

Der Aorist

Auszug aus der "Sanskrit Grammar" von William Dwight Whitney, 1888

Mit 512 Druckseiten ist unser "Sanskrit-Kompendium" sehr umfangreich, doch wegen der Beschränkung auf das klassische Sanskrit konnte der Aorist als Relikt aus dem Vedischen nur knapp dargestellt worden. Wer später vedische Texte lesen möchte (die auf unserem Sanskritweb mit Rigveda, Yajurveda und Samaveda berücksichtigt sind), wird sich mit dem Aorist detaillierter befassen müssen. Die beste Darstellung stammt von W. D. Whitney, die in der vorliegenden PDF-Datei als Scan der damaligen 2. Auflage 1888 reproduziert wird.

Die Whitney-Grammatik benutzt eine teilweise veraltete Transliteration. Man beachte:

- statt ñ wird ein n mit ˘ (Makron) verwendet
- statt ś wird ç (c mit Cedille) verwendet.

Ulrich Stiehl, Heidelberg im März 2008

CHAPTER XI.

THE AORIST SYSTEMS.

824. UNDER the name of aorist are included (as was pointed out above, 532) three quite distinct formations, each of which has its sub-varieties: namely —

I. A SIMPLE AORIST (equivalent to the Greek "second aorist"), analogous in all respects as to form and inflection with the imperfect. It has two varieties: 1. the root-aorist, with a tense-stem identical with the root (corresponding to an imperfect of the root-class); 2. the a-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in ऋ á, or with union-vowel ऋ a before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the á-class).

II. 3. A REDUPLICATING AORIST, perhaps in origin identical with an imperfect of the reduplicating class, but having come to be separated from it by marked peculiarities of form. It usually has a union-vowel ऋ a before the endings, or is inflected like an imperfect of one of the a-classes; but a few forms occur in the Veda without such vowel.

III. A SIGMATIC OR SIBILANT AORIST (corresponding to the Greek "first aorist"), having for its tense-sign a ष s added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary ङ i; its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel ऋ a; a very few roots also are increased by ष s for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel ऋ a before endings: 4. s-aorist, with ष s alone added to the root; 5. iṣ-aorist, the same with interposed ङ i; 6. siṣ-aorist, the same as the preceding with ष s added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel ऋ a, 7. sa-aorist.

825. All these varieties are bound together and made into a single complex system by certain correspondences of form and meaning. Thus, in regard to form, they are all alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply preterits, exchangeable with imperfects and perfects, they all alike have in the older language the general value of a completed past or "perfect", translatable by *have done* and the like.

826. The aorist-system is a formation of infrequent occurrence in much of the classical Sanskrit (its forms are found, for example, only twenty-one times in the Nala, eight in the Hitopadeṣa, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gītā and Çakuntalā, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2600 lines, of the Rāmāyaṇa: compare 927 b), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 579; and the so-called precative: see 921 ff.); in the older language, on the other hand, it is quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.

827. a. In the RV., nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms, of one or another class; in the AV., rather less than one third; and in the other texts of the older language comparatively few aorists occur which are not found in these two.

b. More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make aorist forms of more than one class (not taking into account the reduplicated or "causative" aorist); but no law appears to underlie this variety: of any relation such as is taught by the grammarians, between active of one class and middle of another as correlative, there is no trace discoverable.

c. Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, *adhām* and *dhāsus* from √dhā, *ayuji* and *ayukṣata* from √yuj; — of 1 and 5, *agrabham* and *agrabhīṣma* from √grabh, *mṛṣṭhās* and *marsiṣṭhās* from √mṛṣ; — of 1 and 2, *ārta* and *ārat* from √r; — of 2 and 4, *avidam* and *avitsi* from √vid *find*, *anijam* and *anāikṣīt* from √nij; — of 2 and 5, *sanéma* and *asāniṣam* from √san; — of 2 and 7, *aruham* and *arukṣat* from √ruh; — of 4 and 5, *amatsus* and *amādiṣus* from √mad; — of 4 and 6, *hāsmahi* and *hāsiṣus* from √hā; — of 1 and 2 and 4, *atnata* and *atanat* and *atān* from √tan; — of 1 and 4 and 5, *abudhran* and *ābhutsi* and *bódhiṣat* from √budh, *āstar* and *strṣīya* and

astarī from √str. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.

I. Simple Aorist.

828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the á-class, without a corresponding present indicative, but with (more or less fragmentarily) all the other parts which go to make up a complete present-system.

1. Root-aorist.

829. a. This formation is in the later language limited to a few roots in आ ā and the root भू bhū, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the s-aorist (4), or the iṣ-aorist (5).

b. The roots in आ ā take उस् us as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their आ ā before it; भू bhū (as in the perfect: 793a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting व् v after it before the endings अम् am and अन् an of 1st sing. and 3d pl. Thus:

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अदाम् ádām	अदाव ádāva	अदाम ádāma	अभूवम् ábhūvam	अभूव ábhūva	अभूम् ábhūma
2	अदास् ádās	अदातम् ádātām	अदात ádāta	अभूस् ábhūs	अभूतम् ábhūtām	अभूत् ábhūta
3	अदात् ádāt	अदाताम् ádātām	अदुस् ádus	अभूत् ábhūt	अभूताम् ábhūtām	अभूवन् ábhūvan

For the classical Sanskrit, this is the whole story.

830. In the Veda, these same roots are decidedly the most frequent and conspicuous representatives of the formation: especially the roots gā, dā, dhā, pā *drink*, sthā, bhū; while sporadic forms are made from jñā, prā, sā, hā. As to their middle forms, see below, 834a.

a. Instead of *abhūvam*, RV. has twice *abhuvam*. BhP. has *agan*, 3d pl., instead of *agus*.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in ण, and a few in i- and u-vowels (short or long) —

with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, *guṇa*-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

a. Thus (in the active), from $\sqrt{\text{çru}}$, *áçravam* and *áçrot*; from $\sqrt{\text{çri}}$, *áçres* and *áçret*; from $\sqrt{\text{kr}}$ *make*, *ákaram* and *ákar* (for *akars* and *akart*); from $\sqrt{\text{vr}}$ *enclose*, *ávar* (585 a); and so *ástar*, *aspar*. Dual and plural forms are much less frequent than singular; but for the most part they also show an irregular strengthening of the root-vowel: thus (including augmentless forms), *ákarma* and *karma* and *ákarta*, *vartam*, *spartam*, *áhema* and *áhetana*, *bhema*, *açravan*; regular are only *avran*, *ákran*, *ahyan*, and *áçriyan*.

832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of *guṇa*-strengthening and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

a. Thus, *ábhedam* and *abhet* from $\sqrt{\text{bhid}}$; *ámok* from $\sqrt{\text{muc}}$; *yojam* from $\sqrt{\text{yuj}}$; *rok* (VS.) from $\sqrt{\text{ruj}}$; *arodham* and *arudhma* from $\sqrt{\text{rudh}}$; *avart* from $\sqrt{\text{vrt}}$; *várk* from $\sqrt{\text{vrj}}$ (AV. has once *avrk*); *adarçam* from $\sqrt{\text{drç}}$; *árdhma* from $\sqrt{\text{rdh}}$; and *adrçan*, *avrjan*, *açvitan*. But *chedma*, with *guṇa*, from $\sqrt{\text{chid}}$, and *adarçma* (TS.) from $\sqrt{\text{drç}}$.

833. Again, from a larger number of roots with *a* as radical vowel:

a. Of these, *gam* (with *n* for *m* when final or followed by *m*: 143 a, 212 a) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, *ágamam*, *ágan* (2d and 3d sing.), *áganma*, *aganta* (strong form), *ágman*. The other cases are *akran* from $\sqrt{\text{kram}}$; *átan* from $\sqrt{\text{tan}}$; *abhrāt* from $\sqrt{\text{bhrāj}}$; *askan* from $\sqrt{\text{skand}}$; *asrat* from $\sqrt{\text{srañs}}$ (? VS.); *dhak* and *daghma* from $\sqrt{\text{dagh}}$; *ánaṭ* (585 a) and *anaṣtām* from $\sqrt{\text{naç}}$; *ághas* or *aghat*, *ághastām*, *aghasta*, and *ákṣan* (for *aghsan*, like *agman*) from $\sqrt{\text{ghas}}$; and the 3d pl. in *us*, *ákramus*, *ayamus*, *dabhús*, *nṛtus* (pf.?), *mandús*.

834. So far only active forms have been considered. In the middle, a considerable part of the forms are such as are held by the grammarians (881) to belong to the *s*-aorist, with omission of the *s*: they doubtless belong, however, mostly or altogether, here. Thus:

a. From roots ending in vowels, we have *adhithās*, *adhita* (also *ahita*), and *adhīmahī*; *adithās*, *adita*, and *adīmahī* (and *adīmahī* from $\sqrt{\text{dā cu}}$); *áçīta* (?); *sīmāhī*; *ásthithās* and *ásthita* and *ásthiran*, forms of *ā*-roots; — of *ṛ*-roots, *akri*, *ákṛthās*, *ákṛta*, *akrātām*, *ákrata* (and the anomalous *kránta*); *avri*, *avṛthās*, *avṛta*; *ārta*, *ārata*; *mṛthās*, *amṛta*; *dhṛthās*; *adrthās*; *astrta*; *ahṛthās*; *gūrta*; — of *i* and *u* roots, the only examples are *ahvi* (? AV., once), *áhūmahī*, and *áci-dhvam*. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a *s* in such forms, and the occurrence of *avri* and *akri* and *ákrata*, show that their reference to the *s*-aorist is probably without sufficient reason.

