6. VERBS
6.1.1 CONJUGATIONAL CLASSES

6.1.1.1 VERBAL ROOTS AND THEIR TREATMENT

From the viewpoint of contrast following features are worth noticing.

6.1.1.1.1 REDUPLICATION

In the Vedic Sanskrit, a root followed by a tense suffix of a perfect (lit) is optionally reduplicated, e.g. in taksathuh² the root remains unaffected but in tatakauh³ it is reduplicated. Similarly in dadhih⁴ the root is reduplicated but in dhr°⁵ remains unaffected. Hosts of other examples may also be quoted in this regard.

Reduplicated forms of this category occur frequently in the Samhita period and their frequency still rises in the Brähmanas and later. By and by in Classical Sanskrit it becomes a regular feature, e.g. papatha etc. takes regularly

2. Cf. RV. 10.59.4.
3. Ibid. 8.97.10.
4. Ibid. 1.25.3.
5. Ibid. 9.63.1; KaU. 1.563; Jast. 1.57.3.
the reduplicated root. But non-reduplicated forms which were already on the
wane from the Śāhīṭā period could survive down to the Epic
period, e.g., in the Rāmāyaṇa śāsasuh and āśāsasuh are used
in place of the regular forms śāśāsuh and āśāśāsuh.

6.1.1.1.2(2)

In the Vedic language few verbs such as √tan and
√pat retain their reduplicated roots in perfect tense (or
lit: lākāra) as in:

vitatsnire kaśvayah 10, tatnire 11, sākunā iva paptim. 12

Note: (here in these forms vitatsnire, tatnire and paptim
the root vowel is also elided. 13)

But in Classical Sanskrit this reduplication is
altogether dropped and g is substituted for the penultimate

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8. Cf. dipyamāne tatastasya lāṅgulāgre hanaśmasth.
rākṣasyastā virūpākṣayah śāśangdevyaśadopriyam, Rām. 6.5.120
hatā lavanaṃ ghaṃ sātṛudnaṃśaḥ abhiṣecheḥnāt. Rām. 7.55.10.
10. RV. 1.164.5.
11. AV. 14.1.45.
vowel. Hence the Vedic forms *vitatnire* and *patia* turn in Classical Sanskrit as *vitrenire* and *penia* respectively.

In the Vedic language the verbs belonging to *junotyādi* class are diversely reduplicated, thus for example:

- *dāti*\(^{18}\)
- *dadāti*\(^{19}\)
- *dhāti*\(^{19A}\)
- *dadhati*\(^{20}\)

But the reduplicated forms as compared with non-reduplicated ones are more frequent from the earliest stage. That is why, they (the reduplicated forms) become fairly regular in Classical Sanskrit.

6.1.1.2: GUNA-APPLICATION

In the Vedic language certain verbs in second person pl. are gunated, e.g.

- *srnoti*\(^{21}\)
- *sunotā*\(^{27}\)

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14. Cf. Pāṇ.- *ata ekas halādhye* nādesāderāiti-6.4.120
15. Also Cf. Pāṇ.- *līṭastajhayoreśireh*- 5.4.31.
16. ibid.- *parasaipadānām nālatususthalathusānā lvaṃāh*- 5.4.82
17. ibid.- *bahulame ghanendasi*- 2.4.76
18. RV.6.24.2; 7.15.12; AV.3.29.3.
19. RV.1.91.20; 1.133.7.
19A. ibid.- 7.46.11.
20. ibid.- 5.43.4.
20A. Cf. Pāṇ.- *tepatasptā nathanaścāna*- 7.1.45
21. RV.10.175.1; 10.14.13; TS.1.3.13.1; MS.1.3.13.4.5.2.
22. ibid.- 2.30.7; 10.30.3.
But in the later Vedic period we find an increasing use of the ungunated forms such as,

\[ \text{srnuta}^{23} \text{ for } \text{srnota} \]

In Classical Sanskrit the latter (ungunated form) becomes popular, as e.g., t אזธนาคาร, kרוצה, krמיטה and others.

5.1.1.3. VOCABULATION

In the Vedic language, the semi-vowel of the root न्व is optionally vocalized.\(^{24}\) Thus, न्व and न्वयात are both forms available in the Vedic phase.\(^{25}\) But the phenomenon of vocalisation assumes a regular aspect in the Classical.\(^{26}\) Thus, न्व, न्वयात्, न्वयत, न्वयसत्, etc.

5.1.1.4. ELISION OF ROOT-VOWEL

In the Vedic language, from the viewpoint of पञ्चनी\(^{27}\) the root vowel of न्व is elided before the affixes having an indicatory न and न, e.g., न्वसत्\(^{28}\). But in the RV. and

23. Cf. RV. 1.39.2; Td. 2.5.11.9.
25. Cf. पंकी on पं — 6.1.34.
26. Cf. पन्त्व - न्वन साप्रासरापाय— 5.1.32; abhyastaya cam — 6.1.33
27. Cf. जसिरपासरोम् च — 5.4.100
28. Cf. RV. 3.45.3; 9.79.4.
the later Samhitās we have a couple of instances in which the root vowel is preserved, e.g., babhasti, later phase of Sanskrit accepts only the forms with elided root vowel.

6.1.2.1 POSITION OF VERBAL ENDINGS

Sanskrit verbs are classified into two heads

1. Ātmanepada and 2. Parasamaipada.

If the result of the action accrues to the subject himself, the verb is said to be Ātmanepadā. And if the result of the action accrues to a person other than the subject, then the verb is Parasamaipada.

In the earliest stage of development of Sanskrit this distinction of parasamaipada and Ātmanepada was strictly regulated. Hence, in the Vedic language almost every verb was conjugated in both Padas. But this distinction began to lose its colour in the successive stages of Sanskrit language and so the number of ubhayapadi verbs started decreasing with the loss of this sense. This ultimately gives rise to the

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29. Cf. AV.9.2.2; AV.6.49.1; 6.49.2; Kath. S. 35.14; Kath. S. 43.13; PS 19.31.14
30. In this regardMadhviye dētuvrtti- Junotya. 28
31- Homerica Greek and Avesta are also similar with this distinction.
Cf. Taraparewala(Sanskrit Syntax) p.68.
transposition of verbal endings\(^{32}\) (or pada vystyaya) with the passage of time... the freedom of using a verb root sometimes in Atmanepada and sometimes in Parasasipada goes on increasing. Later on, to remove this uncertainty and wavering situation of the verbal endings, Pāṇini tried to fix the endings of each and every verb. Still he rose above his rules and cited as many as 79 Śūtras\(^{33}\) regarding transposition of verbal endings.

Eventually, M.I.A. gets rid of this fixation of verbal endings to different verbs. It adopts only one ending, the Parasasipada and drops altogether the Atmanepada.

### 6.1.3.4 VARIATIONS IN PERSONAL ENDINGS

Following variations regarding the use of personal endings come to our notice.

#### 6.1.3.4.1 MAN—MĀSI

\(\text{ma}—\text{māsi}\) [Vṛddhi sense and para. p.] In the Veda, we have the use of \(-\text{māsi}\) ending for \(-\text{ma}\)\(^{33A}\) (Present tense 1st per. pi.).— māsi is employed five times (total 109 times)\(^{33B}\)

\[\text{suptinupagrahalinganarājanām kālahalachesvarakarvityānām}\]

\[\text{vystyayatmichennatī śūtraśṛddēṣāḥ so'pi one sidānyati}\]

Bānalekena. Cf. māṇābhyesa on Pāṇ. 3.1.35.

\(^{33}\) Cf. Pāṇ. From 1.5.14 to 1.5.93.

\(^{33A}\) Cf. idem. Identi māsi— 7.1.46.

\(^{33B}\) Cf. Avery, p. 269, 446; Vol., Vol. 10.
as often as -as in the RV. e.g.,

\[ yācchiddhi te viśo yathā pra deva varuṇa vrataṃ \]
\[ minimasi dyāvi-dyāvi. \]

But we find lesser uses of -asi with the advancement of the Vedic language. The RV. notes the uses of -masi and -es in the proportion of 3 and 4. Later Vedic language has rare uses of -masi.

By the time of epic language we chance upon some startling cases in which -masi and -mes both are replaced by quite a new ending -'esa', as in

\[ asmād gaṅgānām kīśkīndhām \]
\[ saputra dārān kūkutsthā samā g-aṅghām sātyatnām \]
\[ Rāma-munagaṅghām dharmikām \]
\[ its eva yathā kīpam prati-gaṅghām tām purīm. \]
\[ abhinandāma te sarve - \]
\[ tasya mārgām vaidehīm prattivāsamapi etc. \]

34. RV. 1.25.1. cf. Snitney p. 206, ft. 548
35. cognate endings in European languages are as under
   -'meni' in Wests, -fev in Greek, -'weni', 'meni' in Hittite etc.
   cf. for this Burrow T., p. 308.
37. ibid. 7.97.15.
38. ibid. 2.30.16.
39. ibid. 6.109.7
40. ibid. 7.1.30.
41. ibid. 4.28.22.
Classical Sanskrit has the uses of -mas ending only.

6.1.12: THA-THANA

tha-thana  The alternative ending -thana appears in the Vedic language beside -the. In the 19 uses of bhavadi conjugation, thana ending has been applied for the e.g., sthena, patha, yakthana and yathana, etc. but -tha always occurs more frequently from the earliest period. In the RV. -tha is attested more than 6 times as often as -thana. -thana ending which was already on decline, disappears in Classical Sanskrit.

The Rāṣṭrāṇa exhibits some astonishing examples in which -thā is supplanted by -ta as in,

tam vināya suvitrastah kasa-da dvavata durgata
tva gacchhate bhāyātras tāḥ prakṛtāḥ haraya yathā

42. Cf. Pan.- saptanathasāche- 7.1.45
43. RV. 1.105.5; 5.37.6; 8.30.4, etc.
44. ibid.- 1.166.3
45. ibid.- 7.103.5
46. ibid.- 1.23.11; Also Cf. 5.57.2.
47. Cf. Avery- P. 226.
48. For this cit. 4.
49. Rāma- 4.19.3
50. ibid.- 6.54.19.
Tat—Imperative ending -tat is rare particularly in the Vedic language. The Vedic language (V.B.& S.) profusely registers the application of this ending from some 50 roots represented in a hundred and fifty occurrences.

It occurs nearly twenty times in the RV. alone. In it, its use is almost restricted to 2nd pers. Sing. Of the total 20, nearly 14 occurrences exhibit its use as 2nd pers. Sing. thus, krunat, and uittat etc. It is once registered as 2nd pers. dual, as in:

nāsatāya aubravan devaḥ punar a vahatād iti.

However, in the remaining five occurrences it is used in the sense of 3rd pers. Sing. thus, saochchhatat. In the same sense, it is used in the Ts. as in punar ma visatād rayih; in the Va. and the S. Br. as well.

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51. Cf. Whitney, P. 214, ft. 570 b
52. Cf. Macdonell, p. 318, ft. 413 b
53. Cf. asān ardha krunatāndra gomā—RV. 2.30.5.
54. Cf. agne vittad haviso yad yajam—RV. 5.60.6.
55. RV. 10.24.5.
56. V. 10.154.1 to 5
57.
58. 7.1.6.5.
59. Cf. 8.42.
60. Cf. 4.5.8.9.
It is also used in the sense of 2nd pers. pl. in the TS. as in, devesu naḥ sukṛto brūtā; the MS. 61 the MS. 62, the S. 63, the Alt. Br. as in, gṛṇayā gṛṇasya munā kṛṇatāḥ, uvadhya goha pārthivā khanatāḥ, asmāraṃkāḥ samsājatāḥ, sūrya caḥṣungamasyatāḥ etc., The Tait. Br. 66 the Śr. Su. 69, and the Sāṅkh. Br. Su. 70

As tat pers. Śa., it is once noticed in the AV., as in jāṛtec ad anam. 71

But by the time of Classical Sanskrit it's use as 3rd pers. tends to preponderate, thus:

dhāvān prasādām kūrūtāt (Mābn).

enam dhāvān suhirakṣatāt —(Daś. Ch.) 72

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61. 1.4.45.3.
62. 4.13.4.
63. 16.14.
64. 2.6.15.
65. 2.6.16.
66. 2.6.17.
67. 2.7.
68. 3.6.6.3.
69. 3.5.
70. 5.17.
71. 4.5.7.
72. For these examples cf. Whitney P. 214 ff.
Though Panini, in the Classical language, has recognised its optional use in the sense of benediction, no instance of this sense is quotable save those few repeated examples of Kāśīka as jivatāt bhavan, jivatāt-tvam, etc. Its use is mainly recognised with the imperative implications those which Panini fails to note down.

