

3. verbs

3.1. Differently from certain nominal forms such as infinitives and participles, every finite verb terminates with a personal ending, which designates a combination of person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd), number (sg., du., or pl.), and diathesis (active or middle). On the 3rd sg. verb with a subject in the n. pl. (collective in origin), cf. GOTÖ 14th Skt. Conf., § 1.6.

There is a set of primary endings and one of secondary endings, as well as special endings for perfect and imperative. The secondary endings are the fundamental ones, indicating only person, number, and diathesis, whereas the primary endings additionally designate ‘present’ time (“he is asking”). The perf. endings express, in combination with a specific stem type, a state which the subject (in each combination of number, person, and diathesis) has attained as a result of the verbal action (“he is gone”, i.e., he is not here, [or] he is now there); “he [has seen and now] knows”). The iptv. endings appear only in the 2nd and 3rd persons.

3.1.1. diathesis (active and middle)

Many verbal stems are inflected in the active diathesis (voice). When these same stems take middle endings, they may show a range of functions: [1] direct-reflexive (or simply reflexive: “he asks himself”), [2] indirect-reflexive (or affective: “he asks someone in his own interest”, “he gives something to himself”), [3] possessive-affective (“he washes his hands”, “he asks about his own obligation”), [4] reciprocal (“they ask each other”), or [5] patientive (“passive”: “he is asked”), e.g.: [1] *váha*-^{ti} ‘transport’ :: *váha*-^{te} ‘transport oneself, move, transfer’, [2] *bhára*-^{ti} ‘bring’ :: *bhára*-^{te} ‘bring something to/for/with oneself’, *yája*-^{ti} ‘worship (a god), make a ritual (for somebody)’ :: *yája*-^{te} ‘worship for oneself, perform one’s own ritual, let priests perform one’s own ritual’, [3] *váha*-^{ti} ‘transport’ :: *váha*-^{te} ‘drive one’s own [chariot], drive’, [4] *váda*-^{ti} ‘make a sound; discuss’ :: *ví-vada*-^{te} ‘dispute with each other’, [5] *sunó*-^{ti} ‘presses out’ :: *sunv-é* ‘is pressed out’ (cf. p. 105), *stáuti* ‘praises’ :: *stáva*-^{te} ‘be praised’ (p. 103).¹⁹¹⁾

Some verbs are inflected only in the active (*active tantum*) or only in the middle (*media tantum*). The core of the latter express a (change in) state of the subject (fientive-intransitive, cf. p. 81) and are found in the thematic full-grade root presents (simple thematic pres.). There are also *media tantum* in which middle inflexion has become consistent, e.g. *sáca*-^{te} ‘consort with, be in the company of’ (a reciprocal middle), *háva*-^{te} ‘call’ (affective: ‘towards oneself’). The passive stem with the suffix -*yá*- is always inflected in the middle.

¹⁹¹⁾ Cf. GOTÖ I.Präs. 27ff., 49f. — Materials for the presentation in this paragraph are taken mainly from the thematic full-grade root presents, cf. op. cit. 52–56 and 57–62.

Active and middle forms stand in some cases in a functional opposition. Among simple thematic stems (cf. 3.1.4.: p. 83: Th. 1.1), there is a type in which the act. inflexion serves as the factitive to mid. forms, which exhibit a basic meaning, e.g. *práthⁱ-a^{-te}* ‘spread (intransitive)’ :: *práthⁱ-a^{-ti}* ‘spread something’, *várdha^{-te}* ‘grow’ :: *várdha^{-ti}* ‘make grow’; *náma^{-te}* ‘bend (intrans.)’ :: *náma^{-ti}* ‘bend something/someone’, *yáta^{-te}* ‘take one’s position’ :: *yáta^{-ti}* ‘set someone/something in his/its position’. The opposition *bhája^{-te}* ‘share in something, receive something as one’s share’ :: *bhája^{-ti}* ‘give something to someone as his share’ can be understood by the same principle. This type is alive in the RV, and partially also in the mantra texts. In most cases, causatives replace the act. forms already in the RV and totally thereafter, with the exception of *śráya^{-ti}* ‘lean’ and *bhája^{-ti}* ‘give as a share’; thus, e.g. *várdh-a^{-te}* ‘grow’ :: *várdh-a^{-ti}* = *vardh-áya^{-ti}* ‘make grow’ (with its reflexive mid. *vardh-áya^{-te}* ‘make oneself grow’, in reality ‘grow’). There are also verbs which show only this developed type of the opposition, e.g. *várta^{-te}* ‘turn (intrans.)’ :: *vart-áya^{-ti}* ‘turn something/someone’. The pair *sádha^{-te}* ‘succeed’ :: *sádha^{-ti}* ‘make someone succeed’ in the RV has been replaced by that of the fientive *-ya-* pres. act. *sídhya^{-ti}* :: caus. *sādháya^{-ti}*.

There are also not a few activa tantum with the fientive-intransitive meaning, e.g. *várṣa^{-ti}* ‘rain’, *bháva^{-ti}* ‘come into being, become’. The causative is then used for their oppositional factitive, e.g. *varṣáya^{-ti}* RV+, *bhāváya^{-ti}* AV+.

Another type of opposition [themat. root pres. mid. :: nasal pres. act. (and mid.)] occurs in similar value in several verbs, e.g. *páva^{-te}* ‘become pure’ :: *punáti* ‘makes pure’. The verb for ‘beget, generate’ *janⁱ*, PIE **ǵenh₁*, is illustrative of various pres.-stem formations combined with diathesis: *jánⁱ-a^{-ti}* ‘beget (of a father generating a child)’ (PIE **ǵenh₁-e-*, OLat. *genunt*, *genat* etc.) = caus. *janⁱ-áya^{-ti}* (meaning also ‘let a man beget a child’; regularly coupled with redupl. aor. *á-jī-jana-t*; PIE **ǵonh₁-é^{-ti}*, OE *cennan*), *jáya^{-te}* ‘be begotten, born’ (PIE pass. **ǵnh₁-i^{-to}*, YAv. *zaiia^{-te}*, OIr. *·gainethar*); in PIE, in addition, **ǵí-ǵnh₁-e^{-ti}* (or **ǵí-ǵonh₁-ti*) in YAv. *zīzan(a)^{-ti}* ‘let [a man] beget a child (said of a woman), bear’, Lat. *gignō* ‘I generate’.¹⁹²⁾

3.1.2. The basis of a verb is the verbal root which carries the lexical meaning of the verb. Some noematic categories¹⁹³⁾ of roots and verbal formations are rele-

¹⁹²⁾ Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Das altarmenische Verbum* (1982) 197f., STRUNK *Fs.Humbach* (1986) 441–445, GOTÖ *I.Präs.* (1987) 147, *Coloquio Delbrück* (1997[1998]) 167 n. 6, cf. also M. LEUMANN *Fs. Brown* (1962) 153 n. 6, 158.

¹⁹³⁾ Cf. HOFFMANN “Das Kategoriensystem des indogermanischen Verbums”, *MSS* 28 (1970) 19–41 = *Aufs.* 523–540; GOTÖ *Coloquio Delbrück* (1997[1998]) 168f., *Funktionen des Akkusativs* (2002) 21–23.

vant for the morphology, i.e., the classes or dimensions of the components relating to the lexical contents of roots or to the meaning of particular formations:

[1] **Aktionsart** (the kind of action as it relates to time extension) is realised foremost in a coordinate axis *punctual* ↔ *durative*. The relevant items are as follows:

[1.1.1.] punctual, if the action signalled by a root (or a verbal form) is characterised by no time extension, or [1.1.2.] momentary, of short duration, or [1.1.3.] durative, of long duration;

[1.2.] terminative, if it signals [1.2.1.] the beginning or [1.2.2.] the end of an action; additional categories are:

[1.3.1.] iterative (repetitive), [1.3.2.] inchoative (the action is in its starting phase: relating to the present stem), and [1.3.3.] ingressive (the action has already begun: relating to the aorist and perfect).

[2] **Verhaltensart** (the kind of action the verb designates: doing something, entering some state or being in some state, etc.) plays a role in an axis *facientive* ↔ *fientive*. Relevant items are:

[2.1.1.] facientive (or agentive), if a verb's meaning is an action (doing something or affecting something/someone), [2.1.2.] fientive, if it designates a state or condition of the subject or its change, [2.1.3.] statutive (or essive), if it relates especially to a static condition;

[2.2.1.] intentional, in case that the action involves an actor's intention, or [2.2.2.] non-intentional (then, similarly to 2.1.2.);

additional categories are:

[2.3.1.] factitive ("causative") and [2.3.2.] patientive ("passive").

[3] **Rektionsart** (the kind of governance): *transitive* ↔ *intransitive*. This dimension of the lexical meaning of a verb is realised in the syntax and has little to do with verbal morphology.

3.1.3.¹⁹⁴ The present stem is originally used for the imperfective **aspect**, i.e. the expression of a verbal action from the perspective of its ongoing/continuity. The aorist stem stands for the perfective aspect, i.e., the expression of a verbal action seen as a whole, i.e. to indicate whether the action happens or has happened at all. The perfect system has an exceptional position, designating a state of the subject which it has attained as the result of a prior verbal action (nactostative).

¹⁹⁴ Cf. HOFFMANN "Das Kategoriensystem des indogermanischen Verbums", MSS 28 (1970) 19–41 = Aufs. 523–540.

If the Aktionsart of a root is punctual (“aorist-root”), the root can be used as an aor. stem without any marking (affixation or reduplication): we have an athematic root-aorist. Otherwise, the aor. stem is formed by means of either the suffix *-s-*, thematic vowel *-a-* (**-e/o-*), or reduplication (with *-a-*, *-i-*, and secondarily also *-u-* from **-a-*, with or without the thematic vowel). If the Aktionsart of a root is obviously durative (“present-root”), the root itself serves as a present stem: the result is an athematic root-present. Otherwise, a pres. stem is marked with suffixes, nasal infix, reduplication, or other methods (3.1.4.: p. 83ff.).

In extreme cases, refuge is sought in **suppletion** (a suppletive paradigm).¹⁹⁵ The root *han* ‘smite, beat, strike, slay, destroy’ can be used directly as a pres. stem: *hán-ti* ‘strikes’, *ghn-ánti* ‘they strike’. Even if a repeated action is meant, no special formation is required, because the lexical content of the root itself includes such a component (noem), which can emerge on the surface as relevant, according to the context. However, *han* cannot build an aor. stem at all, for, apparently, it is too strongly characterised by its durative Aktionsart. Another root *vadhⁱ*, with a punctual Aktionsart, takes over the aoristic function: athem. root-aor. *á-vadhī-t*, inj. *vádhi-t* (secondary *-is-* aor., e.g. 2nd pl. *vádhi-s-ta*). Likewise, the root *ay/i* ‘go’ is inflected in the pres.: *é-ti*, *y-ánti*, *ái-t*, *áy-an* ‘goes, they go, he went, they went’, but has no aor. (nor inj. pres.). Instead, the root-aor. of *gā* is used: *á-gā-t*, inj. *gā-t*, *á-g-ur*, *g-úr*. This root means originally ‘stride’, i.e. ‘spread the legs’ and has its own pres. stem *jí-gā-ti* in the RV (cf. n.197). *as/s* ‘exist, be’ (*ás-ti*, *s-ánti*) has only a pres. stem (but no inj. forms), and the root *bhavⁱ/bhū* (**b^huā*) ‘come into being, become’ functions as its aor.: *á-bhū-t* etc. (p.108); the latter has its own pres. *bháv-a^{ti}*, the opt. of which is supplied with *s-yā-t* from *as/s*.

These phenomena of suppletion are consequences of the logic that governs the principle of stem formation. There are also cases related to the extension of the semantic sphere of one verb into that of another: instead of *dá-dā-ti* ‘gives’, the pres. *prá-yacchati* ‘offers, presents’ from *yam* ‘stretch, hold out (the arms)’ is also or even preferably used; as the factitive expression of *é-ti* ‘goes’, *náyⁱ-a-ti* ‘leads’ or *é-tave kar/kṛ* ‘make (someone) to go’ can be used [cf. ZEHNDER Periphr. Kaus. (2011)]. Some cases of suppletion are due to phonological factors: the ipf. 2nd, 3rd sg. of the root *ad* ‘eat’, ind. pres. *át-ti* < **ád-ti*, is not **ās* or **āt* as we could expect, but *āvaya-s*, *-t*, supposed to be of denom. origin. *ad* ‘eat’ itself, whose origi-

¹⁹⁵ Cf. AiG II-1 16, also Hermann OSTHOFF Vom Suppletivwesen (1899), Alfred BLOCH Zur Geschichte einiger suppletiver Verba im Griechischen, Diss. Basel 1940, Daniel KÖLLIGAN Suppletion und Defektivität im griechischen Verbum, Bremen 2007.

nal meaning might have been ‘bite, chew’ with iterative-durative Aktionsart (cf. *dánt-* ‘tooth’, p. 46), is supplanted in its aorist with *ghas* ‘eat, consume, devour’.¹⁹⁶

3.1.4. By means of suffixes, infixes, and reduplications, “tense stems” are formed, except in the case of pres.-roots or aor.-roots. These include aspect-stems of the pres. and aor., and the perfect stem. The future stem is merely another type of pres. stem.

For the **present stem**, there are many formations: both thematic [Th. 1–7] and athematic [Ath. 1–4]; for details cf. **3.4.**: p. 99ff. As seen above, if a root has a lexical meaning with definitely durative Aktionsart, an athematic root-present is used [Ath. 1], which corresponds roughly to the “2nd class” of traditional Pāṇinian grammar. In other cases, the present stem must be marked in order to specify it as belonging to the progressive (“imperfective”) aspect. An extra stem-formation serves thus, so to speak, to extend the duration of the action which a root originally signals. The simplest such “extension” is the formation of the themat. full-grade root pres. [Th. 1.1]. In cases where some additional semantic change is intended, other formations are employed.¹⁹⁷

[Th. 1.1] with a thematic vowel *-a-* (**-e/o-*)^{197a} added to the root in the full grade, when no change of the Verhaltensart is involved (thematic full-grade root present, or simple thematic present; the main type in the “1st class”),

¹⁹⁶ Cf. HOFFMANN MSS 41 (1982) 63–67 = Aufs. 769–773, JAMISON *-áya-* (1983) 71f., BERGAIGNE JAs 1884, 469–475.

¹⁹⁷ In the case of *jīgā-ti* < **g^wi-g^woh₂-* (cf. Hom. *βίβάς*, see n. 200) ‘go, stride’ [Ath. 3], the motivation for the stem-reduplication is to be sought in the iterative meaning ‘repeat striding action’. For the root *gā*, PIE **g^weh₂-*, a punctual meaning is assumed: ‘spread the legs, stride’, cf. Grk. *βηλός*, *βάλός* ‘threshold’ (probably, one to step over), YAv. *gāman-* ‘stride’. — With *gá-ccha⁻ⁱⁱ* < **g^wṇ-ské-* ‘go’ [Th. 4], an inchoative(-fientive) meaning seems to be intended in its origin: ‘have entered a beginning phase of treading’. The root *gam*, PIE **g^wem*, had originally a punctual meaning ‘make a tread’, cf. Grk. *βάσις* ‘base, pedestal’ (however, also ‘step, going’ from the verb in the present), *βα-τήρ* ‘that on which one treads, threshold’. Cf. GOTÖ Kratylos 46 (2001) 68. — *pád-ya^{-le}*, another verb for ‘go’, is interpreted as a fientive formation [Th. 2] designating the process during which the subject falls down on the earth “with his weight”. — A factitive meaning is assumed for most nasal-presents. Even the medium tantum *manu-té* ‘thinks, thinks out’ [Ath. 4.2] was probably an oppositional mid. to the act. of a factitive meaning, whose relic is OAv. f. *manao-θr̥-* ‘reminding, warning’ (cf. n. 219), cf. GOTÖ Akk. 22f., with n. 1 (lit.). The motivation is unknown for *śṛ-ṇó-ti* ‘hear’, OAv. *s^wru-mu-añt-*, YAv. *s^wru-nao⁻ⁱti* (for **s^wra-nañ-*) < PIE *k_l-né-ū-ti* (cf. EWAia II 667).

^{197a} The reason for the distribution of PIE **-e-* and **-o-* is not clear. In the ind./inj./ipf., **-o-* occurs in the 1st persons, the 3rd pl. of the active, and probably in all middle forms. The opt. and part. have **-o-* in both diatheses. Otherwise, **-e-* appears. From the phonological point of view, **-o-* happens in most cases before nasals, **i* (also **i?*, cf. n. 218), and *u*.

[Th. 1.2] with a thematic vowel *-á-* added to the zero-grade or weak form of the root, predominantly for verbs signalling a short pushing or urging action, or for the factitive meaning (themat. zero-grade root pres.; ~ “6th class”),¹⁹⁸⁾

[Th. 1.3] with a thematic vowel *-a-* added to the long-grade root for the terminative or iterative-durative function (themat. long-grade root pres.; included in the “1st class”);

[Th. 2] with the suffix *-ya-* predominantly added to the zero-grade root [Th. 2.1], when a fientive meaning (a natural process, non-intentional action, etc.) is additionally expressed (*-ya-* pres.; ~ “4th class”), cf. passive 3.7.5.: p. 129f.; other types with *-ya-* in 3.4.1. [Th. 2.2–]: p. 99f., in part, perhaps, for an easier inflexion;

[Th. 3] with the suffix *-áya-*, and that:

[Th. 3.1] predominantly added to the zero-grade root, when the iterative Aktionsart is additionally marked (zero-grade *-aya-* pres. of the “10th class”),

[Th. 3.2] the same from roots ending in *-ā*,

[Th. 3.3] to the **-o-*grade root (> *-ā-* in open and *-a-* in closed syllables [including those closed by a consonant preceding a laryngeal]: BRUGMANN’s law) for expressing a derived factitive meaning (causative).

There are some other smaller groups of thematic formations:

[Th. 4] inchoative presents with *-cha-* < **-ské-*, almost all of PIE origin;

[Th. 5] thematic stems with reduplication;

[Th. 6] some stems with *-va-*;

[Th. 7] thematised nasal presents.

The athematic inflexion includes a variety of stems:

[Ath. 1] as seen above, if a root has a lexical meaning with definitely durative Aktionsart, the root itself serves as a present stem (athem. root-pres.; ~ “2nd class”). There is also a group with personal endings for the “stative”: 3.4.2.2. [Ath. 1.1]: p. 101f.;

[Ath. 2] a small group of acrodynamic athemat. root-pres., also called “NARTEN-presents”,¹⁹⁹⁾ which show a heightened grade in the root syllable, e.g. *stáu-ti* < **stāu-ti* ‘praises’, *vás-te* ‘has on, be dressed in’, *ās-te* ‘is sitting’. The formation is employed probably for marking the durative or iterative Aktionsart;

[Ath. 3] with reduplication in *-i-* or *-á-* (also assimilated into *-ú-*) for the iterative or factitive formation (~ “3rd class”);²⁰⁰⁾

¹⁹⁸⁾ Cf. RENOUE Mél. Vendryes (1925) 309–316.

¹⁹⁹⁾ NARTEN Fs. Kuiper (1968) 9–19 = Kl. Schr. 97–107.

²⁰⁰⁾ The motive for the choice of an **-i-* or an **-é-* reduplication, or their difference, is not clear. The latter type is not retained in Grk., cf. *δίδω-σι* ‘gives’ :: *dá-dā-ti* < **dé-doh₃-ti*. THIEME

[Ath. 4] with the infix *-ná/-n-*, predominantly when the root's *Verhaltensart* is to be changed into a factitive one, cf. n. 197:

[Ath. 4.1] if the root ends in a consonant, e.g. *yu-ná-k-ti*, *yu-ñ-j-ánti* (~ “7th class”),

[Ath. 4.2.1] if the final radical is *u*, e.g. *śṛ-ná-u-ti*, *śṛ-ṇ-v-ánti*, *śṛ-ṇu-té*; or

[Ath. 4.2.2] by adding the ready-made suffix *-nó/-nu-* as *kṛ-ṇó-ti*, *kṛ-ṇv-ánti*, *kṛ-ṇu-té*; *ta-nó-ti*, *ta-nv-ánti*, *ta-nu-té*, *ma-nu-té*; (~ “5th” and “8th class”)^{200a)}

[Ath. 4.3] if the root ends with a laryngeal, e.g. *gr̥bh-ṇá-ti*, *gr̥bh-ṇ-ánti*, *gr̥bh-ṇī-té* < **gr̥bh-ná-H-ti*, **gr̥bh-n-H-ánti*, *gr̥bh-n-H-táḥ* (~ “9th class”).

3.2. endings

3.2.1. active endings (ath.: in athematic inflexions, th.: in themat. inflexions, stat.: stative)

	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	<i>-mi</i> ^{200b)}	<i>-m/-am</i>	—	<i>-a</i>
2 nd	<i>-si</i>	<i>-s</i>	ath. <i>-dhi/-hi</i> , th. <i>-Ø</i>	<i>-tha</i>
3 rd	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-a</i>
du.				
1 st	<i>-vas</i>	<i>-va</i>	—	<i>-va</i> (post-Ved.)
2 nd	<i>-thas</i>	<i>-tam</i>	<i>-tam</i>	<i>-áthur</i>
3 rd	<i>-tas</i>	<i>-tām</i>	<i>-tām</i>	<i>-átur</i>
pl.				
1 st	<i>-masi/-mas</i>	<i>-ma</i>	—	<i>-má</i>
2 nd	<i>-tha/-thana</i>	<i>-ta/-tana</i>	<i>-ta/-tana</i>	<i>-á</i>
3 rd	<i>-anti/-nti/-ati</i>	<i>-an/-n/-ur</i>	<i>-antu/-ntu/-atu</i>	<i>-úr</i>

Plusquamperfektum 54 supposes **-i-* for the factitive, and **-é-* for the iterative function. On *jí-gā-ti* (cf. n.197) ‘go’ and *jág-at-* n. ‘moving, living world’ (originating in the participle of the old *-a-* reduplicated pres.) cf. NARTEN Fs.Gonda (1972) 161–166 = Kl.Schr 190–195.

^{200a)} According to Pāṇinian tradition, the verbs with the suffix *-nó/-nu-* belong to the “5th class”, e.g., *su-nó-ti*, *ci-nó-ti*, *kṛ-ṇó-ti*, *vṛ-ṇó-ti*, *dhū-nó-ti*, *hi-nó-ti*. The “8th class” includes roots ending in *n*, to which the “pres. suffix *-u-*” is added, e.g., *tan-ó-ti*, *san-ó-ti*, *kṣaṇ-ó-ti*, *ṛṇ-ó-ti*, *van-ó-ti*, *man-u-té*; at the end of the list, *ḍukṛñ* (Dhātupāṭha VIII 10) is added for *karóti*, *kurvánti*, *kuruté* (cf. p. 105). The root *śrav/śru* is incomprehensibly included in the 1st class (ibid. I 989), and Pāṇini III 1,74 deals specially with the formation of *śṛ-ṇó-ti*.

^{200b)} On the subj. terminations °*ā*, °*āni*, cf. p. 86f., 91.

3.2.2. middle endings

	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	-e	-i, opt. -(H)a	—	-é
2 nd	-se	-thās	-sva	-sé
3 rd	-te, stat. -e ²⁰¹⁾	-ta, (pass.-aor. -i, stat. -a ± t ²⁰²⁾)	-tām, (stat. -ām ²⁰³⁾)	-é
du.				
1 st	-vahe	-vahi	—	-vahe (post-Ved.)
2 nd	ath. -āthe, th. °ethe	ath. -āthām, th. °ethām	ath. -āthām, th. °ethām	-āthe
3 rd	ath. -āte, th. °ete	ath. -ātām, th. °etām	ath. -ātām, th. °etām	-āte
pl.				
1 st	-mahe	-mahi	—	-māhe
2 nd	-dhve	-dhvam	-dhvam	-dhvé
3 rd	-nte/-ate, stat. -(i)rē (cf. n. 201)	-anta/-nta/-ata/ -ran/-ram	-atām/-ntām (stat. -rām, -ratām)	-ré

The endings of the “secondary” set indicate only person and number, and are to be regarded as fundamental. The endings of the “primary” set are used for the present indicative and some subjunctive forms. They have the additional function of designating that the action or state is ongoing in the “present”. The primary ending of the 1st sg. act. -mi is added to the thematic stems, too, where historical-

²⁰¹⁾ Cf. GOTÖ Coloquio Delbrück (1998) 165–192, especially 190. On the forms with “stative” endings, cf. KÜMMEL Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen (1996).

²⁰²⁾ In ipf. á-duh-at ‘she gave milk’ RV, ‘one milked for oneself’ AV–YS^m YS^p Br.+, á-duh-a ‘milked for oneself’ MS^p (beside adugdha Br.; 3rd pl. áduhṛan AV Br., áduhra MS^p, aduhata ŚB; and ind. duhé, duhré, duhrate RV+), á-śay-at ‘lay’ RV+; opt. duhīyāt RV beside duhītā RV+; root-aor. ind. ā-d-at (ā-dā ‘take off to oneself’; after this ādam, ādas, ādāma), etc. Cf. WACKERNAGEL KZ 41 (1907) 309–313 = Kl. Schr. 498–502, Fs. Jacobi (1926) 13–17 = Kl. Schr. 429–433; GOTÖ loc. cit., especially 188 on -t (: sign for the past introduced from act. ipf., cf. also p. 93) Cf. n. 271.

²⁰³⁾ e.g. duhām ‘let her give milk!’ RV+, śayām ‘let him/her/it lie’ AV, perf. sám-/... vidām ‘let him/her/it have the same concept!’ AV, MS^m, cf. p. 96, 102. The corresponding -qm in OAv. is used for the iptv. of the passive-aor.

ly $^{\circ}\bar{a} < *o-h_2$ is expected, as is preserved in the Indo-Iran. subj. and in OAv. ind. $^{\circ}\bar{a}$. Some basic elements can be identified, which are enlarged with additional components into the “primary” or pl./du. endings. However, all this had happened in or before PIE. OIA preserves well, in general, the historical formations in PIE via PII. On concrete formations in the perfect, imperative, and some moods and stems, cf. the respective sections below. As a special phenomenon, it is to be mentioned that the form in the 3rd pl. mid. $^{\circ}anta$ is used under some metrical and other conditions also for the corresponding act. form in $^{\circ}an$.²⁰⁴⁾

3.2.3. Proto-Indo-Iranian

For the PII, the following endings are assumed (Av: Avestan, P: Old-Persian, ath.: athematic, th.: thematic, stat.: stative):

act.	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	*-mi (Av -mī, P -mīy), th. also $^{\circ}\bar{a}$ (OAv $^{\circ}\bar{a}$, Av $^{\circ}\bar{a}$ -mī, P $^{\circ}\bar{a}$ -mīy)	*-m/-am (Av P -m, -am)	—	*-a (Av -ā)
2 nd	*-si (Av -hī, -šī, P -hīy)	*-s (Av $^{\circ}h$ in $^{\circ}o < *ah$, -š, -s-cā, P -Ø)	th.*-Ø, ath.*-d ^{hi} (Av -Ø, -dī, -di, P -Ø, -diy)	*-t ^{ha} (Av -θā)
3 rd	*-ti (Av -tī, P -tiy)	*-t (Av -t, -t, P -Ø)	*-tu (Av -tū, P -tuv)	*-a (Av -ā)
du.				
1 st	*-uas (OAv -uuah-ī)	*-va (OAv -uuā)	—	(*-va)
2 nd	*-t ^{ha} s (not att. in Iran.)	*-tam (not att. in Iran.)	*-tam (not att. in Iran.)	*-at ^{ha} r
3 rd	*-tas (Av -tō, -θō)	*-tām? (Av -tām, P -tam)	*-tām (not att. in Iran.)	*-at ^{ha} r (Av -atar ^o)
pl.				
1 st	*-masi (Av -mahī, P -mahīy)	*-ma (Av -mā, P -mā)	—	*-ma (Av -mā)
2 nd	*-t ^{ha} a (Av -θā)	*-ta (Av -tā)	*-ta (Av -tā, P -tā)	*-a (not att. in Iran.)
3 rd	*-anti/-nti/-ati (Av -a ^{hi} nti, -ntī, -atī, P -ntīy)	*-an/-n/-at/-r (Av -ān, -qn, -n, -at, -ār ^o , -ār ^o š, P -a)	*-antu/-ntu/-atu (Av -antū, -əntū, -ntū, P -ntuv)	*-r (Av -ar ^o , -ər ^o š)

²⁰⁴⁾ Cf. JAMISON IIIJ 21 (1979) 149–169 with bibliography.

mid.	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	*-a _i (Av -ē, -ōi, P -aiy)	*-i (cf. n. 206), opt. *-(H)a (Av -ī, -ā, P -iy)	—	*-a _i (Av -ē)
2 nd	*-sa _i (Av -hē, -īhē, -šē, P -haiy)	*-t ^h ās/*-sa (Av -ha, -īhā, -šā, P -šā)	*-s _u a (Av -huuā, -ī ^h hā, -šuuā, P -uvā, -šuvā)	not att. in Iran.
3 rd	*-ta _i (Av -tē, -taē-ca, P -taiy), stat. -a _i (Av -ē)	*-ta (Av -tā, P -tā), stat. -a, pass. -aor. *-i (Av -ī)	*-tām (Av -tqm, P -tām), stat. *-ām (Av -q _m)	*-a _i (Av -ē, -ōi)
du.				
1 st	*-mad ^h a _i (not att. in Iran., cf. n. 206)	*-mad ^h i (Av -uuadī)	—	not att. in Iran.
2 nd	not att. in Iran.	not att. in Iran.	not att. in Iran.	not att. in Iran.
3 rd	ath. *-ātā _i (Av -ā ^h tē), th. * ^o a _i tā _i (Av ^o aē ^h tē, ^o ōi ^h tē)	ath. *-ātām? (Av -ātām), th. * ^o a _i thām? (Av -aē ^h tām)	ath. *-ātām, th. * ^o etām	*-ātā _i (Av -ā ^h tē)
pl.				
1 st	*-mad ^h a _i (Av -ma ^h dē, -ma ^h de, cf. n. 206)	*-mad ^h i (Av -ma ^h dī)	—	not att. in Iran.
2 nd	*-d ^h uā _i (Av -duuie, *-δβε, -θβε)	*-d ^h uam (Av -dūm, -δβəm)	*-d ^h uam (Av -dūm, -δβəm)	not att. in Iran.
3 rd	*-ntā _i / -atā _i (Av -ntē, *-a ^h tē)	*-nta / -ata / -anta / -ran / -ram (Av -ntā, -atā, -āntā, -rām, P -ntā)	*-atām / -ntām (Av -ntqm, -āntqm)	not att. in Iran.

3.2.4. Proto-Indo-European

The endings listed above go back to the PIE ending system which is assumed to be as follows:

active	primary	secondary	perfect
sg.			
1 st	ath. *-mi, th. -h ₂	*-m / -m̐	*-h ₂ e
2 nd	*-si	*-s	*-th ₂ e
3 rd	*-ti	*-t	*-e

du.			
1 st	*- <i>ues</i>	*- <i>ue</i>	?
2 nd	*- <i>tos</i>	*- <i>tom</i>	?
3 rd	*- <i>tos</i>	*- <i>teh₂m</i>	?
pl.			
1 st	*- <i>mes</i> / - <i>mos</i>	*- <i>me</i> (± <i>m</i>)	*- <i>me</i>
2 nd	*- <i>the</i>	*- <i>te</i>	*- <i>e</i> , (*- <i>te</i>)
3 rd	*- <i>enti</i> / - <i>nti</i> / - <i>nti</i>	*- <i>ent</i> / - <i>nt-</i> / - <i>nt</i>	*- <i>re</i> , (*- <i>r</i> , - <i>er</i>)
middle	primary	secondary	perfect
sg.			
1 st	*- <i>h₂eī</i>	*- <i>h₂e</i> (stative = perf. act.)	—
2 nd	*- <i>soī</i>	*- <i>so</i> / *- <i>th₂ēs</i> , stative *- <i>th₂es</i>	—
3 rd	*- <i>toī</i>	*- <i>to</i> , stative *- <i>o</i> ²⁰⁵⁾	—
du.			
1 st	*- <i>uesd^hh₂</i> (cf. n. 206)	*- <i>ued^hh₂</i>	—
2 nd	?	?	—
3 rd	?	?	—
pl.			
1 st	*- <i>mesd^hh₂</i> ²⁰⁶⁾	*- <i>med^hh₂</i>	—
2 nd	*- <i>(s)d^hue(i)</i>	*- <i>(s)d^hue</i> (± <i>m</i>)	—
3 rd	*- <i>entoī</i> / - <i>ntoī</i>	*- <i>ento</i> / - <i>nto</i>	—

3.3. moods²⁰⁷⁾

3.3.1. With the help of the moods, a speaker adds his attitude to the content of what he utters: indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative, and imperative. The indicative is the mood employed for reporting in general. The **indicative present** with the “primary” endings designates a verbal action or condition as a process or state in which the subject is involved at the present moment.

²⁰⁵⁾ Cf. GOTÖ Coloquio Delbrück (1998) 165–192, above all 190.

²⁰⁶⁾ For the reconstruction *-*mesd^hh₂* cf. Hom. -*μεσθα*, Hitt. -*wasta* (*w* instead of *m* after du. *-*uesd^hh₂*), and the proportion in the act. [prim. *-*mes* :: second. *-*me*]. — The PII primary mid. ending 1st pl. *-*mad^hHaī* (OIA -*mahe*, OAv. -*ma’dē*, YAv. -*ma’ide*, -*ma’ide*, -*madaē-ca*; and du. *-*mad^hHaī* in OIA -*vahe*) could have been built analogically on the basis of secondary *-*mad^hi* (OIA -*mahi*, OAv. -*ma’dī*, YAv. -*ma’di*) < PIE *-*med^hh₂* after the proportion [1st sg. *-*aī* :: *-*i*] = [1st Pl. *x* :: *-*mad^hi*], and imitating *-*aī*, *-*saī*, *-*taī*, *-*d^huaī*, *-*ntaī*, *-*ataī* as well, cf. COWGILL Fs. Kuiper (1968) 24–31.

²⁰⁷⁾ Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 534ff.

The **indicative aorist** is used for expressing a concluded action, with the help of the augment (*á-*); the endings are “secondary” ones. It designates the immediate, actual past, or states facts belonging to the more remote past. The MIA preterite forms are based on this latter function, which occurs largely in conversation. There are some special usages in addition, such as ingressive (: focussing mainly on the start of an action/state in the past), or designation of antecedence in time.

The preterite of the pres. system is the **imperfect**. It designates with the help of the augment (*á-*) the non-actual or historical past, employing “secondary” endings.

The forms of the ipf. and ind. aor. are nothing but the inj. forms preceded by the augment, which is accented in subordinate sentences. An exception is the 3rd pl. mid. of the athemat. root-aor., where the inj. has the ending *-anta* as opposed to the ind. *-ata* or *-ran*, e.g. ind. *a-kr-ata* :: inj. *kr-anta* (*kar/kṛ* ‘make’), *a-juṣ-ran* ‘they enjoyed’ :: inj. *juṣ-anta*, and medio-pass. aor. ind. *á-yuj-ran* :: *yuj-anta*, cf. HOFFMANN MSS 2² (1957) 125 = Aufs. 362, Inj. 227 n.225, cf. 3.5.1.: p.109. The only certain example in Iran. for the 3rd pl. mid. of the athem. root-aor. is OAv. *vī-śīiātā* < **ui-čī-ata* ‘they distinguish’ with **-ata* in Y 30,3.6, where a general inj. is assumed; less convincing is an augmentless ind. aor. If one should trust this sole occurrence, the Ved. differentiation of inj. *-anta* against ind. *-ata* must be an OIA innovation; cf. below.

The augment *á-* is lengthened, if not always, before a root beginning with a laryngeal, e.g., *ānaṭ* < **é-h₂nek-s/t* ‘you have / ... he/she/it has attained’; thus a “vr̥ddhi” appears before verbs beginning with a vowel, e.g. *ās-an* < **é-h₁s-ent* ‘they were’, *ái-t* ‘he/she/it went’ < **é-h₁eḡ-t*, *āy-an* ‘they went’ < **é-h₁i-ent*.

The central function of the ind. perf. is to report an attained state of the subject.

The **injunctive**²⁰⁸⁾ is formed from the present or aorist stems, sometimes also from the perfect, with the series of “secondary” endings. Thus, it designates in itself only a person and a number. Its principal function is referring to something (*Erwähnung*, “memorative”). It is used to designate general circumstances or the truth without limitation to some period, to represent data or someone’s qualification, to refer to a myth or affairs which everybody knows, etc. The inj. used with *mā* ‘not, lest’ expresses a prohibitive sentence, that of the present in the inhibitive function (‘stop ...ing’), and that of the aorist in the preventive sense (‘don’t [even try to] ...’). Concerning different ablaut grades between the ind. and inj. endings in the 3rd pl. mid. of the athemat. root-aor. and medio-pass. aor., cf. above, the third last paragraph.

²⁰⁸⁾ Cf. Karl HOFFMANN *Der Injunktiv im Veda. Eine synchronische Funktionsuntersuchung*, Heidelberg 1967.

3.3.2. subjunctive²⁰⁹⁾

The modal stem of the subj. is formed from the full-grade stem (with PIE **e*) of the pres., aor. and perf. with a thematic vowel *-a-* (**-e/o-*) as the subj.-suffix. In the intensive and thematic zero-grade root pres. with *-á-* (“6th class”), however, the subj. is built from the zero-grade or weak stem. The *-iṣ-* aor. is often connected with a long grade in the root, almost always in the case of the roots ending with nasal or liquid as *sāv-iṣ-a-t* (: *a-sāv-ī-t*, from *savⁱ/sū* ‘impel’), *tār-iṣ-a-s*, *tār-iṣ-a-t* (: *a-tār-ī-t*, *tarⁱ/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’); but this is a secondary development as shown, e.g., in *san-iṣ-a-t*, *san-iṣ-ā-mahe*, *san-iṣ-a-nta* (*sarⁱ/sā* ‘conquer’; the ind. only *a-sān-iṣ-am* beside the well-attested Indo-Iran. themat. aor. *sān-a-*), cf. NARTEN Sigm.Aor. 64, and below p.116. Some subj. forms of the athemat. root- aor. (e.g. *gām-a-ti*) are identical in shape with the ind. of the themat. full-grade root pres. (type *bhāvⁱ-a- ti*). The subj. has two main functions: prospective (future, expectation) and voluntative (speaker’s will, intention).

Secondary and primary endings are used;²¹⁰⁾ in some cases, there are also elements which appear only in the subj. (marked in **bold**²¹¹⁾; ¹: primary, ²: secondary ending): **act.** sg. 1st ¹-*āni*/*-ā*²/*-a-m*, 2nd ¹-*a-si*/*-a-s*, 3rd ¹-*a-ti*/*-a-t*; du. 1st ²-*ā-va*, 2nd ¹-*a-thas*, 3rd ¹-*a-tas*; pl. 1st ²-*ā-ma*, 2nd ¹-*a-tha*/*-a-thana*, 3rd ¹-*a-nti*/*-a-n*; — **mid.** sg. 1st ¹-*ai*;²¹²⁾ 2nd ¹-*a-se*/*-a-sai*, 3rd ¹-*a-te*/*-a-tai*; du. 1st ¹-*ā-vahai*, 2nd ¹-*ai-the*, 3rd ¹-*aite*; pl. 1st ¹-*ā-mahe*/*-ā-mahai*, 2nd ¹-*a-dhve*/*-a-dhvai*, 3rd ²-*a-nta* (on themat. *°anta*, see below)/¹-*a-n-te* (athemat. pres., aor.)/*-a-ntai*. Cf. MEIER-BRÜGGER 144ff., TICHY Konjunktiv 189–201.

²⁰⁹⁾ Inventory of the forms in the RV in Michael MEIER-BRÜGGER Konjunktiv und Optativ im Rigveda, Habilitationsschrift Zürich 1981. Cf. also TICHY Der Konjunktiv und seine Nachbarkategorien. Studien zum indogermanischen Verbum, ausgehend von der älteren vedischen Prosa (2006); DÖYAMA “A morphological study of the first person subjunctive in the Rigveda” Machikaneyama Ronsō 39 (Univ. Osaka 2005) 1–19; RENOU BSL 33 (1932) 5–30, La décadence et la disparition du subjunctif (Monographies sansk. I, 1937).