b. As regards roots ending in consonants, the case is more questionable, since loss of *s* after a final consonant before *thās* and *ta* (and, of

course, **dhvam**) would be in many cases required by euphonic rule (233 c ff.). We find, however, such unmistakable middle inflection of the root-aorist as **ayuji**, **áyukthās**, **áyukta**, **ayujmahi**, **áyugdhvam**, **áyujran**; **áṣṭa** and **āçata**; **nánçi**; **apadi** (1st sing.) and **apadmahi** and **apadran**; **ámanmahi**; **gánvahi** and **áganmahi** and **ágmata**; **atnata**; **ájani** (1st sing.) and **ajñata** (3d pl.); from $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ are made **agathās** and **agata**, from $\sqrt{\text{tan}}$, **atathās** and **átata**, and from $\sqrt{\text{man}}$, **amata**, with treatment of the final like that of **han** in present inflection (637). The ending **ran** is especially frequent in 3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which have no other middle person of this aorist: thus, **agr̥bhran**, **ásr̥gran**, **adr̥çran**, **abudhran**, **áv̥rtran**, **ajuṣran**, **ak̥r̥pran**, **asr̥pdhran**, **avasran**, **áviçran**; and **ram** is found beside **ran** in **ád̥çram**, **ábudhram**, **ásr̥gram**.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with **s** to **ks̥**, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing **k** (instead of **ṣ̥**) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are **amukthās** (and **ámugdhvam**), **ap̥rkthās** and **ap̥rkta**, **ábhakta**, **av̥rkta**, **asakthās** and **asakta**, **rikthās**, **vikthās** and **vikta**, **arukta**; **apraṣṭa**, **ayaṣṭa**, **áspaṣṭa**, **asr̥ṣṭhās** and **ásr̥ṣṭa**, and **m̥r̥ṣṭhās** would be the same in either case.

d. There remain, as cases of more doubtful belonging, and probably to be ranked in part with the one formation and in part with the other, according to their period and to the occurrence of other persons: **chitthās**, **nutthās** and **ánutta** and **ánuddhvam**, **patthās**, **bhitthās**, **amatta**, **atapthās**, **alipta**, **asr̥pta**; and finally, **árabdha**, **alabdha**, **aruddha**, **abuddha**, **ayuddha**, and **drogdhās** (MBh.: read **drugdhās**): see 883.

Modes of the Root-aorist.

835. Subjunctive. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the augmentless indicative of this aorist are much more frequent than the more proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in detail.

836. a. Of true subjunctives the forms with primary endings are quite few. In the active, **kárāṇi**, **gāni**, **gamāni** (for **bhuvāni**, see below, c); **kárasī**; **sthāti**, **dāti** and **dhāti** (which are almost indicative in value), **karati**, **joṣati**, **padāti**, **bhédati**, **rādhati**, **varjati**; **sthāthas**, **karathas** and **karatas**, **darçathas**, **çravathas** and **çrávatas**; and (apparently) **karanti**, **gámanti**. In the middle, **joṣase**; **idhaté** (?), **kárate**, **bhójate**, **yojate**, **várjate**; **dhéthe** and **dhāithe**; **karāmahe**, **dhāmahe**, **gāmāmahāi**.

b. Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, **dárçam**, **bhojam**, **yojam**; **káras**, **tárdas**, **párcas**, **yámas**, **rādhās**, **váras**; **karat**, **gámat**, **garat**, **jóṣat**, **daghat**, **padāt**, **yamat**, **yodhat**, **rādhat**, **várat**, **vártat**, **çrávat**, **sághat**, **spárat**; **kárāma**, **gamāma**, **rādhāma**; **gáman**,

garan, dárçan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

c. The series bhuvam, bhúvas, bhúvat, bhúvan, and bhuvāni (compare abhuvam: 830a), and the isolated çrúvat, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a guṇa-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of guṇa in the aorist indicative and the perfect of √bhū).

837. Optative. The optative active of this aorist constitutes, with a s interposed between mode-sign and personal endings (567), the precative active of the Hindu grammarians, and is allowed by them to be made from every verb, they recognizing no connection between it and the aorist. But in the 2d sing. the interposed s is not distinguishable from the personal ending; and, after the earliest period (see 838), the ending crowds out the sibilant in the 3d sing., which thus comes to end in yāt instead of yās (compare 555a).

a. In the older language, however, pure optative forms, without the s, are made from this tense. From roots in ā occur (with change of ā to e before the y: 250d) deyām, dheyām and dheyus, and stheyāma; in u-vowels, bhūyāma; in ṛ, kriyāma; in consonants, aṣyām and aṣyāma and aṣyus, vṛjyām, çakyām, yujyāva and yujyātām, sāhyāma, and tṛdyus.

b. The optative middle of the root-aorist is not recognized by the Hindu grammarians as making a part of the precative formation. The RV. has, however, two precative forms of it, namely padīṣṭā and mucīṣṭa. Much more common in the older language are pure optative forms: namely, aṣiya and aṣimāhi (this optative is especially common), indhiya, gmīya, muriya, ruciya; arīta, uhīta, vurīta; idhīma, naṣīmāni, nasīmāhi, pṛcīmāhi, mudīmāhi, yamīmāhi; and probably, from ā-roots, sīmāhi and dhīmāhi (which might also be augmentless indicative, since adhīmāhi and adhītām also occur). All these forms except the three in 3d sing. might be precative according to the general understanding of that mode, as being of persons which even by the native authorities are not claimed ever to exhibit the inserted sibilant.

838. Precative active forms of this aorist are made from the earliest period of the language. In RV., they do not occur from any root which has not also other aorist forms of the same class to show. The RV. forms are: 1st sing., bhūyāsam; 2d sing., avyās, jñeyās, bhūyās, mṛdhyās, sahyās; 3d sing. (in -yās, for -yāst; RV. has no 3d sing. in yāt, which is later the universal ending), avyās, aṣyās, ṛdhyās, gamyās, daghyās, peyās, bhūyās, yamyās, yūyās, vṛjyās, çrūyās, sahyās; 1st pl., kriyāma (beside kriyāma: 837a). AV. has six 1st persons sing. in -yāsam, one 2d in -yās, one 3d in -yāt (and one in -yās, in a RV. passage), three 1st pl. in -yāma (beside one in yāma, in a RV. passage), and the 2d bhūyāstha (doubtless a false reading: TB. has -sta in the corresponding passage). From this time on, the pure optative forms nearly

disappear (the exceptions are given in 837 a). But the precative forms are nowhere common, excepting as made from γ bhū; and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only bhūyāsva and bhūyastām being wanting; and these two persons have no representative from any root). All together, active optative or precative forms are made in the older language from over fifty roots; and the epic and classical texts add them from hardly a dozen more: see further 925.

839. Imperative. Imperative forms of the root-aorist are not rare in the early language. In the middle, indeed, almost only the 2d sing. occurs: it is accented either regularly, on the ending, as kṛṣvā, dhiṣvā, yukṣvā, or on the root, as mātsva, yākṣva, vaṅsva, rāsva, sākṣva; dīṣva and māsva are not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by kṛdhvam, voḍhvam. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., kṛdhí, vṛdhi, çagdhí, çrudhí, gadhi, yaṁdhí, gahi, māhi, sāhi, mogdhi; 3d sing., gaṁtu, dātu, aṣtu, çrótu, sótu; 2d du., dātā, jita, çakta, çrutā, bhūtā, spṛtā, gatā, riktā, voḍhā, sitā, sutā; 3d du., only gaṁtā, dātā, voḍhā; 2d pl., gātā, bhūtā, çruta, kṛta, gata, dāta, dhātana; 3d pl., only dhāntu, çruvantu. These are the most regular forms; but irregularities as to both accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are yaṁtā, varktā, vartā; kārta, gāntā (once gaṁtā), yaṁta, vartta, heta, çróta, sóta; and, with tana, kártana, gāntana, yaṁtana, sotana, and the irregular dhetana (γ dhā); in 3d du., gāntā. Much more irregular are yódhi (instead of yuddhí) from γ yudh, and bodhí from both γ budh and γ bhū (instead of buddhí and bhūdhí). A single form (3d sing.) in tāt is found, namely çastāt. We find kṛdhi also later (MBh. BhP.).

a. As to 2d persons singular in si from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, 624.

Participles of the Root-aorist.

840. In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation.

a. In the active, they are extremely few: namely, kránt, citánt (?), gmánt, sthánt, bhidánt, vṛdhánt, dyutant- (only in composition), and probably ṛdhánt. And BhP. has mṛṣyant (but probably by error, for mṛsyant).

b. In the middle, they are in RV. much more numerous. The accent is usually on the final of the stem: thus, arāṇá, idhāná, krāṇá, juṣāṇá, tṛṣāṇá, nidāná, piçāná, pṛçāná, prathāná, budhāná, bhīyāná, manāná, mandāná, yujāná, rucāná, vipāná, vrāṇá, urāṇá, çubhāná, sacāná, suvāná or svāná, sṛjāná, sprdhāná, hiyāná; — but sometimes on the root-syllable: thus, cītāna, cyāvāna, rúhāna, úhāna (pres.?), vāsāna, çumbhāna; — while a few show both accentuations

(compare 619 d): thus, *dr̥ṣāná* and *dr̥ṣāna*, *dyutāná* and *dyútāna*, *yatāná* and *yátāna*; and *cetāna* and *hrayāṇa* occur only in composition. A very few of these are found once or twice in other texts, namely *ci-tāna*, *dyutāna*, *ruhāṇa*, *vasāna*, *suvāna*; and *-kupāna* occurs once in *Āpast.* (xiv. 28. 4).

841. All together, the roots exhibiting in the older language forms which are with fair probability to be reckoned to the root-aorist-system are about a hundred and thirty; over eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

Passive Aorist third person singular.

842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevailingly passive meaning, is made from many verbs in the older language, and has become a regular part of the passive conjugation, being, according to the grammarians, to be substituted always for the proper third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense.

843. This person is formed by adding $\bar{\text{z}}$ i to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened.

a. The ending i belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in i as do, in the middle voice, the regular 3d sing. perfect, and also the frequent Vedic 3d sing. present of the root-class (613), which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost off is extremely improbable; and hence, as an aorist formation from the simple root, this is most properly treated here, in connection with the ordinary root-aorist.