6.1.3.4.1 dhvam - dhva - dhvāt

Dhvam is regularly used in the Āṭaṃke termination of 2nd pers. pl imperative. But in the śrvedic language dhvam is once replaced by -dvam* as in, yajñadhvainām priyasedhan* and a single example of vṛ-ṛadhvāt is also met with in the Kāth.Ś., the Ait.Śr. and the Śr. Śr. in which the regular ending -dvam is sup. added by -dvāt.

But no such alternative endings are employed in Classical Sanskrit.

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73. Cf. Pāṇ.- tuhyostānaśīśyaṃst-ṛasyām- 7.1.35.
75. Hence to regularise this use, the words -tuhyostānaṃ lotuspi vaktvayam bhāsayām anvadn. yaḥnāmaya-may be added vàrttika wise to Pāṇ.- 7.1.35.
76. Cf. Pāṇ.- savānaṃ vamṣ- 3.4.91.
77. Cf. ibid.- yajñadhvainamiti cna= 7.1.43.
78. RV.9.2.37.
79. 16.21.
80. 2.6.
81. 3.3.
82. Cf. Pāṇ.- ṅavamo dvāt - 7.1.42.
In the Vedic language we have an alternative ending
-re 33 beside -ire 34 3rd pl. in perfect as in, garbhäm prathamam
dadhrāpaḥ 35 jagrhrre 35a, numudre 36, vividre 37 and chikitre 38
are also similar type of examples. But in the RV. apart from
-re, we find some six cases in which -ire is substituted
for the normal -ire. For instance, chikitre 33a, dadrire 39,
jabhrire, 90abhumjrire 91, vividrire 92 and saarjrire 93 etc.
later Vedic has also preserved similar cases such as,

*duduhire*<sup>94</sup>, but these endings are completely absent from
classical Sanskrit. Pāṇini makes no mention of these peculiar
type of Vedic formations.<sup>96</sup>

5.1.3.6.1—AM—MA

Vedic language in a couple of its occurrences takes

*-ma* for the regular personal ending *-ama* of 1st pers. sing., in Aorist<sup>97</sup>, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vādhnēm vr̥tram} & \quad \text{98} \\
\text{for avadnīsaṃ} & \quad \text{99} \\
\text{kramē vṛkṣasya sakham} & \quad \text{100} \\
\text{for akraṃsīsaṃ} & \quad \text{101} \\
\text{tvē indrāpyānūma vipra} & \quad \text{102} \\
\text{for abhūvaṃ} & \quad \text{103}
\end{align*}
\]

But this substitution of *-ma* for *-ama* disappears in the
Epic and Classical Sanskrit.

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94. Sam. br. 3.3.4.

Sub-voce, V. W. C. Vol. 2, P. 499

96. Hence to regularise, these forms, in (as well as a

new Vārttika— rīre ityapi upasamkhyaṃavyaṃ ohhandasi

may be added to Pāṇiṃ— 6.4.76.

97. Cf. Pāṇiṃ— amo māś—7.1.40

98. RV. 1.165.3; also Cf. MS. 11.3; Kāthn. S. 4.18; 23.11.

99. AV.7.73.4; 7.73.5; PS.10.12.12; 13.13.2.

100. PS.5,31.6; also Cf. 19.20.58.3.

101. RV. 10.95.2.

102. ibid.— 2.11.12; also Cf. 19.20.4, 4.2.19.

103. ibid.— 10.159.4; T. 2.6.3.
The Vedic language takes -ta and *ana ending for 2nd pers. pl. in imperative. -Ta ending dominates the language from its earliest stage. According to modern researches, in the RV, it is used more than four times as often as -tana. There *tana embraces 125 occurrences, whereas it is noticed 560 times.  

But it gradually reduces in the successive stages of the Vedic language and loses its currency in the Epic and Classical Sanskrit.

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106. RV. 4.35.7.
107. ibid.- 2.32.7.
108. ibid.- 10.92.9.
109. 1.29.7.
110. 1.64.14.
The Vedic language furnishes a couple of instances in which -tana supplements the regular ending -ta in perfect (1.4.1), aorist (lun) and subjunctive beside imperative. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>अज्ञ्याताने</th>
<th>(perfect)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>श्याने</td>
<td>(subjunctive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अहुनेन</td>
<td>(Aorist), etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No such form is available in the later phase. Panini as referred to above pin-points the existence of imperative forms but fails to note these eccentric features. 114

6.1.3.8.1-एत-रात

In the Vedic language, a stem not ending in a sometimes takes -रात in place of -त ending 115 (both are 3rd pers. pl. endings of अत्मानपदे), e.g. भाररात.

111. RV. 8.7.31.
112. ibid. 1.38.4.
113. ibid. 1.191.3; 10.76.9; AV. 4.37.35, etc.
114. Hence this type of forms may be regularised by adding them, vārttikāvise— लालुलिङ्क्ष्युपि ताने द्रेयस्ये — after Pan. 7.1.25;
115. Cf. Pan. अत्मानपदेत्स्वस्यतात् 7.1.5. and ibid.-भारसम चहंदसि 7.1.3.
116. Occurs only once in the RV. 10.36.9.
But later on, it was dropped with the exceptions of /śi/ and /vid/ which continue to retain it, e.g. -

śara-, śaratā, śara 117 and
saṁvidra-, saṁvidrata and saṁvidra respectively in option to saṁvida-, saṁvidratā and saṁvidra.

6.1.3.9.1 AT — RA

In a couple of Vedic instances -ra ending is applied for the regular -at 119. For instance;

deva adhara 120 and gandharvānārasa adhara 121

In these examples the term adhara is used for the regular term adhata.

But this ending (i.e. -ra) could not get currency in the Classical Sanskrit.

6.1.4.4 VOICES

In the Vedic language we have an immense number of uses of active voice, rather we have sporadic instances of passive voice, e.g.

tvamuchyayate pita. 122
On the other hand abstract voice (bhāva vāchya) attests no occurrence in the former stages of the Vedic language, though in the final stage (i.e. in the Upanishads) its use is reflected in a couple of examples, as

Tasmāt kathamādān viśvam āyate kathāṁ ssthīyate
tathā punāt kathamāsminīyate. 123

Right from the very beginning down to the Epic period, active constructions continue to dominate the language. According to a study, 124 the Rāmāyaṇa furnishes a total of 20,100 verbal forms, out of which 19,734 are related to active voice, 340 are to that of Passive Voice and the remainings three constitute abstract voice.

But as we come down to the Classical literature, we come across an increasing application of passive and abstract forms and so do grade in grade these constructions become dominant over active ones. It is, perhaps, due to foreign influences from Non-Aryan aboriginals. According to Prof. S.K. Chatterji, Tibeto-Burman languages, once dominant all along the north-west border gave this feature to the Indo-Aryan languages. 125 These passive constructions still dominate the vernaculars today.

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123. Śāndilyopanisad 3.3.
125. Quoted by Taraporewala- Sanskrit Syntax- P. 29.
In Sanskrit the use of passive aorist in -\textit{i} (e.g. \textit{akari kata devadattena})\textsuperscript{126} and passive participles (as in. \textit{pūrvebhīḥ rādhārīḍyā})\textsuperscript{127} begins fairly early.

\textbf{6.1.5.4 VARIATIONS REGARDING AUGMENTATION}

The augment is prefixed to the various preteries imperfect (\textit{ias}), aorist (\textit{luni}) and conditionals (\textit{lrñ})\textsuperscript{128}

This augmentation is exercised undisputably on the similar pattern throughout the whole body of Sanskrit language. As regards the application of \textit{at} augment, the Vedic language is liberal enough to apply it to any of the verbs without any distinction of vowel or consonant roots\textsuperscript{131}. Thus

\begin{align*}
\text{āvidhat} & \text{ and avidhyat} \text{ from } \text{vīdh} \\
\text{āyunak} & \text{ and ayunak} \text{ from } \text{vuj} \\
\text{āyunjan} & \text{ and ayunjan} \text{ from } \text{nasi}
\end{align*}

But this liberty is no longer allowed in Classical Sanskrit. There, it is strictly confined, as referred to above.

\textsuperscript{126} Cf. Kāśika on \textit{Pañ.} 3.1.66
\textsuperscript{127} RV. 1.1.2.
\textsuperscript{128} Cf. \textit{Pañ.} - \textit{lumilānārñśvadūdattah} 6.4.71.
\textsuperscript{129} Cf. \textit{ft.} 128
\textsuperscript{130} Cf. \textit{Pañ.} - \textit{adanasīnas} 6.4.72.
\textsuperscript{131} Cf. \textit{Pañ.} - \textit{iṃhātsvapi drṣṭaye} 6.7.73.
\textsuperscript{132} RV. 2.1.79
\textsuperscript{133} RV. 8.32.26; TS. 2.1.2.2; MS. 2.1.5
\textsuperscript{134} Ahd. 1.463.2; VS. 29.13; Ka. S. 31.3.2; TS. 4.6.7.1; Kṛt. S. 40.6.
\textsuperscript{135} RV. 6.44.24.
\textsuperscript{136} TS. 1.7.7.2.
\textsuperscript{137} VS. 9.7; MS. 1.11.1; Kāvy. S. 10.2.4 etc.
\textsuperscript{138} Cf. \textit{ft.} 128.
Another peculiarity of the Vedic language regarding augmentation is that there the augments at and āt are not necessarily and regularly applied as in, ākṣata, āksata, subjata and śihata etc.

According to a survey, in the AV. 3300 forms are augmented, whereas nearly 2000 forms are found augmentless. But in the AV. this proportion of augmented to augmentless forms reaches to 1450 to 475.

In the language of the Brāhmaṇas augmentless forms remain confined to the prohibitive constructions with ma. The same continues to be the case later.

139. The other Indo-European languages such as Greek, Armenian and Phrygian are familiar with the augment. In these languages the augment 'e' answers to those of at and āt in Sanskrit, e.g.

Greek—έτερον
Armenian—eber
Phrygian—έτος 'constructed'


140. RV. 10.73.1.
141. Ibid. 1.53.3.
142. Cf. Whitney, P. 221, ft. 587a
143. Cf. Pān.- na ma mān yoge- 6.4.74
At the earliest phase of Sanskrit, there were no hard and fast rules regarding the conjugation of verbs. Any verb could be conjugated in any class or *gana*. To exemplify this we may witness the different conjugations of *ākṛ* such as:

- in *śāvadīgana* — *karati* 144
- in *śvadīgana* — *kṛnoti* 145
- in *tenādīgana* — *karoti* 146
- in *tudādīgana* — *kriyate* 147 etc.

A good many variations respecting the conjugation of verbs in whole of the Vedic and Epic language is living testimony to this effect.

Delbrück, under a supplementary agenda—"Annang", enlists all such verbs having more than one class endings. First, he renders the list of verbs accepting two class endings—

144. AV.143.6; 2.35.1; AV.19.15.5; MS.4.12.4; PS.3.35.5; Kāthā. S.39.4.
145. Ibid. 1.65.5; VS.12.96; Kāṇv. S.13.6.23; AV.2.36.5.
146. AV.12.1.7; TS.1.5.2.3; MS.1.4.12; 1.9.6; Kāthā. S.6.4; 6.5; PS.16.120.
147. Khila 4.11.3; AV.3.29.3; 3.1.2; TS.1.6.10.3; 2.5.3.5; 3.4.1.4.
148. Altdindische verbus PP.171-175.
149. As he himself maintains—"übersicht über die verba, welche Präsens nach mehr als einer classe bilden." P.171.
Doppelte Präsens Bildung. Then he renders the list of verbs having threefold class endings— Dreifache Präsens bildung. Such verbs, according to him, are— √ya, √grah, √jus, √dē, √dhṛs, √ma, √maṅ, √maṛj, √muz, √yu, √rāḍn, √ru, √vān, √ṛṣṭ, √āś, √sīc, and √str.