²¹⁰⁾ HOFFMANN Inj. 268 n.4 assumes on theoretical grounds a starting distribution of primary endings for the prospective function (: *fiktive Tatsächlichkeit*), and secondary endings for the voluntative function (: *Nicht-Tatsächlichkeit*), cf. also GARCÍA RAMÓN Pragmatische Kategorien (2009) 80 with n.3–5 (lit.).

²¹¹⁾ Cf. TICHY 191ff.; as for the 1st person, cf. DÖYAMA 8ff.

²¹²⁾ Av. builds an analogic form **-ānai* beside **-ai*: YAv. pres. *hacaiiene* (*hac* ‘follow’), *haṇ-gər³šāne* (*grab* ‘grasp’, desid.), *kər²nauuāne* (*kar* ‘make’), *mrauuāne* (**mrau* ‘speak’), *stauuāne* (**stau* ‘praise’), OAv. aor. *yaož-dānē* (*dā* ‘create’), *mānāi-cā* (*man* ‘think’), pseudo-OAv. YAv. *fra-uuarānē* (*var* ‘choose’), *var²šānē* (*varz* ‘work’, s-aor.).

The forms in *-anta* in the 3rd pl. mid. of the themat. pres. are originally inj. forms but are used also as subj. in the RV, e.g. *nayanta*, *bhájanta*, *bharanta*, *tir-ánta*, *citayanta*, *janáyanta*, *ukṣayanta*, etc., perhaps introduced from the subj. *-a-nta* in the athemat. inflexion on the grounds that the 1st pers. °*ai*, °*āvahai*, °*āmahe*/°*āmahai* are formally common to both themat. and athemat. stems. The Ved. new forms which have taken *-ai* from the 1st sg. are attested in the RV in °*ātai* (pres. themat. *yajātai* 1×), °*āvahai* (pres. athemat. 3×, themat. 4×, aor. athemat. 1×; no °*āvahe*), °*ādihvai* (pres. themat. *mādhayādihvai* 3×), °*āmahai* (pres. athemat. 8×, themat. 2×, aor. athemat. 5×), and after the RV: *nayāśai*, *paśyāśai* AV, °*ā-*, *nī-padyāśai* ŚB, etc., °*āntai*/*-antai* YSP Br.

Hyper-marked forms such as aor. *áva-pad-ā-ti*, *mar-ā-ti*, *var-ā-te* occur sporadically, and their number increases AV+, e.g., pres. *śáy-ā-sai* AVP ŚB, *bhunaḡ-ā-dhvai* TSP, *rod-ā-t* RVKh., aor. *reṣ-ā-t* AV. The “short-vowel subj.s” are attested above all in the redupl. and *-nā-* pres., and athemat. root-aor., e.g., pres. *dadh-a-*, *dad-a-* (cf. OAv. *dad-a-*, YAv. *daθ-a-*), **śiś-a-t* (*nī-śiśat* RV IV 2,7), *jah-a-t* (AB; Av. *zaz-ə-ñtī*); *min-a-t*, *-a-n*, *aśn-a-n*; aor. *dh-a-* (cf. OAv. *d-ā-ñtī*, *d-a-duiiē*), cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 29f. n. 5, 224 n. 6, 445 n. 14; below n. 236. The category subj. does not exist anymore in Post-Vedic. Only 1st persons survive integrated into the iptv.

There are clear cases of “media tantum” where only the subj. of the aor. is inflected in the act., e.g., *vár-a-s*, *-t* :: *a-vr-i*, opt. *vur-ī-ta*, pres. *vṛ-ñt-té* (*varⁱ/vṛⁱ* ‘choose’), *pád-ā-ti* (hyper-marked) :: *a-pad-mahi*, prec. *pad-ī-s-ṭá*, pres. *pád-ya-te* (*pad* ‘fall, tread’; also perf. *pa-pād-a*, fut. *pat-sya-ti* are act.), *mar-ā-ti*, *mar-ā-ma*, *mar-a-nti* (there occur mid. *mar-ai*, *már-a-te*, *mar-ā-mahe*, too) :: *a-mṛ-ta*, opt. *mur-īy-a*, pres. *mri-yá-te* (*mar/mṛ* ‘die’, also perf. *ma-mār-a*, fut. *mar-iṣya-ti* are act.).²¹³⁾

3.3.3. optative²¹⁴⁾

The modal stem for the opt. is formed in the athemat. inflexion with the suffix *-yā/-ī-* (< **-iéh₁-*/**-ih₁-*); the inflexional type is thus in principle hysterodynamic. The secondary endings are added to the strong stem in the act. in all persons in the sg. and du., and the 1st and 2nd pl.; otherwise to the weak stem: act. sg. *-yā-m*, *-yā-s*, *-yā-t*; du. *-yā-va*, *-yā-tam*, *-yā-tām*; pl. *-yā-ma*, *-yā-ta(na)*, *-y-úr*; mid. sg. *-ī-yá*, *-ī-thās* (in the RV only perf. *caḡsam-ī-thās*, *vāvr̥dh-ī-thās*), *-ī-tá*; du. (no form in the RV); pl. *-ī-māhi*, *-ī-dhvam* (no form in the RV), *-ī-ran/-ī-rata*. In the 3rd pl. act. *-y-úr*, the perf.-ending **-ṛ* seems to have been employed in place of *-án*:

²¹³⁾ Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. (1964) 256, HOFFMANN MSS 20 (1967) 35 = Aufs. 472, Fs. Kuiper (1968) 7 n. 10 = Aufs. 249, INSLER IF 73 (1968) 317 n. 7, HOLLIFIELD IF 86 (1981) 167 n. 9, KLINGENSCHMITT Altarm. (1982) 12 n. 13, GOTÖ I. Präs. 67 n. 40.

²¹⁴⁾ Inventory of forms in the RV in MEIER-BRÜGGER (→ n. 209).

perhaps < **C-ih₁-r̥*, or < **ih₁-r̥* (via loss of the laryngeal?)²¹⁵. PII **iH-r̥* could have been extended with a secondary ending into 3rd pl. mid. *-īrata* or *-īran*. *-īran* (*dadīran* VII²) was probably formed with the PII secondary *-ran* beside *-ram* (: < **-ī-ran* or *-īr-ran*); it could have been subsequently clarified to *-īr-ata*: *cucyav-īrata* VIII¹, *manīsīrata* X¹, also themat. pres. *bharerata* X¹, aor. *juṣerata* X¹.²¹⁶ The 1st sg. mid. *-ī-yá* goes back likewise to a form with the perf. ending: **ih₁-h₂e*. The 3rd mid. of the opt. pres. of *dogh/doh/dugh/duh* ‘milk; give milk’ is in the sg. *duh-īy-át* beside *duh-ī-tá*, and in the pl. *duh-īy-án*. The 3rd sg. *-īy-át* could be explained from the stative ending **-o* (or perf. ending 3rd sg. **-e*) enlarged with elucidating *-t* (cf. n. 202: originally a sign for the past; here, however, for marking the 3rd sg.): **ih₁-ó/é + t*, with analogic *ī* instead of *i*²¹⁷. It seems to have been contaminated with *-ī-ran* into *-ī-yán* (hardly an archaism) in the pl.

In the themat. inflexion, the thematic vowel contracts with *-ī* into *-e* (**-ai-*)²¹⁸, in the RV: act., sg. *°ey-am*, *°e-s*, *°e-t*; du. *°e-va*, *°e-tam*, –; pl. *°e-ma*, *°e-ta*, *°ey-ur*; mid., sg. *°ey-a*, –, *°e-ta*; du. *°e-vahi*, –, –; pl. *°e-mahi*, –, *°e-rata* (later *°e-ran*). For the 3rd pl. act., Av. preserves historical forms: YAv. *pac-aīi-ən* (*pak/pac* ‘boil’), *bar-aīi-ən* (*bar* ‘bring’), *θβər²s-aīi-ən* (*θβars* ‘cut, fashion’), *hər²z-aīi-ən* (*harz* ‘let loose, send forth’) < **-ai-ant* < **-o-ih₁-ent* (cf. Grk. *-οιεν*, with full-grade ending) in contrast to Ved. *-ey-ur* < **-aii-r̥* < **-a-iH-r̥*.

The main functions of the opt. are potential (possibility that an action or condition occurs) and cupitive (speaker’s wish); it is also very commonly employed in prescriptive sentences (‘should do’, and with *ná* ‘should not, may not do’). On the problem of the preterite opt. (± augment) in Indo-Iran., cf. SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ Ét. Kellens (2009) 231–252.

The opt. of the aor. system has received an Indic renovation through 3rd sg. *-yās* instead of *-yāt* (Av. knows only forms in **-iāt*). Its background is given by the suppletive circumstance in PII that the opt. of the sigm. aor. is suppletive in

²¹⁵ Cf. MAYRHOFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 131: **ih₁#* realised as **ih₁#*. On **-r̥*, cf. p. 120.

²¹⁶ Cf. also COWGILL Fs. Kuiper (1968) 28f. n. 16.

²¹⁷ Cf. HARDARSON Studien zum urindogermanischen Wurzelaorist (1993) 142 n. 182.

²¹⁸ *i* in **-o-ih₁-* was syllabic in PIE before endings beginning with a consonant, e.g. **-o-ih₁-s* > Grk. *-οις*, PII **-ai-s* (via **-o-īs* > **-oīs* with a circumflex intonation [HOFFMANN]), or through a loss of the laryngeal because of the accent in the root syllable); but non-syllabic in **-o-ih₁-m* > **-oiim* in *bháreyam*, Arcadian *ἐζελαύνοια*. Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. II (1976) 615 n. 12, KLINGENSCHMITT Flexion und Wortbildung (1975) 162 n. 22, MAYRHOFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 131 with n. 140.

the act. from the root-aor.²¹⁹⁾ After the proportion, e.g., 2nd sg. *yauṣ* (< **yauṣ-s*) :: 3rd sg. **yauṣ* (< **yauṣ-t*) = *yū-yās* :: *x* (*yav/yu* ‘keep [oneself] away’), the 3rd sg. -*yāt* has been replaced by -*yās* (*vī-yūyās*), which has incidentally the same for-mant as the sigmat. aor. The **precative** forms with -*s*-element are built on this re-modelled 3rd sg. -*yās*. Reinterpreting this form as **-yās-t*, one formed -*yās-am*, -*yās-ma*, and in the weak stem -*īṣ-ṭa*, etc. The RV has in the act.: 1st sg. *bhū-yās-am*, 3rd sg. *gam-yās* etc. (12 forms), 1st pl. *kri-yās-ma*; in the mid. of the -*s*-, -*īṣ*-, and -*siṣ*- aor.: 2nd sg. *maṁs-īṣ-ṭhās*, (*āva*-) *yāsis-īṣ-ṭhās* (*yā* ‘beg’), 3rd sg. *janiṣ-īṣ-ṭa*, *maṁs-īṣ-ṭa*, *yās-īṣ-ṭa* etc. (9 forms), and in the perf. 2nd sg. *sāśah-īṣ-ṭhās*. The precative has throughout cupitive function in the RV. Cf. HOFFMANN “Der vedische Prekativtyp *yeṣam*, *jeṣma*” MSS 20 (1967) 25–37 = Aufs. 465–474.

The 3rd sg. act. -*yās* is retransformed into -*yāt* in the YS^m; both forms occur in the AV side by side. The act. forms survive, presumably as a formation derived directly from the root (not bound to the aor.), in YS^p, Br., Ep. and Cl. Skt., sometimes also in the potential function; the occurrences are very limited, but nevertheless Pāṇini and his grammatical tradition teach a full paradigm in both diatheses.

Forms such as (*āti*-)*ye-ṣ-am* (*yā* ‘travel’) are analogic formations after the themat. aor. opt. of the type *khy-é-ṣ-am* (attested in YS^m), **khy-é-ṣ*, **khy-é-ṣ*, **khy-é-ṣ-ma*, **khy-é-ṣ-ṭa* (cf. *vid-e-ṣ-ṭa* AV, *śoc-e-ṣ-ṭa* GrSū.^m, HOFFMANN Aufs. 472 n. 9), **khy-é-ṣ-ur* (*khyā* ‘behold, regard’), which for their part analogically came into being instead of **éy-am*, **é-ṣ*, **é-t*, **é-ma*, **é-ta*, **éy-ur* on the basis

²¹⁹⁾ Mid. forms of the sigmat. aor. opt. are attested, but the athemat. root-aor. opt. occurs in place of the act. forms, cf. WACKERNAGEL *Vermischte Beiträge* (1897) 44 = Kl. Schr. 805, NARTEN *Sigmat. Aor.* (1964) 43, HOFFMANN MSS 20 (1967) 35 = Aufs. 472f. (examples are listed, e.g., *sahyās*, *sahyāma*, *sahyur* :: *sāks*- from *sah* ‘conquer’, *yūyās* :: *yauṣ*- from *yav/yu* ‘keep away’, etc.), Aufs. 607 (1976) n.1, MEIER-BRÜGGER *Konj. und Opt.* (1981) 162f. The existence of mid. forms might be explained by functional pressure. Sigmat. stems possess a special function in combination with mid. inflexion. The root *man* ‘think’, e.g., is used in the -*ya*- present *mān-ya-te* and -*s*- aor. *a-maṁ-s-ta* in the (fientive) meaning ‘take (something) for ...’ (OAv. e.g. *maṁiiantā* beside *maṣtā*), but in the nasal pres. *ma-nu-te* (instead of **mannu*- < **mṇ-nu*?, cf. n. 238) and root aor. *a-ma-ta* in the meaning ‘think, think out’, with intention, i.e. facientive (thus also OAv. root-aor. *mānghā-cā*, *maṁtā*, *maṁnima-di-cā*, etc.), both only in the middle; a relic of the active lies in OAv. f. *manaoθrī*- ‘reminding, warning’. In this case, the -*s*- aor. serves for marking the fientive meaning. Cf. also the opt. mid. of *bhaj* ‘share’, *moc/muc* ‘become free’, *vah/uh* ‘transfer’, etc. MEIER-BRÜGGER finds the reason in the acrodyn. scheme of the sigmat. aor., which ought to show consistent -*tī*- as the opt. suffix. This was abandoned in favour of “active -*yā*-”, because elsewhere the opposition -*yā*- :: -*tī*- signaled a polar diathetic opposition. HARDARSON *Studien* 94–125 (conclusions: 124f.) wants to interpret this phenomenon as a secondary development which occurred separately in Iran. and Indian.

of 2nd sg. **khyé-š* after the root-aor. precative *-yās-am*, *-yās*, *-yās*, *-yās-ma*, *-yās-ta*, *-yās-ur*. The linking form is **khyéy-ur* beside **khye-š-ur*, after which forms such as *sthe-š-ur* AV (*sthā* ‘stand’) have arisen, and after this *ye-š-am* RV II 27,16, after the RV *sthe-š-am*, *ge-š-am* (*gā* ‘sing’), *se-š-am*, *se-t* (pseudo-root *sā* ‘conquer’), *jñe-š-ma* (*jñā* ‘understand’), *ge-š-ma*, *de-š-ma* (*dā* ‘give’). The form *jéšma* (*jay/ji* ‘win’) owes its existence to a form **jey-ur* which was remodelled to **ješ-ur*. Cf. HOFFMANN loc.cit.

This postulated **jey-ur* belongs to the relics of the “PIE acrodynamic root-aor.”, clearly attested in OAv. *var²z-i-mā-cā* (*var²z* ‘work’), *srāuu-ī-mā* (**sraū* ‘hear’), *zaē-mā* (*zā* ‘abandon’), Grk. *θεῖ-μεν* ‘we want to lay, create’ (< **d^héh₁-ih₁-me* + *m*), *δοῖ-μεν* (**deh₃* ‘give’), *σταῖ-μεν* (**stéh₂* ‘stand’), OLat. *uel-ī-mus*, Goth. *wil-ei-ma*, OChSlav. *vel-i-mъ* (**uelh₁* ‘choose’), as HOFFMANN “Zum Optativ des indogermanischen Wurzelarists” Fs. Kuiper (1968) 3–8 = Aufs. 245–250²²⁰) elucidates. To this type could also belong the forms *dhey-ur* ‘they may set, settle, determine’ (from **d^héh₁-ih₁-nt*, substituted with **-r*), *vi(-)dhé-ma* ‘we want to / can arrange’ < **-d^héh₁-ih₁-me* (Grk. *θεῖ-μεν*, cf. HOFFMANN Sprache 15, 1969, 5 = Aufs. 242). However, the forms from roots ending in *-ā* have been remodelled with a hysterodyn. suffix: *jñe-yā-s* (*jñā* ‘understand’), *pe-yā-s* (*pā* ‘drink’), *deyāām* (*dā* ‘give’), *dheyāām* (*dhā* ‘set, settle’), *sthe-yā-ma* (*sthā* ‘stand’) RV.²²¹

For the redupl. pres. one expects in the same way consistently a weak opt. suffix *-ī-*, but we have in reality *bibhīyāt*, *bibhryāt*, *mīmīyāt* as in the hysterodynamic paradigm. The forms in the mid. 3rd sg. *dādhitā*, *dadhitā*, 1st pl. *dadīmahi*, *dadhīmahi*, 3rd pl. *dadīran* are in any case regular except for the accent.

The type *gam-ey-am*, *gam-é-ma*, *gam-e-mahi* from *gam* ‘go’, *van-é-ma* (OAv. *van-aē-mā* Y 31,4)²²² ‘we want to / could win’, *aś-e-ma* (*naś/aś* ‘attain’), *dṛś-éy-am* (*dars/dṛś* ‘watch, behold’), belongs to the athemat. root-aor., cf. WACKERNAGEL Vermischte Beiträge (1897) 49 = Kl. Schr. 810, Fs. Jacobi (1926) 17 = Kl. Schr. 433, RENOU BSL 41 (1940) 5ff., HOFFMANN MSS 2 (1952/1957) 121 = Aufs. 358f., MSS 7 (1955) 91 = Aufs. 386, MAYRHOFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 131 n.140.

²²⁰ Cf. also HARDARSON 126–145: Der Aoristoptativ vom Typ RV. *dheyām*.

²²¹ On trisyllabic *deyāām*, *dheyāām*, and pres. opt. *yāyāām*, cf. COWGILL Lg 39 (1963) 270, HOFFMANN apud SEEBOLD Halbvokale (1972) 289 n. 650, HARDARSON Studien 143 n. 185. This phenomenon is clearly explained from **-ṛ* on the basis of OAv. opt. pres. 1st sg. act. *xiīām* (*xiīāām*) with disyllabic *ā*, and not with *q*: < **h₁s-jéh₁-ṛ* (*ah*, **h₁es* ‘exist, be’, on *á* cf. HOFFM.-FORSSM. 107), cf. SCHINDLER Sprache 23 (1977) 59, HOFFM.-NARTEN Sasan. Arch. (1989) 53, MONNA Gathas (1978) 103, GOTÖ Mat. I 105 n.111a. Possibly exists also a LINDEMAN variant *syāām* like *syāt* (and, on the other hand, analogic *syāāt*, *syāāma*, etc.).

²²² Cf. also the themat. opt. from the *-nā-* pres. *zaranaēmā* Y 28,9 (cf. p. 106).

The reason for this secondary formation is not yet known: perhaps analogically after [*vidhéma* (20×) :: *vidh*] = [*x* :: *gam*], *x* = *gaméma*. The root *vidh* had become independent from *vi-dhā* already in PII (cf. THIEME Wortkunde, 1949, 36f., HOFFMANN Sprache 15, 1969, 1–7 = Aufs. 238–244), and that presumably through the intermediary of this very *vi-dhéma* (PII would be **ui-d^há[H]-i-ma* or **-d^háH-i[H]-ma*, cf. n. 218): themat. aor. *vidhánt-* = OAv. *vīdant-*, subj. *vidhāti* = OAv. *vīdāāⁱtī*, *vīdāā^tt*, ind. *ávidhat*, and also the pres. stem *vindhá-* (1st sg. *vindhē*, 3rd sg. *vindháte*) in Ved., probably after the proportion aor. *vidá-* :: pres. *vindá-^{ti}* ‘find, gain’. *gaméma*, thus formed, has opened the way for the secondary themat. aor. *gama-* RV X+. Cf. also MEIER-BRÜGGER Konj. und Opt. 178f. with lit.

On *-īta* for *-eta* (and *-īran* for *-erata*) in themat. stems, particularly in the *-aya-* pres., in Sū. and also AB, KB, Up., cf. RENO BSL 41 (1940) 11–17, HOFFMANN MSS 2 (1952/1957) 136f. = Aufs. 371; comparable with this case is the part. with *-āna-* instead of *-amāna-* in the *-aya-* pres., cf. RENO Gr. scr. 414f.; N. SEN Poona Orientalist 14 (1949) 94f., JOIB 1 (1951/1952) 127 from Rāmāyaṇa; AiG II-2 274. — On forms with **yāt*, **yur* from themat. stems, *bhrj(j)yéyur* MSP: *bhrjjá-^{ti}* ‘roast’, *ksipyet* ChU: *ksipá-^{ti}* ‘throw’, etc., cf. HOFFMANN MSS 27 (1970) 66f. n. 2 = Aufs. 517f., KULIKOV WZKS 50 (2006) 27–68, GOTÖ Fs. Kellens (2009) 107–113.

3.3.4. imperative²²³⁾

The iptv. has its own endings in the 2nd and 3rd persons: act. sg. 2nd *-dhí/-hí* in the athemat., *-Ø* in the themat. stem, 3rd *-tu* (to a strong stem); du. 2nd *-tam*, 3rd *-tām*; pl. 2nd *-ta/-tana* (sometimes to a strong stem), 3rd *-antu/-ntu/-atu*; mid. sg. 2nd *-sva*, 3rd *-tām*, du. 2nd *-āthām* (athem.), **ethām* (themat.), 3rd *-ātām* (athem.), **etām* (themat.); pl. 2nd *-dhvam*, 3rd *-atām/-ntām*. In the 3rd sg. mid., there are also forms with *-ām* without *t*: *duhām* ‘let her give milk’ RV+, *śayām* ‘let him/her/it lie’ AV, cf. p. 97, p. 102, perf. *sám-/...* *vidām* ‘let him/her have the same concept!’ AV MS^m, cf. p. 121. On *gṛhāṇá* ‘grasp!’, *ásāna* ‘eat!’ with *-ná* cf. p. 106.

The iptv. 2nd sg. act. in the themat. inflexion is nothing but the bare stem form. In the athemat. inflexion *-dhí* is added to the stem, which is developed into *-hí* under some phonological environments after vowels²²⁴⁾. The stem takes a weak grade, which is probably due to the formation combined with the accented particle **d^hi* ‘surely, even’ or alike in PIE²²⁵⁾, e.g.: pres. *i-hí* ‘go’ (OAv. *i-dī*, YAv. *para.āi-ði* for **parā-i-ði*, OPers. *para-i-diy*, Grk. *ĩ-θi*, Hitt. *i-t*) < **h₁i-d^hi*, *ja-hí* ‘slay’ (YAv. *ja-ⁱði*, OPers. *ja-diy*; with analogic *j*) < **g^{wh}ṇ-d^hi*; *de-hí* ‘give’, *dhe-hí*

²²³⁾ Cf. Daniel BAUM The Imperative in the Rigveda. Diss. Leiden 2006.

²²⁴⁾ Cf. AiG I 250ff., LUBOTSKY Zograf Commemorative Vol. (1995) 124–144.

²²⁵⁾ Cf. EICHNER MSS 31 (1973) 86 n. 15, RIX Hist. Gramm. (1976) 241, 263f.

‘set, settle, determine’ (the initial aspiration is restored against GRASSMANN’S law), YAv. *daz-di* < **dazd^{hi}i*, **d^hazd^{hi}i* < **dadzd^{hi}i* and **d^hadzd^{hi}i* resp.; *kṛnu-hi* ‘make’ (YAv. *kəṛ³nūⁱdi*, cf. Grk. ὄρνυ-θι ‘start, hunt up’); aor. *pā-hi* ‘drink’ (Lesb. *πῶ-θι*; from full-grade stem), *ga-dhi/ga-hi* ‘go’ (OAv. *gaⁱ-dī*) < **g^wṇ-d^{hi}i*; perf. *vid-dhi* ‘know’ (Grk. *φίσ-θι*, *ῖσ-θι*). The iptv. pres. of *as/s* ‘exist, be’ *edhi* < **az-d^{hi}i* is probably secondary in view of OAv. *z-dī*, Grk. *ῖσ-θι* < **h₁s-d^{hi}i*, however, cf. *ad-dhi* ‘eat’ = Grk. **ἔσ-θι* in *ἐσθίω*. The root shape *weizd* in OLith. *weizdmi*, Lith. *veizdėti* ‘see’ may be presumed to have originated in a prehistoric **ueid-d^{hi}i*.²²⁶⁾

The **3rd sg. act.** *-tu* and the **pl.** *-antu/-ntu/-atu* are to be analysed as the inj. forms + particle *u*,²²⁷⁾ thus in the case of themat. stems: *bhava-tu* ‘let ... become’ (cf. YAv. *bara-tu*, OPers. *bara-tuv* ‘let ... bring’), *cara-ntu* ‘let them wander, act’ (YAv. *carə-ntu*), *bhara-ntu* (YAv. *barə-ntu*). In athemat. inflexions, the stem is strong in the sg. corresponding to its inj. origin: *ás-tu* ‘let him/her/it be’ (OAv. *as-tū*, OPers. *as-tuv**, Hitt. *es-tu*), *hán-tu* ‘let ... slay’ (YAv. *jaṇ-tu*), *dádā-tu* ‘let ... give’, *dádāhā-tu* ‘let ... set’ (OAv. *dadā-tū*, OPers. *dadā-tuv*); aor. *gan-tu* ‘let ... go’ (OAv. *jaṇ-tū*), *dhá-tu* ‘let ... set’ (OAv. *dā-tū*), *śró-tu* ‘let ... hear’ (OAv. *srao-tū*); — and weak in the pl.: *s-ántu* ‘let them be’ (OAv. *h-əntū*), *y-ántu* ‘let them go’ (YAv. *y-aṇtu*), *prīṇ-antu* ‘let them make someone satisfied’ (YAv. *frīn-aṇtu*); aor. *śruv-antu* (cf. OAv. *sc-aṇtū* from *hac* ‘follow, be in the company of’).

The **mid.** endings sg. *-tām* and pl. *-atām/-ntām* in the **3rd** are interpreted similarly as inj. *-ta*, *-ata/-nta* + *am*: sg. themat. *gaccha-tām* ‘let him/her/it go’, *jāya-tām* ‘let ... be born’, athemat. *ās-tām* ‘let ... be sitting’, *jihī-tām*, *jih-atām* ‘let him/them move’, *indhā* AV, *indh-atām* ‘let it/them kindle’, *kṛnu-tām* ‘let him/her/it make’, *stṛṇī-tām* ‘let ... spread out’; aor. *rās-a-tām* ‘let ... give, donate’ (from subj.-stem); OIran.: themat. pres. OAv. YAv. *vər²ziīā-tqm* ‘let him/her/it work’, OAv. *nī.diiā-tqm* < **-atām* (pass. of *dā* ‘bind’); *xraosə-ntqm* ‘let them cry’; themat. aor. OAv. *xš-ə-ntqm* ‘let them rule’; OPers. *varnav-a-tām* ‘let him convince’ (thematised). The iptv. *-ām* in *duh-ām*, *śay-ām*, *vid-ām* can be explained as “stative” *-a* (**-o*) + *-am*. The **2nd sg. mid.** *-sya* (PII **-sya*, cf. Av *-huuā*, *-ṇ^vhā*, *-šuuā*, P *-uvā*, *-šuvā*) occupies a special position: interpreted from the secondary ending **-sa* (< **-so*, as in Grk., Lat.) via analogy after **-d^huam* (RIX Hist. Gramm. 241), from iptv. act. + reflex. pron. **sya* (EICHNER Flexion und Wortbildung 78), or from contamination of **-sa* and **sya*.

²²⁶⁾ Cf. DUNKEL “IE hortatory **éy*, **eyte*” MSS 46 (1985) 47–79 (also about *hánta*, *éta*; see below).

²²⁷⁾ Cf. EICHNER MSS 31 55 (: Hitt. 2nd sg. iptv. *ehu* ‘come’ < **h₁éi-h₂ey* ‘go off [from there]’), 86 n. 15, Flex. und Wortb. (1975) 77f., RIX Hist. Gramm. 241, DUNKEL MSS 46 73 n. 69 (: **ey/u* as deictic element), KLEIN Towards a Discourse Grammar II (1985) 56.

The iptv. forms in the **du.** and the **2nd pl.** are in principle nothing but the inj.s in both diatheses, e.g., act. 2nd pl. *bhára-ta* ‘bring’ (= Grk. *φέρε-τε*, Goth. *bairiþ*); du. 2nd *s-tam*, 3rd *s-tām* AV+, pl. 2nd *s-ta* AV+ ‘be’; mid. du. *mīm-āthām* (*mā* ‘measure’), *yūñj-āthām* (*yoy/yuj* ‘yoke’), *jih-ātām* (*hā* ‘move’), pl. 2nd *kṛṇu-dhvám*, *yūñg-dhvám*, -s- aor. *trā-dhvam* (*trā* ‘protect, rescue’, OAv. *θrāz-dūm*). However, the iptv. 2nd du. and pl. have in athemat. inflexions sometimes a strong stem as opposed to the inj.: e.g., in the pres. *íyar-tā* (‘move’, *ar/ṛ* ‘set oneself in motion’, no inj.), *juhó-ta(na)* (*hav/hu* ‘make offering, libation’, inj. *juhu-tā*), *dádā-ta*, *dadā-tana* (beside *dat-tá*, *dat-tana*; *dā* ‘give’, du. 2nd *dat-tám*, 3rd *dat-tām*, ipf. *adat-tam*, *ádadā-ta*, *ádat-tana*), *dádā-ta* (beside *dhat-tá*; *dhā* ‘set, settle, determine’, du. 2nd *dhat-tám*, 3rd *dhat-tām*, ipf. *adhat-tam*, *ádadhā-ta*, *ádhat-ta*), 2nd du. *yuyo-tam* (beside *yuyu-tám*), *yuyó-tā*, *yuyó-tanā* (*vav/yu* ‘keep away’, no inj.), *pípar-tana* (*par* ‘bring across, promote’); *yunák-ta*, *unát-ta*, *anak-tana*, *pinaṣ-ṭana* (*yoy/yuj* ‘yoke’, *od/ud* ‘wet’, *añj/aj* ‘anoint’, *peṣ/piṣ* ‘grind, crush’; beside *pari-vṛñk-ta* from *varj/vṛj* ‘twist, wrench off’, 2nd du. *añk-tam*, *pṛñk-tam*), *kṛnó-ta(na)* (beside *kṛṇu-tá*, *kar/kṛ* ‘make’, 2nd du. *kṛṇu-tám*, ipf. *akṛṇu-ta*, *akṛṇota(nā)*, 2nd du. *akṛṇu-tam*), *śṛṇo-ta(na)* (beside *śṛṇu-tá*, *śrav/śru* ‘hear’), *sunó-tā*, *sunó-tana* ‘press out’ (beside *sunu-tá*), *hinó-ta*, *hino-tana* (*hay/hi* ‘urge on’), *punā-ta* (beside *punī-tā[na]*, *pav/pū* ‘make pure’). — On the differentiation in the accent place in the case of -iṣ- aor. iptv. 2nd du. *avi-ṣ-tám*, pl. *avi-ṣ-tāna* :: 2nd pl. inj. *ávi-ṣ-ṭa* (which is used also as hortative), cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 68, cf. below n. 261.

The athemat. root-aor. has a different distribution of the strong/weak stems from that of the root-pres. The ind./inj. in the act. shows there a strong stem in all persons in the du., and in 1st and 2nd pl., too. Thus, the zero-grade forms are rather remarkable: 2nd du. *kṛ-tám* beside *kar-tam* (AV), *ga-tám* beside *gan-tám* (inj. *ga-tám* I 119,4), *ji-tam* (*jay/ji* ‘win’), *rik-tam* (*rec/ric* ‘leave’), *śru-tám*, *si-tam* (*sā/si* ‘bind’), *su-tám* (*sav/su* ‘press out’), *spṛ-tam* (*spar/spṛ* ‘win, gain, carry off’); 2nd pl. *śru-tā* beside *śró-tā* (OAv. *srao-tā*), *kṛ-ta* beside *kár-ta*, *ga-ta* beside *gán-ta(na)/gan-tá* (inj. *gan-tana*), etc. (*śas-ta* is the iptv. 2nd pl. of the ablautless athemat. root-pres. *śas* ‘cut’). These phenomena could be interpreted either by analogy after the 3rd sg. forms with a full-grade stem (+ *-tu*), from mutual influences between pres. and aor., or from a tendency to differentiate the iptv.s from the inj.s. An aspect opposition between the pres. and aor. is not confirmed in the subj., opt., and iptv.

Interjections such as *hán-ta* ‘now then!’, *é-ta* ‘go!’ would provide clues to the older formations of the iptv. 2nd pl.; the forms in the paradigm are *ha-tá* and *han-tana* ‘(ye) slay!’, *i-tá*, *i-tana*, and *é-tana* ‘go!’.²²⁸⁾

²²⁸⁾ Cf. DUNKEL MSS 46 (1985) 56.

There are also imperativa posterior with *-tāt* (iptv. II), which are used for all persons and numbers in both diatheses for instances where the time of the action taking place at a later time is designated (or undesignated). This inherited formation is built theoretically from each stem. Cf. FORSSMAN *Gramm. Kateg.* (1982) 181ff. The so-called *-si* iptv.s have their origins in the subj. of the *-s-* aor., cf. p. 114f.

3.4. present system

The present stems are inflected in the ind., ipf., inj., subj., opt., and iptv., and have the part., theoretically in both act. and mid. of all categories. Cf. p. 83ff.

3.4.1. thematic present stems: To a full-grade [Th. 1.1],²²⁹⁾ zero-grade [Th. 1.2], or long-grade [Th. 1.3] root is added the themat. vowel *-a-* alone, or a suffix ending in *-a-*: *-ya-* [Th. 2], *-āya-* [Th. 3], *-(c)cha-* [Th. 4]; there are also reduplicated themat. stems [Th. 5], some forms with *-va-* [Th. 6], and other thematic and thematised stems [Th. 7]. The themat. vowel *-a-* is lengthened before endings beginning with *m* or *v*, which is probably to be traced to PIE **-o-* (BRUGMANN's law). Examples:

[Th. 1.1] *bhāvⁱ-a^{-ti}* 'come into being, become' with accented root (Av. *bauu-a-*, OPers. *bav-a-*).

[Th. 1.2] *tud-á^{-ti}* 'push', *stj-á-* 'let loose, send forth' (Av. *hər²z-a-*, OPers. *hard-a-?*), factitive *tir-á-* 'make traverse' with accented themat. vowel; *kríd-a-* 'play, frisk', *dás-a^{-ti}* 'bite' (*damš*) with secondary accent.

[Th. 1.3] iterative-durative *čāy-a-* 'perceive' (OChSlav. *čaj-ŏ* 'I expect'), *dhāvⁱ-a^{-ti}* 'rub, wash'; terminat. *krāmⁱ-a^{-ti}* 'stride', *dhāv-a^{-ti}* 'run' (: durat. *krāmⁱ-a^{-te}*, *dhav-a^{-te}*).

[Th. 2.1]²³⁰⁾ *dhv⁻ya^{-ti}* 'gamble' (OAv. *ā-dīuu-iiēⁱntī* Y 44,13), *riš⁻ya^{-ti}* 'be hurt' (YAv. *riš-iiā-*), *mán⁻ya^{-te}* 'think, take for' (OAv. YAv. *mañ-iiā-*, OPers. *man-iyā-*: < **mñ-je-*) with zero-grade accented root (the main type); *jā⁻ya^{-te}* 'be born' (YAv. *za-iiā^{-te}*, OIr. *·gainethar*: presumably < PIE pass. **ǵ_hh₁-jé^{-toj}* 'be generated') is marked as the fient. pres. through its accent, cf. p. 80. [Th. 2.2] *pás⁻ya-* 'see' (OAv. YAv. *spas-iiā-*), *trá⁻ya-* 'protect' (OAv. YAv. *θrā-iiā-*, cf. Hitt. *tā-je-zzi* 'steals') with full-grade root. [Th. 2.3] *vac⁻yá^{-te}* 'totter', *mri⁻yá^{-te}* 'die' (YAv. *miriia-*, OPers. *mariya-*), *dhri⁻yá^{-te}* 'get ready (to do something)', *ā-dri⁻yá^{-te}* 'heed' Br. + with passive accent (p. 129f.), which seems to be the result of phonological development **f_{je}/o > PII **rijá⁻*.²³¹⁾ [Th. 2.4] (*ava*)-*d⁻yá^{-ti}* (*dā* 'divide, separate'), *-d_(i)-yá^{-ti}* (*dā**

²²⁹⁾ Cf. Toshifumi GOTŌ Die "I. Präsensklasse" im Vedischen. Untersuchung der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpresentia, Wien 1987.

²³⁰⁾ Cf. Leonid KULIKOV The Vedic *-ya-* presents. Passives and intransitivity in Old Indo-Aryan, Amsterdam - New York 2012.

²³¹⁾ Cf. KULIKOV Fs. Shevoroshkin (1997) 198–205. Cf. n. 286.

‘bind, tie’, e.g. *ā-*; OAv. iptv. mid. 3. sg. *nī-d-iiātqm* Y 48,7: patientive?), *-ch-*_(i)*yá-*^{ti} AV+ (*chā* ‘cut off [the skin]’, e.g. *ánu-*, *ā-*; OAv. iptv. mid. 2. pl. *paťī-s-iiōdūm* ‘restrain’? Y 48,7). [Th. 2.5] *grbh-ā-yá-* ‘grasp’ < **grb^h-ṇH-je-* (YAv. *gəp^uuu-a-ii-*, OPers. *garb-ā-ya-*), extended from the *-n*-infix stem *grbh-nā/n(i)-*, cf. p. 107.

[Th. 3.1] *chad-áya-* ‘appear, appear pleasant’ (*chand*; YAv. *saδ-aiia-*, OPers. *θad-aya-*) from zero-grade root, and [Th. 3.2] *hv-áya-* ‘call’ (*hvā*, OAv. YAv. *zb-aiia-*, OPers. *zb-aya-*), *kš-áya-*^{ti} ‘rule’ < **tkh₂-éje-* (*kšā* < **tkeh₂*; OAv. YAv. *xš-aiia-*, OPers. *patiy-a-xš-ayaiy*, Grk. *κτ-áo-μαι*) from roots in *-ā*; [Th. 3.3] *dhār-áya-* ‘hold’ (OAv. YAv. *dār-aiia-*, OPers. *dār-aya-*) from **-o*-grade root, the formation being predominant in the causative.

[Th. 4] *pr-cchá-* ‘ask, search’ (OAv. YAv. *pəp^o-sa-*, OPers. *par-sa-*, Lat. *po-scō*: < PIE **prk-ské-*), *gá-ccha-* ‘go’ (*gam*, with secondary accent; OAv. YAv. *jasa-* with secondary *j* after aor.: < **g^wṇ-ské-*), *vr-ścá-*^{ti} ‘cut down’ (< **urk-ské-*). On the phonological development cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt 210.

[Th. 5.1] *tī-šth-a-* ‘stand, stay’ (YAv. *hi-šta-*; < **stí-sth₂-e-*, cf. Grk. *ἵ-στυ-μι*), *sīd-a-* ‘sit down’ (YAv. *-hiδ-a-*, < **sīde-* < **sí-zd-e-*, cf. Lat. *sīd-ō*, Grk. *ἵζ-ω*, Arm. *nst-i-* < **ni-si-zd-e-*)²³² with *-i-* reduplication; [Th. 5.2] *-úh-a-* ‘slide’ (*vah* ‘transport’: < **uú-ug^h-e-*, assimilated < **ué-ug^h-e-*) from *-á-* (**-é-*) reduplication.