844. Before the ending $\bar{\text{z}}$ i, a final vowel, and usually also a medial ऋ a before a single consonant, have the *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening; other medial vowels have the *guṇa*-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final ऋ ā is added $\bar{\text{y}}$.

a. Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in ā, *ájñāyi*, *ádhāyi*, *ápāyi*; in other vowels, *áçrāyi*, *ástāvi*, *áhāvi*, *ákāri*, *ástāri*; — from roots with medial i, u, ṛ, *aceti*, *ácchedi*, *açeṣi*, *ábodhi*, *ámoci*, *áyoji*, *ádarçi*, *asarji*, *varhi*; from roots with medial a strengthened, *agāmi*, *ápādi*, *ayāmi*, *avāci*, *vāpi*, *ásādi* (these are all the earlier cases); with a unchanged, only *ájani* (and RV. has once *jāni*), and, in heavy syllables, *ámyakṣi*, *vandi*, *çaṅsi*, *syandi*; with medial ā, *ábhrāji*, *árādhi*; — from roots with initial vowel, *árdhi* (only case).

b. According to the grammarians, certain roots in *am*, and $\sqrt{\text{vadh}}$, retain the a unchanged: quotable are *ajani* (or *ajāni*), *agami* (or *agāmi*),

asvani, avadhi, also araci; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, **adañçi, arambhi, arandhi, ajambhi, abhañji** or **abhāji, alambhi** (always, with prepositions) or **alābhi, astambhi;** ÇB. has **asañji**.

c. Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already given) are: **dhāyi, çrāvi, bhāri, reci, védi, roci, jāni, pādi, sādī, ardhī**. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable (SV. **dhāyí** is doubtless a false reading).

845. These forms are made in RV. from forty roots, and all the other earlier texts combined add only about twenty to the number; from the later language are quotable thirty or forty more; in the epics they are nearly unknown. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, as **gam, pad, sad, bhrāj, rādh, ruc, sañj**, they have (like the so-called passive participle in **ta: 952**) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3 [?]; VS. xxviii. 15; TB. ii. 6. 10²) they appear even to be used transitively.

2. The a-aorist.

846. a. This aorist is in the later language allowed to be made from a large number of roots (near a hundred). It is made in both voices, but is rare in the middle, most of the roots forming their middle according to the **s-class (878 ff.)** or the **iṣ-class (898 ff.)**.

b. Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the **á-class (751 ff.)**; its inflection is the same with that in all particulars; and it takes in general a weak form of root — save the roots in **ऋ ऌ** (three or four only), which have the **guṇa-strengthening**.

c. As example of inflection may be taken the root **सिच् sic pour**. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	असिचम्	असिचाव	असिचाम	असिचे	असिचावद्दि	असिचामद्दि
	ásicam	ásicāva	ásicāma	asice	ásicāvahi	ásicāmahi
2	असिचन्	असिचतम्	असिचत	असिचथास्	असिचेथाम्	असिचध्वम्
	ásicas	ásicatam	ásicata	ásicathās	ásicethām	ásicadhvam
3	असिचत्	असिचताम्	असिचन्	असिचत	असिचेताम्	असिचत्त
	ásicat	ásicatām	ásican	ásicata	ásicetām	ásicanta

847. The a-aorist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the root-aorist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of aorist which is made from more verbs in AV. than in RV.); and in Veda and Brāhmaṇa together about eighty roots exhibit the formation more or less fully. Of these a large number (fully half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the ā-class, having a vowel capable of **guṇa**-strengthening before a final consonant (754): thus, with i, **chid**, **bhid**, **nij**, **ric**, **riṣ**, **lip**, **vid**, **īṣiṣ** (ṣās), **2 ṣiṣ**, **ṣriṣ**, **ṣliṣ**, **sic**, **sridh**; — with u, **krudh**, **kṣudh**, **guh**, **duṣ**, **dyut**, **druh**, **puṣ**, **budh**, **bhuj**, **muc**, **mruc**, **yuj**, **ruc**, **rud**, **rudh**, **muh**, **ruh**, **ṣuc**; — with ṛ, **ṛdh**, **kṛt**, **gṛdh**, **gṛh**, **tṛp**, **tṛṣ**, **tṛh**, **dṛp**, **dṛṣ**, **dṛṣ**, **dhṛṣ**, **nṛt**, **mṛdh**, **mṛṣ**, **vṛt**, **vṛdh**, **vṛṣ**, **sṛp**, **hṛṣ**. A small number end in vowels: thus, **ṛ**, **kṛ**, **sṛ** (which have the **guṇa**-strengthening throughout), **hi** (? **ahyat** once in AV.), and several in **ā**, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their **ā** to **a**: thus, **khyā**, **hvā**, **vyā**, **ṣvā**, and **dā** and **dhā**; and **āsthat**, regarded by the grammarians as aorist to **vas** throw, is doubtless a like formation from **ṣsthā**. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this aorist is lost: thus, **bhraṇṣ**, **taṇs**, **dhvaṇs**, **sraṇs**, **krand**, **randh**. Of less classifiable character are **aṣ**, **kram**, **gam**, **ghas**, **tam**, **ṣam**, **ṣram**, **tan**, **san**, **sad**, **āp**, **das**, **yas**, **ṣak**, **dagh**. The roots **pat**, **naṣ**, **vac** form the tense-stems **papta**, **neṣa**, **voca**, of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication; but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated aorists from the same roots (see below, 854).

a. Many of these aorists are simply transfers of the root-aorist to an a-inflection. Conspicuous examples are **akarāt** etc. and **agamāt** etc. (in the earliest period only **akar** and **agan**).

848. The inflection of this aorist is in general so regular that it will be sufficient to give only examples of its Vedic forms. We may take as model **avidam**, from **ṣvid** find, of which the various persons and modes are more frequent and in fuller variety than those of any other verb. Only the forms actually quotable are instanced; those of which the examples found are from other verbs than **vid** are bracketed. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	ávidam	ávidāva	ávidāma	ávide	[ávidāvahi] ávidāmahi
2	ávidas		[ávidata]	[ávidathās]	
3	ávidat	ávidan	[avidata]	[avidetām]	ávidanta

a. The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have **áhve** etc., **ákhve** etc., **ávide** (?) and **avidanta**, **avocathās** and **avocāvahi** (and **avidāmahe** GB. and **asicāmahe** KB. are doubtless to be amended to **-mahi**).

b. Augmentless forms, with indicative or subjunctive value, are not infrequent. Examples, showing accent on the tense-sign, according to the general analogies of the formation, are: **ruhám, sr̥pas, bhuját, vidát, aratām, vocata, çakan; vidata** and **vyáta** (3d sing.), **arāmahi, çīṣāmahi, vidánta, budhánta, mṛṣanta** (for exceptions as regards accent, see below, 853).

Modes of the a-aorist.

849. The subjunctive forms of this aorist are few; those which occur are instanced below, in the method which was followed for the indicative:

1	[vidáva]	vidāma	[vidāmahe]
2	{ vidási vidás	vidāthas	vidātha
3	vidāt		[vidātāi?]

a. The ending **thana** is found once, in **riṣāthana**. Of middle forms occur only **çīṣātāi** (AV.: but doubtless misreading for **çīṣyātāi**) and **çīṣāmahe** (AV., for RV. **çīṣāmahi**). The form **sádathas** seems an indicative, made from a secondary present-stem.

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brāhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, **bhideyam, videyam, sanéyam** (TB. once **sanem**); **vidés, games; gamet, vocet; gametam; gaméma, çakéma, sanéma; vareta;** in middle, (only) **videya; gamemahi, vanemahi; ruhethās** etc. in the epics must be viewed rather as present forms of the á-class.

a. A single middle precativ form occurs, namely **videṣṭa** (AV., once); it is so isolated that how much may be inferred from it is very questionable.

851. A complete series of active imperative forms are made from **ṽsad** (including **sadatana**, 2d pl.), and the middle **sadantām**. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, **sána, sára, ruha, vidá; ruhátam, vidátam; khyáta**. TS. has once **vṛdhātu** (compare 740).

Participles of the a-aorist.

852. a. The active participles **trpánt, rīṣant** or **rīṣant, vṛdhánt, çīṣánt, çucánt, sádant**, and (in participial compounds, 1309) **kṛtant, guhant-, vidant-** (all RV.), are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

b. Likewise the middle participles **guhámāna, dhṛṣámāna, dása-māna** (?), **nṛtāmāna, çucámāna**, and perhaps **vṛdhāná, sridhāná**.

Irregularities of the a-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here.

The roots in **ṛ**, which (847) show a strengthening like that of the

present of the unaccented *a*-class, have likewise the accent upon the radical syllable, like that class: thus, from √ṛ, *áranta* (augmentless 3d pl.), *sárat* and *sára*. The root *sad* follows the same rule: thus, *sáda-tam*; and from √san are found *sánas* and *sánat* and *sánema* and *sána*, beside *sanéyam* and *sanéma*. It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the *bhū*-class (unaccented *a*-class) present-system. On the other hand, *rúhat* (beside *ruhám*, *ruháva*, *ruhátam*), *çíṣat* and *çíṣātāi* (?), and *ríṣant* or *rísant* are more isolated cases. In view of such as these, the forms from the stem *bhúva* and *çrúva* (836 c) are perhaps to be referred hither. From √vac, the optative is accented *vocéyam*, *vocés*, *vocéma*, *vocéyus*; elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable: thus, *vóce*, *vócat*, *vócati*, *vócanta*.

854. a. The stem *voc* has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in RV. especially far outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from √vac. Besides those already given, we find *vocā* (1st sing. impv.) and *vocāti*, *vocāvahāi*; *voces*, *voceya*, *vocemahi*; *vocatāt* (2d sing.), *vocatu*, *vocatam*, *vocata*.

b. Of the stem *neça* from √naç only *neçat* occurs.

c. The root *çās* (as in some of its present forms: 639) is weakened to *çiṣ*, and makes *açiṣam*.

855. Isolated forms which have more or less completely the aspect of indicative presents are made in the oldest language from some roots beside the aorist-systems of the first two classes. It must be left for maturer research to determine how far they may be relics of original presents, and how far recent productions, made in the way of conversion of the aorist-stem to a root in value.

a. Such forms are the following: from √kr̥ *make*, *kárṣi*, *kr̥thas*, *kr̥tha*, *kr̥ṣe*; from √gam, *gathá*; from √ci *gather*, *ceti*; from √dā *give*, *dāti*, *dātu*; from √dhā *put*, *dhāti*; from √pā *drink*, *pāthás*, *pānti*; from √bhṛ, *bharti*; from √muc, *mucánti*; from √rudh, *rudhmas* (?); from √vṛt, *vartti*.