In this way these make together 18 verbs. Apart from these, five verbs— √ardn, √kar, √tarp, √pr, and √math are enlisted by him as the verbs having four fold class endings— Vierfache Präsensbildung.

He enumerates three verbs as having five fold class endings— Fünffache Präsensbildung. They and their various class forms are as under:

1. √is— īstati, esti, īsati, īsati, ācchhati
2. √tar— tarati, tirati, tarute, titarit, ātirati
3. √hū (hva)— hūmāne, jhūmāsi, havate, havate, hvatate etc.

Pāṇini also takes note of these variations regarding Vedic Sanskrit.

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150. Ibid.— PP. 171-174
151. Ibid.— on Page 174
152. Ibid.— on P. 175.
153. Ibid.
154. Cf. Pan.— vyatyayo— bahulas— 3.1.85

Also Cf. bahulaṃ cāhandaśi— 2.4.73; 2.4.76.
But this type of liberty is not attested in Classical Sanskrit. In it, the verbs are generally allowed to be conjugated in a particular fixed class.

6.1.7.1 CLASS-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF VERBAL-ROOTS

Pāṇini has enumerated 2048 (including kṣaṇaṛṣṭi class) roots in his Dhētupātha. Of these, nearly 800 roots have been recorded as making forms of conjugation. Of 800, nearly 200 are in vogue in the Vedic language alone, 500 are current in both the phases, and 150 roots are used in the Classical Sanskrit alone. Consequently these Classical innovations are almost absent from the Vedic language.

Now we shall discuss the class-wise position of roots in different phases.

6.1.7.1.1 VERBS OF BHAṆAḌI CLASS OR 1ST CONJUGATION

Bhaṇaḍī class consists of half of the whole body of roots in Sanskrit. Pāṇini enumerates 1007 roots in this class. But according to modern researches, half of the total, that is, about 529 roots are found in both the Vedic as well as the Classical Phase. Of these, 175 roots are prevailing only in the Vedic Stage, 212 are common to both the stages and 142 roots exist in the later (Epics and Classical).

156. Cf. ibid., P. 214-16.
Also cf. Whitney, P. 267; Id., 744.
Pāṇini counts 71 roots in this class. But according to modern researches it has been noticed that nearly 143 roots make their forms in this class. Of these, 80 roots exist in the Vedic alone, 49 are common to both the stages and only 14 are attested only in the later stage.

Panini enumerates only 24 roots in this class. But Whitney registers 49 roots, i.e., twice as detailed by Panini, as making forms of this conjugation. Of these, 33 roots occur only in the Vedic language and 16 are met with throughout the whole life of the Sanskrit Language. No root innovates in Classical Sanskrit.

157. About 300 roots of this class occur in Samhitas. Of which nearly 240 prevail in the RV. and 200 in the AV.

158. Cf. RV. PS., PP. 211-12.
Also Cf. Whitney P. 237, ft. 625.

159. 33 roots are registered in the AV. and 33 are met with in the Rāmāyana; S. Desraj. P. 462.

160. RV. PS., PP. 212-13, Also Cf. Sanskrit Gr. P. 247, ft. 659.

161. The Rāmāyana registers 8 roots making forms in this class.
According to Panini this class consists of 137 roots. But only 13 roots are conjugated for their forms in this class. Out of which, 41 occur only in the Vedic language, 64 roots have forms in common use in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, and 23 are attested only in the later phase. The Ramayana records 52 roots making their forms of this conjugation.

Panini reads only 34 roots in this class. But nearly 50 roots are found accepting this conjugation out of which 24 are attested only in the Vedic language, 22 are shared by both the phases and 4 roots are current only in the Classical stage.

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162. Cf. Whitney P. 273, ft. 761
    Also Cf. RVPS, Pp. 216-19
164. Cf. Whitney P. 258, ft. 709;
    Also Cf. RVPS, P. 215.
165. More than 30 verbs are recorded in the Samhitās.
    Cf. Macdonell, ft. 469, P. 345
    12 roots are furnished by the Ramayana—
6.1.7.6.1 VERBS OF TURBADI CLASS OR 6TH CONJUGATION

Panini assigns 153 roots to this class. But, in actual sense, 142 follow the inflection (conjugation) of this class. Of these, only 72 are exhibited by the earlier phase and almost 53 conjugate their forms in both the earlier and later stages. 17 remain current only in the Classical phase. 166

According to a study, the Ramayana registers 31 roots of this class. 167

6.1.7.7.1 VERBS OF RUDHADI CLASS OR 7TH CONJUGATION

All roots of this class end in consonants. Panini furnishes a list of only 25 roots in this class. Four other verbs are also being discovered, 168 accepting this conjugation. In this way total number of this type of verbs increases to 29, half of which (i.e., about 16) found only in the earlier phase and the remaining half (i.e., 13) are shared by both the phases. No single innovation is attested by the Classical phase. 169

Also Cf. RVPS, P 217-18
167. Sharma Des Raj. P. 462
169. The Ramayana uses 12 verbs in this class.
6.1.7.8: VERBS OF TANADI CLASS OR 6TH CONJUGATION

Panini records ensuing 10 roots in this class:

\[\sqrt{\text{tanu visthre}}, \sqrt{\text{sanu dane}}, \sqrt{\text{ksanu himsayam}}, \sqrt{\text{ksanu cha}},\]
\[\sqrt{\text{rnu gatsu}}, \sqrt{\text{rnu adane}}, \sqrt{\text{dhrnu diptau vans yachane}},\]
\[\sqrt{\text{sanu svadbodhane}} \text{ and } \sqrt{\text{dukrh karane}}.\]

But verbal forms from only six roots save \(\sqrt{\text{ksanu}},\)
\(\sqrt{\text{rnu}}, \sqrt{\text{rnu}}, \text{ and } \sqrt{\text{dnrnu}} \) are traced in the Sanskrit language.

Whitney 170 adds two other verbs \(\sqrt{\text{tr}}\) and \(\sqrt{\text{han}}\) to this series on account of the occurrence of the forms \(\text{tarute}\) 171 and \(\text{hanomi}\) 172 respectively. \(\sqrt{\text{dukrh karane}}, \sqrt{\text{tanu visthre}},\)
\(\sqrt{\text{sanu svadbodhane}} \text{ and } \sqrt{\text{ksanu himsayam}} \) (not occurring in the Saunitas) are used throughout the whole body of the Sanskrit language. \(\sqrt{\text{tr}}\) is restricted to the Saunitas only, whereas \(\sqrt{\text{sanu dane}}, \sqrt{\text{vans yachane}}\) are used throughout the whole body of the Vedic language. \(\sqrt{\text{han}}\) is the invocation of \(\text{Varaskara}\)

Gr. Sū, only. 172a

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   Also Cf. RVPS, P. 214 and Macdonell, P. 347, ft. 470.
171. Cf. RV. 10.76.2.
172. Cf. Pār. Gr. Sū. 1.3.27.
172a. Cf. MN. 172.
6.1.7.9: VERBS OF TRAYA DI CLASS OR 9TH CONJUGATION

According to Panini 60 verbs belong to this class. But 53 verbs, in actual, are attested to be in use. Nearly 31 of these being traced only in the Vedic stage, about 17 are commonly afforded by both and only make their debut in the Epic and Classical Sanskrit.

6.1.7.10: VERBS OF CHURED CLASSES OR 10TH CONJUGATION

Panini enumerate 397 roots in all this class. But European scholars do not recognize it as a proper conjugation class. According to them its roots are partly of causative formation and partly of Denominative nature with altered accent. They discuss all such roots under causative or Denominative verbs. On the other hand, according to Panini, the verbs of Churédi class do not have the causative value, they are employed in their simple connotation (sphragi). Nearly 40 verbs are attested in the Samhitás alone.

175. Cf. Whitney, P. 263, ft. 727; RVPS, P. 214
177. Cf. Pan.- satyapāpasā-rūpasā-vīnā-tūlaśokasena-loṣe-
-tvacha-varṇa-varṇa-chūrṇa-churādiḥ-hosah nīch-3.1.25
(svärtha)\textsuperscript{177a}. Nearly 165 as such verbs (i.e., without causative value) are attested in the AV,\textsuperscript{173} 42 are met within the AV and 83 are traced in the Rāma-yānā.\textsuperscript{180} More than half of the total (i.e., 198) are current in the Classical stage.

6.1.3.1 VARIATIONS IN TENSE-MARKER

The Vedic language exhibits a great deal of variations regarding Tense-marker. This feature of the Vedic language may be illustrated as under—

In the Vedic verse—

\textit{devodevebhirāgamat}\textsuperscript{181} 'O God Agni, come hither with Gods.'

The aspir (\textit{jūn)—āgamat is employed in the force of imperative (lot)

\begin{align*}
\text{and in— ye bhūtasya prachetasa idāṁ tebhya'karaṁ namaḥ.} & \text{182} \\
\text{akaram (asrīst) conveys sense of present (1st)}
\end{align*}

\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---\text---

\textbf{177a.} Undefined suffix is always deemed to be in svartna.

\textbf{173.} \textit{Note}: This calculation is based on the analysis of Whitney's calculations in Sanskrit Gr. P. 378, ft. 1041c, and in RV S, P. 235.


\textbf{181.} RV. 1,1.5.

\textbf{182.} ibid.—10,35,17.
In—agnisadya hotaramavritayam yajamanah.

'To-day this host has chosen Agni as hota!' avrit-imperfect -(lañh) is applied to denote the significance of present (lat) tense.

Similarly:-

utra tvah pasyanna datarasa vachasuta tvah aruvanna
arntyena, na methate na tashatuh sumeke
naktesasa samannas virupe kve 3 danila
suryasa kaschiketa yatsasaachakraa tetsu aritu

'whatever sin we have committed, let him forgive that!'
yatsayam juhoti ratriyai tene dadhura.

183. Ms.4.13.9.
184. RV.10.71.4.
185. ibid.-1.113.3.
186. ibid.-1.35.7.
187. ibid.-1.179.5.
188. M.S.1.3.1.
Here in all these cases perfect tense (lit. lakṣaṇa) has been employed in force of present tense (lat. lakṣaṇa). Epic and purāṇic literature also attests this type of variations, e.g.

कृत्वा तु तन्मान्सप्राज्ञाः साधविषयाः सहोदतारस।
चिन्तयामद्वाः कौन्तेयां क्रियापदिति प्रभुहुः।

189. Regarding the use of perfect (lit.) in the sense of present (lat.) Burrow observes:

The perfect is thus in origin a special kind of present tense, and is not a preterite form, and in such cases it is normally to be translated by the English present. Its development to a preterite takes place in two stages, both of which are represented in the Vedic language. The first stage is the development of a sense which is rendered in translation by the English perfect. Since a state is normally the result of a preceding process, it was natural that the perfect should be used to express the fact that such an action has already taken place. The final step takes place when the preterital sense acquired by the perfect in context like these becomes the predominant sense, with the result that the perfect becomes a tense of narrative with a meaning that does not differ materially from that of imperfect. Cf. Sanskrit language pp. 234-237.

190. The Rāmāyana--1.1.2.
In this verse, prañjñijāyat (Subjunctive or vidttīpī) is used to convey the sense of future ( kart)\footnote{191} we may entertain here another example as

\begin{verbatim}
patnañ dvija vāgrasabhat amīyāt
syat kṣatriyo bhūpatitvamīyāt
vanigjanaḥ punyaśalatvamīyājjanah.
śudro'pi mañavatmīyāt.\footnote{192}
\end{verbatim}

Here īyat (a subjunctive form) is employed simply to denote the significance of benediction (appaññā). Many more as such examples can be quoted.

This type of liberty is not attested in Classical Sanskrit.

\section*{6.1.9.1 TENSE SYSTEM}

Vedic tense - system stands in contrast with the Classical one as regards the following constructions.

\subsection*{6.1.9.1.1 PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS}

\subsubsection*{6.1.9.1.1.1 PERIPHRASTIC PERFECT}

In the Mantra portion of the Vedic language, almost all the roots in perfect system(lit.) are reduplicated. But

\footnote{191} Dr. Satya Vrat also suggests here prayokṣīyate.

Cf. The Nāmas:- A linguistic study, P. 236.