[Th. 6] *jī-va-* ‘live’ (whence the root *jīv*; Av. *juua-*, OPers. *jī-va-*), *tūr-va-*^{ti} ‘overpower’ (cf. Hitt. *ta-ru-uh-zi*); from full-grade root *dhán_(u)-va-* ‘run, flow’ < **d^henh₂-ue-*²³³

[Th. 7] *śú-n-dh-a-* ‘clean’ (*śodh/śudh*), *pī-n-v-a-* ‘make full of’ (: athemat. *pī-n-v-ānā-*, YAv. *fra-pi-nao-īti* ‘makes prosper’; themat. *-pinuu-a-ta* ‘swelled’).

The inflexion proceeds with the addition of the personal endings (3.2.: p. 85f.). On the 3rd pl. mid. *-anta* in the inj. and subj. in the RV, cf. p. 91f. On the 3rd pl. act. in the opt. Ved. *-ey-ur* < **-aij-r* :: YAv. *-aii-ən* < **-ai-ant*, cf. p. 93.

3.4.2. athematic present stems: Personal endings are added without thematic vowel to: [Ath. 1] a root stem; [Ath. 3] reduplicated stem; [Ath. 4.1] stem containing infixed *-ná-/n-*, [Ath. 4.2] stem ending with *-nó-/nu-*, [Ath. 4.3] stem ending in *-nā-/nī-/n-*. Cf. also above 3.1.4.: p. 83ff. These stems are affected by ablaut: They have a full grade in the root, infix or suffix in the act. sg. in the ind., inj., and partially iptv., as well as in all persons and numbers in the subj. in both diatheses. In the remaining forms, the stem is set in zero grade as far as phonologically allowed, and the ending has the accent that shows a full grade when available.

²³² Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarm. Verbum* 129–131: KLINGENSCHMITT’s law **sVz > *sV̄Ø*, which is certainly assumed in Indo-Iran. and Balto-Slav., and possibly in PIE.

²³³ On the PIE **-ue-* pres. cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarmenisches Verbum* 231ff.

3.4.2.1. [Ath. 1] athematic root-present:

Act., e.g. *ás-/s-* ‘be’ (**h₁és-/h₁s-*):

ind. sg. 1st *ás-mi*, 2nd *ási* (< **ás* + *si*), 3rd *ás-ti*, du. **s-vás* (*s-vas* TSP+), *s-thás*, **s-tás* (*s-tas* Br.+), pl. *s-mási/-más*, *s-thána/-thá/-thá*, *s-ánti*;

ipf. 1st *āsam*, 2nd **ās*, attested only in a new formation *ās-īs* (after, e.g. *á-bravī-s* ‘you said’), 3rd **ās*, attested *ās* and *ās-īt*; du. – , *ās-tam*, *ās-tām*; pl. – , (*a-bravī-ta*, *á-bravī-tana*), *ās-an*;

inj. sg. *vé-s*, *ve-t* (*vayⁱ/vī* ‘pursue, chase, track’), *rāt* ‘radiates’, *han* ‘slays’;

subj. *ás-ā-ni*, *ás-a-m* (VS, AVP), *ás-a-si/-s*, *ás-a-ti/-t*; *as-ā-va* (YSP+), *ás-a-thas*, *ás-a-tas* (Br.+); *ás-ā-ma*, *ás-a-n*, (hyper-marked *ás-ā-s*, *ás-ā-ti*, *ás-ā-t*, *as-ā-tha* in some mantra texts);

opt. (cf. n.221) sg. *s-yā-m* (also *s-yāām* /*s-yā-am*/ < **Hs-īāH-ám* < **h₁s-īēh₁-m*), *s-yā-s* (also *s-iyā-s*), *s-yā-t* (also *s-iyā-t*); *s-yā-va* (Br.+), *s-yā-tam* (also *s-iyā-tam*); *s-yā-ma* (also *s-iyā-ma*), *s-yā-ta*, *s-yā-tana* (*s-iyā-tana*), *s-y-ur* (also *s-iy-ur*);

iptv. *e-dhi* (< **az-d^hi*), *ás-tu*, *s-ta* (AV+), *s-ántu*;

part. *s-ánt-* (m. nom. sg. *s-án*, n. *s-át*), f. *s-at-ī-*.

Mid., e.g. *bravⁱ-/brū-* ‘speak’ (**mléuH-/mluH-*):

ind. sg. 1st *bruv-é*, 2nd *brū-še*, 3rd *brū-té*; du. – , – , *bruv-áte*; pl. *brū-máhe* YSP+, – , *bruv-áte*;

ipf. sg. 3rd *a-brū-ta* AB III 21,2, pl. 3rd *a-bruv-ata*;

inj. sg. *sū-ta* ‘she brings birth’;

subj. sg. 1st *ánu-brav-ai* ŠB, 3rd *brav-ā-tai* (hyper-marked) MSP; du. 1st *brav-ā-vahai*, 3rd *bráv-aite*; pl. 1st *bráv-ā-mahai*, 3rd *ám-a-nta* (*amⁱ* ‘attack, swear’), *áy-a-nta* (with *sám*, *ay/i* ‘go’), *han-a-nta* (*han* ‘slay’);

opt. sg. 3rd *bruv-ī-ta*, pl. 1st *bruv-ī-mahi*;

iptv. sg. 2nd *brū-šva* Br.+ , pl. 1st *brū-dhvam* YSP+; — **part.** *bruv-āná-*.

The original stem forms of PIE and PII are largely preserved, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMANN 200–205: Av. *ah-mī*, OPers. *a(h)-mīy*, etc., Av. *mruii-ē*, etc.

The stems without ablaut are, e.g.: *vā-ti*, *vā-nti* ‘wind(s) blow(s)’ (YAv. *vānti*), *pā-ti*, *pānti* (*pāH-ánti*), subj. *pāāt* (*pāH-a-t*) ‘guard’ (YAv. *pāti*, OAv. opt. *pāiāt*), *sās-ti*, iptv. *sās-tu*, *sas-ántu* ‘sleep’ (OAv. *hahmī*).

3.4.2.2. [Ath. 1.1] Some presents show “stative” forms:²³⁴⁾

[1] With a full-grade root (cf. [Ath. 2]): **ind.** *śáy-e* ‘is lying’ RV–Br. (*śe-te* Br.+ , cf. YAv. *saē-te*), 3rd pl. *śé-re* AV–Br., Sū. (YAv. *sōi-re*, *saē-re*), *śé-rate* AV+;

²³⁴⁾ Cf. OETTINGER “Der indogermanische Stativ” MSS 34 (1976) 109–149, GOTÖ “Überlegungen zum urindogermanischen «Stativ»” Coloquio Delbrück (1997[1998]) 165–192, KÜMMEL Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen (1996).

ipf. 3rd sg. *á-sáy-at* RV–Br. (*a-sé-ta* ŚB, Ep., cf. YAv. *saē-ta*), pl. *a-sé-ran* RV, *a-sé-rata* KS^p+; **iptv.** 3rd sg. *śáy-ām* AV (*śétām* AV ŚB); **part.** *śáy-āna-* RV+ (YAv. *saiiāna-*). YAv. *āṇh-ā're* ‘they are sitting’ is an archaic formation of this sort as opposed to Ved. *ās-ate* (< **h₁éh₁s-ṇtoṭi*), which belongs rather to the type [Ath. 2], cf. Hitt. *eša* /*ēša*/ ‘is sitting, sits down’.²³⁵ Furthermore: *mah-e* ‘is ready, able’ RV VII 97,2 (cf. GOTÖ I.Präs. 242ff.), and patientive *stáv-e* ‘is [being] praised’.

[2] With a zero-grade root in patientive value *bruv-e* ‘is called (as)’ RV V 61,8. The root *dogh/doh/dugh/duh* ‘milk (a cow); give milk’ offers more forms (unmarked: RV+). (1) stative series: **ind.** 3rd sg. *duh-é*, pl. *duh-ré*, *duh-rate*; **ipf.** *á-duh-at*, *á-duh-a* MS^p (cf. n. 202); *á-duh-ran* AV+, *á-duh-ra* MS^p; **opt.** *duh-īy-át* RV, *duh-īy-án* RV; **iptv.** 3rd sg. *duh-ām* (cf. n. 203); pl. *duh-rām* AV, *duh-ratām* AV. — (2) normal type [Ath. 1]: ind. sg. 1st *duh-e* KS^m, 2nd *dhuk-še* AV, 3rd *dugdhe* Br.+; ipf. *a-dugdha*, *a-duh-ata* Br., opt. *duh-ī-tá*, subj. *dóh-a-te*; iptv. *dhuk-ṣva*, etc. Both series are used in the meaning ‘give milk’ as well as ‘milk (a cow) for oneself’. The stative series (1) *duh-é* etc. seems to have been properly the formation for the former meaning and the regular series (2) for the latter. The archaic forms of (1) were obviously preferred in Ved. and used in both meanings. The iptv. ending *-ām* corresponds to *-qm* in the iptv. of the passive aor. in OAv.

3.4.2.3. [Ath. 2] “NARTEN-presents” (NARTEN, Fs.Kuiper, 1968, 9–19 = Kl. Schr. 97–107) have an **acrodynamic** inflexion-scheme, differing from [Ath. 1], which is hystero-dynamic:

Act. sg. ind. *stau-si* < **stāu-si* ‘you praise’ (OAv. *stāu-mī*), *śās-si* ‘you order, instruct’ (with secondary *ss*); ipf. *a-śās-am*, *a-stau-t*; inj. *stau-t* (YAv. *stao-t*, cf. OAv. YAv. *tāš-t* ‘hews, fashions’); subj. *śās-a-s*, *śās-a-ti*, *śās-a-n*; iptv. *tādhi* (*takṣ* ‘hew, fashion’), *śā-dhi* (*śās*); **pl.** *tákṣ-ati*; ipf. *a-takṣ-ma*, *a-takṣ-ṭā*; **part.** *śās-at-*, *tákṣ-at-ī*;

Mid. sg. ind. *ās-te* ‘is sitting’ (YAv. *ās-te*, cf. 3.4.2.2.[1]), *cāṣ-te* ‘looks at, beholds’ (YAv. *caš-te*), *vás-te* ‘has on, is dressed in’ (YAv. *vas-te*), *śās-te*; inj. *vas-ta*; **pl.** ind. *śās-mahe*, *ās-ate*, *óh-ate* ‘regard’ (YAv. *aoj-a'te*), *vás-ate* (secondary *vas-até* AV, *vas-áte* AVP-Kashm. I 108,2), *śās-ate*; ipf. *a-śās-ata*; inj. *vas-ata*; subj. *ā-śās-ā-ntai* (hyper-marked) ŚB; **part.** *stáv-āna-*, *stav-āná-*, *ās-āná-* (YAv. *āṇh-āna-*), *óh-āna-* (YAv. *aoj-āna-*), *cákṣ-āṇa-* (YAv. *†caš-āna-*), *vás-āna-* (YAv. *vaṇh-āna-*).

From Av. can be added: **act.** sg. opt. OAv. *sāh-ī-t* (< **kéHs-ih₁-t*), iptv. *sās-tū*, part. *stauu-at-*; **mid.** sg. ind. *aoj-ōi*, YAv. *aox-te*, *stao-ī-te*, inj./ipf. OAv. *aoj-ī*, *pa'rii-*

²³⁵) GOTÖ op.cit. 182 with bibliography.

aoy-žā, *aog²-dā*, YAv. *aox-ta*, *stao-ta*, subj. OAv. *aoj-āi*, YAv. *stauu-āne*, OAv. *šauu-āi* (*šiiay ‘be in motion’, cf. *cyáv-āna*-). Levelling processes have occurred, e.g., 3rd pl. ind. *stuv-anti* AV, part. *stuv-ánt-*, opt. mid. *stuv-ī-tá*, *stuv-ī-mahi* following the normal type [Ath. 1], cf. YAv. ind. act. *stao-mi*, *stao-īti*, mid. 1st sg. *stuii-e*; the mid. forms (used also in patient. meaning) have been shifted from the original full-grade stem into the thematic one [Th. 1.1]: *stáv-a-te*, *stáv-a-nte*, subj. *stáv-ai*.

3.4.2.4. [Ath. 3] **reduplicated stems** are inflected in the ind. and inj. amphidynamically, in the opt. hysterodynamically (cf. p. 95). The subj. has always the stem in the strong form. The iptv. shows a strong stem in the act. 3rd sg., sometimes also in other numbers and persons in the act., cf. p. 96 ff. The strong stem forms have the accent on the redupl. syllable, but it shifts sometimes to the root syllable analogically after the perfect. In the weak forms, the endings are accented.

Examples from the RV (*bī-bhar-/bi-bhṛ-/bi-bhr-* ‘bear’, *jī-gā-/ji-g(ī)-* ‘go’, *dā-dā-/da-d-* ‘give’, *dā-dhā-/da-dh-* ‘set, settle’, *yu-yó-/yu-yu-* ‘keep away’):

Act.: ind. *bībhar-mi*, *bībhar-ṣi*, *bībhar-ti* (also *bībhár-ti*), *bībhṛ-thās*, *bībhṛ-tás*, *bībhṛ-mási*, *bībhṛ-thá*, *bībhṛ-ati*;

ipf. sg. *a-dadā-m*, *á-dadā-s*, *á-dadā-t*, *a-bībhar*, du. *a-dat-tam*, pl. 2nd *á-dat-tana*, *á-dadā-ta*, 3rd *á-dad-ur*, *a-bībhar-an* (X 28,8), *á-bībhar-ur*, *á-juhav-ur* ‘they made libation’;

inj. *dádā-s*, *jīgā-t*, *yuyo-ma*;

subj. *dadhāni*, *yuyáv-at*, *yuyav-an*, secondary, “short-vowel subj.”²³⁶ *dád-a-s*, *dád-a-t*, *dád-a-n*;

opt. sg. *bībhṛ-yā-t*, du. 3rd *yuyu-yā-tām*;

iptv. sg. 2nd *de-hí*, *dad-dhí*, *dhe-hí*, *yuyo-dhí*, 3rd *dádā-tu*, *dádā-tu*, *yuyo-tu*; du. 2nd *yuyu-tám*, *yuyo-tam*, *dat-tam*, *dhat-tám*, 3rd *dat-tām*, *dhat-tām*; pl. 2nd *yuyó-tā/-tana*, *dat-tá*, *dadā-tana*, *dhat-tá*, *dhat-tana*, *dádā-ta/-tana*, *-dhe-tana*, 3rd *dadh-atu*;

part. *bībhr-at-*, f. *bībhr-at-ī-*, *dád-at-*, f. *dád-at-ī-* ŠB.

Mid.: ind. *á-dad-e*, *-dadh-é*, ...*dhát-se*, *dhat-té*, *jihī-te* ‘moves, stirs (intrans.)’, du. *á ...dád-vahe*, *dadh-āte*, *jih-āte*, pl. *á ...dad-mahe*, *dád-ate*, *jih-ate*;

ipf. sg. *á-dat-thās* (*dhā*), *á-dhat-ta*, *á-a-dat-ta*, *á-jihī-ta*, pl. *a-jih-ata*;

inj. *śísī-ta* ‘sharpens’ (poss.-affect.), *jihī-ta*;

subj. *dád-a-se*, *dád-a-te*;

opt. *dád-ī-ta*, *dadh-ī-mahi*, *á-dad-ī-mahi*, *dad-ī-ran* (with *prá*, *sám*);

²³⁶ In YAv.: *yaoz-daθ-ō*, OAv. *dad-a-t*, YAv. *daθ-a-t*, OAv. *dad-a-n*, YAv. *daθ-a-n*. The short-vowel subj. was produced after the proportion: [PII **Has-ā-ni*, **Has-ā-ma* :: **Has-a-t*] (Ved. *ás-ā-ni*, *ás-ā-ma* :: *ás-a-t*) = [**dadhāni* (*dadhāni*, YAv. *daθāni*), **dadhā*-ma :: *x* = **dadhāt*]. Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 29f. n. 5, 224 n. 6, 445 n. 14.

iptv. sg. *jihī-ṣva*, *jihī-tām*, du. 3rd *bibhṛ-tām*, *jihā-tām*, pl. *jih-atām*;
part. *dádḥ-āna-*, *dád-āna-* (simplex and *ā-*), *jih-āna-*.

This paradigm goes back largely to PII, but Av. preserves more authentic forms: 3rd pl. inj./ipf. act. OAv. *jīgər²z-aṭ* ‘they complained’, *dad-aṭ*, *da¹dii-aṭ* ‘they saw, regarded’ (:: *dīdh-y-ur*), *zaz-aṭ* ‘they left behind’ (:: *jah-ur*) < *-ṛt; opt. sg. act. YAv. *da¹ḍ-ī-š*, OAv. *da¹d-ī-t*, YAv. *da¹ḍ-ī-t* < **d¹h-á-d¹h₁-ih₁-t* beside levelled YAv. *da¹ḍ-iiā*, *da¹ḍ-iiā-t*, *da¹ḍ-iiā-t* like Ved. *bibhṛ-yā-t*, *dad-yā-t* AV. Cf. also n. 197, n. 200.

3.4.2.5. The **nasal presents** are inflected hysterodynamically. The PII paradigm is well preserved. On Av. counterparts cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 211–219.

[Ath. 4.1] The stems containing the **infix -na-/-n-**:

Act.: **ind.** sg. *yu-ná-j-mi* ‘I yoke’, *yu-ná-k-ṣi*, *bhi-ná-t-ti* ‘splits’; pl. *a-ñ-j-mas* ‘we anoint’, *yu-ñ-j-ánti*;

ipf. 3rd sg. *á-bhi-na-t*, *ā-yu-na-k*; pl. *á-bhi-n-d-an*;

inj. sg. 2nd *pi-ṇá-k* (*peṣ/piṣ* ‘grind, crush’), 3rd *pi-ṇá-k*;

subj. *bhi-ná-d-a-s*, *yu-ná-j-a-t*, du. *ri-ṇá-c-āva* ‘we both will leave’, *a-ñ-j-a-tas* (for **a-na-j-a-tas*), pl. *yu-ná-j-a-n*;

opt. *bhi-n-d-yāt* AV (*bhed/bhid* ‘split’);

iptv. *chi-n-d-dhi*, *a-ñ-g-dhí*, *a-ná-k-tu*; *chi-n-t-tam* AV, *sám... a-ñ-k-tām* VS TS^m; *yu-ná-k-ta*, *a-ná-k-tana*; *a-ñ-j-antu*;

part. *a-ñ-j-ánt-*, *yu-ñ-j-at-ī-*.

Mid.: **ind.** sg. *yu-ñ-j-é*, *yu-ñ-k-té*, du. 2nd *yu-ñ-j-áthe*, 3rd *tu-ñ-j-áte* ‘they press out each other’, pl. *a-ñ-g-dhvé*, *a-ñ-j-até/a-ñ-j-áte*, *yu-ñ-j-áte*;

ipf. pl. 3rd *a-yu-ñ-j-ata*;

inj. pl. 1st *yujmahe* < **yu-ñ-j-mahe* (HOFFMANN Aufs. 388), 3rd *vṛy-āñ-j-ata*, *yu-ñ-j-ata*;

subj. *yu-ná-j-a-te*, *bhu-ná-j-ā-mahai* ‘we will enjoy’;

opt. *pr-ñ-c-ī-tá* ‘he may make [his dominion] full’;

iptv. sg. *yu-ñ-k-ṣvá*, *ā-a-k-ṣva* AV, du. 2nd *yu-ñ-j-áthām*, pl. 2nd *yu-ñ-g-dhvám*,

part. *a-ñ-j-āná-*.

[Ath. 4.2.1] Stems ending in **-nó-/-nu-** with the nasal infix:

Act. **ind.** *śṛ-ṇó-ti* (**śṛ-ná-ṭi*) ‘hears’, *śṛ-ṇ-v-ánti*, **ipf.** *á-śṛ-ṇos*, **subj.** *śṛ-ṇa-v-á-t*, *śṛ-ṇa-v-ā-mā*; **opt.** *śṛ-ṇ-u-yā-ma*; **iptv.** *śṛ-ṇ-u*, *śṛ-ṇ-u-dhi/-hí*, *śṛ-ṇó-tu*, du. *śṛ-ṇ-u-tám*, pl. 2nd *śṛ-ṇó-ta*, *śṛ-ṇ-u-tá*, *śṛ-ṇo-tana*, 3rd *śṛ-ṇv-ántu*;
part. *śṛ-ṇ-v-ánt-*, *śṛ-ṇ-v-atī-*.

Mid. **ind.** *śṛ-ṇ-v-é*, *śṛ-ṇ-u-te*, 3rd pl. with *r*-ending *śṛ-ṇ-v-iré*; **iptv.** *śṛ-ṇ-u-ṣvá*.

[Ath. 4.2.2] With the suffix **-nó/-nu-**:

Act.: ind. sg. *kṛ-nó-ti* ‘makes’, pl. 1st: see below, 3rd *kṛ-nv-ánti*, *aś-nuv-ánti* ‘they obtain’;

ipf. sg. *á-kṛ-ṇo-t*, pl. 2nd *a-kṛ-ṇu-ta*, *a-kṛ-ṇo-ta*, *a-kṛ-ṇo-tana*, 3rd *á-kṛ-ṇv-an*;

inj. *ṛ-ṇo-s* ‘you move, push’, *ūr-ṇo-t* ‘encloses’, *ṛ-ṇv-an*;

subj. *kṛ-ṇav-ā*, *kṛ-ṇáv-a-t*, *kṛ-ṇáv-a-n*;

opt. *sa-nu-yām* ‘I want to win’, *sa-nu-yāma*;

iptv. sg. 2nd *kṛ-ṇu*, *kṛ-ṇu-hí*, 3rd *kṛ-ṇo-tu*, du. *kṛ-ṇu-tám*, pl. 2nd *kṛ-ṇó-ta*, *kṛ-ṇu-tá*, *kṛ-ṇó-tana*, 3rd *kṛ-ṇv-ántu*;

part. *kṛ-ṇv-ánt-*, *kṛ-ṇv-at-í-*.

Mid.: ind. sg. *kṛ-ṇu-té*, pl. 1st: see below, 3rd *kṛ-ṇv-áte*, *ma-nv-até* (~ TB *ma-nv-áte*: *man* ‘think’, cf. n.219), *ma-nv-ire* AVP IV 39,1;

ipf. *á-kṛ-ṇu-ta*, *á-kṛ-ṇu-dhvam*, *á-kṛ-ṇv-ata*;

inj. *ta-nu-thās* ‘you spread yourself’, *ṛ-ṇu-tá*, *kṛ-ṇv-ata*, *ma-nv-ata*;

subj. *kṛ-ṇav-ai*, *kṛ-ṇáv-a-te*; *kṛ-ṇáv-ā-vahai*; *kṛ-ṇáv-ā-mahai*, *kṛ-ṇav-ante*, *kṛ-ṇáv-anta*;

opt. *kṛ-ṇv-ī-ta*;

iptv. *kṛ-ṇu-ṣvā*, *kṛ-ṇu-tām*, *kṛ-ṇu-dhvám*; — **part.** *kṛ-ṇv-ānā-*.

Allegro-forms of the pres. of *kar/kṛ* have created a new set of stems *karó-/kuru-*: *karó-ti*, *kurv-ánti*, *kuru-té*, etc., attested from RV X on. Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 575–588.

Some forms regularly show no *u*: 1st pl. act. *kṛṇmási* AV, *kṛṇmās* AV RVKh AVP (e.g. AVP-Or. VI 23,1) KS-variation^m, *hinmasi*, *hinmas* ‘we impel’ AV, mid. *kṛṇmahe* RV AV AVP (*kṛṇumáhe* KS XXXV 12^m–KpS), *manmahe* RV+. This phenomenon goes back to the *-nuv-* forms instead of *-nv-* after a heavy syllable (SIEVERS), viz. after the proportion [*śaknu|vánti* ‘they can’ (attested in AV)] :: [*śak-nu|vas* (TS^p), *śaknu|mas* (ŚB)] = [*kṛṇ|vánti* :: *x* = *kṛṇvas**, *kṛṇmas(i)*], [*aśnu|vate* ‘they attain’ :: *kṛṇ|váte*, *man|vaté* ‘they think out’] = [*aśnu|mahe** :: *x* = *kṛṇmahe*, *manmahe*], see SEEBOLD Halbvokale 45, HOFFMANN Aufs. 585f. n. 21, cf. also Pāṇini VI 4,87.

Forms with “stative” endings are met remarkably often in this group, which does not to be the case in OIran.²³⁷⁾ in the patientive meaning: 3rd sg. *śṛ-ṇv-é* ‘is heard’, *hi-nv-é* ‘is impelled’, *su-nv-é* ‘is (being) pressed out’, *ā ... ṛ-ṇv-e* ‘is moved, pushed towards(?)’ V 74,5, 3rd pl. *i-nv-iré* ‘are urged on’ and *hi-nv-iré* side by side V 6,6, *vṛ-ṛ-ṇv-ire* X 25,5, *śṛ-ṇv-iré*, *su-nv-iré*; perhaps fientive: 3rd pl. *prá ... pi-nv-iré* ‘swell’ VIII 49 (Vāḷakh. 1),2; in AVP IV 39,1 *ma-nv-e* and *ma-nv-ire* ‘I

²³⁷⁾ On YAv. *əṛ²-nāuu-i* Y 9,3–13, cf. GOTÖ Akten Kraków (2009) 161f.: transferred (presumably from the OAv. pass.-aor. *-i*, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 228) into the pres. in YAv.

am thinking of ...', 'they are thinking of' (?) as a parallel to AV IV 24,1 *manmahe* 'we are thinking' (2×).

[Ath. 4.3] Stems ending **-nā/-nī/-n-** originate from nasal-infix presents from roots ending in a laryngeal:

Act. ind. *gr̥bh-nā-ti* (*g^hr̥b^h-ná-H-ti) 'he grasps', *gr̥-nī-mási* 'we welcome (by singing)';

ipf. *a-gr̥bh-nā-t*, *á-ri-nī-ta* 'ye made drip asunder', *a-gr̥bh-n-an*;

inj. *kṣi-nā-m* (kṣayⁱ/kṣī 'destroy');

subj. *gr̥bh-nā-s*, *jā-nā-t*, *jā-nā-t*, *jā-n-án* (stem *jā-nā/-nī-* from the root *jñā* 'undertand, recognise')²³⁸, *mi-n-an* (mayⁱ/mī 'damage, belittle');

opt. *pr̥-nī-yá-t* (parⁱ/pṛ 'give'), *gr̥bh-nī-yá-t* AV;

iptv. *jā-nī-hi*, *gr̥h-ā-ná* (from **gr̥bh-nā* + *-ná* with the loss of the first *-n-*; *-h-* is a younger form of *-bh-*), *aś-ā-na* 'eat' (*aś-nā-*), *gr̥h-nā-tu*, *jā-nī-ta*;

part. *jā-n-ánt-*, *jā-n-at-ī-*.

Mid. ind. *gr̥bh-n-e*, *gr̥-nī-śé*, *pu-nī-té* 'it becomes pure', with stative **-é**: *gr̥-né* 'he is welcome', *vṛ-nī-máhe* 'we choose', *gr̥bh-n-ate*, *pu-n-até*, *pu-n-áte* (AV), *ri-n-até*, *vṛ-nv-áte*, *badh-n-áte* 'bind for themselves';

ipf. *á-vṛ-nī-i*, *á-vṛ-nī-ta*, *a-vṛ-nī-mahi*, *a-gr̥bh-n-ata*;

inj. sg. *hr̥-nī-thās* 'you are angry', *gr̥bh-nī-ta*, pl. *gr̥bh-n-ata*;

subj. *vī-kr̥-nā-vahai* 'let us both sell' YS^m, *jā-nā-mahai* 'let us understand' AV;

opt. *jā-nī-thās* RVKh, *vī ... str̥-nī-máhi* 'we want to spread out';

iptv. *vṛ-nī-śvá*, *hr̥-nī-tām*, *str̥-nī-tam*, *vṛ-nī-dhvám*, *jā-n-atām*;

part. *jā-n-āná-*, *gr̥bh-n-āná-* AV+, *sam-gr̥bhāná-* (with loss of *-n-*) MS^p.

In Av., no forms appear with *-nī-* < **-n-H-*, so that the stem alters in principle only between *-nā-* and *-n-*, e.g. YAv. *fr̥-nā-ti* 'pleases', OAv. *friiṇ-mahi* < **fr̥-n-mahi*, YAv. *fr̥-n-ənti*. Only thematic forms are attested in the Av. opt., e.g. OAv. *zara-naē-mā* 'we may not irritate, anger (you)' Y 28,9 (< **zər²-naē-mā*), YAv. *fra-or²-naē-ta* (*fra-var* 'choose'), cf. NARTEN MSS 41 (1982) 145 = Kl. Schr. 268.²³⁹

²³⁸ Instead of **ja(n)nā-* < **jñ-nā-*; cf. YAv. subj. *paⁱti.za-nā-t*, *auua.za-nq-n* with *ā*, and OAv. iptv, 2nd pl. *paⁱtī.zā-nā-tā*, OPers. ipf. 3rd sg. *a-dā-nā* with *ā*. The long *ā* may be due to the compensaion of the one dissimilated *n* (cf., however, n. 219 on *manu-té*) or have been introduced after a form such as **jā-tá-* (attested, however, Ved. *jñā-tá-*) < **gñh₁-tó-* (Grk. γνω-τό-ς), like *kr̥-nā-ti* and *pr̥-nā-ti** (see below). Cf. MAYRHOFFER EWAia I 601.

²³⁹ On the opt. *vidh-é-ma*, *van-é-ma*, OAv. *van-aē-mā* of the athemat. root-aor., cf. p. 95f.

The weak root-forms *krī* ‘buy, purchase’ and *prī* ‘please’ are restored in the case of *krī-ṇā-ti* and *prī-ṇā-ti** instead of **krī-ṇā-ti* < **k^wri-neh₂-*, **prī-ṇā-ti* < **pri-neH-*, probably by virtue of the verbal adj. *krī-tá-*, *prī-tá-*, or similar.²⁴⁰ The existence of historically correct forms is confirmed metrically, e.g. *prī-ṇ-anti* IX 74,4, part. *prī-ṇ-ānó* I 73,1, II 11,17, IV 3,14, VII 13,1, and also through Pāli *ki-ṇā-ti*. Cf. OLDENBERG Proleg. 477f., STRUNK Nasalprä. 123; cf. also above n. 238.

The verbs in this class have often a -yá- stem [Th. 2.5] beside them: *gr̥bh-ā-yá-ti* :: *gr̥bh-nā-*, *skabh-ā-yá-* :: *skabh-nā-*, *priy-ā-yá-* :: *prī-ṇā-*, *math-ā-yá-* :: *math-nā-*, etc., sometimes without counterpart in -ná-, e.g. *damā-yá-* ‘restrain’, *panā-yá-* ‘admire’. There are corresponding forms in OAv., YAv., and OPers. The formation is interpreted as an Indo-Iranian development extended with -yá-, as shown in the YAv. coexistence of *mitaiiatu* and *miθnatu* ‘let him/her rest’ (Y 10,1, SCHINDLER, orally): *mit-a-īia-tu* < **mit-ṇh₂-iē-tu* (with YAv./East-Iran. *-āja-* < **-āja-*), *miθ-na-tu* < **mit-né-h₂-tu* (with *θ* before a consonant, *°nā-tu* after *°īia-tu*).²⁴¹

3.5. aorist system

Aorist stems are inflected in the ind., inj., subj., opt., and iptv., and form part.s, theoretically in both act. and mid. of all categories. The ind. is restricted to the past. The sigmatic aorists have no act. forms in the opt., which is supplented from the athemat. root-aor.; also their mid. forms seem to be used only for their special meanings. On the opt. and the precativ., cf. above 3.3.3.: p. 93 ff.

3.5.1. Athematic root-aorists have the full grade in the root in the act. inj., except in the 3rd pl.; the ind.s are made from the inj.s by adding the augment (*á-*). The modal stem for the subj. has a full-grade root and a thematic vowel. The opt. is formed from the zero-grade root with suffix -yá- (in the act. except in the 3rd pl.) or -ī- (in the 3rd pl. act. and all mid. forms; the endings are accented in subordinate sentences). On the “acrodynamic root-aor.” and the type *gaméma*, *vanéma* (OAv. *vanaēmā*), cf. p. 95 f. The iptv.-stems are strong in the 3rd sg. act., pre-

²⁴⁰ However, *kṣi-ṇā-ti* (: *kṣī-nā-*), *jī-nā-ti* (: *jī-tá-*), *mi-nā-ti* (: *pra-mī-ta-*), *ri-ṇā-ti*, *ju-nā-ti* ‘hastens’ (: *jūt-á-*), *pu-nā-ti* (: *pū-tá-*), cf. also *si-nā-ti* (: *si-tá-*).

²⁴¹ Old titles on the -āya-formation are cited in GOTÖ IJ 31 (1988) 321 n. 5 (in addition: NARTEN IJ 4, 1960, 121). — *iraj-yá-ti* ‘conduct straight, lead’ might be interpreted in a similar way as a form extended with -iē- from a nasal-infix pres. [Ath. 4.1] **h₃r̥-n-g-* (cf. thematic *r̥-ñ-j-á-* ‘stretch oneself out, move in a straight way’): **h₃r̥-n-g-iē-* (with restored *r̥*) or **h₃r̥-n-g-iē-*, cf. PETERS Sprache 32 (1986[1988]) 372; cf. denominative (p. 132 with n. 292).

dominantly also in the dual and plural in the act., cf. 3.3.4.: p. 96ff. These schemes are of PII origin.

An old exception in ablaut is *á-bhū-t*, *bhū-t* from *bhavⁱ/bhū/*b^huā* ‘come into being, become’, cf. Grk. *ἐϕϋ*; and analogically after this *a-sū-t* ‘she has just given birth’ (MS^m).²⁴² — From the RV (*kar-*, *gam-* with analogic *k* and *g* resp.):

Act. ind. sg. *á-sthā-m* ‘I have just settled myself, stood’, *á-gam-am* ‘I have gone’, *á-kar-am* ‘I have made’, 2nd *á-sthā-s*, *á-gan*, *a-kar*, *á-bhū-s*, 3rd *á-dhā-t* (OPers. *adā*), *á-gan*, *á-kar*, *á-bhū-t*; **du.** *á-bhū-tam*, *á-bhū-tām*; **pl.** *á-gan-ma*, *á-kar-ma* (cf. OPers. *a-ku-mā*), *á-bhū-ma*, *á-kar-ta*, *á-gā-ta* ‘ye have just stridden, gone’, *á-bhū-ta*, *á-gm-an*, *á-kr-an*, *á-bhūv-an* (with secondary *ū*), with the **r-ending** in the case of the roots in *-ā*: *á-sth-ur*, *á-gur*, and in the ablautless *a-kram-ur*;

inj. sg. *sthā-m*, *gam-am*, *ar-am* ‘I move, push myself’ (cf. OAv. ind. *āar-əm*), *kar-am*, *darś-am* ‘I see’ (OAv. *darś-s-əm*), 2nd *dā-s* ‘you give’, *dhā-s* ‘you set, settle’ (OAv. *dā*, *dā-s-cā*), *kar*, 3rd *dā-t*, *dhā-t* (OAv. *dāt*), *gan* (OAv. *jān*), *kar* (OAv. *cōr²-t*); **du.** *dā-tam*, *dhā-tam*, with primary ending (HOFFMANN Inj. 111): *bhū-thās*, *bhū-tās*; **pl.** *gam-ma*, *kar-ma*, *gan-tana*, *sthā-ta* (cf. OAv. *dā-tā*), *gm-an* (OAv. *g³mān*), *kr-an*, *drś-an*, with the **r-ending**: *kram-ur*, *d-ūr*, *dh-ūr* (cf. OAv. *dān*), *sth-ur*;

subj. sg. *gam-ā-ni* (cf. OAv. *jim-ā*), *yój-ā* ‘I will yoke’ (OAv. *yaoj-ā*), *gam-a-s*, *dā-s* (cf. OAv. *dā-hī*), *gām-a-t* (OAv. *jim-a-t*), *dā-ti*, *dā-t*, *dhā-ti*, *dhā-t* (OAv. *dā-ā-tī*, *dā-ā-t*), *bhūv-a-t* (OAv. *buu-a-t*); **du.** 2nd *gam-a-thas*, *sthātas*; **pl.** *gam-ā-ma* (OAv. *jim-ā-ma*), *dhā-ā-ma* (OAv. *dā-ā-mā*), *gām-a-nti*, *gām-a-n* (OAv. *jim-ən*), *bhūv-an* (YAv. *bun* < **buu-ən*);

opt. sg. 1st (remodelled from the acrodyn. opt., e.g. **d^haijam*/**d^haiijam* < **d^héh₁-ih₁-i_h*) *deyām* (*dey_aām*: /*daija-am*/ or /*daiij-am*/, from *dā* ‘give’), *dheyām* (*dh_ey_aām*: *dhā* ‘set, settle’), see p. 95; cf. OAv. hysterodyn. (regular) *dii_aqm* < **d^hH-jaH-am*; (precative [cf. p. 94]) *bhū-yās-am*; 2nd *gam-yā-s* (OAv. YAv. *jam-iiā*), *bhū-yās* (YAv. *bu-iiā*); 3rd (prec. [cf. p. 95]) *jñe-yās* (*jñā* ‘understand’), *pe-yās* (*pā* ‘drink’), *gam-yās*, *bhū-yās* (cf. OAv. *jam-iiā-t*, OPers. *ā-jam-iyā*, OAv. *d-iiā-t*/ *dā-iiā-t*, YAv. *bu-iiā-t*); **du.** *yuj-yā-va*, *yuj-yā-tām*; **pl.** *kri-yā-ma*, *bhū-yā-ma* (OAv. *bu-iiā-mā*, YAv. *bu-iiā-ma*), *sthe-yā-ma*, (prec.) *kri-yās-ma*; *aś-y-ur* (*naś/aś* ‘attain’), *dhey-ur*, cf. YAv. *jam-iiān*, *jam-iiār²š*, *bu-iiān*, *bu-iiār²š*; on the “autonomous” them. forms *gamey-am*, *gamé-ma*, and acrodyn. *vi-dhé-ma*, cf. p. 95f.;

iptv.²⁴³ **sg.** *kr-dhī*, *ga-dhi*/*ga-hi* (OAv. *ga-īdī*), *yan-dhī*, *pā-hi*; *gan-tu* (OAv. *jan-tū*) *dhā-tu* (OAv. *dā-tū*), *śró-tu* (OAv. *srao-tū*); **pl.** *dhā-ta* (OAv. *dā-tā*), *dhā-*

²⁴² Cf. n. 274, n. 140, in addition, McCONE The Indo-European Origins (1991) 115ff. [On OLat. subj. *fuat*, Lat. ipf. *-bā-*, cf. GIPPERT Fs. Meid (1999) 125–137.]

²⁴³ Cf. Inj. forms in the hortative function, e.g., 2nd sg. *dhā-s* (often), *dā-s* (often), *gā-s* (e.g. VII 62,2), *sthā-s* (VI 24,9); 3rd sg. *dhā-t* (often), *dā-t* (VII 97,4), *kar* (I 186,5, IV

tana, *kár-ta/kár-tana/kṛ-ta*, *gán-ta/gán-tana/ga-ta*, *śrótā/śrutā* (OAv. *srao-tā*), *dhā-ntu*, *śruv-antu* (cf. OAv. *sc-antū* from *hac* ‘follow, be in company of’), *gam-a-ntu* (from the subj.-stem);

part. *kr-ánt-*, *gm-ánt-*, *sthánt-*, *pánt-/paánt-* (cf. OAv. *d-ant-*).

Mid. ind. sg. 1st *a-kr-i*, *a-jan-i*, 2nd *á-kṛ-thās*, *á-sthi-thās*, 3rd *a-kṛ-ta* (OPers. *a-ku-tā*), *á-ma-ta* (*man* ‘think’, cf. OAv. *a-cis-tā* ‘has taught’), with ending *-at*: *á-d-at* (cf. n. 202), therefrom *á-d-am*, *á-d-as*; **du.** *abhy-àdhītām(?)* X 4,6 (instead of **a-dh-ātām*), cf. OAv. *a-sruu-ātām*; **pl.** *á-gan-mahi*, *á-dhī-mahi*, *á-ci-dhvam* (*cay/ci* ‘note’), cf. OAv. *a-srū-dūm*, 3rd (with *-ata* :: inj. *-anta*, cf. p. 90) *á-kr-ata*, *á-gm-ata*, *a-juṣ-ran* I 71,1, *á-yuj-ran*, *á-viś-ran* VIII 27,12, *á-sthi-ran* (6×), *a-sprdh-ran*, (on *-ran*, *-ram*, cf. p. 119; NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 24f.; for *a-yuk-ṣ-ata* cf. p. 114);

inj. sg. 2nd *mṛ-thās* (*mar/mṛ* ‘die’), *mṛṣ-thās* (*marṣ/mṛṣ* ‘forget’), with the primary ending *dhīse* I 56,6; 70,9, X 21,3, cf. OAv. with full-grade root *dā-ñhā* < **d^hā-sa*, *māñghā* < **man-sa*; 3rd *abhi-vik-ta* (*vej/vij* ‘dart up’), *prá ... vṛ-ta* (*varⁱ/vṛ* ‘choose’, OAv. with the full-grade root *var^a-tā*, *fra-uuar^a-tā*), *ar-ta* (*ar/r* ‘set oneself in motion’, with the full-grade root), cf. OAv. *gūš-tā* ‘heard’, *cis-tā* ‘taught’, YAv. *srī-ta* (**sraī/sri* ‘lean’), with the full-grade root OAv. *mañ-tā* ‘thought’, *dā-tā*, *apa-iiañ-tā* (*yam* ‘hold’); **du.** 1st *gan-vahi*, cf. OAv. *d-uudⁱdī* < **d^hH-ūad^hi*; **pl.** 1st cf. OAv. *var^a-maⁱdī*, 3rd (with *-anta* :: ind. *-ata*, cf. OAv. *vī-śii-ātā* < **ui-čī-ata* ‘distinguish’ probably as a general inj., cf. p. 90) *kr-anta*, *juṣ-anta*, *budh-anta*, *mṛṣ-anta*, *yuj-anta*²⁴⁴);

subj. sg. *mán-ai* (OAv. *mān-āi-cā*), *mar-ai*, cf. OAv. *yaož-d-ānē*, YAv. *fra-uuar-āne*; *kár-a-se*, cf. OAv. *dāñ-hē*; *kár-a-te*, *yam-a-te* (OAv. *ā ... [a]yam-a-tē* Y 31,13), cf. OAv. *cōiθ-a-tē*, *dā-ā-tē*, YAv. *yaož-dā-tē*; **du.** 2nd *dhéthe*, *dhaithe*, 3rd cf. OAv. *jamaētē*; **pl.** 1st *dhā-mahe*, *kár-ā-mahe*, *gám-ā-mahai*; 2nd cf. OAv. *d-a-duuiē* (short-vocalic **d^hH-a-d^huaj* or **dā-ā-duuiē* < **d^haH-a-d^huaj* Y 46,15); 3rd *vár-a-nte*, *vár-a-nta* (*var/vṛ* ‘cover, enclose’), cf. OAv. *frārəntē* < **pra-ar-a-ntai*, *dā-ā-ntē*, *yaoj-a-ntē*, *vaxš-ə-ntē* (*vaxš/uxš* ‘make grow’);

opt. sg. 1st *aś-ī-ya* (< **Hṛk-ih₁-h₂e*, *naś* ‘attain’), *mur-ī-ya* (instead of **mrīya*: < **mrīrya* or **mər-īya* preserving vocalic **r?*, *mar/mṛ* ‘die’), cf. OAv. *d-ii-ā* < **d-iṣ-a* < **d^hh₁-ih₁-h₂e*; 2nd cf. OAv. *d-ī-šā* < **d^hh₁-ih₁-so*; 3rd *ar-ī-ta* (with the full-grade root), *uh-ī-ta* (*vah* ‘transport’), *vur-ī-ta* (*varⁱ/vṛ* ‘choose’), cf. OAv. *dr-ī-tā* < **d^hr-ih₁-to*; **pl.** *dhīmahi* (*dhā*)²⁴⁵ *aś/naś-ī-māhi*, *yam-ī-mahi*, cf. OAv. *maⁿ-i-maⁱdī*, *va^r-i-maⁱdī*;

21,10), *gā-t* (II 33,14; 38,11), pl. *dh-ur* (several times), *d-ur* (X 161,4), *g-ur* (IV 37,2), see HOFFMANN Inj. 261 ff., 264. Cf. p. 98, 118, n. 246, n. 248 f., n. 253, n. 259 ff.

²⁴⁴ The only exception *yujata* V 52,8 seems to be a metrically conditioned nonce form, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 362 n. 11. Cf. p. 90.

²⁴⁵ Cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 254 n. 286, MSS 22 (1967) 25 = Aufs. 483 f.

iptv.²⁴⁶⁾ **sg.** *kṛ-švā* (OAv. *kər²-šuuā*, OPers. *ku-šuvā*), *dhi-švā* (cf. OAv. *dā-huuā*), *yuk-švā*; **pl.** *kṛ-dhvam*;

part. *kr-ānā-*, *idh-ānā-*, *dṛś-ānā-*, *dṛś-āna-*, *yuj-ānā-*, *ar-ānā-* (with the full-grade root); cf. YAv. *yazāna-*, *starāna-* ‘scattering, spreading out’, *sraiana-*.

3.5.2. Thematic root-aorists²⁴⁷⁾ have a zero-grade root (predominantly in the shape of *CiC*, *CuC*, *CṛC*, *CaC*, and *CR* from *CRā*) and the accented suffix *-á-* in the unaugmented forms, just as in the present [Th.1.2]. The stem *vid-á-* ‘find, gain’ is one of the rare formations which go back to PIE, and is attested in Ved. in many and various forms, cf. OAv. *vīd-a-t*, Grk. *εἶδ-ε* ‘saw’, Arm. *eg-i-t* ‘found’: < **yid-é-*; furthermore, Ved. *á-ruh-a-t* ‘has (just) ascended’, Hom. *ῥ-λνθ-ε*, OIr. *lui-d* ‘went’ < **h₁lud^h-e-*. Many stems have their origin presumably in thematisation from the athemat. root-aor. at some stage of the language:

Act. ind. **sg.** *á-vid-a-m*, *-a-s*, *-a-t*, **pl.** *á-vid-ā-ma*, *á-vid-a-ta*, *-a-n*;

inj. **sg.** *vid-a-m*, *khy-a-m* (*khyā* ‘behold, regard’); *vid-a-s*, *khy-a-s* (cf. OAv. *ā-xs-ō*); *vid-á-t* (OAv. *vīd-a-t*), *tákṣ-a-t* (*takṣ* ‘hew, fashion’, OAv. *taš-a-t* [or *taš-a-t*]), *ruh-á-t/ruh-a-t* (*roh/ruh* ‘grow’), *śiṣ-a-t* (*śās/śiṣ* ‘order, instruct’); **pl.** *khy-á-ta*; *vid-a-n*, *khy-á-n*;

subj. **sg.** *ruh-á-m* VIII 1,31 (*roh/ruh* ‘ascend, mount’, cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 247f.), cf. OAv. *han-ānī* (*han-a-* = Ved. *san-á/sán-a-* ‘conquer’); *vid-á-si*, *vid-á-s*, cf. OAv. *frā* (**pr-a-*, *par* ‘pass over’); *muc-ā-ti* (*moc/muc* ‘release’), *vidh-ā-ti* (OAv. *vīd-ā-ti*, *vidh* ‘arrange, serve, worship’), cf. YAv. *sriš-ā-ti* (*sriš-a-* = Ved. *śriṣ-a-* ‘cling’), *vid-á-t* (OAv. *vīd-ā-t*); **pl.** *ruh-á-va*, *vid-á-thas*, *tákṣ-ā-ma*, *vid-ā-tha*;

opt. **sg.** *san-éy-am* (*san* ‘conquer’), *san-e-t*, cf. OAv. *sīš-ōi-t* (Ved. *śiṣ-a-* ‘order, instruct’); **pl.** *sán-e-ma/san-é-ma* (OAv. *han-aē-mā*), *ruh-e-mā* (‘ascend’), cf. OAv. *ap-aē-mā* (cf. Ved. *āp-a-* ‘attain, reach’), on *vi-dhéma*, cf. p.95f.;

iptv.²⁴⁸⁾ **sg.** *muc-a*, *sád-a* (cf. OAv. *vīdā*, *sīšā*), *sád-a-tu*; **pl.** *sád-a-ta*, *sad-a-tana*, *sád-a-ntu*;

part. *vid-á-nt-*, *vidh-á-nt-* (OAv. *vīd-a-nt-*), *sán-a-nt-* (OAv. *han-a-nt-*); *vid-a-nt-ī-*.

Mid. ind. **sg.** *á-hv-e* (*hvā* ‘call’), *a-khy-a-ta*; **pl.** *a-hv-a-nta*;

inj. **pl.** *śiṣ-ā-mahi*, *vid-á-nta*, perhaps *ar-a-nta* with the full-grade root (: pres. *r-cchá-ti* ‘come upon, get in, meet’), cf. OAv. *xš-ē-ntā* (Ved. *kṣā* ‘rule’);

²⁴⁶⁾ Hortative Inj. *aš-ta* (*naš/as* ‘attain’) VII 84,5 = 85,5 (HOFFMANN Inj. 264). Cf. n. 243.

²⁴⁷⁾ Cf. G. CARDONA The Ino-European Thematic Aorists, 1960.

²⁴⁸⁾ The inj.s are applied partly in the hortative function: **sg.** 2nd *sad-a-s* (several times), *khy-a-s* (VIII 65,9), 3rd *ruh-a-t* (V 36,2, IX 40,2), *sad-a-t* (III 13,1), cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 263f. Cf. n. 243.

subj. sg. 1st cf. OAv. *xs-āi* (*xsā* ‘behold’, OIA *khyā*); 3rd *juṣ-ā-te* (*joṣ/juṣ* ‘be fond of, enjoy’), *muc-ā-te*; pl. *sic-ā-mahe* (*sec/sic* ‘pour out’);

opt. sg. 2nd cf. YAv. *xš-aē-ša*, *han-aē-ša*; 3rd *juṣ-é-ta*, cf. OAv. *xš-aē-tā*; pl. *vidh-e-mahi* (cf. act. *vi-dhéma*), *juṣ-e-rata*;

iptv.²⁴⁹⁾ sg. 2nd *juṣ-á-sva*, 3rd *juṣ-á-tām*; pl. 2nd *juṣ-á-dhvam*, *muc-a-dhvam*, 3rd *juṣ-á-ntām*, *sad-a-ntām* AV (cf. OAv. *xš-ē-ntqm*);

part. *guh-á-māna-* (*goh/guh* ‘hide’), *jás-a-māna-* ‘languishing, hungry’, *dás-a-māna-* ‘id.’.

Forms secondarily thematised in Ved. are, e.g. *mā kar-a-t* in the RV and *kar-a-* (*ā-kar-a-m*, *-a-s*, *-a-t*) AV+, *gam-a-* RV X+ (cf. p. 96).

3.5.3. The main body of **reduplicated aorists**²⁵⁰⁾ consists of forms with zero-grade root and long reduplicated syllable with *i/ī* or *u/ū*, inflected thematically and functioning as the aor. of the caus. (3.7.4.: p. 127ff.) or other factitive pres.; this type is productive also in the later language: inj. in the RV, e.g., 3rd sg. act. *jī-jan-a-t*, 3rd pl. mid. *jī-jan-a-nta* (: *jan-áya-ti/te* ‘beget’); 1st sg. act. *cu-krudh-a-m*, pl. *cu-krudh-ā-ma* (: *krodh-áya-ti* ‘make angry’); 2nd sg. *rī-radh-a-s*, 3rd sg. *-t*, 2nd du. *-tam*, 2nd pl. *-ta* (: *randh-áya-ti* ‘subdue’); 2nd sg. mid. *mā vi-bī-bhiṣ-a-thās* (: *bhīṣ-áya-māna-* ŚB, etc. ‘frighten’). No part. forms seem to be attested. There are also forms with *p* of the caus.-suffix *-p-áya-*: *mā ci-kṣi-p-a-s* (: *kṣā-p-áya-ti* ‘make burn’ AV), *á-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-t*, *mā sám-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-s*, *mā á-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-t* (: *sthā-p-aya-* ‘make stay’), *mā áva-jī-hi-p-a-s* ‘lest you make [us] go astray’ (: *hā-p-aya-ti*, caus. of *jī-hī-te* ‘moves, stirs’ AV).

Athematic stems are attested under similar circumstances, too, often with a full grade of the root: **act. ind.** 2nd 3rd sg. *a-jī-gar* (*jār-áya-ti* ‘wake’), 3rd sg. *á-śi-śre-t* (: *śráy-a-ti* ‘make lean’ :: *śráy-a-te* ‘lean’; cf. also 3.6.3.: p. 122; also an athemat. root-aor. *á-śre-t* appears in the meaning of ‘has made lean’), *á-pu-po-t* (: *pu-nā-ti* ‘purify’, with a short redupl. syllable), 3rd pl. *á-śi-śray-ur*; — **inj.** 2nd 3rd sg. *dī-dhar*, **subj.** *dī-dhar-a-s*, *dī-dhar-a-t* (: *dhār-áya-ti* ‘hold, support’) beside **ind.** *a-dī-dhar-a-t*, **inj.** *dī-dhar-a-t*; — **subj.** *jū-juv-a-t* (: *ju-nā-ti* ‘impel’), *pī-par-a-t* (: *pār-áya-ti* ‘carry over’); — **opt. mid.** 1st pl. *cu-cyuv-ī-mahi*, 3rd pl. *cu-cyav-ī-rata* (only VIII 9,8.9 with *ā*: *cyāv-áya-te* ‘agitate [something towards oneself]’); — **ind.** *a-śi-śnat*, **subj.** *śi-śnath-a-s*, *-t* beside **themat. inj.** *śi-śnath-a-t* (: *śnath-áya-ti* ‘pierce’); — **subj.** *śi-śrath-a-t* beside **themat. inj.** *śi-śrath-a-s* (: *śrath-áya-ti*

²⁴⁹⁾ Inj. 3rd sg. *juṣ-a-ta* and pl. *juṣ-a-nta* are attested well in the hortative function, as opposed to the rare iptv. forms: *juṣ-á-tām* (only X 165,2) and *juṣ-a-ntām* (3×), cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 264. Cf. n. 243.

²⁵⁰⁾ Cf. J. BENDAHMAN *Der reduplizierte Aorist*, 1993.

‘loosen’); — from the root *vart/vrt* ‘turn’ (: *vart-áya* ‘make someone/something turn, turn [trans.]’).²⁵¹ **act. opt.** (*á-/...*) *va-vrt-yā-m*, *-yā-s*, *-yā-t*, *-yā-ma*, *-y-ur*, **subj.** (*á-/...*) *va-várt-a-ti*, *-t*, **iptv.** (*á-/...*) *va-vrt-tana*, **mid. ind.** (*á-*, *ví...*, *sám...*) *a-va-vrt-ran*, *a-va-vrt-ranta*, after them 3rd sg. *a-va-vart-i* (in the RV *sam-á-*), **opt.** (*á-/...*) *va-vrt-ī-ya*, *-ī-ta*, *-ī-mahi*, **act. themat. inj.** *va-vrt-a-t*; cf. *a-vī-vrt-a-t* X 174,3.

The stem *va-vrt-* in this type reminds us of Hom. *πε-πιθ-εῖν* ‘persuade’ (: *πειθω*). Some factor for producing the factitive redupl. aor., therefore, could have existed in PIE. However, a system such as [aor. with long syllable reduplication with *-i/ī-* or *-u/ū-* :: caus. *-áya-*] is built only in OIA, where the themat. redupl. aor. in factitive meaning is very productive. In Iran., only two stems are known, both in intrans. meaning: OAv. YAv. *vaoc-a-* ‘speak’ (PIE formation), OAv. *nqs-a-* ‘perish, disappear’. KÜMMEL Perf. interprets the modal forms of *va-vrt-* as perf. (88, 466ff.), and supposes perf. origins for some verbs in this group.

The inherited *vóc-/vóc-a-* (< **ue-uk^w-[e]*-,²⁵² cf. Gr. *εἰπ-[ε]*- < **ue-ik^w-[e]*-, dissimilated < **ue-uk^w-[e]*-) from the root *vac/uc* ‘speak’ is well attested in many forms, also in the later language and MIA; in the RV:

Act. ind. *a-voc-a-m*, *á-voc-a-t*, *-ā-ma*, *-a-n*;

inj. *voc-a-m* (YAv. *fra-uuaoc-ə-m*), *vóc-a-s* (OAv. *vaoc-a-s-cā*, YAv. *vaoc-ō*), *vóc-a-t* (OAv. YAv. *vaoc-a-t*); *voc-ā-ma* (OAv. *ā-uuaoc-ā-mā*), *voc-a-ta*, *voc-a-n*;

subj. *voc-ā* (OAv. **vaoc-ā* in *vaoca-cā*), *voc-ā-ti* (1×; OAv. *vaoc-ā-t*, YAv. *vaoc-ā-t*), *voc-ā-ma* (OAv. *fra-uuaoc-ā-mā*, YAv. *vaoc-ā-mā*), **athemat.** *vóc-a-ti* (5×);

opt. *voc-éy-am*, *voc-é-s*, *voc-e-tam*, *voc-é-ma* (OAv. *vaoc-ōi-mā-cā*), *voc-éy-ur*;

iptv.²⁵³ *voc-ā* (OAv. *vaoc-ā*); *voc-a-tu*, *voc-a-tam*, *voc-at-ā* (YAv. *vaoc-a-ta*).

Mid. ind. *ávoc-a-ta*, **inj.** *voc-e*, **subj.** *voc-ā-vahai*, *vóc-a-nta*, **opt.** *voc-e-ya*, *-e-mahi*.

There are formations which pair with an intransitive or iterative pres., predominantly with the zero-grade root syllable: *neś-a-t* (: *nás-ya-ti* ‘perish, disappear’ :: *nās-áya-ti* with the factitive redupl.-aor. *a-nī-nás-á-t*); *a-pa-pt-a-t*, *-a-n*, *pa-pt-a-s*, *pa-pt-a-tā*, *pá-pt-a-n* (: iterative *pat-aya-ti* ‘fly’); athematic *á-du-dro-t*, **subj.** *du-dráv-a-t* (: *dráv-a-ti*, *drav-aya-nta* ‘run, rush’); themat. and athemat. side by side: **inj.** *ta-tán-a-t*, **subj.** *ta-tan-a-s* (< **te-tñh₂-e-t*: *stan-áya-ti* < **stñh₂-éje-* or **stonh₂-éje-* ‘thunder’).

²⁵¹ Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 589–592.

²⁵² On the basis of Ved. **subj.** *vóc-a-ti* and the Grk. *α*-thematic inflexion, e.g., Ion. *εἰπ-α*, one supposes the athemat. stem as original, cf. SCHWYZER 745, RIX 216, BENDAHMAN 40f.

²⁵³ *voc-ā* is attested only in I 132,1, whereas OAv. *vaoc-ā* 7×; *voc-a-tu* only III 54,19. The **Inj.** *vóc-a-s* is used many times in hortative function, thus also 3rd sg. *vóc-a-t* (3×). Cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 263f. Cf. n. 243.

The vocalism of *neś-a-* is that of the analogic weak stem in the perf. of roots in *CaC* (ví... *neś-ur* BĀU, 3rd sg. *na-nā-śa* RV, cf. 3.6.1.: p. 119f.); the counterpart in Iran., where no such analogic development in the perf. is known, shows naturally an original stem form **na-nć-a-*: OAv. *nq-sa-t*, *a-nq-sa-t* Y 53,6.7. The stem form *neś-a-* points, in any case, to an affinity with the perf., cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 64f.

3.5.4. Sigmatic aorists²⁵⁴ consist of the [1] *-s-* and [2] *-iṣ-* aor., and only secondarily [3] *-siṣ-* and [4] *-sa-* aorists. Their inflexional pattern is acrodynamic, with the long-grade root in the act., and full-grade root in the mid. in the ind./inj.; the rest moods (subj., opt., iptv.) are built from the full-grade roots. The *-iṣ-* aor. is only a variation of the *-s-* aor. in the case of *seṭ* roots, i.e. roots ending in a laryngeal, which appears as *-i-*. If a root ends with *-ā* or *-ī* (*-ay^l*), however, its sigmat. aor. appears on phonological grounds as a simple *-s-* aor.: *-ā-s-* or *-ai-ṣ-/e-ṣ-* respectively. Iran. has no *-iṣ-* aor., because the laryngeal has been lost in this environment. The stems are marked as aorists by the *-s-* and, accordingly, expected to be built to “present roots”. Nevertheless, we find among the older formations only a few stems built to roots having strictly durative *Aktionsart*, i.e., roots showing athemat. root-presents. Further investigations are needed on the mechanism of aspect stem formation and its relationship to suppletion. On the frequently observed coexistence of sigmat. aor.s with full-grade themat. root pres., cf. GOTÖ I. Präs. 63.

PIE formations are found, e.g. in **deḡk-s-/deḡk-s-* (**deḡk* ‘point out’) in Grk. *ἐ-δειξ-α*, Lat. *dēx-ī*, Av. *dāiš-* (e.g., OAv. 2nd sg. inj. *dāiš* < **dāḡć-ṣ-ṣ*), **ueḡh-s-/ueḡh-s-* (*ueḡh* ‘carry, transport’) in Cyprian *ē-ḡeḡ-ε*, Lat. *uēx-ī*, Ved. *vākṣ-*.

The **part.** is extremely rare; the most certain forms we know of being: *dhákṣat-/dákṣat-* (*dagh/dah* ‘burn’, 4×) and *prá-sakṣat-* (*sah* ‘overpower’, n. 125) – cf. also n. 279 –, and in YAv., *maṇ-h-āna-* and *mar^ox-ṣ-āna-* (n. 258).

The homonymous 2nd and 3rd sg. **a-yā-s* (attested *a-yā-s-am*, *a-yā-s-ur*) from the pres. root *yā*, *yā-ti* was differentiated into **a-yās-īs* and *a-yās-īt* (RV). This change also served to distinguish them from the ipf. *a-yā-s*. From **a-yās-īs*, *a-yās-īt*, then, *a-yās-iṣ-am*, *a-yās-iṣ-ur*, etc. are formed in the RV (*-ī-* as in the *-iṣ-* aor.). Thus, the way has been opened for the **-siṣ- aor.** The *-siṣ-* aor. is attested in the RV only from *yā* (both ‘travel’ and ‘beg’) and *gā* ‘sing’, and later from 8 more roots ending in *-ā*; secondarily, according to Pāṇ VII 2,73, also from *yam*, *ram*, *nam*; attested *upānaṁsīt* VādhAnvākh II 2. Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 73, 159.

The extension of **a-yā-s* to 2nd **a-yā-s-īs* and 3rd *a-yā-s-īt* is owing to the proportion [athemat. root-aor. *a-kramⁱ-am*, *a-kramⁱ-ur* :: *a-kramⁱ-s*, *-t*] = [*a-yās-am*,

²⁵⁴) Cf. Johanna NARTEN Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda, Wiesbaden 1967.

a-yās-ur :: *x*]. This formation has become standard after the RV, where the endings of the 2nd and 3rd sg. act. are in the -*s*- aor. -*sīs*, -*sīt*, and in the -*iṣ*- aor. -*īs*, -*īt*.

Forms of the athemat. root-aor. such as *a-kramⁱ-am*, *°mī-s*, *°mī-t*, *°mī-ur* (*kramⁱ* ‘stride, step’) have been reshaped into -*iṣ*- forms: *a-kram-iṣ-am*/*a-kram-ī-m*, *a-kram-ī-s*, *°m-ī-t*, *°m-iṣ-ṭam*. The ablaut-grade of the root reveals their origin. This is also the case with -*s*- aor. forms such as 1st sg. mid. *ā-vṛk-ṣ-i* (*varj/vṛj* ‘twist, wrench off’), which is due to the reinterpretation of athemat. *a-vṛk-ta* (beside *vark*, *a-vṛj-an* etc.) as **a-vṛk-ṣ-ṭa* > *a-vṛk-ta*. Athemat. root-aor.s from *aniṭ* roots, e.g. *ā-tan*, *ā-tn-ata* (*tan* ‘stretch’) have been reformed into more explicit *a-tān* in the RV, and further -*s*- aor. forms are created later.

The correctly formed -*s*- aor. 3rd pl. mid. *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* ‘they have milked out’ (*nir-adhukṣata* RV IX 110,8, *ādhuḥṣata* MS^p) reminds us of *a-yuk-ṣ-ata*, which was remodelled with -*ṣ-ata* from the athemat. root-aor. **a-yuj-ata* (NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 25: “sehr früh aus rhythmischen Gründen umgebaut”), cf. inj. *yuj-anta*, ind. *ā-yuj-ran* (p. 109); cf. the case of *ā-vṛk-ṣ-i* (above) and 3rd sg. *a-vṛk-ta*, *yuk-ta*. The act. *ā-dhuk-ṣ-an* (instead of -*ṣ-ur*) could have been modelled upon *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* after [-*an* :: -*ata*] which is found, e.g., in the athemat. root-aor. ind.; the segmentation of the form as *°k-ṣa-n* would have opened the way for the -**sa-** aor. formation, which spread in stems with the constellation *°kṣa-* after *i*, *u*, *r* (7 roots in the RV, later on 10 more, almost only in the ind./inj. act.). NARTEN 76ff. assumes the following process: *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* was produced through a purely phonological analogy on the basis of ipf. *ā-duh-ran* (AV+) after the pair [*a-vik-ṣ-ata*, *a-sṛk-ṣ-ata* :: root-aor. *a-viś-ran*, *a-sṛg-ran*]; *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* stood in connection with stative-ipf. 3rd pl. *ā-duh-ran* as well as standard ipf. form *a-duh-ata* (ŚB); the proportion [*a-d^huk-ṣ-ata* :: *a-d^huh-ata*] produced the act. *a-dhuk-ṣ-an* on the basis of the ipf. *a-duh-an* (TS^p) by inserting -*s*-. From this *a-dhuk-ṣa-n*, other forms of *d^huk-ṣa-* have been built, and the formation has spread to *marj/mṛj* ‘wipe’ and other stems in *°i/u/r-kṣa-*; pres. *vṛh-ā-ti*, *mṛś-ā-ti* played a linking role for *vṛk-ṣa-* (*varh* ‘tear’), *mṛk-ṣa-* (*marś* ‘touch’), and themat. aor. *guh-ā-* (*goh* ‘hide’), *ruh-ā-* (*roh* ‘ascend, mount’) were the basis for *ā-ghuk-ṣa-t*, *ā-ruk-ṣa-t*.

The phenomenon that the opt. of the sigmat. aor. is supplented by the root-aor. is of PII origin; some mid. forms are nevertheless in use, cf. p. 93 with n. 219.

The so-called -**si** imperatives such as *yā-si*, *jé-ṣi*, *yañ-si*, *bhak-ṣi*, *yák-ṣi*, *sak-ṣi* originated from the subj. of the -*s*- aor. through haplology²⁵⁵) This must have hap-

²⁵⁵) CARDONA Lg 41 (1965) 1–18, SZEMERÉNYI Lg 42 (1966) 1–6 = Scripta Minora IV 1719–1724.

pened in PII, cf. OAv. *dōišī* < **daić-ši* < **daić-ša-si*²⁵⁶ (the only example in Iran.), but has gained productivity only in Vedic. Such forms still serve as subj. in relative clauses in the RV, e.g., *pár-ši* RV I 174,9, *yám-si* I 63,8, and from the analogic -s- aor. *dár-ši* VI 26,5 (*dar/dar/dā* ‘pierce’), *ā-sát-si* III 30,18 (*sad* ‘sit down’).²⁵⁷

[1] **-s- aor.**, e.g.:²⁵⁸ **act.** (*bhar/bhṛ* ‘bring’): **ind.** sg. 1st *a-bhār-ṣ-am*, 3rd *a-bhār* (*a-bhār-ṣīt* ŠB), **inj.** sg. 3rd *bhār*; **subj.** *bhar-ṣ-a-t*; — (*yam* ‘hold’): **ind.** sg. 1st *á-yām-s-am*, 3rd *a-yān*; **subj.** *yām-s-a-t*, *yām-s-a-tas*, *yām-s-a-n* (cf. athemat. root-aor. *yam-am*, subj. *yam-a-t*, iptv. *yan-dhī*, etc.); — (*yā* ‘travel’): **ind.** *a-yā-s-am*, pl. 3rd *a-yā-s-ur*; subj. *yā-s-a-t*, prec. *yā-siṣ-ta*; — (*krand* ‘cry’): **ind.** 2nd 3rd *á-krān* (cf.

²⁵⁶ Cf. SZEMERÉNYI Lg 42 (1966) 4 = Scripta Minora IV 1722. JASANOFF Gs. Cowgill (1987) 92–105 supposes a PIE origin on the ground of Toch. B *päklyauṣ*, *päklyauṣso*, A *päklyoṣ*, *päklyoṣās* (B *klyaus-*, A *klyos-* ‘hear’) < **kléusi*, and some iptv.s in OIr. and Hitt.; cf., however, HACKSTEIN Untersuchungen (1995) 323. DUNKEL Glotta 70 (1992) 216ff., Incontri Linguistici 20 (1997) 40–42, and GARCÍA RAMÓN Pragmatische Kategorien (2009) 88ff. seek a PIE origin of the *-si iptv.s from *-se-si.

²⁵⁷ Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 205 n. 609, also GELDNER ad I 174,9. As a form not affected by the haplology, only *dar-ṣ-a-si* VIII 32,5 is known, cf. NARTEN 145, GARCÍA RAMÓN ib. 83. There are forms with a secondary ending attested: *vák-ṣ-a-s*, *je-ṣ-a-s*, *avi-ṣ-a-s* (*avi* ‘help’).

²⁵⁸ Cf. OIran. (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 230–233): **act. ind./inj.** sg. 2nd OAv. *dāiš* < **dāiç-š-š* (**daiç/dis* ‘point out’), 3rd OAv. *xšnāu-š* < **kšnāu-š-t* (*xšnau/xšnu* ‘sharpen’), YAv. *nāist* < **nāid-s-t* (*naēd/nid* ‘blame’?), OAv. *sqs* < **scānd-s-t* (*saṇd* ‘appear’, cf. Ved. *a-cchān*); pl. 3rd OAv. *ruuāx-š-aṭ* Y 34,13 < **urāg-š-at* < *-ṛt (*ruuaj* ‘wander’, cf. Ved. *vraj*); — **subj.** sg. 1st OAv. *dōiš-ā* < **daiç-š-ā* Y 51,2, 3rd OAv. *jōngh-a-ti-cā* (*gam/jam*), *bax-š-a-tī* (cf. Ved. *bhak-ṣ-a-t*), *var-š-a-tī* (*var-ṣ* ‘work’), YAv. *stā-ṇh-a-ti* (*stā* ‘stand, settle oneself’), *spāṇha-ti* (*spā* ‘throw’); OAv. *ruuāxṣaṭ* Y 44,8, *naēṣaṭ* (Ved. *néṣat*, *naṭ/nī* ‘lead’), *stā-ṇh-a-t*, YAv. *uz-uuaž-a-t* (*vaz* ‘carry’); pl. 1st OAv. *nāš-ā-mā* < **naç-š-ā-ma* (?), *nas* ‘bring’), 3rd OAv. *var-š-a-ntī*, *xšnao-š-a-n*, *vōṇ-gh-a-n* (*van* ‘win, obtain’, Ved. *vanh-s-*); — **opt.** 3rd sg. YAv. *fra-za-h-i-t* (**zā-h-iṭ*, *zā* ‘abandon’?), pl. YAv. *nāš-i-ma* < **naç-š-i-ma* (?); — **iptv.** 2nd sg. OAv. *dōišī* (of subj.-origin, see text, above), pl. OAv. *sqs-tā* < **scānd-s-ta*;

mid. ind./inj. sg. 1st OAv. *fraš-ī* < **frac-š-i* (*fras* ‘ask’), *mōṇ-gh-ī*, OPers. *a-dar-š-iy* (*dar* ‘hold’), pseudo-OAv. *rā-h-ī* (*rā* ‘give, donate’), 3rd OAv. *raos-tā* (**raud/rud* ‘weep, cry’), *θrao-š-tā* (**θrau/θru* ‘feed’), *fra-š-tā*, *bax-š-tā*, *sār-š-tā* (*sar* ‘unite’), YAv. *xšnao-š-ta*, OAv. *mā-s-tā*, YAv. *mā-s-ta* (Ved. *manh-s-a*); pl. 1st OAv. *a-mā-h-mā-dī*, *mā-h-mā-dī* < **man-s-mad-i* with dissimilated **n* (cf. Ved. *agasmahi*, cf. HOFFM. Aufs. 366), 2nd OAv. *θbar-š-š-dūm* < **θbar-š-š-dūm* (*θbars* ‘cut, fashion’); — **subj.** sg. 1st OAv. *xšnao-š-āi*, *mōṇ-gh-āi*, *var-š-ānē*, *hax-š-āi*, 2nd OAv. *rā-ṇh-a-ṇhōi*, 3rd OAv. *mar-š-š-a-tē*, *var-š-a-tē*, YAv. *vaš-a-ta* (*vaz* ‘transport’?); pl. 2nd OAv. *maz-dā-ṇh-ō-dūm*, 3rd YAv. *vašānte*; — **opt.** sg. 2nd YAv. *raēx-š-i-ša* (**raik/ric* ‘leave’); — **iptv.** sg. 2nd OAv. *frašuuā* < **frac-š-š-ua*, pl. OAv. *θrā-z-dūm* (Ved. *trā-dhvam*), *fra-uuōiz-dūm* < **vajd-s-dūam* (**vajd/vid* ‘know’), *sā-z-dūm* < **scā-s-dūam* (*sā* ‘cut off’, Ved. *chā*); — **part.** YAv. *maṇ-h-āna-*, *mar-š-āna-* (*mar-ṣ* ‘destroy’, Ved. *marc/mṛc*).

athemat. root-aor. *akran*, *kran*); — (*yaj* ‘worship’:) **ind.** 2nd sg. *ayās*; **inj.** 2nd sg. *yāt*; **subj.** *yak-ṣ-a-t*; **iptv.** on the subj. stem 3rd du. *yak-ṣ-a-tām*; — (*vah* ‘transport’:) **ind.** 3rd sg. *á-vāt*; **subj.** *vák-ṣ-a-s*, *vak-ṣ-a-ti/vak-ṣ-a-t*, *vak-ṣ-a-tas*, *vak-ṣ-a-n*; (*jai*/ji ‘win, obtain’:) **ind.** *a-jai-ṣ-am*, 2nd 3rd *á-jai-ṣ*, *a-jai-ṣ-ma*, (3rd sg. *ajait*, *ajaiṣīt* AV); **subj.** *jé-ṣ-a-s*, *je-ṣ-a-t*, *jé-ṣ-ā-ma*; — (other forms:) ²⁵⁹⁾ “**si iptv.**” *yā-si*, *jé-ṣi*, *yañ-si*, *yák-ṣi*, *bhak-ṣi*, *vak-ṣi*, *sak-ṣi*; — **subj.** 1st sg. *sto-ṣ-āṇi* (*stav/stu* ‘praise’); (on the opt.-prec. cf. p. 93f. with n. 219);

mid. (*yam*:) **inj.** sg. 1st *yañ-s-i*; **ind.** sg. 3rd *á-yañ-s-ta*, pl. 3rd *a-yañ-s-ata*; **subj.** *yañ-s-a-te*; — (*yaj*:) **ind.** *a-yaṣ-ṭa*; **opt.** *yak-ṣ-īya*; **iptv.** *yak-ṣ-va*; — (*man*, *mán-ya^{te}*:) **inj.** sg. 1st *mañ-s-i* (OAv. *māñghī*; ind. *a-mañ-s-i* ŠB), sg. 3rd *mañ-s-ta* AV (OAv. *maṣ-s-tā*; ind. *a-mañ-s-ta* AB); **ind.** pl. 3rd *a-mañ-s-ata*, (cf. OAv. pl. 1st [*a-*] *māh-mā-dī* < **man-s-madⁱ*, cf. n. 258); **subj.** sg. 1st *māñ-sai* (OAv. *māñghāi*), 2nd *mañ-s-a-se*, 3rd *māñ-s-a-te*, pl. 3rd *māñ-s-a-nte*; **opt.-prec.** *mañ-s-īya*, *mañ-s-īṣ-thās*, *mañ-s-īṣ-ṭa*, *mañ-s-īmāhi*, *mañ-s-ī-rata*; — (*vah*:) **iptv.** *vak-ṣ-va* VS; — (other examples:) **ind.** pl. 1st *agasmahi* < **a-gam-s-madⁱ* (cf. above, on [*a-*] *māh-mā-dī*), **iptv.** ²⁶⁰⁾ 2nd sg. *sák-ṣvā* I 42,1, *sák-ṣ-va* III 37,7 (*sah* ‘overpower’ [cf. word index s.v.]), *trā-ṣ-va* (2×), 2nd pl. *trā-dhvam* (*trā* ‘protect, rescue’, OAv. *thrā-z-dūm*), on the subj.-stem 3rd sg. *rā-s-a-tām*, pl. *rā-s-a-ntām* (*rā* ‘give, donate’). On the opt. *vañ-siṣṭya* ‘I want to win’ (*van*) AV, etc., cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 44, 73f., 236.

[2] **-iṣ-** aor., e.g.: **act. ind.** sg. 1st *a-kāni-ṣ-am* (*kanⁱ/kā* ‘have pleasure, wish’), *a-kāri-ṣ-am* (*karⁱ/kṛ* ‘scatter’), *a-krami-ṣ-am*, and analogically after *-īs*, *-īt*: *a-kramī-m* (from the athem. root-aor. *a-kramī-am*, *a-kramī-s*, *a-kramī-t*, etc., *kramī* ‘stride’), *a-vadhi-ṣ-am* AV (: athemat. root-aor. *vádhi-t*), 2nd *a-kramī-s*, *á-vadhi-s*, 3rd *á-kārī-t* (*karⁱ/kṛ* ‘commemorate’), *a-rāvī-t* (*ravⁱ/rū* ‘roar’), *á-vadhi-t*; du. 3rd *a-manthi-ṣ-tām*; pl. 1st *a-tāri-ṣ-ma* (*tarⁱ/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’), *a-vadhi-ṣ-ma* YS^m TB^p, 3rd *a-tāri-ṣ-ur*, *a-rāvi-ṣ-ur*, *a-dhamv-i-ṣ-ur* (secondary root from the pres.-stem); — **inj.** sg. *vádhi-m*, *tāri-s*, *vádhi-s*, *tāri-t*, *vádhi-t*, du. *tāri-ṣ-ṭam*, *vádhi-ṣ-ṭam*, pl. *vádhi-ṣ-ṭa*, *vádhi-ṣ-ṭana*, *jāri-ṣ-ur* (*jarⁱ/jṛ* ‘waste away’); — (on the opt.-prec. cf. p. 93f. with n. 219); — **subj.** (cf. p. 91f.) sg. *davi-ṣ-āṇi* X 34,5 (*dīv/dyū* ‘gamble’), *sani-ṣ-a-t* (*sanⁱ/sā* ‘conquer’); *vádhi-ṣ-a-s*; with levelled vocalism after the ind.: *tāri-ṣ-a-s*, *tāri-ṣ-a-t*, *sāvi-ṣ-a-t* (*savⁱ/sū* ‘impel’); *sani-ṣ-a-n* AV; — **iptv.** ²⁶¹⁾ sg.

²⁵⁹⁾ Inj. forms are employed partly for the iptv., thus clearly hortative 3rd sg. *yāt* (*yaj* ‘worship’) X 61,21, cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 45, 200. Cf. n. 243.

²⁶⁰⁾ *trā-dhvam* (2×) could be a hortative inj., thus also 2nd du. *rā-s-āthām* I 46,6, cf. NARTEN ib. 45, 200. Cf. n. 243. [*māt-svā/māt-s_uva* (*mad* ‘rejoice’) belongs here, cf. ib. 46f.]

²⁶¹⁾ Hortative inj.s according to HOFFMANN Inj. 264: *avī-s* VI 25,1, *tāri-s* VI 8,7, *abhi-yodh-ī-s* (*yodh/yudh* ‘battle’) X 120,3, *sāvī-s* (3×); *avī-t* VII 34,14, with *prā-* VII 20,2; according to NARTEN 68 “besonders häufig erscheint im RV als Iptv. die 2. Du. Inj.