II. (3) Reduplicated Aorist.

856. The reduplicated aorist is different from the other forms of aorist in that it has come to be attached in almost all cases to the derivative (causative etc.) conjugation in *अय* *áya*, as the aorist of that conjugation, and is therefore liable to be made from all roots which have such a conjugation, beside the aorist or aorists which belong to their primary conjugation. Since, however, the connection of

the two is not a formal one (the aorist being made directly from the root, and not from the causative stem), but rather a matter of established association, owing to kinship of meaning, the formation and inflection of this kind of aorist is best treated here, along with the others.

857. Its characteristic is a reduplication of the radical syllable, by which it is assimilated, on the one hand, to the imperfect of the reduplicating class (856 ff.), and, on the other hand, to the so-called pluperfect (817 ff.). But the aorist reduplication has taken on a quite peculiar character, with few traces left even in the Veda of a different condition which may have preceded this.

858. a. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the reduplication, it follows the general rules already given (590). And the quality of the reduplicated vowel is in general as in the formations already treated: it needs only to be noted that an a-vowel and ṛ (or ar) are usually (for exceptions, see below, 860) repeated by an i-vowel — as they are, to a considerable extent, in the reduplicated present also (860).

b. But in regard to quantity, this aorist aims always at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllables, making the one heavy and the other light. And the preference is very markedly for a heavy reduplication and a light root-syllable — which relation is brought about wherever the conditions allow. Thus:

859. If the root is a light syllable (having a short vowel followed by a single consonant), the reduplication is made heavy.

a. And this, usually by lengthening the reduplicating vowel, with ī for radical a or ṛ or ḷ (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, arīriṣam, adūduṣam, ajījanam, avīvṛdham, acīkḷpam. The great majority of reduplicated aorists are of this form.

b. If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vow-

el, the vowel remains short: thus, **acikṣipam**, **acukrudham**, **atitrasam**, **apispṛṣam**.

860. If the root is a heavy syllable (having a long vowel, or a short before two consonants), the vowel of the reduplication is short: and in this case ऋ a or ऋ ā, and ऌ ṛ (if it occurs), are reduplicated by ऋ a.

a. Thus, **adidikṣam**, **abubhūṣam** (not quotable), **adadakṣam**, **adadhāvam**, **atataṅsam**. And, in the cases in which a root should both begin and end with two consonants, both syllables would be necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former: thus, **apapraccham**, **acaskandam** (but no such forms are found in use).

b. A medial ṛ is allowed by the grammarians to retain the strengthening of the causative stem, together with, of course, reduplication by a: thus, **acakarṣat**, **avavartat** (beside **acikṛṣat**, **avivṛtat**); but no such forms have been met with in use.

c. These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817 ff.).

861. a. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in **arīradham** from √rādh, **avīvaṣam** from √vāṣ, **asiṣadham** from √sādh, **ajīvivam** from √jīv, **adīdipam** (K. and later: RV. has **didīpas**) from √dīp, **abībhiṣam** from √bhīṣ, **asūsucam** from √sūc; or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in **acikradam** from √krand, **asiṣyadam** from √syand.

b. In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in āp, the ā is abbreviated to i: thus, **atiṣṭhipam** etc., **ajījñipat** (but KSS. **ajījñapat**), **jīhipas**, **ajījipata** (but VS. **ajījapata**); but from ṣrap comes **aṣiṣrapāma** (QB.).

862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only **āmamat** (or **amamat**) from √am, **āpipan** (QB.: BAU. **āpipipat**) from √āp, and **arpipam** (augmentless) from the causative stem arp of √ṛ — in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as **ārcicam** from √arc, **āubjijam** from √ubj, **ārjijam** from √arh, **ācīkṣam** from √īkṣ, **ārdidham** from √ṛdh. Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029 b.

863. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:

a. From √dyut is made (V.B.) the stem **didyuta**, taking its reduplicating vowel from the radical semivowel. From √gup, instead of **jūgupā** (B.S.), JB. has **jugūpa**, and some texts (B.S.) have **jugupa**; and **jīhvara** (B.) is met with beside the regular **jihvara** (V.B.). In **caccha-**

da (Nir.), and the more or less doubtful **paprātha** and **çaçvacá** and **sasvaja** (RV.) we have **a** instead of **i** in the reduplication.

b. In support of their false view of this aorist as made from the causative stem instead of directly from the root, the native grammarians teach that roots ending in an **u**-vowel may reduplicate with **i**, as representing the **ā** of the strengthened stem: thus, **bībhava** from **bhāv-aya**, as well as **būbhava** from **bhū**. No example of such a formation, however, is met with except **ápiplavam** (ÇB., once); against it we find **dudruva**, **būbhava**, **rūruva**, **çuçruva**, and others.

c. As to **apaptam**, **avocam**, and **aneçam**, see above, 847.

864. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation: that is to say, it has **अ** **a** as final stem-vowel, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions (733 a). Thus, from $\sqrt{\text{jan}}$ *give birth* (stem **jījana**):

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अजीजनम्	अजीजनाव	अजीजनाम	अजीजने	अजीजनावहि	अजीजनामहि
	ájījanam	ájījanāva	ájījanāma	ájījane	ájījanāvahi	ájījanāmahi
2	अजीजनस्	अजीजनतम्	अजीजनत	अजीजनथास्	अजीजनेथाम्	अजीजनधम्
	ájījanas	ájījanatam	ájījanata	ájījanathās	ájījanethām	ájījanadhvam
3	अजीजनत्	अजीजनताम्	अजीजान्	अजीजनत	अजीजनेताम्	अजीजनत्
	ájījanat	ájījanatām	ájījanan	ájījanata	ájījanetām	ájījananta

865. The middle forms are rare in the older language (the 3d pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all, both active and middle, are quotable except 1st and 2d du. middle and 1st du. active.

a. **Atītape** appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.

866. A final **ṛ** has the **guṇa**-strengthening before the endings: thus, **acīkarat**, **apīparam**, **atītaras**, **dīdaras**, **adīdharat**, **amīmarat**, **avīvaran**, **jihvaras**. Of similar strengthened forms from **ī** and **u**-roots are found **apīprayan** (TS.), **abībhayanta** (RV.), **apīplavam** (ÇB.), **acūcyavat** (K.), **açuçravat** (MS.), **atuṣṭavam** (RV.). Not many roots ending in other vowels than **ṛ** make this aorist: see below, 868.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, **sīṣvap** (2d sing., augmentless) from $\sqrt{\text{svap}}$, and **açīçnat** from $\sqrt{\text{çnath}}$; from roots in **ṛ** or **ar**, **dīdhar** (2d sing.), and **ajigar** (2d and 3d sing.); for roots in **i**- and **u**-vowels, see 868. Of 3d pl. in **us** are found almost only a form

or two from *i-* and *u-*roots, with *guṇa* before the ending: thus, *açiçrayus*, *ácucyavus*, *açuçravus*, *asuşavus*; but also *abībhajus* (ÇB.), and *nīnaçus* (MBh.).

868. In the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this aorist as a part of their primary conjugation: they are *çri* and *çvi*, *dru* and *sru*, *kam*, and *dhā* *suck* (*çvi* and *dhā* optionally).

a. In the older language are found from *çri* *açiçret* and *açiçrayus* (noticed in the preceding paragraph) and *açiçriyat* (ÇB.); from *dru*, *adudrot* and *adudruvat* (TB.: not used as aorist); from *sru*, *asusrot* and (augmentless) *susros* and *susrot*; from *kam*, *acīka-metām* and *-manta* (B.S.). Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in *u* or *ū*: thus, *anūnot* and *nūnot* from *nu*; *yūyot* from *yu* *separate*; *dūdhot* from *dhū*; *apupot* from *pū*; *tūtos* and *tūtot* from *tu*; *asuşot* from *sū*; — and one or two from roots in *i* or *ī*: thus, *sişet* from *si* (or *sā*) *bind*; *amīmet* from *mā* *bellow*; *apipres* (with *apiprayan*, noticed above) from *prī* (and the "imperfects" from *dīdhī* etc., 676, are of corresponding form). And from *çyu* are made, with union-vowel *ī*, *acucyavīt* and *acucyavītana*. Few of these forms possess a necessarily causative or a decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not be assigned to the perfect-system.

b. From the later language are quotable only *açiçriyat* etc. (3d pl., *-yan* or *-yus*) and *adudruvat*.

Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

869. a. As in other preterit formations, the augmentless indicative persons of this aorist are used subjunctively, and they are very much more frequent than true subjunctives.

b. Of the latter are found only *rīradhā* (1st sing.); *tītapāsi*; *cīkīpāti* and *sīşadhāti*, and *pisprçati* (as if corresponding to an indicative *apisprk*, like *açiçnat*); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. *çaçvacāī*.

c. The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, *dīdharas*, *nīnaças*; *jījanat*, *pīparat*; *jījanan*; also *sīşvap*; but, on the other hand, we have also *pīpārat*, *çiçráthas* and *çiçnáthat*, and *dudrávat* and *tuştāvāt* (which may perhaps belong to the perfect: compare 810). According to the native grammarians, the accent rests either on the radical syllable or on the one that follows it.

870. Optative forms are even rarer. The least questionable case is the middle "precativē" *rīrişīṣṭa* (*rīrişīṣṭa* has been ranked above with *sāsaḥīṣṭa*, as a perfect: 812 b). *Cucyuvīmahi* and *cucyavīrata* belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of imperatives, we have the indubitable forms *pūpurantu* and *çiçrathantu*. And *jigṛtām* and *jigṛtā*, and *dīdhṛtam* and *dīdhṛtā*,

and **jajastám** (all RV. only), and perhaps **suṣūdáta** (AV.), are to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) **ajīgar** and **adīdhar**: their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated Imperfects (856 ff.), with which we are probably to regard this aorist as ultimately related.

872. No participle is found belonging to the reduplicated aorist.

873. The number of roots from which this aorist is met with in the earlier language is about a hundred and twenty. In the later Sanskrit it is unusual; in the series of later texts mentioned above (826) it occurs only twice; and it has been found quotable from hardly fifty roots in the whole epic and classical literature.

III. Sigmatic or Sibilant Aorist.

874. a. The common tense-sign of all the varieties of this aorist is a **स् स** (convertible to **स् ष**: 180) which is added to the root in forming the tense-stem.

b. This sibilant has no analogues among the class-signs of the present-system; but it is to be compared with that which appears (and likewise with or without the same union-vowel **i**) in the stems of the future tense-system (932 ff.) and of the desiderative conjugation (1027 ff.).

c. To the root thus increased the augment is prefixed and the secondary endings are added.

