4. SYNTAX AND FUNCTIONS OF THE GERUNDIAL SYNTAGM

In its capacity as a coreferentially constrained non-finite verb-form the gerund (past or non-past) may take any adverbal complements and adjuncts except an independent subject and/or agent, for which argument it is dependent on some argument ('controller', cf. 4.2) of the superordinate syntagm. The superordinate syntagm is usually a finite or non-finite clause, to which the gerundial syntagm is connected asyndetically as a (mostly) peripheral quasi-clause, predicating usually a preceding action or state on the part of the Actor or promoted/topicalized Undergoer. Semantically a peripheral gerundial clause is related to the superordinate syntagm as a propositionally (temporally or circumstantially) *restrictive* (248-250) or *non-restrictive* (251-253) predication. This functional distinction parallels that between a *cyclically* (lineally) recursive presupposed or modally constrained adverbial phrase or embedded clause and an *iteratively* (paratactically) recursive coordinate clause sharing the Actor, illocutionary force, modality and time reference of its conjunct(s):

(248) RV 10.109.7

$[[[punard\acute{a}ya_{GD} \; brahmaj\bar{a}y\acute{a}\dot{m}]_{GD-S} \; [k\dot{r}tv\acute{i}_{GD} \; dev\acute{a}ir \; nikilbi\dot{s}\acute{a}m]_{GD-S}$
$[\bar{u}rjam \; p\dot{r}thivy\acute{a} \; bhaktv\acute{a}ya_{GD}]_{GD-S}]_{(:ADV-P)} \; urug\bar{a}y\acute{a}m \; \acute{u}p\bar{a}sate_{V:PRED}]_S$
'Having given back the brahmin's wife, worked out freedom of offense with the gods and enjoyed the vigour of the earth, they worship the strider (= Viṣṇu).'

(249) ŚB 4.2.2.11

$[t\acute{a}sm\bar{a}d \; [apig\dot{r}hya_{GD} \; n\acute{a}sike_{OBJ}]_{GD-S^n(:ADV-P)} \; n\acute{a}_{NEG} \; (h\acute{i}\dot{n}kartu\dot{m} \; \acute{s}aknoti)_{VP}]_S$
'Therefore one cannot say *hiṅ* having taken hold of one's nostrils (> while keeping one's nostrils closed).' ≠ '...cannot take hold of one's nostrils and say...'

(250) ŚB 1.8.1.4

$[t\acute{a}n \; m\bar{a}_{OBJ} \; [n\acute{a}vam_{OBJ} \; upak\acute{a}lpya_{GD}]_{GD-S^n(:ADV-P)} \; \acute{u}p\bar{a}s\bar{a}sai_{V:PRED}]_S$
'You shall then resort to me having built a ship!' ≠ 'You shall build a ship and worship/resort to me!'[1]

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[1] Eggeling (SBE 12, p. 217 and fn. 1), following with some hesitation BRW (s.v. **upa**+ √**ās**), suggested a somewhat different translation: "attend to me by preparing a ship". Note that the coordinate-like rendering, "Build a ship then, and worship me" (Müller), is not in conformity with the incorporation of the gerundial clause in the discontinuous main verb phrase.

(251) JB 1.12.2

[te$_{SUBJ}$ [paśum ālabhya$_{GD}$]$_{GD-S}$ [medaḥ samavadāya$_{GD}$]$_{GD-S}$ paśvāhutim ajuhavus$_{V:PRED}$]$_S$

'Having slaughtered an animal and cut off parts of its flesh, they performed an animal-sacrifice.' (Or: 'They slaughtered an animal, cut off parts of its flesh...')

(252) ĪśaU 11 (cf. ĪśaU 14)

vidyāṁ cāvidyāṁ ca yas tad vedobhayaṁ saha

[[avidyayā mṛtyuṁ tīrtvā$_{GD}$]$_{GD-S}$ⁿ vidyayāmṛtam aśnute$_{V:PRED}$]$_S$

'He who understands both knowledge and ignorance jointly, overcomes death by ignorance and attains immortality by knowledge.' (? 'attains.. having overcome..')

(253) Hit. 1.3

[[yadāhaṁ śabdaṁ karomi]$_{S-TEMP}$ tadā tvam [satvaram utthāya$_{GD}$]$_{GD-S}$ⁿ palāyisyasi$_{V:PRED}$]$_S$

'Then when I make a noise you shall rise quickly and flee!' (≠ '..flee having risen')

The difference between the propositionally restrictive and non-restrictive value is that the former implies a pragmatically or contextually presupposed temporal or circumstantial *condition* or *limitation* on the proposition of the superordinate clause. Unlike a non-restrictive gerundial clause, a restrictive gerundial clause can therefore not be paraphrased by a coordinate finite clause or elliptically included in the modal-operational scope of the main clause. On the other hand, only a restrictive gerundial clause can be foregrounded by an emphatic or inclusive particle, incorporated in a 'discontinuous syntagm' (e.g. between the main verb and some of its complements; cf. 4.6.B) and embedded in a non-finite phrase. But unlike a genuine embedded adverbial clause or phrase, it does not (usually) allow the interpropositional relation to be negated or questioned *per se,* indicating that it is not operationally fully integrated in the superordinate clause (cf. 1.2.A-B). Conversely, a propositionally non-restrictive gerundial clause can be 'implicitly incorporated' in the scope (excluding negation) of the main clause only when expressive of contextually non-given or non-backgrounded information (cf. 4.6; 4.7).

Less typically, the gerundial syntagm is connected to the core (or inner peripheral) layer of another clause, dependent on a single verb or modal operator and functioning as a temporally neutralized obligatory or optional embedded complement of manner[2], prohibition (254), or belief (255), cf.:

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[2] Unlike an outer peripheral manner adjunct referring to the circumstantial setting of a predication, an inner peripheral or core-layer manner adjunct qualifies only the verbal action (cf. Foley & Olson 1985, p. 35). The non-peripheral status of manner complements is reflected in linear and collocational constraints, inasmuch as some verbs exclude or require a manner complement by valency, e.g. 'subsist (on X/by doing X)', 'move by (doing) X' ≠ 'move' (cf. Matthews 1981, p. 137ff.; Chomsky 1965, p. 103f.).

(254) Rm 2.28.25

tad alaṁ$_{ADV:PROH.}$ ^{te}$_{GEN-DAT:BEN}$ [vanaṁ$_{OBJ}$ gatvā$_{GD}$]$_{GD-S:COMPL}$
'So no good for you going to the forest!'[3]

(255) ŚB 8.6.3.1 (cf. ŚB 9.5.1.35 = ex. 127 section 3.1.C)

[[etád vái deváḥ prápya]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$ [[rāddhvâ$_{GD}$] iva$_{COMPLEMENTIZER}$COMPL
amanyanta$_{V:PRED}$]
'Having gained this, the gods thought as if having won (= as if they had won).'

When connected to the nuclear layer of the superordinate clause, the latter is reduced to a stative-habitual aspectual auxiliary lacking separate core-layer and peripheral arguments:

(256) TS 6.1.11.6

[purá khálu vāváiṣá médhāyātmánam [ārábhya$_{GD}$ carati$_{AUX}$]$_{PRED}$ yó
dīkṣitó]$_S$ 'Now the one who is consecrated has long kept himself prepared for the sacrifice.'

4.1. INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE GERUNDIAL SYNTAGM

The valency and aspect of the verb underlying the gerund are subject to certain pragmatic and idiosyncratic constraints as discussed in 2.3 and 3.2. In addition, there are certain collocational constraints of a more specific character, which will be discussed in connection with the semantic function of the gerundial clause (4.7).

The basic formal restriction on the structure of the gerundial syntagm is that it should not include an independent (non-coreferential) subject or agent (4.2). Hence the gerundial syntagm has a phrasal rather than clausal *internal* structure. If the subject of the superordinate clause is coreferential with the implicit subject of the gerund, it may be expressed anywhere in the sentence; otherwise it must be suppressed in the gerundial syntagm ('clause union' vs. 'clause reduction' in Hock's (1985) terms). Constraints on word order permutation ('movement') show, however, that the shared subject (and/or agent) is syntactically more closely connected with the superordinate than with the gerundial clause, cf.:

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[3] The genitive or dative Beneficiary ("dativus [in]commodi") te is syntactically dependent on alaṁ (or the whole prohibitive syntagm) rather than on the gerund, as maintained by Söhnen (1985, p. 480). If it was dependent on alaṁ, there should be constructions like *alaṁ asya/mama vanaṁ gatvā 'enough of his/my going to the forest' = 'may he/I not go to the forest!'. Note that a substantivized participle takes an *instrumental* rather than genitive logical agent in the corresponding construction (cf. 214).

(257) TS 2.5.3.1
índro$_{SUBJ}$ [vṛtráṁ hatvā] devátābhiś cendriyéṇa ca vyàrdhyata
'Indra, having slain Vṛtra, was deprived of the gods and his power.'
(?devátābhiś ca indriyeṇa ca vyārdhyata [índro$_{SUBJ}$ vṛtráṁ hatvā]$_{GD-S}$)

(258) TS 5.2.2.6
tásmāt suptvā$_{GD}$ prajāḥ$_{SUBJ}$ prá budhyante
'Therefore creatures wake up after sleeping.'

(259) MBh 1.194.22
[śrutvā tu rādheyavaco] dhṛtarāṣṭraḥ$_{SUBJ}$ pratāpavān
abhipūjya$_{GD}$ tataḥ paścād idaṁ vacanam abravīt
'And having heard Rādha's son's speech, the mighty Dhṛtarāṣṭra, upon receiving
him with reverence, then afterwards spoke these words.'

(260) BhG 4.15
[evaṁ jñātvā] kṛtaṁ karma pūrvair api mumukṣubhiḥ$_{AG}$
'Knowing thus, action was done also by the ancient (seers) seeking salvation.'

(261) BK 18.95
aham$_{SUBJ}$ āhūya$_{GD}$ nīto dārikayā$_{AG}$
'Having been called, I was brought by the girl'

Very rarely (mainly in the Ṛgveda) a shared subject is actually incorporated in the gerundial
syntagm and then elliptically omitted from the superordinate clause.