\footnote{192} The Nāmaśyana- 1.1.79.
we chance upon a periphrastic case .iterator appearing for the first time in the \( V \). \( ^{193} \) in which root \( \sqrt{kr} \) has been employed as auxiliary in collaboration with the root \( \sqrt{gam} \). \( ^{194} \)

In the Brāhmaṇa portion of the TS., the MS and the Katha, \( ^{195} \) such periphrastic forms starts appearing, though their stuff remains occasional. \( ^{195} \) In the Brāhmaṇas this type of examples especially from causative stems and rarely from desiderative stems begin to appear more freely, viz.,

\[ \text{edāṇamārakire}, \text{ίkāṇakre}, \text{vidāṇakēra}, \text{193} \]

The Śār., in this connection, attests the greatest number of occurrences. It has these examples from 24 roots. \( ^{199} \)

By the time of āutra literature, the root \( \sqrt{jas} \) also starts appearing as an auxiliary verb, e.g.,

\[ \text{ίkānom} \text{200 and janayāmasya} \text{201}, \text{etc.} \]

\( \sqrt{bhū} \) as an auxiliary verb makes its debut in Epic and paurānic epoch. Mahābhārata furnishes nine examples from this root. \( ^{202} \) In Classical Sanskrit \( \sqrt{bhū}, \sqrt{jas} \) and \( \sqrt{kr} \) come to be used

\[ 193. \, 18.2.27 \]
\[ 194. \, \text{Cf. Macdoule}, \text{p. 365}, \text{ft. 696}. \]
\[ 195. \, \text{Cf. Macdoule}, \text{p. 393}, \text{ft. 1073a} \]
\[ 196. \, \text{Ś. Br.} \, 1.6.1.3. \]
\[ 197. \, \text{ait. Br.} \, 6.1.3; 6.3.30; \, \text{Ś. Br.} \, 1.6.3.7; 2.1.2.14; \, \text{Jām. Br.} \, 45; 130; 13; \]
\[ 198. \, \text{ait. Br.} \, 7.1.1; \, \text{Ś. Br.} \, 1.9.1.4; \, \text{ait. Br.} \, 3.9.1.1.; \, \text{S. Br.} \, 1.5.18. \]
\[ 199. \, \text{Cf. Whitney}, \text{p. 392}, \text{ft. 1073a} \]
\[ 200. \, \text{Ś. Sānkh. Sā.} \, 15.2.1.1. \]
\[ 201. \, \text{Śvet. Up.} \, 3.4. \]
\[ 202. \, \text{Cf. Whitney}, \text{p. 392}, \text{ft. 1070b} \]
as usual auxiliaries, as:

\[ \text{vibhāraṣṭhakāra, vibhārāmāsa and vibhārābabhūva etc.} \]

\[ \text{6.1.9.1.2.1 PERIPHERATIC AUXILIARY.} \]

In the Vedic language, especially in the saṃhitās of the kṛṣṇa yajurveda and brāhmaṇas, periphrastic forms in aorist(luṇ) from causative stems are often represented, thus:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{abhyautsādayāmsakara,} & \quad \text{prajānayāmaksah,} \\
\text{rāmayāmsakah,} & \quad \text{vidāmskren}.
\end{align*} \]

These and like forms are current only in the Brāhmaṇic phase of the Vedic language. The earliest Vedic and later Sanskrit are not familiar with such constructions.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{203. Cf. following Gātrast}- \\
\text{kasapratyayādāmasante liti- Pāṇ. 3.1.35.} \\
\text{kāyastekācha iti vaktvayam chulumpādyartham-Vāṣōn 3.1.35.} \\
\text{iśādeśe gurumātu' nṛṇcahnah- 7.1.36.} \\
\text{dayāyāeṣcha- 3.1.37.} \\
\text{uṣavidiṣāgronyo' nyateraryām- 7.1.38.} \\
\text{bhārībhārvam śravachena- 3.1.39.}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{204. Kān. 1.6.5.} \\
\text{205. Ibid.- 1.6.10; 1.3.5. etc.} \\
\text{206. Kān. Sg 7.7.} \\
\text{207. TS. 3.5.10; M. 1.4.7; Also Cf. for these examples} \\
\text{Pāṇ.- abhyutṣādayāms prajānayām cūkayām rāmayāmsakah} \\
\text{pāvayāms kriyasvāduśāmsaṃkṛtaniti cūhānti 3.1.40}.
\end{align*} \]
The periphrastic future is not at all found in the Samhitās. It makes its first appearance in the dhānas which attest nearly 50 examples to this effect. A few of them are as bhavīta, bhavitāsi, bhavitāsman etc.

Origin of these constructions is traced into following occurrences of the Samhitās, thus

a navagante yajamānān svasti

anvagante yajāpatirvo atra

But Sāyaṇāvata, Mahidhara and Keith ascribe these forms directly to periphrastic future and to nothing else.

This type becomes fairly common in the later language (i.e. Epics and Purāṇas) and to some extent in Classical Sanskrit.

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207a. Cf. Whitney P. 337; ft. 946
208. Ait. Br. 1.27; S. Br. 4.3.1.11; T. Br. 1.6.6.4.
209. S. Br. 1.3.1.3.
210. S. Br. 12.3.3.7.
211. According to Macdonell (P. 387) these are the incipient examples of periphrastic future.
212. AV. 6.123.1.
213. VS. 18.59; TS. 16.7.1.


The Vedic language develops certain forms which cannot be incorporated into any of the ten allowed classes. They may better be termed as independent Vedic innovations. Number of such forms is amounted to be sixty.\textsuperscript{215} A few of them may be illustrated as:

\begin{align*}
\text{jagrabhata}^2 \quad \text{tastambhata}^2 \quad \text{ajagen}^2 \\
\text{apaspredthama}^2 \quad \text{spechirn}^2 \quad \text{ahobhayun}^2 \quad \text{etc.}
\end{align*}

These and like forms are restricted to the Vedic phase only and no longer remain in practice in the later stage.

**Note:** Western Scholars\textsuperscript{222} owing to the analogy of Greek forms, though differing in sense, place these under the name Pluperfect.

\begin{itemize}
\item 215. Macdonell P.P. 587-38.
\item 216. VS. 52.2.
\item 217. RV. 1.121.3.
\item 218. Ibid.- 1.130.9; 1.187.7; Kāth. S. 40.8; Kau. S. 1.53; PS. 6.16.7
\item 219. Ibid.- 6.69.8.
\item 220. AV. 5.13.11; PS. 9.18.6.
\end{itemize}

Also Cf. \textit{Vārttika}— \textit{onhandasyamipacnoraspyalitī etvām vakkavyam} —on Pān.- 6.4.120.

\begin{itemize}
\item 221. Khilas—1.7.5.
\item 222. Cf. Avery, P. 238-53, \textit{JASO}, Vol. 10
\item 223. Cf. Macdonell P. 364, ft. 494-95.
\end{itemize}
Aorist is very common in the Vedic Sanskrit, being made from about 450 roots. In the RV, it is represented by half of the roots occurring in it. In the AV, it becomes less frequent, being made from less than one third of the roots occurring there. The number constantly decreases in the Brāhmaṇas and Śūtras. In this way this variety of verbal forms, which shows already a diminishing trend through the successive stages of Vedic language, loses its colour and goes out of vogue totally in Epics and Classical Sanskrit.

Conditional is the rarest of all forms of the Sanskrit verb. According to Whitney, the RV has but a single example—aharisyet and none of the Saṃhitās furnishes another. In the ŚBr., there are more than fifty occurrences, though it is hardly treated in the other Brāhmaṇas. It is also of

224. Cf. Paṇ., apasphatamārṣṣurāṃrauṣānṣhācyuteśī-

225. Cf. Macdonell, p. 365, it. 497

226. Cf. Whitney, p. 299, it. 827a

227. SanskritGr. p. 335, it. 941.

228. RV.2.30.2.
infrequent occurrence in the later period. In the Mahābhārata, it occurs about 25 times, from thirteen roots. The Abhijnāna Śākuntala registers two examples and the Manusmṛti only one.

6.1.9.5. I IMPERATIVES

In the Vedic language imperatives are made from three stems, viz. Present, Aorist and Perfect. Examples of aorist imperative are—

\[ \text{patu}^{229}, \text{pahi}^{230}, \text{bhṛtam}^{231}(\text{2nd pers. du.}), \text{gantam}^{232}, \]
\[ \text{ghastām}^{233}(\text{3rd.p. du.}), \text{pata}, \text{dāntu}^{235}(\text{3rd. p. pl.}), \]
\[ \text{saksya}, \text{disya}^{237}(\text{2nd p. Sg.}) \]

Examples of perfect imperative—

\[ \text{chikiddhi}^{238}(\text{from } \sqrt{\text{kīt}} \text{) 2nd Sg.}; \text{mumudhl}^{239}(\text{from } \sqrt{\text{mucn}}), \text{daśrām}^{240}(\text{2nd pl.}); \text{vavṛddhav}^{249}(\text{2nd p.pl.}) \]

229. RV. 1.18.9; AV. 2.4.3.
230. ibid. 1.36.15; VS. 2.6; AV. 2.35.4.
231. VS. 11.30.
232. ibid. 9.19.
233. ibid. 21.43.
234. RV. 4.55.5; 8.31.2.
235. AV. 12.2.3.
236. AV. 1.42.1.
237. VS. 31.3.
238. RV. 2.43.3; 4.4.11; 4.12.2; TS. 1.2.14.4; MS. 4.11.1.
239. ibid. 6.111.1; MS. 4.14.17; PS. 2.30.5.
240. AV. 12.2.33.
and of present imperative— bhavatu, bhavatāṁ, bhavantu, etc.

All of these imperatives frequently occur in the Vedic language. But later on perfect and aorist imperatives lost their currency and only present imperative could survive.

6.1.9.6: SUBJUNCTIVE FORMATIONS (VA LRĀŞĀ)

Subjunctive is a peculiar feature of the Vedic language which, according to Panini, is employed either in the sense of ṭīṅ or optative, or to denote a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement) or apprehension (āśvākā), e.g.,

neḥ jinasvayante naraṁ pātāṁ, here apprehension is implied.

varam vṛnai maddevatyaneye vah patṛnuyuhyānte iti,

vīryam vṛnā śaṁeva paśūnāṁ śaṁśai. Here reciprocal agreement is implied.

Some of the modern scholars like Macdonell do not agree with Panini that subjunctive is employed in the force of optative (ṁīṅ). According to him, the fundamental sense of the

243. Cf. upśāvādāḥ sākasayoshaḥ—3.4.7.
244. Kniles—10.106.1.
245. Also Cf. Nīr. 1.11.
subjunctive is ies, while that of the optative is either
with a possibility. Whatever the use may be, it cannot
altogether be contrasted with the optative. 247

This variety is very frequent in the Sāhitas. In the
RV, it is three or four times as common as optative and nearly
the same in the AV, but becomes comparatively rare in the
Bṛhadāraṇyaka. 248 By the time of classical Sanskrit, it becomes
completely obsolete leaving its fragments only in the so-called
first person imperative, and in the use of imperfect and
aorist persons without augment after ma prohibitive. 249

6.2.1 DERIVATIVE CLASSES

6.2.1.1 MECHANISM OF CAUSATIVE VERB FORMATION

The causative formation is widely distributed than either
the desiderative or the intensive formation. In the Vedic
language, it is made from more than 300 roots, 250 in the
Sāhitas, from nearly 200 roots 251 and the RV alone records
some 150 causative stems. 252

247. 211, 211, ft. 553.
249. Ibid.
251. Cf. Macdonell, P. 393, ft. 552.
252. Vide Supra ft. 250.
100 causative stems appear only in the Vedic, 231 are shared by both the Vedic and Classical and 190 occur only in the language of the Epics and Classical Sanskrit, out of which 20 are attested only in Epics, 86 are shared by Classical Sanskrit alone and remaining 84 are common to both. 253

This form is formed on a somewhat similar pattern through the whole life of Sanskrit language except these examples of the Epics which take अपुक augment, as in.

नर्मदासा रूद्धवा क्रिदापयति योरित। 234
tर्जापयति मां नियमं भर्तापयति चासकृत। 255

 brahmanasya tu चर्मेना tvā जीवपिता अतुह। 256

Though this type of forms find their genesis very early, 256a they are of sporadic occurrence, e.g.