875. In the case of a few roots, the sibilant tense-stem (always ending in **न् क् ष**) is further increased by an **अ a**, and the inflection is nearly like that of an imperfect of the second or **a-** conjugation.

876. a. In the vast majority of cases, the sibilant is the final of the tense-stem, and the inflection is like that of an imperfect of the first or non-**a-**conjugation.

b. And these, again, fall into two nearly equal and strongly marked classes, according as the sibilant is added immediately to the final of the root, or with an auxiliary vowel **इ i**, making the tense-sign **इष् ष**. Finally, before this **इष् ष** the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a **स् स**, making the whole addition **सिष् ष**.

877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:

4. with स् s simply after the root: s-aorist;

5. with इ i before the स् s: iṣ-aorist;

6. the same, with स् s at end of root: siṣ-aorist.

B. With अ a added to the sibilant before the endings:

7. with sibilant and अ a: sa-aorist.

a. As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary i in the aorist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay down any strict rules as to this accordance. Compare 903.

4. The s-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding स् s to the augmented root, of which also the vowel is usually strengthened.

879. The general rules as to the strengthening of the root-vowel are these:

a. A final vowel (including ऋ ṛ) has the vṛddhi-change in the active, and (excepting ऋ ṛ) guṇa in the middle: thus, from √नी lead, active stem अनीष् anāiṣ, middle stem अनेष् aneṣ; from √श्रु ṣru hear, अश्रौष् aṣrāuṣ and अश्रोष् aṣroṣ; from √कृ kr make, अकार्ष् akārṣ and अकृष् akṛṣ.

b. A medial vowel has the vṛddhi-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from √चन्द chand seem, active stem अच्चात्स् acchānts, middle stem अचक्षत्स् acchants; from √रिच् ric leave, अरैत् arāiḥ and अरित् ariḥ; from √रुध् rudh obstruct, अरौत् arāuts and अरुत् aruts; from √सृज् srj pour out, अस्रात् asrāḥ and असृत् asṛḥ.

880. a. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उस् us (not अन् an) in 3d pl. act., and अत ata (not अत् anta) in 3d pl. mid.

b. But before **स् s** and **त् t** of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an **इ̄ ī**, making the endings **इस् is** and **इत् it**.

c. This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.); see below, 888.

881. a. Before endings beginning with **t** or **th**, the tense-sign **s** is (233 c—e) omitted after the final consonant of a root — unless this be **r**, or **n** or **m** (converted to **anusvāra**).

b. The same omission is of course made before **dhvam** after a consonant; and after a vowel the sibilant is either omitted or assimilated (the equivalence of **dhv** and **ddhv** in the theories of the grammarians and the practice of the manuscripts makes it impossible to say which: 232); and then the ending becomes **dhvam**, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been **ष** (226 c): thus, **astodhvam** and **avr̥dhvam** (beside **astoṣata** and **avr̥ṣata**); **dr̥dhvam** (\sqrt{dr} *regard*: ÇB., once), which is to **dr̥thās** (2d sing.) as **avr̥dhvam** and **avr̥ṣata** to **avri** and **avr̥thās**; and **kr̥dhvam** (M.).

c. According to the grammarians, the omission of **s** before **t** and **th** takes place also after a short vowel (the case can occur only in the 2d and 3d sing. mid.); but we have seen above (834 a) that this is to be viewed rather as a substitution in those persons of the forms of the root-aorist. Neither in the earlier nor in the later language, however, does any example occur of an aorist-form with **s** retained after a short vowel before these endings.

d. After the final sonant aspirate of a root, the sibilant before the same endings is said by the Hindu grammarians to disappear altogether, the combination of the aspirate with the **th** or **t** of the ending being then made according to the ordinary rule for such cases (160): thus, from the stem **arāuts**, for **arāudh-s**, is made **arāuddha**, as if from **arāudh+ta** directly. No example of such a form is quotable from the literature; but the combination is established by the occurrence of other similar cases (233 f). In the middle, in like manner, **aruts+ta** becomes **aruddha**, as if from **arudh+ta**; but all such forms admit also of being understood as of the root-aorist. Those that have been found to occur were given above (834 d); probably they belong at least in part to this aorist.

e. From the three nasal roots **gam**, **tan**, **man** are made the 2d and 3d sing. mid. persons **agathās** and **agata**, **atathās** and **atata**, and **amata** (**amathās** not quotable), reckoned by the native grammarians as s-aorist forms, made, after loss of their final root-nasal, with loss also of the sibilant after a short vowel. They are doubtless better referred to the root-aorist. But JB. has a corresponding 1st sing. **atasi** from \sqrt{tan} .

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of

sibilant aorist we may take the roots नी *nī lead*, and क्तिच् *chid cut off*. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 अनैषम् ánāiṣam	अनैष ánāiṣva	अनैष्म ánāiṣma	अनेषि áneṣi	अनेष्वहि áneṣvahi	अनेष्महि áneṣmahi
2 अनैषीम् ánāiṣīs	अनैष्टम् ánāiṣṭam	अनैष्ट ánāiṣṭa	अनेष्टास् áneṣṭhās	अनेषाथाम् áneṣāthām	अनेढ्वम् áneḍhvam
3 अनैषीत् ánāiṣīt	अनैष्टाम् ánāiṣṭām	अनैषुस् ánāiṣus	अनेष्ट áneṣṭa	अनेषाताम् áneṣātām	अनेषत áneṣata

active.		
s.	d.	p.
1 अचकैत्सम् áčchāitsam	अचकैत्स्व áčchāitsva	अचकैत्सम् áčchāitsma
2 अचकैत्सीम् áčchāitsīs	अचकैत्तम् áčchāittam	अचकैत् áčchāitta
3 अचकैत्सीत् áčchāitsīt	अचकैत्ताम् áčchāittām	अचकैत्सुस् áčchāitsus

middle.		
1 अचिक्त्सि áčchitsi	अचिक्त्स्वहि áčchitsvahi	अचिक्त्समहि áčchitsmahi
2 अचिक्त्थाम् áčchitthās	अचिक्त्साथाम् áčchitsāthām	अचिक्त्तुम् áčchiddhvam
3 अचिक्त्त áčchitta	अचिक्त्साताम् áčchitsātām	अचिक्त्सत áčchitsata

a. From \sqrt{rudh} *obstruct*, the 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl. act. and the 2d and 3d sing. mid. would be *árāuddham*, *árāuddhām*, *árāuddha*, *áruddhās*, *áruddha*; from \sqrt{srj} *pour out*, *ásrāṣṭam*, *ásrāṣṭām*, *asrāṣṭa*, *asrṣṭhās*, *asrṣṭa*; from $\sqrt{drç}$ *see*, *ádrāṣṭam* etc. (as from \sqrt{srj}). But from $\sqrt{kṛ}$ *do* the same persons in the active are *ákārṣṭam*, *ákārṣṭām*, *ákārṣṭa*; from \sqrt{tan} *stretch* they are *átāṅstam*, *átāṅstām*, *átāṅsta*.

883. The omission of **s** in the active persons (*áčchāittam*, *áčchāittām*, *áčchāitta*) is a case of very rare occurrence; all the quotable examples were given above (233 e). As to the like omission in middle persons, see 881. The ChU. has twice *ávāstam* for *avāts-tam* (\sqrt{vas} *dwell*): this may be viewed as another case of total disappearance of the sibilant, and consequent restoration of the final radical to its original form.

884. Certain roots in *ā* weaken the *ā* in middle inflection to *i* (as also in the root-aorist: above, **834 a**): these are said to be *sthā*, *dā*, and *dhā*; in the older language have been noted *ádīṣi* and *adiṣata* from *√dā give* (and *adiṣi* perhaps once from *√dā bind*), *adhiṣi* and *adhiṣata* (with the optative *dhiṣīya*) from *√dhā put*, and *asthiṣata*; also *agīṣṭhās* and *agīṣata* from *√gā go* (with *adhi*).

a. The middle inflection of the aorist of *√dā* would be, then, according to the grammarians: *ádīṣi*, *ádithās*, *ádita*; *ádiṣvahi*, *ádiṣāthām*, *ádiṣātām*; *ádiṣmahi*, *ádiḍhvam*, *ádiṣata*.

885. Roots ending in changeable *ṛ* (so-called roots in *ṛ*: **242**) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to *īṛ* in middle forms: thus, *astīṛṣi*, *astīṛṣṭhās* etc. (from *√str*); of such forms, however, has been found in the older language only *akīṛṣata*, PB.

886. The *s*-aorist is made in the older language from about a hundred and forty roots (in RV., from about seventy; in AV., from about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.); and the epic and classical literature adds but a very small number. It has in the Veda certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and also the full series of modes — of which the optative middle is retained also later as a part of the "precativē" (but see **925 b**).

887. Irregularities of stem-formation are as follows:

a. The strengthening of the root-syllable is now and then irregularly made or omitted: thus, *ayokṣīt* (AB.), *chetsīs* (B.S.; also occurs in MBh., which has further *yotsīs*), *rotsīs* (KU.); *amatsus* (RV.); *ayāñsi* and *arāutsi* (AB.), *asākṣi* etc. (V.B.: *√sah*), *māñsta* (AV.) and *māñstām* (TA.); *lopsīya* (U.); and MBh. has *drogdhās*. From *√saj* is made *sāñkṣīt* (U. etc.), and from *√majj*, *amāñkṣīt* (not quotable). The form *ayuñkṣmahi* (BhP.) is doubtless a false reading.

b. A radical final nasal is lost in *agasmahi* (RV.) and *gasāthām* (TA.) from *√gam*, and in the optatives *masīya* and *vasīmahi* (RV.) from *√man* and *van*.

c. The roots *hū*, *dhū*, and *nū* have *ū* instead of *o* in the middle: thus, *ahūṣata*, *adhūṣata*, *anūṣi* and *anūṣātām* and *anūṣata*; *√dhur* (or *dhūrv*) makes *adhūrṣata*.

d. ÇB. has once *atrāsātām* for *atrāstām* (*√trā*).

888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard to inflection is the frequent absence of *ī* in the endings of 2d and 3d sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-finals (**150**). The forms without *ī* are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, *adrāk*, occurs in GB.; one, *ayāt*, in KB.; and two, *adrāk* and *ayāt*, in ÇB.; PB. has none).