(262) RV 8.100.8c
[dívam$_{OBJ}$ suparṇó$_{SUBJ}$ gatvāya$_{GD}$] vajríṇa ábharat
'The fair-feathered one went to the sky and brought the Soma for the bolt-holder.'

(263) RV 10.129.4cd
sató bándhum ásati nír avindan [hṛdí pratíṣyā$_{GD}$ kaváyo$_{SUBJ}$ manīṣá]
'The sages having searched with contemplation in their hearts, discovered the bond
of the existing in the non-existing.'

(264) AV 12.2.54
[tám índra$_{SUBJ}$ idhmáṁ kṛtvā$_{GD}$] yamásyāgníṁ nírādadhau
'Indra having made this into fuel, removed Yama's fire.'

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(265) ŚB 2.2.4.18

[té_{ANA:TOP} hutvā_{GD} devāḥ_{SUBJ}] imā́ṁ prájātiṁ prājāyanta

'Those gods having offered, gave birth to this offspring.' (Cf. Minard 1956, § 55.)

4.1.A. EXPANSION AND MODIFICATION OF THE GERUNDIAL SYNTAGM

A peripheral gerundial clause may take any number of peripheral adjuncts, which may also be realized by embedded clauses, e.g.: [[[...]_S iti]_{COMPL} **buddhvā/matvā/vicintya**]_{GD-S} 'having realized/reckoned/thought (> seeing) that S'.

Being a recursive category, any number of gerundial clauses may be stringed asyndetically together (cf. 51, 153, 248, 259), the whole string or syntagm being dependent on the same superordinate clause. Less frequently coordinative conjunctions are used in connecting paratactic gerundial clauses:

(266) MBh 1.65.4

sā taṁ dṛṣṭvaiva rājānaṁ duḥṣantam asitekṣaṇā

svāgataṁ ta iti kṣipram uvāca pratipūjya ca

'Immediately on seeing King Duḥṣanta, she with her black eyes said quickly, having greeted reverently: "Welcome to you".'

A propositionally restrictive gerundial clause may be foregrounded or modified by operators like **eva** 'just, same', **api** 'also, even' or **iva** 'as if':

(267) ŚB 6.2.2.19 (Cf. Minard 1956, p. 96 § 235f.)

sá vā́ iṣṭvaivá paurṇamāséna

'Immediately on having performed the full-moon sacrifice, he...'

(268) Bhavatrāta on JŚS 1.1.1

tasmāt prokte some 'vicāryaiva guṇadoṣān pratimantrayeta

'Therefore, when the Soma (sacrifice) has been proclaimed (to him), he should reply (so and so), without having first ascertained the virtues and faults.'

(269) ŚB 3.8.5.11

yátra vā́ eténa pracáranty ā́paś ca ha vā́ asmā́t tā́vad óṣadhayaś cāpakrámyeva tiṣṭhanti

'For as long as they go on with this, the waters and plants stay as it were away from him.'

(270) BC 11.30

yān arjayitvāpi na yānti śarma vivardhayitvā paripālayitvā-
ṅgārakarṣūpratimeṣu teṣu kāmeṣu kasyātmavato ratiḥ syāt
'What self-controlled man would find delight in those passions which are like
trenches filled with red-hot charcoal, which, though having procured and increased
and guarded them, men find no comfort in.'

(271) Kath. 24.78

tataś ca sā rājasutā janakaṁ nijagāda taṁ
tāta rājāpi bhūtvā tvam avicāryaiva ceṣṭase
'Then the princess said to King Janaka: "Daddy, though being a king you act
entirely without considering the consequences".'

(272) Vedānt. 148

[pradīptagṛhāt [svaputraṁ parityajyāpi] svasya nirgamadarśanāt]ADV-P
'Therefore because of seeing someone coming out from his burning house,
although having left his own son there...'

(273) Rājataraṅgiṇī 4.383 (quoted from Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr. I: 20)

akāryāṇy api paryāpya kṛtvāpi vṛjinārjanam
vidhīyate hitaṁ yasya sa dehaḥ kasya susthiraḥ
'Whose body can persist, when he is done good even upon (he) having done
misdeeds and accumulated sin himself?'

4.1.B. RESTRICTION ON 'OBLIQUE SUBJECT'

Within the range of the aspectual constraints of the gerund (2.3.B), there are basically no
restrictions on the types of process a peripheral gerundial clause may express through its
predicate and core arguments. This may be a mental or abstract process or relation (e.g.
'become frightened', 'realize', 'be(come)') just as well as a material process (e.g. 'hit',
'write', 'cook'). However, if expressing a mental or abstract process, the predicate should
preferably not be one that takes the Experiencer or Possessor in an oblique case, cf.:

(274) ŚB 11.6.1.7

tám haināṁ dṛṣṭvá bhír viveda
'On seeing that one, *fear fell upon him.*'

This formal restriction follows from the coreferentiality constraint of the gerund. Given a gerundial clause based on an 'impersonal' predicate, such as e.g. ?enaṁ bhīr vittvā 'fear having fallen upon him', the main clause subject would have to be identical with the non-agentive, non-topical subject ('fear'), because otherwise there would be two expressed non-coreferential subjects in the sentence. Thus, while a construction like *enaṁ bhīr vittvā somam apibat 'fear having fallen upon him, he drank Soma' would probably be *ungrammatical* due to the coreferentiality constraint, a grammatically correct construction ?enaṁ bhīr vittvā mām api viveda 'fear having fallen upon him, then also fell upon me' would be *pragmatically* unlikely as an utterance. This restriction should obviously not apply to nuclear junctures, where the superordinate clause is reduced to an auxiliary: (?)enaṁ bhīr vittvā sthitā 'fear settled down upon him for good'.

4.2. SUBJECT (AND AGENT) OF GERUND

In standard non-periphrastic constructions, the gerundial clause is structurally incomplete in that it lacks an independent/non-coreferential subject (and/or agent, if passive), for the recovery of which it is thus dependent on some argument (mostly an actant/central participant) of the superordinate clause. The gerund being mostly active and personal by construction, its (implicit) subject or agent has typically the role of Actor and is normally coreferential with that (core) argument of the superordinate clause which ranks highest when considering criteria of Actorhood[4], Topicality[5] and Animacy/Empathy (cf.

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[4] Actor vs. Undergoer are macroroles that are determined according to the following hierarchy of arguments: Agent > Effector > Locative [incl. Experiencer, Possessor, Attribuend] > located 'Theme' > Patient. When a predication has only one (obligatory) core argument, e.g. an Agent or Patient (e.g. as-'exist' ≠ 'be'), this is mostly encoded as the subject (i.e. prototypical Actor) in an active construction, but as the agent in a passive/ergative construction (cf. 3.5; 1.2.B). When it has two core arguments (e.g. Agent and Patient, or Locative and Theme), one of them is identified as Actor, the other as Undergoer according to their relative position on the above scale, the Actor being typically encoded as subject or agent (depending on the voice), whereas the Undergoer is encoded as object/complement or subject (depending on the voice). If there is a third argument, e.g. Beneficiary or Recipient, it is mostly optional and peripheral (unable to become subject by passivization). By indicating semantic roles vs. syntactic functions with capitals we can distinguish between Agent (= Actor independently of case and construction) and agent (= instrumental or genitive logical subject of a passive/ergative clause). Note that when the verb has zero-valency, i.e. lacks obligatory core arguments, e.g. vṛṣ- 'rain': vṛṣṭvī 'having rained' (cf. 75, 1.5.K), there is no target for coreference, implying that such verbs cannot be used in the gerund form unless also the main verb has zero-valency.

[5] Topicality (of NP:s) correlates with givenness, definiteness and foregrounding in discourse, as typically reflected in subjecthood (cf. Brown & Yule 1983, p. 126ff.; Foley & Van Valin 1984, p. 124ff.). Apart from promotion to subject (i.e. passivization, cf. 3.5), fronting and dislocation serve as means of topicalization (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1985). Because of the tendency for the subject to be Actor and the Actor to be 'animate', the features that determine the controller of the gerund tend to support each other.

1.2.B). In active and passive clauses this is mostly the subject (cf. 275-279), but in ergative clauses (and such passive clauses where the Actor ranks higher in animacy) it is the oblique agent (esp. if the gerund presupposes an animate subject, cf. 281-283), while in 'unipersonal' mental process or possessive clauses it is the oblique experiencer/affected possessor (cf. 284-286/287-292). Thus the only core argument that cannot normally control the gerund is a non-topicalized, inanimate Undergoer (encoded as a direct or indirect object).[6]

When the gerund is passive or expressive of the 'impersonal voice' (having a generic unexpressed subject; cf. 3.5), there is usually coreference of both core arguments with the corresponding arguments of the superordinate passive clause (cf. 235-242). In these cases it is difficult to determine the target of control, though it may be assumed that it is the subject, inasmuch as the agent of a passive clause is a peripheral (structurally dispensable) constituent. By contrast, the agent of an ergative clause has the same semantic and pragmatic status as the nominative subject of an active construction (cf. 282-283).

These rules apply also to the non-past gerund (as far as the various constructions of this form have been attested) and to all cases where the implicit subject of the gerund is generic. They apply furthermore to all cases where the superordinate clause/phrase is non-finite, provided that the nominal head of the latter is recognized as its 'logical subject', which is its Actor in an active construction, but Undergoer in a passive construction (cf. 280).

4.2.A. STANDARD CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE GERUND

It follows from the above coreferentiality constraint that the (implicit or expressed) subject or agent of the gerund can be recovered from the superordinate clause in any syntactic case. This will be illustrated in the following five sets of examples, where the implicit or coreferential subject or agent of the gerund is marked with a double subscript code ('x:y>z') according to its syntactic and semantic function in the superordinate clause and semantic function in the gerundial clause. Non-coreferential core arguments are marked as 'x:y'.

Thus, e.g. $X_{SUBJ:A>A}$ means that X is the (head constituent of the) subject[7] of the superordinate clause, where it has the function of Actor, being at the same time the Actor of the gerundial clause, thus representing its implicit subject in an active but agent in a passive construction. By contrast, $X_{SUBJ:U>A}$ means that X is the subject-mapped Undergoer of the (hence passive) superordinate clause and the Actor of the gerundial clause.

