* (AV.). — Pl. N. *amí*¹³. A. *amán* (AV.). D. *amí-bhyas* (AV.). G. *amí-sām*.

f. Sing. N. *asáu*. A. *amám*. I. *amíyá*¹⁴. D. *amí-syai* (VS.). G. *amí-syas* (AV.). — Du. N. *amú* (AV.). — Pl. N. *amús*. A. *amús*.

n. Sing. N. *adsá*. — Pl. N. *amá* (AV.).

395. A defective unaccented pronoun of the third person meaning 'he', 'she', and in the AV. 'it', is *e-na*¹⁵. It occurs almost exclusively in the

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 10.

² From *i* is also formed the acc. *i-m* and the neut. *i-d*, both used as particles.

³ The Pada text always reads *ena* (the unaccented *ena* occurs twice). This and all other oblique cases formed from *a*, when used as nouns may lose their accent; see 85 § 3; cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *idám*. On *ayám* see BRUGMANN, KG. 498, 3.

⁴ This inst. is fairly frequent in the RV.; instead of it *andya* occurs twice (IX. 65¹²-7), being probably a later correction to obviate the hiatus. Otherwise no forms of *ana-* (*anána*, *andya*, *andyas*) occur in the Samhitās. But *anána* (n.) occurs in Kh. III. 16⁷.

⁵ *asmái* and *asya* are accented on the first syllable, the former four or five times, the latter about ten times, when specially emphatic at the beginning of a Pada in the RV.

⁶ The abl. according to the nominal declension, *á*, is used as a conjunction.

⁷ The form *imáya* also occurs once.

⁸ To be read as *áyás*.

⁹ Seems to be wrongly read as *áyás* in the Pada text; cp. LANMAN 344².

¹⁰ *ábhis* occurs ten times in the RV.; it is thrice accented *ábhis* and thrice unaccented; cp. note ⁵.

¹¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6; 498, 4.

¹² This is the only instance of *-ya* being added to any but an *a-* stem.

¹³ This form is Pragrhya (70). On its origin cp. IF. 18, 64, note.

¹⁴ Used adverbially, with shifted accent.

¹⁵ The same *e-* (loc. of *a-*) as in *tá* 'one', *e-d* 'thus'; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6.

acc. (the great majority of occurrences being masc. sing.). Otherwise it is found only twice in the inst. sing. and three or four times in the gen. dual. The forms occurring are: m. Sing. A. *enam*. I. *enena* (AV.). — Du. A. *enau* (AV.). G. *enos* (RV.), *enayos* (AV.). — Pl. A. *enim*.

f. Sing. A. *enim*¹. Du. A. *ene*. Pl. A. *enis*. — n. N. *enad* (AV.; Kh. IV. 6³).

396. Another demonstrative found nearly twenty times in the RV., but otherwise occurring only once in the AV., is the unaccented pronoun *tva*² meaning 'one', 'many a one', generally repeated, in the sense of 'one — another'. The forms occurring are: m. Sing. N. *tvā*. A. *tvam*. I. *tvena*. D. *tvasmai*. Pl. N. *tvā*. — f. Sing. N. *tvā*. D. *tvasyai*. — n. Sing. N. *tvad*.

a. The pronoun *avā*³ 'this' is found two or three times in the RV., and only in the gen. du. form. *avās* in combination with *vām*, meaning 'of you two being such' (used like *sa*, e. g. *sā tvām* 'thou as such').

b. The pronoun *ama*⁴ 'this' occurs only once in the AV.: *amo 'hām asmi* (xiv. 2⁷), 'this am I'.

3. Interrogative Pronoun.

397. The interrogative *ka*, 'who?', 'which?', 'what?' used both as substantive and adjective, is quite regular in its declension, excepting the alternative neuter form *kī-m*⁵, which instead of the pronominal *-d* has the nominal *-m* (never elsewhere attached to a stem in *-i*). The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *kis*. A. *kām*. I. *kēna*. D. *kāsmāi*. Ab. *kāsmāt* (AV.). G. *kāsya*. L. *kāsmīn*. — Du. *kāu*. — Pl. N. *kī*. I. *kībhī*. L. *kīṣu* (VS.).

f. Sing. N. *kā*. A. *kām*. I. *kīvā*. G. *kāsya* (AV. VS.). — Pl. N. *kīs*. A. *kīs*. L. *kīsu*.