889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, **aprās** (for both **aprās-s** and **aprās-t**) from $\sqrt{\text{prā}}$; and in like manner **ahās** from $\sqrt{\text{hā}}$; — **ajāis** (for **ajāis-t**) from $\sqrt{\text{ji}}$; and in like manner **acāis** from $\sqrt{\text{ci}}$, and **nāis** (augmentless) from $\sqrt{\text{nī}}$; — and **yāus** (for **ayāus-t**) from $\sqrt{\text{yu}}$.

a. But (as in other like cases: **555 a**) the ending is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have in 3d sing. **ajāit** (beside **ajāis** and **ajāisīt**) from $\sqrt{\text{ji}}$; and in like manner **acāit**, **açrāit**, **ahāit**, **nāit** (no examples have been noted except from roots in **i** and **ī**): compare **ayās** and **srās**, 2d sing., **890 a**.

890. a. If the root (in either its simple or strengthened form) ends in a consonant, the tense-sign is lost with the ending. Thus, **abhār** (for **abhārṣ-t**: beside **abhārṣam**, **abhārṣtām**) from $\sqrt{\text{bhr}}$; other like cases are **ahār**, and (from roots in **ar**) **akṣār**, **atsār**, **asvār**, **hvār**. Further, **ārāik** (**585 a**: for **arāikṣ-t**) from $\sqrt{\text{ric}}$; like cases are **açvāit** from $\sqrt{\text{çvit}}$, and (from roots with medial **u**) **adyāut** from $\sqrt{\text{dyut}}$, **arāut** from $\sqrt{\text{rudh}}$, and **māuk** from $\sqrt{\text{muc}}$. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and **h**, **aprāk** from $\sqrt{\text{prc}}$, **asrāk** from $\sqrt{\text{srj}}$, **abhāk** from $\sqrt{\text{bhaj}}$, **adrāk** from $\sqrt{\text{dṛç}}$, **adhāk** from $\sqrt{\text{dah}}$; but, with a different change of the final, **ayāt** from $\sqrt{\text{yaj}}$, **aprāt** from $\sqrt{\text{prch}}$, **avāt** from $\sqrt{\text{vah}}$, and **asrāt** from $\sqrt{\text{srj}}$; and (above, **146 a**) **srās** appears to stand twice in AV. for **srās-s** from $\sqrt{\text{srj}}$; RV. has also twice **ayās** from $\sqrt{\text{yaj}}$. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, **atān** from $\sqrt{\text{tan}}$, **khān** from $\sqrt{\text{khan}}$, **ayān** and **anān** from $\sqrt{\text{yam}}$ and **nam** (**143 a**).

b. If, again, the roots end in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, **acchān** (for **acchānts-t**; beside **acchāntta** and **acchāntsus**) from $\sqrt{\text{chand}}$; and other like cases are **akrān**, **askān**, and **asyān**.

891. A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. **bhāis**, from $\sqrt{\text{bhī}}$.

Modes of the s-aorist.

892. The indicative forms without augment are used in a subjunctive sense, especially after **mā** prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only **vānsi**, middle; judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.

893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Brāhmaṇas. They are regularly made with **guṇa**-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.

a. The forms with primary endings are: in active, *stoṣāṇi*; *darśasi*; *neṣati*, *parṣati*, *pāsati*, *matsati*, *yoṣati*, *vakṣati*, *sakṣati*; *dāsathas*, *dhāsathas*, *pārṣathas*, *vakṣathas*, *varṣathas*; *pāsatas*, *yaṁsatas*, *yakṣatas*, *vakṣatas*; *dhāsatha*, *neṣatha*, *pārṣatha*, *māt-satha*; — in middle, *naṁsāi*, *māṁsāi*; *māṁsase*; *kraṁsate*, *trāsate*, *darṣate*, *māṁsate*, *yakṣate*, *rāsate*, *vaṁsate*, *sākṣate*, *hāsate*; *trāsāthe* (not *trāsāithe*, as we should rather expect); *nāṁsante*, *māṁsante*: and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., *māsātāi*.

b. The forms with secondary endings are (active only): *jéṣas*, *vák-ṣas*; *dárṣat*, *néṣat*, *pákṣat*, *párṣat*, *préṣat*, *yákṣat*, *yóṣat*, *váṁsat*, *vákṣat*, *véṣat*, *sátsat*, *chantsat*, etc. (some twenty others); *yakṣatām*; *váṁsāma*, *sákṣāma*, *stoṣāma*; *parṣan*, *yaṁsan*, *yoṣan*, *rāsan*, *vakṣan*, *ṣeṣan*, *ṣróṣan*. Of these, *yakṣat* and *vakṣat* are found not rarely in the Brāhmaṇas; any others, hardly more than sporadically.

894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:

a. The forms *dṛkṣase* and *pṛkṣase* (2d sing. mid.) lack the *guṇa*-strengthening.

b. *Jeṣam*, *stoṣam*, and *yoṣam* (AV. *yūṣam*, with *ū* for *o* as in *anūṣata* etc.) appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the *vṛddhi*-strengthening: in which case *jeṣma* is to be compared with them (we should expect *jāiṣma* or *jeṣāma*).

c. From roots in *ā* are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, *yeṣam* (only case in RV.), *khyeṣam*, *jñeṣam*, *geṣam* and *geṣma*, *deṣma*, *seṣam* and *set*, *stheṣam* and *stheṣus*. Their value is optative. The analogy of *jeṣam* and *jeṣma* suggests the possibility of their derivation from *i*-forms of the *ā*-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precative character (thus, *yā-i-s-am*). That they really belong to the *iṣ*-aorist appears highly improbable.

d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in *se*, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, *kṛṣe*, *hiṣe* (and *ohiṣe*?), *stuṣé*; 2. from present-stems, *arcase*, *ṛñjase*, *yajase*, *gāyīṣe*, *gṛñīṣé* and *punīṣé*. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, 897 b.

895. Optative forms of this aorist are made in the middle only, and they have in 2d and 3d sing. always the precative *s* before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: *diṣīya*, *dhiṣīya*, *bhakṣīyá*, *masīya* (for *maṁsīya*), *muṁkṣīya*, *rāsīya*, *lopsīya*, *sākṣīya*, *strṣīya*; *maṁsīṣthās*; *darṣīṣṭa*, *bhakṣīṣṭa*, *maṁsīṣṭa*, *mṛkṣīṣṭa*; *bhakṣīmāhi*, *dhuṁkṣīmāhi*, *maṁsīmāhi*, *vaṁsīmāhi*, *vasīmāhi*, *sakṣīmāhi*; *maṁsīrata*. PB. has *bhuṁkṣīṣīya*, which should belong to a *siṣ*-aorist. The RV. form *trāsīthām* (for *trāsīyāthām* or *trāsāthām*) is an isolated anomaly.

a. This optative makes a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language: see below, 923, 925 b.

896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find the 2d sing. act. *neṣa* and *paṛṣa* and the 2d pl. *yaṁsata* (from *a*-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. *rāsatām* and pl. *rāsantām* (of which the same may be said).

Participles of the s-aorist.

897. a. Active participles are *dākṣat* or *dhākṣat*, and *sākṣat* (both RV.).

b. If *ṛñjase* (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an *s*-aorist form, *ṛñjasāná* is an *s*-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are *aṛṣasāná*, *óhasāna*, *jrayasāná*, *dhiyasāná*, *mandasāná*, *yamasāná*, *rabhasāná*, *vṛdhasāná*, *sahasāná*, *ṣavasāná*, all in RV.; with *namasāná*, *bhiyasāna*, in AV. In RV. occurs also once *dhīṣamāṇa*, apparently an *a*-form of an *s*-aorist of *√dhī*.

5. The iṣ-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign *ṣ* by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel *ṣi*, making *ṣiṣ*, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.

899. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:

a. A final vowel has *vṛddhi* in the active, and *guṇa* in the middle: thus, *अपाविष्* *apāviṣ* and *अपविष्* *apaviṣ* from *√पू* *pū* *cleanse*; *अतारिष्* *atāriṣ*, act., from *√तृ* *tr* *pass*; *अशयिष्* *aṣayiṣ*, mid., from *√शी* *ṣī* *lie*.

b. A medial vowel has *guṇa*, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, *अलेशिष्* *aleṣiṣ*, act. and mid., from *√लिष्* *liṣ* *tear*; *अरोचिष्* *arociṣ* from *√रुच्* *ruc* *shine*; *अवर्षिष्* *avarṣiṣ* from *√वृष्* *vṛṣ* *rain*; but *अजीविष्* *ajīviṣ* from *√जीव्* *jīv* *live*.

c. Medial *अ* is sometimes lengthened in the active; but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.

d. The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are *kan*, *tan*, *ran*, *stan*, *svan*, *han*, *vraj*, *sad*, *mad*, *car*, *tsar*, *svar*, *jval*, *das*, *tras*. From *ran*, *san*, *kram*, *vad*, *rakṣ*, and *sah* occur forms of both kinds. From *√math* or *manth* are made the two stems *mathiṣ* and *manthiṣ*.

900. a. Of exceptions may be noted: √mṛj has (as elsewhere: 627) vṛddhi instead of guṇa: thus, amārjiṣam; √str has astariṣ, and √ṣṛ has aṣarīt (also aṣarāit in AV.), with guṇa in active.

b. The root grabh or grah has (as in future etc., below, 936e, 956) long ī instead of i before the sibilant: thus, agrabhīṣma, agrahīṣta, agrabhīṣata. The roots in changeable ṛ (so-called roots in ṛ: 242), and √vr are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long ī from such roots have been found quotable. A Sūtra (PGS.) has once anayīṣta from √nī (doubtless a false reading).

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उस् us and अत ata in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combinations iṣ-s and iṣ-t are from the earliest period of the language contracted into ईस् is and ईत् it.

a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in iḍhvam (or iḍdhvam, from iṣ-dhvam: 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable, namely ajanīḍhvam, artiḍhvam, āindhiḍhvam, vepiḍhvam; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 226c.

902. As examples of the inflection of the iṣ-aorist may be taken the roots पू pū cleanse, and बुध् budh wake. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अपाविषम् ápāviṣam	अपाविष्व ápāviṣva	अपाविष्म ápāviṣma	अपविषि ápaviṣi	अपविष्वहि ápaviṣvahi	अपविष्महि ápaviṣmahi
2	अपावीस् ápāviṣ	अपाविष्टम् ápāviṣtam	अपाविष्ट ápāviṣta	अपविष्टास् ápaviṣthās	अपविषाथाम् ápaviṣāthām	अपविढ्वम् ápaviḍhvam
3	अपावीत् ápāvit	अपविष्टाम् ápāviṣtām	अपविषुस् ápāviṣus	अपविष्ट ápaviṣta	अपविषाताम् ápaviṣātām	अपविषत ápaviṣata
1	अबोधिषम् ábodhiṣam	अबोधिष्व ábodhiṣva	अबोधिष्म ábodhiṣma	अबोधिषि ábodhiṣi	अबोधिष्वहि ábodhiṣvahi	अबोधिष्महि ábodhiṣmahi
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

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

roots have both active and middle forms in the older language, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other.

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

904. Irregularities are to be noticed as follows:

a. The contracted forms **akramīm**, **agrabhīm**, and **avadhīm** (with augmentless **vādhīm**) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For **āṇarīt** occurs in AV. **āṇarāit**; also (in a part of the manuscripts) **ṇarāis** for **ṇarīs**; **agrahāiṣam** is found in AB. (also the monstrous form **ajagrabhāiṣam**: see 801i). **Ajayit**, with short *i* in the ending, occurs in TS.

c. AV. has once **nudiṣṭhās**, without *guṇa*.

d. The forms **atārima** (RV.), **avādiran** (AV.), and **bādhithās** (TA.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist: compare **avitā**, 908. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, **jānithās**, **mādithās**, **varthithās**, **ṇānithās**, and (the causative: 1048) **aghātayithās**. **Aghītām** and **gṛhithās** and **gṛhīta**, if not false readings for **gṛhñī-**, are probably irregular present-formations.

Modes of the *iṣ-*aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: **ṇānsiṣam**, **vādhīm**; **māthīs**, **vādhīs**, **yāvīs**, **sāvīs**; **āvīt**, **jūrvīt**, **māthīt**, **vādhīt**, **veṇīt**; **mardhiṣtam**, **doṣiṣtam**, **hiṇsiṣtam**; **aviṣtam**, **jāniṣtam**, **bādhīṣtam**; **ṇramiṣma**, **vādiṣma**; **vadhiṣta** and **vadhiṣtana**, **mathiṣtana**, **hiṇsiṣta**; **hvāriṣus**, **grahiṣus**; — in the middle: **rādhiṣi**; **jāniṣthās**, **marṣiṣthās**, **vyathiṣthās**; **krāmiṣta**, **jāniṣta**, **paviṣta**, **prāthiṣta**, **māndiṣta**; **vyathiṣmahi**. The accent is on the root-syllable (**tāriṣús**, AV. once, is doubtless an error).

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

b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: **aviṣas**, **kāniṣas**, **tāriṣas**, **rakṣiṣas**, **vādhīṣas**, **vādiṣas**, **veṣiṣas**, **ṇānsiṣas**; **kāriṣat**, **jambhiṣat**, **jōṣiṣat**, **takṣiṣat**, **tāriṣat**, **nīndiṣat**, **pāriṣat**, **bōdhiṣat**, **mārdhiṣat**, **yāciṣat**, **yodhiṣat**, **rakṣiṣat**, **vaniṣat**, **vyathiṣat**, **ṇānsiṣat**, **saniṣat**, **sāviṣat**. They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding *a* to the tense-stem in *iṣ* before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. **saniṣan** and mid. **sāniṣanta** (and TS. has **vaniṣanta**,

for the problematic *vanuṣanta* of RV.), which are also regular. *Bhaviṣāt* (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign; *cāniṣ-ṭhat* (RV.; SV. instead *jāniṣṭhat*) seems hopelessly corrupt. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative: but we have *san-* in the subjunctive against *asāniṣam* (as to *cay-* and *ran-*, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted "precativē" of the later language (923, 925 b). It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other *iṣ-*forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: *janiṣīya*, *indhiṣīya*, *edhiṣīyā*, *ruciṣīya* and *rociṣīya*, *gmiṣīya*; *modiṣiṣṭhās*; *janiṣiṣṭa*; *vaniṣiṣṭa*; *sahiṣivahi*; *idhiṣimahi*, *edhiṣimāhi*, *janiṣimahi*, *tāriṣimahi*, *mandiṣimahi*, *vandiṣimāhi*, *vardhiṣimāhi*, *sahiṣimahi* and *sāhiṣimāhi*. The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule. The forms *janiṣeyam* and *-ya*, from a secondary *a*-stem, occur in K.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from *√av* a series: namely, *avidḍhī*, *aviṣṭu*, *aviṣṭām*, *avitā* (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for *aviṣṭā*) and *aviṣṭāna*; two of these are of unmistakably imperative form. Other forms occur only in 2d du. and 2d pl., and are accordingly such as might also be subjunctives used imperatively (which is further made probable for two of them by their accentuation on the root-syllable): they are *kramiṣṭam*, *gamiṣṭam*, *camiṣṭam*, *cayīṣṭam* (against *acāyiṣam*), *tāriṣṭam*, *yodhiṣṭam*, *vadhiṣṭam*, *ṇathiṣṭam*; *rāniṣṭana* (against *arāniṣus*), *ṇathiṣṭana*.

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

910. This is the only aorist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, 1035, 1048, 1068.

6. The *siṣ*-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in *ᄁ* (including *मि mi fix*, *मि mi (or mī) damage* and *ली li cling*, which substitute forms in *ᄁ*), and from *न्म् nam bow*, *यम् yam reach*, and *रम् ram be content*, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the *s*-form (878 ff.). Its inflection is precisely like that of the *iṣ*-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than

its first persons, which we may form from the roots या *yā* go and नम् *nam* bow. Thus:

s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
१ अयासिषम्	अयासिष्व	अयासिष्म	अनांसिषम्	अनांसिष्व	अनांसिष्म
áyāsiṣam	áyāsiṣva	áyāsiṣma	ánaṁsiṣam	ánaṁsiṣva	ánaṁsiṣma
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

११२. The *siṣ*-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the *iṣ*-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added *s*. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots *gā* sing and *yā* go, and in AV. only from *hā* leave, and doubtless also from *pyā* fill up and *van* win (see below, ११४b); the remaining older texts add *jñā* know (B.), *gyā* over-power, *dhyā* think (ÇB. once: the edition reads *-dhā-*), and *ram* be content (SV.: a bad variant for RV. *rāsiya*); other Brāhmaṇa forms which might be also of the *s*-aorist are *adrāsīt*, *avāsīt*, and *ahvāsīt*; and *bhukṣiṣiṣya* (PB. S.) must be regarded as an anomalous formation from \sqrt{bhuj} , unless we prefer to admit a secondary root *bhukṣ*, like *bhakṣ* from *bhaj*. In the later language have been found quotable from other roots only *glāsīs*, *adhmāsīt*, *anaṁsīt*, *apāsīt*, *mlāsīs*, and *amnāsīṣus*.

a. The participle *hāsamāna* and causative *hāsayanti* (RV.) show that *hās* had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside *hā* for other forms than the aorist.

११३. The whole series of older indicative forms (omitting, as doubtful, the 2d and 3d sing.) is as follows: *agāsiṣam*, *ajñāsiṣam*, *ayāsiṣam*, *adhyāsiṣam*; *ajyāsiṣtām*, *ayāsiṣtām*; *ajñāsiṣma*; *ajñāsiṣta*, *áyāsiṣta*; *agāsiṣus*, *ayāsiṣus* (*ākṣiṣus* is from $\sqrt{akṣ}$ attain).

a. Forms without augment are these: *jñāsiṣam*, *raṁsiṣam*, *hāsiṣam*; *hāsiṣtām*; *hāsiṣtām*; *hāsiṣta*; *hāsiṣus*, *gāsiṣus*, *jñāsiṣus*. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

११४. a. Of proper subjunctives are found two, *gāsiṣat* and *yāsiṣat* (both RV.).

b. Optatives are not less rare: namely, *yāsiṣiṣthās* and *pyāsiṣiṣmahī* (for which the AV. manuscripts read *pyāṣiṣimahi*, altered in the edition to *pyāyīṣ-*); and doubtless *vañṣiṣiṣya* (AV., twice) is to be corrected to *vaṁsiṣiṣya*, and belongs here. As to *bhukṣiṣiṣya*, see above, ११२.

c. The accent of *yāsiṣtām* (like *aviṣtām*, १०८) shows it to be a true imperative form; and *yāsiṣta* (RV., once) is doubtless the same, with anomalous *ī* for *i*.

११५. Middle forms of this aorist, it will be noticed, occur from the optative only; but, considering the great rarity of the whole formation, we are hardly justified in concluding that in the ancient language the middle persons in *-siṣi*, *-siṣthās*, etc., were not allowable, like those in *-iṣi*, *-iṣthās*, and the others of the *iṣ*-aorist.

7. The sa-aorist.

११६. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this aorist end in प्र् ष, च् ष, or क् ह — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make क् ष; and they have इ i, उ u, or ऋ ण as radical vowel.

a. They are as follows: दिष्, रिष्, लिष्, विष्, क्लिष्, कृष्, रुष्, म्रष्, स्प्रष्; त्विष्, द्विष्, च्लिष्, विष्, कृष्; दिह, मिह, लिह, गृह, दुह, रुह, त्रह, व्रह, स्त्रह; from about half of them sa-forms, earlier or later, are quotable. Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take aorists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel a in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-aorist.

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

११८. As example of inflection we may take the root दिष् diष् point. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अदिक्षम् ádikṣam	अदिक्षाव ádikṣāva	अदिक्षाम् ádikṣāma	अदिक्षि ádikṣi	अदिक्षावहि ádikṣāvahi	अदिक्षामहि ádikṣāmahi
2	अदिक्षस् ádikṣas	अदिक्षतम् ádikṣatam	अदिक्षत ádikṣata	अदिक्षथास् ádikṣathās	अदिक्षथाम् ádikṣāthām	अदिक्षधम् ádikṣadhvam
3	अदिक्षत् ádikṣat	अदिक्षताम् ádikṣatām	अदिक्षन् ádikṣan	अदिक्षत ádikṣata	अदिक्षताम् ádikṣātām	अदिक्षन्त ádikṣanta

११९. In the earlier language, the forms of the sa-aorist are hardly more than sporadic. They are made in RV. from seven roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add ten more, making nineteen in all (the later language makes no additions to this number). As later, all have i or u or ण as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with s to क् ष; but there are in the list also two

ending in *j*, namely *mṛj* and *vṛj*. All the examples noted are given below.

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

920. a. In the indicative, we find, in the active: *avṛkṣam*; *adrukṣas*, *adhukṣas*, *arukṣas*, *akrukṣas*, *asṛkṣas* (and MBh. adds *amṛkṣas*); *adikṣat*, *amikṣat*, *alīkṣat*, *avīkṣat*, *ākrukṣat*, *aghukṣat*, *adukṣat* and *ādrukṣat*, *ārukṣat*, *avṛkṣat*, *akṛkṣat*, *āmṛkṣat*, *āsṛkṣat*; *aghukṣatām*; *arukṣāma*, *amṛkṣāma*, *avṛkṣāma*; *ādrukṣan*, *apikṣan* (*√piṣ*), *arukṣan*, *asṛkṣan*; — in the middle, only *akṛkṣathās* (*√kṛṣ*), *ādrukṣata*, and *amṛkṣanta* (and MBh. adds *amṛkṣata* ?).

b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: *ḍṛkṣam*, *mṛkṣam*; *dukṣas*, *rukṣas*, *mṛkṣas*; *dvīkṣat*; *mṛkṣata*; *dhukṣán* and *dukṣán*; — in the middle, *dvīkṣata*, *dukṣata* and *dhukṣánta*.

c. There are no optative forms.

d. Imperative are: in the active, *mṛkṣatam*; in the middle, *dhukṣásva*.

e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign *sá*, in analogy with the *a*-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the *á*-class: a single exception is *dhukṣata*, which probably needs emendation to *dhukṣáta*.

f. The aspiration of initial *d* and *g*, after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots *duh* and *guh*, but not from *druh* (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also *adukṣat* and *dukṣas*, *dukṣán*, *dukṣata*.

Precative.

921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.

922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:

a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign *yá*: 770), *i* and *u* are lengthened; *ṛ* is usually changed to *ri*, but to *īr* and *ūr* in those roots which elsewhere show *ir*- and *ur*- forms (so-called *ṛ*-roots: 242), and to *ar* in *ṛ* and *smṛ*; *ā* is changed to *e* in the roots *dā*, *dhā*, *sthā*, *pā* *drink*, *gā* *sing*, and a few others, in part optionally.

b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in **badhyāsam** from $\sqrt{\text{bandh}}$; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in **ucyāsam**, **ijyāsam**, **vidhyāsam**, **supyāsam**, **gṛhyāsam**: $\sqrt{\text{çās}}$ forms **çiṣyāsam** (compare 639, 854 c): and so on.

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

923. a. The precativum middle is made by adding the middle precativum endings (above, 568) to the root increased by स् s or इष् iṣ — that is, to the tense-stem of an **s**-aorist or of an **iṣ**-aorist (but without augment).

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

c. As was pointed out above (567) the middle precativum is really the optative of certain aorists, with the insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending only (so far as authenticated by use) in the 2d and 3d singular. In the older language, such forms are oftenest made from the **s**-aorist (895) and the **iṣ**-aorist (907); but also from the root-aorist (837 b), the **a**-aorist (850 a), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the **siṣ**-aorist (914 b); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ *be*, which is said (no middle aorist or precativum from it is quotable) to form its middle on the **iṣ**-stem. Thus:

	active.		
	s.	d.	p.
1	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयासम् bhūyāsam	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयास्व bhūyāsva	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयास्म bhūyāsma
2	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयास् bhūyās	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयास्तम् bhūyāstam	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयास्त bhūyāsta
3	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयात् bhūyāt	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयास्ताम् bhūyāstām	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ भूयासुस् bhūyāsus

	middle.	
s.	d.	p.
1 भविषीय bhaviṣīyá	भविषीवद्भि bhaviṣīvāhi	भविषीमद्भि bhaviṣīmáhi
2 भविषीष्ठां bhaviṣīṣṭhās	भविषीयास्थाम् bhaviṣīyāsthām	भविषीध्वम् bhaviṣīdhvam
3 भविषीष्ट bhaviṣīṣṭá	भविषीयास्ताम् bhaviṣīyāstām	भविषीरन् bhaviṣīrān

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

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

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

Uses of the Aorist.

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

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

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

a. Thus, **tataḥ sa gardabhaṃ laguḍena tāḍayāmāsa; tenā 'sāu pañcatvam agamat** (H.) *thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died; tataḥ sāvīdarbhān agamat punaḥ; tāṃ tu bandhujanāḥ samapūjayat* (MBh.) *thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence; prītimān abhūt, uvāca*

cāi 'nam (MBh.) *he was filled with affection, and said to him; tam adahat kāṣṭhāiḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā (R.) he burned him with wood, and he became then a heavenly form.*

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

a. Examples from the Veda are: **pāri 'mé gam aneṣata páry agnīm ahr̥ṣata, devéṣv akrata çrávaḥ ká imāñ á dadharṣati (RV.)** *these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods — who shall venture anything against them? yám āichāma manasā so 'yám á 'gāt (RV.)* *he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come; yéné 'ndro havīṣā kṛtvý ábhavad dyumny úttamāḥ, idám tád akri devā asapatnáḥ kílā 'bhuvam (RV.)* *that libation by which Indra, making it, became (impf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies.*

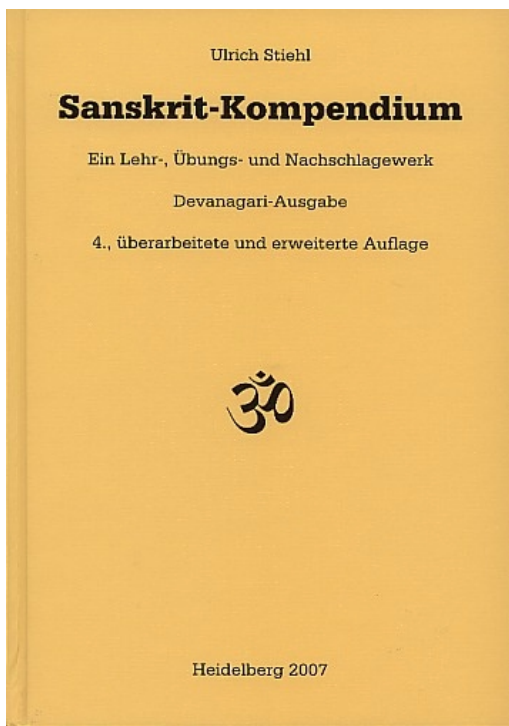
b. Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: **sā hā 'smiñ jyóg uvāsa... táto ha gandharvaḥ sám ūdire: jyóg vā iyám urváçī manuṣyèṣv avātsīt (ÇB.)** *she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvaçi, forsooth, hath dwelt a long time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: tam ho 'vāca: apatsata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.)* *his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"; índrasya vṛtrám jaghnúṣa indriyám vīryam pṛthivím ánu vy ārchat tád oṣadhayo virúdhó 'bhavan sá prajāpatim úpā 'dhāvad vṛtrám me jaghnúṣa indriyám vīryam pṛthivím ánu vy ārat tád oṣadhayo virúdhó 'bhūvann íti (TS.)* *of Indra, when he had slain Vritra, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants; he ran to Prajāpati, saying: "my force and might, after slaying Vritra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"; svayám enam abhyudétya brūyād vrātya kvā 'vātsiḥ (AV., in prose passage)* *going up to him in person, let him say: "Vrātya, where hast thou abode"? yád idánīm dvāu vivádamānāv eyātām ahám adarçam ahám açrāuṣam íti yá evá brūyād ahám adarçam íti tásmā evá çráddadhyāma (ÇB.)* *if now two should come disputing with one another, [the one] saying "I have seen", [the other] "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".*

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

b. In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained; many passages would admit an

interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

१३०. The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evanescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected. Thus: *svāsasthe bhavatam indave na iti somo vāi rāje 'nduḥ somā-yāi 'vāi 'ne etad rājña āsade 'cikṣpat* (AB. i. 29. 7) "*be ye comfortable seats for our Indu*", he says; *Indu is king Soma; by this means he has made them* (instead of *makes them*) *suitable for king Soma to sit upon; vāruṇīr āpo yād adbhīr abhiṣīcāti vāruṇam evāi 'nam akar* (MS. iv. 3. 10) *the waters are Varuna's; in that he be pours him with waters, he has made him Varuna; pañcābhir vyāghārayati pāṅkto yajñó yāvān evā yajñās tām ālabdhā 'tho yāvān evā yajñās tasmād rākṣāṅsy āpahanti* (MS. iii. 2. 6) *he smears with five; fivefold is the offering; as great as is the offering, of it he has [thereby] taken hold; then, as great as is the offering, from it he smites away the demons.* This idiom is met with in all the Brāhmaṇas; but it is especially frequent in the MS.



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Prof. Dr. Dr. Manfred Mayrhofer, Wien, urteilt in einem Schreiben:

"Ihr Buch ist wirklich eine gigantische Pionierleistung. Ich habe in meiner aktiven Zeit viel Sanskrit gelehrt. Wie man etwa mit dem "Stenzler" unterrichten könne, war mir immer schleierhaft; am ehesten ging es noch mit dem Büchlein von Georg Bühler, das ja in Österreich, nachdem Bühler in Wien wirkte, reichlich vorhanden war. Aber mit Ihrer gründlichen Arbeit ist das alles nicht vergleichbar."

Die 4. Neuauflage 2007 wurde um den "Teil 8: Textanalyse: Bhagavad-Gita" erweitert, der eine grammatikalische Analyse der Anfangskapitel der Bhagavad-Gita mit detaillierten Erläuterungen aller Feinheiten der Formen- und Satzlehre enthält, um den Lernenden den Übergang vom Lehrbuch zur Lektüre von Originaltexten zu erleichtern.

Zu weiteren Einzelheiten siehe die Leseprobe: <http://www.sanskritweb.net/deutsch/leseprobe.pdf>

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