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[6] It will now be realized why the Paninean rule 3.4.21 (ex. 33, 1.5.A) prescribing identity of *Agents* (**kartṛ**) for the gerund and the superordinate clause cannot account for those cases where the controller is an oblique experiencer, affected possessor or foregrounded topicalized Undergoer (i.e. subject, which syntactic category was not known to the Paninean tradition).

[7] The terms subject and agent are throughout this discussion used also with reference to the logical subject/agent of a non-finite construction as defined earlier. Square brackets mark implicit arguments.

1. Subject of gerund coreferential with subject(-mapped A/U) of superordinate clause

(275) RV 10.68.3c

bṛhaspátiḥ_SUBJ:A>A párvatebhyo vitū́ryā nír gā́ ūpe
'Bṛhaspati, having penetrated through the mountains, strew out the cows'

(276) RV 8.100.8cd

dívaṃ suparṇó_SUBJ:A>A gatvā́ya sómaṃ vajríṇa ā́bharat
'Having gone to the sky the fair-feathered one brought down the Soma for the bolt-holder.'

(277) JB 1.73.3

so 'gnir_SUBJ: U>A mukhād bībhatsamāna ūrdhva uddrutya mastiṣkam uddhatyāsṛjyata
'Then Agni, feeling disgusted with the mouth, having fled upwards and thrown out (Prajāpati's) brain, was created.'

(278) ŚB 5.2.3.1 (2x; cf. ŚB 5.2.3.6, 8; 5.2.4.1, 4; 5.2.5.14)

sárvaṃ parigṛ́hya sūyā [SUBJ:U>A = 1.p.sg.; AG:A] íti
'"Having encompassed the all, may I (= the king, subj./topic) be consecrated."'

(279) BhG 3.20cd

akṛtvā phalasaṃnyāsaṃ badhyate [generic SUBJ:U>A] tatphalena_A:AG tu
'On not refraining from the fruit of action one is bound by the fruit.'

(280) Kauṭ. 3.14.1 (cf. 2.23.15, 2.27.20, 3.15.1, etc.)

[[[gṛhītvā vetanaṃ]_GD-S karmākurvato] bhṛtakasya_LOG.SUBJ:A>A]_NP dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ
'The penalty for a servant not doing the job, having taken salary, is twelve *paṇas*.'

2. Subject of gerund coreferential with oblique (instr., gen., dat.) agent of passive or ergative superordinate clause (cf. 228-232)

(281) Nala 24.13ab

sākṣād devān apahāya vṛto yaḥ sa_SUBJ:U mayā_AG:A>A purā
'He who was formerly chosen by me, having rejected the gods in their presence.'

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(282) Kām. 7.2.50 (cf. Kauṭ. 1.1.1, Kāvyād. 1.2)

pūrvaśāstrāṇi saṁhṛtya prayogān upasṛtya ca
kāmasūtram$_{SUBJ:U}$ idaṁ yatnāt saṁkṣepeṇa niveśitam [AG:A>A]
'Having collected the previous Śāstras and studied practice, this Treatise on Love
has been laid down (by the author) with great devotion and brevity.'

(283) Megh. 34ab

apy anyasmiñ jaladhara mahākālam āsādya kāle sthātavyaṁ te$_{AG:A>A}$
'And also at another time, O cloud, having reached the M.-temple, you are to stay'

*3. Subject of gerund coreferential with oblique (acc., gen., dat.) animate experiencer or
(affected) possessor* (= animate and topical 'Locative' Actor or Undergoer)[8]

(284) RV 10.34.11a

stríyaṁ dṛṣṭvā́ya kitaváṁ$_{ACC.EXP:}$ $_{U>A}$ tatāpa
'Upon seeing (his) woman, it distresses the player'

(285) BhG 1.36

dhārtarāṣṭrān nihatya naḥ$_{AFF.POSS:A>A}$ kā prītiḥ$_{SUBJ:U}$ syāt...
'On killing the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, what satisfaction shall we have?'

(286) BhG 1.36

pāpam$_{SUBJ:A}$ evāśrayed asmān$_{ACC.EXP:U>A}$ hatvaitān ātatāyinas
'Evil alone would light upon us after slaying (our would-be) murderers.'

(287) KB 15.2 (cf. MS 4.7.4, AB 2.1.4)

hatvā vṛtraṁ vijitya yuṣmābhir me$_{POSS:A>A}$ 'yaṁ saha somapīthaḥ$_{SUBJ:U}$
'Having slain Vṛtra, having conquered, this Soma-drinking with you is mine.'

(288) ŚB 1.9.3.10 (cf. ŚB 14.7.3.13, KB 8.7; Vet. 14.1., 144.17, etc.)

evam imāṁl lokānt samāruhyāthaiṣā gatir$_{SUBJ:U}$ eṣā pratiṣṭhā [POSS:A>A]
'(One) having thus ascended these worlds, that goal, that support (is one's).'

(289) ŚvU 1.11

jñātvā devaṁ sarvapāśāpahāniḥ [implicit generic AFF.POSS:U>A]
'Upon (one's) coming to know god, there is a falling off of all (one's) fetters.'

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[8] Note that a Possessor is not necessarily a core argument (i.e. obligatory complement/actant), and
hence it may control the gerund only in the absence of an agentive Actor (cf. 290-291 and 1.5.N). The
Experiencer tends to control the gerund even when there is an animate topical agentive Actor (cf. RV
1.165.12 saṁcákṣyā... áchānta me ?'(I) having seen you, you have enchanted me', see 2.2.A).

(290) Nala 3.14ab (cf. Nala 10.10ab = ex. 47, 1.5.D)

tasya$_{AFF.POSS:U>A}$ dṛṣṭvaiva vavṛdhe kāmas$_{SUBJ:A}$ tāṁ cāruhāsinīm

'Immediately upon seeing her, his love for that sweetly smiling one increased.'

(291) MBh 9.50.9

[tāṁ divyavapuṣaṁ dṛṣṭvā] tasya ṛṣe$_{AFF.POSS:U>A}$ retaḥ$_{SUBJ:A}$ skannaṁ sarasvatyām

'Upon seeing that divinely looking creature, the semen of that sage lept into the river Sarasvatī.' (Cf.Söhnen 1985, p. 488, see 1.5.N.)

(292) Svapn. 4.6cd

smṛtvā smṛtvā yāti duḥkham$_{SUBJ:A}$ navatvam [implicit AFF.POSS:U>A]

'On constantly remembering and remembering, (one's) grief grows anew.'

4. Subject of gerund coreferential with unexpressed peripheral generic Beneficiary/ Observer of impersonal superordinate clause (cf. 4.8.A)

(293) Kāś. on P 3.4.20

aprāpya nadīṁ parvataḥ$_{SUBJ:U}$ sthitaḥ atikramya tu parvataṁ nadī$_{SUBJ:U}$ sthitā [generic BEN>A]

'(For the observer) the mountain is situated before reaching [= in front of] the river, but the river is situated after crossing [= behind] the mountain.'

(294) BĀU 5.1.1 (= ŚB 14.8.1.1)

pūrṇásya pūrṇám ādā́ya pūrṇám$_{SUBJ:U}$ evā́vaśiṣyate [impl. generic BEN>A]

'Upon removing the whole from the whole, the whole remains (for the observer).' (Cf. Œrtel 1926, p. 315.)

5. Agent (and mostly also subject) of passive or impersonal gerund coreferential with corresponding core arguments of passive or ergative superordinate clause (cf. 3.5)

(295) MS 1.8.5 (122, 4) (Cf. Delbrück 1888, p. 408; Œrtel 1926, p. 308f.)

agnihotrahávaniṁ pratápya hásto 'vadhéyo hásto$_{SUBJ:U>U}$ vā pratápyāgnihotrahávanyām avadhéyaḥ [implicit generic AG:A>A]

'Having heated the fire-sacrifice spoon, the hand is to be inserted, or, the hand, having been heated, should be inserted in the fire-sacrifice spoon.'

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(296) KB 24.9

tad yāni tatra vaiśvadevāni bhavanti tāny uddhṛtyānyāni$_{SUBJ:U}$ prājā-
patyāni aniruktāni parokṣavaiśvadevāny avadhīyante [implicit AG:A>A]
"These (hymns) to the All-Gods having been omitted, others addressed to Prajāpati
(and) undefined (i.e. without special indication of the divinity to which they are ad-
dressed) (and) esoterically addressed to the All Gods are substituted." (ibid., p.312)
Or: 'So having omitted these here (hymns) to the All-Gods, others, undefined,
addressed to Prajāpati, but esoterically addressed to the All-Gods, are replaced.'

(297) Daś. 4 (ed. Kale 1966, p. 125)

mantriṇā$_{AG:A>A}$ punar aham$_{SUBJ:U>U}$ āhūyābhyadhāyiṣi
'Having been called again by the minister, I was told (by him)'

(298) Ṛgvidh. (quoted from Gonda [1967] 1975, p. [263] 92)

tatas tu karma kṛtvedaṁ kartavyam dvijatarpaṇam$_{SUBJ:U}$ [implicit AG:A>A]
'Then when this ritual act has been performed, the brahmins are to be satisfied'

(299) Vet. 76.11-13

ity eva kāle [[śyenena$_{AG:A>A}$ [ānīya] khādyamānasya] sarpasya$_{LOG.SUBJ>U}$]
garalaṁ taddravye nipatitam
'At that very time, the poison of a snake being eaten, after having been carried
away, by a hawk fell into his food.'

The complex coreference behaviour of the gerund is only partly explained by the change
from mainly accusative to partly ergative syntax in Sanskrit (cf. Hock 1986, p. 21f.; 1982,
p. 131). Although Actor-control appears to be more common than subject-control in Vedic
prose and post-Vedic Sanskrit, subject-control vs. Actor-control is never ruled out, being
always available when the subject ranks higher than the Actor in Topicality and/or Ani-
macy. Hence the pivot in gerundial structures is *pragmatic* rather than semantic. The
following example would seem to provide an exception to this, but it could be explained if
we assume that it is the Locative (mapped as the subject) that is the controller:

(300) MS 1.6.4 (93, 9)

híraṇyaṁ$_{SUBJ:U/?OBJ}$ suvarṇam upāsyāgnír ādhéyaḥ [generic AG:A>A]
'After a piece of pure gold has been inserted (? after one has inserted...), the fire
is to be replenished.'