2nd *avi-ḍ-dhī* 7× (*avⁱ/ū* ‘help, aid’, secondary from the athemat. root-aor.), 3rd *avi-ṣ-ṭu* X 26,1.9;

mid. ind. sg. 3rd *á-jani-ṣ-ṭa*,²⁶² *a-prathi-ṣ-ṭa* (*prathⁱ/prthⁱ* ‘become wide’), du. 3rd *a-mand-iṣ-ātām* (*mand*, a secondary root ‘intoxicate’), pl. 1st *a-vadh-i-ṣ-mahi* JB I 358:4, 3rd *a-vadh-iṣ-ata* JUB; — **inj.** sg. 2nd *jāni-ṣ-ṭhās*, 3rd *jāni-ṣ-ṭa*, *pavi-ṣ-ṭa* (: *páva^{te}* ‘become pure’ :: *a-pāvi-ṣ-ur*; *pu-nā^{ti}* ‘makes pure’), *práthi-ṣ-ṭa*; — **subj.** pl. 1st *sani-ṣ-ā-mahe*, *yāci-ṣ-ā-mahe* (*yāc* ‘beg’), 3rd *sāni-ṣ-a-nta*; — **opt-prec.** sg. 3rd *jani-ṣ-iṣ-ṭa*, *vani-ṣ-iṣ-ṭa* (*vanⁱ* ‘covet’), pl. 1st *vandi-ṣ-i-mahi* (*vandⁱ* ‘praise, honor’), *tāri-ṣ-i-mahi* (on the long-grade, cf. subj. act. *tāri-ṣ-a-t*, above), *sāhi-ṣ-i-mahi*; — **iptv.** *jāni-ṣ-va*, *vāsi-ṣ-va* (*vas* ‘be clothed in’).

[3] **-siṣ- aor.** in Ved. (NARTEN 70): **act. ind.** sg. 1st *a-yā-siṣ-am* RV (*¹yā* ‘travel’ and *²yā* ‘beg’), *a-gā-siṣ-am* (*gā* ‘sing’) ŚB, *a-dhyā-siṣ-am* (*dhyā* ‘consider’) ŚB, *a-jñā-siṣ-am* (*jñā* ‘understand’) ŚāṅkhĀr, 2nd *a-gā-siṣ* ŚB; 3rd *a-yā-sīt* (*¹yā* RV, *²yā* ŚB), *a-drā-sīt* (*drā* ‘run’)? KS^m, *a-gā-sīt* AB, *a-vā-sīt* (*vā* ‘blow’) ŚB JUB, *a-hā-sīt* (*hā* ‘abandon, leave’)²⁶³ PB, *a-hvā-sīt* (*hvā/hū* ‘call’) GB; du. 1st *a-jñā-siṣ-va* ŚāṅkhĀr, 3rd *a-yā-siṣ-tām* RVKh–VS–KS–TB^m (*prā*; ~ *ayā-siṣ-tām* MS–TB^m), *a-gā-siṣ-tām* JB, *a-jyā-siṣ-tām* JB (~ *a-jyā-siṣ-tām* PB; *jyā* ‘deprive of’); pl. 1st *a-jñā-siṣ-ma* ŚB, *a-gā-siṣ-ma* JB, 2nd *a-yā-siṣ-ṭa* RV, *a-jñā-siṣ-ṭa* ŚB, 3rd *a-gā-siṣ-ur* RV, *ayāsiṣur* RV (*¹yā*), *a-hā-siṣ-ur* JB; — **inj.** sg. 1st

und auch die 2. Pl. Inj. Akt.”. Some inj. forms are marked as iptv. with accent on the ending: 2nd du. *avi-ṣ-tām*, pl. *avi-ṣ-tāna* as opposed to the inj. 2nd pl. *ávi-ṣ-ṭa* which is likewise employed in hortative function, cf. NARTEN loc. cit. Cf. n. 243.

²⁶² The *-iṣ-* aor. of *janⁱ* ‘beget’ belongs to the pres. *jāya^{te}* ‘be born’. The formation could be interpreted either as a marked aor. just as *a-mān-s-ta* paired with *mān-ya-te* ‘takes for’ (fient.) as opposed to the athemat. root-aor. *a-ma-ta* with *ma-nu-té* ‘thinks (out)’ (facient.), or as a secondary form germinated in the athemat. root-aor. attested as such in the 1st sg. *a-jan-i* (NARTEN 117). In the first alternative, the 1st sg. *a-jan-i* should be interpreted as an analogic form: in *ahānⁱ sūrya ivājani* ‘I have just been born like/as the sun’ VIII 6,10, it could have been formed after the 3rd sg. medio-pass. aor. *ajani* attested in *abhrād vṛṣṭir ivājani* ‘like rain from the rain cloud [this thought] has just been born’ VII 94,1, imitating homonymous *ja-jñ-é* *1st = 3rd in the perf. Cf. NARTEN ib. n.316. The medio-pass. aor. *á-jan-i* is employed also for the affect. mid. ‘he begot for himself’ II 34,2. The 3rd du. act. *jāni-ṣ-tām* ‘they both have begotten’ X 46,2 is a back-formation from the mid. *-iṣ-* aor., cf. NARTEN ib.

²⁶³ The *-siṣ-* aor. is secondary compared to the *-s-* aor. (3rd sg. *a-hā-s*, *hā-s*, pl. *hā-s-ur* RV; sg. 2nd *a-hā-s* AV, 3rd *a-hā-s-t* TB^m), and is commoner since the AV; cf. p. 113. The mid. forms *hā-s-mahi* RV, *a-hā-s-thās* TSP, *a-hā-s-ta* MSP, etc. pair with the pass. *hī-ya^{te}* ‘be abandoned; be lost’. A new root *hās* ‘run a race’ (*hās-a-te*, *hās-a-māna-*, *hās-aya-nti* RV, etc.) has been created from the subj., originally ‘will leave, run ahead of [the competitors]’. Cf. NARTEN 285f.

hā-siṣ-am MS–TS^m, 2nd *hā-sīs* TS^m, 3rd *hā-sūt* AV MS–KS–TS^m; du. 2nd *yā-siṣ-ṭām* RV (¹*yā*), *hā-siṣ-ṭam* AV–TS^m, 3rd *hā-siṣ-ṭām* AV; pl. 2nd *hā-siṣ-ṭa* AV MS–KS–KpS–TS^m, 3rd *hā-siṣ-ur* AV, *jñā-siṣ-ur* AB; — **subj.** *gā-siṣ-a-t* RV, *yā-siṣ-a-t* RV (¹*yā*); — **iptv.** not attested;

mid. ind. *a-jyā-śiṣ-i* BaudhŚrSū; **opt.-prec.** *āva-yā-siṣ-iṣ-thās* RV (²*yā* ‘beg’), *pyā-siṣ-ī-mahi* VS (*pyāśiṣīmahi* AV; *pyāyīṣīmahi* MS^m: var. to VS; *pyā* ‘swell’).

[4] **-sa- aor.**, in the RV (NARTEN 75): **act. ind.** sg. 1st *a-vṛk-ṣa-m* (*varh/vṛh* ‘tear’), 3rd *a-dhuk-ṣa-t* (*dogh/duh* ‘milk’), *á-kruk-ṣa-t* (*kroś/kruś* ‘cry’), *á-ghuk-ṣa-t* (*goh/guh* ‘hide’), *á-ruk-ṣa-t* (*roh/ruh* ‘ascend, mount’); pl. 1st *a-mṛk-ṣā-ma* (*marj/mṛj* ‘wipe’), 3rd *á-dhuk-ṣa-n*; — **inj.** sg. 2nd *duk-ṣa-s* (*dogh*), *mṛk-ṣa-s* (*marś/mṛś* ‘touch’); du. 2nd *mṛk-ṣa-tam* (*marj*, hortative); pl. 2nd *mṛk-ṣa-ta* (*marś*), 3rd *dhuk-ṣá-n*; — **subj.** sg. 1st *mṛk-ṣā* (*marj*); — **iptv.** *-dhuk-ṣa-ta* VI 48,13;

mid. ind. sg. 3rd *á-dhuk-ṣa-ta* (on the pl. *adhukṣata*, cf. p.114), **inj.** sg. 3rd *duk-ṣa-ta* I 160,3, *dhuk-ṣa-ta* VI 48,12 (possibly a subj.), pl. *dhuk-ṣá-nta*, *a-mṛk-ṣa-nta* (*marj*), **iptv.** *dhuk-ṣá-sva*.

3.5.5. The **medio-passive aor.** exists only in the 3rd persons in the sg. and pl. It is used in the patientive or fientive meaning. The sg. forms consist of the full-grade root with *a* or *ā*, i.e. < PIE **o* through BRUGMANN’s law, and the ending *-i*, and the pl. of the zero-grade root and ending *-ran* or *-ram*: e.g., *á-kār-i* ‘has been just made’; *á-gr̥bh-ran* ‘has been grasped’; *á-darś-i* ‘has become visible’, **inj.** *dārś-i*, pl. *á-dṛś-ran*, *á-dṛś-ram*; *pād-i* ‘has fallen, falls’, *a-pad-ran*; *á-bodh-i* ‘has been awakened’, *a-budh-ran*, *á-budh-ram*; *a-moc-i* ‘has become free’; *a-yoj-i* ‘has been yoked’, *á-yuj-ran*; *á-sarj-i* ‘has been released’, *sarj-i*, *a-sṛg-ran*, *-ram*.

The formation in the sg. goes back to PII, cf. OAv. *cəuuīšī* < **cōiṣī* < **čajīši* (**kaṣ/ciṣ* ‘assign’), *a-vācī* (*vac* ‘speak’, Ved. *a-vācī*), *vācī* (Ved. *vācī*), *srāuū* (**sraṇ/sru* ‘hear’, Ved. *śrávi*), *mraoī* < **mraH-i* (**mraṇ/mrū* ‘ill-treat’?) Y 32,14, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 228.²⁶⁴) But its origin is still open to discussion.²⁶⁵) A possibility might be: e.g., *pād-i* has been produced from the 1st sg. mid. of the a-themat. root-aor. *á-pad-i*, **pád-i* after the proportion in the perf. [1st sg. act. *ca-kár-a* :: 3rd sg. *ca-kār-a* = *á-pad-i*, **pád-i* :: *x*]. The co-existence of *jāni* (I 141, 1; ind. 3rd sg. *ájani*, *ajani* 6×) and *jāni* (VIII 7,36) ‘is born’ could be explained

²⁶⁴) This ending *-i* was transferred into the pres. in YAv.: *ər̥nāuu-i* (cf. n. 237), *jd̥n-i* ‘was slain’, and into the perf. *āīḍ-i* ‘was said’. [On OAv. *mraoī*, cf. GIPPERT Fs. Watkins 165–181.]

²⁶⁵) Cf. INSLEER “the origin of the Sanskrit Passive Aorist” IF 73 (1968) 312–346, MIGRON “The Rgvedic passive aorist in *-i*: A functional study” Folia Linguistica VIII-1-4 (1975) 271–310, KÜMMEL Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen (1996).

from the pair in the perf.: 3rd sg. **ja-jan-a* and analogic *ja-jān-a* (only this form is attested) from the *seṭ*-root *jan*ⁱ. Cf. also 1st sg. *ajani* VIII 6,10, cited in n. 262.

The pl. forms in *-ran*, *-ram* appear in the athemat. root-aor. 3rd pl. (*a-juṣ-ran*, *á-viś-ran*, *á-sṭhi-ran*, *a-spr̥dh-ran*, cf. p. 109), athemat. “stative” root-pres. (*a-śe-ran* RV, *a-śe-rata* YS^p+, *á-duh-ran* AV+, cf. *duh-rate* RV+, cf. p. 102), redupl. aor. (*a-va-vṛt-ran*, *a-va-vṛt-ranta*, cf. p. 111f.), preterite of the perf. (*á-jagm-i-ran*, *á-cakr-i-ran*, cf. p. 122), and in the opt. 3rd pl. *-ī-ran/-ī-rata* (p. 93). The pl. forms in *-ran*, *-ram* have been coupled with the sg. in *-i* probably only in OIA.²⁶⁶⁾

3.5.6. Some periphrastic aor. forms are attested in Saṁhitā-prose, especially in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā: *vidām akar*, *akran* (from perf.-forms of *ved*ⁱ/*vid*ⁱ, *veda* ‘knows’), and with the 3rd sg. *akar* after caus. stems in *-āya-*: *abhyutsādayām*, *prajanayām*, *ramayām*, *pratiṣṭhāpayām*, and *svadayām*; in addition, one finds an opt.-prec. *pāvayām kriyāt* ‘would make pure’ Cf. HOFFMANN MSS 20 (1967) 35f. = Aufs. 469f. n. 6, cf. also Pāṇini III 1,42.

3.6. perfect system²⁶⁷⁾

3.6.1. The perfect is marked with reduplication, ablaut, and perf.-endings in the indicative. The reduplication occurs originally with *a* (PIE **e*), but it has been assimilated with *ī* or *ū* in the root syllable into *i* or *u*: *ca-kar/-kṛ/-kr-*, *bi-bhay/-bhī-*, *śu-śrav/-śru-*. The only perfect stem lacking reduplication is the well-known *ved-/vid-* ‘know’ (dealt as *seṭ*-root in OIA against *ved/vid* ‘find out, gain’). The ablaut in the ind. goes back to the hysterodyn. pattern with the *-*o*- grade (in the act. sg. and du.) and zero-grade root (otherwise): act. sg. 1st *ca-kār-a* (< **k^we-k^wór-h₂e*), 3rd *ca-kār-a* (< **k^we-k^wór-e*, -*ā-* after BRUGMANN’s law), pl. 3rd *ca-kr-úr*, mid. sg. 1st/3rd *ca-kr-é*. *ba-bhūv-a* ‘has come into being, become’ has preserved its *-a-* reduplication and the unique ablaut which goes back to PIE; *sa-sūv-a* ‘she has given birth’ analogically after *babhūva*, cf. aor. *á-bhū-t*, *bhū-t*, and *a-sū-t* (MS^m), cf. YAv. *buiāuua*, *bābuuar*^a; cf. also n. 242, n. 274.

Roots with the constellation *CaC* can build special forms in the weak stems, in the RV: *tep-*, *debh-*, *nem-*, *pec-*, *ped-*, *bhej-*, *śek-*, *śep-*, *sep-*, and *pet-* beside *pa-pt-*, *yej-* beside *īj-*, *rebh-/lebh-* beside *rārabh-*; more forms appear later. These analogic

²⁶⁶⁾ Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. (1964) 24f., 248, Sprache 14 (1968) 117f., INSLER IF 73 (1968) 313 n. 3, HOFFMANN Aufs. (1976) 590, KÜMMEL Stativ (1996) 5–8. — The intrans. root *vart/vṛt* ‘turn’ (pres. *várta*^{le}) shows aor.-forms: athemat. root-aor. 3rd sg. act. *abhi* ... *ā-avart* VII 59,4, pass.-aor. 3rd sg. *varti* RV VIII 6,38, pl. *āvṛtran* VIII 92,14 (replaced by *-s-* aor. mid. *ā* ... *āvṛtsata* VIII 1,29), cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 589–592, KÜMMEL 107.

²⁶⁷⁾ Cf. Martin Joachim KÜMMEL Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen, Wiesbaden 2000.

formations have expanded from, e.g., *yet-* (3rd pl. mid. *yetire*) from the root *yat* ‘take one’s position’, properly from **ia-īt-* (**ie-īt-*), which is attested also in OAv. 1st pl. *yōiθ²mā*, YAv. *yaēθma*, 3rd du. YAv. *yaētatar²* < **ia-īt-at₁*; cf. furthermore KÜMMEL 19: **ia-īm-* > *yem-*, **sazd-* > *sed-*. The analogic vocalism appears again in the redupl. aor. *neš-a-* ‘perish, disappear’ as opposed to the original **na-né-a-* in OAv. *nəsqat*, *a-nəsqat*, cf. p. 113; in the perf., 3rd sg. *nanāša* RV, 3rd pl. *nešur* ŚB.

The endings are
in the **act.**:

sg. -a, -tha, -a; **du.** (-va, not attested in Ved.), -áthur, -átur; **pl.** -má, -á, -úr;

in the **mid.**:

sg. -é, -sé, -é; **du.** (-vahe, not att. in Ved.), -áthe, -áte; **pl.** -máhe, -dhvé, -ré.

The **act.** endings sg. -a, -tha, -a, pl. 1st -má, 3rd -úr go back to PIE perf. endings **-h₂e*, **-th₂e*, **-e*; **-mé*, **-f*. The 1st pl. **-mé* is the same as the secondary ending in other paradigms. For the 2nd pl. also PIE **-té* is reconstructed beside **-é*, cf. Grk. *ἴσ-τε* ‘ye know’ < **uid-te* (cf. Goth. *witub*); no form is attested in OIran. for the 2nd pl. perf. The 3rd pl. **-f* is possibly a back-formation, dating from some early period, after the proportion [**-to* :: **-t* = **-re* :: *x*] from PIE **-ré*, which we find in PII **-ráj* < **-ré-j* (enlarged with **-j*), integrated into the middle.²⁶⁸⁾

Among the **mid.** endings, sg. 1st -é, 2nd -sé, du. 2nd -áthe, 3rd -áte, pl. 1st -máhe, and 2nd -dhvé are identical with the primary mid. endings used in the pres. ind. The 1st sg. -é, 3rd sg. -é, and 3rd pl. -ré seem to go back to PIE **-h₂e-j*, **-e-j*, **-re-j*.

²⁶⁸⁾ Some Av. **ind.** forms relevant to Ved. are to be cited: **sg.** 1st YAv. *jaγa²ruu-a* (cf. Ved. *jagrābh-a*), *dādar²s-a* (**dars/dār²s* ‘see’, cf. Ved. *dadārś-a*), OAv. *vaēd-ā* (Ved. *véd-a*), OAv. *ād-ā* (*ad* ‘say’); **2nd** OAv. *dadā-θā*, YAv. *dadā-θa* (Ved. *dadhā-tha*), YAv. *vauuax-ḍa* (*vac/uc* ‘speak’, cf. Ved. *uvāk-tha*), OAv. *vōis-tā* (Ved. *vét-tha*); **3rd** YAv. *āḍ-a* (Ved. *āh-a*), *āp-a* (Ved. *āp-a*), *āṇh-a* (Ved. *ās-a*), *upa-iiēš-a* (**aiš/iš* ‘seek, desire’, Ved. *iyeš-a*), *huš.x²af-a* (Ved. *sušvāp-a* ‘has fallen asleep, is sleeping’), *jaγar-a* (*gar* ‘wake up’, cf. Ved. *jāgār-a*), OAv. *tataš-ā*, YAv. *tataš-a* (*taš* ‘hew, fashion’, Ved. *tatāks-a*), YAv. *tūtauu-a* (**taū/tū* ‘be strong’, Ved. *tūtāv-a*), *dadār-a* (*dar* ‘hold’, cf. Ved. *dādhār-a*), *daḍa* (*dā* ‘give’, ‘set, settle’, cf. Ved. *dadāu*, *dadhāu*), OAv. *nēnās-ā* (*nas* ‘perish, disappear’, Ved. *na-nāš-a*), YAv. *vauuac-a* (Ved. *vavāc-a* beside *uvāc-a*), OAv. *vaēd-ā*, YAv. *vaēd-a*, *vaēθ-a* (Ved. *véd-a*), YAv. *vīuuaēd-a* (**uaīd/uid* ‘find out’, Ved. *vivéd-a*), *haṇhān-a* (*han/hā* ‘conquer’, Ved. *sasān-a*), OAv. *hišāii-ā* (*hā/hi* ‘bind’, Ved. *ā-siṣāy-a*); — **du.** 3rd YAv. *yaēt-atar²* (< **ia-īt-at₁*, *yat* ‘take one’s position’, cf. Ved. *yem-atuṛ* from *yam* ‘hold fast’); — **pl.** 1st OAv. *yōiθ²mā*, YAv. *yaēθ-ma*, *vaox²-ma* (< **ua-uk-ma*, cf. Ved. *ūc-i-ma*), *sūsru-ma* (Ved. *śuśru-ma*); 3rd OAv. *ād-ar²*, YAv. *ād-ar²* (Ved. *āh-ur*), OAv. *āṇh-ar²*, YAv. *āṇh-ar²* (Ved. *ās-úr*), OAv. *cikōit-ər²š* (**kaīt/cit* ‘understand’, cf. Ved. *cikit-ur*), YAv. *dāḍ-ar²* (Ved. *dad-úr*, *dadh-úr*), *baβr-ar²* (cf. Ved. *jabhr-ur*), *bābuu-ar²* (Ved. *babhūv-úr*), *vīḍ-ar²* (Ved. *vid-úr*), *vi-šast-ar²* (*stā*, cf. Ved. *vī-tasth-ur*).

If one assumes that some primary mid. endings have been brought into the perf. system when the mid. perf. was built up, the common form 1st sg. *-é* < **-ai* < **-h₂ei* could have mediated the process, which originated from **-h₂e* (perf. ending, used also as the second. ending in the 1st sg. mid.) + *i*. There are only a few mid. forms in OIran., e.g., 1st sg. YAv. *susruie* < **śu-śru-uaī* (**sraū/sru* ‘hear’), 3rd sg. OAv. *ār-ōi* (*ar* ‘grant’), *dādr-ē* (cf. Ved. *dadhr-ē*), YAv. *daⁱδ-e*, *daⁱθ-e* (Ved. *dad-é*, *dadh-é*), etc., 3rd du. pseudo-OAv. *mam^an-āⁱtē* (Ved. *mamn-āte*) ‘they both have thought’.

There are forms with connecting *-i-*: e.g. *āv-i-tha* ‘you have helped’, *uvoc-i-tha* ‘you have spoken’, *ūd-i-ma* ‘we have uttered’, *papt-i-ma* ‘we have fallen’, *sed-i-ma* ‘we have sat down’. Roots ending in *-ā* have in the 1st and 3rd sg. act. forms with *-au*: *da-dāu* ‘he has given’, *da-dhāu* ‘he has settled’, however, YAv. *daδ-a*. The only exception is *paprā* ‘he has filled’ RV I 69,1.

3.6.2. The perf. system possesses also a set of moods.²⁶⁹⁾ The **subj.** is built from the strong stem (probably with **-é-* full grade of the root): **act.**, e.g. *ciket-a-si*, *ciket-a-s*, *cākān-a-s*, *dadhārṣ-a-ti*, *cākan-a-t*, *vivyác-a-t* (*vyac* ‘embrace, contain’); pl. 2nd *jújoṣ-a-tha*, 3rd *tatán-a-n*, *jújoṣ-a-n* (act. subj. to the mid. verb), cf. OAv. 2nd pl. *vaorāz-a-θā* (**ruuvāz* ‘be pleased’), 3rd pl. YAv. **iiei-ā-n* (**ai/i* ‘go’ Y 42,6?); — **mid.** *śaśvac-āi* (: *śvañc* ‘bend down’), *tatáp-a-te*, *cākān-a-nta*, *cākram-a-nta*, cf. YAv. **pāfrāⁱte* Vīd 4,48 (*frā/par* ‘fill’, Ved. *prā/pṛ*).

The **opt.** is formed from the weak stem with the suffix *-yā/-ī-*, e.g.: **act.** sg. *ja-gam-yā-m* (cf. YAv. *jaṣm-iiq-m*), *anaj-yā-t*, *vid-yā-t* (OAv. *vīd-iiā-t*), cf. YAv. *ājḥā-t* (*ah* ‘be’), OPers. *caxr-iyā* (*kar* ‘make’, a single perf. form in OPers.); du. *śušrū-yā-tām*, cf. YAv. *ājḥā-t.tām* < **āh-īā-tam*; pl. *jagm-y-ur*, cf. YAv. **daⁱδ-īn* Yt 13,12 < **daⁱδ-ii-ān* < **d^he-d^hH-iH-ent*; — **mid.** *vāvrdh-ī-thās*, cf. YAv. *jiyaē-*

²⁶⁹⁾ As for the functions of the moods of the perf. stems, cf. KÜMMEL Perf. 88–90. There seems to be no special function proper to the perf. as a grammatical category, but the modal formations of each perf. stem possess their own individual values. *tatāna*, the perf. of *tan* ‘stretch’ (intrans., esp. of the warp), e.g., is used in the durative meaning ‘stretch wide, be now stretched out’ and ‘continue’; its subj. *tatán-a-n* means simply ‘they will stretch’ IV 5,13, and ‘they will continue’ VII 88,4 (in the past environment ‘as long as the days would continue’, OIA and OIran have no means for expressing moods in the preterite). Many modal forms are built from perf. stems with present or resultative meaning. The often-assumed “emphasised” wish or “irreality” in the case of the opt. perf. (HOFFMANN Inj. 47 n. 8, Aufs. 75, 606 n. 1, FORSSMAN MSS 41, 1982, 35ff., HETTRICH Hypothaxe, 1988, 366 n. 167, HINZE Zamyād-Yašt, 1994, 218 n. 136, n. 317) is probably an outcome of such individual cases, cf. KÜMMEL loc. cit. On the colloquial use of the perf. opt. for the presumption about past affair (*mamīd-y-ur* in IV 18,8, *jaks-ī-yā-t*, *papī-yā-t*, and *jagā-yā-t* in X 28,1) cf. KÜMMEL 90, J. SAKAMOTO-GOTO “Zum präteritalen Optativ im Alt- und Mittellindoarischen” (Fs. Kellens, 2009, 255–273) 273.

ša < **ji-gaj-ī-ša* (**gaj* ‘live’); *jagras-ī-ta*, *vavṛt-ī-mahi*, cf. YAv. *vaoz-i-rəm* ‘they would have driven’ (*vaz*) Yt 19,69.

The **iptv.**, too, is attested, e.g.: from weak stems **act.** sg. 2nd *jāgr-hí*, *mumug-dhí*, pl. 3rd *jāgr-atu*, *bibhy-atu*; from strong stems, e.g.: 3rd sg. *cike-tu*, *mumok-tu*, and 2nd pl. *jāgr-tá*, *vit-ta* beside *mamat-tána*. **Mid.** forms are found only in Ved., in the RV: *dadhi-ṣvá*, *dadhi-dhvam*, *mimik-ṣvā* (*myakṣ* ‘fit close together’), *ā-vavṛt-sva*, *-vavṛd-dhuvam*, thematised *māmah-a-sva*, *°a-ntām* (*manh* ‘grant’), *vāvṛdh-ā-sva*, *ud-vāvṛṣ-a-sva* (: *-vṛṣāyá-*²⁷⁰ ‘summon, show courage’); some new forms occur from the AV on, among others, *vit-svá* MS^m (*sám-/...* AV, MS^p), with “stative” ending 3rd sg. *sám-vid-ām* AV, *sám... vidām* MS^m (~ KS *vidas*, KpS *vidam*; VS–SB with a pl. subj.), cf. p. 102 on *duh-ām*, *śay-ām*. No iptv. form is attested in the OIran. perf.

3.6.3. The proper function of the perf. is to designate a state of the subject which it has attained as the result of the action expressed by the root. The perf. is therefore actually a kind of present. The preterite to the perf. is expressed by means of the augment and secondary endings, forming thus the ipf. from the perf. stem, formally known as “**pluperfect**”,²⁷⁰ e.g., **act.** sg. 1st *a-cacakṣ-am* (*cakṣ* ‘look at’), 2nd *á-jagan* (*gam* ‘go’), *a-bubhoj-ī-s* (*bhoj/bhuj* ‘bend’), 3rd *á-jagan*, *a-ciket* (*cet/cit* ‘notice’), *a-vivyak*, *a-bibhe-t* (*bhayⁱ/bhī* ‘fear’; developed a new pres. *bibhé-ti* from this, or a redupl. pres. already in PIE, cf. GOTÖ I. Präs. n. 476), *á-jagrabhī-t* (*grabhⁱ/gr̥bhī* ‘grasp’); *a-mumuk-tam* (*moc/muc* ‘release’), *a-vivik-tām*; *a-jagan-ta*, *a-jabhar-tana*, *a-cikay-ur*, *á-vid-ur* (YS^p), (on *á-śísre-t*, *a-śísray-ur*, cf. p. 111: redupl. aor.); — **mid.** du. 2nd *á-paspr̥dh-ethām*, pl. 3rd *á-jagm-i-ran*, *á-cakr-i-ran* (*kar/kṛ* ‘make’)²⁷¹, *á-titviṣ-a-nta*. There occur forms from the root *vedⁱ/vidⁱ* ‘know’ in the RV: *a-ved-am* (with *ánu*), *á-vet* (*sám... V 34,8*). A new pres. stem is produced from this: *védmi*, *vetti*, *vidmasi*, *avidan*, etc. AVP RVKh Br.+. The forms without augment are used as the **inj.**: **act.** *ā-ciket-am*, *cākán* (2nd, 3rd sg., *kanⁱ* ‘have pleasure, wish’), *niḥ-śásās* (*śās/śiṣ* ‘oder, instruct’), *ā-dadhars-ī-t* (*dharṣ/dhṛṣ* ‘take courage, dare’), *dīde-t* (*dayⁱ/dī* ‘shine’), *siṣe-t* (*sā/say/sī* ‘bind’), *vivyak*; **mid.** *ā-dīdhī-thās* AV (*dhyā/dhī* ‘reflect, meditate’), *ruruc-anta*, *vāvṛdh-anta*.

3.6.4. The participles are made with *-vāms-/úṣ-*, f. *-úṣ-* in the act. (1.2.16.: p. 47f.), and *-āná-*, f. *-ānā-* in the middle. They are used also as predicates in

²⁷⁰ Cf. THIEME Das Plusquamperfektum im Veda, Göttingen 1929.

²⁷¹ KÜMMEL 137 makes 3rd sg. *a-cakr-a-t* IV 18,12 belong together with *á-cakr-i-ran*, assuming a mid. ending *-at* (→ n. 202); thus also ipf. *á-didyut-at* and inj. *vi-didyut-at*, and analogic *vi-didyut-as* (ib. 48, 251); in addition, *cikit-as*, *śūśuv-at*, *cāklp-at*, *dadhvas-at*, and *jujuṣ-an* (ib. 87). For some of these, an act. subj. (with analogical zero-grade root) to mid. verbs (cf. above, p. 92) would come into consideration.

place of finite forms. This occurs already often in the RV and is registered by Pāṇ III 2,105–109, cf. HOFFMANN KZ 78 (1963) 94 = Aufs. 158, THIEME KZ ib. 95.

3.6.5. Periphrastic formations (cf. 3.5.6.: p. 119) occur from the AV onwards:²⁷²⁾ *gamayāṁ cakār-a* AV as the perf. of **caus.** *gam-āya-ti* ‘lets go’, likewise in the Br. *sam-pādayāṁ cakr-atur*, *upa-sthāpayāṁ cakār-a*, *dhārayāṁ cakār-a* (: *dhār-āya-* ‘hold’, used beside aor. *a-dīdhar-a-ti*); — as the perf. of **veda**, which is of present value ‘he knows’: *vidāṁ cakār-a* ‘he knew’, *cakr-ma* YSP, *vidāṁ cakar-tha*, *cakr-ur* Br.; — from the **denom.** in *-ya-*: *mantrayāṁ cakr-atur*, *cak-āte* (: *mantrā-ya-* ‘address’), *āmantrayāṁ cakr-e*, *gopāyāṁ cakr-ur* (: *gopāyā-* ‘protect’) Br. BĀU; **desid.** *dudhūrśāṁ cakr-ur* ŚB I 4,1,40–ŚBK (beside *dūdihūrś-a-nt-* ‘wanting to hurt’, *dhvar/dhvr*), *sam-ā-ruruṣāṁ cakr-ur* ŚB II 1,2,13 (*roh/ruh* ‘ascend’), *mīmāṁśāṁ ... cakr-e* ŚB IV 2,1,7–ŚBK TĀ, *-cakr-ur* JB III 350 ChUp (*mīmāṁśa-te* ‘examine’), **intens.** *marīmṣāṁ cakr-i-re* ŚBK V 5,4,4 (: *a-marīmṣ-ya-nta* ŚB IV 5,1,10, *marś/mṣ* ‘touch’); sometimes paralleling normal perf. forms; — furthermore from “stative” **pres.** *āsāṁ cakr-e* BĀU, *cakr-i-re* AB GopBr., *upāsāṁ cakr-e* ŚB I 8,1,5, *cakr-i-re* AitĀr (: *ās-te* ‘is sitting’, cf. p. 102), *iśāṁ cakr-ur* AV (: *iś-e* ‘rules’, of perf. origin); *edhāṁ cakr-i-re* ŚB (: *édh-a-te* ‘prosper’), *avekṣāṁ cakr-e* ŚB JB, *abhyavekṣāṁ cakr-e* ŚB (: *ávekṣ-a-te* ‘observe’); *nilayāṁ cakr-e* ŚB–ŚBK (: *nī-lay-a-te* ‘hides’, intrans.), *ā-vyayāṁ cakār-a* ŚB XI 5,1,10 (: *vy-āya-ti*, *vyā* ‘wrap’), *bibhayāṁ cakār-a*, *cakr-ur* ŚB–ŚBK JB (: *bibhé-ti* ‘fear, be fearing’), *juhavāṁ cakār-a*, *cakr-ur* (: *juhó-ti* ‘libate’) Br. Ār.

The construction with *as* ‘be’ is younger and rare, in the Śunaḥśepa legend: *āmantrayāṁ ās-a* AB (2×) ~ *cakr-e* ŚāṅkhŚrSū (2×), *īkṣāṁ ās-a* ŚāṅkhŚrSū ~ *cakr-e* AB, *upasthāpayāṁ ās-a* ŚāṅkhŚrSū ~ *cakār-a* AB. The combination with *bhavⁱ/bhū* ‘become’ is far more exceptional, and attested only in Ep. and Cl. Pāṇini III 1,40 teaches only the formation with *kar/kṛ*; Kātyāyana and Patañjali acknowledge also that with *as* and *bhavⁱ/bhū*, cf. AiG II-2 256.

3.7. secondary present systems

3.7.1. future

The future (**fut. I**) is a special type of themat. pres. with the suffix *-syá-* (PII **-sja⁻²⁷³⁾*); the root syllable has an **-e-* full-grade, e.g., *vak-syá-* (*vac* ‘speak’,

²⁷²⁾ Because no example is found in a dependent sentence (clause), the question is open as to whether *gamayāṁ cakāra* represents a single word (as in the case of preverb + finite form), or two independent words.

²⁷³⁾ On the possibility of the PIE origin of the **-sje-* formation, cf. STANG Vergl. Gramm. 397f. (: Baltic future in the semi-thematic *-si-* stem with the part. in **-siant-*), MCCONE

YAv. *vax-šiiē-te*), *dhā-syá-* YSP+ (simplex, *ā-*, *ví-*; AV *pari-*; YAv. *uz-dā-hiia-mna-*), *ava-srak-šya-ti* MSP (*sarj/srj* ‘send forth’, with metathesis; YAv. *har²šiiē-nte*, *har²šiiā-mna-*). Another formant *-iṣyá-*, which has no correspondent in OIran., would be a variant in the case of the *seṭ*-roots, which served also for making the root form clearer, e.g. *bhavi-šyá-ti* (cf. YAv. *bū-šiiā-nt-*²⁷⁴), *jani-šya-te* (cf. YAv. *zq-hiia-mna-*). A question is whether a variant PIE **-h₁se/o-* after the resonants (sonorants) existed, just as **-h₁se/o-* in the desid. (p. 125f.), cf., e.g., *man-iṣyá-*, *kar-iṣyá-*. Examples speaking against the latter possibility appear after the AV, e.g. *naś-i-šya-* (*naś* ‘perish, disappear’), *svap-i-šyā-masi* AV XIX 47,9 (*svap* ‘fall into sleep’). The older forms of the root *sav/su* ‘press out’ are *sav-i-šyā-mi* MSP, *abhi-ṣav-i-šyā-nt-* ŠB, and younger *so-šya-ti* ChUp, *so-šya-nt-* ŠrSū., which might speak somewhat for the latter alternative, cf. YAv. *hao-šiiā-nt-*.

There are many occurrences of the act. part. in the RV, often in the meaning ‘going to do, intending to do’. The ipf. is known in the RV only in *á-bhar-i-šya-t* ‘he was going to bear off’ II 30,2. The same formation serves as “**conditional**” for an irreal assumption, beginning with Ved. prose; cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 365ff., HOLLIFIELD KZ 92 (1978) 226f. The subj. is known in *kar-i-šyā-s* RV IV 30,23, [†]I 165,9, and *ā-tap-syāni* ‘I will be going to heat’ JB III 368: 13. The stem *v-ay-i-šyá-* is built on the pres. stem *v-áya-*ⁱⁱ ‘weave’ (root *av/u*), in the same way, *dhār-ay-i-šyá-* from *dhār-áya-*; from the caus. stem *vās-ay-i-šyá-* ‘will clothe’, after the AV *vār-ay-i-šya-* ‘shield’, *dūṣ-ay-i-šya-* ‘will spoil’.

3.7.1.1. The **future II** is not a pres.-stem but a periphrastic expression originating in a special use of the nomen agentis in *-tār-* in OIA. This is employed in cases at which the time when the verbal action takes place at a later time is designated (or undisgnated: meant pregnantly). The forms are attested from Vedic prose onwards: 3rd sg. *śvó vraṣ-tā* ‘it will rain tomorrow’ (: *vars/vṛṣ*) MS II 1,8^p:9,13, *bhavi-tā* ‘it will happen’ ŠB IV 3,1,11, *ā-gan-tā* ‘it will come’ ŠB I 8,1,4–ŠBK, 3rd pl. *ā-dā-tār-as* ‘they will take’ AB II 16,4, 1st sg. *ā-gan-tāsmi* (< *-tā + asmi* ‘I am’) ‘I will come’ AB I 27,1.

Middle forms are also attested: *pra-yok-tāse* ‘I will apply’ TS II 6,2,3^p (analogically after the forms act. *°s-mi* :: mid. *°s-e*); *śayi-tāse* ‘you will lie’ ŠB XI 5,1,11

The Indo-European Origins of the Old Irish Nasal Presents, Subjunctives and Futures (1991) 145ff.; and furthermore OChSlav. part. *byšęšt-/byšęšt-* ‘the one who is about to be’.

²⁷⁴ Cf. the peculiar ablaut in *sū-šya-nt-ī-* ‘giving birth’ RV BhāgPur (*so-šyā-nt-ī-* BĀU+, *so-šya-te* Cl. *pra-savi-šya-ti* Rām Pur.), and aor. *a-sū-t* MS^m, *bhū-/bhuv-* = Av. *bū-/buu-* = Grk. *φύ*, perf. *sasūv-a* RV AV (*suṣuv-e* Ep. Cl. Pur., *suṣāv-a*, *suṣuv-ur* Ep. Pur.), *babhūv-a*, inf. *sū-tave*. Cf. n. 242.

(after °si :: °se); *yaṣ-tāśmahe* ‘we will sacrifice’ TB III 9,22,1^p; 1st sg. *yaṣtā-he* TĀ I 11,4^p (-he through reanalysis, e.g., *yoddhāham* ‘I shall fight’ Rāmāyaṇa < *yoddhā* + *aham* reanalysed as *yoddhā-ha-m*); 3rd sg. *jani-tā* ŚB XI 5,1,16 pairs with *jā-ya-te*, *ja-jñ-e* 17. The use of act. forms increases in the later language; their traces are found also in Pāli (GEIGER §172). Traditional grammar teaches a paradigm: *dātāsmi*, *dātāsi*, *dātā*; *dātāśvas*, *dātāsthas*, *dātārau*; *dātāsmas*, *dātāstha*, *dātāras*; they cite later also the mid. paradigm, which is, however, scarcely attested: *dātāhe*, *dātāse*, *dātā*; *dātāśvahe*, *dātāśathe*, *dātārau*; *dātāśmahe*; *dātādhve*, *dātāras*.

3.7.2. desiderative²⁷⁵⁾

The desiderative stem designating a wish of the subject is built with reduplication in -i-, zero-grade root, and desid.-suffix -sa- (*-se/o-): *ri-rik-ša-* (*recl/ric* ‘leave’), *di-dṛk-ša-* (*darś/dṛś* ‘watch, behold’), *dī-p-sa-* < **d^{hi}i-bz^ha-* < **d^{hi}i-dbz^ha-* < **d^{hi}i-d^hb^h-sa-* (*dabh* ‘deceive’, OAv. inf. *di-β-ža-diiāi* Y 45,4),²⁷⁶⁾ *ī-p-sa-* < **h₁i-h₁p-se-* AV+ (*ap/āp* ‘attain’), *i-yak-ša-* RV YS^m < **H₁-H₁ṛk-ša-* (*naś*, younger *i-nak-ša-* RV), *śi-k-ša-* ‘want to be able, learn’ < **śi-k-ša-* < **śi-čk-ša-* < **k_i-k_i-se-* (*śak* < **kek^(w)*, YAv. *si-x-ša-*), *bhī-k-ša-^{te}* < **b^{hi}i-bgž^ha-* < **b^{hi}i-b^hk-se-* ‘beg’ (< ‘seek a share for oneself’, *bhaj/bhag* ‘share’); with lengthened reduplication: *bī-bhat-sa-^{te}* ‘get disgust (from: abl.)’ (< ‘push oneself away from’, *bādh* ‘push away’); with full-grade root: *dī-dā-sa-* (*dā* ‘give’), *ūt-ti-ṣthā-sa-ti* ŚB < **st_i-steh₂-se-* (*sthā* ‘settle oneself, stand’, cf. OAv. *hī-š^a-saṭ* Y 32,13 < **hi-š-sa-* < **si-št-sa-* < **st_i-sth₂-se-*); with assimilated *u*: *dū-duk-ša-* (*dogh/duh* ‘milk’). The PIE suffix *-*h₁se/o-* employed in the case of roots ending in a resonant (sonorant)²⁷⁷⁾ is well reflected in OIA: *jī-gī-ša-^{te}* ‘be greedy’ (OAv. *jī-gī-šā-ṇtī*, YAv. *jī-jī-ša-ṇha*, *jī-jī-šā-ti*: *jay/ji* ‘win, gain’)²⁷⁸⁾; *vī-vā-sa-* < **ui-uṇ-h₁se-* (*van* ‘win, acquire’, OAv. iptv. 3rd sg. *+vī-uuaṇ-ha-tū* for **vī-uuaṇ-ha-tū* Y 53,5), *jī-ghām-sa-* < **g^{wh}i-g^{wh}ṇ-h₁se-* (*han* ‘slay’) [cf. p. 172.]; *śu-śrū-ša-* < **ku-k_lu-h₁se-* (*śrav/śru* ‘hear’, YAv. *su-srū-šā-mna-*), with long reduplication *mī-mām-sa-* (*man* ‘think’).

²⁷⁵⁾ Cf. GÜNTERT “Zur Bildung der altindischen Desiderativa.”, IF 30 (1912) 80–137, François HEENEN *Le désidératif en védique*, Amsterdam 2006.

²⁷⁶⁾ On the PII development **C₁i-C₁C₂-sa-* > *C₁i-C₂-sa-*, cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 209f.

²⁷⁷⁾ The corresponding distribution is postulated in the “Attic future” with *-*se/-so-* and *-*ese/-eso-* < *-*h₁se/o-* after liquids and nasals, cf. RIX Hist. Gramm. 223ff., McCONE *Indo-European Origins* (1991) 151ff. On the equivalent formations in OIr. such as *ninus* ‘I shall wash’ < **ni-nig^w-so-*, *génaid* ‘he will kill’ < **g^{wh}i-g^{wh}ṇ-h₁se-ti* = *jī-ghām-sa-ti*, cf. EMENEAU Lg 34 (1958) 408ff. = Sel. Stud. (1988) 189ff., McCONE ib. 137–182 with lit.

²⁷⁸⁾ *jī-gī-ša-^{ti}* in the meaning of ‘desire to win’ AV+. Cf. GOTÖ Akkusativ (2002) 30 n. 16.

īśa-te/ī ‘step aside, glide, hurry’ has become independent from the desid. of *ay/i* ‘go’ (OAv. *i-śa-*) < **h₁i-h₁i-h₁se-*, cf. GOTÖ Materialien 3 120–122.

The **ind.**, **opt.**, and **part.** are attested in both diatheses, the **ipf.**, **subj.**, and **iptv.** only in the **act.** The **-iṣ-** **aor.** occurs after the RV, e.g., *a-ci-kit-s-īs* (*cet/cit* ‘perceive’) and (*vi-*)*īrt-s-īs* (*ardh* ‘succeed’) AV, *aip-s-īt* (*āp*) TB^p, (*upa-*)*āip-s-īt* ŚB XI 1,4,4, *aip-s-iṣ-ma* JUB, cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 292. An abstract noun is expressed with *-s-ā-*, an agent noun with *-s-ū-*: *ji-gī-śā-*, *ji-gī-śū-*.²⁷⁹⁾

3.7.3. intensive²⁸⁰⁾

The intensive, which expresses primarily repetition, has an athemat. stem formed with a full or strong reduplication^{280a)} (**intens. I**): *nā-nad-* (*nad* ‘sound, roar’), *śā-śvas-* (*śvas* ‘breathe, snort’), *cā-kaś-* ‘behold, observe’ (*kāś*), *dē-diś-* (*dēś/diś* ‘point out’, OAv. inj. *daē-dōiś-t*), *yó-yavī/yuv-* (*yav/yu* ‘keep away’), *yó-yuv-* (*yav/yu* ‘hold fast’), *do-dhavī/dó-dhuv-/dāvi-dhuv-* (*dhavⁱ/dhū* ‘shake’), *nó-navī-/no-nav-/no-nuv-/no-nu-/nāvī-no-* (*navⁱ/nū* ‘bellow’), *jó-havī-/jó-huv-* (*jó-havī-mi*, *á-jo-hav-ur* etc.: *hvā/havⁱ/hū* ‘call’, OAv. *zao-zao-mī*), *kari-kr-* (*kar/kr*), *bhāri-bhr-* (*bhar/bhr*), *car-kar-/car-kir-/cār-kṛ-* (*karⁱ/kṛ* ‘commemorate’, YAv. pseudo-OAv.? *car^a-kər^a-mahī* Y 58,4), *dār-dar-/dar-dṛ-/dar-dir-* (*darⁱ/dṛ* ‘pierce’, YAv. opt. *d^r-dār-iiā-t*), *nán-nam-/nán-nm-* (*nam* ‘bend’), *jān-ghan-/jān-ghn-/jān-ghn-/ghāni-ghn-* (*han* ‘slay’, cf. YAv. pres. *ni-ja-yn-ə-nte*, *auua-ja-yn-a-t*, subj. *-ja-yn-ā-t*), *cār-kṛṣ-* (*karṣ/kṛṣ* ‘drag’), *vār-vart-/vār-vṛt-/vārī-vart-* (*vart/vṛt* ‘turn’), *tar-tarī-/tāri-tr-/tār-tur-* (*tarⁱ/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’), *ganī-gan-/gāni-gm-* (*gam*), *nē-nij-* (*ne-nik-té: nej/nij* ‘wash’, YAv. themat. 3rd sg. *naē-niž-a-ti*), *vé-vid-* (subj. *prá-ve-vid-āma*, part. *-vé-vid-at-*, *-vé-vid-āna-*: *vedⁱ/vidⁱ* ‘know’, OAv. mid. 1st sg. *fra-uuōi-uuīd-ē*), *ré-rih-* (part. *ré-rih-at-*, *ré-rih-āna-*: *reh/rih* ‘lick’; YAv. mid. 3rd pl. *+raē-riz-a-tē*), *kāni-kran-/kāni-krad-* (*krand*), *kāni-ṣkan-/kāni-ṣkad-* (*skand*

²⁷⁹⁾ Isolated *-s-* forms are attested in RV I 130–132 supposedly with intentional meaning: *dák-śa(n)t-* ‘seeking to burn’ 130,8; *sák-śa-nt-* ‘seeking to overpower’ 131,3; *taru-śa-nta* ‘they seek to surpass each other’ 132,5, *prá-yak-śa-nta* ‘they present themselves’ 132,5; in the neighbourhood: denom. *vanuṣ-yá-nt-* ‘seeking to win’ 132,1, *sanīṣ-yú-* ‘seeking to con, in addition quer’ 131,2, desid. *śík-śa-nt-* ‘willing to help’ 132,4. Cf. GOTÖ Rīg Veda (WITZEL–GOTÖ 2007) 693. They have obviously no relationship to the Av. desid. without reduplication (cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 189): YAv. 1st sg. mid. subj. *hañ-gər^af-šāne*, part. *hañ-gər^af-šā-mna-* (*grab* ‘seize’), OAv. part. mid. *vī-dī-šā-mna-* (*dā* ‘settle’), which TICHY Konjunktiv, esp. 311ff., interprets from “Voluntativ auf *-sa-* (PIE **-se-*)”. Cf. also p. 113.

²⁸⁰⁾ Cf. Christiane SCHAEFER Das Intensivum im Vedischen, Göttingen 1994 (PIE situation 48–50, Indo-Iran. 50–52: 8 among the Av. 9 stems have equivalents in Ved.; only in Av.: YAv. *γžar^a.γžar-ənt-* ‘flowing’).

[^{280a)} Perhaps through dissimilation: *nā-nad-* < **nād-nad-*, *cā-kaś-* < **cās-kaś-* < *(H)*k^wék-* (H)*k^wok-*, *vé-vid-* < **uáid-uíd-*, etc.]

‘leap’), *dāvi-dyot-/dāvi-dyut-* (*dyot/dyut* ‘flash, shine forth’). The ablaut in the inflexion follows, in principle, that of the athemat. pres. stems (3.4.2.: p. 100).

The intens. shows **ind.**, **ipf.**, **inj.**, and **subj.** in both diatheses, and **iptv.** only in the **act.** No **opt.** form is known in the RV, only *pāri-ve-viṣ-yā-t* AV (*veṣ/viṣ* ‘be active’), *ā-ve-vī-ran* TSP (*vayⁱ/vī* ‘pursue, chase, track’), and *jojayur* TB^m (*jo-jū-y-ur*, *javⁱ/jū* ‘speed’) are known at all in Ved. The **part.** is very productive in both diatheses. The **perf.**^{280b} is attested in *davi-dhāv-a*, *no-nāv-a*, *mar-mṛj-mā* (*marj/mṛj* ‘wipe’), *-no-nuv-ur*, *bad-bhad-é* (*bādh* ‘push away’), *-sar-sr-é* (*sar/sr* ‘spread’) in the RV, and there occur some other forms in the YSP and Br.; on the periphr. perf. cf. 3.6.5.: p. 123. The **caus.** is attested in *varī-varj-āya-nt-ī* (*varj/vrj* ‘twist, wrench off’) AV; *dā-dhār-āya-ti* JB is only an artificial form made on the basis of the perf. *dā-dhār-a* which suppletes the 3rd sg. act. of the pres. *dhār-āya-ti* ‘hold, support’. Three **gerdv.** forms are found in the RV: *car-kṛ-t-ya-*, *vi-tan-tas-āy_iya-* (*taṁs/tas* ‘draw to and fro’), *mar-mṛj-én_iya-*, and a **v.adj.** *le-lih-i-ta-* in the JB.

The second intens. formation is built with *-yá-*, which follows weak root syllable (**intens. II**), inflected only in the mid., but has the same function as the intens. I; all finite forms are used transitively. In the RV, there occur: *co-ṣkū-yá-se*, *-te*, *-māna-* (*skavⁱ/skū* ‘poke’); *mar-mṛj-yá-te*, *-nte*, *-māna-*; *ānu-car-cūr-yá-māṇa-* (*car⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘wander, conduct oneself’), *vi-tar-tūr-ya-nte* (*tarⁱ/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’), *re-rih-yá-te*, *ve-vij-yá-te* (*vej/vij* ‘jerk’), *ve-vī-ya-te* (*vayⁱ/vī* ‘pursue’), *ne-nī-yá-māna-* (*nayⁱ/nī* ‘lead, conduct’), 2nd du. *ūh-yáthe* (for **-yethe*, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 775f.), and subj. 3rd sg. *ūh-yá-te* (*vah* ‘transport’). After the RV, there are more forms and occurrences, if not very many. *vanī-vāh-yéta* ŚB (with **v.adj.** *vanī-vāh-y-i-tá-*) belongs to the caus., marked as such with the long *ā* in the root²⁸¹. An **inf.** is attested: *dé-dī-y-i-tavái* ŚB V 3,2,6 (~ *de-dī-ya-dhvam* ‘ye splash out repeatedly!’ ŚBK VII 2,1,7: *dayⁱ/dī*). Pāṇ III 1,22 teaches the intens. II as the standard intensive. The Av. *-ia-* pres. with reduplication could be related to this formation: OAv. *rā-rāš-iiā-īntī*, *rā-rāš-iiān* < **h₂re-h₂rs-je-* (*rah* ‘become disloyal’), YAv. *yaēš-iiā-nt-* ‘boiling (intrans.)’ < **ia-īs-ia-* (*yah*, cf. Ved. *yéṣ-a-* < **iá-īš-a-* beside *yás-ya-ti* < **ias-ia-*), cf. KELLENS Verbe 193f., HOFFMANN-FORSSMAN 186, SCHAEFER 51.

For the PIE origin of both formations, one can cite Goth. *reiran* ‘tremble’ < **reī-roīH-* (cf. perf. *le-lāy-a* ‘trembles’ YSP Br.) on the one hand, and Hitt. *lellipāi* ‘licks’ < **lei-lip-je-* on the other hand; some might be hidden in other formations, esp. in Balto-Slav. verbs with **-o-* grade root, cf. SCHAEFER 48–50.^{281a}

^{280b}) Cf. SCHAEFER 45, NARTEN Sprache 27 (1981) 3 ff. = Kl. Schr. 235 ff.

²⁸¹) Cf. GOTÖ Gs. Elizarenkova (2008) 116 n. 4.

^{281a}) SCHAEFER 161 accepts the derivation of Grk. *πορφύρε-* ‘wave’ from PIE **b^her-b^hrh₂-je-*, comparing with *jár-bhur-ī-ti* ‘quivers’ etc. RV (against HOFFMANN and TICHY).

3.7.4. causative

The causative²⁸²⁾ is a well-developed category. The stem is built with the suffix *-áya-*. The formation goes back to the PIE pres. stem formed with suffix *-éje-* added to the root in the **-o-* grade, which is realised regularly as *-ā-* in open, and *-a-* in closed syllables, including those closed by a consonant preceding a laryngeal (BRUGMANN's law): *cāt-áya-* 'scare away', *vāt-áya-* (*vat* with *ápi* 'grasp spiritually', OAv. *vāt-aiia-* with *fra*), *bhāj-áya-* 'make share', *tāp-áya-* AV 'make hot' (YAv. *tāp-aiia-*, Russ. *topljú, topít* 'heat, melt'), *gām-áya-*, 'make go', *yāv-áya-* 'let keep off', against *janⁱ-áya-* (OE *cennan* < **ǵonh₁-éje-* 'beget'), *jarⁱ-áya-* 'make old, wasted', *damⁱ-áya-* (probably a substitute for the nasal-pres. **d̥m-né-h₂-* 'tame' in Ved. *dam-ā-yá-*, cf. p. 107, Hom. *δάμ-νῆ-μι* and OIr. *damnaim* 'I subdue, fasten, bind'), *prathⁱ-áya-* 'spread, widen', *śrathⁱ-áya-* 'loosen' (possibly = OE *āhreddan*, OHG *retten*); furthermore, *cet-áya-* 'make notice', *kop-áya-* 'make quake, (later:) make angry', *roc-áya-* 'let shine' (YAv. *raoc-aiia-*, Hitt. *lukk-i-zzi*, OLat. *lūc-e-ō*), *darś-áya-* 'make see, show', *kalp-áya-* 'arrange', *randh-áya-* 'oppress', *vakṣ-áya-* 'make large' (YAv. *vaxš-aiia-*, cf. Goth. *wahs-jan*); — *dhār-áya-* 'hold' (OAv. YAv. *dār-aiia-*, OPers. *dār-aya-*) is at least formally a causative. However, some levelling pressure existed always in this living category, thus *gam-áya-* (2× in Book X), *yav-áya-*, *śrav-áya-* 'make hear' (RV 3×, beside *śrāv-áya-* RV 6×, AV 3×; OAv. YAv. *srāuu-aiia-*), *nam-áya-* 'bend' (YAv. *nām- aiie-iṇti*, substitute for *nāma-iṇti*), *ram-áya-* 'rest' (RV 4×, beside *rām-áya-* RV 4×; YAv. *rām-aiia-*), *kṣay-áya-* 'let settle, colonise' (iptv. 2nd sg.), *har-aya-nta* 'rejoice', on the one hand, and *tārⁱ-áya-* AV, *āmⁱ-áya-* 'make (sickness) attack', *bhāvⁱ-áya-* AV, *pātⁱ-áya-* 'make fly, fall' (: iterative *patⁱ-áya-* 'fly, fall', cf. Gk. *πῶτ-έο-μαι, πῶτ-άο-μαι* 'fly, flutter'; or an *aniṭ* root existed beside the *seṭ* one), on the other hand.

The ind., ipf., inj., subj., and iptv. pres. are well attested in the act. and mid.;²⁸³⁾ the opt. is rare and attested only in the act. (*mān-aye-t* AV, *jan-aye-s* Kh., *vād-aye-t* AitĀr); the part.s are common in the act., rare in the mid. Some fut. forms occur: *dhār-ay-i-śyá-ti* and *vās-ay-i-śyá-se* in the RV; on the perf. cf. p. 123. The redupl. aor. functions as the aor. of the caus. (3.5.3.: p. 111ff.); also *-s-* aor. forms are attested: *mā dhvan-ay-īt* 'lest it make smoke' RV, *mā vyath-ay-īs* 'lest you make it totter' AV, and some other forms in the Br., cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 292; *ail-ay-īt* 'has become still' AV VI 16,3 belongs to the "iterative" pres. *il-áya-iṇti*

²⁸²⁾ Cf. Stephanie W. JAMISON Function and Form in the *-áya-*Formations of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda, Göttingen 1983.

²⁸³⁾ On the direct-reflexive mid. of the caus. (also in the RV and Ved. in general), cf. Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTO "Zu mittellindischen Verben aus medialen Kausativa", Jain Studies in Honour of Jozef Deleu (1993) 261–314.

‘become still’. The pass. appears in the mantra literature only in *vi-bhāj-ya-māna-* ‘(if they are being) shared out, distributed’ AV XII 5,28 (cf. *vi-bhāj-yá-nte* MSP; KULIKOV Vedic *-ya-* presents (2012) 162, however, does not see a pass. of the caus. in this stem, but a secondary origin), *sād-yá-^{le}* ‘be settled, put’ YS^m(+), and *ā-pyāy- yá-māna-* ‘being made to swell’ VS(+), but is later productive; the forms are listed in KULIKOV ib. 694 and treated in the corresponding parts. Nominal derivatives of the caus. are considerably common.

Roots ending in *-ā* form their caus. stem by adding *-p-áya-*:²⁸⁴⁾ *glā-p-áya-* ‘make dull’, *dhā-p-áya-* ‘let suck’, *dhā-p-aya* ‘let [us] put [faith *śrād*]!’ X 151,5 (cf. OAv. *dāiie-tē* Y 31,11), *vā-p-áya-* ‘extinguish’, *sthā-p-aya-* ‘make stand’, *snā-p-áya-* ‘make bathe’; forms with short *a* in the root appear after the RV: *jñā-p-áya-* ‘make understand’, *śra-p-áya-* ‘cook, boil’, *sna-p-áya-* ‘make bathe’. Also some forms occur from roots in other structures: in the RV, e.g. *kṣe-p-aya-* beside *kṣay-áya-* ‘make dwell’, *ar-p-aya-* ‘fix’ (as the caus. of *ṛ-cchá-ti* ‘comes upon, hits’ < **h₁er*, and also *pra+arpáya-ⁱⁱ* YS^p in the place of *pra+iyárti* ‘send forward’ from **h₃er*; cf. also p. 139). Some redupl. aor. are formed from *-p-áya-* stems, in the RV: *ci-kṣi-p-a-s*, *jī-hi-p-a-s*, *á-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-t* (cf. p. 111).

The formation consisting of the root in **-o-* grade and the suffix **-éje-* is well represented in many IE languages. Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben [LIV] 22 registers “237 certain cases” for PIE.

3.7.5. passive

The stem for the passive²⁸⁵⁾ is formed with the suffix *-yá-* from the weak root-form (as far as possible). It is thus a *-ya-* present (cf. 3.4.1. [Th. 2]: p. 99f.), but its accentuation differs in principle from that of other *-ya-* presents, and it is inflected throughout in the mid.: *uc-yá-* (*vac* ‘speak’), *kri-yá-* (*kar/kṛ* ‘make’, YAv. *kir-iie-ⁱti*, *kir-iie-ⁱnti*, OPers. ipf. *a-kar-iya-tā*, *a-kar-iya-ntā*),²⁸⁶⁾ *bhri-yá-* (*bhar/bhr* ‘bring, convey’, OAv. subj. *ba’r-iiā-ntē*, YAv. *ba’r-iiā-^{le}*, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 186), *śrū-yá-* (*śrav/śru* ‘hear’, OAv. *sru-iiē*, YAv. *-sru-iiā-ta*), *dī-yá-* (*dā*

²⁸⁴⁾ The origin of the formation is not clear. Cf. Batakrishna GHOSH Les formations nominales et verbales en *p*, Paris 1933.

²⁸⁵⁾ Cf. Leonid KULIKOV The Vedic *-ya-* presents, Amsterdam - New York 2012.

²⁸⁶⁾ **t_ṛia* > PII **ə_ṛia* > OPers. *ariya*, and (> **ə_ṛia* >) Av. *iriia*, Ved. *rija* (in the case of **ə_ṛia*, presumably > *rija*, cf. n. 231). However, **t_ṛia* > PII **tə_ṛia* > Av. *triia* (like **ə_ṛia* > Ved. *rija*) before the onset of *i*-epenthesis: YAv. *auuā-striie-te*, *auuā-striia-ta*, *ustriia-mna* < **-st_ṛia* ‘be struck down’ (Ved. *star/stṛ*); the loss of **ə* after *t* has happened after the onset of *u*-epenthesis, cf. YAv. *tī’riia* ‘father’s brother’ < **turija* (YAv. *uri* < **urui*) < **t^uruia* < **tə^uruia* < **t_ṛuiio* (cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt, 2005, 212) < **ph₂t_ṛuiio*. Cf. HOFFMANN–NARTEN Sasan. Archetypus (1989) 73 n. 126.

‘give’; *u* and *i* are always long before *-ya-*), *tā-yá-* (as a *set* root, caused by reinterpretation of the subst. *-tāná-*, also in OAv. *us-tāna-*, as a v.adj.), *han-yá-* (*han/ghan* ‘slay’, YAv. subj. *jan-iiānti*, < **g^{wh}h-íé-*), *pac-yá-* (*pac* ‘cook’, cf. Grk. *πέσσω*, Att. *πέττω* ‘make ripe, digest, cook’, presumably a back-formation from the postulated **-íé-* pres. mid.), *dabh-ya-* (*dabh* ‘cheat’, YAv. *a-ḍao-iiā-mna-*), *ij-yá-* YSP+ (*yaj/ij* ‘worship’, cf. YAv. *yaz-i-nti*, subj. *-yez-iiā-t, yez-i-mna-*), etc. etc.; an inventory in KULIKOV Vedic *-ya-* presents 691–695. The ind. and part. are relatively common; the iptv. is attested in a fair number of instances. The ipf. appears in the RV only in some forms in the 3rd person, e.g. *a-nī-ya-ta* ‘was led’, *ā-muc-ya-ta* ‘was released’ (cf. Grk. *ἀπο-μύσσομαι* ‘blow one’s nose’), *a-pac-ya-nta*; the inj. only in *ac-ya-nta* (*añc/ac* ‘bend’); the subj. only in *bhri-yā-te*, *bhri-ya-nta*. LIV 19 registers “96 certain cases” of passives for PIE.

3.7.6. denominative

Denominative²⁸⁷⁾ (or rather: denominal) stems are formed from a noun by means of the accented *-yá-* suffix and have various functions. Some verbs of denom. origin passed over to normal *-áya-* pres. receiving their accentuation: *mantráya-te* ‘think out, speak’, *kāmáya-te* ‘desire, love’ (to *kāma-* ‘desire’ from the root *kā* ‘have pleasure, wish’; a new root *kamⁱ* was abstracted from *kām-áya-te*), *artháya-te* ‘aim, seek as goal’, *ūrjáya-* ‘be equipped with nourishment, power’ (*ūrjáya-nti*, *ūrjáya-nt-*, *ūrjáya-māna-*; cf. OAv. YAv. *var²z-aiia-nt-*), etc. The denom. is regularly inflected throughout as a themat. pres.; the commonest form is the 3rd sg. both in the act. and mid.; also the part. is very common in both diatheses.

From *-a-* stem nouns, e.g.: *deva-yá-nt-* ‘seeking the gods’; with *-ā-* (< **-o-*?): *aghā-yá-ti* ‘cause mischief’, *ajirā-yá-te* ‘is swift’, *aśvā-yá-nt-* ‘desiring horses’ (action noun *aśva-yá-*, agent noun *aśva-yú-*); — with *-ī-*: *adhvarī-yá-ti* ‘perform the sacrificial process’ (also dropping *a*: *adhvar-yá-ti*), *putrī-yá-nt-* ‘desiring sons’.

From *-ā-* stems, e.g.: *gopā-yá-ti* (: *gopā-* ‘herdsman’; whence a new root *gop/gup* ‘protect, guard’), *ducchunā-yá-ti/te* ‘try to bring mischief’.

From *-i-* stems, e.g.: *kavī-yá-nt-*, *kavī-yá-māna-* ‘being a seer’.²⁸⁸⁾

From *-u-* stems, e.g.: *rjū-yá-nt-*, *-yá-māna-* ‘being honest’ (: *rjú-* ‘straight’; *rjū-yá-*, *rjū-yú-*), *asū-yá-nt-* ‘feeling pain, being unwilling’ (cf. *asrá-* ‘painful’ Br.); from *gáv-/gó-* ‘cow’: *gav-yá-nt-* ‘desiring cows’, action noun *gav-yá-*, agent noun *gav-yú-*, beside it *gav-yá-*, *gav-yá-ya-*²⁸⁹⁾, *gav-ya-yú-*.

²⁸⁷⁾ Cf. SÜTTERLIN “Die Denominativa im Altindischen.” IF 19 (1906) 480–577.

²⁸⁸⁾ Cf. *pátya-a-te* ‘be ruler’, YAv. *paⁱθii-e-te*, *paⁱθi-mna-* etc. ‘dispose of’, Lat. *poti-ō* ‘put under the power of’: < **poti-é-* :: **póti-* ‘lord’ (Ved. *pāti-*).

²⁸⁹⁾ Through the interpretation of *gav-yá-* as ‘seeking, begging (*yā*) cattle’.

From other stems, e.g.: *bhiṣaj-yá-ti* ‘act as a doctor, heal’ (YAv. *bišaz-iiā-ti*, cf. *baēšaz-iiā-ti*; cf. also 3rd sg. *bhiṣák-ti* VIII 79,2), *iṣudh-yá-ti* ‘transfer the refreshing power’? (OAv. *iṣūd-iiā-mahī*; action noun *iṣudh-yá-*, agent noun *iṣudh-yú-*), *vadhar-yá-nt-* ‘serving as a weapon’, *sapar-yá-ti* ‘tend, adore’ (many forms in the ind., also ipf., part., and gerdv. *sapar-éñya-*, agent noun *sapar-yú-*), — *duvas-yá-ti* ‘pay homage’ (many ind. forms, also part.; *duvas-yú-*, *duvo-yú-*, *duvo-yá-*), *namas-yá-ti* ‘do reverence’ (many ind.s; ipf. *a-namas-ya-n* and *á-namas-y-ur*; part. 6×; OAv. *namaṣ-iiā-mahī*, YAv. *namañhə-nti*; *namas-yá-*, *namas-yú-*), *śravas-yá-ti* ‘seek fame’ (3× subj., many part.s; OAv. *srāuuaḥ-iiē-ti*, *śravas-yá-*, *śravas-yú-*), *su-manas-yá-māna-* ‘having good will’, cf. YAv. *haomanañhi-mna-*, — *aviṣ-yánt-* ‘desiring provisions’ (: *avasá-* n. ‘provisions’, nouns *aviṣ-yá-*, *aviṣ-yú-*); *taviṣ-yá-te* beside *taviṣ-ti-yá-ti* ‘be mighty’ (: *tavás-*, *taviṣá-*).

Relating to *rátha-* ‘chariot’, several formations appear: *rathī-yá-ti* ‘act as a charioteer’ (: *rathī-* m. ‘charioteer’), *rathar-yá-ti* ‘drive in a chariot’, *rathirā-yá-ti* ‘is loaded in a chariot’ (: *rathirá-* ‘belonging to a chariot’), *ratha-yá-* ‘desire for having a chariot’, *ratha-yú-* ‘seeking a chariot’.

vṛṣā-ya-ti ‘make rain; (*ā-*) pour into’ is supposed to be a *-yá-* formation beside an (unattested) *-nā-* stem (p. 107), because of its factitive meaning (also *-iṣ-* aor. 3rd pl. inj. mid. *ā-vṛṣā-y-iṣ-ata* occurs together with iptv. *āya-dhvam* VS II 31). *vṛṣā-ya-te* ‘summon, show courage’ (± *út-*) is interpreted similarly or as denom. of *vṛṣaṇ-* ‘bull’.

There is a group showing the form **anyá-*:²⁹⁰ [1] from the *-n-* stem, *ukṣaṇ-yá-nt-* ‘acting as an ox’, *vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti* ‘acts as a bull’, *vṛṣaṇ-yá-nt-ti* ‘desiring a bull’, *udan-yá-nt-* ‘irrigating’, [2] from the *-ana-* stem: *kṛpaṇ-yá-ti* ‘desire to get, long’ (: *kṛp-āṇa-* n. ‘misery’), *turaṇ-yá-ti* ‘rush, press, urge’ (: *tur-āṇa-*), *bhuraṇ-yá-ti* ‘be busy’ (: *bhur-āṇa-* ‘busy’, only voc.), [3] more or less autonomous, e.g. *iṣ-anya-ti* ‘urge’, *huv-anya-ti* ‘call’, *vip-anya-mahe* ‘we are spiritually excited’, with nomina actionis (abstract nouns) and agentis (adj.) *tur-anya-*, *tur-anyú-*, *bhur-anyú-*, *iṣ-anya-*, *vip-anya-*, *vip-anyú-*. Cf. YAv. mid. part. *zar-ani-mna-* ‘being irritated’ Yt 10,47 and perhaps Yt 11,5 < **f^hṛH-anja-* (Ved. *harⁱ/hṛⁱ, hṛ-ṇī-tē*), cf. NARTEN MSS 41 (1982) 142 = Kl. Schr. 266, KELLENS Verbe av. 163. The stem *iṣ-anya-ti* ‘urge’ could go back to PIE **(h₁)is(h₂)-ṇ-ǵé-* together with Grk. *ἰαίνω* ‘heat, cheer’, beside *iṣ-nā-ti* < **(h₁)is-né-h₂-*, thematised in Grk. *ἰβάω* ‘clear out’.²⁹¹

The denom. formation with **ǵé-* goes back to PIE, e.g. *sapar-yá-ti* ‘attend to, venerate’ (with *saparyánt-*, *saparyú-*, *saparyénya-*), Lat. *sepel-iō* ‘bury, entomb’ < **sepel-ǵé-*. It is supposed that the denom. tended to be formed originally from

²⁹⁰ Cf. RENOU BSL 37 (1936) 17–39; OETTINGER MSS 53 (1992) 133–154.

²⁹¹ Or *ἰβάω*? Cf. GOTÖ Materialien III 132f., with lit.

weak forms of the noun, see KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarm. Verb.* 149 n. 9. The well attested denom. *uruṣ-yá-ti* ‘search for wideness; bring someone in wideness, into security’ (36× in the RV; *yá-* and *yú-* each 1×; rare after the RV) is derived from the weakest form of the noun *várivās-* ‘wideness, width’ (< **uérH-uos-*): **urH-us-je-*. *varivas-yá-ti* (9× in the RV, in addition *yá-* 1×) is a younger and levelled formation. *īṣ-yā-* ‘be jealous’ in *īṣ-yā-nt-ī-* TS^p (with *īṣ-yá-*, *īṣ-yú-* AV+) and YAv. *arš-īia-nt-* ‘jealous’ < **(H)rHs-je-* are the older forms as opposed to *iras-yá-ti* in the RV (VII¹ X², *iras-yá-* V¹); the accent place reveals that it was already an independent verbal stem.²⁹²⁾ KLINGENSCHMITT cites, furthermore, OAv. *fšu-iiō*, *fšu-īia-nt-* ‘raise livestock’ < **pku-je-* (: **péku-*), Grk. *βλίττε-* ‘take the honey’ < **mlit-je-* (: *μέλι* < **mélit* ‘honey’), YAv. *xruuīš-īia-nt-* ‘thirsting after blood’ < **kruīš-je-* instead of **kruHs-je-* (: **kréyh₂s-* in Ved. *kravīṣ-* ‘raw flesh’).

This phenomenon may have related to alternations such as **mén-es-/os-* (> *mán-as-*) ~ **mns + d^heh₁* (*me-dhā-*, Av. *Maz-dā-*; *mé-dhi-ra-*; OAv. *maz-dāhō.dūm*) ~ **méns + d^heh₁* (OAv. *hu-mqz-d-ra-*, YAv. *mqz-d-ra-*, OAv. *mēñ-cā ... dā*); **méj(H)-es-* (> *máyas-*, YAv. *maīia-* ‘refreshment, pleasure’) ~ **mī(H)s-d^heh₁-* (> *mīdhā-*, NHG *Miete*) ~ **mī(H)és-d^heh₁-* (> *miyédha-*, Av. *mīiazda-* ‘feast’). Cf. also p. 59.

There are *-iṣ-* aor. forms built directly from the denom. stem: *ūnāy-īs* RV I 53,3 (: *ūná-* ‘lacking’, no denom. pres.), *pāpay-iṣ-ṭa* TS^m (: *pāpá-* ‘bad’, no denom. pres.), *á-saparyait* AV (: *sapar-yá-ti*; cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 258, 292). The nominal forms in *-y-ā-* and *-y-ú-* are very common, as noted above (p. 53).

3.8. nominal and other formations of the verb

3.8.1. infinitives²⁹³⁾

There are many infinitive formations in the RV. The formal varieties are reduced later radically, and only *-tum*²⁹⁴⁾ remains in Ep., Cl. The forms in Vedic

²⁹²⁾ The unknown nominal base of this formation, **irás-* ‘jealousy, envy’ < **(H)rH-és-*, is possibly to be sought in YAv. *aras-ka-* ‘jealousy, envy’. Cf. Old-Hitt. *arš-an-je-mi* ‘be jealous’ < **(H)rHs-ñ-je-*. Cf. PETERS *Sprache* 32 (1986[1988]) 371 ff. and n. 241 above.

²⁹³⁾ Cf. Petr SGALL *Die Infinitive im R̥gveda*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica II, Praha 1958, 135–268. See also Fritz WOLFF “Die infinitive des Indischen und Iranischen. Erster teil” KZ 40 (1907) 1–111: 1. Die ablativisch-genetivischen infinitive (5–57); 2. Die altindische infinitive auf *-tum* (57–71); 3. Die indo-iranischen infinitive auf *-(a)m* (71–96); 4. Die indo-iranischen infinitive auf *-ām* (97–104); 5. Die iranischen infinitive auf *-tim* (104–111); DELBRÜCK *AI Synt.* 409–431.

²⁹⁴⁾ Cf. also GIPPERT *Gs. Kuryłowicz* (1995[1996]) 255–277: among others, on the construction with *śak*, *śakya-*.

prose (YS^p, Br.), beside productive *-tum*, are: *sādhyaī* ‘in order to win’ MS^p; *dṛś-é*, *ārabh-é* and several forms in *-é*; *āvi-tave*, *sār-tave* ŠB; a fair number of *-tavái* < **-tave* + *vái*, e.g., *yā-tavái* ‘in order to travel’, *kár-tavái* ‘to make’, *mánthi-tavái* ‘to stir, whirl, churn’, *pári-starī-tavái* ‘to spread and cover’ [cf. GIPPERT MSS 44 (1985) 49f. n. 3, 5, 7]; several forms in *-am* in the construction with *ná śak* ‘be not able to’ (cf. Pāṇ III 4,12: Vedic); a good number of *-tos* (*-tos*) and some forms in *-as* with *īśvará-* (cf. Pāṇ III 4,13: Vedic),²⁹⁵ a good number of *-tos* with *ā* ‘till’ and *purā* ‘before’²⁹⁶.

The infinitives go back to case forms of nouns, predominantly of root nouns and *-tu-* stems. They are also formed from marked verbal stems. It is not always easy to distinguish infinitives from case forms of a noun. Criteria for the inf. could be: the verbal governance in the syntax (in the case of dat.-inf.s, however, governed nouns are very often attracted into the dat.; this is also the case with the final dative); furthermore, whether or not other case forms are attested from the nominal stem in question, and in which manner. The forms and the cases to which they go back are: dative: [1] *-dhyai*, [2] *-e*, *-ai*, [3] *-tave*, *-tavái*, [4] *-táye*, [4.1] *-tyái*, [5] *-aye*, [6] *-ase*, *-se*, [7] *-mane*, [8] *-vane*; ablative-genitive: [9] *-as*, [10] *-tos*; accusative: [11] *-am*, [12] *-tum*; locative [13] *-sáni*.

[1] For *-dhyai*, 35 forms are confirmed, almost all in the RV. The endings are added to the verbal stem or basis with *-á-*: e.g., *yāja-dhyai* (once *yajádhyai*) ‘to worship’, *piba-dhyai* ‘to drink’, *pṛṇá-dhyai* ‘to fill’, from the caus. *syandayá-dhyai* ‘to let flow’, *mādayá-dhyai* ‘to intoxicate’, from the acrodynamic mid. pres. *stavá-dhyai* ‘to be praised’, *śayá-dhyai* ‘to lie’; — possibly based on the *-a-* aor. stem: *huv-á-dhyai* ‘to call’ (many times), *śuc-á-dhyai* ‘to shine’ IV 2,1 (together with *īrayá-dhyai*); — *duh-á-dhyai* ‘to milk (a cow)’ X 61,17, *vṛj-á-dhyai* ‘to wrench off to oneself’ III 31,17, *iyá-dhyai* VI 20,8 (probably from *ay/i* ‘go’; or *yā* ‘travel’ as **iH-a-d^hiāi*?); — *gamá-dhye* TS I 3,6,2^m with *-e* is only a variant of *gam-á-dhyai* RV I 154,6–MS–KS–KpS.

There are a good number of forms in OAv. (*-diiāi*) and some in YAv. (*-δiiāi*);²⁹⁷ they are added, just as in Ved., to a variety of stem formations. One

²⁹⁵ Cf. OERTEL “Die Konstruktion von *īśvara-* in der vedischen Prosa” KZ 65 (1938) 55–77 = Kleine Schriften 464–486.

²⁹⁶ Cf. OERTEL SBayAW 1941 II-9, 62–71 = Kl. Schr. 1431–1440.

²⁹⁷ Cf. beside SGALL (n.293), also BENVENISTE *Les infinitifs avestiques* (1935), KELLENS *Verbe av.* (1984) 349f., HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN (1996) 243, and RIX Fs. Palmer (1976) 319–331 = Kl. Schr. 123–135, GIPPERT MSS 43 (1984) 25–44, GARCÍA-RAMÓN “Zur Morphosyntax der passivischen Infinitive im Oskisch-Umbrischen: u. *-f(e)i*, o. *-fīr* und ursabell. **-fīē* (**-d^hiēh*)” Oskisch-Umbrisch (ed. RIX 1993) 106–124, LÜHR “Zur In-

finds also the type OAv. *srūⁱ-diiāi* (**srauy/sru* ‘hear’: possibly based on the athemat. root-aor. stem), *jaⁱ-diiāi* (*jan* ‘slay’: athemat. root-pres. *jan-/ja-/ym-*), *āž-diiāi* (*nas/qš/as* ‘attain’, cf. athemat. root-aor. *frqš-tā* for **fra-aš-ta*, cf. GOTÖ I. Präs. 91 n. 7), *vōiz-diiāi* (: perf. *vaēd-ā* ‘knows’), etc. RIX Fs. Palmer (1976) 328 = Kl. Schr. 132 points out that PII *-*d^hiāi* goes back together with the Umbr. inf. *-fi* to PIE *-*d^hiōi*.²⁹⁸

[2] The inf. in *-e* from the weak root-form has the largest number of occurrences among the inf.s in the RV, more than 130; it takes the form *°ai* in the case of roots ending in *ā*: e.g., *drś-é* ‘to see’, *ā-tūj-e* ‘to strike out’, *bhuv-é*, *-bhv-é* ‘to become’ (YAv. *buii-e*), *vṛdh-é* ‘to thrive’, *ā-yái* ‘to travel hither’ (*ā-yā*). Corresponding OAv. formations are: *p-ōi* < **ph₃-éi* ‘to guard’, *suii-ē* < **suu-ai* < **kuh₁-éi* ‘to make strong’, and from the sigmatic aor. *ā...* [*a*] *nāš-ē* < **nāč-š-ai* ‘to bring’ Y 44,14.

[3] *-tav-e* from the dat. sg. of the *-tu-* stem occurs in about 36 forms in the RV, e.g., *āt-tave* (*ad* ‘eat’), *hán-tave* ‘to slay’, *dā-tave* ‘to give’, *ávi-tave* ‘to help’, *cári-tave* ‘to go on, to act’, *stárī-tave* ‘to spread’ AV, *sú-tave* ‘to give birth’ (cf. n. 274). *-tavái*²⁹⁹ is attested in 16 forms in the RV, e.g. *gán-tavái* ‘in order to go’, *hán-tavái*. On the situation in Ved. prose, cf. above. These formations are not known in OIran.

[4] Forms in *-táy-e* (from the dat. of *-ti-* stems) are difficult to distinguish from nominal case forms. The inf. is confirmed in occurrences of *iṣ-táye* ‘to

terdependenz der Methoden ‘Funktionsbestimmung’ und ‘Rekonstruktion’ – das Infinitivmorphem indoiran. *-*d^hiāi*” MSS 55 (1994[1995]) 69–97.

²⁹⁸ Cf. also Hom. *ἐλάσσαι*, Att. *ἐλάσαι* ‘to drive’ < **ela-t^hai* < loc. **h₁elh₂-d^hieh₂-i*, and inf. in *-(σ)ai* and *-σθai* (RIX Hist. Gramm. 238f.). Umbr. *-fi* (**-fiē*) might have come into being in some way from *-*d^hiāi* < PIE *-*d^hiāh₂-ai* < dat. *-*d^hieh₂-ei*. GARCÍA-RAMÓN loc. cit. 106–124 derives the Sabellic forms from *-*d^hie-h₁* (instr. of an abstr. noun *-*d^hiō-*), and the Indo-Iran. forms from its dat. *-*d^hiō-ei*. UNTERMANN Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen (2000) 381 decides in favour of the possibility that it stands for the pass. inf. *-*fīr* < *-*d^hiāi-r* (cf. Osk. *sakrafīr* ‘to be sacrificed’). LÜHR loc. cit. supposes an inner-Indo-Iran. new formation *-*d^hiāi* which has come into existence through a secondary segmentation from the voluntative subj. 1st sg. mid. in such form as OAv. *uzar^{ai}-diiāi azōm* ‘ich werde erlangen’ (87ff.) Y 43,14 (BARTHOLOMAE and HUMBACH conjecture an inf. of the redupl. pres. of *ar*, cf. YAv. *uz-iiōr-ai-ti*, Ved. *úd-iyar-ti*, *ūr-te*: *uzir^{ai}-diiāi azō* ‘Aufstellen will ich, fortreiben will ich’). LÜHR ascribes *-ar^{ai}-diiāi* to *ard/ār^ad* (cf. *sám-ṛdhyatām* ‘let him be endowed completely [by offspring]’ RV X 85,27), which should have been, however, reinterpreted as *-ar^{ai}-diiāi* (PII *-*rⁱ-d^hiāi*), as a form belonging to PII **ar/rⁱ*, **rⁱ-šca-* ‘come into’ (Ved. *rcchāti*, cf. OPers. *rasa-i*).

²⁹⁹ Through haplology from *-tave vai*, cf. THURNEYSSEN Mél. Saussure (1908) 225–227, cf. also KLEIN The particle *u* in the Rigveda (1978) 164–167.

search', *vī-táye* 'to pursue, chase, track', *pī-táye* 'to drink', etc. These correspond to YAv. *para-kaṇ-taiiaē-ca* (*kan* 'dig'), *kər²-tē* (*kar* 'make'), *karš-taiiaē-ca* (*karš* 'plough'), *apa-ṇharš²-tē* (*harz* 'loose'), *hix-taiiaē-ca* (**haik/hic* 'pour', formally = Ved. dat. *sik-táy-e*), cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242. — [4.1] *-ty-ái* with the younger dat.-form (< **-tiāi*, after the *-ī-* inflexion: < **-tiéh₂-eī*) is attested only in *i-tyái* 'to go', cf. OAv. *uz-ū-īθiiōi* 'to help someone out of' < **HuH-tiāi*.

[5] An undoubted occurrence of the inf. in *-áy-e* is, according to SGALL (see n. 293) 178f., only *san-áye* I 116,21 (*sanⁱ/sā* 'conquer'); probably also *drš-áye* 'to see' IX 91,6 (among 8 occurrences of the form *dršáye*), *yudh-áye* 'to fight' V 30,4.9, X 38,3 (among 7 occurrences of *yudháye*), and perhaps *iš-áye* VI 52,15 ('to send forth' or 'to become invigorated'?, sole occurrence of the word); in addition, *mah-áye* 'to make great, glorify' (?) X 65,3 and *tuj-áye* 'to procreate' (?) V 46,7 could belong here.

[6] Forms with *-ás-e*, *-as-e* are attested in *rc-áse* 'to extol' (pres. *arc-a-*), *jīv-áse* 'to live' (pres. *jīv-a-*), *śrīv-áse* 'to be resplendent' (factitive pres. *śrī-ñā-ti*), *tuj-áse* 'to hurl' (pres. *tuj-á-*); from full-grade roots *arh-áse* 'to be worthy of' (pres. *arh-a-*), *car-áse* 'to go on' (pres. *cár-a-*), *śobh-áse* 'to be beautiful' (pres. *śobh-a-*), *doh-áse* 'to milk' (pres. *dogdhi*, subj. *doh-a-t*); from marked stems *ṛñj-áse* 'to speed straightward' (pres. *ṛ-ñ-j-á-*), *pušy-áse* 'to thrive' (pres. *púš-ya-*), *vṛñj-áse* 'to wrench' (pres. *vṛ-ñá-k-ti*, *vṛ-ñ-j-ánti*); probably, furthermore, *áy-ase* 'to go' (pres. *éti*, *yánti*, subj. *áy-a-ti*), *bhój-ase* 'to enjoy' (pres. *bhu-ñ-j-até*, subj. aor. *bhój-a-te*), *sádh-ase* 'to accomplish' (pres. *sádh-a-*), *spár-ase* 'to carry off, acquire' (pres. *spṛ-ṇáv-/spṛ-ṇu-*, subj. aor. *spár-a-t*), *kṣád-ase* 'to serve up' (pres. *kṣád-a-*). Some OAv. forms correspond to these: *frād-añhē* (*frād*, pres. *frād-a-* 'promote'), *vaēn-añhē* (**vajn*, pres. *vaēn-a-* 'see'), *rāšaii-eñhē* (caus. *rāš-aiia-* 'destroy'), *srāuuaii-eñhē* (caus. *srāuu-aiia-* 'let hear; recite'), and *vaoc-añhē* (*vac*, redupl. aor. *vaoc-a-* 'speak'), cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242f.

An inf. in *-s-é* occurs in *stu-śé* (*stav/stu* 'praise', *stáu-ti*, *stuv-ánti*, *stava^{te}*), *ji-śé* (*jay/ji* 'win, gain', *jáy-a^{tilte}*). From the predicative use such as *stu-śé* 'he is to be praised' X 93,9, *cár-kṛ-še* 'is to be glorified' X 22,1; 105,4 (: intens. of *karⁱ/kṛ*; *cárkṛše* X 74,1 is the 1st sg. mid. 'I remember'), a new employment as 1st sg. has come into being, e.g., *stu-śé* 'I (will) praise' (many occurrences, e.g., I 46,1, VI 62,1; GELDNER takes it as the 3rd pl. in VIII 5,4), *gṛ-ñī-śé* 'I (will) sing, welcome' (more than 10×, cf. *gṛñī-śāni*, [13] with n. 305). These received a new interpretation as finite verbs and lost their accent in the main clause: *gāy-i-še* 'I sing' (pres. *gā-ya^{ti}*), *hi-še* 'I impel' (*hi-nó-ti*, *hi-nv-é*; aor. *a-he-ma*, *a-hy-an*). That is also the case with forms in *-ase* such as *yaj-a-se* 'I worship' (*yáj-a^{te}*), *arc-a-se* 'I extol'

(*ārc-a^{ti}*), which could have been formed on account of the interpretation as verbal stem + autonomous *-se*.³⁰⁰⁾

[7] The certain inf. forms in *-man-e* are *dhār-maṇe* (*dhar/dhr* ‘support’), *bhār-maṇe* (*bhar/bhr* ‘bear’), *dā-maṇe* (*dā* ‘give’), and possibly *vid-māne* (*ved/vid⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘know’). OAv. has a corresponding formation in *xšqan-mānē* < **xšqm-manai*³⁰¹⁾ Y 29,9 (*xšam* ‘endure’). Cf. Lesb. Hom. *δό-μεναι* ‘to give’, *ἔμ-μεναι* ‘to be’.³⁰²⁾

[8] For *-van-e*, one can cite *dā-vāne* (many times), *tur-vāne* (*tarⁱ/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’), and possibly *dhūr-vane* (*dhvar/dhūr* ‘injure’). The corresponding OAv. formations are **r-uuānē* < **ar-uanai* Y 31,2 (*ar* ‘set in motion’) and *vīd-uuanōi* ‘to know’ Y 31,3.

OAv. has, in addition, the inf. in **-uaj* in *dā-uuōi* Y 28,2, Y 44,14 (*dā* ‘give’ and ‘set, settle’), *vīd-uiiē* Y 29,3, Y 31,5, Y 44,3, *vī-uuīd-uiiē* Y 53,9 (< **uid-uaj* ‘to know’)³⁰³⁾.

[9] The following forms in the RV are confirmed as inf.s in *-as*, — in the abl. construction (e.g., with *rté* ‘without’, *purā* ‘before’, *ā* ‘till’): *ā-tṛd-as* ‘being pierced’, *ava-pād-as* ‘falling down’, *sam-pṛc-as* ‘coming in contact’, *abhi-śnáth-as* ‘being shut upon’, *abhi-śrīṣ-as* ‘binding’, *abhi-śvās-as* ‘blowing upon’, *ava-srás-as*, *vi-srás-as* (*sraṁs/sras* ‘come off’); — and in the gen. construction only *ni-mīṣ-as*: II 28,6 *nahi ... nimīṣas canéše* ‘I am never able even to close my eyes’. On some forms in Ved. prose, cf. above.

HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242 register the following forms as counterparts in Av. (however, with “?”): OAv. *auu-ō* (**au/u* ‘help’), *az-ē* (*az* ‘urge’); *dār-aii-ō* (: pres. *dār-aiia-* ‘support’), *vər²z-ii-ō* (*vər²z-ii-* ‘work’), *sauu-aii-ō* (caus. *sauu-aiia-* ‘make strong’); YAv. *fra-γrār-aii-ō* (caus. *γrār-aiia-* beside *gār-aiia-* ‘awake’), *ta^rruu-aii-ō* (caus. *ta^rruu-aiia-* ‘let get through’).

[10] For *-to-s* (*-to-ṣ*), 9 forms are confirmed as inf.s in the RV, mostly in the abl. construction like *-as*, e.g., *é-tos* ‘(from) going’, *gán-tos* ‘(from) going into’, *jáni-tos* ‘(from) producing’, *śárī-tos* ‘(from) breaking’, *purā hán-tos* ‘before slay-

³⁰⁰⁾ Cf. SGALL 182 (bibliography ib. n. 139), 243, furthermore, KÜMMEL Stativ 9 n. 40, SCHAEFER Intensivum 108f.

³⁰¹⁾ Dissimilated from *-mm-* to *-nm-*; OIran. has no gemination at all.

³⁰²⁾ RIX Hist. Gramm. 238 supposes that Proto-Aeolic loc.-inf. **-men* (cf. Hom. *δόμην*, *ἔμμεν*, etc.) has been reformed after Ion. **-enai* (< loc. **-eneh₂-i*, or rather dat. **-enh₂-ei*; Ion.-Att. *δοῦναι*, *εἶναι*), cf. the sole inf.-formation in OPers. *-t-anaiy* < **-t-ṇh₂ei* (interpretable also as *-t-aniy* < **-t-ṇh₂-i*, cf. n. 304) in *car-tanaiy* (*kar* ‘make’), *ka_n-tanaiy* (*kan* ‘dig’), *bar-tanaiy* (*bar* ‘bear’), *ni-paiš-tanaiy* (*ni-paiθ* ‘engrave’), *θa_ns-tanaiy* (*θa_nh* ‘declare’).

³⁰³⁾ According to WERBA Sprache 32 (1986[1988]) 349, *vīduiē* in Y 29,3 and Y 31,5 belongs to **vaid/vid* ‘find out’.

ing’, *ā ni-dhā-tos* ‘until laying down (his play, hand in gambling)’; with *madhyā* probably in the gen. function *gān-tos* ‘in the midst of going’ and *kār-tos* ‘... of making’; in the gen. construction with *īśe* ‘masters’: *yó-tos* ‘keeping away’ VI 18,11 and *dā-tos* ‘giving’ VII 4,6. On the situation in Ved. prose, cf. p. 133.

[11] Inf.s in acc. *-am* are reported for 12 or 13 forms in 31 or 32 occurrences in the RV, e.g., *sam-īdh-am* ‘making flame up’, *yām-am* ‘holding’.

[12] Inf.s in *-tu-m* are rare in the RV; undoubted examples are: *dā-tum* ‘to give’ V 79,10, *prāṣ-tum* ‘to ask’ I 164,4, and *ānu prā-voḍhum* X 2,3 (*vah* ‘transport’). They are very common later, especially beginning with the period of Vedic prose; the shape before *-tum* is similar to [3]: in the case of *seṭ* roots, e.g., *grahī-tum*, *bhāvi-tum*, but *ūn-ne-tum* MS^p ‘to lead upwards’ (*sām-nayi-tum* TB^m, *vy-apa-nayi-tum* AB); with *-i-* for maintaining clarity of the root form *yāc-i-tum* ‘to beg’, *hiṁs-i-tum* ‘to injure’; from pres. stem *hv-āyi-tum* ‘to call’ (*hv-āya-^{ti}*), *kālp-ayi-tum* ‘to arrange’ (caus. *kālp-āya-^{ti}*), *vart-ayi-tum* ‘to let turn’ (caus. *vart-āya-^{ti}*; Ep. also *vart-i-tum*). — No inf. of acc. origin is known in OIranian.

[13] As locative inf.s,³⁰⁴ only forms in *-śāni* are confirmed, always in the shape *-śāni*: *tarīśāni* ‘(in order) to get through’ (2×), *ne-śāni* ‘in leading’, *par-śāni* ‘in bringing across’ X 126,3, *sū-śāni* ‘(in order) to swell’ X 93,1, *prā ... sak-śāni* ‘shall conquer forwards’ (with a subject in the nom.) X 32, 1; from pres. stem *gr-ñī-śāni* ‘I/one shall welcome’ (object in the acc.)³⁰⁵, *upa-str-ñī-śāni* in *tād va ukthāsya barhānēndrāyopastīśāni* ‘then your praising word (:gen.) is to be spread out steadily for Indra’ VI 44,6 (GELDNER “ich will unterlegen”).

Cf. the Grk. inf. in *-en* < loc. **-sen*, e.g. Ion. Att. *ἐχεν*, Dor. Lesb. *ἐχην*, Mycenaean *e-ke-e* < **seǵ^hesen* ‘on holding’ (RIX Hist. Gramm. 237).³⁰⁶

In Av., there are inf. forms in **-taī*, according to HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242: OAv. *s-tōi*, YAv. *s-tē* (*ah* ‘be’), OAv. *i-tē*, *ā-i-tē* (**ai/i* ‘go’), OAv. *ga-t.tōi*, *ga-t.tē*

³⁰⁴ On other candidates, e.g. *-ani*, *-tari*, cf. SGALL (as in n.293) 157f. He regards *pupū-tāni* X 132,6 ‘shall purify’ (with subject in the nom.) as an inf. (158, 227) and compares it with OPers. *-tanaīy* (cf. n. 302).

³⁰⁵ VIII 12,19 *devāṃ-devaṃ vó ‘āvasa | indram-indraṃ grīñīśāni* “Immer nur den Gott, immer nur Indra soll man loben, euch zum Beistand” (GELDNER); VI 15,6 *agnīm-agnīm vah | samīdhā duvasyata | priyām-priyāṃ vo ātithīm grīñīśāni* “Immer huldigt eurem Agni mit Brennholz, immer feiert euren lieben Gast” (GELDNER); word-for-word perhaps: ‘[Him,] the very friendly guest, it is to be welcomed by you’. Cf. *gr-ñī-śé* ‘I (will) sing, welcome’, above [6].

³⁰⁶ RIX derives this from the loc. of the *-s-* abstractum (cf. **seǵ^h-es-* in Ved. *sáh-as-* ‘power’, Goth. *sig-is* ‘victory’) extended by *-en*, and again, enlarged by *-i*, yielding Ved. *-ś-ān-i*.

(*gam/jam* ‘go’), OAv. *mrū-ītē*, YAv. *mrū-īte* (**mray/mrū* ‘speak’), OAv. *sas-tē* (*sanh* ‘proclaim, declare’), YAv. *das-te* < **d^had^hH-tai* (*dā* ‘set, settle’, from its pres. stem). KELLENS Verbe av. devotes a long note (347f. n. 5) to this formation. The loc. sg. **-tēj-Ø* of the *-ti-* stem is preferable to the dat. sg. **-t-ēj* as a source for this formation, since the loc. sometimes shows an independent ablaut, cf. 1.1.3.: p. 14f.

3.8.2. participles

Participles are formed from every verbal stem. In the act. of the pres. (incl. the fut., desid., intens., caus., and denom.) and of the aor.³⁰⁷⁾, the suffix *-ánt-/-nt-/-at-* (p. 45f.) is employed; the f. is formed by adding *-ī-* or *-ī-* to the weak form of this suffix, and is inflected in the *devī-* type. In the mid., *-māna-* is added to the thematic, *-āná-/āna-* to the athematic stem; the f. is *-mānā-* or *-ānā-/ānā-*. They go back to PIE **-m^hno-* (KLINGENSCHMITT Flex. und Wortbildung, 1975, 161–163 = Aufsätze 145ff.), from which *-āná-* is derived directly. In the case of thematic stems, an expected **-a-m(ī)na-* < **-o-m^hno-* (cf. Av. *-a-mna-/a-mna-*) is remodelled into *-a-māna-*, levelled with *-āná-/āna-*; **-a-m(ī)na-* may have been preserved in MIA *-a-mīna-*, *-a-mīna-* (MAYRHOFER and PETERS in MAYRHOFER ZPhonSK 34, 1981, 435, MAYRHOFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 130 with n. 136). The suffix for the perf. part. is *-vāms-/ús-* (p. 47f.) in the act., and *-āná-* in the mid.

3.8.3. verbal adjectives

The v.adj.s, commonly but imprecisely known as “past pass. part.s (p.p.p.)”, are formed with *-tá-*, or in fewer cases with *-ná-*. The root appears in the zero grade as far as it is phonologically allowed. They have predominantly patientive (“passive”) meaning, e.g., *kṛ-tá-* ‘made’ (*kar/kṛ*; YAv. *kəṛ²-ta-*, OPers. *kār-ta-*), *vit-tá-* ‘found’ (*ved/vid*; OAv. YAv. *vista-*: < **uid-tó-*), *ha-tá-* ‘slain’ (*han*; YAv. *ja-ta-*, OPers. *-ja-ta-* with secondary *j*: < **g^{wh}h-tó-*), but fient.-intrans. verbs lack such a value (like Engl. past participles), e.g., *bhū-tá-* ‘having come into being, having become’ (*bhavⁱ/bhū*; YAv. *bū-ta-*), *ga-tá-* ‘gone’ (*gam*; YAv. *ga-ta-*, cf. YAv. *-gm-ata-*, OAv. *āg²m-aṭ.tā* n. pl. < **ā-gm-ata-*, OPers. *-gm-ata-*). When the root ends in a laryngeal, it develops to *ī* after a consonant, e.g., *pati-tá-* (*patⁱ* ‘fall, fly’), *udi-tá-* (*vadⁱ/udⁱ* ‘make sound, argue’), *gr̥bhī-tá-* (*grabhⁱ/gr̥bhⁱ* ‘grasp’), *skabhi-tá-* (*skambhⁱ/skabhⁱ* ‘prop’), *śnathi-tá-* (*śnathⁱ* ‘thrust, pierce’), *iṣi-tá-* (*eṣⁱ/iṣⁱ* ‘send’); in other instances a variety of phonological developments come into play: *hi-tá-* and *-dhi-tá-* (< **d^hh₁-tó-*: *dhā* ‘set, settle’), *gī-tá-* (< **gh₂-tó-*: *gā/gī*, *gā-ya-ti* ‘sing’), *gūr-tá-* (< **g^wr̥H-tó-*, Lat. *grā-tu-s* ‘welcome, desirable’: *garⁱ/gṛⁱ* ‘welcome’); *-ta-ta-* < **-dh₃-tó-*: (e.g., *devá-tta-* RV, *-pratī-tta-* AV, *prá-tta-* YSP+,

³⁰⁷⁾ Cf. DÖYAMA “On the Function of the Root-Aor. Part.” JIBS 56 (2008) 1043–1048.

ā-tta- TS^p), with the restored root-form (*tvā-*) *dā-ta-*, and remodelled after the pres. stem *dat-tá-* (*dá-dā-ti*, *dá-d-ati*; *da-t-té*: *dā* ‘give’); *jā-tá-* ‘born’ (< **ǵnh₁-tó-*, OAv. YAv. *zā-ta-*: *janⁱ*; on *krāntá-* AV+: *kramⁱ*, *śāntá-* AV+: *śamⁱ*, cf. p. 172. BARTHOLOMAE’s law plays a role in some cases: *buddhá-* < **b^hudzd^há-* < **b^hud^h-tó-* (*bodh/budh* ‘wake up’), *baddhá-* < **b^hadzd^há-* < **b^hnd^h-tó-* (*bandh/badh* ‘bind’; YAv. OPers. *basta-*), *dugdhá-* < **d^hugd^há-* < **d^hug^h-tó-* (*dogh/duh* ‘milk’), *ūd^há-* < **užd^há-* < **užd^há-* < **uj^hd^há-* < **uj^htá-* < **ug^h-tó-* (*vah/uh* ‘transport’).

There are forms with full-grade or long-grade root: *svāt-tá-* ‘sweetened’ (YAv. *x^vāsta-*; also *svad-i-tá-* belonging to caus. *svad-áya-*), *taš-tá-* (*takš* ‘hew, fashion’; YAv. *taš-ta-*), *bhak-tá-* ‘shared’ (YAv. *bax-ta-*), *naš-tá-* ‘lost’ (YAv. *naš-ta-*, OPers. *-nas-ta-*), *rā-tá-* ‘bestowed’ (YAv. *rā-ta-*). Av. *aša-* < **ārta-* ‘truth’ seems to be a *vṛddhi*-formation from the v.adj. *ṛ-tá-* ‘fit; something fit, cosmic law, truth’ in Ved.

-i-ta- has been introduced in some cases for clarifying the root form or for other, less clear reasons: *nādh-itá-* (*nādh* ‘be in distress’), *dhr̥ṣ-itá-* ‘bold’ beside *-dhr̥ṣ-tá-* ‘ventured out’ (*dhar̥ṣ/dhr̥ṣ* ‘take courage’, also *dhr̥ṣtam* ‘boldly’ ŚB), *gras-itá-* (*gras* ‘devour’). In the caus., *-i-ta-* is regularly the case, e.g., *ar-p-i-tá-/ár-p-i-ta-* (*ar-p-aya^{ti}* ‘make fit, meet’, cf. p. 129), *cod-i-tá-* (*cod-áya^{ti}* ‘set in motion’), *-svan-i-ta-* (*svan-aya^{ti}* ‘resound’); to *-áya-* pres. *ñikh-i-tá-* (*ñikh-áya^{ti}* ‘swing in a swing’), *vīd-i-tá-* (*vīd-áya^{ti}* ‘make fast’); to an unattested denom. (or with suff. *-itá-* meaning ‘equipped with’): *bhām-i-tá-* ‘enraged’ (: *bhāma-* ‘wrath’).

Forms with *-ná-* occur particularly with roots in final *d* or *ṛ* (**ṛH*), occasionally with roots in final palatals or *ā* (**aH*), e.g.: *chin-ná-* (*ched/chid* ‘cut off’), *tun-ná-* (*tod/tud* ‘push’), *skan-ná-* (*skand/skad* ‘leap’), *svin-ná-* (*sved/svid* ‘sweat’); *vṛk-ná-* (*vraś/vṛś* ‘chop, cut up’), *rug-ná-* (*roj/ruj* ‘break’); *dī-ná-* (*dā* ‘divide’), *hī-ná-* (*hā* ‘leave, abandon’); *gūr-ná-* (*garⁱ/gṛⁱ* ‘swallow’), *stūr-ná-* (*starⁱ/stṛⁱ* ‘spread out’, but YAv. *star-²ta-* < **stṛh₃-tó-*). — The same after roots in *-ī* and *-ū*, beginning with the AV: *lī-ná-* (*layⁱ/lī* ‘lean on’), *pī-ná-* (*payⁱ/pī* ‘swell’), *dū-ná-* (*davⁱ/dū* ‘burn’), etc. Furthermore: *pan-ná-* (*pad* ‘fall, step on’) AV, *vin-ná-* AV beside *vit-tá-* RV+ (*ved/vid* ‘find out’), *san-ná-* AV YS^m beside *sat-tá-* RV+ (*sad* ‘sit’).

The agent of the “past pass. part.” is expressed predominantly with the instr., but the nominal construction with the gen. is often preserved as in Pāli, cf. Pāli *evaṃ me sutam* ‘thus have I heard’ :: Buddh.Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*.

Some v.adj.s have become independent, e.g., *pūr-ṇá-* ‘full’, *ū-ná-* ‘lacking’ (YAv. *ū-na-*), *tr̥ṣ-tá-* ‘harsh, hoarse’, and new forms replaced them: *prā-tá-* ‘filled’, *-vā-tá-* ‘extinguished’, *tr̥ṣ-i-tá-* ‘thirsty’. *ánna-* ‘food’ has probably been altered to a subst., through accent shift from the v.adj. **an-ná-* (*ad* ‘eat’), cf. also *ástam* (p. 147).

The *-ta-* formation is also very productive in OIran., which shows many equivalents to Ved. forms; however, secondary forms also occur, e.g., YAv. *mā-ta-*, OPers. *-mā-ta-* ‘measured’ :: Ved. *mit-á-*; OAv. YAv. OPers. *dā-ta-* :: Ved. *hi-tá-*,

-*dhi-tá-* (*dhā* ‘set, settle’); YAv. *yaš-ta-* ‘revered’ :: Ved. *iṣ-tá-*; YAv. *star²-ta-* :: Ved. *stīr-ṇá-*. A formation with *-na-* is attested in OAv. YAv. *pər²-na-* ‘full’ (< **pṛ-na-*, after the pres. stem *pər²-nā-* or by loss of laryngeal :: Ved. *pūrṇá-* < **pṛh₁-nó-*).

The formation in *-tá-vant-*, which is known in some forms in the RV itself (*matá-vant-* ‘having thought, intention’, *sutá-vant-* ‘having pressed-out [Soma]’, etc., cf. YAv. *xšuuīpta-uua¹t-ī-* ‘having milk’, cf. AiG II-2 610), is used later as a “past active participle” in Cl.Skt.; an old example is KathUp (post-Vedic) I 2,10 *prāp-ta-vān asmi* ‘I have attained’. In Ved., however, only *asi-tá-vant-* AV IX 6,38 (prose portion) is known to be used as a participle, attested in a phrase in the absolute loc.: *asitāvaty átithau* ‘when the guest has eaten’.³⁰⁸⁾

3.8.4. gerundives

The gerdv. (fut. necessitative part. or fut. v.adj.; predominantly “fut. pass. part.” from trans. verbs) has 6 formations, of which 3 occur almost exclusively in the RV.

[1] *-ya-* is the most common formation throughout OIA. This suffix is added to various ablaut grades of the root, and is metrically very often to be read as *-iya-* (*-iṣa-* < **ih₂o-*?) which represents its original form, as shown in *déya-* ‘to be given’ (< **daH-iṣa-*: *dā*, IV 20,11 *ānu-déyam*): *dābh-iya-* ‘to be deceived’ (YAv. *a-ḍao-ii-a-*); *śrú-t-ya-* ‘to be heard’; *bhāv-ya-/bhāv-ya-/bhāv-ya-* ‘to occur in future’; *a-lāy-ya-* ‘not to be leaned on’ (*layⁱ/lī*); *vār-ya-/vār-ya-* ‘to be chosen’ (*varⁱ/vṛ*, cf. OAv. YAv. *vaⁱr-ii-a-*); *an-ānu-kṛ-t-ya-*^{308a)} ‘not to be made again’ RV, *kār-ya-* ‘to be made’ AV+ (cf. YAv. *kaⁱrii-a-*); *īd-ya-* ‘to be begged’; *sāms-ya-* ‘to be proclaimed’, *vāc-ya-* ‘to be spoken’, *dṛś-ya-/dārś-ya-* ‘worth seeing’ (cf. YAv. *huuarə.dar²siia-* ‘to be seen by the sun’), *prati-cāks-ya-* ‘visible’, etc.

[2] *-āy-ya-* is restricted to 10 forms almost only in the RV, e.g., *dakṣ-āy-ya-* ‘obligated to demonstrate one’s ability’, *pan-āy-ya-* ‘to be admired’, *vid-āy-ya-* ‘to be found’, *śrav-āy-ya-* ‘glorious’, *spṛh-ay-āy-ya-* (: *spṛh-aya^{ti}* ‘be eager’), *tray-ay-āy-ya-* IV 2,7 (: *trā-ya^{te}* ‘guard’), *tan-tas-āy-ya-* (: intens. *tan-tas-* from *taṁs* ‘draw to and fro’); *dī-dhi-ṣ-āy-ya-* ‘to be desired to be set’ (: desid. *dī-dhi-ṣa-* from *dhā*); and further in the Br. *pan-āy-ya-* ‘to be admired’, *pan-āy-ya-* (expressive variant with *ṇ*), cf. AiG II-2 285f. An isolated *stuṣéy-ya-* ‘to be praised’ RV X 120,6 seems to have been formed in direct imitation of *stuṣé* (p. 135: [6]).

[3] *-enya-* (often *-en-ya-*) is attested in more than 20 forms, mostly in the RV and other mantra texts, e.g. *īkṣ-en-ya-* ‘to be observed’, *dṛś-en-ya-* ‘to be seen’, *vār-en-ya-* ‘to be desired’ (*varⁱ/vṛ* ‘choose’), *abhy-ā-yam-s-enya-* (: *-s-* aor., *yam*

³⁰⁸⁾ Cf. RENOUE BSL (1940) 214–217.

^{308a)} RV X 68,10; 112,5. *ānu* instead of *anu* supposedly according to SAUSSURE–WACKERNAGEL’s law, cf. AiG I, Nachträge 177.

‘hold in stretched arms’), *di-drk-ṣ-éṇya-* ‘to be desired to be seen’ (: desid.), *mar-mṛj-én(i)ya-* ‘to be wiped up’ (: intens.); after the RV, from the desid. and others: *śu-śrū-ṣ-éṇya-* ‘to be obeyed’ TS^m Br., *īd-éṇya-* ‘to be begged’, *sapar-y-éṇya-* ‘to be adored’ YS^p; *di-drk-ṣ-éṇya-*, *pra-ṇi-nī-ṣ-éṇya-* ‘to be desired to be employed’ Br. Cf. AiG II-2 503ff.

[4] *-tva-* is limited to the simplex, and mostly to the RV; a meaning of possibility, e.g. in *snā-tva-* ‘suitable for bathing’ RV X 71,7 ŚB, is somewhat remarkable: *jān-tva-*, *jāni-tva-* ‘to be born’, *sāni-tva-* ‘to be conquered’, *bhāvī-tva-* ‘future’, *jē-tva-* ‘to be won’, *hé-tva-* ‘to be driven on’, *só-tva-* ‘to be pressed out’, *hān-tva-* ‘to be slain’ (YAv. *ja-θβa-*), *nān-tva-* ‘to be bent’, *kār-tva-/kār-tva-* ‘to be made’, *vāk-tva-* ‘to be spoken’ (YAv. *vax²-θβa-*). After the RV, there are only sporadic occurrences: *ā-han-tva-* MS–KS–KpS^m, *hó-tva-* ‘to be poured as a libation’ MS I 9,3^p:132,19, and some others. After a short syllable, the suffix (< **-tu-* + *-a-*) appears as *-tva-*, and after a long one, as *-tva-*, however, with some deviations. YAv. correspondents (also from verbal compounds) show almost always *-θβa-* < **-tva-*, but cf. also *varš-tuua-* ‘to be done’ < **uarj-tuua-*. Cf. AiG II-2 711 ff.

[5] *-tavyà-/tavyà-* (< the full-grade form of *-tu-* + [1] *-iya-*) and [6] *-anīya-* (< **-ana-* + *-īya-*) are both common gerdv. formations in the later language. They appear only from the AV onward. In the AV itself, the following forms are attested: *jani-tavyà-* ‘to be begotten’, *hims-i-tavyà-* ‘to be injured’; *upa-jīv-anīya-* ‘on which one has to live’, *ā-mantr-anīya-* ‘to be addressed’, and *ā-hav-anīya-* ‘in which one should offer a libation’ (both forms in *-anīya-* appear only in the prose-portions). Cf. AiG II-2 208–210, 612–615.

In Av., *-ata-* serves as the gerdv. suffix: OAv. *dar²s-ata-* ‘to be seen’ (Ved. *darś-atá-*), OAv. YAv. *yaz-ata-* ‘worth worshipping’ (Ved. *yaj-atá-*), YAv. *sʷru-nuu-ata-* ‘to be heard’ (from the pres. stem). Corresponding formations in Ved. are not many and are regarded rather as independent adj.s, cf. AiG II-2 168f.

[On adj.s in *-uka-* (AV+, common in YS^p) which show frequently a participial character (not patientive), cf. AiG II-2 480ff., J.-S. KIM StII 26 (2009) 71–82.]

3.8.5. gerunds (absolutives)³⁰⁹⁾

For the gerund (absolute, “conjunctive participle”), there are 5 formations: [1] *-tvā*, [2] *-tvāya*, [3] *-tvī*, [4] *-yā*, and [5] *-am*. The first four suffixes, which seem to be of instr. origin,³¹⁰⁾ are, in most cases, added to a weak root form. *-am*

³⁰⁹⁾ Cf. Bertil TIKKANEN The Sanskrit Gerund: A synchronic, diachronic and typological analysis, Helsinki 1987.

³¹⁰⁾ DEBRUNNER AiG II-2 654 supposes for the origin of *-tvī* a contamination of *-tvā* (instr. of the *-tu-* stem) with an old instr. (**-tī*) of the “Infinitivstamm” in *-tī-*.

apparently originates in the acc. and is suffixed to the *-o-grade root. Both forms [1] *-tvā* and [4] *-ya* (not *-yā*) survive also later, and are standard forms from Vedic prose through Ep. and Cl.Skt., for simplicia and for compound verbs, respectively. [5] *-am* first appears (depending on the interpretation) in the AV or Vedic prose. The use of gerunds in general is not so common in Ved. as in later “Sanskrit”, where they are very productive.³¹¹ **-tvīnam* (cf. Pāṇ VII 1,48 *iṣ-tvīnam* instead of *iṣ-tvā* in Ved. “*chandasi*”) and **-tvānam* are not attested in OIA, but their existence could be assumed from MIA developments, cf. AiG II-2 655, J. SAKAMOTO-GOTO Panels VIIth World Skt. Conf. VI (1991), 16–19.

[1] *-tvā* is attested from 9 verbs (in 20 occurrences) in the RV: *bhit-tvā* ‘having shattered’, *bhū-tvā* ‘having become’, *yuk-tvā* ‘having yoked’, *vr̥-tvā* ‘having covered’, *śru-tvā* ‘having heard’, *ha-tvā* ‘having slain’ (*han*), *pī-tvā* ‘having drunk’ (*pā*), *mi-tvā* ‘having formed’ (*mā* ‘measure’), *hi-tvā* ‘having abandoned’ (*hā*). The AV has about thirty more forms, e.g., *ga-tvā* ‘having gone’ (*gam*), *bhak-tvā* ‘having attained as a share’ V 17,11 (~ *bhak-tvāya* RV X 109,7), *kṛ-tvā* ‘having made’ ib. (~ *kṛ-tvī* RV ib.), *dṛṣ-tvā* ‘having seen’, *grhī-tvā* (*grabhī*/*grbhī*/*grahī*/*grhī*), *hims-i-tvā* ‘having injured’, and remarkable forms such as *ja-gdvhā* ‘having eaten’ (*ghas*, cf. HOFFMANN KZ 83, 1969, 212ff. = Aufs. 307ff.), *da-t-tvā* (: *da-dā-ti* ‘gives’), *cā-y-i-tvā* ‘noting’ (: *cā-ya-ti*), from the caus. *kalp-ay-i-tvā* ‘having arranged’ (also YS^m), *śramś-ay-i-tvā* ‘letting loose’ (~ *śramś*° KS^m), *praty-ar-p-ay-i-tvā* ‘having sent against’. The formation in *-tvā* is in itself the exclusive gerund formation for the simplex verbs; some exceptions are found, in addition to *praty-arpayitvā*, in the YS^p and Br., often from the caus., e.g., *sam-ūr-ay-i-tvā* ‘having assembled’, *pra-jan-ay-i-tvā* ‘having progenerated’; some forms also in the Sūtras, many forms in *-ay-i-tvā* in Ep. (cf. OBERLIES Gramm. of Ep. Skt. 282).

[2] *-tvā-ya*, an extended formation from [1], is formed from 7 roots in the supposedly younger layer of the RV: *ga-tvāya* (*gam*) VIII 100,8, and in Book X: *dṛṣ-tvāya*, *bhak-tvāya* ‘having attained’, *ha-tvāya*, *hi-tvāya*; *ja-gdvhāya* (: *ja-gdvhā* AV+), and *da-t-tvāya* (: *da-t-tvā* AV+); in the YS^m, in addition, *kṛ-tvāya*,

³¹¹ TIKKANEN p.88 on Black Yajurveda (prose): “the gerund is extremely rare, and the number of roots forming the gerund is smaller than in the R̥g- and Atharvaveda. E.g. in the Kāṭhakaśārinhitā the past gerund (i.e. [1]–[4]) occurs on an average only once in about 26 pages (the non-past gerund [i.e. *-am*] occurring only some 15 times in the whole text; RENOU [BSL 23] 1935, p.371), being formed from almost a 100 different roots or secondary stems at least 30 of which are not represented in the gerund form in the R̥g- and Atharvaveda”; and p.79: “In the Brāhmaṇas [not including YS^p (annot. by T.G.)] its frequency as a verb-form is already about three times greater than in the R̥gveda, while in the Epic and Classical literature it is, relatively speaking, about ten times as common as in the R̥gveda”.

ta-tvāya ‘having stretched’ (*tan*), *vr̥-tvāya* ‘having covered’ (: *vr̥-tvā*, *vr̥-tvī* RV), and ŚB XIII 5,4,12 = AB VIII 23,6 (verse) *baddhvāya* ‘having bound’.³¹²

[3] *-tvī* is the most common gerund suffix in the RV, with 16 forms in 36 occurrences, their majority occurring in Book X, e.g.: *kṛ-tvī*, *vr̥-tvī*, *ga-tvī*, *ha-tvī*, *pī-tvī*, *bhū-tvī*, *gūdhvī* ‘having concealed’ (*goh/guh*), *vr̥k-tvī* ‘having wrenched’ (*varj/vr̥j*), *viṣ-tvī* ‘working’ (*veṣ/viṣ*), *hi-tvī*, *a-yuadhvī* ‘without fighting’ (*yodh/yudh*); in X 65,7, *skabhi-tvī* (*skambhī/skabhī* ‘prop’) and *jani-tvī* (*janī/jñī/jā* ‘beget’) appear side by side. There are no independent forms in the AV; in the YS^m, however, *snā-tvī* ‘having purified oneself in water’ and *khā-tvī* ‘having digged’.

[4] *-yā* is used only with compound verbs. The root shows, in principle, the same form as in *-tvā*; however, the root-syllable is always accented. The root-final *ā* remains unchanged, as does *am* in *-krām-ya* (*kramī*); on the forms in *-a-t-ya-*, see below. *-yā* is dominant in the RV, later only *-yā*, e.g. *āc-yā* ‘having bent’ (*ā-āñc*), *abhy-ūp-ya* ‘having strewn on...’ (*vap/up*), *saṃ-gṛbh-ya* ‘gathering’, *pāda-gṛh-ya* ‘grasping by the foot’, *abhi-gūr-yā* ‘in singing to [somebody] welcome’ (*garī/jarī/gṛjī*), *abhi-krām-ya* ‘having approached to...’, *ā-dā-ya* ‘having taken’, *ni-cāy-yā* ‘having recognized’; in the AV, e.g. *saṃ-bhū-ya* ‘having come together’, *ut-thā-ya* ‘having arisen’ (*sthā*), *upa-dā-d-ya* ‘having put onto’ from the pres. stem (: *dā-dā-ti*, *dā-d-ati*), and *vi-bhāj-ya* ‘having apportioned’ from the caus. stem. When the suffix is added to a root ending in a short vowel, the form *-t-yā* is employed (as in the case of root nouns), e.g. *é-t-yā* ‘having come’ (*ā-ayī*), *ā-dṛ-t-yā* ‘regarding’, *aram-kṛ-t-yā* ‘having made ready’, *akhkhalī-kṛ-t-yā* VII 103,3 ‘shouting *akhkhal(a)*’ (or: ‘making syllables’, THIEME KZ 71, 1954, 109 = Kl. Schr. 138: < **akṣarī*), *ā-gā-t-yā* ‘having come’ (*gam*), *vi-hā-t-yā* ‘having struck away’ (*han*).

[5] The forms in *-am*³¹³ all appear in compound verbs and denote an action accompanying that of the finite verb. The expressed action is thus simultaneous

³¹² An alleged gerund in prose, *attvāya* MS I 8,5^p: 121,20 is to be read with AMANO MS I–II, 298f. n. 934 ⁺*adattvāya* ‘for the sake of non-contact with incisors’ (⁺*prāśnāty*. *adattvāya*⁺ instead of *prāśnāti*. *yād attvāya* in the ed.).

³¹³ Cf. RENOUE “L’absolutif Sanskrit en *-am*” MSL 23 (1935) 359–438, OERTEL SBayAW 1941, II-9 (1941) 109–118 = Kl. Schr. 1478–1487. — The examples presented by REICHELTE 335f. for the YAv. absolutive in *-am* seem rather to be interpreted in another way: adv., acc. of content, the same as in the type *sūvṛṣṭam varṣati* (HOFFMANN Fs. Risch, 1986, 201 n. 12 = Aufs. 834, with rich bibliographical notes; in addition, DELBRÜCK Vergl. Synt. I, 1893, 366 n. 1, BODEWITZ JB I 1-65, 1973, 191 n. 4, FORSSMAN Fs. Risch 337 n. 26, GOTŌ Akk., 2002, 33 with n. 21), or in the construction *idāṃ bhū* (cf. GOTŌ Gs. Elizarenkova, 2008, 115–125), etc. The YAv. forms in *-tīm* which REICHELTE 336f. takes for a gerd., remain unsolved.

or collateral to the main action and is often characterised by repetition. Thus, the function stands in contrast to *gerd*. [1]–[4], by which, in principle, a preceding action is expressed. This category agrees to some extent with Pāṇinian “*ṇamul*”. The roots show the vocalism *-ā/a-*, thus the PIE **-o-* grade. It is difficult to draw a clear outline of this type against the adverbial uses of the acc. sg. n. (cf. p. 147). From Ved. prose (YSP Br.), one can cite, e.g., *pari-krām-am* ‘treading around’, *vi-grāh-am* ‘separating successively’, *nāma-grāh-am* ‘while calling (one’s) name’, *an-apekṣ-am* ‘without looking aside’. Some forms in the AV can be interpreted as the *gerd*: *abhy-ā-krām-am* ‘treading toward’, *pra-tāṅk-am* ‘going forward while repeating contraction’, *ni-lāy-am* ‘nestling’, *abhi-skānd-am* ‘mounting on’, etc. A form supposed for the RV, *pra-nōdam* X 165,5, seems rather to be taken as an acc. of content (Inhaltsakkusativ) of the verb *nudata*. The occasional palatalisation, e.g., *ut-sārj-am* MSP :: *-sarg-ām* TSP Br., is explained by analogy after some inf. in *-am* (no comparable form is found, however) or a pres.-stem (in this case *-sṛj-ā-*).

3.9. preverbs

The so-called preverbs or adverbial prepositions are used to modify the lexical content of verbs or to add some meaning to them: *ācchā* ‘toward, in the direction of’, *āti* ‘beyond, over’, *ādhi* ‘on, over’, *ānu* ‘after, along’, *antār* ‘between, in the midst’, *āpi* ‘close to, into’, *abhi* ‘toward’, *āva* ‘down’, *ā* ‘hither’, *ūd* ‘above, out’ (PII **udz/*uts < *ud-s*), *ūpa* ‘thereto, unto, to (in a friendly sense or for asking something)’, *nī* ‘beneath, in, at home’, *nīs* ‘out of, away from’, *pārā* ‘away’, *prā* ‘forward, forth, away’, *pāri* ‘around’, *prāti* ‘against’, *vī* ‘asunder, apart’, *sām* ‘together, complete, in the right order’. They are used also as prepositions or simply as adverbs. *āpi* means as prepos. with a (mostly following) loc. ‘close to, into’, *ā*³¹⁴ with a preceding acc. ‘toward, to’, with a following abl. ‘up to’, with a preceding abl. ‘from ... hither’, with a preceding loc. ‘in’. *pāri*³¹⁵ means with acc. ‘around’, with abl. ‘from ... (via a curved path)’; *ādhi*³¹⁶ with acc. ‘beyond’, with instr. ‘through’, with abl. ‘from’ etc., with loc. ‘onto’; *antār*³¹⁷ with acc. ‘between’, with abl. ‘from the inside of’, with loc. ‘in; into the inside of, between’.^{317a)}

³¹⁴ Cf. DUNKEL “Autour de *ā* Ṛg-védique (*A Lexical Study*)” IJ 24 (1982) 89–102, cf. also “Mono- and disyllabic *ā* in the Ṛgveda” Synt. des lang. Indo-Iran. anc. (1993) 9–27.

³¹⁵ Cf. HETTRICH “Syntax und Wortarten der Lokalpartikeln des Ṛgveda. III: *pāri*” Fs. Neumann (2002) 215–242.

³¹⁶ Cf. HETTRICH “Syntax und Wortarten ... I: *ādhi*” MSS 52 (1991) 27–76.

³¹⁷ Cf. HETTRICH “Syntax und Wortarten ... II: *antār*” MSS 54 (1993) 147–176.

^{317a)} [The series “Syntax und Wortarten der Lokalpartikeln des/im Ṛgveda” (cf. n. 315–317) is continued by Heinrich HETTRICH (H. H.), Antje CASARETTO (A. C.), and

Preverbs are independent to some extent in their use with verbs, and the level of independence differs depending on the preverb and the context. They are set directly before the verb or in some other preceding (or following) position (so-called *tmesis*)³¹⁸, esp. at the beginning of the sentence, while the verb, if unmarked, is located in sentence-final position. The finite verb loses its accent in the main clause or sentence, and the preverb (or one in a chain of prev.s) is normally accented. In the subordinate clause/sentence, the finite verb is accented, and the prev. (or chain of prev.s), if it directly precedes, loses its accent and forms a compound with the verb.

On Av. “prepositions”, which accord to a large extent with those of Ved. (however, Iran. **pati*, Av. *pa'tī*, OPers. *pati-*, *patiy* :: OIA *prāti*), cf. REICHELT 266–279.

4. adverbs and indeclinables

4.1. Adnominal prepositions govern certain cases or are used alone as adv.s; in the RV, e.g., *adhás* ‘below, under’ with acc., gen. (OAv. *adā*, cf. YAv. *adā'ri*), *parás* ‘beyond, outside, apart from’ with acc., instr., abl. (OAv. *parā*, YAv. *parō*), *tirás* ‘through, across’ with mostly following acc., and ‘laterally’ (YAv. *tarō*); *avár* ‘down from’ with instr., abl., *upári* ‘above, over’ with preceding acc., gen. (YAv. *upā'ri*, OPers. *upariy*); *antarā* ‘between’ and *abhi-tas* ‘around’ with acc.; *sahá*, *sākām*, and *sumád/smád* (cf. OAv. YAv. *maṭ*) ‘with’ with instr.; *ārē* ‘far from’ with abl., gen.; *ṛté* ‘without’, *purā* ‘before’ (OAv. *parā*, YAv. *para*), *bahir-dhā* ‘from out’, and *sanutár* ‘apart’ (cf. OAv. *hanar*³¹⁹ ‘without’, cf. OETTINGER Fs. Koch, 2007, 231–234) with abl.; *purás-tāt* ‘in front of’ with gen.; *sácā* ‘in association with, beside, at, in’ (cf. OAv. *hacā*, YAv. *haca* with abl. ‘from’) and *āpi* ‘close to, in’ with loc. Cf. p. 144f., 147ff.

4.2. Adverbial suffixes are used in various meanings; their origin seems for the most part to have been case forms of root nouns or pronouns:

[1] *-thā* (also *-tha*) for adverbs of manner, especially from pronom. stems, e.g., *á-tha*, *á-thā* ‘then’ (Av. *a-thā*)³¹⁹, *tá-thā* ‘thus’, *yá-thā* ‘in which manner’ (Av.

Carolyn SCHNEIDER (C. S.): IV: I. Allgemeines (H. H.), II. *úpa* (A. C.), III. *áva* (C. S.), MSS 64 (2004[2010]) 17–130; VI: *prāti* (A. C.), IJDL 7 (2010) 1–53; VIII: *abhi* (A. C.), HS 123 (2010 [2011]) 97–156; IX: *ánu* (A. C.), MSS 65 (2011) 7–64; X: *úd* (C. S.), MSS 65 (2011) 185–241; XII: *ví* (A. C.), HS 124 (2011) 108–151; XIV: *ácchā* (A. C.), StII 28 (2011) 1–27; XVI: *āti* und *tirás* (A. C.), IJDL 8 2011 [2012] 173–216; XIX: *prá* (A. C.; in Vorbereitung); XXI: *purás*, *purástāt* und *purā* (A. C.), MSS 66/1 (2012) 11–53.]

³¹⁸ Cf. RENOUE “La séparation du préverbe et du verbe en védique” BSL 34 (1933) 49–96; BOLEY *Tmesis and Proto-Indo-European Syntax* (2004).

³¹⁹ Cf. KLEIN IJ 22 (1980) 195ff., *Discourse Grammar II* (1985) 63–91, 126ff. (also on *átho*), StII 20 (1996) 205–223 “Rigvedic *áthā*: Metrics, Phonology, and Etymology”,

ya-θā, OPers. *ya-θā*), *ka-thā* ‘how?’ (Av. *ka-θā*), *anyā-thā* ‘otherwise’, *ṛtu-thā* ‘regularly’; *it-thā* ‘here, to be sure’ (supposedly from the pron. n. sg. **id* ‘this, it’ which is postulated as the basis of the emphasising particle *id*, cf. p. 151; *it-thām* ‘thus, in this manner’ has been probably produced from *it-thā*, cf. *evā* :: *evā-m*, p. 148).

[2] *-dhā* chiefly from numerals: *eka-dhā* ‘singly’, *dvi-dhā* ‘in two ways’, *tri-dhā*, *tre-dhā* (mostly trisyllabic, cf. p. 65); *kati-dhā* ‘in how many parts?’, *śaśva-dhā* ‘continuously, happening again and again’; *ad-dhā* ‘really’ (OAv. OPers. *az-dā*)³²⁰.

[3] *-dha*: *á-dha*, *á-dhā* ‘then, just, now’ (OAv. *a-dā*, YAv. *a-ḍa*, OPers. *a-da-*)³²¹; *i-há* ‘here’ (< **i-dha*, OAv. *i-dā*, YAv. *i-ḍa*, OPers. *i-dā*, Pāli MIA *i-dha*), *i-hā* RV IV 5,14; 31,11, X 178,1; *sa-há* ‘together’ (< **sa-dhā* in *sadhā-stuti-* ‘united praise’, OAv. *ha-dā*, YAv. *ha-ḍa*); possibly < PIE **-d^hé*.

[4] *-vat* for ‘like’: *manuṣ-vát* ‘like Manus’, *pratna-vát* ‘as of old’.

[5] *-śás* for distributive adv.s: *śata-śás* ‘by hundreds’, *ṛtu-śás* ‘season by season’; this goes back to PIE **-kás* together with Grk. *-κάς*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 33 (1975) 70, 72 = Aufs. 152, 154, cf. above n. 131.

[6] *-s* for some multiplicative adv.s: *dvi-s* (*dviṣ*) ‘twice’ (YAv. *bi-š*, Grk. *δί-ς*, Lat. *dui-s*, *bi-s*, PIE **dui-s*), *tri-ṣ* ‘thrice’ (YAv. *θrī-š*).

[7] *-tas* for the place ‘from where’, sometimes also ‘at, toward’: *á-tas*, *i-tás* ‘(from) here’, *amú-tas* ‘(from) there’, *dakṣiṇa-tás* ‘from/at the right/south’, *pari-tas* ‘round about’, *abhi-tás* ‘around, from all sides’ (also with acc.; YAv. *aⁱβi-tō*).

[8] *-tāt*, like *-tas*: *adhás-tāt* ‘(from) below’, *purás-tāt* ‘from/in front/east’, *upári-ṣ-tāt* ‘(from) above’ with *-stāt* abstracted from the preceding ones.

[9] *-trā* for the place ‘where’: *á-tra*, *á-trā* ‘here’ (Av. *a-θrā*, cf. YAv. *i-θra*), *tá-tra* ‘there’, *yá-tra* ‘at which place’ (Av. *ya-θrā*), *kú-tra* ‘where?’ (Av. *ku-θrā*), *sa-trā* ‘in one place, together’ (also with instr.; OAv. *ha-θrā*, YAv. *ha-θra*), *deva-trā* ‘among the gods’.

[10] *-dā* for the time: *i-dā* ‘now’ (YAv. *i-ḍa*), *ka-dā* ‘when?’ (OAv. *ka-dā*, YAv. *ka-ḍa*, cf. Lith. *ka-dà*), *yá-dā* ‘when’ (OAv. *ya-dā*).

[11] *yádi* ‘if, in the case that’ (YAv. *yeⁱḍi*, OPers. *yadiy*): from relat. pron. acc. sg. n. *yád* ‘when, if’ (cf. 4.3.: p. 147) + loc.-particle **-i* (?).

[12] *tá-r-hi* ‘at that time’, *ká-r-hi* ‘when?’: these inherit an old suffix PIE **-g^hi* (cf. Grk. *ἧ-χⁱ* ‘where’ < **H₂eh₂-g^hi*), which recurs also in OAv. *ye-zī* ‘if’; cf. also *hí* ‘for (the reason that), even’ (Av. *zī*, Grk. *-χⁱ* < **g^hi*; p. 150).

Fs. Hamp (1997) II 1–25 “Early Vedic *áthā* and *átho*”; DUNKEL HS 101 (1988) 53–78 “Indogermanisch **át*, Vedisch *átha*”.

³²⁰ Cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 193–212.

³²¹ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar II (1985) 63ff., 91–130.

4.3. adverbial case forms and adverbs from case forms

Some case forms of nominal and pronominal stems are often used also, or exclusively, as adv.s. The acc. sg. n. can serve theoretically always as an adv.; more or less independently used as adv.s are: *bahú* ‘largely’, *náma* ‘by name’ (YAv. *naṃa*, OPers. *nāma*, Grk. *ὄνομα*, PIE **h₃neh₃-m̥* or **h₁n̥*), *rūpá-m* ‘in form’, *satyá-m* ‘truly’, *agrá-m* ‘in front’, *ásta-m* ‘(to, at) home’ (through accent-shift from v.adj. **as-tá-* ‘come home safely’ of *nás-a^{te}*); from the acc. of time: *nákt-am* ‘at night’, *sāyá-m* ‘in the evening’, *púrva-m* ‘formerly’, etc. The adv. *áram* ‘sufficiently, suitably’ (OAv. *arəm*, YAv. *arəm*) no longer has a nominal base. Extended formations are found in *nū-ná-m* ‘now, still now’ (: *nú*, *nú*; cf. MPers. *nūn*, OAv. *ā nū-rə-m-cū* ‘still now’, YAv. *nū-rə-m*, *nū-rq-m*, OPers. *nū-ra-m*) and *idā-nī-m* ‘this time’ (: *idā*).

There is a group of adv.s produced from the pres. part. n. through accent-shift: *īš-át* ‘approximately, a little’, *drav-át* ‘swiftly’, *trp-át* ‘satisfyingly’, *drahy-át* ‘firmly’, *dhṛṣ-át* ‘boldly’, *pataṃ-át* ‘through flight’, and from an aor. stem *dyu-g-át* < **-g^wh₂-nt* ‘going through heaven’ VIII 97,4.³²²⁾

The acc. sg. n. of pronom. stems can be used as an adv.: *adás* ‘there, over there, on that occasion’, *idám* ‘here, now’, *tád* ‘then, by that’ (YAv. *taṭ*), *távat* ‘so far, so long’ (cf. Grk. *τέως*, cf. under *yávat*); as conjunction or relative adv. introducing a clause: *yád* ‘if, when’ (cf. YAv. *yaṭ*, OAv. *hiiaṭ*), *kím* ‘why?’ (cf. p. 73); *yávat* ‘as far as, so long as’, OAv. YAv. *yauuaṭ* < **(H)jéh₂nt*; cf. also Grk. *ἕως*; *yát* ‘in as much as’ and *tát* ‘then, so long’ go back to fossilised acc. sg. n. < **(H)jéh₂nt*, **jéh₂nt*; ³²³⁾ on the homonyms *yát* ‘since’, *tát* ‘since then, thereafter’, cf. below.

ká-ti ‘how many?’, *yá-ti* ‘as many’, and *tá-ti* ‘so many’ seem to go back to n. pl. nom.-acc. (without an ending) of the numeral *-ti-* stem, which occurs in the f. cardinals of ‘60’ to ‘90’ (p. 61), cf. YAv. *ca-ti* ‘how many?’, Breton *pet* ‘id.’ < **k^wé-ti*, Lat. *quot* < **k^wó-ti*; YAv. *ye-ti* ‘as many’ < **Hjé/ó-ti*; Lat. *tot* ‘so many’ < **tó-ti*; also derivative **tótī-o-* is found in Grk. *τόσο-ς*, *τόσσο-ς* ‘so great; pl. also: so many’, *ὅσο-ς*, *ὅσσο-ς* ‘as great; pl.: as many’. Derivations *kati-thá-* ‘the so-and-so manyeth’ and *kati-dhā-* ‘in how many places or parts?, how often?’ are attested since the RV; *kati-bhyas* KSP *káti-bhis* BĀU, etc. are secondary forms. Cf. AiG III 334, II-1 640, MAYRHOFER EWAia s.vv.

³²²⁾ Cf. WACKERNAGEL Kl. Schr. 313f., NISHIMURA MSS 63 (2003 [2009]) 118.

³²³⁾ Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 30 (1972) 101 = Aufs. 110: *kíyant-* ‘how large?, how much?’ < **k^wi-h₂ent-*, *íyant-* ‘so large, so much’ < **i-h₂ent-*, OPers. *yātā* ‘in as much as’ < instr. **jéh₂nt-eh₁*, Lat. *quant-u-s* ‘how large’, *tant-u-s* ‘so large’ < **k^we-h₂nt-o-*, **te-h₂nt-o-*, derived from **k^wé-h₂nt-*, **té-h₂nt-* (ib. n. 6).

Some instr. forms are used as adv.s of manner or accompanying circumstances: *sáhas-ā* ‘forcibly’, *rābhas-ā* ‘violently’,³²⁴ *návyas-ā* ‘anew’, *dív-ā* ‘by day’ (: instr. *div-ā* ‘by, through heaven’, cf. OAv. *fra-ī diuu-ā* ‘again and again’), *doṣ-ā* ‘in the evening’ (instr. of time) etc. The instr. of f. nouns is used for denoting manner: e.g., *sumn-ayā* ‘piously’, *devātā* ‘among the gods’; many forms in *-ā*, *-ais*, and *-yā* occur, often with accent-shift: *dakṣiṇā* ‘to the right’ (: *dákṣiṇa-*), *śánais* ‘slowly’, *samanā* ‘in the same way’ (: *sámana-*), *gúh-ā* ‘in secret’ (: instr. *guh-ā*), *anu-ṣṭhu-yā* ‘following’ (: *anu-ṣṭhú-*), *dhṛṣṇu-yā* ‘boldly’ (: *dhṛṣṇú-*), *urviy-ā* ‘far’ (*urv-ī-*, f. of *urí-* ‘wide’), *amu-yā* ‘in a bad manner, in that way’ (: instr. **amú-yā* of the pronom. stem *amu-*), *ubhayā* ‘in both ways’ (: *ubháya-*).

There are forms with *-cā*, which might have been an old instr. **-k^wéh₁* (or **-h₃k^w-éh₁*, with loss of **h₃*): *uc-cā* ‘upward, above’ with *uccāis* ‘on high’; *paś-cā* ‘behind, afterward’ (YAv. *pas-ca*, OPers. *pasā*), beside it also *paś-cāt* ‘from behind’ (cf. YAv. *pas-kāt*), *paś-cāt-āt*; *tiraś-cā* ‘transversely’ (YAv. *taras-ca*, used also as prepos. with an acc.; cf. *tir-y-āñc-*, p. 44; also *tiraścātā*).³²⁵

evā ‘in this way’ (YAv. *aēuua* ‘so, thus’, OAv. *nōiṭ aēuuā* Y 29,6) could have originated in the instr. of **aiuá-* ‘one’ (cf. n. 162), cf. MAYRHOFFER EWAia I 270, but is attested predominantly in the form *evá*. Another form, *evá-m*, is introduced as early as in the RV, cf. *it-thá* :: *it-thá-m*. As a particle, *evá* is very common in the meaning of ‘even, exactly, the very, solely’ in the RV and later.³²⁶

Adv.s from the abl. are, e.g.: *ārāt* ‘from a distance’ (also *ārāt-t_(a)āt*, cf. *ārē*), *dūrāt* ‘from afar’ (: *dūrá-* adj., OAv. YAv. *dūrāt*, cf. *dūrē*), *amāt* ‘from near’ (: *ámā* ‘at home’, cf. OPers. *ama-ta* ‘thence’ < **-tas*), *āt* ‘then’ (fossilised from pron. *a-*, also disyllabic; OAv. YAv. *āat* ‘then’, OAv. *āat* ‘now’, cf. OChSlav. [depronominal] conjunction *i* ‘and’)³²⁷, *yāt* ‘since’ AV+ (OAv. *yāt*, cf. NARTEN YH 166, cf. homonymous *yāt* ‘in as much as’, cited above), *tāt* ‘since then, thereafter’ (NARTEN ib. n. 120, cf. homonym *tāt* ‘so long’), *sanāt* ‘from of old’ (: *sána-* ‘old’); on *paścāt*, *paścātāt*, cf. above.

³²⁴ From *sáhasā*, *rābhasā* etc., new adj.s are formed such as *sahas-ā-ná-*, *rabhas-ā-ná-*, *ṛñjas-ā-ná-* ‘speeding straight’, *mandas-ā-ná-* ‘having intoxication’, *bhyás-ā-na-* ‘fearing’ etc., cf. FAY AJPh 38 (1917) 82ff., M. LEUMANN Neuerung 35 n. 3, INSLEY KZ 82 (1968) 1–23.

³²⁵ DUNKEL, “The common origin of conjunctive **-k^we* and adverbial **-s*”, Fs. Narten (2000) 11–29, finds old formations in these words.

³²⁶ In the theological argumentation in Vedic prose, *evá* is used as a sign that the sentence, in which *evá* stands in second position emphasising a preceding word, is the concluding sentence maintaining the result of the discussion. Cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 486.

³²⁷ Cf. also KLEIN Discourse Grammar II 63ff., 130–138, NARTEN YH (1986) 257–259.

The gen.s of time, *vástos* ‘while becoming bright’ (*vás-tu-* f.) and *aktós* ‘while colouring’, i.e. ‘in dawning or twilight’ (*ak-tú-* m.), could be cited as adv.s on account of their common use.

Examples of the loc. are: *ágre* ‘in the beginning, in front, on top’ (*ágra-* n.), *āré* ‘in the distance’ (cf. *ārāt*), *āké* ‘close by’ RV II 1,19 (also in *āke-nipá-* IV 45,6), *rté* ‘without’ (cf. p. 145), *dūré* ‘in the distance’ (OAv. *dūrē*, YAv. *dūrē*, cf. *dūrāt*).³²⁸⁾

Old abl. forms of root nouns seem to underlie *tir-ás* ‘crosswise’ (also as prepos. with an acc.; YAv. *tar-ō*, OIr. *tar* < **trh₂-és*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarm. Verb.* 98) and *pur-ás* ‘in front’ (also with gen., abl., acc.; YAv. *par-ō*) beside instr. *pur-ā* ‘formerly’ (OAv. *par-ā*, YAv. *par-a*, OPers. *par-a-na-m*): < **prh₂-és*, **prh₂-éh₁*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *ib.*; cf. Lat. *prae* < loc. **prh₂-i*(?). Of abl. or gen. origin could be *sa-dy-ás* ‘in one day, immediately’, *sa-div-as* ‘on the same day’ RV II 19,6, *hy-ás* ‘yesterday’ (< **ǵh₂-és*, cf. NPers. *dī*, *dīg*, Grk. *χθές*, Lat. *heri*), *śv-ás* lit. ‘(on the) morrow (morn)’ (Chotan. *svī*), *mith-ás* ‘differently, mutual’ (YAv. *miθ-ō* ‘falsely’, OAv. *miθ-ah-*, OPers. *miθ-a kar*). — *par-ás* ‘after, furthermore’ (OAv. *par-ā*, YAv. *par-ō*, OPers. *par-a*, cf. p. 145) and *par-ā* ‘away, far away’ (OAv. *par-a-cā*, YAv. *par-ā-ca*), perhaps also *pár-i* ‘around’, are to be traced back to the same noun; cf. also *par-é* ‘moreover, in the future’ (cf. below) and adj. *pár-a-* ‘further, another more, highest’.

áp-i ‘also, furthermore, even’³²⁹⁾ could go back to some loc. form, cf. OAv. *āp-ī* ‘also, afterwards’, ‘after’ (with instr.), YAv. *āp-i* ‘also, especially’, ‘over’ (with acc.), ‘after’ (with instr.), ‘upon’ (with acc., loc.), OPers. *ap-iy* ‘thereto, also, still’, PIE *(*h₁*)*ép-i* in Grk. *ἐπ-ι*, *ἐπ-ι* ‘upon, after, in addition to’ (with gen., dat., acc., or as adv.), Arm. *ew* ‘and’; cf. also *āpi* as a preverb ‘close to, into’ (p.144), and prepos. with loc. ‘close to, in’ (p.145). — An old case in *-a (cf. p. 19 on *kšám-/kšā-/kšm-/jm-*) or some other formation might be assumed in the background of *a-dy-á* (also *adyā*) ‘in this day, now’, *sm-a* (also *smā*) ‘all the time’ (**sm-a* beside **smum-a* in Grk. *ἄμ-α*; cf. p. 149), and *par-é* ‘moreover, in the future’ (cf. above).

4.4. Particles serve to convey the speaker’s attitude to the content of a sentence or a word, in some logical, interrogative, negative, emphatic, or restrictive manner. Some particles which have originated in case forms are cited among adv.s (4.3.: p. 147ff.). There are also enclitic forms, which occupy the second position in a sentence (“WACKERNAGEL’s position”: Kl. Schr. 1ff.), or in a word group.

³²⁸⁾ Dat. forms such as *aparāya* ‘for the future’ (cf. acc. Ved. *aparā-m*, OAv. YAv. *aparā-m*, OPers. *apara-m* ‘later, in the future’), *vārāya* ‘according to wish, choice’ (MACDONELL 429) could be classified as adv.s.

³²⁹⁾ Cf. KLEIN *Discourse Grammar* II 210–213.

These may serve also for marking or colouring of the whole sentence, cf., e.g., n. 326. More than one particle may be used in a certain order. The particles which take WACKERNAGEL's position in a sentence are not only unaccented ones (enclitics and postclitics) — such as *ca* 'and' (also 'if'; for indefin. pron., cf. p. 74)³³⁰, *vā* 'or'³³¹, *u* 'on the other hand, also'³³², *ghā*, *ha* 'namely' (PIE **g^ho/*g^he*, resp., cf. DUNKEL KZ 96 189f., HALE Gs. Schindler 143–151), *iva* 'just like' (in the RV, *nā* is used in the same meaning and position; in Ved. prose predominantly 'just')³³³, *sma*^{333a}, *kam* (cf. *nū kam*, Grk. *vó kev*, Hitt. *nu kan*) beside *kām* (after final dat. and inf.),³³⁴ *svid* 'surely, after all', — but also accented particles,³³⁵ i.e., *vāi* 'assuredly, to be sure, indeed, well' (OAv. *vōi* YH 36,3), *nū* 'now', *nā* 'just like', *evā* 'the very, solely, only', *khālu* 'as is well known' in Ved., later also 'surely, likely'³³⁶, *kila* 'obviously' in Ved., later 'from what they say'³³⁷, *hi* 'for (the reason that), even' (the finite verb is accented in the sentence with *hi*; OAv. YAv. *zī*, Grk. *-χι*, PIE **g^hi*, cf. DUNKEL KZ 96 190 n. 69, cf. p. 146: [12]), *tū* 'however'³³⁸, *sū* 'surely, well', *āha* 'on one hand, to be sure'. The enclitic pronoun of the n. sg.

³³⁰ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Gramm. I (1985) 46–292; on the prehistory of *ca*, cf. also DUNKEL Sprache 28 (1982) 129–143, KZ 96 (1982/1983) 178–199, Fs. Narten (2000) 11–29.

³³¹ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar II 139–209.

³³² Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar II (1985) 6–62, The Particle *u* in the Rigveda (1978), JAOS 98 (1978) 266–276, Delbrück y la sint. indoeur. hoy (1997) 253–281; DUNKEL Laryngaltheorie 107–121, IF 102 (1997) 156–178, cf. above n. 176.

³³³ Cf. PINAULT "Négation et comparaison en védique" BSL 80 (1985) 103–144. On the meaning 'as' in the RV, cf. GOTŌ on RV I 131,2 in WITZEL–GOTŌ Rig-Veda (2007). Cf. also SCHRAPEL Untersuchung der Partikel *iva* (1970).

^{333a} *sma* 'all the time' (cf. p. 149). *ha sma* in Vedic prose, and *sma* alone in post-Vedic are used with the ind. pres. for expressing a repeated act in the past, cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 502ff., HOFFMANN Aufs. 528, MUMM "Altindisch *sma*. Teil 1: Rig- und Atharvaveda" IJDL 1 (2004) 19–68. Its precursors are observed, e.g. in RV X 95,5 (with inj. and ind. pres., cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 201) and 8 (with ipf., differently HOFFMANN 203).

³³⁴ Cf. ETTER Fs. Risch (1986) 220–228, DUNKEL Gs. Cowgill (1987) 14, Sprachwiss. und Philologie (1990) 115ff., KZ 96 (1982/1983) 178.

³³⁵ "quasi-enclitics" KUPFER Demonstrativpronomina (2002) 41 n. 62, GIPPERT Fs. Panagl (2004) 56ff. Cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 22.

³³⁶ Cf. ICKLER "Die vedische Partikel *kila*" KZ 90 (1976) 50–86, EMENEAU "Sanskrit syntactic particles – *kila*, *khālu*, *nūnam*" IJ 11 (1968/1969) 241–268 = Skt. Stud. 129–147.

³³⁷ Cf. ICKLER loc. cit., EMENEAU loc. cit., VAN DAALEN "The particle *kila/kira* in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the Pāli Jātakas" IJ 31 (1988) 111–137.

³³⁸ Cf. KLEIN "Rigvedic *tū* and *sū*" Sprache 28 (1982) 1–26.

nom.-acc. **i-d* has become an accented particle *id*, and is used, occupying the position of an enclitic, for emphasising a preceding word. It is found also in *kuv-id* ‘whether really ...?’ (almost always with an accented finite verb) < *kú, kú* ‘where?’ + *id*, *sv-id* ‘surely, after all’ < **su + *id*, *céd* ‘if’ < *ca + id*, *néd* (= OAv. YAv. *nōiṭ*) ‘by no means, that not’ < *ná + id*. — *cid* ‘if any, even, at all’ was originally the n. sg. (nom.-)acc. of the interrog. pron. **ci-d*. On *ca-ná* (= OAv. *-ci-nā*, YAv. *-ci-na*) ‘(not) at all’ (perhaps partly crossed with *ná* ‘not’)³³⁹, cf. p. 70f.: [4]; p. 73f.

The adv. *nú, nú* ‘now’ is employed as a particle in various nuances, *nú* being placed in the position for enclitics, but *nú* (RV) predominantly at the beginning of a sentence, often in the combination *nú cid* or with other enclitics.

utá ‘and, also’³⁴⁰, *ápi* ‘also, furthermore, even’, and both inherited negatives *ná* ‘not’³⁴¹ and *mā* ‘lest, that not’ (cf. p. 90; also *mā-kis*, ‘no one, by no means’, *mā-kīm* ‘not at all’) occupy the first position in a sentence or precede the word which they govern. At a later period *ápi* is treated as a second-position enclitic, like *ca. iti* is employed for quoting a direct speech or a thought, which it follows. In sentence-initial position it means ‘thus, as follows’.

4.5. In OIA, the use of adverbs is not so developed as in other, e.g., modern languages. The type *ápāṇ prāṇ eti* ‘backward, forward he goes’ RV I 164,38 is rather the standard, where the moving direction is designated by an adj. qualifying the subject. The type with an adverb, e.g., *pratyág enaṃ śapāthā yantu tṛṣṭāḥ* ‘let the harsh curses go backward to him’ X 87,1, occurs more and more later on. In addition, the acc. of content (inner acc., *Inhaltsakkusativ*), which qualifies the content of the verbal action, functions in the role of adverb.³⁴²

There is no word for ‘well’ in general. *sú-* (PIE **h₁sú-*) is used only in compounds to denote a superior quality, which may even be negative (e.g. *su-duḥ-kha-* ‘a heavy pain’ Ep.). Thus, one finds such circumlocutions as *sú-bhṛtaṃ bi-bhárti* ‘one supports a good-supported one, i.e. supports well’, *su-śamīdhā sám-īdhire* ‘they have kindled with good kindling’.³⁴³ *sú* or *sú* used often with the iptv. might go back to an adverbial usage of the acc. sg. n. of this word. The comparative *su-tarām* ‘better, more’ is attested in Cl.Skt. Comparative adv.s in *-tarām* are

³³⁹ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar I 285–292.

³⁴⁰ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar I 293–460 (cf. HETTRICH Kratylos 33, 1988, 72–79).

³⁴¹ Cf. PINAULT “Négation et comparaison en védique” BSL 80 (1985) 103–144, “Distribution de la particule négative *ná* dans la Ṛk-Saṃhitā” BEI 15 (1997) 213–246.

³⁴² Cf. GOTŌ Akk. (2002) 33f.

³⁴³ On *sú*, cf. HOFFMANN “Zu den arischen Komposita mit Vorderglied *su-*” Fs.Risch (1986) 196–203 = Aufs. 829–836. Cf. also n. 313.

built from prepositions, in the RV, e.g., *pra-tarām* ‘further’ (also in constructions like *prá táṃ naya pratarām* ‘lead him further forward!’ X 45,9), *vi-tarām* ‘wider, broader’ with verbs with *ví*, e.g., *vi-tarām vi-kramasva* ‘stride out broader!’. Feminine forms in *-tarām* are common after the RV; in the RV one finds only *saṃ-tarām* ‘closer together’.³⁴⁴⁾

4.6. Some interjections may be cited in conclusion: *baṭ* ‘truly’^{344a)}; *bata* ‘alas!’; *híruk*, *hurúk* ‘away’ (placed before a voc.); *hayé* ‘woe!’, later also *he* for grief or pain^{344b)}; *ahahā* ChUp, *hā* Cl. for scorn (cf. *āhallikā* ‘what a laugh!’ BĀU, Pāli *ahahā*), *dhik* ‘fie’ with an acc. in the Br.³⁴⁵⁾ — *aṅgá* ‘just, only’ is used in the RV after the word beginning a sentence, emphasising it, e.g. *kím aṅgá* ‘what at all?’, later also for urging. — *are* ‘you!’ YS^m+ seems to have come from the voc. of *arí*-³⁴⁶⁾, originally ‘member of a tribe; enemy; chief of one’s tribe’³⁴⁷⁾, cf. Engl. *O man!*, NHG *Mensch!* On *hánta* ‘now then!’ and *éta* ‘go!’, cf. p. 98. [On onomatopoeic expressions with retroflexion like *phaṭ kar/kr* ‘crush’ AV, *phaṭ* with *han* ‘crash’ VS+; *bhāṇ kar/kr* ‘sizzle’ ŚB, etc., and post-Vedic *kaṭ*, *khaṭ* TĀ etc., cf. HOFFMANN ZDMG 110 (1960) 176 = Aufs. 131, also GIPPERT WZKS 48 (2004) 95 with n. 23.]

³⁴⁴⁾ Cf. RENOU “Adverbs in *-tarām*, *-tarām*” IHQ 14 (1938) 121–136.

^{344a)} On *baṭā* with *kar/kr* ‘make clear, ascertain’, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 355, cf. also *bát kurvīta* ‘should make sure’ TB I 5,2,1^p.

^{344b)} Cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 199 n. 177, GOTÖ I.Präs. 252 n. 570.

³⁴⁵⁾ *éd* with an acc. (YS^p+) has been interpreted as an interjection (GAEDICKE Acc. 210–213) or particle (DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 184, 404, 407, “siehe da”), or with ellipsis of the verb *vid* ‘find’ or *paś/dṛś* ‘see’ after *ā + id* (TICHY Fs. Strunk, 1995, 319–343). It results, however, from a real ellipsis of the verb of motion *ay/i* or *gam* after *ā + id*, as is shown in VādhAnv I 2 (*ā-jagāma*, *ā-gamam*), in a parallel version to the corresponding legends in YS^p Br., cf. GOTÖ Fs. Narten (2000) 91. GAEDICKE (with reference to *éd ihi* RV VIII 53,5 ‘come upon!’) seems to have started from a correct observation.

³⁴⁶⁾ Cf. THIEME Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda (1938) 4ff. — *are* is used also for addressing a woman, BĀU II, IV (Maitreyī), JB II 442:2 (Saramā).

³⁴⁷⁾ Cf. GOTÖ in WITZEL–GOTÖ Rig-Veda (2007) 828 Glossar s. v.