n. Sing. N. A. *kā-d*¹ (RV.) and *kī-m*. — Pl. N. A. *kā* and *kāni*.

a. In forming derivatives, which are numerous, the stem of the interrogative employed is not only *ka*, but also *ki*- and *ku*-; e. g. *kā-ū* 'how many?'; *kī-yant* 'how great?'; *kā-ha* 'where?'. The neuter form *kim* is twice used in this way: *kim-yā* 'desiring what?'; *kim-māya* 'consisting of what?'.

b. In the formation of compounds *kad* occurs twice as first member: in *kat-payā* 'greatly swelling', and *kād-arthā* 'having what purpose?'. *kam* is similarly used a few times in the later Sāphtās; thus *kim-sihā* (VS. TS.) 'being in stony ground', *kim-kād* (AV.) 'servant'.

4. Relative Pronoun.

398. The relative pronoun *ya* 'who', 'which', 'what' is perfectly regular in its declension. The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *yās*⁶. — A. *yām*. I. *yēnā*⁷ and *yēna*. D. *yāsmāi*. Ab. *yāsmāt*⁸. G. *yāsya*. L. *yāsmīn*. — Du. N. A. *yā*, *yāu*. D. *yābhyām*. G. *yāyos*. L. *yāyos* and *yās*⁹ (RV.). — Pl. N. *yā*. A. *yān*. I. *yābhī*, *yāis* (AV.; Kh. I. 9²). D. *yābhyas*. G. *yāśām*. L. *yāṣu*.

¹ This form occurs once (VIII. 6¹⁹) at the beginning of a sentence and is then accented as *enām*.

² The unaccented adverb *tvadantim* (MS. IV. 2⁷) 'sometimes', is derived from this pronoun.

³ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VIII. 9⁹ in his translation.

⁴ This pronoun also occurs in the Avesta; cp. BRUGMANN 495, 10.

⁵ From this pronoun are derived the inst. and abl. adverbs (with shifted accent) *amā* 'at home' and *andā* 'from near at hand'.

⁶ The nom. masc. is preserved as a petri-

fied form in *nā-kis* and *mā-kis* 'no one', 'nothing', 'never'.

⁷ The relative frequency of *kād* to *kīm* in the RV. is as 2 to 3.

⁸ *yās* is the commonest declensional form in the RV., occurring more than 1000 times.

⁹ *yānā* is twice as common in the RV. as *yēna*; the Pada text, however, always reads *yēna* (cp. JANMAN 332).

¹⁰ The ablative according to the nominal declension, *yāi*, is used as a conjunction.

¹¹ *yās* for *yāyos*, like *yuvās* for *yāvāyos*; cp. BB. 23, 183; ZDMG. 50, 589.

f. Sing. N. *yā*. A. *yām*. I. *yāyā*. G. *yāsyās*. I. *yāsyām*. — Du. N. *yē* (TS. AV.). G. *yāyos*. L. *yāyos*. — Pl. N. *yās*. A. *yās*. I. *yābhis*. D. *yābhyas*. G. *yāsam*. L. *yāsu*.

n. Sing. N. A. *yād*. — Du. *yē*. — Pl. *yā*, *yāni*.

a. The stem of *yā-* is used in the formation of many derivatives; e. g. *yā-thā* 'as'; it also appears as first member of a compound in *yā-dī-* 'which like'. The neuter form *yād* is once used similarly in the RV.; *yāt-kāma-* 'desiring what'.

b. The relative receives the indefinite meaning of 'whoever' by the addition of *kās ca*, *kās cid*, or *cid* alone; e. g. *yād vo vayām cakrma kās cid āgāḥ* (II. 27¹¹) 'whatever sin we have committed against you'; *yāt kim ca duritām māyī* (I. 23¹²) 'whatever sin (there is) in me'; *yē cid āhi tuam pāyoh pāra ādye juhūrī* (I. 48¹⁴) 'whatever early seers have called on thee for aid'.