253. Note:- this calculation is based on РР, П. 235-38
254. The Р. 7.32.13.
255. Ibid.- 6.34.9.
256. Ibid.- 7.76.27.
256a. Stems in अ and the verb अर्थतित always already take the augment of अपुक from the earliest period down to the Classical one. Cf. पं- अर्थतितिलिति कुमयिकम् ययसंपुन्ना- 7.3.36

But other Vedic examples of this type are not available.
they are of sporadic occurrence, e.g.,

\[ \text{jaśpayata} \quad 257 \quad \text{from } \sqrt{\text{d}i} \]

\[ \text{ัสraṇaya} \quad 258 \quad \text{from } \sqrt{\text{tt}i} \]

After Vedic period, such forms become popular, that

is why, Anatójihisita quoting Śākatāyana, an early
grammarian, who accepts such forms—Śākatāyanasya kathādīnaṃ
sarveśaṃ puṣṇa śa, tamṣate kathābhyati, gaṇapayatītyaḥ. 260

Classical Sanskrit also records a couple of examples
accepting ṣapuk, such as,

\[ \text{artha}ṃpayati, \text{veda}ṃpayati \text{and } \text{astiya}ṃpayati. \]

By the time of Pāṇini, satyaṃpayati only came into vogue, as
it is obvious from Pāṇini's Sūtra—

\[ \text{satyaṃ} \quad \text{pē} \quad 3.1.25. \quad \text{But Vārttikāra adds} \]

further two arthaṃpayati and vedaṃpayati vide the Vārttika wise—

\[ \text{artha}ṃvedasatyaṃaṃapayatēvyaṃ, \text{on Pāṇi}.- \quad 3.1.25. \]

This shows

that these two forms came into being after Pāṇini. These days
I have chanced upon a form—vedahāpayati, which is frequently
employed in various Sanskrit Magazines. It seems quite a latest
innovation as no sūtra bearing its mention is available to me
in the native grammars.

This tendency is very common in Pāli and Prākṛta. 261

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257. VS.9.19. Also Cf. Pāṇi.—kriṇiṇāṃ pāṇu. 6.1.49
258. ibid.- 23.26.
259. Note:— According to Whitney (\text{vṛc. V.P.S.} P.236) aspayati(P.5),
and krālaṃpayati(P.28) these two forms, with pē, are
registered in the Sūtra lit. But I could find none of these
therein.
260. Siddhānta kauvādī— ed. chandraśekhara Satrīgal, 1911, P.308
261. Cf. RVPS, P.238, Also Cf. The Rāma, A linguistic studyP.226
Even as early as the inscriptions of Asoka we meet with forms like roṣayati,  ḫanṣayati etc. which point to a growing tendency in Pāli to opt for such forms.

May be, the influx of such forms (i.e. with ṣuk) in the later Sanskrit is effected due to the influence of Pāli and Prākrit.

6.2.2.1 MECHANISM OF DESIDERATIVE VERB FORMATION.

In the Sanskrit language, 162 roots are found making this formation. Out of which only 40 roots, following the general rule, gets it augment and remainings 122 are seen without its. Out of the set roots, 12 are attested only in the Vedic language, five are shared by both and 23 are the Epic and Classical innovations. On the other hand, of the 122 unit roots, 48 are attested in the Vedic only, 44 are common to both and nearly 30 are found in the Epics and Classical Sanskrit only.

In this way from the forgoing we can infer that unit

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262. Cf. Pān.- ardndndhātukasasyadvalādeh—7.2.35.

263. This calculation is based on the information supplied by Whitney, HVPS, PP. 233–34.
stems always dominate the language right from its beginning to the Classical Phase, and the set stems as compared with those of anit remain less prevalent throughout the whole body of the Sanskrit language.

6.2.3.1 MECHANISM OF INTENSIVE FORMATION

Intensive formation is comparatively less extended in the Sanskrit language. It signified the repetition or intensification of the action expressed by a root. It is generally formed two ways:

1. One by adding van suffix (or ya) to the root, in this case it follows the ātsane termination. e.g.
   Papātyate, marmajyate, dedīpyate etc.

2. Another without van (or ya) it is generally inflected in paraśma-termination. Thus bobhavīti, johavīti etc.

In the Sanskrit language, there are total 167 roots making this formation. It is of common occurrence in the Vedic

264. According to Ram Gopal (Vol. 2, P. 645, art. 293) the RV. attests none of the desiderative stems taking it augment. But his claim is altogether misleading, as I have just met with a present participle form which takes the it augment, viz., "titirsanam"— RV. 2.31.2.

265. Cf. Pañ.- भएि: तोषोऽनाचयो हलादेह kriyāsambhīnah yah-3.1.22

267. Cf. ibid.- सुदतात्तितः घनसंपदः—1.3.92.
language, being attested from 126 roots.

In the Classical language, though it is allowed by grammarians to be made from every root, it is of infrequent occurrence, being made from about 62 roots, 8 of which occur only in the Epic literature. 263

The former type of this formation (i.e. ṣe form) is less prevalent in the Vedic language in relation to the latter (i.e. ṣeḥ form). The AV. records about 90 roots forming this formation. 269 Of these ṣe form are made only from 8 roots, 270 consequently, on the other hand, ṣeḥ forms remain to be attested from about 32 roots. The AV., which consists of nearly 45 intensive roots, 271 makes the ṣe form from 9 roots and it is made from some 20 roots in the Brahmanic literature. 272

Thus, with the advancement of language, we find the diminishing use of ṣeḥ forms and at the same time increasing use of ṣe form which later get more currency of the usage than the former.

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268. Note: this calculation is based on RVPS, PP. 232-33
269. Cf. Whitney P. 363, ft. 1017a. According to him \( \frac{6}{7} \times 10^5 \approx 90 
26. Cf. Whitney P. 363, ft. 1001a. According to his calculations sevenths of the whole number (i.e. \( \frac{6}{7} \times 10^5 \)) = 90
270. Also cf. Haedonell P. 390, ft. 545.
271. Cf. Whitney P. 369, ft. 1017a
272. Cf. ibid., P. 369, ft. 1017a.
Denominative verbs are always formed from a nominal stem. They are often termed as Nāsadhatu or Subduatu by native grammarians. They are frequently employed in the Vedic language. Over a hundred denominative stems are current in the AV,\textsuperscript{273} itself. But they become less and less frequent in the successive stages of the Vedic language. The AV has only half the number of it as compared with the AV. The T. Br. has less than twenty; the S. Br., hardly more than a dozen.\textsuperscript{274} They become sporadic during the period of the Sūtra literature. In the later stage also they are not so widely represented.\textsuperscript{275} All denominatives\textsuperscript{276} formed with various suffixes such as

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{273} Cf. Whitney, P. 388, ft. 1057a, also Cp. Macdonell, P. 398, ft. 562.
  \item \textsuperscript{274} Cf. Whitney, 361.
  \item \textsuperscript{275} Cf. Baladeva Singh, P. 54; Whitney, P. 388, ft. 1057a.
  \item \textsuperscript{276} They are also represented in the cognate European languages such as in Greek are found denominatives like: \textsuperscript{\textit{tektrw}} 'determine', \textsuperscript{\textit{ekprw}} 'hate', \textsuperscript{\textit{eido}} 'proclaim' etc; in Latin: 'custodi\textbf{\text{c}}', '\textit{finio}'; in Gothic: 'glitmunjan', 'glo\textbf{\text{t}}\textit{ter}', 'lau\textbf{\text{h}}\textit{etjan}', 'shin\textbf{\text{e}}'; in Hittite: 'irm\textbf{\text{a}}\textit{liya}' - 'to be ill' (from ir m\textbf{\text{a}}\textit{sa} 'ill'); 'k\textbf{\text{s}}\textit{aniya}' - 'hire (from k\textbf{\text{u}}\textit{\text{n}}\textbf{\text{s}}\textit{an} 'pay'); 'l\textbf{\text{a}}\textit{niya}' - 'to name' (from 'l\textbf{\text{a}}\textit{man}''name'). Cf. Burrow T. P. 361.
\end{itemize}
kyan, 277 kyan 278, yak 279 and nich 280 are almost prevalent in both the phases. Only those formed with nich 231, such as utpuconehya, sambandaye, sauchiveraye etc. and kamyach 282 such as putrakamyat etc. are later developments. In addition to these, denominative verbs with kyan, 277 current in both the phases, show a contraction of meaning in the later stage. In both the stages these are used generally in the sense of treatment 283 such as aprativati 'treats like see.' putrivati onhatrem, 'treats the student like son,' etc. and also in the sense of performing or doing 234 such as, namasvat etc. But what is worth noticed here is that in the Vedic language this verb is applied to signify the wish, both

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277. Cf. Pan.- kartu kyan salopaścata=3.1.11; Ujaśovarasa

279. ibid.- lehitādījaḥjoh kyap.=3.1.13.

280. ibid.- kanyādiyōye y-ac=3.1.27

282. ibid.- kamyachc=3.1.9.

283. ibid.- upamānādachāre=3.1.10

294. ibid.- namovarivasnitrah kyac=3.1.19
the wish of wisher's self\textsuperscript{285} and the wish with regard to another,\textsuperscript{286} e.g., putriyati—wish a child for himself, \textit{aghāyati}—wish the wrong of others, etc. But in the Classical Stage this stops to be used in the sense of 'wish with regard to another' and confines its use to the meaning of \textit{ātmaneçchha}.\textsuperscript{287}

\textbf{6.3.1 VERBAL DERIVATIVES}

\textbf{6.3.1.1 PRIMARY VERBAL DERIVATIVES}

\textbf{6.3.1.1.1 GERUNDS}

In Sanskrit, we find a growing use of gerund from the earliest period of it. It incurs 147 times in the Vedic \textit{Saṁhitās} and its frequency rises in the \textit{Brāhmaṇas}, as there it is attested 321 times and goes still higher in classical Sanskrit, occurring 493 times.\textsuperscript{283}

\textsuperscript{285} Cf. \textit{Pān.-} sup \textit{ātmanah kyaça}—3.1.8.

\textsuperscript{286} Cf. \textit{Vār. onhandasi prechchhāyamitī vaktavyam}

\textsuperscript{287} Cf. \textit{fn. 285}.

\textsuperscript{288} For this information, \textit{Cf. Avery, P. 231; JAOS, Vol. 10}. 

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\textsuperscript{283} Cf. \textit{Psah. sup atnanah gyacn—3.1.3}.
Gerunds are found to be formed with various endings or suffixes such as \(-tvI, -tya, -tvaya, \) and \(-tvinaa\), when uncompounded and with \(-ya\) or \(-tya\) when compounded. Of these, \(-tvI, -tvaya\) and \(-tvinaa\) are basically restricted to the Samhitās only and the remainings \(tvI, ya\) or \(tya\) are increasingly used down to the latest period. Now we shall present a brief account of their treatment and distribution in the various stages of linguistic development.

6.3.1.4.1: \(-tvI\)

\(-tvI^{289}\) is commonest of all in the RV., being attested 35 times from 15 roots\(^{290}\) against the highest 20 occurrences of tvs.\(^{291}\).

289. Panini confirms the existence of this suffix by illustrating the examples of \(apati\), etc. vide Sutra—\(apatvyadaya\)-\(scha\)—7.1.49.

290. Cf. following lists—

\(krtvi\) RV. 1.161.3; 10.15.12; 10.17.2; 10.109.7; 10.159.4; 10.174.4; \(rati\) 4.41.5; 10.101.9; \(adhi\) 7.80.2;

\(jat\) 1.118.5; 8.51.4; 9.97.16; \(piti\) 3.40.7; 8.65.10; 10.55.9; 10.113.1; \(put\) 8.90.7; \(bh\) 7.104.18;

10.85.29; 10.145.5; \(vr\) 1.52.5; \(vrt\) (from \(\sqrt{\text{vr}}\)) 10.87.2; \(v\) 5.55.14; \(v\) 3.50.3; 10.94.2; \(nat\)

2.17.6; 2.20.8; 2.30.1; 3.34.9; \(hit\) (from \(\sqrt{\text{ha}}\)) 2.33.6;

10.99.3; 10.153.1; \(jan\) 1.65.7; \(sk\) 6.10.7;

Also Cf. Delbrück P. 228, ft. 221. "Absolutiva auf \(-tvI,\) der Bedeutung \(nach\) gleich \(tvI,\)"

291. Vide supra ft. 6.3.1.1.2.
But the forms with it hardly ever occur elsewhere in the Vedic language and become totally extinct later.  

Example of this ending occurring outside the RV is \textit{vahī} \textsuperscript{294} 'having dug', etc.

\textit{tvā} \textsuperscript{295} occurs 20 times from 9 roots in the RV, \textsuperscript{296} 39 times in the RV. \textsuperscript{297} Its use still rises along with the advancement of the language and become fairly common in the Epic and Classical Stages. A few of its examples occurring elsewhere in the Vedic language can be illustrated as

\begin{align*}
\textit{tvā}^{299}, \textit{janayitvā}^{300}, \textit{viditvā}^{301}, \textit{suptvā}^{302}, \textit{drstvā}^{303}\text{ etc.}
\end{align*}

292. According to Suren, T. (P.371) \textit{tvā} continues to occur in certain dialects of North¬west and west.


296. For examples—

\begin{align*}
\textit{pitvā} 1.4.3; 8.53.7; 9.31.6; 9.23.7; 9.108.2; 10.44.3; 10.96.9; \textit{bhūtvā} 10.69.7; \textit{bhūtvā} 10.162.5; \textit{mitvā} 10.5.3; \textit{yuktvā} 1.161.7; 1.177.3; 5.40.4; \textit{qr̥tvā} (from āvār) 10.90.1; \textit{gr̥tvā} 6.50.5; \textit{hatvā} 1.106.18; 1.103.2; 2.12.3; \textit{hītvā} 5.55.14; 10.165.5.
\end{align*}

Also Cf. Delbrück, P. 228, ft. 219—'Absolute auf \textit{tvā}.'


299. VS.32.12.

300. Khaṇḍas 1.4.3.

301. VS.3.18.

302. \textit{tamātisuptvā praśan prabudhyante}—T. 5.2.2.6.

303. \textit{tam hinaḥdratvā bhīrvād}—S.3r. 11.6.1.7.
tve, as referred to above (6.3.11), is always applied with an uncompounded root. But in the Vedic language we have a couple of examples in which it has been used even with the compounded roots, e.g.

paridhāpayitva\textsuperscript{305}, pratyarpayitva\textsuperscript{306}, samārayitva\textsuperscript{307} etc.

This tendency comes down to the Epic stage also, where we can easily meet with similar formations, thus:

atikārayitva\textsuperscript{308}, bhāsamākrtva\textsuperscript{309}, nāmasākrtva\textsuperscript{310}

pesikrtva\textsuperscript{311}, udkāmākrtva\textsuperscript{312}, āyāmākrtva\textsuperscript{313}

samarchayitva\textsuperscript{314}, vichārayitva\textsuperscript{315}, prajvalayitva\textsuperscript{316} etc.

By the time of Classical period, it was strictly confined to the uncompounded roots.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{304} Cf. Pan. I kṛt- anandasi—7.1.38
\item \textsuperscript{305} Cf. Kāth. 3. 11.10.
\item \textsuperscript{306} Cf. AV. 12.2.5; PS.17.35.4.
\item \textsuperscript{307} Cf. MS.2.3.5.
\item \textsuperscript{308} Cf. The Ramayana. 6.31.52.
\item \textsuperscript{309} Ibid.- 7.59.21.
\item \textsuperscript{310} Ibid.- 5.115.6; 5.115.60; 5.15.32.
\item \textsuperscript{311} Ibid.- 3.64.33.
\item \textsuperscript{312} Ibid.- 2.58.25; 2.70.33.
\item \textsuperscript{313} Ibid.- 4.29.24.
\item \textsuperscript{314} Ibid.- samarchayitva se niśchare jagay—7.31.40
\item \textsuperscript{315} Ibid.- sośvān vichārayitvā tu ratna yuktān—7.45.19.
\item \textsuperscript{316} Ibid.- tataḥ prajvalayitvāgniā tavuhatu harirākṣasām—7.34.60.
\end{itemize}

Notes—prajvalya is also available in 7.12.20.
It is taken by seven stems incurring 9 times in the RV, by two stems \(\sqrt{gas}\) and \(\sqrt{han}\) occurring four times in the AV, and elsewhere is taken by six roots. But it stops to incur in Epic and Classical Sanskrit.

In the RV, all of its uses are restricted to the 10th Mandala except one that of \(gatvāya\) which alone is attested in the 8th mandala. A few other examples from other Śāṃhitās may be illustrated as, \(krtvāya\), \(tatvāya\) and \(vṛtvāya\), etc.

317. Cf. Pāṇ.- \(ktyo yek\) — 7.1.47
318. For instance:—
\(dattvāya\) 10.85.3; \(drstvāya\) 10.34.11; \(jagdnvāya\)
(from \(\sqrt{jaks}\)) 10.146.5; \(bhaktvāya\) 10.109.7; \(yuktvāya\)
10.93.14; \(hātvāya\), 10.34.2; 10.157.4; \(hitvāya\) 10.14.8.
Also Cf. Delbrück, p. 228, ft. 220 'Absolutive auf tvā- der Bedeutung nach gleich- tvā'
319. For example, \(gatvāya\)(from \(\sqrt{gas}\)) occurs once— 20.128.5
\(hatvāya\)(from \(\sqrt{han}\)) occurs thrice— 4.31.2; 20.63.2; 20.124.5.
320. Cf. Whitney P. 358 ft. 99%
321. Cf. divām suparna \(gatvāya\) somaḥ vajrīna śharat—
322. Cf. VS. 11.59; T.4.1.5.4.
323. VS. 11.1.
324. VS. 11.19; T.4.1.2.3.
6.3.1.1.4: -TVĪNAH

-Tvīnaḥ—Tvīnaḥ is also mentioned by native grammarians taken by Īstvīnaḥ 325 and Pītvīnaḥ 326 in the Vedic language. But they are found nowhere in actual use. May be, they are taken from some lost recensions of the Veda.

6.3.1.1.5: -YA OR -TYA

-ya or -tya (Paṇ.—λvα) — Gerunds with these suffixes are also increasingly used down to the latest period. 326A They are always found from the compounded roots. 327 -tya is substituted for -ya, when

1. a root ends in short vowel, e.g. unosūtya 328 prestūtya 310 atyahrtya 331 ā-bhrtya (RV. 10.71.3),

adṛtya (RV. 1.103.6).

326A. Note: Gerunds in -ya occur 67 times from 38 roots in 4 the RV, and Gerunds in the alternative suffix -tya occur 13 times from 5 roots.
328. ibid.—hrvayasya piti kṛti tuk—6.1.71.
330. ibid.-
331. kilas 4.5.29.
2. a stem in an or an whose final g or g is lost also takes -tya (or ya with the augment of 'k'), such as aṅatyā, vibhātyā, udvātya, etc.

Note: in Classical Sanskrit this elision of final nasal takes place optionally, but only when the root ends in an. Hence a stem always forms gerund with both the suffixes, i.e., with -ya and -yā, thus:

āṅgusya and aṅatyā

pranayā and pranatyā, etc.

But in the Vedic language, this elision of the final g is invariable, hence, the stem in an always takes -tya in it. e.g., aṅatyā and āṅgasya.

As it is already referred to above, that the suffixes -tya and -ya (Pan. kya) are always supplied with the compounded stems, but the Vedic language is not very much

332. Cf. Pan. yā lyapa—6.4.38
333. Cf. RV. 3.35.8; 3.42.7; VS. 11.18; AV. 20.24.7.
334. Cf. RV. 5.4.5; MS. 4.11.1; AV. 7.77.9; Kāth. 5.2.15.
335. Cf. TS. 5.1.10.4; 6.2.7.4; AV. 8.3.12; PS. 16.30.2; Kāth. 5.10.11.
336. Cf. fn. 332.
337. Cf. kāśikā (on Pan. 6.4.38)—"vyavasthita vibhrās cheya,
tena makārantāṃ vikalpo bhavati, anyatra nityam eva
lepaḥ prastyā, prasya, pratstyā, pratstya, prasasya etc."

337A. Cf. RV. 3.35.8; 3.42.7; VS. 11.18; AV. 20.24.7, etc.
strict in this regard. In it, we can chance upon some cases in
which these suffixes are used even with the uncompounded stems.

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

\[ \text{prthva}^{338} \text{(from ārthu), āthapya}^{339} \text{, etc.} \]

This tendency is also prevalent or current in the
language of Epics. Examples are:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{gāvya}^{340} & \quad \text{for gatvā} \\
\text{āpya}^{341} & \quad \text{for āpya} \\
\text{grhya}^{342} & \quad \text{for grahitvā}^{342}
\end{align*} \]

But this type of liberty is not attested in Classical
Sanskrit.

\section*{6.3.1.2. INFINITIVES}

We find the diminishing use of infinitives right from
the Vedic down to the Classical Period. According to the list
furnished by Delbrück,\textsuperscript{343} they are extremely frequently dealt
with in the RV, being found there 699 times in all with 19 endings

\textsuperscript{338}. Cf. AS.V. Sr.Sū. 6.13.10
\textsuperscript{339}. Cf. Svetā. Up. 2.8.
\textsuperscript{340}. Cf. The Ramāyana—3.65.5.
\textsuperscript{341}. ibid.—2.3.32.
\textsuperscript{342}. grhya(1.48.6.) occurs 49 times and grahitvā(1.1.26) is
registered 64 times.
\textsuperscript{343}. Cf. Altindianne Verbum, PP.221-27, ff. 200-17.
But with the advancement of the language, the hosts of endings together with their occurrences stand reducing and so by the time of Ait. Br. we see with only 21 occurrences represented by only three endings, 18 by -tum, three by -tavai and -tava.\(^{344}\) In Classical Sanskrit only -tum is left to serve the purpose. According to Avery\(^ {345}\), -tum is represented in all 103 occurrences attested in the Naisadhacharya and the Sakuntala.

Now, along the ensuing lines, we shall discuss the ending-wise position of infinitives in the various stages of the Sanskrit language. According to the information, supplied by Panini, following 23 suffixes are applied to form the infinitive constructions. For instance,

\[
\text{sg, sn, sng, sngn, ksn, ksn, adhvai, adhvain, kadhvai, adhvai, adhvain, tavai, tavai, tven, tven, namul, kasul, tosun, kasun, tumun and tumun.}^{351}
\]

\[^{344}\] For this information, Avery, P. 231; JAOS Vol. 10

\[^{345}\] Cf. ibid.

\[^{346}\] For these suffixes Cf. Pan. - tumartthe sn-sng-sngn-kaj- kasanadhvai-adhvain-kadhvai-kadhvai-advai-advai-

\[^{347}\] Cf. Pan. - draye-vikhye obe—3.4.11.

\[^{348}\] Cf. ibid.—prayai-rehisyai-svasthisyai—3.4.10.

\[^{349}\] Cf. ibid.—saki namul kasulau—3.4.12.

\[^{350}\] Cf. ibid.—javare tosunkaunau—3.4.13.

\[^{351}\] Cf. ibid.—tumun nyulau kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyaṃ—3.5.10.
Of these, ge\(^{352}\) is the rarest, kāśika\(^{353}\) furnishes only one example— vaksa rayah but it is untraceable so far.

\[6.3.1.2.1.\]

**ge\(^{354}\)** is taken by two forms— abhiprakṣa\(^{355}\) and prayākṣa\(^{356}\)

\[6.3.1.2.3.\]

**kāśa\(^{357}\)** has only one example— **ge\(^{358}\)**

\[6.3.1.2.4.\]

**ge\(^{359}\)** is represented by **ahāse\(^{360}\)**, **pahāse\(^{361}\)**, **dehāse\(^{362}\)**, **bhohāse\(^{363}\)**, **abhāse\(^{364}\)** and **jivāse\(^{365}\)**

\[352.\] Forms with **ge** will be accented on the suffix

Cf. Pan.- ādhyāttaścha—3.3.1.

\[353.\] On Pan.— 3.3.10.

\[354.\] Forms derived with this suffix will be accented on the first syllable— Cf. Pan.- तित्रित्ति—6.1.197.

\[355.\] Cf. RV.1.113.6.

\[356.\] Ibid.— 3.3.1; 3.31.3.

\[357.\] Forms with **kāśa** will be accented on the last syllable (Cf. Pan.— kītan.— 6.1.165) and don’t have Cune or yuddha.

Cf. Pan.— **miti cha**—1.1.5.

\[358.\] RV.1.180.4.

\[359.\] Forms with **ge** will have an accent on the suffix.

Cf. Pan.— 3.3.1.

\[360.\] RV.10.77.1.

\[361.\] Ah.4.92.915.47.4.

\[362.\] Ibid.— 1.141.216.45.7; 66.1.5.

\[363.\] Ibid.— 1.55.3; 8.51.3; 8.55.3.

\[364.\] Ibid.— 1.86; 10; 10.77.1.

\[365.\] Ibid.— 1.25.21; 1.36.14; 1.37.15; 1.44.6; 1.72.2; 5.36.10. and so on.
Last form jivase occurs some 50 times in the RV., whereas remainders are sporadic ones. Perhaps these might have formed on the analogy of jivase.

\[6.3.1.2.5.1 \text{ ASEN}\]

\[\text{asen}^{366} \text{ is represented in ayase}^{367}, \text{chaksase}^{368}, \text{bhārase}^{369}, \text{puyase},^{370} \text{ mriyase}^{371}, \text{herase}^{372} \text{ etc., which are lying scattered from the RV. down to the Brāhmaṇa period, but stop to occur further down.}\]

\[6.3.1.2.6.1 \text{ KASEN}\]

\[\text{kasen}^{373} \text{ makes following six forms, as ,}\]

\[\text{rhase,}^{374} \text{ bhiyase}^{375}, \text{vṛdhaše}^{376} \text{ and sriyase}^{377} \text{ etc.}\]

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\[366. \text{ Forms derived with this are accented on the initial syllable— Cf. Pāṇ. - 6.1.197 or fn.354 above.}\]

\[367. RV. 1.57.3; 4.21.7.\]

\[368. \text{ ibid. - 1.7.3; 1.48.8; 1.112.8; 5.15.4; 7.66.14; 7.81.1; 8.13.30; 9.107.3; 10.9.1; 10.51.1; 5.88.3.3.4.24; Tāit. Br. 1.5.8; 3.7.154.}\]

\[369. \text{ ibid. - 5.15.4.}\]

\[370. \text{ ibid. - 3.5.50.1; 6.13.5; 7.57.5.}\]

\[371. \text{ ibid. - 1.162.21.}\]

\[372. \text{ ibid. - 9.10.7; Ram Gopal (Vol.2, p.780, st.341 n) consider it a form of asga, but it's a mere misconception and nothing else.}\]

\[373. \text{ Kasen, being both kit and niṭ should be accented both on initial and final syllables. In this way driven by both sides, accent falls on the middle syllable.}\]

\[374. RV. 6.39.5; 7.61.6.\]

\[375. \text{ ibid. - 5.29.5.}\]

\[376. \text{ ibid. - 5.64.5.}\]

\[377. \text{ ibid. - 1.87.6; 5.5932.}\]
which are mainly confined to the former stages of the RV, occurring only six times.

6.3.1.2.7.1 ADHYAI

adhyai 378 is attested in 13 forms occurring 20 times in the RV. For instance, oharādhyai 379, jeraḥdhyai 380, terādhyai 381, nāyādhyai 382, nandādhyai 383, nandavādhyai 384, sadvarādhyai 385, vairādhyai 386, vandādhyai 387, vartavādhyai 388, sayādhyai 389, sachādhyai 390, and stavādhyai 391.

But it is rarely attested in the later Sanshitas.

378. Forms of this suffix have a suffixed accent.

Cf. Pāṇ. 3.1.3.

Also Cf. fn. 352.

379. RV. 1.61.12.

380. Ibid. 7.67.1.

381. Ibid. 9.110.1.

382. Ibid. 8.97.14.

383. Ibid. 4.16.2.

384. Ibid. 4.29.3.

385. Ibid. 1.67.1; 6.19.6; 6.22.3; 6.60.13.

386. Ibid. 8.39.1.

387. Ibid. 1.27.1; 1.61.5; 3.4.1.

388. Ibid. 5.482.

389. Ibid. 2.17.6; 6.62.3.

390. Ibid. 1.167.5.

391. Ibid. 7.37.1; 7.37.8.
adhyānaḥ 392 is represented in six forms occurring 20 times in the RV. Viz. kṣāntadhyānai, ṣāntadhyānai, bhāradhyānai, vyākhyāntadhyānai, śāhāntadhyānai and vṛttadhyānai. Forms with this affix lost their currency in the rest of the Samhitās save vyākhyāntadhyānai which is sporadically used down in the VS.

kādyānai 399 it is attested by nine forms occurring 18 times in the RV. Thus, śvetadhyānai, ṛṣihadhyānai, gubhāntadhyānai, dhīvadhyānai, ṛṣidhyānai, śīkhyāntadhyānai, kavāntadhyānai, vṛtadhyānai and ṛṣayadhyānai. This type of formation is mainly restricted to the RV. only.

392. Cf. fn. 366
393. RV. 1.63.8.
394. ibid. = 1.154.6.
395. ibid. = 6.66.3; 6.67.4.
396. ibid. = 10.22.2.
397. ibid. = 6.1.1.; 7.31.12.
398. ibid. = 3.3.1; 3.4.3; 4.21.5; 4.24.5; 6.11.3; 6.12.1; 6.15.15; 6.49.2; 6.68.1; 7.2.7; 10.61.15; 10.110.7.
399. According to Pāṇini 3.3.1 it is also accented on the suffix.
400. RV. 6.20.8.
401. ibid. = 7.43.1.
402. ibid. = 10.61.17.
403. ibid. = 7.34.24.
404. ibid. = 3.31.17.
405. ibid. = 4.2.41.
406. ibid. = 1.112.4; 1.112.5; 5.41.3; 5.43.3; 5.45.4.
407. ibid. = 1.61.3; 1.122.3; 6.67.1; 10.99.1.
408. ibid. = 1.183.3; 6.49.5; 6.64.4.
6.3.1.2.10. KADHYAIN

Kadhyain 409 According to Dr. Ram Sena 410 examples of this suffix are a subject of research. But I have recently met with only one example abhavadhya to this effect, occurring once in the RV. 411

6.3.1.2.11. SADHYAI

Sadhyai— śadavadhya 412 and prpadhyai 413 are its examples.

6.3.1.2.12. SADHYAIN

Sadhyain has only one example pibadhya 414

6.3.1.2.13. TVEN

Tven— 415 only ṣūtave 416 and ṭave 417 are considered its derivations.

6.3.1.2.14. TVEN

Tven— All the initially accented forms other than above quoted ṣūtave and ṭave are ascribed to this affix, such

409. Forms with this suffix will be accented initially vide Supra fn. 366
411. 6.60.11.
412. RV. 1.167.1; 6.19.6; 6.22.3; 6.60.13.
413. ibid.— 6.67.7.
414. ibid.— 1.83.4; 3.32.13; 4.27.53; 6.44.24; 7.32.2; 8.37.3; 8.58.3; 9.97.20.
415. Being mit or Vṛddhi cannot be exercised Cf. Pan.— kriti cha— 7.1.5. Sometimes yuVyā are vocalized.
416. RV. 10.184.3.
417. ibid.— 10.130.1.
6.1.1.2.15: TAVAIN

Forms with this suffix are accented both on the root as well as on the suffix. With this are made some twelve forms occurring 20 times in the RV. Examples are—

stavaí, staveí, santevari, datavai, patavai, apanharvaravai, montavai, vaaitavai, saritavai, sutavai, bentavai, and vitavai. This type of formations are not available in the later Samhitás, Epics and Classical literature.

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418. RV: 3.35.7; 8.43.29; 8.77.81; 8.106.12; 8.79.6; 8.85.34.
420. Ibid: 1.46.11; 1.112.8; 5.44.11; 8.69.17; 10.39.8.
421. Ibid: 1.85.9; 2.22.11; 2.35.20; 10.74.6.
422. Ibid: 1.46.7.
423. Ibid: 3.3.9.
424. Ibid: 4.20.10; 7.59.6; 8.19.29; 8.71.15; 9.75.5.
428. Ibid: 1.164.5.
431. Ibid: 3.46.5.
433. Ibid: 7.4.3.
435. Ibid: 1.35.6; 1.57.6; 3.52.6; 5.29.2.
436. Ibid: 10.194.3.
437. Ibid: 5.2.10; 5.31.5; 8.96.5; 10.125.6; 10.132.3.
438. Ibid: 8.71.15.
In the Vedic language, apart from the aforementioned affixes, -e, -ai, and ityai, are also employed to make infinitives from the verbs, e.g., praśati, to imitate, avasati, pravai, rohivai, and avyathiṣyai, etc., are made with -ai; prahye, śrad-dne, prasme, dria, and vikhye, etc., are formed by -e and ityai. It is the only example of -tyai. But the forms with these suffixes are rarely attested in the later Vedic (except a few examples of the Brāhmaṇas) and Classical Sanskrit.

naul, kasul, tasun, and kasun affixes are also used in the Vedic language to form the infinitives. During this period the Vedic language evolves a new suffix, suṣum, to form infinitives, which makes its debut even in the Ṛgvedic period. The RV. attests five forms with this suffix, such as:

stum, suṣum, pravolesum, prasum, and prabhatesum. Its use goes on rising with the advancement of the language and with advent of the Classical phase it occupies a predominant place.

For these three forms, Cf. Pāṇini—pravai hiyai

447. RV. 5.60.4.
448. Ibid—3.33.20.
449. Ibid—3.36.113.79.10.
450. Ibid—10.2.3.
451. Ibid—43.
6.3.1.3. PARTICIPLES

6.3.1.3.1. PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

Present active participle is formed with the suffixes -st (Pān, āstr) and ān (Pān- sānēch, sānēnā2 and sānēsā3) added to the active stem of the root, e.g.

With at or āstr— bhavat, kurvat etc.

With ān or sānēch— juhvānā, rundhānā etc.

In the second person sing. of let (or imperative mood) a root of krāyādi class ending with a consonant, generally, takes the suffix ān (or Pān- sānēch) when hi follows; e.g., musānā5 pūsāna and grāhāna etc.

But in the Vedic Sanskrit besides sānēch sāvēch (or āyā) is also affixed, e.g.

grāhāya jīvāya mādhu.7

Such type of formations are restricted to the Vedic phase only and do not occur in the later stage.

---

1. Cf. Pān.- letāh āstr sānēch-vaprāthēma sānēnā-dhikarāna

2. ibid.- Puṇyājeh sānēn—3.2.128

3. ibid.- tāchchālīsāyavachanēsaktīsu chānēs—3.2.129.

4. ibid.- agrāyāṇēmhōna—3.4.87 and bālāk hādā jānvaj−hōn—3.1.83.

5. Construction of musānā will be asi mus + anā + animator = mus + sānēch + hi = musānā (Note—here hi will be elided according to Pān.- stā ba—6.6.103

6. Cf. Pān.— sānēch-vāśadēnō savaśadēni—3.1.84

7. RV. 8.17.5.
Besides this, there are certain eccentric features which can be marked in the Epic language only. For instance, in the Rāmāyana the pum augment, in case of ātri affix, is sometimes found missing in the feminine forms of bhavādi, churādi and divādi class, whereas it is regularly enjoined in the whole body of the Sanskrit language. Here are some examples from the Rāmāyana in which the regular pum augment is missing, as in:

\[
\text{ā̄ke śīrah kytvā rūroda mukhamikṣatī.}^9
\]
\[
\text{reghvasya premattasya rakṣasā kāmarūpīnā.}
\]
\[
\text{rūvanam pusanthāsamanītā krōti balāt.}^10
\]

Similar other forms are:

\[
\text{amugayonhatī, chintayatī.}^11
\]

Similarly pum is augmented wherever it is not necessary in the remainder phases of the language, as in:

\[
\text{pratiyayoedhasā gharā vichinvantye hatām pātil.}^13
\]

Here in vi chinvantyam(Tanādi class) pum augment is irregular.

---

9. 6.98.10.
10. 4.19.27; Also cf. 5.24.3.
11. 3.12.4.
12. 2.24.9.
13. Rām. 6.98.3.
Present Passive Participle is formed by adding \textit{anan} (Prā. \textit{sānch}) to the passive stem of the root, \textsuperscript{14} thus:

- From kriyā (Passive stem of \textit{√kr})—kriyamānaḥ being done
  - \textit{iṣya} (" of \textit{√yaj})—iṣyamānaḥ
  - \textit{nūya} (" of \textit{√nv})—nūyamānaḥ
  - \textit{tāya} (" of \textit{√tana})—tāyamānaḥ, etc.

In the Veda, we meet with the cases in which the active affix \textit{ān} is applied to the passive stem with its dropped passive infix \textit{ya}. e.g.

- From \textit{āru} — \textit{puśan} \textsuperscript{15} "being purified"
- \textit{śtu} — \textit{stuśan} \textsuperscript{16} "being praised"
- \textit{gr} — \textit{gran} \textsuperscript{17} "being praised"

The similar peculiarity is witnessed in the Epic phase where \textit{ān} ās (like the Vedic language) is employed to the passive stem but with its retained passive infix \textit{ya}; e.g.

- \textit{bhūmāyana} \textsuperscript{17} , \textit{vīśmāyana} \textsuperscript{18} , \textit{vīśārayāna} \textsuperscript{19} etc. But such forms are no longer used in the Classical language.

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. Prā. - āne sūk.- 7.2.82.
\textsuperscript{15} TheRāj. 9.37.1; 9.96.15; 9.97.47.
\textsuperscript{16} ibid.- 7.96.3.
\textsuperscript{17} The Rāmāyana 7.52.45.
\textsuperscript{18} ibid.- 6.47.92.
\textsuperscript{19} ibid.- 5.42.3.
6.3.3.1.4.1 PAST ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

Past active participle is formed by adding the suffix 
\text{tvat} (or \text{Pan.} - \text{ktavatu}) to the root, e.g., 
\text{krtavāṃ, pūtavantah} etc.

The derivative form of this type are quite rare in the Vedic language. Though the AV. attests a few forms of this type, but without anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example with a participial meaning, i.e.,
\text{āsītavati āstītāsvaśāyāt.} \quad 21 'one's guest having eaten.'

In the Brāhmaṇas also it is hardly met with. However, in the later language it becomes a common feature.

6.3.3.1.7.4.1 PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Past passive participle is formed on the same pattern throughout the whole body of the Sanskrit language, i.e., by adding \text{te} (\text{Pan.} - \text{kte}) to the root, such as,
\text{vat} + \text{kta} = \text{paitāḥ}; \text{vibhū + te} = \text{bhūteḥ}, etc.

20. Cf. \text{Pān.} - \text{kartari kṛt}- 3.4.67
    and \text{nīsthā}- 3.2.102.

21. 9.8.8.

22. Forms with this are frequent in Aṣokan Prākṛita. For detail Cf. \text{Ravi Prakāsha, Verb Morphology} in \text{M.I.A.}, p.32.

23. Cf. \text{Pān.} - \text{nīsthā}- 3.2.102
    and \text{tāyōvā kṛtyaktaḥkharthāh}- 3.4.70
Hence there exists no point of contrast between the two phases as regards this case.

### 6.3.1.3.5: (PAST) PERFECT PARTICIPLE

Past perfect participle is formed by *vas* (Pāṇ.-kvasu) and *ān* (Pāṇ.-kānacca) added to the perfect stem of the root; e.g.

- chakvas, dadrvas, papivas, ānajana (from *janja*),
- jagnana, dadāna, etc.

Perfect participles are restricted to the Vedic phase only. In the later language, they have nearly gone out of use; even participles with *vas* appear but rarely and of the participles with *ān* hardly any example is marked save such as the proper names *yuyudhāna, amucāna* etc.

### 6.3.1.3.6: FUTURE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

Future active participle is formed by adding *astra* and *ānacca* to the future stem of the root. Thus, *krisyāna, dasya, yakṣa, janisya, sma* etc.

This form is commonly used throughout the whole body of the Sanskrit language.

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24. Cf. Pāṇ.- *līlāh kāņajva—3.2.106*  
    *kvasuṣa*—3.2.107

25. See *Kālikā—on Pāṇ.—3.2.106; 107.*

6.3.1.3.7. Future Passive Participle or Gerundive

Future Passive Participle or Gerundive is formed by the following suffixes: ye, āya, seyya, enya, tya, teyya and aṇiya.

6.3.1.3.7.1. Gerundive in ye—(Pan-, yat, 27, yap, 28 and nyat, 29)

Gerundive in ye is formed in all periods of the Sanskrit language, starting from the earliest down to the Classical stage. The RV records 40 as such forms and the AV about 60. It is considerably frequent in the later Śaṅhitās, the arā̃hmanaś, the Sūtras and the Epics and the Classical Literature.

6.3.1.3.7.2. Em āyya

Gerundives with āyya are almost confined to the RV, and they are hardly a dozen in number. Examples are—trayāvāya, sānāvāya, 'to be admired', vidāvāya 'to be found', śravāvāya 'glorious', nānāvāvāya, 'to be denied', etc. 30.

27. Cf. Pan.: ashrvāya—3.1.97; also 3.1.98 to 105
28. Ibid.: yeṣaḥ suṣi kyap cha—3.1.106; also Cf. 3.1.107 to 135
29. Ibid.: rhalomnyat—3.1.124; also Cfr. 3.1.125; 126
30. Cf. MacNeile P. 406; St. 578
31. Ibid.: P. 406, St. 579
32. Ibid.:
Gerundives formed with suffix are no longer represented in later Vedic as well as Classical Sanskrit, though Panini recommends some forms with this affix in Classical Sanskrit such as parissamünya, parichäyya, upachäyya, sammäyya, ahäyya etc.\textsuperscript{33}

But these forms can retain be marked in the Sutra literature.

\textbf{6.3.1.3.7.3: ŚRīYA}

The RV. attests only one form with this suffix i.e., \textit{ätasya}.\textsuperscript{34} According to Unādi Sū. 3.99, this suffix should be read as \textit{kasya}. No other form with this suffix is represented in the rest of the Vedic and the Classical literature.

\textbf{6.3.1.3.7.4: ENYA}

In the Vedic language we have more than a dozen derivatives formed with \textit{enyā} (Pan.-\textit{kenya})\textsuperscript{35}, e.g., \textit{iksaṇya} (RV), \textit{drśaṇya} (RV), \textit{sāmaḥśarenya} (RV), \textit{vārenya} (RV, VS) \textit{yudhena} (RV, AV) and \textit{sāpasyena} (RV, MS, Kth. S, etc.)\textsuperscript{36}

\begin{itemize}
\item For detail Cf. following Sutras of Panini. -
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{anāye'nitya}—3.1.27; \textit{psaṃyya'samstaw}—3.1.28;
  \item \textit{pasya sāmśya nika'yedhāya-sāmabhavirnīvāsa sāmśhetunā}-
    3.1.129; \textit{kṛṣṭau kundapasya saṃbhāyya}—3.1.130;
  \item \textit{agnau paricāya yepachāyya samūhyā}—3.1.131.
  \end{itemize}
\item RV. 10.1.20.6; also Cf. Nirukta—11-21-
\item Cf. Pan.-\textit{kṣetyartne tavaikkenenya} 3.4.14.
  \begin{itemize}
  \item also Cf. Unādi—33. 3.98.
  \end{itemize}
\item See Meedenell P. 407; ft. 580.
\end{itemize}
But no such form is represented in Epic and Classical Sanskrit.

6.3.1.3.7.51 TVA

In the Veda, about a dozen gerundives are found with ज्ञेय (पृन्ष्य—त्याप ज्ञेय). Thus:

ज्ञेय 'to be made', ज्ञित्, ज्ञित्वा 'to be born',
ज्ञेय 'to be won', सनित्, सनित्वा 'to be driven on
(from ज्ञेय) etc.

These forms are restricted to the RV only and are sporadically represented in the later Vedic, but are totally absent from the Classical stage.

6.3.1.3.7.6.1 TAVYA (पृन्ष्य—तावयत)

No example of this formation is found in the RV.

First time in the AV there begins to appear a gerundive in तावया. Only two examples are attested thereof: जानित्वा and हिसित्वा.

We mark an increasing use of this form in the Brāhmaṇa portion of क्रम सुजुर्वदा, in the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras.

By the time of Classical Sanskrit it becomes quite common.

38. Cf. ibid. 35
40. AV. 4-3.7.
41. ibid. 5.18.3.
42. Cf. Pāṇ- तावयात्यात्यात्यात्यात—3.1.96
   Also Cf. वहर्ता—वहृतात्यात्कर्त्तातिप्रभु—Pāṇ.3.1.
We have one more suffix (quite a later innovation) -kelima meaning same as ṭavya. The earlier literature is conspicuous by its absence. We don't have any form derived with this suffix even in the Epic literature such as the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Though Pāṇini shows no knowledge of this suffix, yet by the way he derives the form— pačelima (basically a kelima form) by eśiṁ (an unādi suffix), Kātyāyan and Patañjali are more familiar with these forms. That is why, Kātyāyan enumerates this suffix vide vārtt.

kelima upasākbhīṣyanaṁ en Pāṇini 3.1.96. Patañjali also records two usages of his time by way of illustration. They are, as

9 pačelima ṭasan 43

bhidelimaḥ saraleḥ 44

The earliest literary usage of this suffix is attested in Somadeva Suri's 45— Yavasāṅilakā sambhū (1.96.3-4). There pačelima occurs in— 'kṣařura-hala pačelimaṁ—rūpaṁ,' bhidelima (an another kelima form) occurs first in the aśyankihrana of kuśradaṇa:

iti jalaṭi tetra ṛkṣasā puraṇaḥ prāduraḥbuddhaḥ bhidelima।

(4.61)

43. Cf. Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇi- 2.81.17

44. ibid. en Pāṇi- 2.81.18.

45. His time is fixed to be in 959 A.D.
Sukta karanaatha of Shri Dhaardasa also records this—bhidalma- phala—vyala- tulotkaarah.47

6.3.1.3.7.7.1 ANIYAR

This form also makes its debut in the AV., two examples being traceable thereof

upajiveni48 and amantreni49

We find an increasing use of this form with the advancement of the language. By the time of the Epic and the Classical stage it becomes a very common feature.

6.3.1.3.9.1 NOMES USED AS SECONDARY SUFFIXES

A few nouns which, in the Veda, are used as the 2nd member of a combination later on in the Classical take the suffixal form. I have come across a very interesting example in this regard in a Rgvedic verse quoted by Yaska.50

aksanvantah karanaanta aakhayaah manojavesvasam

bebhuvah,

aadhanasa upakaksasa utvo hradh ivo anatva utve dadra

Here in 8-adhanasa Yaska forms the word adhane by

47. 4.275, p. 519
48. AV. 3.10.22.
49. ibid. 8.10.7.
50. Nirukta.1.3.
two different independent nouns, i.e. च 'mouth' + डाढ्मा.

डाढ्मा according to यास्क, is an independent word arising out of the root डाढ्मा आरवण्यम्- डाढ्मम् डाढ्मयते आरवति कर्मानाः, though Pāṇini does not enumerate this in his dhētpāths.

But later on this word loses its nominal status and becomes a suffix. That is why, Pāṇini enumerates it among secondary suffixes vide सूत्रम्- प्रामणे द्वयासा-ञिज्ञानम् अौत्रच्छन्ति. Examples are, as...

amisadadhna, urudadhna, kāśna-adadhna, guñadadhna,

jāmudadhna, nābhida-dadhna etc.52

The other suffixes अौत्रच्छ, अौ, अौयासा, अौयास, etc. may also be classed as such.

6.3.2.1 SECONDARY VERBAL DERIVATIVES

Secondary suffixes are less frequent in the Vedic than in the Classical language. In the Vedic language, they are added to the nominal stems but their use with verbal stems is entirely lacking. On the other hand, Classical language uses them with the verbal stems also, e.g.:

paçatitāmā, bhavatutarām etc.

51. Āṣṭā. 5.2.37
52. Cf. Kasika on Pāṇi. 5.2.37.