On the other hand, when the gerundial clause is ergative rather than passive, the controller
is, of course, the Actor (cf. 298).

4.2.B. EXCEPTIONAL OR ANOMALOUS CONSTRUCTIONS

In none of the above cases is the implicit subject of the gerund to be recovered from outside the set of topical/animate (and mostly) core arguments of the superordinate clause. The quasi-absolute constructions in (284)-(294) represent perfectly acceptable constructions of the gerund as seen from their commonness and the early disappearance of absolute participial clauses as 'less anomalous' substitutes.[9] But especially in the elliptical Gṛhyasūtras and many later Vedic and Classical texts of predominantly southern provenance (e.g. Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra, Kāśyapasaṁhitā, Marīcisaṁhitā, Daśakumāracarita), we come across constructions that cannot be accounted for in terms of this coreferentiality constraint.

The earliest example of an anomalous construction of the gerund is found in the Śaunakasaṁhitā (301). In this case the implicit subject of the gerund is coreferential with a *non-topical anaphoric genitive modifier* ('his') despite the presence of an animate and topical subject ('cow').

(301) AV 12.4.27

yấvad asyā gópatir$_{SUBJ:A}$ nópaśṛnuyād ṛ́caḥ svayám
cáred asya tấvad góṣu nấsya$_{GEN:POSS>A}$ śrutvấ gṛhé vaśet [= vaset]
'As long as her cow-owner should not overhear the verses himself, so long may she (= the barren cow) graze among his cows. Not after (he) has heard (them) may she live in his house.' (Cf. 1.5.M.)

A somewhat similar case from post-Vedic Sanskrit is (302), although here the genitive animate modifier is topical:

(302) Rm 2.63.32 (ed. Bombay)

tāṁ giraṁ karuṇāṁ śrutvā mama dharmānukāṅkṣiṇaḥ
karābhyāṁ saśaraṁ cāpaṁ vyathitasya apatad bhuvi
'Upon (my) hearing that pitiable speech, the bow with its arrow fell down from my hands, who (= I) being intent on justice, was chocked.'

More genuinely absolute are those constructions where the subject of the gerund is *overtly* expressed in the gerundial clause as *different* from any of the *core* or even *peripheral arguments* of the main clause, e.g.:

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[9] Note that Pāṇini's rule 3.4.21 would require that all 'semi-absolute' gerundial clauses be replaced by absolute participial clauses, while this restriction is observed only in the Ṛgveda, e.g. RV 1.32.14ab **áher yātāraṁ kám apaśya indra hṛdí yát te jaghnúṣo bhír ágacchat** 'Whom did you see as the pursuer of the dragon, Indra, when fear came into your heart having slain (**jaghnúṣo**) (him)?'

(303) ŚB 2.3.1.10 (cf. 1.3.1.25, 2.6.3.7, 1.7.1.18)

té paśávo$_{SUBJ:A}$ 'mūlā óṣadhīr mūlínīr jagdhvāpáḥ pītvā táta eṣá
rásaḥ$_{SUBJ:A}$ sáṁ bhavati

'The rootless animals, having eaten the rooted plants and drunk the water, from that
this sap is born.' (Cf. Delbrück 1888, p. 408; Minard 1956 § 201; 1.5.M.)[10]

(304) ŚB 2.5.1.22

eténa vái prajāpatiḥ$_{SUBJ:A}$ [sic asandhi] yajñéneṣṭvā | yèyáṁ
prajāpateḥ$_{POSS}$ prájātir$_{SUBJ:A}$ yā śrīr etád babhūva

'Prajāpati, having sacrificed with this sacrifice, that procreation, that prosperity,
which (is) Prajāpati's, thus came into existance.'
(Cf. Minard 1956, p. 80 § 192.)

Occasionally the construction is ambiguous between normal topical subject control and
abnormal non-topical object control:

(305) PB 6.1.3 (quoted from Œrtel 1926, p. 313f.)

tasmāt prajā$_{SUBJ:A}$ daśa māso garbhaṁ$_{OBJ:U}$ bhṛtvaikādaśam anu pra-
jāyante

'Hence creatures are born with the eleventh month, [one/the mother] having carried
the foetus for ten months.'
Or: 'Hence creatures, having carried the foetus for ten months, are themselves born
with the eleventh month.'
Cf. JB 1.67.2 tasmāt paśavo daśa māso bibhraty ekādaśam anu pra-
jāyante 'Hence animal carry ten months, along with the eleventh they are born.'

Note, however, that in all these examples, the implicit subject of the gerund ranks high in
animacy and in many cases it can be recovered from among the core arguments of the
main clause (4.1.B). In the following example the implicit subject of the gerund is an
animate *genetivus separativus*:

(306) BhG 2.59cd

...raso$_{SUBJ:A}$ 'pi asya$_{SOURCE:U>A}$ paraṁ dṛṣṭvā nivartate
'...even flavor turns away from him, (upon his) having seen the highest.'

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[10] Holland (1986, p. 176) has compared this construction with a nominative absolute participle, cf. KS
21.2 (38, 13ff.) devā vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yantas teṣāṁ yāni cchandāṁsy aniruktāni
svargyāny āsaṁs tais saha svargaṁ lokam āyaṁs[t...] 'The gods going to the heavenly
world, — what their undefined heavenly metres were with them they went to the heavenly world.'
(transl. Œrtel 1926, p. 30). In both cases there is anaphoric reference to the gerundial clause.

Very rarely a topical Recipient (dativus [in]commodi) that is *not a core argument* (i.e. obligatory actant) controls the gerund despite the presence of an Actor:

(307) Vet. 92.20-1

dvija siprānadīm gatvā tubhyam$_{BEN>A}$ aham$_{SUBJ:A}$ mantram dāsyāmi

'O brahmin, I will give a mantra to you, (you) having gone to the river S.'

Anomalous are also those constructions, where the subject of the gerund (or a coordinate gerund) is *part of a non-singular subject* of the superordinate clause (cf. 270):

(308) Nala 5.34-35ab

damayantīm tathā vāgbhir abhinandya kṛtāñjaliḥ

tau parasparataḥ prītau dṛṣṭvā tv agnipurogamān ∥

tāneva śaraṇam devān jagmatur manasā tadā

'Then (Nala), having with folded hands pleased Damayantī with his words, both happy with each other, having seen the gods preceded by Agni, took in their mind to the gods for protection.' (Cf. Humboldt 1823, p. 449 ex. 24.)

Most striking are those *genuinely absolute construction* where the implicit subject of the gerund cannot be recovered from among the core arguments of the main clause, but nevertheless does *not rank higher in animacy or topicality than any other argument.*

In those cases it must be inferred on the basis of background knowledge about the role of the participants in the narrated events or rituals. Irregular switch of referent in gerundial constructions is not infrequently met with in the elliptical and concise later or post-Vedic ritual and technical Sūtras (cf. Knauer 1886, p. 119f.; Œrtel 1926, p. 314; Goudriaan 1965, p. 337; Caland 1929, p. xiiif.; Karttunen 1985, p. 64). E.g JSP chapter 18, l. 145-146 (ed. Karttunen) {guru}$_{SUBJ:A}$ vācayan... grāhayitvā upaveśya śiṣyaḥ$_{SUBJ:A}$ brūyāt 'The teacher making him say... and having made him take (? a seat) and seated him, the student should say'. Cf.:

(309) JB 1.117.1 (12)

etasya ha vā idam sāmnaḥ kṛtvā (mss.: kṛtvo and kṛtor)] varṣati ca parjanya uc ca gṛhṇāti

'When this is made of the Sāman, Parjanya both rains and holds up.'

(310) ŚB 4.4.3.1

vaśām ālabhante tām ālabhya samjñapayanti samjñapya āha vapām utkhideti utkhidya vapām anumarśam garbham eṣṭavai brūyāt

'They sacrifice a barren cow. Having sacrificed it, they quiet it. After quieting it, he says (to the butcher): "Draw out the omentum!". After drawing out the omentum, he (≠ butcher) should order him to look for the embryo searching.'

(311) ŚB 5.5.4.11; 13

sa vasīyān eveṣṭvābhavat

'After the sacrifice had been made, he became stronger.'

(312) GGS 1.8.19 (cf. 2.2.2, 2.3.8, 3.10.20, 4.7.37)

hutvaitān mekṣaṇam anupraharet

'After the completion of the (previous) sacrifice, he (≠ sacrificer) should throw the (used) *mekṣaṇa*-ladle in the fire.'[11]

(313) ĀśvGS 1.7.8 (Lanman [1884] 1967, p. 99)

vadhvañjalā upastīrya bhrātā bhrātṛsthāno vā dvir lājān ā vapati

'(The groom) having poured the sacrificial butter on the bride's hollowed-and-joined hands, her brother or brother's representative strews parched grain (on her hands) twice'

(314) ĀśvGS 1.7.14 (ibid.)

apariṇīya śūrpapuṭenābhyātmānaṁ tūṣṇīṁ caturtham

'Without having led her around (or: without having been led around [by the groom]), she (= the bride) (should offer grain) with the nose of the basket towards herself, in silence (on the part of the groom) the fourth time.'

(315) ĀśvGS 1.7.15 (ibid.)

opyopya haike lājān pariṇayanti

'Some lead her around (she) having strewed the grain.'

(316) KauśS 63.20 (& *passim*)

...sūktenābhimantryābhinigadya dadyād dātā$_{SUBJ:A}$ **vācyamānaḥ**

'...the giver (= sacrificer) should give (the oblation), being made to pronounce (the ritual words) (by the officiant), (the officiant) having consecrated (the rice-dish) with the *sūkta* and pronounced the ritual injunctions with regard to it.'[12]

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[11] Knauer (1886, p. 162): "nach vollbrachtem opfer überhaupt nicht nur nach vollbringung eines theiles desselben"; GGS 2.2.2: **hutvopatiṣṭhataḥ** "Unmittelbar nach diesem opfer erheben sich beide und treten von einander hin."; **samāptāsūdvahanti** "Sobald dieselben beendet sind, führt man sie weg."

[12] Gonda (1975, p. 92): "After he (i.e. the officiant) has with the sūkta performed the consecration (of the rice-dish) and has pronounced the ritual injunctions with regard (to it) the giver (i.e. the yajamāna who presents the oblations to the gods and the brahmans), who is made to pronounce (the ritual words), should give (the oblation)." (Cf. 1.5.M.)

(317) Mbhṣy. Śabdānuśāsana vt. 16 (ed. Kielhorn, I, p. 13, l. 13f.)
na hy anupadiśya varṇān iṣṭā varṇāḥ śakyā vijñātum
'For not without (the teachers) having taught the sounds can the intended sounds be learnt (by the pupils).' (Cf. Söhnen 1985, p. 486.)

(318) VSmS 3.2 (ed. Caland, p. 36, l. 16ff.)
mātur asapiṇḍām pitur asamānarṣigotrajātāṁ lakṣaṇasaṁpannāṁ nag-nikāṁ kanyāṁ varayitvā pañcāheṣu kulasya pariśuddhyai sapiṇḍaiḥ śrotriyaiḥ saha bhūtaṁ bhuñjīta
'Having chosen (as a wife) a maiden, who is not a *sapiṇḍa* on the mother's side, who is born of a different *ṛṣi* and *gotra* on the father's side, who is possessed of the conspicuous marks on the body, and who is a girl before her menstruation, he [= the father of the bride, according to the commentary] should during five days, in order to completely purify his family, partake of proper (food) together with the *sapiṇḍas* (and other persons, viz) learned brahmins.'

(319) VSmS 5.3 (ed. Caland, p. 73, l. 15ff.)
śivaṁ yātviti mṛtakaṁ prokṣya citāyāṁ tilān avakīrya tata uddhṛtyā-vatārayeyuḥ
'Having sprinkled the corpses with (the mantra): "May she come to well-being..." and having strewn *sesamum* on the pyre, they should raise the corpse and lay it down (on the pyre).'

(320) VSmS 6.13 (ed. Caland, p. 79, l. 17ff.)
vivāhe homakāle kanyāyā rajasy utpanne tāṁ snāpayitvānyadvastraṁ paridhāpya puṇyāhaṁ kṛtvā prokṣaṇaiḥ prokṣya mindāhutyāśrāvitidīn vyāhṛtīś ca hutvā karma pravarteta
'In the case of the monthly courses of the girl coming during the marriage ceremony at the time of sacrifice, (he) having made her take a bath, put on another garment, and having performed the *puṇyāha* and sprinkled her with the mantras for sprink-ling and sacrificed the two *mindā*-libations, those with the mantras: "What has been made to hear", etc. and those with the *vyāhṛtis,* the ceremony should go on.'

(321) Kauṭ. 1.14.2
saṁśrutyārthān vipralabdhaḥ [SUBJ:U; implicit AG:A>A]
'One cheated (by someone), (that someone) having promised money.'

It will be observed that in (321) the demoted implicit subject of the (active) gerund is not the implicit promoted subject but the non-topical implicit agent of the passive main verb.

This illustrates the strong preference of the gerund to take an active construction, although its implicit subject may be demoted as in a passive clause (cf. 3.5). A semantically more acceptable construction would have been based on an absolute participle instead of the gerund.

In constructionally ambiguous case, one may thus occasionally hesitate between a *semantically more satisfactory* but *syntactically less regular* interpretation:

(322) ŚB 11.1.6.7.

sá āsyènaivá devân asrjata té devâ dívam abhipádyāsrjyanta

'By (the breath of) his mouth he created the gods: the gods were created [by it] on [its] entering the sky.'[13]

(323) ŚB 1.7.4.17-18

áthāpá ácāmati I sântir âpas tád adbhíh sântyā śamayaté 'tha parikṣâlya pâtram II áthāsmai brahmabhāgáṁ paryâ haranti

"He then rinses his mouth with water; — water is (a means of) purification: hence he purifies himself with water, (that is, a means of) purification. After he has rinsed the vessel, —. They bring him the Brahman's portion." (Eggeling, SBE 12, p. 213)[14]

(324) BĀU 6.4.28 (K: 27 = ŚB 14.9.4.28)

athainaṁ mātre pradāya stanaṁ prayacchati

'Then having given (the baby) to the mother, he (? she) offers it the (? her) breast.' (Cf. Œrtel 1926, p. 314.)

(325) BĀU(M) 6.4.12 (= BĀU(K) 6.4.13)

(átha yásya jāyâm ārtavám vindet...) trirātrāntá āplûya vrīhín ávaghāt-ayet

'(Now when the menstruation comes upon one's wife...) At the end of three nights having bathed, he should make (her) pound rice.'

Böhtlingk (BĀU, p. 96) interpreted the gerund in (325) as referring to the actual subject, i.e. the husband: "Nach Ablauf von drei Tagen bade er sich und lasse (die Frau) dreschen."

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[13] Cf. Eggeling (1900, p. 13). Minard (1956, p. 84f. § 204): "Les dieux furent émis au moment où (le souffle buccal) atteignit le ciel."

[14] Cf. Eggeling (ibid., footnote 3): "According to Kāty. 2.2.20, the Brahman, having rinsed the vessel (or according to the commentary, the two **prāśitraharana**, one of which is used as lid to the other), touches his navel, with the text...". The commentary adds **nābhim ā labhate** 'touches the navel' after **parikṣālya pātram**; see Delbrück (1888, p. 409).

A regular construction would ensue also if the gerund could be included in the scope of the causative: 'He should make her bathe and pound rice', cf. VSmS 2.6 **śatam in nv atyādityaṁ namaskṛtyāgantrā samaganmahīti pradakṣiṇaṁ kārayitvā** "causes him to make obeisance to the sun with the mantra: 'A hundred' and to turn around himself from left to right with '[...]'" (Caland 1929, p. 48).[15] Normally a causative operator does not, however, extend its scope over a gerundial clause, but cf. ŚB 1.9.2.24 **paścād evaināṁ etat parītya vṛṣṇā**$_{INSTR:CAUSEE>A}$ **vedenādhidrāvayati** 'having made him go around from behind he causes her (*vedi*) to be approached by that male, the Veda'.

Occasionally it seems that the gerund can be controlled by the accusative object of a *participium cum accusativo* construction, as argued on the basis of the following example:

(326)   Rm 3.39.18
ātmānaṁ ca hataṁ viddhi hṛtvā sītām
"Be aware that yourself will be lost, when seizing Sītā" (Speijer 1886, p. 297)
"Betrachte dich selbst als erschlagen im Falle einer Entführung Sītās."
(Söhnen 1985, p. 482)

But there are two possible syntactic interpretations of the gerundial syntagm in relation to the main clause, either (i) as an adjunct qualifying it as a whole, or (ii) as embedded in the complement clause. In either case, the implicit subject of the gerund is coreferential with the subject of both the main clause and the complement clause, but only if the gerundial clause is actually embedded in the complement clause can it be argued that it is the accusative object of the main clause that *controls* the gerund, i.e. functions as its implicit subject:

(i)   {*tvaṁ*}$_{SUBJ>A}$ [**ātmānaṁ hataṁ**]$_{COMPL}$ **viddhi**$_{PRED}$ [**hṛtvā sītām**]$_{ADV-P}$
'[If] having robbed Sītā, know yourself to be dead!',

(ii)   {*tvaṁ*}$_{SUBJ}$ [**ātmānaṁ**$_{OBJ>A}$ **hataṁ** [**hṛtvā sītām**]]$_{COMPL}$ **viddhi**$_{PRED}$
'Know yourself to be, [if] having robbed Sītā, dead!'.

For there to be no doubt about object control in a *participium cum accusativo* construction, we should look for cases where the subject of the gerund is not coreferential with the object of the main clause, e.g. **hanumantaṁ hataṁ viddhi/paśya hṛtvā sītām** 'Know/Watch Hanuman to be dead, (H. ≠ you) having robbed Sītā' (cf. 367). Cf. Hindi: (?)**maĩ ne use yah karke rote hue dekhā** 'I saw him crying having done this' ≠ **maĩ ne yah karke use rote hue dekhā** 'Having done this, I saw him crying'.

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[15] But confer the different interpretation proposed by Gonda (1967, p. 264): "he makes him, after he has adored the sun, perform...".

4.3. SCOPE OF OPERATORS

When not contextually given or propositionally restrictive, the gerundial clause is potentially (in nuclear juncture necessarily) in the elliptically extended scope of the mood, absolute tense, and aspect of the superordinate clause. It then has the virtual value of an elliptical coordinate clause sharing the operators and preferably also peripheral arguments of its conjunct, contrast (327) vs. (328), (329) vs. (330), and (331) vs. (332).

(327) RV 10.116.5d
([pratítyā śátrūn] vigadéṣu vṛśca)$_{IMP}$
'Going against the enemies, cut them down in combats!'

(328) RV 2.43.2c
[vṛṣeva vājí [śiśumatīr apítyā]] (sarváto naḥ śakune bhadrám â vada)$_{IMP}$
'Like a spirited bull, upon mounting the mother-cows, proclaim good for us from all sides, O bird!' ($\neq$ 'Like a spirited bull mount the mother-cows and proclaim...')

(329) KS 5.3 (46, 9; cf. 9.6) (= ex. 2)
([dattvāyāsmabhyaṁ draviṇeha bhadraṁ] pra mā brūtād dhavirdā devatābhyaḥ)$_{IMP}$
'Give us wealth here (and what is) good, and then announce me favorably to the gods, O bringer of oblations!' ($\neq$ 'When you have given...')

(330) AV 9.4.19
[brāhmaṇébhya ṛṣabháṁ dattvá] (varīyaḥ kṛṇute mánaḥ)$_{ASSERTION}$
'Having given/By giving a bull to the brahmins, one makes one's mind wider.'

(331) ŚB 1.8.1.3
([karṣûṁ khātvâ] tásyāṁ mā bibharāsi$_{CONJ}$)$_{DIRECTIVE}$
'First you shall keep me in a pot and when I shall grow out of it you shall dig a trench and keep me in that.' ($\neq$ 'keep me in it, when you have dug...')

(332) MGS 2.11.5
[gartaṁ khātvā] (yat taiḥ pāṁsubhiḥ pratipūryeta$_{OPT}$)$_{ABILITATIVE}$
'Where, when one has dug a pit, it can be filled up with the same earth.'

(333) Vyāsa on Yoga sūtra 3.51 (= ex. 251)
([saṅgam akṛtvā$_{NEG}$] smayam api na$_{NEG}$ kuryāt$_{OPT}$)$_{PROHIBITION}$
"Giving up attachement (to the objects of senses) let him not even take pride in thinking..." (Translation: Hara 1986, p. 75)

(334) MS 3.9.4 (119, 13)

([āvṛhya ha sma vái purá sáṁsthite yajñè] 'gnáu yū́paṁ
prásyati$_{IND}$)$_{HABITUAL}$

'Previously one used to dig up and throw away the post into the fire after the
completion of the sacrifice.'

In late Classical and Epic Sanskrit there are some more or less dubious instances where
also the outermost operators of negation and interrogation seem to have elliptical scope
over the gerundial syntagm, cf. (335) vs. (336) and (338) vs. (337):

(335) MBh 12.530 (ed. Calcutta, quoted according to Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr. II: 4212)

([prajñāprāsādam āruhya]$_{NEG>}$ aśocyāñ chocato janān
jagatīsthān ivādristho mandabuddhir na$_{NEG}$ cekṣate$_{IND}$)$_{ASSERTION}$

'A man of mean intelligence does not rise to the platform of wisdom and see that
people grieve for what is not to be grieved, just like a man standing on a hill does
not (see) the ones standing on the earth (below).'

Cf. the discussion on (6), 1.2.A.

(336) ŚB 14.7.3.13 (= BĀU 2.4.12)

na [pretya] saṁjñāsti

'There is no consciousness after dying.'

(337) AV 11.8.10cd

...[putrébhyo lokáṁ dat[t]tvā́] (kásmiṁs té loká āsate$_{IND}$)$_{QUESTION}$

'...having given the world to their sons, in what world do they sit?'

(≠ 'Where have they given the world to their sons and sit?')

(338) Śat.-tr. (Nītiśataka) I. 3. 97 (quoted from Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr.II: 3362, p. 234)

(trinetraṁ kas$_{INT}$ [tyaktvā] dhanalavamadāndhaṁ praṇamati$_{IND}$)$_{QUESTION}$

'Who abandons the Three-Eyed one and (then) bows before someone blinded by
the intoxication of a trifling fortune?' (≠ 'Who having abandoned..., bows?')

A problem is that the scope of main clause operators is not unambiguous and that an
implicit speech act may have the same pragmatic effect as operational dependence or scope
inclusion, cf. AV 1.7.4cd brávītu sárvo yātumā́n ayám asmítyétya (cf. 10.6.5,
12.3.4, 10.4.19) 'Let everyone possessed by a demon say having come (≈ come and say):
"Here I am"!' Operational dependence could thus be accounted for pragmatically in terms
of the lack of textual backgrounding, givenness, predictability or propositional restrictive-

ness of the gerundial clause. On the other hand, the gerundial clause cannot be other than restrictive or backgrounded when the main clause is negated (mostly so also when questioned), implying that there are certain inherent constraints on the modal-operational integratability of a gerundial clause (cf. 1.2.A-B). Due to these constraints, a negative operator of the main clause may occur before the gerund:

(339) ŚB 11.3.3.7
ná$_{NEG}$ ha vái snātvâ bhikṣeta
'He should not beg alms, having bathed.'
Possible but not intended readings: 'It is not having bathed that he should beg alms.'/It is not a fact that he should beg alms having bathed.'
Anomalous reading: 'He should not bathe and beg alms.'

(340) ŚB 14.4.1.7 (= 14.5.9.3 = 14.5.9.5 =14.5.9.7 = 14.5.9.9)
tám gṛhītvâ ná$_{NEG}$ sādayati
'Having taken it, he does not put it down.'
Possible but not intended reading: 'It is not after taking it that he puts it down.'
Anomalous readings: 'He does not take it and put it down.'/'It is not a fact that he puts it down having taken it.'

The gerundial clause may be independently negated by means of the negative particle **na** or less ambiguously by the privative prefix **a+** (cf. 337), which particles may also yield the meaning 'without' or 'before' (cf. 4.7.C.3):

(341) RV 10.108.5c
kás ta enā áva sṛjād áyud[d]hvy$_{NEG}$
'Who would abandon them without having put up a fight?'

(342) ŚB 2.3.2.4-5 (cf. ŚB 4.6.6.1-5; JB 212)
átha prātáḥ ‖ ánaśitvā$_{NEG}$ muhūrtám sabhâyām āsitvâpi kâmaṁ pályayeta
'Then early in the morning, before eating, having sat for a while in the assembly hall, he may also, if he so likes, walk around (the hall fire).'

(343) ĀśvGS 4.2.22
adhijyaṁ kṛtvā [saṁcitim acitvā]$_{NEG}$ saṁśīryānupraharet
'Having strung it without first having piled (= before piling) the pile, he should break it and throw it on the fuel-pile.'

(344) MBh 1.734 (ed. Calcutta = cr. ed. Poona 1.3.72cd: **anivedya gurave**)
...(na tv aham etam apūpam upayoktum utsahe)$_{NEG}$ [gurave 'nivedya]$_{NEG}$
'...but I cannot eat this cookie without having informed my guru.'

(345) Mṛcch. 3
(naināsm [agrāhayitvā]$_{NEG}$ atrāgantavyam$_{GERUNDIVE}$)$_{PROHIBITION}$
'There is no coming here without having taken him!'

(346) Daś. 5. ucchv. (ed. Kāle 1966, p. 141)
(nāham idaṁ tattvato [nāvabudhya]$_{NEG}$ mokṣyāmi bhūmiśayyām)$_{NEG}$
'I will not leave my earthly bed without having understood this in truth.'

(347) Hit. 1.2
(na [saṁśayam anāruhya]$_{NEG}$ bhadrāṇi paśyati)$_{NEG}$
'Without taking a risk one will not see good fortune.'

4.4. STRUCTURE OF THE SUPERORDINATE SYNTAGM

The superordinate or dominant syntagm is typically a *finite* independent or dependent clause, but in post-Saṁhitāic and especially post-Vedic Sanskrit frequently also a *non-finite* embedded clause or phrase. When propositionally restrictive, the gerundial clause can be viewed as having an adverbial function within the superordinate clause. When dependent on another non-finite clause, it always functions as an adverbial constituent of the latter, cf. (349). (Nested structures are indicated by alternating square and rounded brackets.)

(348) RV 2.20.8cd
[[práti yád asya vájriṇam bāhvór dhúr]$_{S-TEMP}$ [hatvī dásyūn]$_{GD-S}$ [púra áyasīr ní tārīt]$_{S-SUP}$]$_S$
'When they lay the bolt in his hands, he tore down the iron fortresses, having slain the Dasyus.'

(349) JB 1.156.1 (3)
[[tān (vijitya)$_{GD-S}$ yathālokam āsīnān]$_{PPLE-S}$ indra [etya]$_{GD-S}$ abravīt]$_S$
'To them who, having won, were sitting each one in his own world, Indra, having come up, said'

It is not necessary for the superordinate clause to have a finite predicate verb; the predicate may be a *non-finite verb-form* or *action noun* or an understood or underlying *copula*:

(350) RV 10.51.5ab

éhi [mánur devayúr yajñákāmo ['raṁkŕtyā]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$]$_S$
'Come here (Agni!), the godly Manu (is) willing to sacrifice, having prepared everything.'

(351) RV 8.66.2cd

...[yá [ādŕtyā]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$ sasamānáya sunvaté dáta jaritrá ukthyàm]$_S$
'...who having applied himself (is) a giver (? will give) to the industrious pressing singer of what is praiseworthy.'

(352) AV 4.7.3

karambháṁ kŕtvá tiryàṁ pibasphākám udarathím
kṣudhá kíla tvá duṣṭano jakṣivánt sá ná rúrupaḥ
"Having made thee (= the poison) that comes from a horizontal direction into a porridge, rich in fat, and cheering, from sheer hunger he has eaten thee, that hast an evil body, do thou not cause injury!" (Bloomfield, SBE 42, pp. 26, 376)[16]

(353) Bṛhadd. 1.80cd

[na hi [nāmāni avijñāya]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$ mantráḥ śakyā hi veditum]$_S$
'For it is not possible to known the mantras without having learnt the names.'

(354) ŚŚS 1.4.1-3

[āmantrito hotā[ntareṇotkaraṁ praṇītáś ca pratipadya]$_{GD-S}$ dakṣiṇena
prapadena barhir ākramaṇam$_{PRED}$]$_S$. vedyantasaṁmitā paścātpārṣṇiḥ.
[[vikramya ca]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$ sthānam$_{PRED}$]$_S$
'The Hotṛ, being called upon (by the Adhvaryu) comes upon between the *utkara* and *praṇīta*-water and treads upon the grass with his right fore-foot. His heal reaches the back side up to the end of the *vedi*.He stands there with his feet apart.'

(355) Mbhṣy. 1.1.3 & *passim*

[[kathaṁ kŕtvā]$_{GD-S:ADV}$ jñāpakam]$_S$
'By what means is this implicit rule stated?' (cf. 4.8.A)

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[16] Following BRW (s.v. **rup**), Whitney (1905, p. 155) made the emendation **jakṣivāṁsam**, which makes the gerund dependent on the participle: "Having made gruel of sesame (?), teeming with fat, steaming (?), thou dost not rack, O ill-bodied one, him that has eaten thee merely from hunger.")

(356) MBh 12.144.7

[[visṛjya dhanasarvasvaṁ]$_{GD-S(:ADVP)}$ bhartā vai śaraṇam striyāḥ]$_S$
'Having abandoned all her wealth, a woman's shelter (is) her husband alone.'

(357) Svapn. 5.2c

[[...labdhvā priyāṁ]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$ mama tu manda ivādya śokaḥ]$_S$
'...having obtained my love my pain is today almost gone.'

(358) Sāv. 2.33

[[evam uktvā]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$ [kham utpatya]$_{GD-S}$ nāradas tridivaṁ gataḥ]$_S$
'Having said this, Nārada flew up into the sky and headed for the third heaven.'

(359) Tantr. (kathāmukham)

[[tān arthaśāstrān prati jaḍān ālokya]$_{GD-S(:ADV-P)}$ rājā [sacivān āhūya]$_{GD-S}$
saṁpradhāritavān]$_S$
'Having perceived them (= his sons) to be dense in regard to the political sciences,
the king summoned the counselors and negotiated with them.'

Occasionally the superordinate clause is understood or can be supplied from the context
(thus especially in elliptical stage directions, see 3.3.A):

(360) RV 2.35.10

híraṇyarūpaḥ sá híraṇyasaṁdṛg apāṁ nápāt séd u híraṇyavarṇaḥ
hiraṇyáyāt pári yóner niṣádyā hiraṇyadā dadaty ánnam asmai
'Of golden form he is, of golden appearance, the son of the Waters, and of golden
color, (? coming) from the golden womb, having seated himself there. The givers
of gold give him food.' (Sāy. supplies rājate 'shines' after the gerund.)

(361) SV 1.4.2.2 (not in RV)

kaśyapasya svarvido yāvāhuḥ sayujāviti
yayor viśvam api vrataṁ [yajñaṁ dhīrā nicāyya]
'Of which two they say they are the companions of Kaśyapa, the Light-finder, in
whom the whole ordinance is, the wise ones having observed the sacrifice'[17]

(362) ŚvU 6.3

[tat karma kṛtvā][vinivartya bhūyas][tattvasya tattvena sametya yogam

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[17] Commentary: yajñam upakārakaṁ nicāyya dṛṣṭvā dhīrā vidvāṁso jñānino jīvāḥ
saṁtuṣyanti tau stuma iti śeṣaḥ 'Having realized that the sacrifice is an expedience, wise,
knowing beings, rejoice in it. Those two we praise, is to be understood.'

ekena dvābhyāṁ tribhir aṣṭabhir vā kālena caivātmaguṇaiś ca sūkṣmaiḥ]
"Having created this work and rested again, having entered into union with the essence of the self, by one, two, three or eight, or by time too and the subtle qualities of the self" (Radhakrishnan 1953, p. 743)[18]

(363) AĀ 5.1.3

[sthūṇe rajjū vīvadha ity etat prakṣālya][tīrthena prapādyottareṇāgn-īdhrīyaṁ parivrajya] pūrvayā dvārā sadaḥ sarvān dhiṣṇyān uttareṇa
"Having cleansed the two posts, the two ropes and the cross-beam and having taken them by the road called 'tīrtha', having gone round to the left of the Āgnīdhra's altar, (having brought them) the seat by the east door (he places the implements) to the left of all the altars." (Keith 1909)

(364) GGS 1.3.12

[pradakṣiṇam agniṁ parikramya][apāṁ śeṣaṁ ninīya][pūrayitvā camasaṁ][pratiṣṭhāpya] yathārtham
'Having circumambulated the fire from left to right, poured down the rest of the water, filled the wooden drinking vessel and placed it (beside him), (he should go about) according to his aim.' (Cf. Knauer 1886, p. 70: "so gehe er anderem nach".)

(365) PdP 5.51.46 (quoted from Söhnen 1985, p. 487)

[tvatprasādāc ca me devi vairūpyaṁ muniśāpajam saṁtyajya][devarājyaṁ ca labdhvā]ham tu purā tathā
'By your grace, O goddess, (may) I (become) as before, having abandoned my ugliness caused by the sage's curse and regained my sovereignity over the gods!'

4.4.A. NON-FINITE EMBEDDED CLAUSE OR PHRASE

Rarely in Vedic, but frequently in post-Vedic Sanskrit, the gerundial clause is dependent on a *participial* or *non-finite reduced clause* or phrase that is dependent on or embedded in another clause or phrase, the nominal head of which is the logical subject (or agent) of both the participle and the gerund.

(366) JB 1.156, (3)

[[tān$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$ [(vijitya)$_{GD-S}$ yathālokam āsīnān]$_{PPLE-S}$]$_{NP}$ indra [etya] abravīt]$_S$

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[18] A superordinate clause cannot be supplied from the context; cf. Hume's (1934, p. 408) translation: "He creates this work, and rests again. Having entered into union with principle after principle...")

'To them who, having won, were sitting each one in his own world, Indra came up and said'

(367)   Rm 7.16.13 (ed. Bombay)

[so 'paśyan [nandinaṁ$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$ [tatra devasyādūrataḥ sthitam$_{PPLE}$ (dīptaṁ śūlam avaṣṭabhya)$_{GD-S}$]$_{PPLE-S}$]$_{NP:OBJ}$ dvitīyam iva śaṅkaram]$_S$
'He saw Nandin standing there not far from the god resting on his shining spear like another Śaṅkara (= Śiva).' (Cf. Böhtlingk 1889, p. 58.)

(368)   VSmS 1.15

[[sruveṇājyaṁ srāvayan (paridhī spṛṣṭvā...)$_{GD-S}$]$_{PPLE-S}$ āghārau juhuyāc]$_S$
'Pouring out melted butter by means of the *sruva* after having touched the two pegs with the *sruva,* he sacrifices the two *āghāras.*'

(369)   Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Candra 1ab (Diskalkar 1977 p. 17)

[yasya [udvartayataḥ pratīpam urasā śatrūn$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$
[(sametya)$_{GD-S}$ āgatān]$_{PPLE-S}$ vaṅgeṣv āhavavartinoḥ]$_{PPLE-S}$ 'bhilikhitā
khaḍgena kīrtir bhuje$_{LOC}$]$_S$
'On whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword when he was fighting in the Vanga country turning back with his breast the enemies who had come having united themselves.'

(370)   Kauṭ. 3.14.1 (cf. 2.23.15, 2.27.20, 3.15.1, etc.)

[[(gṛhītvā vetanaṁ)$_{GD-S}$ karmākurvato]$_{S-PPLE}$ bhṛtakasya$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$]$_{NP:GEN}$
dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ]$_S$
'The penalty for a servant not doing the job, having taken salary, is twelve *paṇas.*'

(371)   Pratijñ. 1.4

[yathā [narasyākulabāndhavasya$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$ [(gatvānyadeśaṁ)$_{GD-S}$
gṛham āgatasya]$_{PPLE-S}$]$_{NP:GEN}$ tathā hi me samprati buddhiśaṅkā]$_S$
śroṣyāmi kiṁ nu priyam apriyaṁ vā
'Like a man whose relatives are in distress and who is coming home having been abroad, just in the same way I have apprehension in my mind; shall I perchance hear what is pleasant, or — alas — that which is unpleasant.'

(372)   Kum. 4.17

[[[[(śirasā praṇipatya)$_{GD-S}$ yācitāny]$_{PPLE-S}$ upagūḍhāni savepathūni ca su-
ratāni ca tāni tāni te]$_{NP:OBJ}$ smara saṁsmṛtya$_{GD}$ na śāntir asti me]$_S$

'On recollecting all those tremulous embracements and sexual enjoyments solicited for by you having bowed down your head, O God of Love, I can get no peace!'

(373) KāP 45.102

[[(taṁ samutsṛjya)$_{GD-S}$ gacchantīṁ]$_{PPLE-S}$ haraḥ smerumukho 'nvayāt]$_S$
'Hara with smiling face followed her, who was going away having left him.'

(374) ViP 4.4.19

[[tayoś ca [(tam atibhīṣaṇaṁ rākṣasam avalokya)$_{GD-S}$ trāsāt pradhā-vitayor]$_{PPLE-S}$ daṁpatyor$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$]$_{NP:GEN}$ brāhmaṇaṁ jagrāha]
'And he seized the brahmin husband of the couple who was fleeing in fear having seen that singularly atrocious demon.'

(375) Hit. 1.2 = ex. (51)

[[(ityuktvā)$_{GD-S}$ (śanaiḥ śanair upagamya)$_{GD-S}$ tena vyāghreṇa$_{AG>A}$ dhṛtaḥ]$_{PPLE-S}$ sa pānttho$_{SUBJ:A}$ 'cintayat]$_S$
'The wayfarer caught by that tiger who had approached slowly after saying this thought'

(376) Hit. 4.10

sa [(yajñārtham... chāgam upakrīya)$_{GD-S}$ (skandhe kṛtvā)$_{GD-S}$ gacchan]$_{PPLE-S}$ dhūrtatrayeṇāvalokitaḥ
'While going, having bought a goat for the purpose of sacrifice and put it on his shoulder, he was seen by three rogues'

(377) Vet. 76.11-13

...[ity eva kāle [[[śyenena$_{AG:A>A}$ (ānīya)$_{GD-S}$ khādyamānasya]$_{PPLE-S}$ sarpasya$_{LOG.SUBJ:U>U}$]$_{NP:GEN}$ garalaṁ]$_{NP}$ taddravye nipatitam]$_S$
'...at that very time, the poison of a snake being eaten by a hawk having carried it off, fell into his food.'

(378) Pañc. 3.13

[[tasya$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$ [(jāhnavyāṁ snātvo)pasprastum ārabdhasya]$_{PPLE-S}$ karatale$_N$]$_{NP:LOC}$ śyenamukhāt paribhraṣṭā mūṣikā patitā]$_S$
'A mouse fell from the mouth of an eagle in his palm who had started to sprinkle himself with water having bathed in the Ganges.'

(379) Divy. 15 (p. 179)

[adrākṣīd bhagavāṁs taṁ bhikṣuṁ$_{LOG.SUBJ:A>A}$ [(keśanakhastūpe

sarvaśarīreṇa praṇipatya)]_{GD-S} cittam abhiprasādayantam]_{PPLE-S:COMPL}]_S
'The master saw that mendicant showing his faith by having prostrated down with his whole body at the Hair-and-Nail-Stūpa.'

A similar construction of the non-past gerund occurs in ŚB 11.6.1.3 (& 4, 8, 9) éd u [púruṣaiḥ púruṣān (párvāṇy eṣāṁ parvaśáḥ saṁvráścam)_{GD-S} parvaśó vibhája-mānān]_{PPLE-S} (4, 9: saṁkártaṁ) "and lo, men were dismembering men, hewing off their limbs one by one" (Eggeling SBE 44, p. 108 & fn. 2; cf. also ex. 163). The instrumental agent púruṣaiḥ led Weber (1855, p. 242) and Gune (1913, p. 26) to consider the middle participle vibhajamānān and the dependent gerund as possibly passive: 'look men being dismembered by men, hewing their limbs off one by one'. Delbrück (1888, p. 404) and Renou (1940, p. 365, fn.) have, on the other hand, argued that the instrumental occurs instead of the accusative after éd merely to avoid the double accusative and in analogy with its semantic role as Agent.

In the following example from a late southern Sanskrit text, the gerundial clause seems to be *dependent on another gerundial clause,* though the reading is somewhat uncertain:

(380) JSP ch. 5, l. 77

[ekonaviṁśatīdhmadārūṇi sruveṇa [{*ajya*}ṁ {*gṛhītvā*}]_{GD-S} abhigarya]_{GD-S}
'After anointing nineteen fire-sticks upon taking clarified butter with the *sruva*'

When the superordinate clause is an absolute participial clause, either the nominal head or (as is more frequent) oblique agent of the latter controls the gerund:

(381) Ragh.3.18

[sa [jātakarmaṇy akhile tapasvinā_{AG:A>A} (tapovanād etya)_{GD-S} purodhasā kṛte]_{PPLE-S} dilīpasūnur maṇir ākarodbhavaḥ pratyuktasaṁskāra ivādhikam babhau]_S
'When the entire natal ceremony had been performed by the ascetic-priest having come from the penance-forest, the son of Dilīpa shone forth with additional brilliance like a gem produced in a mine after polishing.'

In later Classical Sanskrit the gerundial syntagm is sometimes dependent on a *bahuvrīhi*-compound based on a participle:

(382) Megh. 60ab

...[(hitvā nīlaṁ bhujagavalayaṁ)_{GD-S} śambhunā_{AG>} dattahastā_{BAHUV}]_{NP}
'...(she who was) given a hand by Śambhu, having left his blue snake necklace'

Especially in the succinct style of the ritual and scientific Sūtras, the gerund may be dependent on a *verbal noun* or *infinitive* that functions as the subject, object or an adverbial adjunct of the sentence. (For this construction in Pali, cf. Hendriksen 1944, p. 110ff.). The logical subject or agent of the gerund and governing noun is then usually a generic unexpressed Actor, e.g.:

(383) ŚŚS 1.1.1
$[[(asaṁyujya)_{GD-S}$ vidhīyamānaṁ$_{VBL.N}]_{NP:SUBJ}$ sādhāraṇam$_{PRED}]_S$
'That which is prescribed without having been specified is common (to all classes).'
(Cf. Renou 1956, p. 58.)

(384) VSmS 3.2
$[[(prasahya)$ yat kanyāharaṇaṁ$_{VBL.N}]_{S-REL}$ sa rākṣasaḥ$]_S$
'Taking of the girl by force is the demon-like form of marriage.'

(385) Kauṭ. 3.2.2
$[[kanyādānaṁ_{VBL.N}$ (kanyām alaṁkṛtya$_{GD})_{NP:SUBJ}$ brāhmo vivāhaḥ$]_S$
'Giving of the girl, having adorned her, is the Brahman-form of marriage.'

(386) Kauṭ. 1.14.12
$\ldots [(kṛtvā vyayam)_{GD-S}$ alabdhakāryaḥ$_{BAHUV}]_{NP}$
'.. a person who has not got a job done, having paid the expenses'

(387) Paddhati (Śārṅgadhara, quoted from Böhtl. Ind. Spr. I: 920)
ātmārthaṁ yaḥ paśūn hanyāt so 'vaśyaṁ narakaṁ vrajet
$[(devān pitṝn samabhyarcya)_{GD-S}$ khādan māṁsam$]_{SUBJ}$ na doṣabhāk]
'He who kills animals for himself, he certainly goes to hell, but the one eating meat after worshipping the gods and fathers is not participating in sin.'

(388) Vedānt. 125 (cf. Vedānt. 138)
taduktam. $[(dvidhā vidhāya caikaikaṁ caturdhā prathamaṁ punaḥ)_{GD-S}$
svasvetaradvitīyāṁśair yojanāt$_{VBL.N}]_{NP:ABL}$ pañca pañca te
'About this it is said: Having split each (of the five elements) in two and then the first in four parts, by the joining again of these parts with the second halfs, except their own halves, (we get) five and five new elements.'

The adnominal construction of the gerund is restricted to cases where the nominal head is a verbal noun, whereas a participle may modify any kind of noun.

4.4.B. SUPERORDINATE VERBLESS IVA-CLAUSE

In Early Vedic Sanskrit there are comparative **iva**-clauses (*similes*) that by their meaning and construction assume an implicit coreferential predicate which has only the 'root meaning' in common with the predicate of the main clause (cf. Jamison 1982). When the gerundial clause is dependent on such a verbless **iva**-clause, it may then often appear to have an independent subject, but this is only because the subject of the **iva**-clause may be different from that of the superordinate clause, which is erroneously felt to dominate also the gerundial clause. E.g.:

(389)   RV 2.43.2

   udgātéva śakune sā́ma gāyasi brahmaputrá iva sávaneṣu śaṁsasi
   [vŕ̥ṣe$_{SUBJ:A>A}$**va vājí (śiśumatīr apítya)]**$_{IVA-S}$ **sarváto naḥ śakune**
   bhadrám ā́ vada
   'You sing, O bird, like the Udgātr̥ his Sāman. You recite like a brahmin's son at the Soma festivals. Like a bull having mounted the mother-cows, do you, O bird, proclaim good on all sides of us!'

(390)   AV 6.115.3

   [[drupadād iva mumucānáḥ$_{PPLE}$**]**$_{IVA-S}$ **[svinnáḥ (snātvá)**$_{GD-S}$ **malád iva]**$_{IVA-S}$
   [pūtáṁ pavítreneva̍jyam]$_{IVA-S}$ **víśve śumbhantu máinasaḥ]**$_{S}$
   'As one being freed from a post, as one that has sweated from filth on bathing, like sacrificial butter purified by a purifier — let all cleanse me of sin.'

The *case disharmony* in the complex sentence (390) cannot be explained by postulating ambivalence of aspect or transitivity of the main predicate (**śumbhantu**). The nominative case of the participles is therefore apparently due to topicalization/fronting.

   On the other hand, the subject of the **iva**-clause may also be coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause and expressed there (cf. 366):

(391)   RV 4.41.5c

   sā́$_{SUBJ:A>A}$ **no duhīyad [yávaseva gatvī́]**$_{IVA-S}$
   'May she milk for us as if having gone on pasture.'

The gerundial clause may itself be an **iva**-clause with an independent subject and predicate:

(392)   RV 10.68.7cd

   [āṇḍéva bhittvā́$_{GD}$ **śakunásya gárbham**$_{SUBJ:A}$**]**$_{GD-S:IVA.S}$ **úd usríyāḥ**

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párvatasya tmánãjat

'He himself drove out the cows from the mountains, like a bird's brood having broken the eggs.'

The fact that a gerundial clause may be embedded in a verbless **iva**-clause (controlled by its subject) is indicative of the 'reduced clausal' rather than nominal (noun phrasal) character of the latter, as has been argued by Jamison (1982) on mainly transformational grounds. Since we cannot explain case disharmony in such verbless clauses formally by the regular processes of ellipsis or gapping of underlying or coreferential predicates, forced nevertheless to postulate such implicit predicates, we have to accept a more *pragmatic,* though as Jamison points out, rather tightly controlled mode of syntax, which follows from the aspectual or constructional ambivalence of the main predicate.

4.4.C. SUPERORDINATE SYNTAGM REDUCED TO A PROHIBITIVE PARTICLE

In accordance with Pāṇini's rule 3.4.18 (ex. 37, 1.5.A), the gerund is idiomatically (mainly in the eastern dialects) used as the complement of the particle **alam** 'enough, away with, no good' or **khalu** 'indeed' when signifying (the content of) an *inhibitive or preventive prohibition.* Such constructions are found competing with finite negative imperative constructions in the Epic and Classical literature, although **khalu** is rare in this function (BW, Nachträge 5, p. 163, mentions apart from P 3.4.18 and Nirukta 1.5 only two actual occurrences in the literature, viz Śiśupālavadha 2.70 = ex. 397 and Śrīkaṇṭha-caritam [ed. Kāvyamālā, Nr. 3] 17.51). Also the particles **kim** 'why, what' and, in the Prakrits, **mā** 'don't!' (398) are sporadically used in the same way (cf. 3.3.C).

Syntactically the gerundial clause is an obligatory complement of the said predicative particles and may be derived diachronically over the normal peripheral construction (**alam gatvā** 'no good upon going/having gone!' > 'don't go!'). Synchronically it seems, however, that the construction has been reanalyzed as a simple clause headed by the (temporally neutralized) gerund, where the prohibitive particle is an operator carrying the sentence mood. This explains why the word order is fixed: **alam** + gerund, never gerund + **alam**. An exception is found in the stylistically peculiar Śiśupālavadha: 2.40 **ālapyālam idam** 'one is not to say this' (cf. Jacobi 1899, p. 586).

Since a command or prohibition is directed towards the addressee, it follows that there is no question about the implicit subject of the gerund here: it must needs be the addressee, which may be indicated in the sentence elsewhere as a dative or genitive indirect object.

(393) BK 5.233ab

viśvilena tataḥ proktam [alaṁ (trāsam$_{OBJ}$ upāsya$_{GD}$) vaḥ$_{GEN-DAT:BEN}$]
'Viśvila then said: "No good for you dwelling in fear!"'

(394) BK 1.79

alaṁ vaḥ pīḍayitvā māṁ vacobhir
'Have done with your teasing me with words!'

(395) