*Sanskrit*SYNTAX

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL

THE SUBJECT of Syntax in Sanskrit has been one of increasing interest to Indo-European students, and the school of Junggrammatiker represented by Brugmann and Delbrurk initiated research in this field by Delbruck's *Altindische Syntax*, which appeared in 1888.

In this book, Dr. Taraporewala deals with different aspects of Sanskrit Syntax deriving his examples from a wide selection culled from Vedic and post-Vedic Literature through his own personal readings of these texts. There is a refreshing approach to questions of Syntax informed by corresponding advances made in Europe in this field and the great jump that modern Linguistics had realised through the nineteenth century. It may be observed here that in so far as classical comparative philology is concerned, epitomised by the contributions of the Junggrammatiker and their immediate successors Dr. Taraporewala has given a very lively presentation of problems of Sanskrit Syntax in their general historical perspective. It is a contribution worthy of the old master who has left many pupils who are still active in the field of Indo-Aryan comparative studies and linguistics.

Rupees fifteen

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by
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with a foreword by
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FOREWORD

IT is a matter of great regret that the series of lectures repro-
duced in this book could not appear in print during the life-
time of the author. The late Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala was one
of the first Indians to receive a Government of India scholar-
ship for scientific study of Sanskrit in Europe. In 1911 he was
admitted into Fitzwilliam Hall in Cambridge where he read
Sanskrit, Comparative Philology, Arabic and Persian under
Professors E. Rapson, P. Giles, Nicholson and E.G. Browne
respectively and took his B.A. degree there. He then proceeded
to the University of Wurzburg in Germany and studied Avesta
under Professor Barthalomae and Sanskrit under Professor
Jolly and obtained the Ph.D. degree in 1913 with "summa cum
Laude" on his thesis entitled "Some Notes on the Adhyakṣa-
pracāra (a section of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra)". Earlier Dr.
Taraporewala had stayed in London and joined Grey's Inn in
April 1904 through 1909 when he was called to the Bar.

On his second return from Europe Dr. Taraporewala joined
the Central Hindu Collegiate School in Banaras as Principal.
In September 1917 he joined the University of Calcutta as
Professor of Comparative Philology, teaching in addition to
Comparative Philology, Sanskrit, Avesta, Persian, Gujarati and
German. Between 1927 and 1929 he served as Visiting Profes-
sor of Iranian Studies at Visvabharati, Santiniketan. In 1930
he joined the M.F. Cama Atharnon Institute in Bombay as
Principal, and on his retirement from there he was appointed
Director of Deccan College Postgraduate and Research
Institute, Poona. He graced this post from May 1940 till 31st
October 1942. In October 1955 he went to Iran as Professor of
Sanskrit and Indology at Tehran University, but was obliged
to return home due to ill-health which proved fatal.

I had the privilege of reading the Wilson Philological
Lectures delivered by Dr. Taraporewala in 1937, for it was
during his regime as Director of Deccan College that I was
invited by the University of Bombay to deliver the Wilson
Philological Lectures during 1944, and his lecture served as
a kind of guide line for me in preparing my series which were

published by the University of Bombay in 1944 under the title "Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan" and have been reprinted and included in the Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series in 1965. Dr. Taraporewala was not keen at that time to publish his series, but later, on retirement from Deccan College he was thinking of revising them for publication. At this distance of time I do not recall how far the present text has been revised, but that it is now published is a matter for congratulation. The subject of Syntax in Sanskrit has been one of increasing interest to Indo-European students, and the school of Junggrammatiker represented by Brugmann and Delbrück initiated research in this field by Delbrück's *Altindische Syntax* which appeared in 1888. Since then the names of Speyer, Oertal, Renou, Gonda and here in India of Sukumar Sen (a pupil of Dr. Taraporewala and later Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics, University of Calcutta) may be mentioned in connection with this field. Dr. Sen's interest evidently owes to the inspiration of his *Guru*, whose mature thoughts have been embodied in these informal Wilson Philological Lectures.

Within the compass of 91 pages Dr. Taraporewala deals with different aspects of Sanskrit Syntax, deriving his examples from a wide selection culled from Vedic and post-Vedic literature through his own personal readings of these texts. There is a refreshing approach to questions of syntax informed by corresponding advances made in Europe in this field and the great jump that modern linguistics had realised through the nineteenth century. It may be observed here that in so far as classical comparative philology is concerned, epitomised by the contributions of the Junggrammatiker and their immediate successors Dr. Taraporewala has given a very lively presentation of problems of Sanskrit syntax in their general historical perspective. It is a contribution worthy of the old Master who has left many pupils who are still active in the field of Indo-Aryan comparative studies and linguistics and I have great pleasure in commending it to our Indian readers who will benefit considerably from them.

18th March 1967
Deccan College, Poona.   S.M. Katre

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS OF SANSKRIT SYNTAX*

I. CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF SYNTAX

Syntactical studies form one of the last branches to develop in the science of linguistics. The reason seems plain ; for the purpose of comparative study we need at least two languages. To know the syntax of a language is equivalent to knowing it quite thoroughly and few scholars are to be found who are thorough masters of two languages.

During the earlier years of "comparative philology" scholars occupied themselves with phonetics, with the comparisons of words and terminations and the extremely rich variety of forms that could thus be built up in various languages. The next step was a study of the significance of the meanings of words—the branch known as *Semantics* which assumed an extremely fascinating aspect when treated by MAX MULLER[1] and among modern writers by WEEKLEY.

As an accompaniment of Semantics, and in a sense following it, came the consideration of the change in the significance of the various grammatical forms, cases, moods, participles etc. This constituted the beginning of Comparative Syntax. Though there have been eminent writers on Syntax and on syntactical development as early as the fifties of the last century, still the true foundations of "Comparative Syntax" were laid by B. DELBRUCK in the three most important volumes he contributed to BRUGMANN'S *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen.* He was the first to point out the correct appreciation of the "comparative method" as applied to Syntax.

It is an accepted truth of biology that the history of the deve-

1 See especially his *Biographies of Words.*

lopment of a particular animal form through geological time is as it were recapitulated in the various stages the embryo of that animal passes through in the pre-natal stage. Thus, during its nine-months' stay in the mother's womb, the human embryo runs through the most significant stages of development which the human race passed through in course of the long geological ages. Going a step further psychologists tell us that the development of various emotions and mental faculties of a human infant during the first few weeks of its life recapitulate the history of the human race as regards the development of its emotions and mental faculties.

Language being the most important characteristic that distinguishes man from animals we might try to find some light on the development of language amongst human beings by observing the acquirement of language by an infant.

The cry of a new-born child is merely a physical reflex. Hunger, discomfort and any sort of physical need cause the human child to utter sounds just as much as these cause animals to utter them. This might be called the *reflex-cry* stage in the linguistic progress of a child. This stage is usually very short-lived. The human child has its wants attended to ; and very soon the child learns to connect its cry and the removal of the discomfort as cause and effect. As soon as this happens the cry is invested with a definite meaning and becomes "language" for the child. Soon we find the child manipulating different sorts of cries for different needs. This forms the second stage in the linguistic development of a child and it might be called the *animal-cry* stage. Gregarious animals are known to use distinct modulations of cries to indicate different needs, as is well known to cowherds. It is the first beginning of language and with the animal it stops there. The human child continues in this stage for a fairly long time, in fact until it learns to control its vocal apparatus.

During the several months of the animal-cry stage the child goes on exercising its vocal organs and thus gains control over them. It hears the sounds produced by the grown-ups and tries to imitate them.[2] This gives the child control of the muscles of

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[2] JESPERSEN in his book on *Language*, gives a very fine account of child-language.

the throat, of the mouth and of the tongue. The first sounds mastered are the vowels and then the consonants beginning with the labials.[3]

But far more important than the gradual mastery of phonetics is the development going on in the mind of the child. The child has got its senses (the *indriyas*) and through them it gets sense-impressions which vary from moment to moment. Each momentary sense-impression is called technically a *percept*. The developed human mind is capable of putting many percepts side by side, and extracting therefrom a common factor, which may be present in all of them. This common factor is called a *concept*. Thus, the child feels any sort of discomfort, or wants something, and utters a cry, and someone comes to the child and pats it, or sings to it, or removes the cause of the discomfort, or feeds it. Each of these actions is a separate percept for the child. But the person who performs these varied acts is the common factor and pretty soon this common factor becomes as it were "individualised" and becomes a concept in the mind of the child. This concept needs a label to fix it and so we get the name. The first *word* the child utters is the name of this individual—*mā*. These "words" are names for certain individuals or things. But "baby language" is *not* made up of words, for the child has no idea of "words" as such. To the mind of the child every situation, as it arises, is a distinct percept, and when it hears grown-up people commenting upon it, the natural inference the child draws is that the sounds it hears form the appropriate expression for that situation. To the child the set of sounds uttered by the grown-up person is *one complete whole* and the child does not separate or analyse it into the component words. To the child mind each separate percept needs a distinct set of sounds to describe it. This is the essence of the unmeaning sounds little babies often use. Every parent knows that babies go on babbling at great rate and two or more together would hold long and serious conversations, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. When excited and anxious to tell the elders what is in their minds they go on holding forth

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3 Hence child words like *pā*, *bā*, *mā*, are universal and indicate almost the same ideas.

for many minutes at a time.[4] These things they utter are doubt-
less full of meaning to themselves, but to the grown-ups they
are merely sounds without any sense. This stage of the child's
language is best described as *sound-jumble*. The sounds as it
were well forth spontaneously from the child in response to its
emotions. We sometimes hear even grown-up children, who can
speak, crooning to themselves in unmeaning sounds when very
happy.[5] When there are a lot of children together they develop
a sort of "jumble language" of their own even after they have
learnt to speak well.

Meanwhile the human mind of the child goes on with the task
of analysing the innumerable percepts and drawing the common
factors, the concepts, therefrom. This process goes on more and
more rapidly as the child gets older and the consciousness of
words begins to dawn upon its mind. Then alone the child be-
comes aware of the fact that the speech of grown-ups can be
analysed into words. This last stage is the stage of words or
what might be called *articulate speech*.[6] In the acquirement of
words now the elders help considerably, especially when the
child learns to read and write.

One important point, however, has to be constantly borne in
mind, viz., that from the very beginning the child *thinks in sen-
tences*, never in individual words, no matter what language a
child learns. The acquiring of the mother-tongue is always
through sentences or phrases.[7] A child may even acquire two
or more languages simultaneously. While doing so it has been
noted that *words* may be mixed up but the different types of
sentence-construction are never mixed up by children. The

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[4] I once listened myself to a "baby-lecture" from my son, aged about
ten months. He had been out for the evening with his nurse and had seen a
procession (as I ascertained from her) with banners and music. Evidently
the child was anxious to tell us elders all about it

[5] Like the song of Mowgli after he had slain Sher Khan the Tiger,
"a song that came up into his throat all by itself " (KIPLING, *Jungle Book*,
the story of "Tiger, Tiger").

[6] The literal sense of the word *articulate* is "distinctly jointed," where
each element is distinctly perceptible to the ear.

[7] In acquiring this the child also picks up the "intonation" or the par-
ticular lilt or accentuation of the sentence. Hence a foreigner who learns a
language late in life can seldom speak as a native, even though he may be
absolutely correct grammatically.

notions of grammar come the very last in the acquiring of the mother-tongue. This is the essential secret of teaching language by the "direct method." This also was the reason that the Greeks never thought of compiling a grammar of their own language because they thought it absolutely unnecessary.[8]

We may now turn to the languages of the world and see if these points learnt from the development of children help us in understanding the varied types of languages found. The reflex-cry stage and the animal-cry stages must have been passed over during the period before *Homo sapiens* emerged. The development of the cranium, the erect stature and other characteristics of *Homo sapiens* indicate clearly the growth of those brain-centres which control thought. This thought activity in the earlier stages of humanity indicates the power of drawing concepts from a number of percepts.[9] The centres to develop latest in the human brain are those that control speech. Hence speech comes only after the full attainment of the status of *Homo sapiens*, i.e., after acquiring the power of drawing concepts.

The *animal-cry* stage had certainly passed before *Homo sapiens* emerged. These animal cries would have been sufficient to express the needs which human beings have in common with animals.[10] The needs of primitive man would not be very much greater. Even after the full attainment of the power of thought it remains latent for a long time ; it has to be exercised and developed by constant use. In the beginning, therefore, mankind gave expression through speech to various *percepts*, not to concepts. Hence primitive language, like the language of children, must have passed through a *sound-jumble* stage. Fortunately, we have existing even today one or two languages in this stage. The language of Tierra del Fuego, for example, illustrates this very clearly. One might suppose that the language of the natives of that "end of the world" would have a limited number of words.

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[8] They did teach rhetoric, i.e., the art of vigorous and correct speech. The first formal Greek grammar was written by Dionysios Thrax (2nd cent. B.C.) for the use of Romans who wished to study Greek.

[9] The Greeks called this faculty of "thought" *logós* which very happily, as well as aptly, also means "speech". Animals are, according to them, *á-loga* lacking both in thought as well as speech.

[10] Cf. *āhāra-nidrā-bhaya-maithunam ca, sāmānyam etat paśubhir narāṇām.*

Actually this language has no "words" of any kind, but a large
number of sound-jumbles each expressing a special individual
percept. Thus suppose, (1) a man sees a fish in a river, and then
(2) he catches the fish with a spear, and (3) gives it to his wife
to cook, and then (4) he and his family eat the fish, and finally
(5) he finds the fish tastes nice and satisfies him. Each of these
five is a separate *percept* and each is expressed by a distinct
sound-jumble. *These are entirely independent of one another.*
We can see at least two common factors—the man the fish—in
each one of these five situations, but the primitive mind of the
Fuegian cannot see these. Not only this, but if there is the
slightest change in the situation—if, for instance, he sees the fish
in a lake instead of a river, or he catches the fish with his bare
hands—corresponding sound-jumble would be entirely changed.
As R. R. MARETT puts it,[11] "Sounds in fact are with them as
copious as ideas are rare. Impressions, on the other hand, are,
of course, infinite in number. By means of more or less signifi-
cant sounds, then, Fuegian society compounds impressions, and
that somewhat imperfectly, rather than exchanges ideas, which
alone are the currency of true thought". Each utterance of these
people, in short, *represents one single situation (percept) taken as
a whole in all its details.*[12] These percepts may be quite complex.
Thus, MARETT quotes from the Fuegian the remarkably complex
percept that "two-people-are-looking-at-each-other-hoping-that-
either-will-offer-to-do-something-which-both-desire-but-are-un-
willing-to-do" ; this is expressed by the sound-jumble *mamihla-
pinatapai*".[13]

Sense-impressions are necessarily infinite in number, but in
the limited outlook of such primitive races only a few need ex-
pression as sound-jumbles, and as MARETT has observed there
is no real exchange of *ideas*, but only a conveying of sense-im-
pressions through speech. As long as society remains at that
stage nothing more seems needed for language. But as primitive
culture advances to higher stages it becomes necessary to find

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    [11] *Anthropology*, p. 139.
    [12] MARETT describes (op. cit., p. 140) these sound-jumbles as utter
ances "into which are packed away enough suggestions to reproduce the
situation in all its details, the act, the person who did it, the instrument,
the time, the circumstances, the place and who knows what besides."
    [13] MARETT, loc. cit.

other modes of expressions. Mere sound-jumbles of separate percepts are obviously inadequate when ideas begin to develop out of these percepts As a matter of fact the number of percepts being infinite, this method of speech becomes impossible as humanity progresses. So "words" now must arise and articulate speech gradually begins to develop.

ŚANKARA in the *Vedānta-Sūtra-bhāṣya* (i. 3. 28) says : *ākṛtibhiś ca śabdānām sambandho, na vyaktibhiḥ ; vyaktīnām ānantyāt sambandhagrahaṇānupapatteḥ*. This describes exactly the situation that arises with respect to the origin of words. We can translate this in modern language thus : "The relation of words is with concepts not with percepts. For the percepts being infinite it would be impossible to lay hold of the relations." The human mind analyses the various percepts and once this process is begun it very soon perceives the common factors, and these common-factors (concepts) need a lable. These are "words". Thus each individual part of the percept gets clearer in the mind and being expressed in words the "sound-jumble" is replaced by articulate speech.

But this change is not achieved at a jump. In languages there never is a sudden change. The transition stages from the sound-jumble to articulate speech are found in the *holophrastic* languages of the aborigines of North and South America. The long set of sounds now called *holophrase* (or sentence-word) still persists, implying all the wealth of concomitant detail. And the actual *sounds* uttered may fail to show us the underlying concept (the common factor), but still *this concept is theoretically recognised* and there may even exist a "word" for it. An example will make this clear. In the Old Huron-Iroquois speech we get these holophrases :

   eschoirhon (I-have-been-to-the-water),
   setsonha (go-to-the-water),
   ondequoha (there-is-water-in-the-bucket),
   daustantewacharet (there-is-water-in-the-pot).

In these holophrases we can detect no common factor in the *sounds* uttered to correspond to the common concept "water". Still the speakers have recognised this common factor and they have a "hypothetical term" *āwen*—for "water", which is never used by itself either alone or even in a holophrase. The recognition of the existence, hypothetical though it be, of the concept

shows that the thought process has advanced beyond the sound-jumble stage, even though the language does not show in its sounds the recognition of the concept.

The next stage is the recognition of the word in full, both hypothetically and in actual use. In actual usage the words are still fused together into a holophrase but the characteristic portions of each are retained so as to be clearly recognisable by the ear. Thus in Greenland[14] we find the holophrase *aulisariartora-suarpoq* (he hastens to go a-fishing), which can be analysed as being made up of *aulisar* (to fish) *peartor* (to be engaged in) and *pinnesuarpoq* (he hastens).

A stage further on we get the elements making up the incorporated holophrase becoming quite clear and obvious. Thus in Mexican we get *niśotśitēmoa* (I seek flowers) made up of *ni* (I), *śotśi* (*flowers*) and *tēmoa* (seek). Each word can be used independently with the addition of case indicators. Thus the Mexican holophrase given above might also be rendered *ni-k-tēmoa in śotśi-tl* (lit. I-seek-it, the flowers) the *-k-* being the incorporated pronoun and the *in* and *-tl* being the case indicators. This sort of holophrase is hardly to be distinguished from the sentence in which separate words are used.[15]

After this comes the full *word-stage* (or articulate speech). Now the word (*śabda*) becomes the label of the concept. Of course, it requires generations of steady mental growth to reach this stage. Those whose speech consists of sentences made up of words find it very difficult to realise how any language can exist without words. Even when words come they are at first names of *concrete* concepts. And even here these concepts are not what we may call "pure". The idea of the possessor of an object is so very important to backward people that they cannot possibly think of an object apart from its owner. Thus in many languages there are separate words for "my hut", "your hut", "my father's hut", "his neighbour's hut" and so on, but there is no word for the "pure concept" of *hut*. These

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[14] This is a variety of the Eskimo group of languages.

[15] We may mention here that every language has got syncopated phrases where words are run together so that they are heard as one word. But this is not the true holophrase. Thus Guj. *makeje* (*mu kahyu je*), Beng. *tānale tāhā nā hale,* (that not happening) ; Eng. *'twas, ain't* ; Fr. *'spas* (for *n'est ce pas*).

people cannot think of a hut without an owner. Not merely with lifeless objects, but even with wives and children the owner is regarded as quite as important. It requires a further process of analysis to separate the possessor and the thing possessed.

When such is the case of *concrete* concepts, we need not wonder if we do not find abstract ideas among such people. The abstract idea of numerals, for instance, comes very much later. It is a curious fact that many of the primitive people can enumerate a large number (several scores) of any particular objects (men, boats, shells, coconuts etc.), but they cannot count (in the abstract) beyond four. The reason is the very considerable mental analysing needed to arrive at the abstract concepts of "one-ness", "two-ness", "three-ness" ; and "four-ness" is about the limit for these people.[16]

The process of analysing various percepts and drawing therefrom various concepts goes on unceasingly and in fact is the main cause of growth in language. Even the concepts that have thus arisen go on being analysed and fresh concepts arise. The human mind goes on continuously grouping and regrouping the percepts and concepts and goes on drawing new "common factors" from fresh groupings and fresh standpoints. The earlier concepts are necessarily not "pure". They may be called "compound concepts". e.g., the thing possessed and the possessor, material objects and their enumerations, as we saw above. Later on these compound concepts themselves come to be analysed into their component parts.

Abstract concepts come in much later and here too we have a stage which might be called that of "compound abstract concepts". The history of the growth of thought and language in any country could furnish numerous instances. The use of metaphor in language by which concrete words are used for abstract ideas might be quoted, e.g., "weighing a proposal", Guj. *madhur vacan etc.*

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16   Incidentally it may be remarked that the Indo-European languages show a common heritage of numerals upto a "hundred" and perhaps even a "thousand", and even beyond. This implies that the people who used these languages were *mentally* not mere primitive savages, whatever their *material* culture may have been. We come to exactly the same conclusion from a consideration of the preposition and adverbs which are pure abstractions.

Let us get back to the growth of language. We saw that in the sound-jumble stage the essential thing is the description of a particular happening with all circumstantial detail. The sound-jumble is therefore essentially a sentence in its nature. Even when concepts (i.e. words) have come, merely uttering one word would not in itself constitute a sentence. At least two concepts have to be joined together. One of these is known to both the speaker and the hearer. The other is something in the speaker's mind which he wishes to convey to the hearer. This joining of two concepts enables an idea to be conveyed from one person to another. In other words the sentence (the joining of two concepts) is the unit of language. This is the one fundamental principle of linguistics and of grammar.[17] Sentences may, however, consist of one word only but in such cases "the logic of circumstances" helps us. Thus if a visitor comes and I turn to my servant and say, "Chair", the circumstances convey the full sense. The concept known to both the speaker and hearer is the *subject*[18] and the concept conveying the fresh information, unknown before to the hearer, is the *predicate*.[18] Of course in a sentence there may be more subjects and predicates than one and there may be various "adjuncts" joined on to them.

In classifying languages we have, therefore, to consider how the sentence is built up. And so in languages which have arrived at the word-stage we get three distinct types—(i) *Isolating*, (ii) *Agglutinating* and (iii) *Inflecting*. The old idea was that these three represented three stages following one after the other in a sort of cyclic order. But modern research shows that this is not a correct view.

We will confine ourselves to the Inflecting Languages, because the Indo-European languages constitute the most important family among these.[19] In the Indo-European family we see some remarkable points. At the earliest stage of which we possess any records we find a very large number of suffixes (the *sup-*

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17 Pāṇini has recognised this in the *sūtra* (i. 4.14), *sup-tiṅantaṁ padam*. The distinction between *śabda* and *pada* is to be noted.

18 These terms are used here in the *psychological*, not the grammatical, sense.

19 The other two are Semitic and Hamitic and some authorities think that all these three are really branches of one original stock of the inflected type.

and the *tiṅ-* suffixes) of Sanskrit, which are added to words (*śabda*), to show the varied syntactical relationships. Whatever the origin of these might have been, most of them denote very complex syntactical relations. Thus -*nām* indicates possession as well as plurality of owners, -*sya* indicates possession plus a single owner ; -*tu* denotes wish (or command) on part of the speaker plus the idea that the action wished for is to be performed by one agent only, and so forth. These might be called "compound syntactical concepts" and in some of the rarer forms found in the Veda we might almost call them "syntactical percepts". Here the syntactical relation as expressed by the suffix is taken *as a whole*. This stage of Indo-European languages is called *synthetic*, for in it the *śabda* and *pratyaya* (with all its complex implications) are merely put together. In course of time there comes the inevitable analysing of these *pratyayas* and they, or rather the concepts underlying them, are, as it were, analysed fully and there is discovered a simpler and a better form of expression. Fresh combinations give rise to new "syntactical concepts" and new helping words such as auxiliary verbs, prepositions etc. arise which in time make the ancient *pratyayas* useless. This stage of a language is called the *analytic stage*, for here we find the syntactical concepts analysed, and when a language has attained this position it acquires a suppleness and power added to great simplicity of grammar which would not be possible in the synthetic stage.

Every inflected language is bound to pass on to the analytic stage ultimately with the mental growth of the people who use it, because the analytic stage presupposes a very great amount of mental development. But the process can be helped as well as hindered by circumstances which are not linguistic at all. The mixing of people speaking different languages accelerates this natural progress of language very enormously. As examples we may quote English as contrasted with German. The former is far more analytic than the latter just because of the extremely wide linguistic contacts of the English-speaking races. So also is Persian which is today the most completely analytic of all Indo-European languages.[20] The reason in this case also has

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[20]   The whole of the *formal* grammar of modern Persian can be put down on a sheet of note-paper.

been mixing of various races notably of the Aryan-speaking Irani and the Semitic races. What happens in such cases is that the foreigner trying to speak the language, consciously or un-consciously, goes on analysing the ideas underlying the com-plex syntax and thus the native speakers, too, get to know some-thing for which perhaps they had never troubled their minds until this foreign contact. The result is a general simplification of the old complex grammar and the resulting analytic structure.

But there are retarding forces also and these are extremely powerful. There is first the conservative spirit inherent in every human being and this, especially when helped by religion, stabilises a language as nothing else can. One extremely good instance is the contrast of modern Hebrew and Arabic. Both have had extremely extensive foreign contacts but in Arabic the Qoran has prevented the language from becoming analytic to the same extent as Hebrew has become.

In Sanskrit the earliest records show us a vigorous synthetic language where we can see the analysis of syntactic concepts going on and gradually moulding the language along the natural path. A detailed study of the syntax of the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas. and Upaniṣads and the Epics shows clearly this trend. But we also see gradually the conservatism of religion working even in the early days. The language of the Vedas is felt to be something too sacred to be profaned by any vulgar change. And all through the Epic literature we find a struggle being maintained between the natural movement towards analytic structure and the retarding force of religion. Foreign contacts there had always been from the beginning of history and those gave to Sanskrit in India even in its earliest days its distinctive characteristics as contrasted with the other languages of the Indo-European family like Greek and Latin.

Then came the great Pāṇini. He analysed the language of his days as no language had been before his time. Nor has any language been so thoroughly analysed since. The language had changed considerably since the Vedic days even though religion had been a conserving force for some considerable time. Hence some of the constructions of the Vedic hymns appeared strange to Pāṇini himself and very often he says merely, *bahulaṁ chandasi* (in the Vedas the usage is varied).

Pāṇini had no desire to be dictator in matters linguistic. But soon after he had passed away he was canonised as a "Muni" and this new semi-religious reputation of Pāṇini added to the sacredness of the Veda made the religious brake on the progress of Sanskrit doubly effective The result was that anything outside Pāṇini's *sūtras* was not considered Sanskrit at all. Sanskrit began to become a dead language from the time of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But so great was the natural momentum of this wonderful language that it went on being the principal spoken language of India almost until the age of Kālidāsa.

Meanwhile the other allied dialects of India went unhindered on their own way along the path of analytical structure, because, till now, the two forces which retarded Sanskrit—a sacred literature and a great grammarian—did not erist in their case. The period which saw the cultivation of what is known as Classical Sanskrit was also the period of the growth of the Prakrits. These were the vernaculars of the Middle-Indian period. In time some of these also developed religious literatures and grammars as well. The usual result followed, and these languages gradually became "dead" languages cultivated only by learned Buddhist and Jain *ācāryas*.

The Modern-Indian period—that of our present day vernaculars—begins about the 12th century of the Christian era. These languages have gone on developing, each along its own line more or less steadily upto the present day. These have in the course of years been influenced by other foreign influences, notably by Persian in the days of Moslem rule, and by English in modern days.

But all through these centuries the influence of Sanskrit has remained supreme in India. This is not merely cultural but has permeated through and through all our modern languages. It is not merely the question of borrowing words wholesale from Sanskrit but even our vernacular grammars have been deeply influenced by Sanskrit. Even today we try to explain our vernacular construction in terms of Sanskrit grammar. This is manifestly inappropriate, because Sanskrit is clearly synthetic, whereas most of our vernaculars are well advanced along the analytic stage. Just at the present day our languages are showing clear signs of breaking the shackles of Sanskrit. Of course Sanskritic *culture* must stay on, but the influence . of Sanskrit

language has very distinctly prevented our languages from attaining their full analytic stature.

II. NOUNS—GENDER AND NUMBER

We need not dwell here on the propriety or otherwise of the eight "parts of speech" enumerated in European grammars. It is a convenient manner of treating the varied phenomena of syntax and is fairly well understood. Still we may mention that much more scientific are Pāṇini's three divisions into *sub-anta*, *tiṅ-anta* and *avayaya* implied into the sūtras *sup-tiṅ-antam padam* (i. 4. 14) and *avyayād āp supaḥ* (ii. 4.82). Pāṇini makes a sharp distinction between *śabda* (concept—word) and *pada* (grammatical form) or the word *functioning* in a sentence. There is nothing inherent in a *śabda* (concept) which would enable us to say that it belongs to this or that "part of speech". It is only when it is used in a sentence that we know what it really is. In English we know the famous instance, "But no buts, but tell me the whole truth, I want nothing but that", where each of the 'buts' has got a different function. Pāṇini has made a twofold division at first and then he has distinguished *avyayas* as a sub-group as it were of the *subantas*. In accepting the eight parts of speech we merely divide *subantas* further into three sub-divisions (nouns, pronouns and adjectives), and *avyayas* into four sub-divisions (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections). The main thing to bear in mind is the *function* of the word as used in a sentence.

The main characteristics of *subantas* are gender, number and case. The last aspect is the most important and in synthetic languages plays a very important part and is bugbear and despair of all students. But the first two are also of considerable interest.

Those of us who are used to English cannot quite grasp the idea that in many languages *gender has nothing whatever to do with sex*. We find that similar confusion occurs in many of our Indian vernaculars[21] as also in European languages such as German and Russian. This is called "grammatical gender" as contrasted with "natural gender" such as we find in English or

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[21] Bengali is slowly but surely coming to adopt "natural gender" depending on sex.

in Persian. The Indo-European parent language had only grammatical gender though in the individual languages we find a good deal of confusion owing to later developments. Some light upon the origin might be thrown if we consider the gender in some other language families. In the Dravidian languages "nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the technical terms "high-caste" and "casteless" nouns.[22] More illuminating is the idea of gender among the languages of Africa. Among the Hamitic languages nouns are divided into two classes, which answer more or less to the English masculine and feminine. As a general rule big and strong things are "masculine" and small and weak ones are "feminine". Thus, "sword" is masculine but "knife" is feminine ; so also "long coarse grass" is masculine but "short grass" or "turf" is feminine ; "a large rock" and "elephant" (of either sex) are masculine but "a stone" and "hare" are feminine.[23] But the most remarkable point about the Hamitic languages is what is known as "the Law of Polarity". According to this *nouns when they take the plural suffix, also change the gender.* Thus in Somali we get *hoyo-di* (mother) has the plural *hoyoin-ki ; libah-hi* (lion) has the plural *libahyo-dī.* The *-di* is the indication of feminines and the *-ki* or *-hi* is the sign of the masculine.[24] This law of polarity has influenced a great many African languages of other families also. Prof. MEINHOF in his book, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* gives a very rational explanation of this strange phenomenon.[25] According to him the original division of substantives was into a "persons" and "things" based on the fundamental distinction of "living" and "lifeless". In terms of gender there were originally two genders "com-

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[22] CALDWELL, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages,* p. 220.

[23] Cf. *charo-charī, golo-golī, banglo-banglī, capḍo-capḍī* etc. in Gujarati and other Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

[24] In the Semitic languages too the dental *-t* is the sign of the feminine. In Arabic some of the "broken plurals" show the feminine *-t-* element and in fact some plurals of masculine nouns are indistinguishable from the corresponding feminines. e.g. *huzūr* (Sir, or Lord), plu. *hazarāt ; Sufī* plu. *Sufīyatun; qawwās* (bowman), plu. *qawwāsatun* (THATCHER, *Arabic Conversation Grammar,* p. 271).

[25] Quoted by Dr. ALICE WERMER in her book on *The Language Families of Africa,* p. 110.

THE LAW OF POLARITY

Singular ————————→ Plural			
Living			Lifeless
(Person)			(Thing)
Actor	Common gender	Neuter gender	Acted upon (or Action)
(subject)			(object)
Strong			Weak
(Masculine)			(Feminine).
Plural ————————→ Singular			

mon" (i.e. masculine and feminine) and "neuter". This original distinction becomes later on a distinction of the "actor" or "moulder" and the "acted upon" or "moulded". Still later it is found that even among the "living" the strong ones are the "actors" and the weak ones the "acted upon" and here we get the "common" gender splitting into "masculine" and "feminine". The accompanying diagram makes the position clear. The primitive mind considers these two-fold division of nouns as fundamental and so any change in the original form of the noun is regarded as necessitating a change of the category (or gender). In Sanskrit we have clear traces of the masculine and feminine belonging originally to one category as distinct from the neuter, especially in the nominative case. Nouns in *i, u, r* have originally the same forms for both masculine and feminine *e.g., kavi, avani* ; *bhānu, dhenu* ; *pitṛ, mātṛ* ; *bhrātṛ, svasṛ* ; but the neuters are markedly different and the neuter nominative singular has no ending at all. Of the alternative forms for dat. abl. gen. and loc. singulars for fem. nouns in *i,* and *u,* I believe those have been built up on the analogy of the fem. nouns *-ī,* and *-ū (nadī, vadhū),* and are later ones, definitely influenced by the gender. The forms resembling those of the corresponding masculine nouns are original. Similarly, among nouns ending in consonants a good many show the same forms in the nominative whether they be masculine or feminine, while the neuters are clearly different and here too the neu.-nom. singular has no ending whatever. These seem to be the relics of the original "grammatical" gender based on the fundamental distinction of "person" and "thing". Another striking point is that in the *a-* declension the neuter nominative is really the *accusative* form. This is clearly another relic of the original "acted upon" gender.

But Sanskrit genders have been more or less regularised later on owing to the prevailing use of the secondary (*taddhita*) feminine endings ; *-ā* and *-ī* being regarded as special feminine endings. In this we find the working of analogy very largely.

Some primary (*kṛt*) endings are always feminine. These are *-anā (jaraṇā, vadhanā),* *-ā (nindā, gamayā, aśvayā),* *-ū (vadhū, camū),* *-trā (aṣṭrā, mātrā),* *-thā (kāṣṭhā, gāthā),* *-nā (tṛṣṇā, senā),* *-mī (lakṣmī, sūrmī).* Action nouns made with suffixes *-ani, -i, -ti* are always feminine e.g., *arani, vartani* ; *āji, kṛṣi* ; *iṣṭī. rātī.*

Other *taddhita* suffixes making feminine nouns are *-ānī*, (*Indrāṇī, araṇyāṇī*),[26] *-tā* (mostly abstract nouns[27]) (*bandhutā, puruṣatā*), *-tāti* (or *tāt*) (*jyeṣṭhatāti, sarvatāt* or °*tāti*[28]) ; *-nī* (*patnī, enī*, fem. of *ena*, spotted deer).

Through all these we see that the majority of feminine nouns end in *-ā* or *-ī*. *Action* nouns in short *-i* are feminine but *agent* nouns in short *-i* are mainly masculine e.g., *sarukṣaṇi* (willing to destroy)[29], *pāṇi, dhūti* (shaker), *sapti* (horse), *abhiṣṭi* (helper), *vṛkati* (murderer) are all masculine. This also bears out the arrangement in the diagram of the Law of Polarity.

As regards number all the modern Indo-European languages (except Lithuanian) have only two numbers, singular and plural. But it needed a very long development of mental powers to perceive that "one" and "more than one" include all numerative categories. We saw how some tribes do not possess more numerals than four. And such people have also four "numbers" for their nouns : "singular", "dual", "tri-al", and "plural". A relic of this ancient numeral system (doubtless helped by the four fingers – the thumb being regarded as separate and superior to the rest) is found in our monetary system 4 pies-making an anna and 16 (4 × 4) annas making a rupee. The calculation by *gaṇḍās* is still in use in many parts of South India.[30] Another indication of this old system of counting by fours is the Vedic form *aṣṭā* which is originally a dual implying probably "two fours".[31]

It seems, however, that the speakers of the Indo-European languages had arrived at the ultimate idea of "one" and "more than one", as far as number was concerned long before the languages separated. In the Veda and in Greek among the older I.-E. languages, and in Gothic and Old Bulgarian (or Church

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[26] Cf. *gorāṇi, ṭhakrāṇī, jeṭhāṇī, derāṇī etc. in* Guj.

[27] Having the sense of Eng. *-ship* or *-ness*.

[28] Cf. *Haurvatāt, Ameretatāt* of the Avesta.

[29] Root *ruj*.

[30] The gills and pints of English measures, too, are probably similar relics.

[31] The Greek and Latin forms are also duals. See MACDONELL, *A Vedic Grammar for Beginners*, p. 100, footnote 5. And it has been suggested that *nava*, which follows, implied the *new* number when the thumb also began to be counted.

Slavic) among later languages, the dual number was retained.
But in all these the main idea was to express only those objects
which always went in pairs, and here, too, it is often further
amplified by the use of words like *dvau, ubhau* etc. E.g., *śive ca
te dyāvā pṛthvī ubhe stām ; daivam ca mānuṣam ca hotārau
vṛtvā ; indrasya harī ; aśvinā ; mitrāvaruṇā ; dvā suparṇā suyujā
sakhāyā samānaṁ vṛkśaṁ pariṣasvajāte.* Such dual forms as
hastau, pādau etc. are self-explanatory.[32] Sometimes *ekāśeṣa*
form is used e.g., *pitarā (pitarau), mātarā (mātarau)*[23], *dyāvā
(=dyāvā-pṛthivī), uṣāsā (=uṣāsānaktā), mitrā (=mitrāvaruṇā).*
Another "natural" dual is the dual of the "pairs of opposites"
or "pairs contrasted" such as *sukhaduḥkhe, jayājayau, śiśirava-
santau, ahinakulau, Rāmarāvaṇau* etc. These types would be the
only permissible dual, if we remember that the speakers of
Sanskrit did, indeed, have very clear notions about numbers.
But the rule *cārthe dvandvaḥ* made the use of the dual of any
two objects possible, where there exists mere accidental but not
any "natural" association, e.g., *kākakūrmau, śaṅkhakapālau*
etc. This we may regard as an extension of the sense of the
dual from "natural" duals (either by association or by contrast)
to any two things accidentally brought together.

The plural number has got the well known usage of indicat-
ing respect (*mānârthe*) used either for oneself, as with royalty or
great personages[31] or poets, e.g., where the Sage says in *Uttara-
rāmacarita, Saviū ca gurur vayam ca ;* or in *yūyam vayam
vayam yūyam* etc. Then there is the plural indicating people
dwelling in a land ; and certain words are always used in the
plural, e.g., *āpaḥ,*[35] *prāṇāḥ, dārāḥ.* The word *dāra* is found used
in the sing. in the *Āpastamba Sūtras* several times. All these are
well known. There are also in the Veda a few instances of what

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32 Cf. *scissors, tongs, trousers, spectacles* etc. in English.
33 As in RV. i. 153.3 ; *śiśuṁ na mātarā* (vii. 2.5) ; viii. 99.6 ; vi. 32.2 ;
ni mātarā nayati retase bhuje, He (Viṣṇu) leads both Parents down to show
the genial flow, i. 155.3 ; *anu te śuṣmaṁ turayantam īyatuḥ kṣṣoṇī śiśuṁ na
mātarā,* the two worlds (*kṣoṇī*=Heaven and Earth) cling close to thy
victorious might like both the parents to their child, vii. 99. 6 ; *sa mātarā
sūryeṇā kavīnāṁ* avāsayan with the Sun he (Indra) brightened the Parents
(Heaven and Earth) of the sages, Aṅgirasas.
31 Cf. the "editorial" *we* in English.
35 The word has been used in the sing. also in the Avesta.

might be called the *ekaśeṣa* plurals e.g. *dyāvaḥ* (= *dyauḥ*, *pṛthvi* and *antarīkṣā*) and also *pṛthivīḥ* used in the same sense.[36]

A few words about concord of subject and verb as far as number is concerned might not be out of place. The verb usually takes the "combined number" of subject, e.g., *tajor jarhatuḥ pādān rājā rājñī ca māgadhī* (Raghu., 1. 5), but all the subjects might not be expressed. Thus : *ā yad Indraś ca dadvahe*, when I and Indra received, (viii. 34. 16)[37]. One subject might be supplied from a previous sentence : *Prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata, tā Bṛhaspatiś cānvavaitām* (Prajapati created beings ; (he) and Bṛhaspati followed them ; Taitt. Sam.). For subjects connected by *vā* we are told that the verb should go with only one of them, usually the one nearest the verb, e.g., *te vā 'yam vā pāritoṣikam gṛhṇātu*. But often with *ca* we find a singular verb, either (a) where the words more or less mean the same idea e.g., *tokam ca tasya tanayam ca vardhate* (ii. 25. 2) or (b) where there is a contrast intended, e.g., *pṛthivyā vai medhyam cāmedhyam ca vyudakrāmat* (Mait. Sam.). But in all such constructions one has to look at the *idea* present in the mind of the speaker ; (a) whether it is intended that all the subjects be taken together or (b) whether the whole is to be one idea (as in *tokam ca tanayam ca* quoted above) or (c) whether each is to be taken separately. In the first case the verb in plural, in the other two singular. The sentence, in short, has to be construed *ad sensum*. Examples: *āyuḥ karma ca vittam ca vidyā nidhanam eva ca, pañcaitāny api sṛjyante garbhasthasyaiva dehinaḥ* (Hi.) ; *Indro vidur Aṅgirasāś ca*. (x. 108. 10) ; *saptaprakṛtayo hy etāḥ saptāṅgam rājyam ucyate* (here the *saptaprakṛtayaḥ* and *sapāṅgam rājyam* convey the same idea) : *āhāranidrābhayamaithunam ca sāmānayam etat paśubhir narāṇām ; ahaś ca rātriś ca ubhe ca sandhye dharmaś ca jñāti narasya vṛttam ; na mām trātum tātaḥ prabhavati na cāmbā na bhavatī* (Mālati.)

There is a peculiar verse in the Rāmāyaṇa which has to be construed *ad sensum*

> *tam pariṣvajya bāhubhyām tāvubhau Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau*
> *paryaṅke Sītayā sārdham rudantaḥ samaveśayan*

the change from dual to plural here is remarkable.

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[36] *trisro dyāvaḥ* (i. 35. 6) ; vii, 87. 5 ; vii. 101. 4 (*yasmin viśvāni bhūvanāni tasthus*).

[37] This seems to be one of the very rare instances of the dual number formed in the Vedic language.

# III. CASES (NOMINATIVE, VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE)

In building up a sentence the mutual relations of the words ·of which it is made up must necessarily be indicated in order that the idea might be correctly conveyed to the hearer. These may be indicated in two ways. : (a) by the position of the words with reference to each other, and (b) by means of affixes.

We know that certain words must precede and certain words must follow as a rule ; for instance, the subject usually comes before both the verb and the object. Often, for the sake of emphasis, this order might be changed. In spoken language the tone would be a sufficient guide ; but in written language other devices such as particles or affixes are used to make matters quite clear. As a rule also the adjective and the word it qualifies are put near each other, so also the possessor and the thing possessed and so forth.

Affixes are of two kinds : prefixes and suffixes. In Indo-European languages *grammatical* prefixes are unknown, though there are some prefixes modifying the sense of the word or form, such as the negative *a-* or *an-*, the augment *a-* in verbs (implying completed action), the prefixes *su-* and *dus-* and the so-called *upasargas*. Prefixes as grammatical devices are found in many languages ; for instance, the Semitic languages have many prefixes, the Ba-ntu family of languages of South Africa is an entirely prefix-adding language, and other languages have both grammatical prefixes as well as suffixes.

Recent opinion seems to indicate that all affixes have arisen ultimately from particles (mostly *avyayas*) which were either prepositions or post-positions. In the history of our vernaculars we find this very clearly exemplified.[38] And the most recent research in I.-E. linguistics also bears out this idea that the *pratyayas* of our ancient languages were mostly post-positions. They attained a definite value in course of time and thus they became affixes used in a definite manner. Indeed, long before the I.-E. languages separated into the various branches, the

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[38] We can trace similarly many prefixes of the modern European languages, e.g., English *-ly* which was originally *like* meaning originally "shape" or "form".
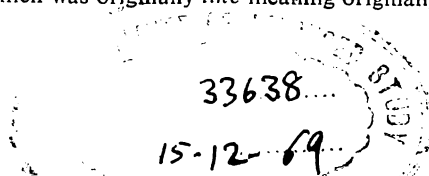
pratyayas had already lost all significance as independent post-positions.

We might go back into the history of primitive speech and try to trace out the growth of these prepositions and post-positions. When words had come and the language had definitely emerged into the word-stage, the construction of sentences obeyed certain rules, which might be termed the rules of "natural word order". We must also remember that most words denoted concrete concepts as yet, and so the various devices of sentence-building —affixes, particles etc.—would be absolutely lacking. In languages at this early stage even simple ideas have to be expressed in a round-about fashion. Thus, in some of the languages of the Sudan region there is a complete absence of all such grammatical apparatus and ideas are expressed by mere juxtaposition of words in their "natural order". Thus a sentence like "I go to the village" would be rendered "I go, reach village-inside"[39]. Another sentence like "The man hit the dog with a stick" would become "The man took stick, the man hit the dog." In these languages it would be impossible to have such a simple sentence as "he jumped from the boat into the river." It would be put into three coordinate sentences : "he jumped, he left boat-inside, he fell river-inside".

Here we see as yet such familiar words as "to", "with", "from", "into" are absolutely unknown to these primitive people. It is only our extreme familiarity with these words that makes us oblivious of the extreme difficulty of grasping the concepts underlying these simple "labels". If any one of us were to be asked to convey the meaning of these words to a foreigner, whose language we do not know, we would be sorely puzzled.[40] We find also the "natural word-order" in the instances quoted and we also note that the nominative, the objective and the possessive cases can always be clearly expressed *by their position* in the sentence, however primitive the language might be.

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[39] The actual word used would mean "belly". The idea of "inside" is as yet too abstract. Note, however, the working of metaphor already.

[40] I remember conveying to a child (aged six) the concept of the English word "in" by the "direct method". The child was rather above average in intelligence, yet it took me nearly an hour before I succeeded. The reason was, my own ideas had to be clarified first.

These are the "three fundamental cases". And it is note-worthy that these are the only three cases found in Semitic languages. In Arabic the nominative is the subject-case, and the accusative the object-case, and the genitive indicates itself by possession. All other case-relationships are indicated by means of the genitive plus a preposition, or, to put it according to the rule given in Arabic grammars, "all prepositions govern the genitive". For this reason the genitive is usually called the "oblique" case in many Arabic grammars.[41]

In the instances from the Sudan languages noted above we might note that the word with genitive force immediately pre-cedes the possession. In fact, we might almost be justified in putting a hyphen between the two words and in taking "village-inside", "boat-inside" and "river-inside" as instances of the *saṣṭhī tatpuruṣa*.

In fact, compounds of the type of the *saṣṭhī tatpuruṣa* (and sometimes the *bahuvrīhi* and *karmadhāraya* also) are fairly com-mon in all languages. In the Indo-European languages all the various branches show compounds of various types even from the earliest available records. The facility for making compounds of all sorts is, in fact, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Indo-European languages.[42]

The cases found in the Indo-European languages have arisen in two ways : (a) in connection with the verb and (b) through the connection with other nouns, and these were probably, originally, simple compounds.

Our Sanskrit grammars speak of *kāraka* and strictly speaking this term ought to be reserved for those cases which have con-nections with the *verb* in the sentence. For instance, take the English sentence "the teacher advises the pupil". In this we have two nouns and one verb and both these are obviously con-nected with the verb. It is also equally obvious that the con-nection is different in the case of each. One noun—the first—is the "actor" the other is the "acted upon". In English this difference

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[41] In Gujarati, too, we can have all case relationships (except the three mentioned) expressed by the genitive plus a postposition : *tenā vaḍe* (ins.), *tenā māṭe* (dat.), *tenā thakī* (abl.) and *tenī māhe* (loc.). This means to be the real significance of the rule of Sanskrit grammar *sambandha sāmānye ṣaṣṭhī*.

[42] We shall consider these in Section VI.

is indicated by the relative position of the two with respect
to the verb, in the synthetic stage, as in Sanskrit, a difference
of the *pratyaya* is ample, and the word order is secondary :
guruḥ śiṣyam upadiśati, or *śiṣyam upadeśati guruḥ*, or any other
word order.

Now take another sentence : "The teacher gives the pupil a
book". Here we have *three* nouns connected with the verb and
all three connections are different. The word "book" here has
a sort of connection with the noun "pupil" also. This lies at
the root of the use of the genitive in early Sanskrit with verbs
of "giving". In English we may say "to the pupil" and make
the sentence clearer ; but the accepted word order is quite
sufficient. In Sanskrit this is the *sampradāna kāraka* and we use
a different "case" : *guruḥ, śiṣyāya granthaṁ dadāti.*

Let us take one step further and have the sentence : "The
teacher gives the pupil a book from the library". Here the
fourth noun, too, has some connection with the verb. In Eng-
lish we would use the preposition "from" to indicate this and in
Sanskrit we may add *pustakālayāt* to the previous sentence. But
a question might be raised if the phrase "from the library" may
not be taken as being more closely connected with the "book"
than with "gives". In that case it is not a *kāraka* in the strict
sense of the term and it might be rendered in that case in
English by the compound "library-book" and in Sanskrit by
pustakālayagranthaṁ.[43] The main point to be remembered is that
"cases" denote connections of the nouns in a sentence with the
verb in the sentence or with other words (chiefly nouns) in the
sentence.

When the language is in a primitive stage there are already
what have been called "percepts of syntactical relations". These
are at first expressed by means of the "natural word order".
Then new "syntactical percepts" came to be recognised and as
these accumulate, they come to be analysed and the common
"concept" underlying several percepts is gradually brought out.
This might be called the "syntactical concept" and when it is
fully grasped it needs a "label", just like any other word, and
so are born the prepositions and post-positions, which play such
an important part in every language and constitute the essential

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[43] Neither is very "elegant".

"idiom" of the language. The acquisition of these little particles
is a very long process. Languages possessing them imply a long
period of mental activity lying behind these. An example might
make things a bit clearer. Take the three occasions of speech :
"He kills the tiger *with* an arrow", "He walks *with* his friend"
and "He comes out of the shop *with* a book." In the English
sentences we find two common factors expressed by the words
"he" and "with." It might need some thought to see the reason
for the latter word and the concept it represents. This common
concept is that "the arrow", "the friend" and "the book" each
of them "accompany the action" indicated. And this *"syntacti-
cal* concept of accompaniment" we label "with". It is obvious
that it is not at all easy to get at this concept. Even in a well-
developed language like Sanskrit we have to render the first two
of these sentences as *śareṇa vyāghram hanti, mitreṇa saha
calati,* where the common factor is indicated by the "instru-
mental" case and in the second the help of the *saha* is needed
to make the idea perfectly clear. But in the third sentence it
would be absolutely wrong Sanskrit to translate it *pustakena
paṇān niṣkrāmati.* The addition of *saha* might make the sentence
just capable of being understood, but it would be poor Sans-
krit, at any rate, not idiomatic. The rendering should be
pustakam gṛhītvā paṇān niṣkrāmati. So we see that different
languages would form different ideas of these "syntactical
concepts".

When we come to consider the cases we find that there were
seven cases in the Indo-European parent language. We do not
here count the Vocative as a case, either as connected with a
verb (*kāraka*) or as one connected with a noun. The Vocative is
merely in the nature of an interjection or exclamation. There is
no sacredness about this number seven. It has just happened
that the Indo-European languages have arranged their "syntacti-
cal concepts" regarding nouns into seven divisions or catego-
ries. Other languages such as Finnish have as many fourteen
cases. And even among the Indo-European languages one
branch has developed special cases doubtless under the influence
of "foreign" languages. There is the Tokharian branch, in
which there are eight cases in the singular and nine in the
plural. The two special ones in the singular are the Comita-
tive (*saha-*) case and the Reason-case and the ninth in the plural

is the Partitive Genitive. In the other ancient branches of the Indo-European family we find the cases getting reduced in numbers and two or more cases get fused together as regards their function ; as the table below would show :

Indo-European (Aryan)[44]		Greek		Latin		Germanic		Stavic
1. Nom.	=	Nom.	=	Nom.	=	Nom.	=	Nom.
2. Acc.	=	Acc.	=	Acc.	=	Acc.	=	Acc.
3. Ins.	=	Dat.	=	Abl.	=	Dat. or Gen.	=	Ins.
4. Dat.	=	Dat.	=	Dat.	=	Dat.	=	Dat.
5. Abl.	=	Gen.	=	Abl.	=	Gen.	=	Abl.
6. Gen.	=	Gen.	=	Gen.	=	Gen.	=	Abl.
7. Loc.	=	Dat.	=	Abl.	=	Dat.	=	Loc.

In the Prakrits and Pali the cases undergo a lot of mixing up. In the Prakrits the dative and genitive are fused together and in feminine forms the instrumental, ablative and locative come together. In Pali also a similar trend may be noted. The reason for this is partly "phonetic decay" of the endings but mainly the changing sense and regrouping of the various "syntactical concepts" associated with the cases. On the whole, the Middle Indian period has been (as Woolner has remarked) one of the steady decay rather than of the introduction of new forms. Still, we do find a beginning made in these latter as well, as instanced by several alternative forms coming in for the ablative. New forms come in with the rise of the vernaculars and here we can clearly trace the case-suffixes to post-positions (*avyayas*) and with a variety of alternatives. Unfortunately the influence of Sanskrit grammatical terminology persists all through ; in fact, it is supreme even today and so we have not yet clearly understood the true spirit which governed the growth of our vernaculars. It must be remembered that the true representatives of a language are not so much the "classical writers" as the common people who speak it. Least of all is language represented by learned pedants who air their Sanskrit in every-

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[44] Or Indo-Iranian. It may be remarked that the instrumental is comparatively rare in the Iranian records.

thing they write or speak. If the student looks to these alône he might get the idea that all our vernaculars are practically Sanskrit with only the addition of a few *pratyayas* and a few common verbs and a few pronouns and particles.[45] This "Sanskrit-drunk" style has been very well burlesqued in Gujarati by Ramanbhai in his *Bhadram-Bhadra*. In order to get into the true spirit of our Vernaculars we hope to go to folk-tales and folk-songs and village-dialects and the speech of our common people.[46] Above all we must forget all Sanskrit grammar.

And even Sanskrit itself has paid dearly for having had the privilege of being analysed by the greatest grammarian that ever lived. We saw already how the language "died" as the result of this remarkable feat of analysis. But what seems far worse is that most of the people who learned Sanskrit grammar are utterly unable to enter into the *spirit* of that beautiful language. It is a most painful thing to find learned notes discussing why a particular word or phrase used by a poet like Kalidasa goes counter to some *sūtra* of Pāṇini. It reminds one of the well known lines :

   arasikeṣu kavitvanivedanam śirasi ɪɪ *ā likha, mā likht,* ɪɪ *ā likht.*

Pāṇini merely dissects *(vi-ā-karoti)* the language as it existed in his days.[47] He is like a modern biologist, who dissects animals and plants, cuts thin sections out of various parts of the body, and puts them under the microscope. It is a marvellous piece of analysis, but it fails to bring out the beauty of the *living* form.

What we should try to do is to get at the *living* language. So our point of view must necessarily be different to that of the pure grammarian. We must look at the human mind behind the

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[45] I myself once read through a Bengali book after learning only the alphabet, and understood most of it owing to the Sanskrit in it. It was years later that I studied Bengali and understood the true spirit of that language. I have also read translations of Sanskrit works into our vernaculars;—I would much rather read the original Sanskrit !

[46] The address of BHULABHAI DESAI a few years ago as President of the Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad was, I think, the best ever delivered before that assembly just because he looked upon Gujarati as Gujarati, not as the bond-slave of Sanskrit.

[47] He has not bothered much about the obsolete and archaic Vedic forms. He merely says *bahulam chandasi* and passes on.

speech used, and not at the mere form.   Only then the true
beauty of language and the latent powers of the language would
begin to be realised.   Very truly some one has said :

> mūrkho vadati Viṣṇāja jñānī vadati Viṣṇave
> dvayor eva samam puṇjam bhāvagrāhī Janārdanaḥ.

One has to become bhāvagrāhī and that is what we shall now
set about doing with regard to Sanskrit.   The true spirit can be
gathered from the pre-Pāṇinian literature— the Vedas (Saṁhitās
and Brāhmaṇas) the Upaniṣads and the Epics and from the
earlier prose writers, dramatists and poets.   These embody
living Sanskrit and we should consider them quite independently
of Pāṇini's analysis.   In the later Mahākāvyas and dramas and
in works like Daśakumāracarita, Kādambarī etc. the language
is stilted and unnatural and, though immensely clever and
learned, it is no longer living.   Occasionally there are pieces of
rare beauty even in the Kādambarī when the true poetic inspira-
tion of the author breaks through the overlying thick crust of
pendantry. No human being of flesh and blood and possessing
human feelings could possibly have talked the language of the
Daśakumāracarita and the Kādambarī or as the characters do in
the prose passages of Bhavabhūti's dramas.

The Nominative Case :

Coming now to the consideration of the cases one by one in
their order we find that in the case of pronouns, especially of
the 1st and 2nd persons very often the nominative is omitted in
a sentence because the verbal ending is ample indication, as in
phrases like, nanu bhaṇāmi ; kim lajjase no manāk.   With the
second person a preceding vocative is also an indication, e.g.,
kathaya nātha katham bata manyase. In the Avesta there is what
might be called an emphatic or inclusive nominative of the first
personal pronoun azôm-cītc (=aham-cit) meaning "I myself" or
sometimes "I and my colleagues".   The phrases like ayam janaḥ
for aham (cf. Pers. bandeḥ), and the use of bhavān, (atrabhavān,
tatrabhāvan etc.) need not detain us here.

The use of the nominative as subject case is too well known
to need exemplification. Similarly "the nominative in apposi-
tion" and the "predicative nominative" construed with roots
like bhū, as etc. need no instances.   In later Sanskrit the passive
construction often involves the change from the nominative to

the instrumental to get the passive form but the spirit is certainly
of the active voice, e.g., *araṇyaṃ tena gantavyam* is a more
emphatic manner of saying *araṇyaṃ gacchet : asmābhir api
tathā bhavitavyam* is neater than *vayam api tathā bhaviṣyāmaḥ.*
This gradual domination of the passive construction over the
active one is doubtless due to "foreign" influences from the non-
Aryan aboriginals. Prof. S. K. Chatterji thinks that the Tibeto-
Burman languages, once dominant all along the N.W. border,
gave this feature to the Indo-Aryan languages. The Mohenjo-
daro inscriptions, when properly deciphered, may throw some
light on this problem. The passive construction also domi-
nates the vernaculars today and our vernacular gram-
mars have apparently forgotten that the forms they give as
"nominatives" are really instrumental originally. E.g., in
Gujarati *te gayo* but *teṇ kāṃ karyū* ; *māṇam bolyo* but *māṇase
mane kahyū* ; *chokrī gātī hatī* but *chokrī-e gīt gāyū.* The second
of these pairs of sentences are in form passive and the so-called
nominatives are originally instrumentals. Yet these forms are
given in all our grammars as nominatives for *in spirit* at any
rate the words *teṇe, māṇase* and *chokrī-e* are *subjects* of the
action denoted. In Sanskrit the use of the passive construction
especially of the 3rd person aorist in -*i*, the use of passive parti-
ciples etc. begins fairly early. These might be further considered
under the instrumental also. Certain other peculiarities in the
use of the nominative might be considered. There is a so-called
"predicative nominative" in sentences like *somaṃ manyate
papivān* (x. 85. 3) ; *kaththase satyavādī* (Rām.) ; *Indro brāhmaṇo
bruvāṇaḥ* (Taitt. Sam.) ; where strict grammar needs *papivan-
taṃ, satyavādinaṃ* and *brāhmaṇam* respectively, with perhaps
ātmānam added to make the sentence clearer.[48] One point to be
noted in all these three examples is the *ātmanepada* of the verb
and also the other point that the "predicative nominative" in
each refers to the same person as the subject of the sentence.
But in passive constructions such as *tvam ucyase pitā* (i. 31. 14)
the nominative is more difficult to explain. In *kṛṣṇo rupaṃ
kṛtvā* (Taitt. Sam.) it seems to be a clear case of "contamina-
tion", i.e., two sentence constructions arising almost simultane-
ously within the mind of the speaker, and thus overlapping each

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48 As in *ātmānaṃ rathinaṃ viddhi.*

other. Here it might have been *kṛṣṇo* (*bhūtvā*) and (*nijam*) *rupam* (*kṛṣṇam*) *kṛtvā*. Such "contaminations" are possible chiefly in a *living* language.

A peculiar use of the nominative is with the *iti*. The *iti* as it were takes the words preceding it quite out of the sentence and hence the nominative is the case used. Examples : *vidarbharājā-tanayām damayantiti viddhi mām* (Nala) ; *svargo loka iti yam vadanti* (AV.) ; *ajñam he bālam ity āhuḥ pitety eva tu mantradam* (Manu) ; *sakheti matvā prasabham yad uktam* (Bh. G.). In the previous instances of the so-called predicative nominatives, too, the insertion of the *iti* would make things grammatically quite correct.

Another peculiar use of the nominative is when it is "yoked" with a vocative : *Indraś ca somam pibatam Bṛhaspate* (Indra and (thou), O Bṛhaspati, drink (ye two) the Soma ; iv. 50. 10); *Viśve-Devā yajamānaś ca sīdatā* (O ye All-Gods, and the Sacrificer, be ye seated ; Taitt. Sam.).[49]

In some instances the nominative is to be inferred from the vocative : *yuyam hi sthā, Sudānavaḥ* (Ye are indeed (liberal)— O liberal ones ; i. 15. 2) ; *abhūr eko rayipate rayīṇām* (Thou alone has been (the lord of riches)—O Lord of riches ; vi. 31. 1.).

The Vocative Case :

Before passing on to the other cases the Vocative might be considered. This is a sort of interjection ; it "forms no part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it".[50] And consequently the vocative is unaccented unless at the beginning of a sentence or a *pāda*. Whenever the vocative takes an accent it is always on the first syllable quite irrespective of the original accent of the noun. Examples. *Sīte vándāmahe tvā* (iv. 57. 6). The vocative, in fact, is ignored in the main sentence construction. The same rule holds good in later Sanskrit also. We have a rule that when a vocative is the first word in a sentence it cannot be followed by an enclitic (or an accentless word)[51] for no enclitic may begin a sentence.

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[49] In Greek also such constructions are found.
[50] WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, †594a.
[51] Such as *ca*, *vā*, the shorter forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns and the alternative (*ena-*) forms of *etad*.

Thus we should say *vayasya mama gṛham etat* (not *me*) ; *Devās-mān pāhi sarvadā* (not *naḥ*).

When several vocatives come at the beginning of a sentence each is accented on the first syllable as if each began the sentence, just because the preceding vocative is "no part of the sentence". If several of these constitute one group, i.e., convey one idea, then the whole has *one* accent on the first syllable of the whole group. But if they are independent (co-ordinate) vocatives, then each gets the accent on the first syllable ; *sá no Vívebhir Devébhir ūrjonapād bhádraśoce, rayim dehi viśvávāram* (viii. 71. 3). Note here how the main subject grammatically is *saḥ*, but the verb is *dehi*, the 2nd pers. being due to the vocative. In this example there are two distinct epithets "O son of strength, O propitiously bright one," and both have the accent on the first syllable. These evidently are regarded as *two* distinct ideas, hence two accents, one for each vocative[52]. But in *táv Aśvinā bhadrahastā supāṇī á dhāvatam* (may ye, O Aśvins, of propitious and beautiful hands rush hitherwards ; i. 109. 4) the two epithets are regards as one. Note also *tau* and *dhāva-tam*. Consider also *á Rājānā maharṭasya Gopā* ; where the vocatives not being at the beginning there is no accent. But in the following *pāda* we get *Gópā Sindhupati Kṣátriyā yātam arvák* (Kings (M. and V.), guardians of the Great Law, Protectors, Lords of Rivers, warriors, come hitherwards ; vii. 64. 2). Note that *the whole phrase—mahṛtasya Gopā—is* a vocative and is treated the same way as *Rājānā*, hence there is no accent whatever.

The Accusative Case :

This is primarily the case of the object of a transitive verb, or in a more extended sense "the goal of action" denoted by the verb. The action may not necessarily be expressed by the finite form of a verb (i.e., by a *tiṅ-anta*) but it may be implied by a participle or a gerund or an infinitive or one of the very

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[52] MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar* (p. 466, footnote 1) says that "the second voc. is accented as in apposition," which means much the same thing, that the two are regarded as separate.

[53] I have drawn upon WHITNEY, SPEIJER, MACDONELL and APTE for instances.

numerous verbal derivatives. In other words, not merely the
finite verbal form but any of the verbal derivatives can "govern"
an accusative. The derivatives might even be nouns or adjec-
tives or any other parts of speech.

Of the ordinary accusatives (objects of a finite verb) examples
are too well known ; but accusatives governed by participles
and other derivatives etc. might be given : *namo bharanta
emasi* (i. 1. 7) ; *Damayantīm abhīpsavaḥ* (Mbh.) ; *didṛkṣur
Janakātmajām* (Rām.) ; *Droṇaṁ praticikīrṣayā* (Mbh. here the
accusative is partly due to the force of *prati*) ; *svargaṁ abhik-
āṅkṣayā* (Rām.) ; *sisṛkṣur vividhāḥ prajāḥ* (Manu) ; *sarvayoṣid-
varā Kṛṣṇā ninīṣuḥ kṣatriyān kṣayam* (Mbh.) ;[51] *kāmukā enaṁ
striyo bhavanti ye evaṁ veda* (Taitt. Sam.) ; *lambhukɔ ha vāso
bhavati* (he surely gets a dress ; Chh. Up.) ; *sarvāṇi bhūtāni gar-
bhy abhavat* (He became impregnated with all beings, Śat. Br.) ;
Mithilām avarodhakaḥ (besieger of Mithilā ; Rām) ; *Indratvam
arho rājyaṁ tapasā* (Mbh.) ; *narapatir netā prajāḥ* (the king the
leader of his subjects ; Pañc.) ; *hantā yo vṛtraṁ sanitota vājam,
dātā maghāni* (iv. 17. 8) ; *tau hɨdam sarvam hartārau* (Jai. Br.) ;
tyaktāraḥ saṁyuge prāṇān (risking their lives in battle ; Mbh.) ;
*sambhāvayitā budhān, prabhāvayitā sevakān, udbhāvayitā bandhūn,
nyagbhāvayitā śatrūn* (Daśa.)[55] ; *tā somam Somapātamā* (i. 21. 6;
refers to Indrāgnī) ; *babhrir vajraṁ, papiḥ somam, dadir gāḥ*
(vi. 23. 4) ; *tam nivāraṇe* (Mbh.) ; *svamāṁsam iva bhojane*
(Rām.) ; *samatsu turvaṇiḥ pṛtanyūn* (overcoming foes in battles ;
iv. 20, 1).

Extending the idea of "the object of a verb" is the "goal of
action", particularly the accusative used with verbs of motion :
tā (prajāḥ) Varuṇam agacchan (Tait. Sam.) ; *Indram stomāś
caranti* (to Indra fare the songs of praise ; x. 47. 7) ; *saraj jāro
na yoṣaṇām* (he sped like a lover to a maiden ; ix. 101. 14) ;
Ayodhyām unmukhaḥ (with A. as goal ; Rām.) ; *Damayantīm
anuvrataḥ* (faithful unto Damayanti, i.e., following her as his
highest ideal ; Mbh.). This usage is Indo-European and is found

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[54] Note the double acc. with root *nī*.

[55] This instance is remarkable as from a later age. With agent nouns
in -*tṛ* the usual construction in classical Skt. is with the gen., e.g., *netā
prajānām* etc. SPEIJER remarks (Sanskrit Syntax, p. 40) that the construction
with the acc. in the early language was quite "obvious and natural".

in every branch of this family. The goal of motion need not be physical, nor need the motion itself be physical ; very early the construction came to be used metaphorically and instances of this are to be found at all periods in all the Indo-European languages. Some examples may be quoted : *jagāma manasā Rāmam* (Rām.) ; *paścād Umākhyām sumukhī jagāma* (Kum.) ; *taccintayā dainyam agaccham* (Daśa.) ; *Śakuntalām patikulam visṛjya* (Śak.)[56] ; *netā aśvasya Srughnam* (the transporter of the horse to Srughna) ; *nītā katipayāhobhiḥ sakhīvisrambhasevyatām* (Mālatī) ; *āpadām āpatantīnam hīto 'pyāyāti hetutām* (Hi.) ; *etan mām bhajati* (it falls to my share ; this might also be put down as accusative of goal of motion) ; *tava kratubhir amṛtatvam āyan* (vi. 7. 4) ; *samaiś ca samatām eti* (Hi.) ; *sa gacched vadhyatām mama* (Mbh.); *pañcatvam gataḥ; kathāśśatām nītā.* In the passive this acc. of goal becomes the subject : *gantavyā purī Vārāṇasī mayā ; gaṁsyate so 'rthaḥ* (this meaning will be understood).

The idea of goal of motion is extended also to speaking ; the words reaching the goal (the person for whom they are intended), *prākriśad uccair Naiṣadham* (Mbh.) ; *sa hovāca pitaram* (Kaṭh. Up.).

"Cognate accusatives" are common to all Indo-European languages and are found in all stages of the language : *tapo 'tapyata ; samānam añjy aṅkte* (vii. 57. 3) ; *na putrarodam roditi* (Chh. Up.) ; *paśumāram amārayat* (he killed him as one kills a beast ; Mbh.) ; *te haitām edhatum edhāṁcakrire* (they prospered with that prosperity ; Śat. Br.) ; *uṣitvā sukhavāsam* (Rām.). In the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads we get the regular phrase *brahmacaryam uvāsa*, where the "cognate accusative" seems to have been suppressed.

The accusative is often used not as the object governed by a verb but *adverbially* indicating time or space : *babhūva hi samā bhūmiḥ samantāt pañcayojanam* (Rām.) ; *pratīkṣyatām kañcit kālam* (Daśa.) ; *śatam jīva śarado vardhamānaḥ* (x. 161. 4) ; *tasmāt sarvān ṛtūn varṣati* (Taitt. Sam.) ; *krośam kūṭilā nadī* (the river bends for the distance of one *krośa*) ; *patasi yojanā purū* (ii. 16. 3) ; *aty atiṣṭhad daśāṅgulam* (x. 90. 1) ; *saptadaśa-pravyādhān ājim dhāvanti* (they run a race a distance of 17

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[56] Note the double acc. in this instance.

arrow-flights ; Taitt. Br.) ; *tisro rātrīḥ vratam caret* (Taitt. Sam.).

There are some idiomatic uses of the accusative : *gām dīvya-dhvam* (gamble for a cow, Mait. Sam.) ; *vi yat sūryo no rocate bṛhadbhāḥ* (when like the Sun he beams forth lofty light ; vii. 8. 4).

Some "adverbs" now classed as *avyayas* are in origin accusative forms ; *śīghram, channam* (secretly), *sabahumānam, naktam, kāmam, ciram, balavat* (as in *balavad vātī*), *pūrvam, nityam, satyam, prakāśam* etc. The word *nāma* is also an accusative originally. In the same syntactical category are the *avyayībhāva* compounds. These last are distinctly of a later growth, especially those with *yathā* and other relative adverbs.

The accusative is "governed" by more prepositions than any other case. This is but natural because the majority of Sanskrit prepositions (later *upasargas*) express motion or action towards something. In the Vedic period the prepositions, being free, go with nouns, whereas in later Sanskrit we know them as *upasargas* and we have rules about verbs with certain *upasargas* governing certain cases.

Regarding constructions with two accusatives, the rules of classical Sanskrit are well known. But a few examples from earlier literature will show that these constructions were then more extensive and formed with other verbs than those of the well known list, *duh yāc pac* etc. : *tvām aham satyam icchāmi* (Rām. ; here *icchāmi* might be almost equivalent to "ask" or "demand") ; *tvām vayam śaraṇam gatāḥ* (Mbh.) ; *Sītā cānvetu māṃ vanam* (Rām.) ; *supeśasam mā 'vasṛjanty astam* (they let me go home well adorned ; v. 30. 13) ; *vṛkṣam pakvam phalam dhūnuhi* (iii. 45. 4). In *draṣṭum icchāva putram paścimadarśanam* (Rām.), the second accusative is clearly adverbial (for the last time).

IV. CASES (INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, ABLATIVE, GENITIVE LOCATIVE)

The Instrumental Case:

The first idea of the instrumental is sociative·i.e., of accompaniment or association as in *devo devebhir āgamat* (i. 1. 5) ; *marudbhir Agna ā gahi* (i. 19. 9.) ; *śaśinā saha yāti kaumidī, saha meghena taḍit pralīyate* (Kum. where the ins. is strengthened

by *saha*) ; *Indreṇa yujā tamasā parivṛtam Bṛhaspate nīr
apām abjo arṇavam* (ii. 23. 18) ; *kathayan Naiṣadhena* (Mbh.)
From this association with a person there comes the accom-
paniment of a thing, as in *Indro no rādhasā gamat* (iv. 55. 10) ;
ut Sūryo jyotiṣā deva eti (iv. 13. 1.) ; *yena mantreṇa juhoti tad
Yajuḥ* (the mantra which accompanies the oblation is Yajus ;
Śat. Br.) ; *varo mahatā vādyaśabdenā-gacchati* (*Pañc.*); *cūtent
saṁśritavatī navamālikā* (Śāk.). The next step takes us to the
instrument or the person accompanying the action, the means
through which the action is performed or the agent performing
the action. Instances are comparatively rare. *ahan Vṛtram Indro
vajreṇa* (i. 32. 5) ; *śīrṣṇā bījaṁ vahanti* (Śat. Br.) ; *vayam Indreṇa
sanuyāma vājam* (through the agency or help of Indra ; i. 101.
11) ; *pūrayan kīcakarandhrabhāgān darīmukhotthena samīraṇena*
(Kumāra.) ; *titikṣamāṇaḥ pareṇa nindām* (i.e., *pareṇa kṛtām
nindām*) ; *guṇeṣu yatnaḥ puruṣeṇa kāryaḥ* (Mṛcchā.).

The instrumental in the passive is essentially the instrumental
of the agent : *vyādhena jālam vistīrṇam* (Hi.) ; *kim atra mayā
śakyam* (Mālatī.) ; *pūrvyebhir ṛṣibhir īḍyaḥ* (i. 1. 2.). With
causals the passive construction is noteworthy ; *tāṁ śvabhiḥ
khādayed rājā* (Manu) ; *tā Varuṇena grāhayat* (he caused them
to be seized by Varuṇa ; Mait. Sam.). In the following verse
the instrumentals are also of the nature of agents with passive
construction :

    saṅgrāmāṅgaṇamāgatena bhavatā cāpe samāropite,
    devākarṇaya yena yena sahasā yadyat samāsāditam ;
    kodaṇḍena śarāḥ, śarair ariśiras, tenāpi bhūmaṇḍalam,
    tena tvam, bhavatā ca kirtir atulā, kīrtyā ca lokatrayam.

Instrumentals are also used as indicating causes (cf. Eng. "by
reason of") though the usual construction is with the ablative :
samasya pītyā girā . . .ā gatam (Come, (O Aśvinas) by reason of
the Soma drink and our hymn ; i. 46. 13) ; *phalenaitaj jñāsyasi* ;
vidyayā yaśaḥ ; *prītyā dānam* ; *jaṭābhis tāpasam apaśyam* (that
he was an ascetic was evident from his *jaṭā* ; Kādam.) ; *audār-
yeṇāvagacchāmi, nidhanam tapasām idam* (Rām.) ; *anvamīyata
śuddheti śāntena vapuṣaiva sā* (Raghu.) ; *nāham vidyāvikrayam
śāsanaśatenāpi karomi* (I would not sell knowledge even though
punished a hundred times ; i.e., by reason of fearing punish-
ment ; Pañc.) ; *na devāya na viprāya na bandhubhyo na cātmane
kṛpaṇasya dhanam yāti vahni-taskara-pārthivaiḥ* (on account of

fire etc. , Hi.) ; *vividhair drumaiḥ kānanam* (Rām.) ; *yajñais tu
Devān prīṇāti svādhyāyatapasā Munīn* (the causes of pleasing the
Devas and the Munis are in the instrumental ; Mbh.) ; *kṣudhā
tṛṣā ca kliśyam* (Daśa.) ; *bhartur viprakṛtâpi roṣaṇatayā mā sma
pratīpam gamaḥ* (Śāk.) ; *mahān prajñayā paśubhir bhavati mahān
kīrtyā* (Chh. Up.) ; *harṣeṇa naṣṭasyāḥ kṣun na rāgataḥ* (note
here the close association of the instrumental and the ablative ;
Kathās).

Instrumentals are also used for comparison to show equality
and sometimes also superiority and inferiority. Here, too, the
usual construction is with the ablative. The idea at bottom
seems to be that the two things are set side by side (in associa-
tion, as it were) for the purpose of comparison. *aham jyotiḥ
Sūryeṇa* (AV); *anena sadṛśo loke na bhūto na bhaviṣyati* (Hi.);
yeṣām aham na pādarajasā tulyaḥ (Mbh); *prāṇaiḥ priyatarau
mama* (Rām.); *apakramaṇam eva sarvakāmair aham vṛṇe* (above
all other desires, above everything else; Rām. Some would
translate as "with all my heart", but this is not so good as
"above all other desires"); *api tvadāvarjitavārisambhṛtam
pravālamāsam anubandhi vīrudhām cirojjhitâlaktakapāṭalena te
tulām yad ārohati dantavāsacā* (here the idea of comparison,
tulām yad ārohati, is brought out beautifully by the great poet;
Kumāra.) ; *tejasā yaśasā vīryād atyaricyata* (note the association
here also of the instrumental and the ablative; Mbh.) ; *dvau
putrau vanitā vavre kadrūputrâdhikau bale tejasā vapuṣā caiva*
(here the association of the locative with two instrumentals
might be noted ; Mbh.). The ins. of price is an extension of the
ins. of comparison; the price and the object being as it were
balanced together ; e.g., *gavām śatasahasreṇa dīyatām Śabalā
mama* (Rām.) ; *sa te 'kṣahṛdayam dātā rājā 'śvakṛdayena vai* (the
king shall give thee the secret of dice in exchange for the secret
of horses ; Mbh.)

The instrumental is essentially a sociative case while the ablative
is essentially a case of separation, exactly examplified in *yasyāḥ
saṅgena jīvyeta mriyeta ca viyo gataḥ*. (Pañc.). Hence by a sort of
"analogy by contrast" we often get the instrumental used in the
sense of "separation". In English also we say "differ from" and
"differ with"; "part from" and "part with". Examples: *mahatâpy
enaso māsāt tvacevâhir vimucyate* (here, too, the contrast
of the ablative *enasaḥ* and the instrumental *tvacā*; Manu);

Sītādevyā Rāmo viṣehe virahavyathān (here the *sandhi* might have been with *°devyāḥ* (ablative); but it is more idiomatic to take it as the instrumental *°devyāḥ*; Kathās.); *ayam ekapade tayā viyogaḥ priyaya copamataḥ suduḥsaho me* (Vikramo.); *anyasya kṣaṇikā prītir anyaḥ prāṇair vimucyate* (Hi.); *pāpmanaivainam vi punanti* (verily, they cleanse him from evil; Mait. Sam.); *tuṣair akhaṇḍaiṣ taṇḍulān pṛthakcakāra* (Daśa.), Even more anomalous is the use of the *saha* for indicating separating as in *bhartrā saha viyoga* (Mbh.). In the same category is to be counted the instrumental of bodily defects, e.g., *pādena khañjaḥ*; *rūpeṇa vikṛtaḥ* (Rām.); *ya evaṁ veda nāṅgena vihūrchati* (he who knows this is not crippled in any limb; Chh. Up.). Such phrases as *virudhya te śatruṇā* is also a similar instance of "analogy by contrast".

In some cases the instrumental is the "instrumental cf circumstances" accompanying the action. Examples: *tasya sakāśam gatvā bhrātṛsnehenaikatra bhakṣaṇapānaviharaṇakriyābhiḥ ekasthānāśrayeṇa kālo neyaḥ* (Pañc.); *anena vārtāvyatikareṇa rajanī vyuṣṭā* (Pañc.); *akleśena śarīrasya kurvīta dhana sañcayam* (Manu). In some of these cases the "circumstances" constitute a quasi-independent clause giving to the instrumental the value of an "absolute case". In this the clause is without a finite verb and the relation of it with the main part of the sentence is that of "circumstances". Theoretically any case may be used as an "absolute case". The main idea seems to be that the circums-tances thus depicted are not directly connected with the main theme of the sentence. Usually the "subject" of the "absolute clause" is different, but not always. This might be called the "instrumental absolute": *Damanakasācivyena Piṅgalako rājyam akarot* (Damanaka being the minister, Piṅgalaka ruled; Pañc.); *na tvayātra mayāvasthitena kāpi cintā kāryā* (Pañc.); *na devi tava duḥkhena svargam apy abhirocaye* (Heaven itself would not attract me, my queen, when grief is thine; Rām.). There are some other instances of the use of the instrumental which might be classified as "instrumental absolute", e.g., *sakhi bhuktaiḥ phalair etair jarā na te bhaviṣyati* (these fruits being eaten); *sa coddhṛtabāṇena sahasā svargam āsthitaḥ* (as soon as he had drawn out the arrow he went up to heaven; Rām.); *samastaiḥ śatrubhir hatair annam pānam cāsvādayiṣyāmi* (Pañc.); *bhadra na bhetevyam asmadvidhair mitrair vidyamānaiḥ* (Pañc.); *tathā*

*samakṣam dahatā manobhavam Pinākinā bhagnamanāratha satī
nininda rūpam hṛdayena Pārvatī* (Kumāra.); *Lakṣamaṇena
sahāyyena vanaṁ gacchasva putraka* (Rām.). In the last instance
the instrumental might be taken as purely "sociative", but it may
be taken as "Lakṣamaṇa being thy companion, thou mayest go to
the forest". Such instances on the border-line, where one idea
melts insensibly into another, show how these different usages
have arisen.

A few idiomatic uses of the instrumental may now be noted.
There are instrumentals of space or path: *diva yānti Maruto
bhūmy Āgnir ayam Vāto antarikṣeṇa yāti* (i. 161. 14; cf. English
"go by this path"); *Sarasvatyā yānti* (they go along the Saras-
vatī; Taitt. Sam.); *udnā na nāvam anayanta* (v. 45. 10; cf. "to
travel by water"); *eha yātam pathibhir devayānaih* (i. 183. 6);
ekayā yāty anāvṛttim anyayāvartate punah (Bh. G.); *tayor vraj-
ator yojanadvayamātreṇāgratah kācin nadī samupasthitā* (within
a distance of two yojanas; Pañc.). There are instrumentals of
time: *dvādaśabhir varṣair vyākaraṇaiñ śrūyate* (Pañc.); *sa kālene-
ha mahatā yogo naṣṭah Parantapa* (Bh. G.; cf. Eng. "with the
passage of time"). More difficult to explain would be such
instances as: *mayā svajīvanamātreṇaiva sthāpitau* (Mudrā.); *acirād
asau śarīreṇaiva na bhaviṣyati* (Prabodha.); *putrair api śapāmahe*
(we swear even by our children; Mṛccha.); *Devās tenāham
satyena mā virādhiṣi brahmaṇā* (Oh ye Gods, by this truth, may
I not fall from Brahman; Chh. Up. Here *tena satyena* is equiva-
lent to *yathā mayoktam satyam tena satyena*—by the truth I have
uttered. The second instrumental *brahmaṇā* is again due to
"analogy by contrast"); *guṇair na parituṣyāmah* (Mudrā.); *jahāsa
tena sa nṛpah* (the king laughed at it) Katha. In the last two
instances we may see the instrumental of reason); *bhartur ājñām
ādāyā mūrdhnā Madanah pratasthe* (Kumāra. metaphorical
carrying); *Kālidāsagrathitavastunā navena nāṭakenopasthātavyam
asmābhih* (Śāk.); *alam ativistareṇa; sadaivopavītinā bhāvyam sadā
baddhaśikheṇa ca* (Manu; an "impersonal" construction); *tasya
ca śabdānurūpeṇa parākrameṇa bhāvyam* (his prowess should be
in proportion to his voice; Pañc. Here the idea of comparison
is also working); *bhuṣaṇaih kim prayojanam* (a 'reason' or 'cause'
instrumental in an interrogative sentence); *bhāryayārthī* (desi-
rous of getting a wife; Rām.); *eteṣam madhye kecid areh koṣada-
ntibhyām arthinah kcecid viṣayeṇa* (of these some long for the

treasure and elephants of the foe, and some for his domains;
Mudrā. In the last two instances we may explain the instru-
mentals as reasons for the longing).