5. Indefinite Pronouns.

399. a. In the RV. there are found the two simple indefinite pronouns *sama* (unaccented) 'any', 'every' and *simā-* 'every', 'all'. The six forms of the former which occur are: m. Sing. A. *samam*. D. *samasmai*. Ab. *samasmat*. G. *samasya*. L. *samasmin*. — Pl. N. *sama*. From *simā-* are met with the five forms: Sing. V. *sima*. N. *simās*. D. *simāsmai* (neut.). Ab. *simāsmat*. — Pl. *simā*.

b. Compound indefinite pronouns are formed by combining the particles *ca*, *caud*, or *cid* with the interrogative; thus *kās ca* 'any', 'any one'; *kās cid* 'any one soever', 'every'; *kās cid* 'any', 'some'; 'any one', 'some one'.

6. Reflexive Pronouns.

400. 1. The reflexive adjective is *svā-* 'own', which refers to the first and second as well as the third person of all numbers; e. g. *yid, indragṇi, mādathak svā duron!* (I. 108¹) 'when, O Indra and Agni, ye rejoice in your own abode'.

2. The substantive reflexive is *sva-yām* 'self', which is derived from *svā-* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *y* (as *ay-dm* from *a-*). It is properly used as a nom. referring to all three persons; e. g. *svayām yajasva divi, deva, devām* (X. 7⁶) 'do thou thyself, O god, worship the gods in heaven'. Sometimes, however, the nominative nature of the pronoun is forgotten and *svayām* is used agreeing in sense with another case; e. g. *vatsdm . . svayām gātham . . icchāmānam* (IV. 18¹⁰) 'the calf himself seeking a way'.

3. Other cases than the nom. are regularly expressed in the RV. by *tanū-* 'body'; e. g. *svayām gātham tanū icchāmānam* (IV. 18¹⁰) 'himself seeking a way for himself (*tanū*)'; *yajasva tanvām* (X. 7⁶) 'worship thyself'; *mā hīsmahi prajdyā, mā tanūbhīḥ* (X. 128⁵) 'may we suffer no harm with (regard to our) offspring or ourselves'. The reflexive adjective and a possessive gen. may be added; e. g. *āgne, yajasva tanvām tāva svām* (VI. 11²) 'Agni, worship thine own self'.

4. There are one or two instances in the RV. of the incipient use of *ātman-* 'soul' in a reflexive sense; thus *bīlayā dādāhna ātmāni* (IX. 113¹) 'putting strength into himself'; *yikṣmam sdrasmat ātmānas . . vi vjhami* (X. 163²) 'I expel the disease from (thy) whole self'. The acc. *ātmanam*, though not met with in the RV. as a reflexive, is frequently found so used in the later Sāṃhitās³; also in Kh. III. 10³.

a. In the formation of compounds *sva-* several times appears in the substantive as well as the adjective sense as first member; e. g. *svā-yukta-* 'self-yoked'; *sva-yāvan-* 'own companion'. *svayām* is also thus used in a few compounds; thus *svayam-jū-* 'self-born'; *svayam-bhū-* 'self-existent'.

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Syntaktische Forschungen | ² Cp. DELBRÜCK op. cit. 135, and GRASSMANN, s. v. *svā-* and *tanū-*.

5, 569—570.

³ See DELBRÜCK op. cit. 155.

7. Possessive Pronouns.

401. Possessive pronouns are of rare occurrence because the genitive of the personal pronoun is generally used to express the sense which they convey.

a. The possessives of the first person are *māmaka-* (RV.) 'my', *māmakū-* 'my', (both formed from the genitive of the personal pronoun *māma*)¹, and *asmika-* 'our'. The commonest form of the latter is the N. A. neut. *asmākam*, which is used as the gen. plur. of the personal pronoun². The other forms occurring are *asmikena*, *asmākāśas*, and *asmākebbhis*. The VS. also has the form *āsmāks* (IV. 24) 'our' from a secondary derivative³.

b. The possessives of the second person are *tāvakū-* (RV.) 'thy', (from *tīva*), met with only in the form *tāvakēbbhis*; *tvā-*⁴ (RV.) 'thy', found only in the inst. pl. *tvābbhis* (II. 20²); and *yusmāka-* 'your', the N. A. neut. of which is used as the gen. pl. of the personal pronoun of the second person; it otherwise occurs only in the RV. in the two forms *yusmākena* and *yusmākebbhis*.

c. Besides being used reflexively, *svā-* is fairly often employed as a simple possessive, generally as that of the third person, 'his', 'her', 'their', but also of the second, 'thy', 'your', and of the first, 'my', 'our'. It is, however, inflected like an ordinary adjective, having only two isolated forms according to the pronominal declension⁵. The forms which occur are:

m. sing. N. *svās*. A. *svām*. I. *svēna* and *svēnā*⁶. D. *svāya*. Ab. *svāt*. G. *svāsya*. L. *svē* and *svāsmīn* (RV.). — Pl. N. *svās* (AV.). A. *svān* (AV.). I. *svābbhis* and *svādis*. D. *svābhyas* (Kh. v. 1²). G. *svānām* (AV.; Kh. II. 10⁴). L. *svāsu*.

f. sing. N. *svā*. A. *svām*. I. *svāyā*. D. *svāyai*. Ab. *svāyās*. G. *svāsyās* (RV.). L. *svāyam*. — Pl. N. *svās*. A. *svās*. I. *svābbhis*. L. *svāsu*.

n. sing. N. A. *svām*. — Pl. A. *svā*.

8. Pronominal derivatives and compounds.

402. A certain number of derivatives are formed from the roots or stems of simple pronouns by means of suffixes which modify the pronominal sense. There are also a few pronominal compounds.

a. With the suffix *-ka*, conveying a diminutive or contemptuous meaning, derivatives are formed from the pronouns *tā-*, *yā-*, *sā-*, and *asī-*; thus *ta-kā-* (RV.) 'that little', of which the forms A. sing. m. *takū-m* and n. *takū-d* occur; *ya-kā-* 'who', 'which', the only forms met with being N. m. *yakās*, f. *yakā* (VS. XXIII. 22, 23), and N. pl. m. *yakā* (RV.); *sa-kā-* (RV. AV.) 'that little', of which only N. sing. f. *sakā* occurs; N. sing. f. *asakā* 'that little' (VS. XXIII. 22, 23).

b. With the comparative suffix *-tara* derivatives are formed from *i-*, *kā-*, and *yā-*; and with the superlative suffix *-tama*, from the latter two; thus *i-tara-* 'other'; *ka-tarī-* 'which of two?'; *ya-tarā-* 'who or which of two?'; *ka-tamā-* 'who or which of many?'; *ya-tamā-* 'who or which of many?'

c. With *-ti* derivatives with a numerical sense are formed from *kā-*, *tā-*, and *yā-*; thus *kā-ti* 'how many?', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many?'; *yā-ti* 'as many?'. No inflected forms of these words occur.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 2.

² Op. cit. 524, 4.

³ Formed like *māmakā-* beside *māmaka-*.

⁴ Used as a possessive probably under Indo-Arische Philologie. I. 4.

the influence of *svā-*; cp. BRUGMANN, op. cit. 524, 2.

⁵ That is, *svāyās* and *svāsmīn*.

⁶ The Pada text always reads *svēna*.

d. With *-yant*, expressing the quantitative meaning of 'much', derivatives are formed from *i-* and *ki-*: *i-yant* 'so much' (n. N. sing. *iyat*, pl. *iyanti*; f. D. sing. *iyatyai*); *ki-yant* 'how much?' (sing. N. n. adv. *klyat*, D. m. *klyate*, L. *klyāti* for *klyati*; N. f. *klyati*).

e. With *-vant* are formed derivatives from personal pronouns with the sense of 'like', 'attached to', and from others in the quantitative sense of 'great'; thus *tvī-vant* 'like thee', *mī-vant* 'like me'; *yuvī-vant* (RV.) 'devoted to you two' (only D. *yuvivāte*); *yusmī-vant* (RV.) 'belonging to you' (only L. pl. *yusmīvatsu*); *cī-vant* and *tī-vant* 'so great'; *yā-vant* 'as great'; *ī-vant* 'so great' (sing. N. n. *īvat*, D. m. n. *īvate*, G. *īvatas*; pl. A. m. *īvatas*); *kī-vant* 'how far?' (G. *kīvatas*).

f. With *-dīś-*, *-drīśa-*, *-dīkṣa-* are formed the following pronominal compounds: *ī-dīkṣa-* (VS.) and *ī-dīś-* (VS. 'S.) 'such'; *eti-dīkṣa-* (VS.) and *eti-dīś-* 'such' (N. sing. n. *etādīk*); *kt-dīś-* 'what like?' (N. sing. m. *kudīśi*); *tī-dīś-* 'such' (N. sing. m. *tī-dīk*); *yā-dīś-* 'what like' (sing. m. N. *yādīk*, L. *yādīśmin*).

9. Pronominal Adjectives.

403. Certain adjectives derived from pronominal roots or allied to pronouns in sense conform in varying degrees to the pronominal declension.

1. The adjectives which strictly adhere to the pronominal type of inflexion are *anyī-* 'other', and (as far as can be judged by the few forms occurring and by the usage of the later language) the derivatives formed with *-tara* and *-tama* from *kt-* and *yī-*. The specifically pronominal cases of the latter which have been met with are: sing. N. n. *katarīd* (AV.), *yatarīd*; *katamīd*, *yatamīd* (AV.); D. m. *katamīsmāi* (VS.); G. f. *katamīśyās* (AV.); I. f. *yatamīśyām* (AV.); Pl. N. m. *katamī* (AV.), *yatamī* (AV.). No such form of *tara-* has been found. The forms of *anyī-* which occur are:

m. sing. N. *anyās*, A. *anyām*, I. *anyāna*, D. *anyāsmāi* (AV.), G. *anyāśya*, L. *anyāśmin*. — Pl. N. *anyā*, A. *anyān*, I. *anyābhis* and *anyāis*, D. *anyābhyas* (AV.), G. *anyāśām*, L. *anyāśu*.

f. sing. N. *anyā*, A. *anyām*, I. *anyānā*, D. *anyāsyai*, G. *anyāśyās*, L. *anyāśyām*. — Du. N. *anyā*. — Pl. N. *anyās*, A. *anyās*, I. *anyābhis*, G. *anyāśām*, L. *anyāśu*.

n. sing. N. *anyād*. — Du. I. *anyābhyām* (AV.). — Pl. N. *anyā*.

2. The three adjectives *eka-* 'one', *visva-* 'all', *sarva-* 'whole' are partially pronominal, following this declension except in the nom. acc. sing. neut., which takes the nominal *-m*. Thus sing. G. f. *ekasyās*, L. m. *ekasmin*¹, pl. N. m. *eke*, but sing. N. n. *ekam*; sing. D. *visvasmāi*², Ab. *visvasmāt*², L. *visvasmin*², pl. N. m. *visve*, G. m. *visvesām*, f. *visvāsām*, but sing. N. n. *visvam*; sing. D. m. *sarvasmāi* (AV.), f. *sarvasyai* (AV.; AA. III. 2³), Ab. m. *sarvasmāt*, pl. N. m. *sarve*, G. *sarvesām* (AV.), f. *sarvāsām* (AV.), but sing. N. n. *sarvam*.

3. More than a dozen other adjectives which have pronominal affinities in form or sense occasionally show pronominal case-forms (but never *-d* in the N. A. sing. n.).

a. A few adjectives formed with the comparative and superlative suffixes *-ra* and *-ma* have such endings; thus *āpara-* 'lower' has *āpare* in the N. pl. m. beside *āparāsas*; *ūtara-* 'higher', 'later', forms the L. sing. f. *ūtarasyām*

¹ The AV. once has *ke* as a loc. sing.; ² The RV. has the nominal forms D. see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 56² in his *vitrāya*, Ab. *vitrāṭ*, I. *vitrā*, once each; translation. ³ *vitrāṭ* (a.) also occurs Kh. II. 6¹⁸.

(AV.), N. pl. m. *ūtāre*; Ab. L. sing. *ūtārasmāt* and *ūtārasmin* beside *ūtārit* and *ūtāre*; *īpara-* 'lower' has *īpare* beside *īparās* and *īparāsa* in the N. pl. m.; *avamā-* 'lowest' has L. sing. f. *avamāsyām*; *upamā-* 'highest' has sing. L. f. *upamāsyām*; *paramā-* 'farthest' has sing. f. G. *paramāsyās* and L. *paramāsyām* (+ VS.); *madhyamā-* 'middlemost' has sing. L. f. *madhyamāsyām*.

b. A few other adjectives with a comparative or pronominal sense have occasional pronominal endings. Thus *pāra-* 'ulterior' has sing. D. m. *pārasmai* (AV.), Ab. m. *pārasmāt* (+ AV. VS.), G. f. *pārasyās*, G. pl. m. *pāresām*; L. sing. m. *pārasmin* beside *pāre*; and N. pl. m. *pāre* beside *pārasas*. *pūrva-* 'prior' has sing. m. D. *pūrvasmai*, Ab. *pūrvasmāt*, G. pl. m. *pūrvesām*, f. *pūrvesām*; and the N. pl. m. *pūrve* is very common beside the very rare *pūrvasas*. *nēma-* 'other' has m. L. sing. *nēmasmin*, N. pl. *nēme*, but N. sing. n. *nēmam* and G. pl. m. *nēmānam* (unaccented). *svā-* 'own', otherwise following the nominal declension, has once sing. G. f. *svāsyās* and once L. n. *svāsmīn*. *samānā-* 'similar', 'common', has once Ab. sing. n. *samānīsmāt* beside *samānāt*.

c. A few adjectives which are numerical in form or meaning have occasional pronominal forms; thus *prathamā-* 'first', has G. sing. f. *prathamāsyās* (AV.); *trīya-* 'third' has L. sing. f. *trīyasām* (AV.); *ūbhaya-* 'of both kinds' has m. pl. G. *ūbhayesām*, and N. *ūbhaye* beside *ūbhayasas* and *ūbhayas*; *kṛvā-* 'exclusive' has once N. pl. m. *kṛvāt*.

III. Numerals.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 764—771. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 475—488. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 441—451.

404. The series of the numerals is based on the decimal system of reckoning. The names of the first ten cardinals, which are of an adjectival character, form the foundation of the rest either by compounding or derivation; the ordinals and numerical adverbs being further derived from the corresponding cardinals.

A. Cardinals.

405. The names of the first ten cardinals are: *eka-* 'one'; *dvā-* 'two'; *tri-* 'three'; *catur-* 'four'; *pañca-* 'five'; *ṣaṣ-* 'six'; *sapt-* 'seven'; *aṣṭ-* 'eight'; *nīva-* 'nine'; *dāsa-* 'ten'.

a. The numbers intermediate between 'ten' and 'twenty' are Dvandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to *dāsa* 'ten': *ekā-dāsa*¹ ('one and ten') 'eleven'; *dvā-dāsa*² 'twelve'; *trāya-dāsa*³ (AV. VS. TS.) 'thirteen'; *catur-dāsa*⁴ 'fourteen'; *pañca-dāsa* 'fifteen'; *ṣoḍaśa*⁵ (VS. TS.) 'sixteen'; *sapti-dāsa* (TS.) 'seventeen'; *aṣṭi-dāsa* (TS.) 'eighteen'; *nīva-dāsa* (VS.) 'nineteen'.

b. The remaining cardinals are substantives. The names of the decades from 'twenty' to 'ninety' are either old Dvandva compounds or derivatives formed with the suffix *-ti*. They are *vimśati-* 'twenty'; *triṅśat-* 'thirty';

¹ Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 303.

² The pronominal endings are recognized as alternative in the later language as regards *dvītya-* and *trītya-*; the Bṛhaddevatā (VIII, 95) has *prathamasyām* as well as *dvītyasyām*.

³ *ubhā-* 'both' is declined in the dual only: N. A. m. *ubhā* and *ubhāu*, I. *ubhī*, I. *ubhābhyām* (once in RV.), G. *ubhāyos* (twice in RV.).

⁴ With *tkā-* for *eka-* under the influence of *dvā-dāsa*.

⁵ Here the N. m. du. form *dvā* is retained instead of the stem form *dvā-*.

⁶ In this and other numeral compounds the N. m. plural form remains in every case; e. g. *tān ... trāyas-triṅśatam ā vaha* (I, 45²) 'bring those thirty-three'.

⁷ As first member of a compound *catur-* is regularly accented *catur-*.

⁸ For *ṣaṣ-dāsa*, see above 43, b, 3; 56, b.

catvāriṃśat 'forty'; *pañcaśat* 'fifty'; *ṣaṣṭi-* 'sixty'; *saptaś-* 'seventy'; *aṣṭi-* 'eighty'; *navāś-* 'ninety'. The last four are abstract fem. nouns derived from the simple cardinal (except *aṣṭi-*)¹ and meaning originally 'hexad etc. (of tens)'. The others are fem. compounds, the first member of which is 'two', 'three', 'four', or 'five', and the second a remnant of the IE. word for 'ten'; thus *triṃśat* meant 'three tens'. *vīṃśati-* was probably in origin an old dual of this formation which ended in *-ī* but was transformed by the influence of *ṣaṣṭi-* etc. to a singular fem. in *-ī*².

c. The numbers intermediate between these decades are Dyandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to the decade; thus *aṣṭāvīṃśati-* (VS.) 'twenty-eight'; *eka-triṃśat* (VS.) 'thirty-one'; *trītyas-triṃśat* 'thirty-three'; *nīva-catvāriṃśat* (TS.) 'forty-nine'; *nīva-ṣaṣṭi-* (TS.) 'sixty-nine'; *nīvāśīti-* (TS.) 'eighty-nine'; *pañca-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-five'; *śaṣṭi-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-six'; *aṣṭi-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-eight'.

a. In the TS., the number preceding a decade is also expressed by *ekān na* 'by one not' = 'minus one'; thus *ekān na vīṃśati-* 'twenty less one' = 'nineteen'; *ekān na catvāriṃśat* 'thirty-nine'; *ekān na ṣaṣṭi-* 'fifty-nine'; *ekān na śīti-* 'seventy-nine'; *ekān na śatam* 'a hundred less one', 'ninety-nine'³.

β. Intermediate numbers may also be expressed by adding together unit and decade with or without *ca*; e. g. *nāva ca navatim ca* 'ninety and nine'; *navatim nāva* 'ninety-nine'.

d. The numbers expressing 'a hundred' and its multiples are *śatī-* '100'; *śaśāśra-* '1000'; *a-yūta-* (AV. TS.) '10000'; *ni-yūta-* (TS.; Kh. IV. 12⁸) '100000'; *pra-yūta-* (VS. TS.) '1000000'; *ārbuḍa-* (TS.; Kh. IV. 12⁸) '10000000'; *nyārbuḍa-* (AV. VS. TS.) '100000000'⁴.

a. Intermediate numbers are compounded in the same way with *śatī-* as with the preceding decades; e. g. *eka-śatam* 'a hundred and one'; *citub-śatam* 'a hundred and four'; *triṃśat-chalam* 'a hundred and thirty'.

β. Multiples may be expressed in two ways. Either the larger number is put in the dual or plural multiplied by the smaller one used adjectivally; e. g. *dvī śatī* (VII. 18:2) 'two hundred'; *ṣaṣṭim śaśāśrā* (VI. 26⁶) 'sixty thousand'; *trīni śatā trī śaśāśrāni triṃśat ca nānu ca* (III. 9⁷) 'three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine'. Or the multiplier may be prefixed to the larger number, forming with it a possessive compound accented on the final syllable; e. g. *trītyas-triṃśat trīśatāḥ ṣaśaśāśrāḥ* (AV.) 'six thousand three hundred and thirty-three'. Numbers below a hundred are sometimes used multiplicatively in these two ways; e. g. *navatir nāva* (I. 84¹³) 'nine nineties' = 'eight hundred and ten'; *tri-ṣaṣṭi-*⁵ 'thrice seven'; *tri-ṇavā-* (VS.) 'having thrice nine'.

Inflexion.

406. With regard to their inflexion, which in many respects is peculiar, the cardinals may be divided into three groups.

a. The first group comprises the first four numerals. These are the only cardinals which, like other adjectives, distinguish the genders. They also distinguish the numbers as far as the sense admits; *eka-* 'one', while inflected chiefly in the singular, forms a plural also in the sense of 'some'; *dvī-* 'two' is of course inflected in the dual only; and *tri-* 'three' and *catvī-* 'four' in the plural only.

i. *ēka-* is declined like the second group of pronominal adjectives⁶. The only form of the abl. sing.³ met with follows the nominal declension,

¹ *aṣṭi-* is radically related to *aṣṭā-*, cp. 56, a.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG, 443, 1.

³ In the TS. (B.) are also met with *ekasmān na pañcāśat* and *ekasyai na pañcāśat* (VII. 4. 7³) 'forty-nine': WHITNEY 477, b.

⁴ In TS. VII. 2²⁰ these numerals, followed by *śamudrā-*, *mādhya-*, *ānta-*, *parārdhā-*, occur

in succession: we may infer from the first few that each successive number is equal to ten times the preceding one; cp. WHITNEY 475, c. The contents of TS. VII. 2. 11-20 are almost entirely numerals.

⁵ Inflected according to the *a-* declension: inst. *triṃśatī-*.

⁶ See above 403, 2.