Many instrumentals are adverbial in function and some have
now become stereotyped as adverbs : *avajñayā na dātavyam
kasyacil līlayāpi vā* (one should not give a gift contemptuously
nor jestingly; Rām.); *na kauṭilyena vartate* (Pañc.); *dūreṇa hy
avaram karma buddhiyogād Dhanañjaya* (Bh. G.; cf. Eng. "by far
the lower"); so also *prāyeṇa, sahasā, sahobhiḥ, sukhena, kṛcchreṇa,
acireṇa, añjasā* (straightaway), *mahobhiḥ, uccaiḥ, śanaiḥ, uttareṇa*
etc. In the Veda these instrumentals used as adverbs are often
indicated by a shift of accent *divā; svapnayā* (in a dream); *āśuyā*
(quickly); *raghuyā* (swiftly); *mithuyā* (*mithyā*); *amuyā* (in this
place).

Prepositions governing instrumental are *saha*, and those
having the element *sa-*, and *vinā* (itself the ins. of *vi*). These are
practically the only two prepositions used with this case. In
RV. *adhi* is also found, and *upa* in only three passages; *sam* is
also found a few times. One peculiar use of the instrumental
is with numerals to indicate deficiency; *ekayā na triṁśat; dvābh-
yāṁ nāśīṭim; pañcabhir na catvāri śatāni* (395) (all in Śat. Br.).
Other cases are also used in such constructions, mainly the
ablative.

The Dative Case :

The real sense of the Dative is to indicate the person *to* whom
or *for* whom something is done or who is regarded as chiefly
affected or interested. In that sense the dative is chiefly of
persons, rarely of things. Another sense of the dative ("the
dative of things", it might be called) is that of "the indirect
object", and in that usage it approaches the accusative pretty
closely.

The most usual sense associated with the dative is that of
giving (*sampradānam*); the word *dative* means "the case of
giving" ($\sqrt{dā}$) and its various extensions of imparting (infor-
mation), sending, offering etc. etc. E. g., *dadāti dāśuṣe vasūni* (vii.
27. 3); *kasmai Devāya haviṣā vidhema* (x. 121. 1); *Vidurāya caiva
Pāṇḍuḥ preṣayāmāsa tad dhanam* (Mbh.); *imam Vivasvate yogam
proktavān aham avyayam, Vivasvān Manave prāha, Manur Ikṣvā-
kave 'bravit* (Bh. G); *apahnuvān asmai janāya nijām adhīratām*

(Naiṣadha.; here the idea is concealing, i.e., *not imparting* to others, a sort of "analogy by contrast"). There is the peculiar use of √*sthā* in *ātmanepada—tiṣṭhate* in the sense of *ātmānam prakāśayati* which would come under this heading when used with the dative; e.g., *tiṣṭhate Vṛṣalī grāmaputrebhyaḥ* (V. manifests herself amongst the village youngsters; instanced in the Kāśikāvṛtti). Similar are *āvir Agnir abhavan Mātariśvane* (i. 143. 2); *Ṛtuparṇam Bhīmāya pratyāvedayan* (introducing Ṛtuparṇa to Bhīma; Mbh.).

This sense may be extended metaphorically to giving attention to, or directing emotions (anger, love etc.) towards a person or thing: e.g., *yad dudrohitha striyai puṃse* (the mischief thou hast done to women and men; AV.); *ayaṃ ha tabhyam Varuṇa hṛṇīte* (Varuṇa is indeed angry with thee; vii. 86. 3); *tasmād evaṃ viduṣe brāhmaṇāyaivam cakruṣe kṣatriyo na druhyet* (Ait. Br.); *asūyanti sacivopadi śāya kupyanti hitavādine* (Kādam.); *prītābhyaḥ prajābhyaḥ priyam icchanti rājānaḥ* (Mudrā.); *dasyave vṛkaḥ* (viii. 52. 2); *spṛhayāmi rājñe Daśarathāya* (Mahāvira.); *nāyodhyāyai na rājyāya spṛhaye* (Rām.); *tathāpi Rāmo lulubhe mṛgāya; manorathāya nāśaṃse* (I do not hope—I do not direct my hope that—I get my wish; Śāk.).

Another use of the dative is to indicate motion (physical or metaphorical) towards something or somebody. This dative is to be sharply distinguished from the "accusative of motion", for the latter indicates that *the end or the goal of motion has been reached*, whereas the dative tells us merely of the motion directed towards it. The loc. is also used with motion. The acc. gives the idea primarily of the *motion* in a direction, the dative gives the goal or the *direction* (a sort of reason) for the motion, the locative concentrates on the idea of *reaching* the goal and *resting there*. Thus, *grāmāya gacchati* implies that the person has started with the purpose of reaching the place, whereas *grāmaṃ gacchati* means that the place has been reached. The dative can never be used in the latter sense. Examples: *nagarā-yodacalam* (I started out for the town; Daśa.); *dūḍāśe asyasi* (Thou dischargest (thy missile) at the sinner ; AV.); *sṛjad astā didyum aṣmai* (the archer shot a blazing bolt at him; i. 71. 5); *vajraṃ bhrātṛvyāya praharati* (Taitt. Sam.); *cikṣipuḥ paramakrud-dhā Rāmāya rajanīcarāḥ* (Rām.); *Kusumapurāya Karabhakaṃ preṣayāmi* (Mudrā; the sense here is I am staring K. on the way

to Kusumapura); *saṁhṛtya yuddham yayatuḥ svaniveśāyobhaye
bale* (stopping the fight both armies started for their respective
camps; Kathā.); *aśakāya pādam prahiṇoti* (lifts her foot to kick;
metaphorically: Mālavikā.); *tad ānantyāya kalpate* (Katth. Up.);
vātāya kapilā vodyut (lightning is the forerunner of a hurricane;
Mbh.); *paścāt putrair apahṛtabharaḥ kalpate viśramāya* (Vikra-
mor.); *kṛṇvānāso amṛtatvāya gātum* (constructing the path to
immortality; i. 72. 9); *dehavimuktaye sthitā Ratiḥ* (Rati stood
prepared to give up her body; Kumāra.).

The "dative of concern" is one of the commonest uses of this
case. It indicates the person to whom the result of the action
accrues. This use of the dative has been gradually replaced by
other cases especially the genitive and the accusative. Exam-
ples: *Devān devayate yaja* (worship the Gods for the sake of the
pious; i. 15. 12); *darbhān ṛtvigbhya upaharāmi* (Śāk.); *tasmai
pratikuruṣva* (do to him in return, requite him; Mbh.); *Yamāya
ghṛtavad haviṛ juhota* (x. 14. 14); *ādhivyādhiparītāya adya śvo
vā vināśane ko hi nāma śarīrāya dharmâpetam samācaret* (for the
sake of such a body who should act contrary to religion;
Kāmanda.)

The other very common use of the dative is the "dative of
purpose" indicating the result desired to be attained by the
action ; *gṛhanāmi te saubhagatvāya hastam* (Āś. Gṛ. Sū.); *rāṣtrāya
mahyam bādhyatām (maṇim) sapatnebhyaḥ parābhuve* (bind on
(the gem) to me for the sake of my kingdom, and for the over-
coming of my foes ; AV. The *saptnebhyaḥ* is dat. by "attraction",
as explained below. In this instance both the dative of concern
(*mahyam*) and the dative of purpose have been used); *gaccha
tvam svavyāpārāya* (go about your own business ; Ven.); *ūrdhvas
tiṣṭhā na ūtaye* (stand up for our help ; i. 30. 6) ; *adhi śriye
Duhitā Sūryasya ratham tasthau* (the daughter of the Sun has
mounted the chariot for beauty, i e., to produce the beautiful
effects of dawn ; vi. 63. 5) ; *tenaivainam sam sṛjati śāntyai* (with
him (Mitra) he unites him (Agni) in order to gain peace ; Taitt.
Sam.) ; *asti hi ṣma madāya vaḥ* (here is something for your
intoxication ; i. 37. 15) ; *ity uktvā tapase yayau* (Rām.) ; *ārtat-
rāṇāya vaḥ śastram* (Śāk) ; *upadeśo hi mūrkhāṇam prakopāya na
śāntaye* (Hi.) ; *paritrāṇāya sādhūnām vināśaya ca duṣkṛtām
dharmasaṁsthāpnârthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge* (Bh. G.); *sugopā
asi na dabhāya* (Thou art a good shepherd, not to be deceived,

lit. not for deceit ; v. 44. 2) ; *tvarate me manah saṅgrāmāvataraṇāya* (Ven.) ; *gamyatām punardarśanāya* (cf. Fr. "au revoir," Ger. "auf Wiedersehen") ; *tad anujānīhi mām gamanāya* (permit me to depart ; Uttara.) ; *yatirye sakhīpratyānayanāya* (Vikramor.) ; *vanāya gām mumoca* (in the sense of *vanam gantum*) ; *na śobhārthāv imau bāhū, na dhanur bhūṣaṇāya me, nāsir ābandhanārthāya, na śarāḥ stambhahetavaḥ* (Ram. Here all four *pādas* show different ways of expressing purpose).

In many instances we find two datives together, one of which is not really a dative, but has become that by "case attraction". Examples: *śrayantām prayai Devebhyaḥ* (let (the doors) be open wide for the entrance of the Gods ; i. 142. 6) ; *Indram arkair avardhayann ahaye hantavā u* (they strengthened Indra with hymns for the slaying of the dragon ; v. 31. 4) ; *yathedam pāṇibhyām avanejanāyāharanty evam* (just as they bring it for washing the hands ; Śat. Br.) ; *cakāra Sūryāya panthām anvetavā u* (made a path for the revolving of the Sun ; i. 24. 8. Perhaps *Sūryāya* might be explained as dative of concern and *anvetavai* as dative of purpose, both together in one sentence) ; *tāv asmabhyam dṛśaye Sūryāya punar dātām asum adyeha bhadram* (x. 14. 12) ; *nānujñām me Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ prayacchati vadhe tubhyam* (Yudhiṣṭhira does not give me permission to slay thee ; Mbh.).

The dative may be construed with other words, but *never* with any preposition. With *namas*, and other words indicating salutation, and with certain Vedic invocations like *svāhā, svasti, vaṣaṭ*[57] etc. the dative is used. E.g., *namo 'stu brahmiṣṭhāya* (Śat. Br.) ; *yathā śam asad dvipade catuṣpade* (so that there may be blessings on bipeds and quadrupeds ; i. 141. 1) ; *āhutayo hy Agnaye kam* (for oblations are a joy in Agni ; Śat. Br.) ; *ayam somo 'satv aram manase Yuvabhyām* (let this Soma be agreeable to the heart of Ye two, Indrāgnī ; i. 108. 2) ; *nālam āhutyā āsa nālam bhakṣāya* (he was not suitable for sacrifice, not suitable for food ; Śat. Br.) ; *alam eṣā kṣudhitasya tṛptyai* (refers to the cow ; Raghu.).

Some idiomatic phrases with the dative may be noted : Promise: *pratiśuśrāva Kākutsthas tebhyo vighnapratikriyām* (Raghu.); *tebhyaḥ pratijñāya Nalaḥ kariṣya iti* (Mbh.). 2. Obedience :

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[57] Avestā *uśta*, also used with the dat., seems connected ?

tasmai śuśrūyante (Śat. Br.).   3. Belief : *devebhyaḥ śraddadhāti ;
eko hi rudro nahi dvitīyāya tasthuḥ* (they believe in no other—lit.
stand for no second ; Śvetā. Up.).   4. Tielding : *mā cāham
dviṣate rādham.*   5. Prevailing over : *vidhir api na yebhyaḥ pra-
bhavati* (Bhartṛhari) ; *prabhavati mallo mallāya* (Mbh.).   6. Sale
or Exchange : *śatāya* (or *śatena*) *parikrīto 'yaṁ dāsaḥ ; tilebhyaḥ
pratiyacchati māṣān.*[58]

Other idioms are : *aham devāya bhūrṇaye anāgāḥ* (I, sinless
before the angry God ; vii. 86. 7) ; *anāgaso aditaye syāma* (may
we be sinless in the eyes of Aditi ; i. 24. 15).   In asking about
health we use the dative : *api kuśalam bhavatyai.*   The phrases
showing contempt, like *tṛṇāya manye, śune manye,* might almost
be called "datives of comparison".   There is also a 'dative of
time' : *saṁvatsarāya samam ayate* (an alliance is entered with
for year ; Mait. Saṁ.) ; *mayā vatsarāya nivartanīyo nirargalas
turaṅgamo visarjitaḥ* (Mālavikā.) ; *nūnam na indra aparāya ca
syāḥ* (vi. 33. 5).   There is also in early Sanskrit the use of
dative as a genitive ; e.g., *pitā mahyam* (cf. "father to me") ;
vibhur viśvasmai bhuvanāya (i. 31. 2) ; *pṛthivyai rājāsyāḥ ;
yasmai vā etad annam tasmā etan na dattam* (Chh. Up. Here the
first dative *yasmai* might be in the sense of the gen. *yasya.*   It
is certainly in the sense of "whose" i.e. "to whom it is due") ;
striyai payaḥ ; a similar construction is found in the *Gāthās* of
Avesta, *gātum cā Mazdāi* (the Path of Mazdā or to Mardā).

Datives used as adverbs are rare : *kāmāya* and *arthāya ;
aparāya* (for the future), *cirāya, ahnāya* (just now, this very day).

The Ablative Case :

The Ablative case is for expressing removal, separation,
distinction, what Sanskrit grammarians have called *apādāna.*
All usage of the ablative can be traced to these original senses.
Besides the usual case suffix *-as* or *-āt* there is another ancient
suffix *-taḥ* used in an ablative sense.   This is a so-called
"adverb-building" suffix but syntactically it has all the force of
the ablative case and in many phrases the word in *-taḥ* could be
very well replaced by the ablative case.

The first sense implied by the ablative is motion away from :

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[58]   APTE takes this as abl., but I fail to see the special sense of *aptādāna*
in this, *Saṁpradāna* is much more naturally connected here.

te sedhanti patho vṛkam (they drive the wolf away from the path;
A.V.) ; *eti vā eṣa yajñamukhāt* (Mait. Sm̐) ; *āre asmād astu ketiḥ*
(may the weapon be far away from us ; AV.) ; *asato mā sad
gamaya ; yad vo divaḥ havāmahe* (viii. 7. 11) ; *Śunaś cic chepam*[59]
yūpād amuñcaḥ (vi. 2. 7) ; *yajamānāt paśavo 'nutkrāmukā
bhavanti* (the animals are not likely to run away from the sacri-
ficer ; Ait. Br.) ; *na ca nimnād iva salilam nivartate me tato
hṛdayam* (my heart returneth not therefrom any more than water
floweth upwards (lit., from downwards) ; Śāk.) ; *Cāṇakyataḥ
skhalitabhaktim aham sukhena jeṣyāmi Mauryam* (Mudrā.). The
idea of "distance" is inherent in the ablative whether motion is
implied or not ; *nâtidūreṇa vanād asmāt* (Mbh.) ; *dūram ha vā
'smān mṛtyur bhavati ; dūrāc ca bhāvyam dasyubhyo durāc ca
kupitād guroḥ* (here *dūrāt* itself is an ablative form by "case-
attraction").[60]

From this idea of 'going away from' or 'keeping at a distance'
we get the next idea of the ablative, which denotes the starting
point, or the origin, or source. Examples : *śukrā kṛṣṇād ajaniṣṭa*
(she is born dazzling white out of darkness : i. 123, 9; referring
to Uṣas) ; *ye prācyā diśo 'bhidhāsyanty asmāt* (AV. ; here, too,
there is "case-attraction" for *prācyā diśāḥ*) ; *tac chrutvā sakhī-
gaṇāt* (Mbh.) ; *vāyur antarikṣād abhāṣata ; saṅgāt sañjāyate
kāmaḥ kāmāt krodho 'bhijāyate* (Bh. G.) ; *agaccham ahorātrāt
tīrtham* (Mbh. This has been explained as the starting
point of the journey—at the close of the *whole* day (of 24
hours) ; i.e., when the day was over) ; *prāsādāt prekṣate* (the
sight is directed from the palace) ; *śaiśavāt prabhṛti poṣitām*
(Uttara.) ; *nivasann āvasathe purād bahiḥ* (outside the limits of
the town) ; *mālatyāḥ prathamâvalokadivasād ārabhya* (Mālatī.) ;
pāṇipīḍanavidher anantaram (after the ceremony of joining
hands ; Kumāra.) ; *keśavāt puruṣāt sīsena Pariśrutam krīṇāti*
(he buys with lead Pariśruta from the hairy man ; Ait. Br.) ;
nahy aham pariṇeṣyāmi kulād yādṛśatādṛśāt (I will not take a
bride from any ordinary family).

The "starting point" of an action is often the cause or reason

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[59] Note the *cid* inserted in the middle of the name *Sunaḥ-śepa.* Such
an insertion is called "tmesis".

[60] Exactly paralleled in the AV. *dūrāt haca ahmāt nmānāt* (far from this
house ; Yar, 57. 14).

for it. Hence we have the "ablative of cause". This type of ablative goes on developing and is exceedingly common in technical and philosophical works. Examples : *vajrasya yat te nihitasya śuṣmāt svanāc cid Indra paramo dadāra* (when by the force of thy bolt hurled by its very sound, O Indra, the fore- most (of thy foes) burst asunder ; vi. 27. 4) ; *yasya daṇḍabhayāt sarve dharmān anurudhyanti* (Mbh.) ; *anāditvān nirguṇatvāt parmātmāyaṃ avyayaḥ* (Bh. G.) ; *anṛtād veitāḥ prajāḥ varuṇo 'gṛhṇat* (Mait. Sam.) ; *sauhṛdād apṛthagāśrayām* (Uttara.) ; *śvaśurāj jirheti* (she feels shy on seeing the father-in-law) ; *strīdharṣaṇād vadhyaḥ* (Pañc.) ; *madhyasthā bhagavatī nau guṇa- doṣataḥ paricchettum arhati* (judge us according to our merits and shortcomings ; Mālavikā.) ; *parvato vahnimān dhūmāt ; duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ svarato varṇato vā* (the word is wrong either in (i.e., because of) accent or in spelling) ; *yadi ṛktaḥ riṣyet* (if it is vitiated through (a mistake in) the *ṛk* ; Chh. Up.) ; *vīrasūr iti śabdo 'yam tanayāt tvām upasthitā* (Mālavikā. ; Speijers gives this instance as an example of the transition from the "adverb of origin" to the "adverb of cause"). Similarly *sa hi vidyātaḥ tam janayati* (Āpastamba.). The adverbs *kasmāt, tasmat,* etc. are also used in the causal sense. cf. Guj. *akasmāt* (accidental ; for which no reason is discernable).

The ablative is essentially a case of separation and so ideas leading to separation or removal from the cause are expressed by ablatives. Such are :

1. Fear : e.g., *asurarākṣasebhya āsaṅgād bibhayāṃcakruḥ* (they were afraid of attachment to the Asuras and demons ; Śat. Br. Here the first ablative is due to "case attraction"); *yasmān norvipate loka lokān nadvijate ca yaḥ* (Bh. G.) ; *sammānād brāhmaṇo nityam udvijeta viṣād iva* (Manu.) ; *tasyā jātāyāḥ sarvam abibhet* (AV. Here the construction might be called "ablative absolute", almost like the "genitive absolute" or the *sati saptamī ;* as soon as she was born all become afraid). 2. Exclusion : *vajreṇainam svargāl lokād antardadhyāt* (with the thunderbolt he would exclude him from the heaven-world ; Taitt. Sam.). 3. Concealment : *upādhyāyād antardhatte ; Agnir Devebhyo nilīyata* (Taitt. Sam.). 4. Rescue or Protection : *aṃhaso no Mitra uruṣyeta* (May Mitra protect us from distress ; iv. 55. 5) ; *upa chāyām iva ghṛṇer agaṇma śarma te vayam* (we enter thy shelter as into a shade from heat ; vi. 16. 38). 5.

Prevention : *vṛthākolāhalāddhāsyād dyūtapānāc ca vāritaḥ* (Kāmanda.). 6. Abhorrence : *pāpāj jugupsate* (Mbh.) ; *adhya-yanāt parājayate* (lit., he is overcome by study, i.e., he cannot bear it, he detests it ; Mbh.). 7. Prohibition or Desisting : *prāṇāghātān nivṛttiḥ* (Bhartṛhari) ; *rambhoru virama saṁram-bhāt* (Vikramo.) ; *Umeti mātrā tapaso niṣiddhā* (Kumara.). 9. Neglect : *svādhikārāt pramattaḥ* (Megha.) ; *svādhyāyān mā pramadaḥ.* (Tait Up.) ; *dharmān muhyati* (he neglects his duty). 9. Deception : *vañcayitum brāhmaṇam chāgalāt* (in order to do the Brāhmaṇa out of the goat).

There is a good instance in Śākuntalā where there is an 'ablative of unworthiness' : *Maghavataḥ satkriyāviśeṣād anupa-yuktam ivātmānam samarthaye* (I regard myself as if unworthy of such special honour from Indra ; in this sentence it is the negation that makes the ablative at all possible).

Ablatives are also used to indicate multiples : *mūlyāt pañca-guṇo daṇḍaḥ* (Manu) ; or deficiency : *ekānna śatam* (i.e. 99) ; *ekasmād akṣarād anāptam* (incomplete by one syllable ; Tait. Sam.) ; *teṣām alpakād evāgnir asañcita āsa* (by a very little their fire was not completely arranged ; Śat. Br.). In the last three the ablative might also be taken to indicate the cause of the deficiency or incompleteness.

One out of many or a remainder is sometimes indicated by an ablative – as it were separating these as distinct : *krauñcami-thunād ekam avadhīḥ* (Rām.) ; *agneḥ śeṣaṁ ṛṇāc cheṣaṁ śatroḥ śeṣaṁ na śeṣayet* (Prabodha.).

A very frequent use of ablatives is for comparisons. Here the idea is to keep the two things compared *separate* (and dis-tinct), as contrasted with the instrumental of comparison where they are put *together*. Examples : *pra mātrābhī ririce roca-mānaḥ pra devebhir viśvato apratītaḥ pra majmanā diva Indraḥ pṛthivyāḥ proror mahor antarikṣād ajīṣi* (He hath surpassed all measures in his brightness, and the gods as well, unequalled everywhere ; impetuous Indra in his might exceedeth the wide vast mid-air and heaven and earth together ; ii. 46. 3. In this sentence the first two objects of comparison are in the instru-mental *mātrābhiḥ* and *devebhiḥ,* while the other objects of com-parison show the ablative) ; *svādoḥ svādīyaḥ* (sweeter than sweet; referring to the song of praise ; i. 114. 6) ; *ajñebhyo granthinaḥ śreṣṭhā granthibhyo dhāriṇo varāḥ* (Manu. Note the irregular

superlative *śreṣṭhā* here) ; *pūrvā viśvasmād bhuvantād abodhi* (Thou wast awake earlier than all creation ; i. 123. 2) ; *jananī janmabhūmiś ca svargād api garīyasī ; gām avṛṇīthā mat* (thou didst choose cows rather than me ; Ait. Br.) ; *samāt sutād Indro 'vṛṇīta Vasiṣṭhān* (Indra chose the Vasiṣṭhas rather than the pressed out Soma juice ; vii. 33. 2) ; *jātāny avarāṇy asmāt* (born later than he ; viii. 9ᶠ. 6) ; *brahma hi pūrvam kṣatrat* (Pañc. Br.); *Caitrarathād anūne Vṛndāvane* (in Vṛndāvana not inferior to Vaitraratha : Raghu) ; *bhāryā sarvalokād api vallabhā bhavati* (Pañc. Note the use of the positive degree in the sense of the superlative here) ; *vajrād api kaṭhorāṇi mṛdūni kusumād api lokottarāṇam cetāṁsi ko nu xijñātum arhati* (Uttara.) ; *bhavitā na ca me tasmād anyaḥ priyataro bhuvi* (Bh. G.) In this last we have both the comparative adjective as well as *anya*—as in the English 'other than'. This also is a common idiom with the ablative, because "other" means "something different" or distinct ; *itaro devayānāt* (i. 18. 1) ; *neto 'nye vidyante* (there are none else but these ; Chh. Up.) ; *jagan mitho bhinnam abhinnam Īśvarāt* (The creatures are different amongst themselves ; Prabodha. Here the word *bhinna* is expressly used) ; *yasmin nāntakaḥ Kusumāyudhāt* (Kumāra. Here the *anyaḥ* is omitted). In *gāmbhīryāt sāgaropamam* (Rām.) the *point* of comparison is put in the ablative by a rare process of thought.

With many prepositions, adjectives and other words the ablative may be construed : *jāto Himavatas pari* (born on the Himavat ; AV.) ; *samudrād adhi jajñiṣe* (born from the ocean ; AV.) ; *ā mūlād anu śuṣyatu* (may it dry up from the root ; AV.); *tasmād ā nadyo nāma stha* (since that time ye have been called rivers) ; *Sarasvatī nadīnām śuir yāati giribhya ā samudāat* (vii. 95. 2. Here the second abl. might be due to "case attraction") ; *bahor dṛṣṭam kālāt* (seen after a long time ; Uttara.) ; *arvācīnam Ādityāt* (below the Sun ; Śat. Br.) ; *yajñāj jihmā īyuḥ* (they would go astray from the sacrifice i.e., they would lose it ; Ait. Br.).

The preposition *ā* usually has the sense of "upto", i.e., it indicates the limit to be reached. It expresses not the beginning but the end. Still by a sort of "analogy by contrast" *ā* in this sense also is construed with the ablative : *ā ṣoḍaśāt* (until the sixteenth year ; Manu.) ; *ā pradānāt* (until she is given (in marriage) ; Śak.) ; *ā Kailāsāt* (Megha.). Similar is the use of

the ablative in *purā jarasaḥ* (before old age.   Some might take
this as genitive).

Ablative forms are used as *avyayas* also ; *āt, yāt, tāt* (for
asmāt etc.), *āgāt* (far), *balāt, sakāśāt, dūrāt, paścāt, samantāt,
sākṣāt*, and many others in the earlier language.   In the AV. is
found *pratyakṣatamāt* (most obviously) and in the Sūtras
pratyantāt (to the end).

The Genitive Case.

The original idea of the genitive case is that of "possession"
or "partaking of" (literally or metaphorically).   From this the
usage steadily expanded so as to include all sorts of relation-
ships.   All grammarians admit the varied use of this case. This
Kāśikā says clearly *bahavo hi ṣaṣṭyarthāḥ* and there is the well
known dictum *sambandhasāmānye ṣaṣṭhī*.   Pāṇini himself has a
rule *śeṣe ṣaṣṭhī* (ii. 3. 50) which Patañjali explains by saying
that the case is required if the categories, object and the rest,
are not to be directly expressed "but tacitly implied" (*karmādī-
nāṁ vivakṣāśeṣaḥ*).   The one thing that strikes a student of
syntax is the way in which the genitive overlaps the domain of
the other cases.   It is seen clearly in our Vernaculars today.
(All the other so-called case-suffixes might be preceded by the
genitive suffix ; e.g. Guj. *tenā vaḍe, tenā māṭe, tenā thakī, tenā
mā*).   The domain of the dative has been particularly strongly
invaded by the genitive, for we find even Pāṇini making note of
it in the rule *caturthyarthe bahulam* (ii. 3. 62).   Here the rather
vague word *bahulam* has been explained by commentators thus :

> *kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid
> anyad eva
> vidher vidhānam bahudhā samīkṣya caturvidham bāhulakam
> vadanti.*

In the Krakrits (and especially in Pali) the dative is the earliest
case to disappear, being replaced by the genitive.   In fact, it
seems that if orthodox (i.e. Pāṇinian) grammar had not stopped
the growth of Sanskrit as a living language, there might
ultimately have remained only three cases as in Arabic—
nominative, objective and oblique (i.e. genitive).   The genitive
would have become the general oblique case, including within
itself the instrumental, dative, ablative and locative.

It is really impossible to classify properly the uses of this case without considerable overlapping. Indeed different writers on grammar have given different classifications. It is best to consider the grammatical aspect of the genitive first, i.e., the "subjective", the "objective" and the "possessive" use of this case. This is perhaps a simple method and the divisions are fairly exclusive mutually. But we need another type of classification *depending upon the idea involved,* as we have done so far with the other cases. For it is only by the latter method that we apprehend the rich domain of ideas covered by this case and appreciate the working of the human mind in giving rise to such bewildering variety of usage.

The *subjective* genitive is so-called because if paraphrased it could be expressed by a nominative, or more often by a passive construction with the subject as instrumental. Examples : *yasyāmatam tasya matam, matam yasya na veda saḥ, avijñātam vijānatām, vijñātam avijānatām* (Kena. Up.) ; *mūrkhānāṁ paṇḍitāḥ dveṣyāḥ* (Pañc.) ; *na kiñcid aprāpyatamam guṇānām* (Mṛccha.) ; *vayam grāmyāḥ paśavo 'raṇyacāriṇāṁ vadhyāḥ* (Pañc.) ; *eka eva havyaś carsaṇīnām* (vi. 22. 1) ; *na marṣayiṣyati rākṣasakalatra-pracchādanam bhavataḥ ; neyam mama mahī durlabhā* (it is not difficult for me to conquer the earth ; Rām.). Instances of the subjective use of the genitive are rarer than the objective use.

The *objective* genitive might in a paraphrase be replaced by an accusative or sometimes (especially when used with a preposition) by a locative. Examples : *cikīrṣā Viṣṇumitrasya katasya* (here the first gen. is subjective) ; *śaṅkayā tasyāḥ* (suspecting it was she ; Mṛccha.) ; *Vasiṣṭhasya stuvato Indra aśrot* (vii. 33. 5) ; *yathā mama smarāt ; nadīnāṁ śastrapāṇīnāṁ nakhi-nāṁ śṛṅgiṇāṁ tathā viśvāso naiva kartavyaḥ strīṣu rājakuleṣu ca* (Hi. Here the gen. and loc. are used side by side) ; *Bhīmasyā-nukariṣyāmi bāhu śastram bhaviṣyati* (Mṛchha.) ; *katham mṛtyuḥ prabhavati veda śāstravidām* (Manu) ; *apriyasya ca pathyasya śrotā vaktā ca durlabhaḥ* (Mbh.) ; *śāstrāṇām paricayaḥ* (Kādam.); *duḥkhāyedānīm Rāmasya suhṛdām darśanam* (Uttara. The second gen. is subjective). In *sāgarasya amṛtasya manthanam ; gavāṁ dugdhasya dohanam* both genitives in each are "objective" genitives, because the verbs usually govern two accusatives ; but usually the genitive of both the agent and the object is avoided, *āścaryam gavāṁ doho 'gopena* (Siddh. Kau.).

The ordinary *possessive* genitive is too well known to be illustrated by examples. The proper value of this original genitive is adjectival. Whitney says (Sanskrit Grammar, §294) : "It belongs to and qualifies a noun, designating something relating to the latter in a manner which the nature of the case, or the connection, defines more nearly". Whitney thinks that the other two grammatical uses of the genitive, the "subjective" and the "objective", might be traced ultimately to this original, the "possessive", genitive. The essential feature of this type is that it is attached to a *subanta* and not to a *tiñanta,* and as the vast majority of instances of the genitive belong to this type it is held with a good deal of reason that the genitive is *not* essentially a *kāraka.*

Turning now to the variety of ideas expressed by the genitive, the first and natural transition from the idea of possession is that of "belonging to a larger group" : *kakudam vedavidām : yatatām api siddhānām kaścin mām eti tattvataḥ* (Bh. G.) ; *dhaureyaḥ sāhasikānām agraṇīr vidagdhānām* (Kādam.) ; *eteṣām madhye kecid areḥ koṣadaṇḍābhyām arthinaḥ* (Mudrā.) ; *sa evaikātra sarveṣām nītiśāstrārthatattvavit* (Pañc.) ; *vintā dvayor madhye cintā nama garīyasī ; gṛhyatām anayor anyatarā* (Māla-vikā.). When the same word is used for the genitive plural and the dependent word, it is equivalent to a superlative : *sakhe sakhīnām* (O, best of friends; i. 30. 11) ; *mantrakṛtām mantrakṛt;* cf. Old Pers. *Xśāyaθiya Xśāyaθiyānām* (King of Kings ; Mod. Fers. Pers. *Shāhān-Shāh.* Also cf. Mod. Parsi Guj. *devenām dev* (in the sense of the most consummate scoundrel ; from Skt. *devānām deva*[61]).

This type has been called "partitive" genitive by some grammarians. But the real partitive genitive is used in the older texts with verbs of giving, asking, eating, drinking, etc. It implies a part of the whole, as distinct from the whole, in which latter case the accusative would be necessary. Examples : *eteṣām me dehi* (Chh. Up. The sense is "some of these", not all ; if all were meant we would get *etān me dehi*). Exactly as in French "donnez-moi *le pain*" (all the bread ; acc.) and "donnez-moi *du pain*" (some of the bread ; partitive gen.) *piba sutasya* (AV.) ; *na tasyāśnāti kaścana* (x. 85. 3) ; *sa bhikṣamāṇo*

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[61] The word *deva* is used in the Iranian sense of an "evil one".

'*mṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* (ix. 70. 2) ; *somasya tvā yakṣi* (iii. 53. 2) ; *samudrasya na pibanti* (Taitt. Br. The accusative in this connection would only be possible with Agastya2!) ; *Agni-Somābhyāṁ chhāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubhūhi* (announce to Agni and to Soma their share of the omentum and of the fat ; Śat. Br. Note here the use of the dat. *vapāyai* for the gen. *vapāyāḥ*). A very peculiar partitive gen. is *Ādityasya vā dṛśyamāne praviśeyuḥ* (they should enter (the village) even while the Sun is visible ; Āś. Gr. Sū.). Here the genitive is in the sense of "even a small part of the Sun".

The genitive of material or origin may be explained as being derived from the idea of 'belonging to' and thus partaking of the same nature. Examples : *asya sūtrasya śāṭakaṁ vaya* ; *kanyā dāśānām ; etasya vai saumya eṣo 'ṇimnaḥ evaṁ mahānya-grodhas tiṣṭhati* (from that minute speck, my dear, stands forth, indeed, the mighty banyan tree ; Chh. Up.) ; *kasya tvam* (whose (son) art thou)[62]; *eteṣāṁ vṛkṣāṇāṁ bhavanti* (they are (made) of wood ; lit., "of trees" ; refers to fences ; Śat. Br.) ; *kṛṣṇānāṁ vrīhīṇāṁ caruṁ srapayati* (he cooks a porridge of black rice ; Śat. Br.). It may be noted that this genitive of material is never used by itself with a noun ; if necessary we use either a derivative adjective or a compound. *haimam pātram* or *hema-pātram* but never *hemanaḥ pātram*. This type of genitive encroaches upon the province of the ablative mostly. The identity of the abl. and gen. forms in the sing. of most nouns (except those ending in -*a*) has doubtless helped this idiom.

The genitive of lordship is a variety of the ordinary genitive of possession. But in the older language it is construed with finite verbs : *tvam viśvasya medhira divaśca gmaś ca rājasi* (i. 25. 20) ; *ekaḥ san bahūnām iṣṭe* (Śat. Br.) ; *ya īśe asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ* (x. 121. 3) ; *prabhavati kumārīṇāṁ janayitā daivam ca* (Mālatī.) This construction gets 'rarer and rarer in later language.

The gen. of knowledge is found at all periods. When a man knows something the knowledge becomes the possession of that person, hence the genitive : *prāṇo vai jātavedāḥ sa hi jātānāṁ veda* (Ait. Br.) ; *abhijñaḥ khalu asi lokavyavahārāṇām* (Mudrā.) ; *avijñātā bhaviṣyāmo lokasya* (we will be unknown to the people;

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[62] Cf. Avesta *kahyā ahī* (whose art thou ; i.e. to whom do you owe allegiance).

Mbh.) ; *avedanājñam kuliṣakṣatānāṃ* (Kumāra.) ; *vāyur yūnāṃ abhinavavadhūsannilhānam vyanakti* (Mālatī.) ; *adarśayat tasyāḥ putrikāḥ* (Kathās.) ; *bhaginyās te mārgam ādeśaya* (Śak.) ; *kathayāsmākam deśāntaravṛttāntam* (Pañc.) ; *yasyāmatam tasyamatam, matam yasya na veda saḥ, avijñātam vijāatām, vijñātm avijānatām* (Kena. Up.).

Similarly when a thing is given it becomes the possession of the recipient. The person who wants a thing asks for what is in the possession of another. Hence we have genitives with verbs of asking, receiving, promising and giving. Here the case overlaps both the dative and the ablative. Examples : *rājñas tasya yayāce kācid abalā bhojanam* (some woman begged for food from that king ; Rām. ; cf. the old English idiom "to ask of a person") ; *praśastānām svakarmasu dvijātīnām brāhmaṇo bhuñjīta pratigṛhṇīyāc ca* (a Brahmaṇa might partake of food and receive presents from twice-born people who are reputed to be good in their duties ; Gau. Sū.) ; *cārāṇāṃ Rāvaṇaḥ śrutvā prāptam Rāmam* (Rām.) ; *śruṇu vadato mama ; Prajāpater ātmānam pari dadāmi* (Chh. Up.) ; *anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya dīyate.*

Most Indo-European languages outside the Indian branch possess a verb which indicates "possession" like the English "to have". In Sanskrit we have the verb *dhṛ* to hold which might be used in that sense, but the more usual way is to use what is called the "predicative genitive" with the verb *as* (to be) generally left out. The same construction is found in our Vernaculars, e.g. Guj. *tenā sāt baccā che* ; but usually we translate such a sentence as "he has a horse" with a sort of locative in Guj. *tenī pāse ghoḍo che.* This construction with the "predicative genitive" is found in all periods of Sanskrit : e.g. *tasya ha śatam jāyāḥ babhūvuḥ* (Ait. Br.) ; *anyatragatānām dhanam bhaviṣyati* (those who go elsewhere shall have wealth ; Pañc.) ; *asti no 'nyad api praśnam* (we have yet another question to ask ; Śak.) ; *mama mahati prīti sañjātā* (I had great pleasure) ; *yathā 'sau mama kevalaḥ* (so that I may have him all to myself ; AV.); *pañcasvāpatsu nārīṇām patir anyo vidhīyate* (Manu) ; *buddhir yasya balam tasya ; ye ca tvā anujīvanti nāham teṣām na te mama* (Rām. ; said by Daśaratha to Kaikeyī) ; *Devā Arjunasyābhavan* (Arjuna had the Gods on his side ; Mbh.) ; *ke mama dhanvino 'nye* (what other archers have I ? ; Kumāra).

The genitive of comparison is also found (cf. English "equal
of") *Arjunasya samo loke nâsti kaścid dhanurdharah* (Mbh.) ;
babhau kruddhasya simhasya mukhasya sadṛśam mukham (Rām.);
sadṛśam ceṣṭete svasyāh prakṛter jñānavān api (Bh. G.) ; *tato
'nukuryād viśadasya tasyās tāmrauṣṭaparyastarucah smitasya*
(Kumāra.) ; *etāvān evâyuṣmatah Śatakratoś ca viśeṣah* (this
much only is the difference between you and Indra ; Śak.) ;
atrabhavato mama ca samudrapalvalayor ivântaram (between me
and him there is a difference as between the ocean and a
puddle ; Mālavikâ.).   Note that in the last two instances
it is the *difference* that is brought out, a sort of "analogy by
contrast".

There is the genitive of dependence (including the cause)
which usurps the place logically belonging to the locative or
the ablative.   More or less closely connected are genitives
indicating possibility, suitability, worthiness etc., and these are
comparatively rare. Examples : *alpasya hetor bahu hātum iccham*
(Raghu.) ; *vismṛtam kasya hetoh* (Mudrā.) ; *caurasya rujati*
(suffers or is sick of) ; *tavâyattah sa pratikārah* (the remedy
depends upon you ; Pañc.) ; *sarvam asya mūrkhasya sambhāva-
yate* (Mṛcch. Here the possibility depends upon the folly). Ulti-
mately this may connect up with the idea of 'origin'; *na yuktam
bhavatah : śitakriyā câsyā rujah praśastā* (cold applications are
proper for her illness) ; *paryāptam etāvatā kāminām* (Mālavikâ.);
sarvathā 'sadṛśam Sīte mema svasya kulasya ca (Rām.) ; *nasty
asādhyam Manobhuvah* (Kumara.).

The person or thing towards which the feeling is directed is
put in the genitive case.   This includes behaviour towards some
person or thing, imitation also being included.   This might be
called the genitive of feeling.   Instances are fairly common :
te bhadramukhās tava dayantām (Daśa.) ; *nanu kalabhena yūtha-
pater anukṛtam* (Mālavikâ.) ; *pitur anuharati* (he takes after his
father) ; *amṛtasy eva câkāṅkṣed avamānasya sarvadā* (Manu; the
desire directed towards the nectar) ; *api bhavān utkanthate
Madayantikāyāḍ* (Mālatī.) ; *tasyās tuṣto 'bhavad guruh* (Rām.) ;
tutoṣa tasya muneh (he was satisfied with the sage ; Mbh.) ;
*nâgnis tṛptyati kāṣṭhānām nâpagānām mahodadhih nântakah sar-
vabhūtānām* (Pañc.) ; *giram visṛjet hlādinīm sarvasatvānām*
(Kāmanda.) ; *mūṣikamāṁsasya nirviṇṇo 'ham* (I am sick of
mouseflesh ; Pañc.) ; (*Madanah*) *satpuruṣasya bhavati mṛduh*

(Mbh.) ; *bhartur viprakṛtāpi roṣaṇatayā mā sma pratīpaṃ gamaḥ* (Śak.   Here *bhartuḥ* is best construed with *roṣaṇatayā*) ; *rājñām bahumataḥ ; sa na kasyacid viśvasiti* (Pañc.); *ātmanaḥ pratikūlani na pareṣāṃ samācaret* (the first is genitive of feeling, the second of behaviour) ; *mamāti kruddho muniḥ* (Śak.) ; *pituḥ kāmaḥ putrasya ; bibhītas tava* (Mbh.) ; *nadīnāṃ śastrapāṇīnāṃ nakhi-nāṃ śṛṅgiṇāṃ tathā viśvāso naiva kartavyaḥ strīṣu rājakuleṣu ca* (Hi.   Note here the two locatives at the end "putting confidence in a person") ; *mitrāṇāṃ upakurvāṇo rājyaṃ rakṣitum arhati* (Rām.) ; *kim mayā tasyās tavāpi câpakṛtam* (have I injured either her or you ? Pañc.) ; *aparāddho 'smi tatrabhavataḥ Kaṇvasya* (Śak.); *Rāmasya asatkṛtya* (Rām.   Cf.   Guj.   *Rāmnū apamān karine*) ; *kim asya bhikṣoḥ kriyatām*—how should one behave towards this beggar Cf. Guj. *ā bhikhārīnū śū karye*) ; *kim arthinām vañcayitavyam asti* (Hi.).

The verb *smṛ* is also used with the genitive,   Remembrance is usually accompanied by a yearning for "old times" and for old friends, hence probably this is a genitive of feeling.   Indeed, grammarians say that *mātuḥ smarati* implies regret at her loss. Examples : *hā, Deva Nanda, smarati te Rākṣasaḥ prasādānām* (Mudrā.) ; *smara tasyā haṃsakathāyāḥ*.   With *vismṛ* this usage is not sanctioned by grammar, though one instance is quotable, strangely enough from *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (xvii. 10)—*śāstrāṇāṃ vyasma-ran bhaṭāḥ*.   Another instance is in a Prakrit passage in *Uttara-rāmacarita : visumaridā ahye Mahārāā Dasarahassa Rāmabhad-dena* (we have been made to forget king Daśaratha by Rāma*)*.

There are genitives of time and direction which may be regarded as idiomatic.   The meaning seems to be associated with the "course *of* time" and "in the direction of" thus con-necting up with the original sense of the case.   Examples : *śrād-dham trir abdasya nirvapet* (Manu) ; *asakṛt saṃvatsarasya* (Parā. Gr. Sū.) ; *imām ājñākarīṃ vo gāndharvavidhinopayamya kasyacit kālasya bandhubhir ānītām smṛtiśaithilyāt pratyādiśaṃ aparāddho 'smi* (after the lapse of some time ; this is almost a gen. absolute; Śak.) ; *sudīrghasya tu kālasya Rāghavo 'yam samāgataḥ* (Rām.) ; *mama śiśor eva* (the time of my childhood) ; *uttareṇa nagarasya ; trimārgayeva tridivasya mārgaḥ* (Kumāra.) ; *yatra kva ca Kurukṣetrasya* (somewhere or other in Kurukṣetra ; Śat. Br.) ; *āśramapadasya nātidūre*.

Certain prepositions like *madhye, upari, adhaḥ, puras, agre,*

purastāt etc. govern the genitive. These are mainly indicative of direction. So also the genitive with *kṛte, arthe* etc. might be regarded as indicating metaphorically the direction (with reference to). Examples : *jyotiṣām madhyacāri* (Vikramor.) ; *tena tvam viduṣām madhye paṅke gaur iva sīdasi* (Hi.) ; *gatam upari ghanānām* (Śak.) ; *purastād yatīnām* (Mālavikā.) ; *rājñaḥ samakṣam* (Mālavikā.) ; *amīṣām prāṇānām kṛte* (Bhartṛhari) ; *asya dagdhodarasyârthe.*

There are a great many usages of the genitive which cannot be classified satisfactorily and therefore have to be put together in a loose sort of group and labelled "idioms". A few such might be enumerated : *Śākaṭāyanasyaiva* (in the opinion of Ś.) or *ekeṣām* (in the opinion of some ; *mate* being understood). This is found the terse style of the Sūtras. Peculiar are : *vaktram āpūryate 'śruṇām ;* the face is bathed in tears) ; (*nāvaḥ*) *nārīnām abhipūrṇās tu kāścit* (some ships filled with women ; Rām. ; if a similar idiom in Eng., "a bottle of wine", "a ship of corn", in the sense of "filled with") ; *daśasuvarṇasya dyūtakaraḥ* (a gambler staking ten gold pieces ; Mṛccha.) ; *kaccic chuśrūṣase pituḥ* (dost thou serve (do the service of) thy father ; Rām.) *tava sarve hi bibhyati* (Rām. ; cf. Eng. "afraid of") ; *iha śākhāmṛgāḥ siṁhaḥ . . . . katham tebhyo na bibhyase, kuraṅgāṇām tapasvinām katham na bibheṣi* (Rām. Here we have both the abl. and gen. of fear in the same sentence) ; *sarvam tasya kṣamāmahe* (we forgive him everything ; Rām. This might be taken as an "objective genitive" or a "genitive of behaviour") ; *Pitṛṇām anṛṇaḥ* (Manu) (with the debt to the Pitṛs discharged) ; *Hiraṇyako 'pi Mantharasya praṇāmam kṛtvā* (Hi.) ; *nyapatat kāko Rāghavasya mahātmanaḍ* (Rām., *carṇayoḥ* is understood) ; *yo vāco gṛhītaḥ* (who has been afflicted in speech ; Mait. Saṁ.).

"Prepositions" used with genitives are really stereotyped case-forms of nouns ; these are *agre, arthe, kṛte, hetau, madhye, arthāya, kāraṇāt, sakāśāt* etc. There are also directional words *uttareṇa, dakṣiṇena, dakṣināt, paścāt, ūrdhvam, samakṣam, sākṣāt,* etc. Other words such as *paritaḥ, purastāt, parastāt* and *adhaḥ, avaḥ puraḥ, upari antar,* also take the genitive sometimes ; they are coming into use from the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Examples: *saṁvatsarasya parastāt ; sūktasya purastāt* (Ait. Br.). Such constructions are unknown in the Saṁhitās. The growing use of these is an additional illustration "of the general looseness of

the use of the genitive" (Whit., Sanskrit Grammar, §1130).

Certain genitives have passed into *avyayas* ; these are but few, denoting time and are found only in the older language : *aktoh, naktoh* etc. ; *kasyacit kālasya* (Śak.) is a later phrase.

In later language the genitive is used loosely with another word mostly a participle and denotes the attendant circumstances without being directly connected with the main sentences. This is called the "genitive absolute". It begins in the later Vedic literature and it is used increasingly by later classical writers. Sanskrit grammarians have laid down that the genitive absolute indicates *anādara*, i.e., conveys the idea of disregard or despite. But there are many examples quotable where this idea is entirely absent. The instances show various degrees of connection between the absolute clause and the principal clause. Examples : *tasyâlabdhasya sā vāg apâcakrāma* (he being sacrificed, the voice departed ; Śat. Br.) ; *tasmād apām taptānām pheno jāyate* (waters being heated foam ariseth ; Śat. Br.) ; *teṣām hottiṣṭhatām uvāca* (when they were getting up he said ; Ait. Br.); *paśyato bakamūrkhasya nakulair bhakṣitaḥ sutāḥ* (Hi.) ; *gato 'rdharātraḥ kathāḥ kathyato mama* (Kathās.) ; *yathārthavādino dūtasya na doṣaḥ karaṇīyaḥ* (even if he speaks the truth ; Pañc.) ; *tadīyahṛdayadūrabhūtasya aihikāmuṣmikaprasaṅgo dūrata eva* (if removed from his good graces the chance of happiness here and hereafter is indeed remote ; Mahāvīra.).

All these cases show a very close connection of the absolute and the principal clauses ; indeed, each of them may be put down under one of the several varieties noted already. In the following instances the connection is more remote and the genitive is more or less independent of the principal clause. *kā khalu velā tatra bhavatyāḥ prāptāyāḥ* (how long, indeed, has the lady been waiting? Veṇī) *devāḥ sūnyasya jagato dvādaśaḥ parivatsaraḥ* (since the world has been bereaved of the queen. Here the first gen., *devyāḥ*, is a sort of 'subjective gen.' ; *devyā śūnyam jagat kṛtam*) ; *ciraḥ khalu kālo Maitreyasya Vasantasenāyāḥ sakāśam gatasya* (it is, indeed, a long time since Maitreya went to Vasantasenā ; Mṛccha. Here the gen. *Vasantasenāyāḥ* is due to "case attraction") ; *divam jagāma Kākutastha munīnām paśyatām tadā* (Rām.) ; *iti vādina evâsya dhenur āvavṛte vanāt* (Raghu.) ; *mamâdoṣasyâpy evam vadasi* (you speak thus, even though I am innocent ; Pañc. This

is true *anādara*) ; *anantapuṣpasya madhor hi cūte dvirephamālā savisesasaṅgā* (Kumāra.) ; *Nandāḥ paśava iva hatāḥ paśyato Rākṣasasya* | Mudrā.) ; *na hi tvaṃ jīvitas tasya vanam āgantum arhasi* (Rām. While he is alive), *nāyaṃ pāpmā mamāgatāya utthitaḥ* (this rogue (the husband) did not get up when I was away ; Pañc. ; said by the barbar's wife to her friend) ; *aham enaṃ haniṣyāmi prekṣantyās te sumadhyame* (even when thou art looking on ; Mbh.) ; *yasya (amṛtasya) pītasya vai jantur mṛtyugrasto 'maro bhavet* (which being drunk ; Bhāg. Purāna) : *teṣāṃ nivasatos tatra tīvro durbhikṣaḥ samajāyata* (Kathās.) : *evaṃ cintayato mahākaṣṭena sa divaso vyatikrāntaḥ* (Pañc.) ; *tad enaṃ muktvā mama jīvantyā nānyaḥ pāṇim grahiṣyati* (Pañc.): *karau vyādhunvantyāḥ pibasi ratisa.rvasvam adharam.*

The Locative Case.

The locative case expresses the sphere in which the action takes place. The essential idea is that of rest in a place (*adhikaraṇa*). But with verbs of motion it implies the goal or limit of motion, after reaching which there would ultimately be a state of rest. The sphere of action includes not merely the place or receptacle (concrete or abstract), but also persons, time, circumstances etc. surrounding the act.

The most usual and fundamental locative is that of the place or receptacle wherein the action is performed. This would naturally by an extension of meaning include the state or condition surrounding a person or action. Examples : *aharn ahiṃ parvate śiśriyāṇām* (i. 32. 2.) ; *Sarasvatyām revad Agne didīhi* (O Agni, shine richly on the Sarasvatī ; iii. 23. 4) ; *vardhamānaṃ sve dame* (i. 1. 8) ; *dharmakṣetre Kurukṣetre samavetā yuyutsavaḥ* (Bh. G.) ; *sthālyām pacati ; mṛdīke asya sumatau syāma* (viii. 43. 12) ; *sarvam tad Indra te vaśe* (viii. 42. 4) ; *ya Ādityānām bhavati praṇītau* (who is under the guidance of the Ādityas ; ii. 27. 13) ; *yat kiñca dūritam mayi* (whatever sin there is in me ; i. 23. 22) ; *asmin puṣyantu gopatau* (may they prosper under this herdsman; ii. 19. 3); *lajjā tiraścāṃ yadi cetasi syāt* (Kumāra.); *Bhīmārjunasamā yudhi* (Bh. G.) ; *vipadi dhairyam athābhudaye kṣamā sadasi vākpaṭutā yudhi vikramaḥ, yaśasi cābhirucir vyasanam kṣitau prakṛtisiddhaṃ idam hi mahātmanām* (here the *yaśasi* and *kṣitau* may be classified under another type of locative) ; *Kāśyāṃ vāsaḥ* (Chh. Up.) ; *nārīṇām ciravāso hi bandhuṣu na*

rocate (Mbh.) ; *yamavatām avatām ca dhuri sthitaḥ* (Raghu.) ; *brahmacaryam bhagavati vatsyāmi* (a regular phrase in Brāh-maṇas and Upaniṣads) ; *vayam Malayaketau kiñcit kālāntaram uṣitāḥ* (Mudrā.) ; *lokaḥ pibati surām narakapāle 'pi* (Pañc.) ; *na me śāsane tiṣṭhati* (is not under my authority ; Śak.) ; *viṣayeṣv abadhyata* (are bound up with worldly matters ; Bhāg. Purāṇa) ; *maurvī dhanuṣi câtatā* (Raghu.) ; *pāṇau saṅgṛhya* (here the idea is holding in the hand ; and this is somewhat different from *pāṇinā saṅgṛhya*. Catching a ball in cricket could very well be expressed by the locative, while picking it up from the ground by the instrumental).

With verbs of motion the mind might emphasise the actual idea of moving in a particular direction or it might have the ultimate idea of reaching the limit or goal and resting there. In the former case the accusative is used in the latter the locative. The idea of motion as also that of the goal or limit might be direct or secondary, concrete or abstract. The idea may thus be extended to any action which might be directed towards some-thing. Examples : *sa id Deveṣu gacchati* (i. 1. 4. *Devān gacchati* would merely imply motion in the direction of the gods, where-as the locative as used here means that it actually gets there) ; *ya eṣām bhṛtyām ṛṇadhat sa jivāt* (he who hath attained their support shall live ; i. 84. 16) ; *taviṣiṣu vāvṛdhe* (grew in strength ; i. 52. 2) ; *vīryam yajamāne dadhāti* (Taitt. Sam.) ; *sā rājahaṁsair iva sannatāṅgī gateṣu līlāñcitavikrameṣu vyanīyata* (was instructed in the art of walking ; Kumara.) ; *ya martyeṣu . . . it kṛṇoti devān* (who brings down gods amongst the mortals ; i. 77. 1) ; *na vā eṣa grāmyeṣu paśuṣu hitaḥ* (he was not placed amongst tame animals ; Taitt. Sam.) ; *divi svano yatate* (the sound reaches up to heaven ; x. 75. 3) ; *uta yo mānuṣeṣvā yaśaś cakre* (i. 25. 15) ; *imam no yajñam amṛteṣu dhehi* (iii. 21. 1) ; *ya āsiñcanti rasam oṣadhiṣu* (AV.) ; *mā prayaccheśvare dhanam* (Hi.) ; *dhuri dhuryo niyujyate* (Hi.) ; *Śukanāsanāmni mantriṇi rāīyabhāram āropya yauvanasukham anubabhūva* (Kādam.) ; *śucinām śrimatām gehe yogabhraṣṭo 'bhijāyate* (Br. G.) ; *ratnādīṣv anabhijñaḥ* (not having insight into ; Kathās.) ; *vitarati guruḥ prājñe vidyām yathaiva tathā jaḍe* (Uttara.) ; *ārtatrāṇāya vaḥ śāstram na prahartum anāgasi* (Śak.) ; *mṛgeṣu śarān mumukṣuḥ* (Raghu.) ; *samipavartini nagare prasthitaḥ* (started to reach ; Pañc.) ; *paureṣu preṣayāmāsa dūtān* (Rām.) ; *reṇuḥ pataty āśramadrumeṣu*

(Śak.) ; *eko hi doṣo guṇasannipāte nimajjatīndoḥ kiraṇsv ivāṅkaḥ* (Kumāra.) ; *nyastam mūrdhni padam tavaiva jarayā* (Mudrā.) ; *mūrdhani niveśitāḥ sarvā evājñāḥ* | Prabodha.[63]) ; *śṛṅge kṛṣṇamṛgasya vāmanayanam Kaṇḍūyayamānām mṛgīm* (Śak. Here the eye is first brought to the horn) ; *prāk pādayoḥ patati ; sampradānam sutāyās tu Rāghave kartum icchati* (Rām.) ; *śarīram vikrīya dhanavati* (Mudrā.) ; *mokṣyāmi śatrusainyeṣu kakṣeṣv iva hutāśanam* (Rām.).

Feelings and emotions might metaphorically be directed towards a person or thing and here too the loc. might be used, and in an extended sense behaviour towards a person (inspired by various feelings) might also be expressed similarly. Examples: *Viśve Devā haviṣi mādayadhvam* (vi. 52. 17) ; *agnihotriṇi Devatā āśaṁsante* (the gods center their hopes on the Fire-priest ; Mait. Saṁ.) ; *tasminn evaitā nimiślatamā iva* (these women are as it were most devoted to him ; Śat. Br.) ; *priyaḥ Sūrye priyo 'gnā bhavāti* (v. 37. 5) ; *vayam syāma Varuṇe 'nāgāḥ* (may we be sinless in the eyes of Varuṇa ; vii. 67. 7) ; *te vacane ratam* (delighted at thy speech ; Mbh.) ; *rājā samyagvṛttaḥ sadā tvayi* (Mbh.) ; *svāvamānahetumate pratyāyane Rāmo na pravarteta* (Mahāvīra.) ; *mayi mā bhūr akaruṇā* (Mālatī.) ; *viṣayeṣu vināśadharmasu niḥspṛho 'bhavat* (Raghu.) ; *mama janmani janmanīśvara bhavitā bhaktir ahaitukī tvayi* (here the first loc. is that of time); *āryo 'smin vinayena vartatām* (Uttara.) ; *aho nu khalu bāle 'smin snihyati me manaḥ* (Śak.) ; *vāñchā sajjanasaṅgame guṇigaṇe prītir gurau namratā vidyāyām vyasanam svayoṣiti ratir lokapavādād bhayam bhaktiḥ Śūlini śaktir ātmadamane saṁsargamukti khaleṣv ete yeṣu vasanti nirmalaguṇās tebhyo narebhyo namaḥ* (Bhartṛhari) ; *kurupriyasakhīvṛttim sapatnījane* (Śak.) ; *deve Candragupte dṛḍhānuraktāḥ prakṛtayaḥ* (Mudrā.); *nirguṇeṣv api satveṣu dayām kurvanti sādhavaḥ* (Hi.) ; *dṛṣṭis tasminn apatye na jagāma tṛptim* (Kumāra.) ; *na tṛpto 'smi yauvane* (Mbh.) ; *abhilāṣe tathāvidhe mano babandha* (Raghu.) ; *āśaṁsante surayuvatayo baddhavairā hi daityair asyādhijye dhanuṣi vijayam paurahūte ca vajre* (their hopes of victory are centered on ; Śak.) ; *na ca laghuṣv api kartavyeṣu dhīmadbhir anādaraḥ kāryaḥ* (Pañc.) ; *prīto 'smi jāmātari* (Mālati.) ; *manye durjanacittavṛttiharaṇe Dhātā 'pi bhagnodyamaḥ* (Bhartṛhari).

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[63] Cf. the Pers. phrase *bā sar o chashm* (on (my) head and eyes).

From this type, the locative of feeling or behaviour, it is an easy transition to what might be termed the "locative of concern". It indicates the person or thing with reference to which an action is performed. Examples : *nā nas toke rīriṣa* (injure us not in our progeny ; v. 114. 8) ; *yān abhajo Maruta Indra Some* (the Maruts, whom thou, O Indra, didst allow a share in the Soma ; iii. 35. 9) ; *ā tu na Indra śaṁsaya goṣv aśveṣu* (pray give us hope, O Indra, of cows, of horses ; i. 29. 1) ; *na tasya vācy api bhāgo 'sti* (he has no share even in speech ; ii. 71. 6) ; *rāṣṭram evāsmin dhruvam akaḥ* (he made the sovereignty firm in him ; Taitt. Saṁ.) ; *amam bhaja grāme 'śveṣu goṣu* (grant him his share of retinue, horses and cows ; AV.) ; *satitve kāraṇam striyaḥ* (the cause of chastity in women ; Mbh.) ; *na śakto bhavān nivāraṇe* (Mbh.) ; *daivam eva hi nṛṇām vṛddhau kṣaye kāraṇam* (Bhartṛhari) ; *gṛhakarmaṇi kuśalāḥ ; kasminn api pūjārhe 'parāddhā Śakuntalā* (Śāk.) ; *daṇḍanītyām nātyāhato 'bhūt* (Daśa.) ; *adhītī vatuṣu āmnāyeṣu* (learned in the four Vedas ; Daśa.) ; *anayor bhūpālayor vigrahe bhavadvacanam eva nidānam* (Hi.) ; *sarvam sambhāvayāmy asminn, asādhyam api sadhayet* (I believe everything regarding him, he makes the impossible possible ; Mbh.) ; *pṛthivyām sarvavihāreṣu kulapatir ayam kriyatām* (Mṛccha. The first loc. here, *pṛthivyām*, is probably an instance of "case attraction") ; *Pāṇḍavānām) dahane buddhim akārayat* (Mbh.) ; *vegam kracakratur vadhe tasya* (Rām.) ; *patitve varayāmāsa tam.*

In many cases the loc. indicates "for the sake of", "for the purpose of". This is the *nimma saptamī* or the "locative of reason". It is often hard to distinguish between this and the "locative of concern" just described, Examples : *Agnim toke tanaye śaśvad īmahe* (we constantly implore Agni for children, for grandchildren ; vii. 71. 13) ; *anneṣu jagṛdhuḥ* (they yearned for food ; ii. 23. 16) ; *Ādityāś ca ha vaṅgiraś ca svarge loke 'spardhata* (for the sake of the heaven world ; Ait. Br.) ; *asmākam udareṣv ā* (for the sake of our bellies ; i. 25. 15) ; *tam it sakhitva īmahe* (we implore friendship of him ; i. 10. 6) ; *yatate ca tato bhūyaḥ saṁsidhau Kurunandana* (Bh. G.) ; *carmaṇi dvipinam hanti, dantayor hanti kuñjaram, keśeṣu camarīm hanti, sīmni puṣkalako hataḥ* (Mbh.) ; *yan mām vidheyaviṣaye sa bhavān niyuṅkete* (Mālatī.) ; *kṣetre vivadante* (they dispute about a field) ; *poto dustaravārirāśitaraṇe* (Bhartṛhari).

Ability to do a work or suitability for a task is also often indicated by a loc. This may be regarded as a variety of the locative of concern indicating, ability concerning a particular requirement. Examples : *prabhur agniḥ pratapane* (Mbh.) ; *trayo hodgithe kuśalā babhūvuḥ* (Chh. Up.) ; *nāṭye ca dakṣā vayam* (Ratnā) ; *trailokyasyāpi prabhutvam tasmin yujyate* (Hi.) ; *athavopapannam etad ṛṣikalpe 'smin rājani* (Śak.) ; *te guṇāḥ Parasmin Brahmaṇy upapadyante* (these attributes suit the Supreme Brahman ; Śat. Br.) ; *asamartho 'yam udarapūraṇe 'smākam* (Pañc.) ; *kālam manye palāyane* (Mbh.).

So far we have been considering locative expressions more or less connected with movement directed to some goal or limit. All these varieties might be ultimately traced to the 'locative of motion'. From the 'locative of rest' (i.e. locative in the narrow sense of locality) we get some important varieties. One of these is the locative indicating "among". Often it is used with superlatives. Examples : *goṣu kṛṣṇā bahukṣīrā ; na tadasti pṛthivyām vā divi deveṣu vā punaḥ* (Bh. G. Here the first two locatives also imply 'rest') ; *bhūteṣu prāṇinaḥ śreṣṭhāḥ prāṇinām buddhijīvinaḥ buddhimatsu narāḥ śreṣṭhā nareṣu brāhmaṇāḥ smṛtāḥ* (Manu. Note here the genitive *prāṇinām*) ; *na ca tasmān manuṣyeṣu kaścin me priyakṛttamaḥ* (Bh. G.); *loke hāri ca Vatsarājacaritam* (Ratnā.) ; *na kaścid bhrātṛṣu teṣu śakto niṣeddhum āsīd anumoditam vā* (Raghu.) ; *na deveṣu na yakṣeṣu tādṛg rūpavatī kvacit mānuṣeṣvapi cānyeṣu dṛṣṭapūrvāthavā śrutā* (Nala.) ; *samānaśīlavyasaneṣu sakhyam* (Pañc.).

A further extension of the idea of 'among' is the idea of the concomitant circumstances. These are of two sorts. The first indicates the time of the action, e.g., *minīmasi dyavidyavi* (i. 25. 1) ; *jāyate māsimāsi* (x. 52. 3) ; *tvam no asyā Uṣaso vyuṣṭau tvam Suro udite bodhi gopāḥ* (iii. 15. 2. Be thou to us while now the morn is breaking, be thou a guardian, when the Sun hath arisen ; iii. 15. 2) ; *etasminneva kāle ; dvādaśe varṣe* (in the 12th year) ; *kāle śubhe prāpte* (Mbh.) ; *Āṣāḍhasya prathamadivase* (Magh.) ; *prāpte tu ṣoḍaśe varṣe putram mitravad ācaret* (Manu.) ; *śaiśave 'bhyastavidyānām yauvane viṣayaiṣiṇām vārdhakye munivṛttinām yogenānte tanutyajām* (Raghu.) ; *jvalatu gagane rātrau rātrāv akhaṇḍakalaḥ śaśī* (Mālatī. The second and third locatives indicate the other circumstances in which the action takes place). The loc. indicates also something happening

simultaneously or an event which has occurred just preced-
ing the principal action) ; *vajrasya yat patane 'pādi Śuṣṇaḥ*
(when at the flight of the bolt Śuṣha fell ; vi. 25. 5) ; *ghṛtakīrtau*
(at the mention of *ghṛta* ; Śat. Br.) ; *trikadrukeṣv apibat
sutasyāsya made 'hiṃ Indra jaghāṇa* (while he was intoxicated ;
ii. 15 | 1) ; *aparādhe kṛte 'pi ca na me doṣaḥ* (Mbh.) ; *stīrṇe
barhiṣi samidhāne 'gnau* (iv. 6. 4) ; *avasannāyāṃ rātrāv astācala-
cūḍāvalambini bhagavati kumudinīnāyake candramasi Laghupa-
tanako nāma vāyaso . . . vyādhaṃ apaśyat* (Hi.) ; *ity ardhokte ;
evam sati ; dūre bhaye ; tathā 'nuṣṭhite ; kṣīṇe vitte kaḥ pari-
vāraḥ ; gantavye na ciraṃ sthātuṃ iha śakyam* (as we have to
go. Mbh.) ; *tvayyākṛṣṭabale 'bhayoktari nṛpe Nandānurakte pure
Cāṇakye calitādhikāravimukhe Maurye nave rājani, svādhīne
mayi mārgamātrakathanavyāpārayogodyame tvadvāñchāntaritāni
samprati vibho tiṣṭhanti sādhyāni vaḥ* (all the circumstances are
favourable only your desires obstruct our plan ; Mudrā.).

Many of the instances given above as "locatives of circums-
tances" would be classed as "locative absolute" (*sati saptamī*).
Whether the case is 'absolute' or not is a matter of the degree to
which the two events are connected together. The last instance
from Mudrārākṣasa indicates clearly the transitional stage from
"circumstances" to the "absolute". A few more instances of
the absolute locative might be added : *tamasi vijṛmbhite . . .
utthite kṣapākare . . . yathocitam śayanīyam abhaje* | Daśa.) ;
*rājñi dharmiṇi dharmiṣṭhāḥ pāpe pāpaparāḥ sadā (prajāḥ) ; kuto
dharmakriyāvighnam satām rakṣitari tvayi, tamas tapati ghar-
mamaṃśau katham āvirbhaviṣyati* (Śak.) ; *ka eṣa mayi sthite cand-
ram abhibhavitum icchati* (Mudrā.) ; *abhivyaktayām candrikāyām
kim dīpikāpaunaruktyena* (Veṇī.) ; *vikārahetau sati vikriyante
yeṣām na cetāṃsi ta eva dhīrā* (Kumāra.) ; *tāte cāpadvitīye
vahati raṇadhurām ko bhayasyāvakāśaḥ* (Veṇī.).

A few idiomatic usages of the locative might now be given ;
ito me ṣaṣṭiyojanyām gṛham (Kathās.) ; *ihastho 'yam kośe
lakṣyam vidhyet* (at a distance of a *kośa*). In the last instance
the ablative might also have been used. There is a subtle
distinction between the two. When we use the ablative we
associate the distance with the archer (who is *ihasthaḥ*), i.e., the
distance *from* here is thought of. But when the locative is used
it refers to *lakṣyam* (*upto* the target), and hence the target is
uppermost in our mind. Some other locatives are : *tataḥ*

saṁvatsare puruṣaḥ samabhavat (at the end of the year ; Śat. Br.) ; *āsedur Gaṅgāyāṁ Pāṇḍunandtnāḥ* (in the sense of "on the banks of the Gaṅgā" ; Mbh.) ; *śūdrāyāṁ brāhmaṇāj jātaḥ* (Manu. Here both the cases are obviously correct) ; *sā bhūdharāṇāṁ adhipena tasyām samādhimatyām udapādi bhavyā* (Kumāra) ; *imāṁ valkaladhāraṇe niyuṅkte* (orders her to put on *valkala* ; Śak.) ; *mayi tiṣṭhate* (it depends on me) ; *nāma cakrur mahākhage* (gave a name to ; Mbh.) ; *bāṇo Bāṇāsure śare* (Amara.) ; *śārdūladvīpinau vyaghre* (in the sense of ; Amara.) ; *niyameṣu tapaḥ śabdaḥ* (Āpastamba) ; *ḍukṛñ karaṇe.*

A few locative forms have become stereotyped *avyayas* (adverbs). These are : *agre* (used in the compound *agrepā*, iv. 34. 10), *kṣipre*, quickly, as in *kṣipre ha yajamāno 'mum lokam iyāt* ; Śat. Br.) ; *ṛte, samīpe, pārśve, arthe, kṛte, ādau, ekānte, rahasi* and some others. A remarkable instance is *ekasmin* in the sense of "alone", "all by himself" used in the Mbh., (*jambukaḥ*) *khādati sma tadā māṁsam ekasmin* (it seems that this is a *sati saptamī* ; the word *sati* being omitted).

The locative is the case used least with prepositions. Whitney says that these prepositions "stand to it only in relation of adverbial elements, strengthening and directing its meaning" (Sanskrit Grammar, §305). Examples : *niṣasāda dhṛtavrato Varuṇaḥ pastyāsv ā* (i. 25. m) ; *darśam ratham adhi kṣami* (i. 25 18) ; *tejo mayi dhārayā 'dhi* (AV.) ; *yāḥ pārthivāso yā apām api vrate* (*santi*) (those who are earthly and those who are in the kingdom of the waters ; v. 46. 7) ; *amūr yā upa Sūrye* (*santi*) (who are up yonder on the Sun ; i. 20. 17) ; *pitroḥ sacā sati* (ii. 17. 6, being with the parents). This last (loc. with *sacā*) is confined only to the RV.

V. OUTLINES OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM IN EARLY SANSKRIT

The main idea of the verbal system we gather from the ordinary grammars of Classical Sanskrit is bewildering. There are the "ten Tenses and Moods" and the "ten Conjugations", and all these seem to be perfectly arbitrary and arranged in a very haphazard manner. Of course no language could be perfectly regular, because language follows the very devious twists and turnings of the human mind. Still there must be

some framework within which these twistings might be confined.
It is only when we contemplate the Grammar of the Vedic
Language and when we compare the language with others like
Homeric Greek or Avesta, that we can see the framework com-
plete.   We then realise that the verbal system preserved in later
times and described by Pāṇini is but a broken down remnant of
a very elaborate verbal system.

   Another difficulty in the way of a correct appraisement of the
original verbal system of Sanskrit is the nomenclature used.   If
we use the terms of Sanskrit grammarians they connote the later
forms and later usage and are thus obviously unsuited to des-
cribe correctly the Vedic usage.   As regards the European
system of nomenclature the danger is of investing the terms
with senses they bear in European (and to most of our students,
English) grammar.   This would be utterly misleading as well ;
and it would be pedantic to invent an entirely new terminology.
So on the whole European terms with the necessary explana-
tions and reservations would cause the least confusion.

   In the first place we must clearly drop out the word "tenses",
because in all grammars of modern European languages that
word implies the element of *time*.   In the Vedic the time-ele-
ment has a secondary importance and though we may use the
names "Present" or "Future" it must be clearly understood
that *the idea of time is not implied* in these terms as far as Vedic
Sanskrit is concerned.   In all the ancient languages of the Indo-
European family, as also in those of other families, the chief
distinction made is between "completed" and "incomplete" (or
continuous) action.   The idea of past *time* is a secondary
growth from that of completed action.   Bearing this clearly in
mind we will entirely drop the word "tense", and with it all its
implications.   The word 'mood' might be retained, as it seems
to cover much the same idea – that of the "mode" or "manner"
of the action.   In a more general way by "mood" we mean the
feeling present in the mind of the speaker as regards the action,
whether it is a mere statement, or is a command, or a request,
or a wish or a yearning, and so forth.

   After these preliminary words of caution as regards termino-
logy we may proceed to describe the verbal system as found in
the Veda.

   In the first place there are what are called the *"finite* forms"—

the true *tiñanta*, which show the *tin-* endings ; and secondly there are a considerable number of "infinite" forms in the shape of participles, infinitives, gerunds etc. These latter are essentially either adjectival or are to be regarded as "verbal nouns". The finite forms again may belong either to the main conjugation or to the secondary, such as, causal, desiderative or intensive. There are also 'denominatives' i.e. finite verbal forms built up from nouns (or adjectives). All these varieties are to be found very fully represented in earlier Sanskrit but many had fallen into disuse even before Pāṇini's days and he has merely put in *bahulam chandasi* as an explanation of many of the obsolete forms found in his own days. And in the language of "classical" times even more of these forms get out of use doubtless owing to "Prakrit" influences. For examples, the growing use of participial and adjectival derivatives instead of finite verbal forms, the increasing use of the passive construction, and of constructions made up with auxiliary verbs like *as, bhū* etc. (expressed or understood), the new "periphrastic" constructions, all these are clear indications of the influence of the spoken languages of the Prakrit (or Middle-Indian) period over the "dead" language, which continued to be used by the learned.

The main verbal conjugation in Vedic consisted of four distinct "systems", viz., the Present, the Perfect, the Future and the Aorist These names are retained for convenience, but it may be better to call these the *bhavati, babhūva, bhaviṣyati* and *abhūt* systems respectively. In each of these systems there are five distinct varieties, two so-called "tenses" and three "moods". The two "tenses" are :

   1. The Primary "tense",

   2. The Secondary "tense" (or the Preterite, i.e., the form with the "augment"). And the three "moods" are :

   3. Subjunctive,

   4. Imperative, and

   5. Optative.

In the Aorist system, however, the Primary is wanting even in the Vedas. So that altogether there are 19 varieties of "tenses and moods" in Vedic Sanskrit of which only nine survive in the Classical. One of the ten *lakāras* of later Sanskrit (the so-called "First Future" or *luṭ*) is a later formation.

Of these "systems" the "Present" System is the best preserved.

As the language progresses we find the forms of this system came to be used more and more. Whitney (Sanskrit Grammar, §600.a) gives the following proportion of the Present to the other "systems" at various periods, in the Veda it is 3 : 1, in the Ait. Br. 5 : 1, in Hi. 6 : 1, in Śak. 8 : 1, in Manu 30 : 1. The whole of this system has survived practically intact. The Primary forms are the "Present" and the Secondary forms are what we know as "Imperfect" or "Preterite". Of the three moods the Subjunctive is not used now, but the Imperative and Optative (also called "Potential") have survived.

These four survivals out of five varieties of the Present System are usually known in our ordinary grammars as the "Conjugational tenses and moods". The remaining we know as "Non-Conjugational tenses or moods".

The "Perfect" System in the Veda shows all the five varieties. The Primary survives as the "Perfect" in the Classical ; but the Secondary (or the Pluperfect), the augment Preterite of the Perfect, is rare even in the Veda. Forms like *ajagrabham*, *ajabhartana*, *amamanduḥ*, *ajagrabhīt*, *acakriran* etc. are found in the Veda. There are a few survivals in the later (i.e. Post-Saṁhitā) literature : *ānarcchat* (Mbh.), *ānarṣat* (Tait. Āraṇṇ.), *paricacārīt* | (Chh. Up., augmentless). The three moods—Subjunctive, Imperative and Optative of the Perfect are rare even in Vedic literature outside the Ṛg Veda.

Of the "Future" System the "Primary" survives as the so-called "Second Future" (*lṛt*), the Preterite also survives as the Conditional. None of the three moods of the Future, however, survive into the classical period.

The "Aorist" System lacks the Primary forms even in the Veda. The Secondary are the only forms used throughout the whole of Sanskrit literature. But the use of the aorist falls off very considerably in later literature. It is very common in the older language, particularly in the RV., where nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms. In the AV. the aorists are found from about less than a third of the roots used. Counts made from Epic and Classical Sanskrit show how rapidly the use of the aorist has fallen off. It occurs only 29 times in the whole of Nala, 8 times in the Hi., 6 times each in Bh. G. and Śak., and in the Rām. (in the first Kāṇḍa) it is found made up from about 14 roots in all (in 2500 lines or so). Only the

optative of one (the sibilant) variety survives into the classical as the "Precative" (or "Benedictive") mood. The other moods have disappeared.

Thus we see that only nine forms out of the 19 found in the Veda have passed over into Classical Sanskrit. These are four from the "Present", one from the "Perfect" and two each from the "Future" and the "Aorist" systems. The chief reason for the disappearance of the remaining forms has been the over-lapping of sense between the various forms and a clearer analysing of 'syntactical precepts'. These points may be best considered by considering the main syntactical implications of each of the systems in some detail.

The "Present" System

This consists of the so-called "conjugational" tenses and moods. We are told that there are ten "conjugations", but really speaking there are eleven if we include the passive. These conjugations are each distinguished by a "conjugational sign" or by reduplication (as in the case of the 3rd conjugation). These have been styled *vikaraṇā* (lit. modifications). These were originally in the nature of distinct modifications in the *meaning* of the root. Sanskrit shows ten such modifications in the "Present" System and seven in the "Aorist". But by compar-ing with Latin, Greek and other I.-E. languages we find that the number of original *vikaraṇas* was close upon thirty. Many of these have fallen together under the 1st conjugation (*bhū*-class). Thus, there was a distinct *vikaraṇa* -*ccha*, corresponding to the Greek and Latin -*sko*. Then again many of the *vikaraṇas* have got fused with the root and are now taken as part of the root itself : e.g., *yu*, *yuj*, and *yudh*. A very interesting point is the arrangement of the roots in the famous list *śakl pac* . . . etc. There the arrangement is in the alphabetical order of the *final* letter. These final letters were either the *vikaraṇas* originally or were somehow closely associated with them. These are divided into two groups, those ending in -*a*, and those not ending in -*a*. The 1st, 4th, 6th and 10th conjugations make up the first (or "thematic") group. In the second (the "non-thematic") group are put together (i) the miscellaneous or irregular class of verbs with no *vikaraṇa* at all (the 2nd conj.), (ii) a group of verbs undergoing reduplication as their "conjugational sign" (the 3rd

conjugation) and (iii) a group of the *n*-class of conjugations comprising the remaining four, where the *vikaraṇas* are characterised by the element *ṇ* in them. The 5th and 8th are practically one group for all roots of the 8th end in *n* except *kṛ* and that even belongs to the 5th in the Veda.

There are two sets of endings in each of the four "systems". These are the *Parasmaipada* and *Ātmanepada* endings. European grammarians have called these the "active voice" and "middle voice" respectively. It is under these names they have been described in Greek grammars. Our Sanskrit names are very clear and definite as to the original significance of these endings. If the result of the action accrues to some person other than the doer, the Parasmaipada is used ; and if it accrues to the doer himself, it is Ātmanepada. This distinction is adhered to in Homeric Greek and in the Avesta and to some extent in Vedic Sanskrit. Theoretically almost every verb could be conjugated in both the *padas* but in later Sanskrit each verb has got its *pada* fixed. Still the old significance of the *padas* is clearly seen in the meanings of some Ātmanepada roots. Thus, *aś* (to enjoy), *yaj* (to worship), *Mṛ* (to die), *ram* (to play), *śī* (to lie down), and many others might be called 'natural' Ātmanepadas. So also some roots become Ātmanepadī when used with certain *upasargas*, e.g., *gam* with *sam* (to conjoin), *yam with upa* (to marry) ; *mantra* with *ā* (to take leave of), *jñā* with *anu* (to permit, or consent). It is difficult to put down exactly when the distinction between the two faded away completely. The Prakrits have lost the Ātmanepada entirely, as its special distinction becomes less and less felt in course of time it ceased to be needed as a separate form. Upto the time of the epics we do find unmistakable Ātmanepadas used. A few instances may be given : *evam tribhir varṣair apa pāpam nudante* (they remove the sin from themselves in three years ; Āpastamba); *Satyakāma eva Jābālo bravīthāḥ* (you must call yourself Satyakāma Jābāla ; Chh. Up.) ; *paridhatsva vāsaḥ* (dress thyself ; Parāśara ; this is from the "wedding service") ; *Devā vai yajñam atanvata* (for their own benefit ; Ait. Br.) ; *avṛṇīta kāmārtā tam vidyādhara-kanyakā* (Kathās[64]) ; *sa tam duhitaram sākṣāt sākṣi viśvasya*

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[64] An Avesta also this root (*vṛ-, var-*, to choose) is ātm., e.g., *Spentām Ārmaitīm versnē hā mōi astū* (Skt. *spentām Āramaitim vṛṇe sā me stu*).

karmaṇām vṛṇute varadaḥ Saṁbhuḥ (Kumāra.) ; *saha vīryam karavāvahai . . . mā vidviṣāvahai ; uttapate pāṇī* (he warms his hands) ; *rājo 'ntaḥpure jalakrīḍām kurute* (Pañc.) ; *rājaputra nayasva mām* (O prince, take me away with you, as your bride ; Rām.) ; *darśayasva naravyāghraḥ* (show thyself ; Mbh.) ; *tad idam gatam īdṛśīm daśām na vidīrye* (when thou hast been reduced to this state, I do not burst ; Kumāra.) ; *yathā te teṣu varteran, ta·hā teṣu vartethāḥ ;* (Taitt. Up.) ; *pūrayasva śareṇaiva svobalam darśayasva ca* (Rām.) ; *na kāṁkṣe vijayam Kṛṣṇa* (Bh. G.) ; *haniṣye cāparāṇy api* (Bh. G.) ; *rājahaṁsa tava saiva śubhratā cīyate na ca na cāpacīyate ; kim lajjase no manāk* (are you not the least bit ashamed of yourself ?).

The "strong" and "weak" endings give us an indirect clue to the original idea of the Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada. We know that in the "Present" the Primary (*bhavati*) and the Preterite (*abhavat*) forms the singulars of the Parasmaipada are strong, while in the Ātmanepada they are weak. With the "strong" endings the vowel of the root takes either *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* or is strengthened in some way. This phenomenon is due to an accent shifting, the principle working here being that the accented syllable needs strengthening. So we see that in the "strong" or Parasmaipada forms the root-syllable is accented while in the Ātmanepada forms there is no accent on the root *but on the ending*. In the passive the root is further weakened by *samprasāraṇa*. Now the verbal-endings (at any rate in the singulars of the Primary and Secondary 'tenses') were originally connected with personal pronouns. Naturally in the Ātmanepada that element should bear the main accent because the advantage of the action accrues to the doer thereof. Also the endings of the Ātmanepada show the "stronger" or *guṇa* forms, as compared with Parasmaipada in the Primary (*é, sé, té* as against *mi, si, ti*) and fuller forms in the Secondary forms, (*i, thāḥ, ta* as against *am, s, t*). Also in the Imperative the Ātmanepada shows the strongest grade or *Vṛddhi* (*ai, āvahai, āmahai*).

The passive conjugation always takes the Ātmanepada endings, because the object becoming the subject the result of the action accrues to it. In the Present system the passive has a special *vikaraṇa* ; but in the other systems merely the Ātmanepada endings are deemed enough to indicate the passive.

The Secondary or Preterite forms are usually characterised by the "augment" *a*. This is the original "time element" in verbal forms because it indicates completed action, hence past time. In older texts the augment is often omitted. The proportion of augmentless to augmented forms in the RV. is given by Whitney as 2000 : 3500. But in the AV. it is 475 to 1450. Later on in the Brāhmaṇas augmentless forms are practically confined to the aorists with *mā*.

The Primary tense of the present system indicates a continuous or habitual action, or an action in the immediate past, or in the immediate future. Examples : *aham api hanmūti ha uvāca* (he said, 'I too will slay' ; Śat. Br.) ; *svāgatam te 'stu kim karomi tava* (be thou welcome, what shall I do to thee ?) ; *Agnir ātmabhavam prādād yatra vāñcchatn Naiṣadhaḥ* (Agni gave his own presence wherever Naiṣadha wanted it ; Mbh.) : *prahasanti ca tam kecid abhyasūyanti cāpare akurvata dayāṃ kecit* (Mbh.).

With *sma* the Present is used as the "historical present" and the verb gets the sense of the past in "lively narration".[65] Examples : *āviṣṭaḥ Kalinā dyūte jīyate sma Nalas tadā* (Mbh.) ; *śrameṇa ha sma vaitad Devā jayanti* (Śat. Br. Here the sense is continuous past, "used to win"). Similar seems to have been the force of *purā* with the present forms, but here the sense is more that of the English perfect, "has been" or "have been". E.g., *Saptarṣīn u ha sma vai purā ṛkṣā ityācakṣate* (the seven Rishis have been formerly called "bears" ; Śat. Br.) ; *tanmātram api cen mahvam na dadāti purā bhavān* (if you have never before given me even a particle ; Mbh.) ; *kva tāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ sacāvahe yadavṛkam purācit.* (where has that friendship between us gone ? We have hitherto gone together inoffensively ; vii. 85. 5).

The Imperfect (the Preterite of the "Present") almost always has the augment and hence all through the history of the language it has denoted past time. Of all the finite verbal forms it is the nearest in the sense of a "tense". And it has no further implication besides past time.

Of the Perfect system only the Primary forms have come

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[65] As an example of "lively narration" without the *sma* may be quoted *amuyā śayānam . . . apyanti āpaḥ* (i. 32. 7).

down into later Sanskrit. The usual rule of grammar is that
Perfect is used for narration of events not personally witnessed.
Hence it is laid down that the Perfect cannot be used in the
first person unless one was unconscious when the event occurred.
This seems a very artificial distinction and it is by no means
universally applicable, especially in the earlier language. In the
Brahmanas the Perfect is used as interchangeable with the imper-
fect, and with the value of a "past tense". But in the Veda we
have perfect forms used in the sense of present time also : *sa
dādhāra pṛthvīm dyām utemām* (x. 121.1) ; *vi yas tastambha
rodasi cid udvī* Avii. 96.1).

The reduplication in the Perfect often implies an action
continued from the past into the present : *purā nūnam ca
stutayo ṛṣīṇām paspṛdhre* (the praises of the Rishis have yielded
together formerly and, (do so) even now ; vi. 34.1) ; *śuśvaddhi
vaḥ . . . ūtibhir vayam purā nūnam bubhujmahe* (viii. 67. 16) ;
na soma Indram asuta mamāda (never has the unpressed Soma
intoxicated Indra ; vii. 2ʼ. 1. Here the idea is both of past and
present time) ; *Indra . . . ubhe ā paprau rodasī mahitvā* (Indra
has at all times been filling both words with his greatness ; viii.
54. 15) ; *yat sīm āgaścakṛmā tatsu mṛdatu* (i. 179. 5) (whatever
sin we have been committing).

.The Perfect is used often with the Present in the sense of
present time : *na śrāmyanti na riṇuñcanti ete vayo no paptuḥ*
(here the value of all verbs is present) ; *aham ahim anv apas
tatarda* (here the meaning is past time and the Perfect is yoked
with Imperfect) ; *na methete na tasthatuḥ* (they (Night and
Morning) clash not, nor stand still ; i. 113. 3) ; *bhadrā dadṛkṣa
urviyā vi bhāsi ut te śocir bhānavo dyām apaptan* (vi. 64. 2) ;
mumude 'pūjayac cainam (Rām.) ; *vastrānte jagrāha skandhadeśe
'sṛjat tasya srajam* (Mbh.).

Sometimes the Perfect shows by the context a distinct "past"
meaning : e.g., *uvāsoṣā uchhāc ca nu* (Dawn flashed (in the past)
and she shall flash (even) now ; i. 48. 3) ; *indraś ca yad
yuyudhāte ahiś ca* (i. 32.13. In the previous verse the descrip-
tion is by Imperfect ; and the Perfect here seems to imply that
they went on fighting) ; *etena vā Upako rarādha |* with this
Upaka once prospered ; Mait | Sam) ; *devāś cāsurāāś ca
paspṛdhire* (Ait. Br.).

The so-called "periphrastic perfect" is really a combination of

a verbal noun with the auxiliaries *kṛ*, *bhū*, and *as*. This formation is unknown in the Veda. Only one instance is quotable from the Saṁhitā, *gamayām cakāra* from AV. 18. 2. 27.[66] The periphrastic perfect comes on only gradually in the Brāhmaṇas. The verbal noun is in the accusative. The formation was at first quite loose, both members being separately taken : *mīmāṁsām eva cakre* (Śat. Br.) ; *vidān vā ayam idam cakāra* (Jai. Br.). And in Raghu. we find two instances of this loose type of the periphrastic perfect : *prabhraṁsayām yo Nahuṣam cakāra* ; and *tam pātayām prathamam āsa papāta paścāt* (ix. 61).

The Preterite of the Perfect (also called the "Pluperfect", owing to its resemblance in form to the Greek pluperfect) seems to have been of the same value as the imperfect or the aorist and meant "past" time. Examples are somewhat rare even in the Veda : *atrā samudra ā gūḍhaṁ ā sūryam ajabhartana* (then ye brought forth the sun hidden in the sea ; x, 72. 7) ; *ud u ṣya Devaḥ Savitā hiraṇyayīm amatim yām aśiśret* (that god Savitṛ now has raised up the golden sheen which he has spread out ; vii. 38. 1) ; *sapta vīrāso adharād udāyann aṣṭottarāttāt samajagmir ante* (seven heroes came out of the nether part and eight came together from the upper part ; x. 27. 15); *āsno vṛkasya vartikām abhīke yuvam narā Nāsatyāmumuktam* (from the wolf's jaws, as ye stood together, O heroes, Nasatyas, ye released the quail ; i. 116. 14).

In the Future-System both the Primary and the Secondary forms have come down to later times. The moods were rare even in the Veda—only two instances are quotable from the Veda *kariṣyāḥ* 2/1 subj.). There are a few more (not more than about 25) from Brāhmaṇas and the Epics. Even simpler forms are comparatively rare in the Saṁhitā. The reason for this limited employment is that its sense is expressed by the moods of the other systems and by the ordinary present. The sphere of the Future includes "will", which is specially that of the subjunctive, as noted below.

The Future indicates generally "future" time—something that is going to happen in the time to come. And, as in other languages, an element of intention, will or determination is also

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[66] A sort of "periphrastic present", *gamayām asi,* is found in AV. 3.13.3.

introduced. To these are also added the ideas of promise or threat. Examples : *stavisyāmi tvām aham* (i. 44. 5) *; kim svid vaksyāmi kimu nu manisye* (vi. 9. 6) ; *na tvāvān Indra kaścana na jāto na janisyate* (i. 81. 5) ; *tatra vidyād varsayisyatīti* (there he should know, it will rain ; Śat. Br.) ; *parjanyo vrsṭi-mān bhavisyati* (Śat. Br.) ; *ā vai vayam agnī dhāsyāmahe 'thā yūyam kim karisyatho* (Śat. Br.) ; *karisye vacanam tava* (Bh. G.) ; *tam Indro 'bhyādudrāva hanisyan* (Śat. Br.) ; *dantās te śatsyanti* (thy teeth shall fall off ; AV.); *nu marisyasi mā bibheḥ* AV.) ; *aham tvā sarvapāpebhyo moksevisyāmi* (Bh. G.) ; *rātrir gamisyati bhavisyati suprabhātam bhāsvān udesyati hasisyati cakravālam ittham vicintayati kosagate dvirephe hā hanta hanta nalinīm gaja ujjahāra* ; *tatah putravatīm enām pratipatsye tavājñayā* (Raghu.) ; *yāsyasi lāghavam* (Bh. G.).

The future is in many cases closely akin to the desiderative in force ; *gamisyantam tam aham evam avocam* (*gamisyantam= gantukāmam*) *; yad aṅga dāśuse tvam Agne bhadram karisyasi, tavetat satyam Aṅgirah* (Thou wouldst do i.e. *kartum icchasi ; v. 1. 6; ; yathānyad vadisyant so 'nyad vadet* (as if about to say one thing he were to say another ; Śat. Br.). There is scarcely any difference in the idea connoted when the pure desiderative is used : e.g., *prāna uccakramisan* (the life about to depart ; Śat. Br.) ; *mumūrsur ivābhavat* (Hi.) The future might also express mere conjecture or doubt, e.g., *yas tan na veda kim rcā karis-yati ; ko 'yam devo gandharvo vā bhavisyati* (he is doubtless a God or a Gandharva ; Mbh.) ; *dhanurvamśaviśuddho 'pi nirgunah kim karisyati* (Hi.).

The preterite of the future is the so-called "conditional mood". It originally expresses an action "that was going to happen". Examples : *yo vrtrāya sinam atrā 'bharisyat pra tam janitrī vidusa uvāca* (him, who was going to carry off Vrtrā's wealth ; ii. 30. 2) ; *śatāyum gām akarisyam* (I was going to or I should have ; Ait. Br.) ; *sa tad eva nāvindat Prajāpatir yatrā-hosyat*) where he was going to sacrifice ; Mait. Sam.) *na prājanisyanta* (they would have had no progeny ; Śat. Br.).

From this arises the true "conditional", indicating one event about to happen depending upon another event happening. And in such cases the future might be used for both the clauses, e.g., *yady evā karisyatha sākam devair yajñiyāso bhavisyatha* (i. 161. 2) ; *yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi visam āsthāsye* (if you reject me

I will resort to poison ; Mbh.) ; *śriti vipratipannā te yadā sthāsyati niścalā, samādhāvacalā buddhis tadā yogam avṣpsyasi* (Bh. G.) ; *pariṇeṣyati Pārvatim yadā tapasā tat pravaṇī kṛto Haraḥ upalabdhasukhas tadā Smaram vapuṣā svena niyojoyiṣyati* (Kumāra.).

The true use of the preterite of the future is to denote the dependence of one event upon the occurrence of another *in the past*. This might be termed 'conditional pluperfect', if such an awkward phrase be permitted.[67] Examples : *evam cen nâvakṣyo mūrdhā te vyapatiṣyat* (Go. Br.) ; *kim vâbhaviṣyad aruṇas tamasā vibhettā tam cet sahasrakiraṇo dhuri nâkariṣyat* (Śak.) ; *paraspareṇa spṛhaṇīyaśobham na ced idam dvandvam ayojayiṣyat asmin dvaye rūpavidhāna yatnaḥ Patyuḥ prajānām viphalo 'bhaviṣyat* (Kumāra.) ; *tau ced rājaputro nirupadravāv avardhiṣyetām iyatā kālena tavemām vayovasthām asprakṣyetām* (Daśa.) ; *yaddhy etad avediṣyan katham me nâvakṣyan* (Chh. Up.).

The Periphrastic Future (the so-called "First Future") is not found at all in the Saṁhitās. It begins to appear first in the Brāhmaṇas and becomes fairly common in later language. Still the older form in -*sya* is much more frequent throughout. Grammarians have laid down that it is used when a definite point of future time is indicated and its early use is certainly limited to that. But later on this point is lost sight of very often. and at any rate is not clearly expressed : Examples : *adya varṣiṣyati . . .vṛṣṭā* (Mait. Sam) ; *yatarān vā ime śvaḥ kamitāras te jetāraḥ* (whichever of the two these shall choose tomorrow, they shall win ; Kāṭhaka.) ; *augha imāḥ sarvāḥ prajā nirvoḍhā tatas tvā pārayitâsmi* (Here the point of time is not specified but there is an emphasis implied in this form. The flood shall surely carry away all creatures and I will assuredly rescue thee ; Śat. Br.) ; *tau Devabhiṣajau tvām cakṣuṣumantam kartārau* (Mbh.) : *yaje yakṣi yaṣṭāhe ca* (I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, I will certainly go on sacrificing ; Taitt. Sam) ; *prajāyām enam vijñātâsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā* (in his children shall we know him, whether he offers sacrifice with or without knowledge ; Ait. Br.) ; *katham tu bhavitâsy aika iti tvām nṛpa śocimi* (how shall you get on alone ; Mbh.). In a general sense this future can be used even

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67 See Apte, Guide to Sanskrit Composition, §241.

conditionally like the other future. e.g., *yadā te mohakalilam buddhir vyatitarsyati tadā gantāsi nirvedam śrotavyasya śrutasya ca* (Bh. G.). This periphrastic future is exactly translated into our modern vernaculars, as in Guj. *hū kale janār chū*; *te kharidnār che* etc. The agent noun used here is without the auxiliary in the 3rd person. Sometimes if the subject is feminine we get the feminine form, though most often the ordinary masculine form is used, e.g., *ekā janayitā putram* (Rām.) ; *tām nāradaḥ . . . samādideśaikavadhūm bhavitrīm premṇā śarīrārdha-harām Harasya* (Kumāra. This is not strictly a periphrastic future, being in the accusative. But it seems to be a clear 'contamination' especially in view of the comment of Malli-nātha : *Harasyārdhaṅgahāriṇy ekapatnī bhaviṣyatīty ādiṣṭavān ityarthaḥ*).

The sense of the future is often inherent in desideratives and in certain derivatives like those in *-in*. Examples : *dhārtarāṣṭ-rasya durbuddher yuddhe priyacikīrṣavaḥ* (Bh. G. The sense is *priyam kariṣyanti*), *gamī* (*=kantā*) *grāmam* ; *uttiṣṭha rājan bhāvī te vīro vaṁśadharaḥ sutaḥ* (shall be born ; Kathās.); *surāsuravimardo bhāvī* (a quarrel between Gods and demons shall break out) ; *bhavantam abhivādakaḥ* (*=abhivadiṣyati*) (Mbh.).

In the Aorist system we get seven varieties (or conjugations) with appropriate *vikaraṇas*. These seven varieties are (i) the Root-Aorist, (ii) the *a-* (or thematic) aorist, (iii) the Redupli-cated Aorist and (iv-vii) four varieties of the Sibilant Aorist, —the *s-* aorist, the *sa-* aorist, the *iṣ-* aorist and the *siṣ-* aorist. In the first two varieties many roots have the same form for the imperfect (the Preterite of the Present) and the Aorist.

The Aorist is rare in Classical Sanskrit but is very common in the Vedic period (as also in Avesta and old Greek). The name 'Aorist' signifies indeterminate. But when used with the augment it has the clear sense of the just completed action and is equivalent to the English "perfect". This distinction of Imperfect and Aorist is strictly observed in the Vedic period. Examples : *kuvit somasyāpām* (x. 119. 1 ; Have I not drunk Soma?) ; *yam aicchāma manasā so 'yam āgāt* (whom we wished for in our minds has now come. The first verb is imperfect and the second is air.) ; *jyog vā iyam Urvaśī manuṣyeṣv avātsīt* (long indeed has Urvaśī dwelt among mortals ; Śat. Br.) ; *tasya ha*

dantāḥ pedire (perfect) *tam hovāca apatsata vā asya dantāḥ* (his teeth fell out ; he told him, 'his teeth have fallen out' ; Ait. Br.) ; *divo adarśi duhitā* (the Daughter of Heaven hath appeared! iv. 52. 1) ; *yasmād duṣvapnyād abhaiṣmāpa tad ucchatu* (let her (Uṣas) drive away the bad dreams that we have feared or that we fear ; vii. 47. 18). There are, however, cases when the completed action is so close in time as to be almost a present : *yad adbhir abhiṣiñcanti Varuṇam evainam akaḥ* (inasmuch as they sprinkle him with water, do they make him Varuṇa himself ; (Mait. Saṁ.) ; *svayam enam abhyudetya brūyād Vrātya kva 'vasīḥ* (going up to him in person, let him say, 'Vrātya, where dost thou live ?' ; AV.) ; *putrasya nāma gṛhṇāti prajām evānu samatanīt* (he gives his son a name, he thus extends his race ; Mait. Saṁ).

In later Sanskrit the aorist expresses merely past time and is interchangeable with the Perfect and the Imperfect. Examples : *tenāsau pañcatvam agamat* (Hi.) ; *tam adahat kāṣṭhaiḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā* (Rām.) : *sakhe tāvad enām na jānāsi yena tvam evam avādīḥ* (Śāk.) ; *tadāham kim akaravam kvāgamam kim vyalapam iti sarvam eva nājñāsiṣam* (here *vyalapam* might be either aor. or imperfect ; Kādam.).

The passive Aorist form of the 3rd person singular ending in *i* is used throughout literature, e g., *ajani te vai putro yajasva mām aneneti* (Ait. Br.). This passive aorist is very frequent in the later artificial prose, perhaps as conscious archaisms. Examples : *praṇatayā śabaryā salīlam alāpi* (Daśa.) ; *kumāro 'py anāyi* (Daśa.) ; *adarśi visrutir divaḥ* (the path to heaven was manifest ; i. 46. 11) ; *abodhy Agniḥ samidhā janānām* (v. 1. 1) ; *rakṣa vyāpādi tat* (Kathās.) ; *sā bhūdharāṇām adhipena tasyām samadhimatyām udapādi bhavyā* (Kumāra.). When the augment is dropped it has the passive value, but is used in a subjunctive sense (the so-called injunctive) e.g., *śrāvi* (lit. it is heard).[68]

The moods of the various systems are used in various ways which are pretty close to one another and overlap considerably. The system to which the mood belongs makes no difference except with reference to time. Even the so-called "original significations" of the moods are so close together that in many cases it is impossible to give the reason why a particular mood

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[68] In Avesta also *srāvi* has a closely similar usage.

has been used. In the earliest language we find these moods used more or less interchangeably. In later language the subjunctive disappears and only the imperative and optative continue and these too only of the Present system. All moods of the Perfect and the Future systems have entirely disappeared. From the moods of the Aorist only one variety of optative has survived as the "Benedictive" (or "Precative") and the special use of the unaugmented Aorist with the prohibitive *mā*, giving it a modal value, has also come down into Classical Sanskrit.

The Imperative primarily expresses a command and properly it should have the 2nd and 3rd person forms alone. But the primary idea of the subjunctive being "will", the first person forms of the subjunctive came to be attached to the imperative. The meaning of the imperative is toned down into "wish", "request", "advice", "direction" etc. : e g., *devān ihā vaha* (i. 14. 12) ; *ahedamdno bodhi* (i. 24. 11 ; be thou not angry) ; *vrkṣe nāvam pratibadhnīṣva* (Śat. Br.) ; *pra vām aśnotu suṣtutiḥ* (may this fine hymn reach you two ; i. 17. 9)*;* *varam vrṇīṣvātha me punar dehi* (choose a boon and give it back to me ; Taitt. Sam.) ; *vi no dhehi yathā jīvāma* (ordain it so that we may live ; Śat. Br.) ; *pratyakṣābhis tanubhir avatu vas tābhir aṣṭābhir Īśaḥ* (Śak.) ; *santaḥ santu sadā sukṛtinaḥ* (Mālatī.) ; *krodham Prabho saṁhara saṁhara* (Kumāra.).

The use of the ending *-tāt,* as a sort of general imperative ending, might be noted. It is found in the Veda but becomes rare in later language even though grammar has recognised it. Examples : *yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhād draviṇeha dhattāt* (when thou standest upright, thou bestowest riches here ; iii. 8. 1) ; *vanaspatir adhi tvā sthāsyatī tasya vittāt* (the vegetation shall be upon thee, make a note of it ; Taitt. Sam.) ; *ā vyūṣam jāgṛtād aham* (let me remain awake till daybreak AV. This is the only instance of *-tāt* quotable in the 1st person) ; *ayam tasya rājā mūrdhānam vighātayatāt* (this king here shall cause his head to fall off ; Śat. Br.) ; *Nāsatyāv abruvan Devāḥ punar vi vahatād iti* (the Gods said to the two Nāsatyas : 'bring them back again' ; x. 24. 5) ; *bhavān prasādam kurutāt* (Mbh.) ; *enam bhavān abhirakṣatāt* (Daśa.).

The Subjunctive is essentially expressive of "will" as distinct from "wish" or "possibility" which is expressed by the optative. The will is best expressed in the 1st person and becomes a sort

of command to one's own self and hence the 1st person forms
of the subjunctive attached themselves to   the imperative when
the former disappeared. The subjunctive also indicates certainty
or promise, as opposed to the mere possibility of the optative.
Examples : *svastaye   Vāyum   upabravāmahai* (v. 51. 12) ;
jeṣāmendra tvayā yujā (we will conquer, O Indra, united to
thee ; viii. 63. 11) ; *hanta imān bhīṣayai* (well, I will frighten
them ; Ait. Br.) ; *Agne . . . devebhyo bravasi* (i. 139. 7) ; *imām*
naḥ śṛṇavaddhavam (let him hear this our call ; viii. 43. 22) ; *ā*
ghā tā gacchān uttarā yugāni (there shall indeed come the later
ages ; x. 10. 10) ; *na tā naśanti na dabhāti taskaraḥ* (they perish
not, no thief shall harm them ; vi. 28. 3) ; *akāmam sma mā ni*
padyāsai (against (my) will you shall approach me) ; *yā vyūṣur*
yāś ca nūnam vyucchān (which have shone forth and which
shall hereafter shine forth i. 113. 10) ; *yo   dyām atisarpāt*
parastān na sa mucyātai Varuṇasya rājñaḥ (even though he may
steal away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuṇa :
AV. Note here both verbs are subjunctive).

In the Veda very often we get an augment-form (mainly the
aorist) used without the augment and then it is called the
Injunctive. Whitney names this "the improper Subjunctive".
It is used very widely and loosely. "Its use constitutes", says
Macdonnell[69] "one of the chief difficulties of Vedic grammar and
interpretation . . . . Judged by its uses the injunctive probably
represents a very primitive verbal form which originally
expressed an action irrespective of tense or mood the context
showing what was meant . . . . The general meaning of the
injunctive expresses a desire combining the senses of the sub-
junctive, the optative and the imperative". Often it is merely
in the sense of present or future, just tinged with the idea of
desire. Exactly the same construction is to be found in the
Avesta and in the few cases in Homer, where the augment has
been omitted.[70] Examples are very copious in the Vedic liter-
ature ; a few may be quoted : *Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pravocam*
(i. 32. 11) ; *Pūṣann iha kratum vidaḥ* (O Pūṣan, procure for us
wisdom ; i. 42. 7, 8, 9) ; *Agnir juṣata no giraḥ* (i. 173. 13) ; *imā*

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[69] *Vedic Grammar*, pp. 349f.

[70] In the Avesta the augmentless forms far exceed those with the aug-
ment.

havyā juṣanta naḥ (let them enjoy these offerings ; vi. 52. 11) ; *mā na Indra parā vṛṇak* (do not, O Indra, drop us aside ; viii. 97. 7) ; *mā tantuś chedi vayato dhiyam me* (let not the thread be cut as I am weaving the hymn ; ii. 28. 5) ; *darśam nu viśvadar-śatam* (i. 25. 18) ; *kadā naḥ śuśravad giraḥ* (i. 84. 8).

The use of the Injunctive with the negative *mā* is often in the sense of a command, almost with imperative force. This construction is continued in Classical literature also. *pra pata meha raṁsthāḥ* (fly away, tarry not here ; AV.) ; *aviṣaṁś ca mahyam radhyatu mā cāham dviṣate radham* (let my foe be subject to me, but let me not be subject to my foe ; AV.) ; *mā no dīrghā abhi naśam tamisrā* (may not the long darkness come upon me ; ii. 27. 14) ; *mā bhūt kālasya paryayaḥ* (let there be no change of time ; Rām.) ; *samāśvasihi mā śucaḥ* (Bh. G.) ; *mā bibher na mariṣyasi* (AV.) ; *mā putram anutapyathāḥ* (grieve not after thy son ; Mbh.) ; *pāpe ratim mā kṛthāḥ* Bhartṛhari) ; *anyasyām api jātau mā veśyā bhūs tvam hi sundari cāritryaguṇasampanne jāyethā vimalekule* (Mṛcch.) ; *mā sma bhavatyo bhaiṣuḥ* (Daśa.) ; (*Kaikeyī*) *māmakāṅgāni mā sprākṣīḥ* (Rām.). In one or two cases the augment is retained : *mā Vālipatham anvagāḥ* (Rām.) ; *mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhām tvam agamaḥ śāśvatiḥ samāḥ* (Rām.) ; *mā tvām kālo 'tyagāt* (may not time pass thee by ; Mbh.).

In the Veda the subjunctive is often used in relative or dependent clauses : *yo naḥ pṛtanyād apa tam tam iddhatam* (i. 132. 6) ; *yas tubhyam dāsān na tam aṁho aśnavat* (who shall serve thee, him no distress shall reach ; ii. 73. 4) ; *yad asurāñ jayāma* (so that we may conquer the demons ; Taitt. Saṁ.) ; *nen mā Rudro hinasad iti* (lest Rudra might hurt him ; Śat. Br.) ; *vyucchā duhitar divo mā ciram tanuthā apaḥ net tvā stenam yathā ripum tapāti sūro arciṣā* (v. 79. 9) ; *yad vindāsi tat te 'gnihotram kurmaḥ* (what thou findest, that we will make thy fire-offering ; Mait. Saṁ) ; *na pāpāso manāmahe . . . yad in nv Indram . . . sakhāyam kṛṇavāmahai* (viii. 61. 11. We do not hold ourselves to be wicked, so that we can make Indra our friend) ; *yatra hotā chandasaḥ pāram gacchāt* (while the Hotṛ shall have got to the end of the recital ; Śat. Br.) ; *gṛhān gaccha gṛhapatnī yathā 'sah* (go into the house that thou mightest be the mistress of the house ; x. 85. 26) ; *yadā gacchāti asuvītim etām athā Devānām vaśanīr bhavāti* (when one goeth to that spirit world, he shall become subject of the Gods ; x. 16. 2. Note here the subjunctive

even in the principal clause) ; *yajāma devān yadi śaknavāma*
(i. 27. 13. Note also the subjunctive in both clauses).

The significance of the Optative (also called Potential) is
primarily wish or desire. This may become a request or entreaty
and it might even become a "timid imperative". It shades off
into what is proper or what should or ought to be done or even
is a possibility. When very weak it just expresses an existing fact
with just the shade of a note in it indicating whether the fact
is liked or disliked. In later language the optative takes up the
full function of the subjunctive as well. Examples : *vayam
syāma patayo rayīṇām* (iv. 50. 6) ; *viśe ca kṣatrāya ca samadam
kuryām* (I should like to create enmity between the people and
the rulers ; Mait Saṁ.) ; *imam me samidhan vaneḥ* (pray accept
this my fuel ; ii. 6. 1) ; *imam amṛtam dūtam kṛṇvīta martyaḥ*
(the mortal should make this immortal his messenger ; viii.
2. 9) ; *apaśuḥ syāt* (may he be bereft of cattle ; Taitt. Saṁ.) ;
mā va eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema (may we not suffer for a sin
committed by another ; vi. 51. 7. This is the only instance of
mā with the opt.) ; *yam dviṣyāt tam dhyāyet* (he should think
(always) of the person he hates ; Taitt. Saṁ. Note here the
two optatives by a sort of "attraction") ; *na divā śayīta* (Śat.
Br.) ; *na tvā vidur janāḥ* (let not people know thee ; Mbh.) ;
ṛṇam kṛtvā ghṛtam pibet ; *kuryām Harasyāpi Pinākapāṇe
dhairyacyutim* (Kumāra.) ; *Maurye bhūṣaṇavikrayam narapatau
ko nāma sambhāvayet* (Mudrā.) ; *kāmo me bhuñjīta bhavān* (I
have the wish, sir, that you dine) ; *api jīvet sa bhrāhmaṇaśiśuḥ*
(Uttara.) ; *kṛtyam ghaṭeta suhṛdo yadi tatkṛtam syāt* (Mālatī.
Note here, too, the two optatives) ; *ka īpsitârthas thiraniścayam
manaḥ payaś ca nimnâbhimukham pratīyayet* (Kumāra.) ; *viṣam
apy amṛtam kvacid bhaved amṛtam vā viṣam Īśvarecchayā*
(Raghu.).

The Benedictive is a special optative of the Aorist (the
Parasmaipada from the simple Aorist and the Ātmanepada
from the sibilant variety) ; it occurs in RV. and AV., and
expresses a wish addressed as it were to heaven. Instances are
not very common : *yo no dveṣṭy adharaḥ sa spadīṣṭa* (may he
who hates us fall down ; iii. 53. 21) ; *bhago me Agne sakhye na
mṛdhyāḥ* (may my good fortune, O Agni, not relax as regards
thy friendship ; iii. 54. 21) ; *sarvam āyur jīvyāsam* (may I live
the full measure of my life ; AV.) ; *ahavyavād evâham tubhyam*

bhūyāsam (I would like not to be a conductor of sacrifice for thee ; Śat. Br. Note the peculiar negative construction) ; *kim anyad āśāsmahe vīraprasavā bhūyāḥ* (Uttara.) ; *svayam ripus tanvam rīriṣīṣṭa* (may my foe do harm to himself ; vi. 51. 7) ; *vidheyāsur devā parmaramanīyām pariṇatim* (Mālatī.). The Benedictive is rare on the whole ; and Atmanepada forms are utterly unknown in later literature.

The line of demarcation between these three moods is very thin and indeterminate. The Imperative alone is fairly well marked out. As Whitney has clearly explained[71] : 'The difference, then, between imperative, subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree, command, requisition, wish ; and no sharp line of division exists between them ; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in co-ordinate clauses.'' Thus we get *śatam jīva śaradaḥ* (imperative) ; *śatam jīvāti saradaḥ* (subjunctive) ; *jīvema śaradām śatāni* (optative) ; all from the Atharva Veda ; and even the Benedictive *śatam varṣāṇī jīvyāsam* in Śat. Br. Examples of the moods co-ordinated are : *syān naḥ sūnus tanayo vijāvāgne sā te sumatir bhūtv asme* (iii. 1. 23. To us be (born) a son and spreading offspring ; Agni may this be thy gracious will towards us) ; *iyam Agne nārī patim videṣṭa. . . suvānā putrān mahiṣī bhavāti gatvā patim subhagā vi rājatu* (may this woman, O Agni, find (aor. opt.) a husband . . .giving birth to a son may she become (subj.) a queen, having acquired a husband may she rule (imp.) in happiness) ; *putra mā sāhasam kārṣīr mā sadyo lapsyase vyathām mā tvām daheyuḥ saṅkruddhā vālakhilyā marīcipāḥ* (Mbh. Here, too, two moods are used and a future besides).

VI. COMPOUNDS

In primitive languages, when syntactical apparatus like affixes or prepositions and such other aids to sentence-construction have not developed, the relations between words are indicated by their position. The three principal relations are (as already mentioned) those of the subject, and the object of a verb, and that of the possessor and the thing possessed. In the

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71. Sanskrit Grammar, §575.

former two cases, unless the subject or object happens to be a pronoun, it cannot be combined with the verb. The pronoun is very often thus combined or "incorporated" with the verb. In the case of the possessor and the thing possessed, both belong usually to the same category (nouns) and hence a combination of the two cannot be difficult. Thus in the instances (already quoted) from the Sudan languages such phrases as "village-inside", "river-inside" etc. might be regarded as compounds ; if put down in writing, they would be one word with a hyphen in between. Writing has not yet been evolved for these primitive languages of Sudan and so we cannot say for certain whether these are true compounds or merely two words in juxtaposition.

In more developed languages we do get compounds. In fact, the fusing of two closely connected ideas into one is a device made use of in most of the languages of the world, after they have developed sufficiently to possess some grammatical apparatus. In Basque, for instance, we get words like *odots* (thunder), made up of *odei* (cloud) and *ots* (noise) ; or *belaun* (knee), made up of *belar* (foot) and *oin* (leg). These might be called true compounds as much as those of Sanskrit.

In the Semitic languages too, we have true compounds as seen in Hebrew words like *Bethel*, made up of *beth* (house) and *El* (God), "the house of God" ; and *Benjamin* from *ben* (son) and *Jamin* "the son of Jamin". The former can be rendered into Sanskrit exactly by *devālaya* and the latter by *Yamīnaputraḥ*. Note also that the *order* of the words in Hebrew compound is the reverse of what we have in Sanskrit. Still these are undoubtedly compounds. In Hebrew such "compound nouns" are, probably without exception, proper names and as such are very frequent".

In most other language families compounds are allowable within certain narrow limits and even these, being in most cases confined to the relation of possessor and object possessed, are formed by the very simple device of juxtaposition. Being descriptive (as with the Hebrew proper names) they may be regarded as being something more than mere "juxtaposition". It is only in the Indo-European family that we get compounds in the true sense *used as syntactical devices* to express all sorts of relations between words, not merely the relation of possession.

The power of building true compounds is fully developed in all
Indo-European languages and in fact constitutes one of the
distinguishing characteristics of this language-family. It is best
developed in Sanskrit, but it is an extremely fine device used in
Greek, in Welsh and in German, to name only three of the
Indo-European languages.

Greek compounds come nearest to those of Sanskrit both in
their construction as well as their meanings. There are compounds
which mean : trainer-of-boys, steadfast-in-battle, obedient-to-
authority, soul-delighting, continual-talking, unwritten, child-
less, hard-to-pass, of-the-same-womb, fore-thought, speech-
writer, worthy-of-mention, erring-in-mind, belonging-to-the-soil,
pelted-with-stones, delighting-in-thunder, physician-prophet,
wretchedly-married, having-the-same-laws etc. These examples
are sufficient to show that in Greek also compounds are formed
in the same way and for the same reason as in Sanskrit. The
vast majority of Greek compounds are made up of two members
and there are a few which are longer. There is a compound in
the *Ekklezousai*, a drama by Aristophanes, which is 78 syllables
long and is written with 171 letters. This is certainly a rival to
any compound in the Kādambari, and this extraordinary
"word" is the name of "a pungent dish of pounded limpet,
slices of salt fish and bits of sharks' heads, silphion with sea-
crayfish, honey poured over it, thrush, blackbird, ringdove,
pigeon, roasted cock's head, curlew and dove, hare's flesh dipped
in new wine when boiled down, and the whole edged with figs."

Welsh and German too are rich in compound words. The
majority consist of two or three members but there are a few
long ones. Thus in Welsh there is the name of a village in the Isle
of Anglesea which is written with 56 letters, of which the first 20
are enough as postal address ! The name is really a description
of the place, for it means : "the church of St. Mary in the
hollow of white hazel, near to the rapid whirlpool and to St.
Tisilio church, near to a red cave.'

In German books long compounds catch one's eye pretty
often. Mark Twain, in his delightful book *A Tramp Abroad*, has
very aptly called them "alphabetical processions". He goes on
to say : 'Some German words are so long that they have a
perspective . . . . These things are not words, they are alphabe-
tical processions. And they are not rare : one can open a

German newspaper any time and see them marching majesti-
cally across the page and if he has any imagination he can see
banners and hear the music too. They impart a martial thrill
to the meanest subject." In German too these long compounds
serve the same distinct syntactical purpose as they do in the
other Indo-European languages.

The growth of compounds is best studied in Sanskrit and for
the earlier stages parallel instances can also be cited from the
Avesta. The sense of a compound is not merely the *sum* of the
meanings of the components (except, of course, in the *dvandva*)
but is *syntactical resultant* as it were of the components. In
other words, a compound syntactically considered is a sort of
phrase or clause. The *dvandva* is of course different. This notion
is clearly seen in the accentuation of compounds. The two
ideas compounded together give a single new idea and therefore
the whole compound has only one accent. This is also found in
Greek ; even the long compound of Aristophanes bears only
one accent.

The *dvanda* stands on a different footing altogether. This is
really the *sum total* of the ideas put together, hence each member
of it bears an accent. In the_Veda the *dvanda* is confined to the
names of Deities only—the *devatā-dvanda*—and what is more,
each member is put in the dual number. As the name implies,
dvanda is originally and essentially a dual compound.[72] The
'plural-dvanda' is a later growth by analogy. Thus *Mitrāváruṇā,
Agniṣómau, Indrāgnī, Turvāśáyádu, Dyāvāpṛthivī, Uṣāsānáktā ;
Sūryāmāsā. etc.* These are in origin mere juxtapositions and
the fact that each member is in the dual is the only indication
of their compound nature. But, though true compounds, these
are loose enough ; and in the oblique cases either the last
member takes the ending or *both* members take the ending :
e.g., *Indrāmarutaḥ* (voc.) ; *Mitrāváruṇābhyām* (ins.) ; *Mitrāvá-
ruṇayoḥ* (gen.) ; *Mitráyorvárunayoḥ* (gen.). The components of
a *devatā dvandva* may even be separated by other words : *ā
Nákīā barhíḥ sadatām Uṣāsā* (vii. 42.5) ; *ud u tyác cákṣur máhi
Mitráyor áṃ éti priyám Várunayor ádabdham* (vi. 51. 1).

In the Avesta also this looseness of declining each member
of the compound is found *pasu-vīra* (for an older form **pasū-*

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vīrā, nom.) animal and man, referring to the "moving creation" ; and *pasubya-vīraebya* (dat.) ; *Nairyhe-Sanahe* (ged., Skt. *narāśaṁsa*) ; *Ahurem Mazdāṁ* (arc.) ; *Ahurahe-Mazdao*(gen.).

Compounds other than *dvandva* in the Avesta show this loose construction also and even several words might separate the two members: *Vanhaus dazdā Mananhō* (gifts of Good Mind) : *at hōi Vuhū Sraośō pantū Mananhā* (may Sraosa come to him with Vohu Manō). But with adjectival compounds such looseness is not allowed : *ustāna-zastō* (*uttānahasta*), having uplifted hands) ; *naskō-fasonhō* (studying the scriptures) ; *hazanrō-gaośa* (possessing a thousand ears) ; *frāt-fsu* (increasing cattle). These are true compounds in every sense of the term.

In Vedic Sanskrit there is another kind of compound called *āmreḍita*. This consists of merely a repetition of a word for the sake of emphasis. That these are compounds might be seen from the fact that they have but one accent between the two. Examples ; *jahy éṣāṁ váraṃ-varam* (slay of them each best person ; AV.) ; *tána jeṣma dhánan-dhanam* (x. 156. 1) ; *minímási dyávi-djavi* (day by day we violate ; i. 25. 1) ; *yajñásya-yajñasya ketum ruśantam* (the shining banner of every sacrifice ; x. 1. 5) ; *dhiyā-dhiyā tvā vadhy āsuḥ* (may they slay thee with repeated thought ; Taitt. Sam.) ; *yajasva-yajasva* (Śat. Br.). In later literature such phrases like *bhūyobhūyaḥ, śanaiḥśanaiḥ ; pṛthak-pṛthak* are repetitions of the same nature. So also in later literature we get instances as *jvalatujvalatu rāt'aurātrāv akhaṇḍakalaḥ śaśī* (Mālatī.) : *dṛṣṭvādṛṣṭvā bhavanavalabhītuṅgavātāyanasthā* (Mālatī.).

Another peculiar compound, which might be almost regarded as an "ancestral type", is the *aluk-samāsa* where *the case-ending is retained.* All the cases are represented in *aluk*-type. Examples : accusative : *Dhanañjaya, vācamīṅkhala, bhayamkartṛ, udarambhari, vasundharā, dhanyammanya* (Daśa.) ; *paṇḍitammanyamānāḥ* (Muṇḍ. Up.) ; *avaśyambhāvin* ; Instrumental ; *girāvṛdh* (increasing through praise), *vācāstena* (stealing by incantation), *bhāsāketu* (shining through light) ; dative : *nareṣṭhā* (serving a man), *asmehiti* (errand to us) ; ablative : *balātkāra, sarvatomukha, viśvataspāt* ; genitive : *akasyavid rāyaskāma, Sūnaḥśepa, Bṛhaspati* (it may be noted that the last two are very loose compounds and the members can even be separated by other intervening words) ; locative : *vanecara, Yudhiṣṭhira ;*

savyeṣṭhā, ratheśubha (resplendent on his car), *rathesthā* (standing in the chariot : the exact equivalent of Av. *raoaēśstā*), *agrega, divikṣit, antevāsi, apsuja* (note plural of first member here). We also get the dual ending retained *hanūkampa* (trembling of both jaws), of the feminine ending *dāsīputra, mṛgīdṛś* etc. Contrast, however, the name of the great poet which is spelt with a short final *i* in the first member, *Kālidāsa.* This—so the legend avers—was to distinguish this great genius from any other devotee of Kālī. So the latter might be called *Kālīdāsa.*

In the living period of the language compounds are often construed *ad sensum.* Not only the whole, but only a part of the compound, only one member of it, might be connected with another word in the sentence. Many instances can be cited : *svānāṃ śraiṣṭyakāmaḥ* (Āś. Śr. Sū.) : *brāhmaṇañ cchrutaśilavṛttasampannām ekena vā* (Āś. Gr. Sū.) ; *cittapramāthinī bālā devānām api* (Mbh.) ; *Vasiṣṭhavacanād Ṛṣyaśṛṅgasya cobhayoḥ* (Rām.) ; *jyotiṣāṃ madhyacārī* (Hi.) ; *dārupātraṃ ca mṛṇmayam* (This construction is exceedingly common in modern German e.g. *Strassen- und Eisenbahnen* (lit. Tram- and Railways) ; *syandane dattadṛṣṭiḥ* (Śak.) ; *himavato girer upatyakāraṇyavāsinaḥ* (Śak.) ; *prāg eva karṇaparamparayā tasyāḥ śrutâpavādaḥ* (Pañc.) ; *kim bhavān āhārârthī kevalam* (Pañc.).

The distinctions made by Sanskrit grammarians with regard to compounds are largely stilted and artificial. The three main groups more or less correctly represent the main types of compounds ; and this classification can be applied to any language. These are (1) Copulative (or Co-ordinating i.e. *dvandva*), (2) the Determinative, further sub-divided into Dependent (*tatpuruṣa*) and Descriptive (*karmadhāraya*) and (3) Secondary Adjectival Compounds (*bahuvrīhi*). The fourth class of compounds —*avyayībhāva*—are essentially the accusatives of class 3 used adverbially. But the hair-splitting Sanskrit grammarians and their numerous commentators have introduced numerous sub-groups and give subtle (mainly unnatural) explanations and have thus introduced rules too complex and fanciful to be of any use in a language that is virile and *living.* Thus, for instance, the long and pedantic disquisitions whether *pippalyārdhaḥ* or *pippalyārdham* or *ardhapippalī* is the correct form (Pat. 1. 407) is utterly futile for any speaker of a *living*

language, and is of no interest except to a narrow-minded
grammarian. So also a phrase like *vicitrā sūtrakṛtiḥ Pāṇininā*
is not allowed by grammarians, and on this Speijers has com-
mented that "now and then the cavillations of the commen-
tators have rather obscured the good understanding of some
rules". Pāṇini has accepted the popular speech of his day and
mentions compounds like *kākapeyā nadī* and *śvalehyaḥ kūpaḥ*
as proverbial expressions. Then again compounds like *nami-
tonnamitena* (*śirasā*), *gatapratyāgata*, *draṣṭanaṣṭa*, *snātānulipta*,
suptotthita etc. are more obviously *dvandvas* of a special kind,
though grammarians say otherwise. Hence instead of quibbling
over the intricate hair-splitting of grammarians, it would be
more interesting to see how the *living* language takes full
advantage of this peculiar facility of compound-building to
attain a certain amount of terseness and clarity of expression.
Examples from all periods of literature are abundant and a few
might be given without any attempt at classifying them.

vyājasapraṇayair vākyair vañcyate (falsely kind words ;
Kathās.) ; *paryāyāliṅgitaḥ* (embraced by turns ; Kathās.) ;
prativasatipatākāḥ (flags fluttering from every house ; Kathās.) ;
avaśyagamtavyā purī (a town which must be visited ; Kathās.) ;
yāvadvātsyāyanoktavidhinā (in accordance with the ritual of
Vātsyāyana ; Pañc.): *jalāntaścandracapalam jīvanam* ; (Kām-
anda.) ; *sukhaduḥkhasuhṛd bhavān* (Mṛccha.) ; *anuvācitalekham
amātyam vilokya* (Mālavikā.) ; *uditabhūyiṣṭa eṣa bhagavāṁs
tapanaḥ* (Mālatī.) ; *sahasram ekam mama kāryapurhsaram*
(whose guiding aim was my work ; Rām.) ; *munayaḥ kalaśod-
yatāḥ* (busy lifting water jars ; Rām.) ; *aśrukaṇṭhaḥ ; kācic
chṛgālikā māṁsapiṇḍagṛhītavadanā* (Pañc. A sort of 'contami-
nation'—taking up the flesh and with the flesh in her jaws) ;
ubhayavetano bhūtvā (receiving bribes from both ; Pañc. Cf.
"traitor or perjured, one or both"[73]) ; *prāpārkasantaptasikatām
marubhūmim* (Kathās.) ; *dīrghaniṣkampapakṣāḥ* (*gṛdhrāḥ*
Mudrā.) ; *sa* (*śāpaḥ*) *cāyam aṅgulīyakadarśanāvasānaḥ* (the
curse ending with the showing of the ring ; Śāk.) ; *jaṭājinī* (Mbh.
Here we have the *-in* ending applied to a compound) ; *viṣṇucih-
nitaḥ* (marked with signs like those of Viṣṇu ; Pañc.) ; *sakalavid-
yācāturyavān* (Bhojapra. The possessive suffix *vat* is added to

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[73]. Scott, Rokeby.

the compound) ; *śailūṣa iva vṛthā vahasi kṛtrimopaśamām*
(Harṣa.) ; *yasyāgamaḥ kevalajīvikāyai* (Mālatī.) *ardhapādaspṛta-*
bhūmiḥ (touching the ground with half his foot ; *jātapretaḥ*
(dead as soon as born ; Pañc.) ; *gajoṣṭrahayapādāḥ* (*rākṣasīḥ* ;
Rām.) ; *brāhmaṇabruvaḥ śūramānī na śūras tvam* (Rām.). We
even get words which are really phrases in themselves, but
fused together in course of time : *itihāsa* (lit. thus indeed it
happened) ; *naghamāra* (lit. not surely dying) ; *ahaṃpūrva* (lit.
I first) ; *kuvitsa* (some unknown person, lit. who (is) he) ;
tadidartha (lit. just that meaning) ; *akutaścidbhayaḥ* (out of all
danger) ; *kiṅkara* (lit. doer of anything ; or it is in an ironical
sense 'what will he do?') ; *yadbhaviṣya* (lit. whatever might
happen).

Enough has been said to show that the compounds in
Sanskrit have been always full of vigour and life and in not a
few instances they are evidences of subtle humour of the
common people. In spite of grammarians this is the one aspect
of Sanskrit that has resisted all attempts to shackle it. It will be
seen that most of the instances so far quoted consist of two
members. The terribly long compounds so frequent in later
Sanskrit writers are a part of the natural development of the
language.

One essential feature of the earlier compounds is that they
are made up of *two* members only. Two compounds may be
re-compounded and the process may be repeated as often as
we please. Hence, however long a compound may be it could
always be analysed into parts which always combine two by two.
The build-up of a long compound is exactly parallel to that of
a complex sentence and herein lies the main function of the
long compounds of later Sanskrit literature.

All language growth is essentially a process of analysis and a
consequent rearrangement of the grammatical apparatus. Thus
synthetic languages gradually become analytical unless other
more powerful forces intervene. The same processes worked in
Sanskrit in the earlier days and the language grew and devel-
oped naturally till the grammarians came. It is not correct to
blame Pāṇini for killing Sanskrit. He may have been the
ultimate cause, but he never intended this result to follow his
Aṣṭādhyāyī. It was the growing reputation of Pāṇini, and the
strenuous efforts of his devoted admirers, that were really

responsible for the stopping of all further growth of Sanskrit. Luckily Pāṇini did not lay down a rule that a compound might not itself be a member of another compound ; and this gave free play later to analytical growth in this direction. For the long compounds of later Sanskrit literature are merely whole subordinate clauses, sometimes even whole independent sentences written down in the analytical way. The natural impulse of the language could find only this outlet after the fetters of grammar had shackled it.

The device of using compounds as subordinate clauses has been known to the earlier dramatists. We find them making full use of compounds, some even fairly long and complex. But we must remember that these compounds are made as in a living language and *not according to the rules of grammar.* One European scholar (Speijers) says that it would be exceedingly interesting to compare the statements in Sanskrit Grammars with the facts presented to us in actual literature. Of course poetic genius counts but the fact that at any rate in the compound Sanskrit is more or less unfettered must not be lost sight of. Take for instance the fine balance implied in the *dvandva* compound at the end of the following verse:

tau pṛthag vāradākūle śiṣṭāmuttaradakṣiṇe,

naktaṁ dinaṁ vibhajyobhau śītoṣṇakiraṇāv iva. (Mālavikā.)

or *phalaṁ kopaprītyor dviṣati ca vibhaktam suhṛdi ca* (Mudrā.).
It would require fairly complex grammatical rules to clearly bring out the mutual relations implied in these passages.

The use of compounds to express metaphor is a beautiful illustration of the elasticity of this mode of expression. Examples : *gopālena prajādhenor vittadugdham śanaiḥśanaiḥ grāhyam* (Pañc.) ; *iha sarvasvaphalinaḥ kulaputramahādrumāḥ niṣphalatvam alam yānti veśyāviṣṭābhakṣitāḥ* (Mṛccha.) ; *bhartṛbhaktirathārūḍhāḥ śīlasannāharakṣitāḥ dharmasārathyaḥ sādhvyo jayanti matihetayaḥ* (Kathās.) ; *dhanur vaṁśaviśuddho 'pi nirguṇaḥ kim kariṣyati* (Hi. Here the beauty lies in the double meaning of the words used).

A few instances of long compounds from later literature may now be considered.

I. From Mālatī-Mādhava :

atha tāḥ salīlam uttāla-kara-kamala-tālikā-tarala-valaye-

*āvalīkam-uttrasta kalahaṁsa-vibhrama-abhirāma- caraṇa -
sañcaraṇa-raṇaraṇāyamāna-mañju-mañjīra-raṇita-anuviddha-
mekhala-kalāpa-kiṅkiṇi-raṇaraṇatkāra-mukharam pratinivṛ-
tya . . . māṁ angulī-dala-vilāsena ākhyātavatyaḥ.*

II. From Daśakumāracarita :

*tatra vīra-bhaṭa-paṭala uttara-turaṅga-kuñjara-makara-bhī-
ṣaṇa-sakala-ripu-gaṇakaṭaka-jala-nidhi-mathana - mandarā-
yamāṇa-samuddaṇḍa-bhuja-daṇḍaḥ, purandara-pura-aṅgaṇa-
vana-viharaṇa-parāyaṇa-gīrvāṇa-taruṇa-gaṇikā-gaṇa-jegīya-
mānayā . . . kīrtyābhitaḥ surabhitaḥ, ... anavarata-yāga-
dakṣiṇā-rakṣita-śiṣṭa-viśiṣṭa-vidyā-sambhāra - bhāsura-bhū -
sura-nikaraḥ, viracita arāti-santāpena pratāpena satala
tulita-viyan-madhyahaṁsaḥ, rājahaṁso nāma ghana-darpa-
kandarpa saundarya-hṛdya-niravadya-rūpo bhūpo babhūva.*

III. From Kādambarī :

(i) *avani-patis tu dūrād ālokayety abhidhāya pratīhāryā
nirdiśyamānām tām (cāṇḍāla-kanyakām) . . . asura-
gṛhīta - amṛta - apaharaṇa - kṛta - kapaṭa-paṭu - vilāsinīve -
ṣasya śyāmatayā bhagavato harer iva anukurvatīm, ...
ā-gulpha-avalambinā nīla-kañcukena avacchanna-śarīrām
upari rakta-aṁśuka-racita-avaguṇṭahnām nīlotpala-sthalīm
iva nipatita-sandhyā-ātapām, eka-karṇa-avasakta-dantapatra-
prabhādhavalita-kapola-maṇḍalām udyad-indu-kiraṇa-cchu-
rita-mukhīm iva vibhāvarīm, ā-kapila-gorocanā-racita-tilaka-
tṛtīya-locanām īśana-racita-anuracita-kirāta-veṣām iva
bhavānīm, uraḥ- sthala-nivāsa-saṅkrānta-nārāyaṇa - deha -
prabhā-śyāmalitām iva śriyam, kupita hara-hutāśana-dahya-
māna-madana-dhūma-malinīkṛtām iva ratim, unmada-hali-
hala-apakarṣṇabhaya-prapalāyitām iva yomunām, ...ā-
piñjareṇa utsarpiṇā nūpura-maṇīnām prabhā-jālena rañjita-
śarīratayā pāvakena iva bhagavatā rūpa eva pakṣapātinā
prajāpatim apramāṇikurvatā jāti-saṁśodhana-artham śliṅ-
gita-dehām, . . . ati-sthūla-muktāphala-ghaṭitena śucinā hā-
reṇa gaṅgā-sroteseva kālindī-śaṅkayā kṛta-kaṇṭha-grahām,
. . . . nidrām iva locana-grāhiṇīm, araṇya-kamalinīm iva
mātaṅga-kula-dūṣitām, amūrtām iva sparśavarjitām, ...
animeṣa-locano dodarśa.*

(ii) *daśaratha-suta-niśita-śara-nikara-nipāta- nihata-rajanī - cara-bala-bahula-rudhira-sikta-mūlam araṇyaṁ.*

(iii) *eka-deśa-avatīrṇa-muni-jana-āpūryamāṇa-kamaṇḍalu - kalaśa-jala- dhvani-manoharam .... pampā - abhidhānam padma-saraḥ.*

(iv) *tsya ca rājñaḥ .... majjan-mālava-vilāsinī-kuca-taṭa-āsphālana-jarjaritaūrmi-mālayā jala-avgāhana-āyāta-jaya-kuñjara-kumbha-sindūra-sandhāyamāna-salilayā unmada-kalahaṁsa-kula-kolāhala-mukharita-kūlayā vetravatyā saritā parigatā vidiśā-abhidhānā nagarī rājadhāny āsīt.*

In all these instances and hundreds of others which might be quoted the compounds are really subordinate sentences. They indicate the way in which Sanskrit might have developed if it had been allowed to become analytical unchecked. The word-order in the compounds is indeed fixed to a certain extent, but still it allows an amount of flexibility and permits a display of ingenious word-play and rhetoric which would not have been possible in the ordinary synthetic type of Sanskrit. It is, in a sense, a morbid symptom, but the reason for it has been the unnatural stoppage of all growth by grammatical tyranny. No doubt, this tendency was helped along by the growing analytical structure of the Prakrits of the classical age.

So here again we get a demonstration that the human mind is superior to any grammar, and if the grammar does not suit the purpose of the human being, he simply brushes it aside. Grammar was made to *explain* a language never to fetter it. Sanskrit grammarians did not realise the truth of this, and we know the result.

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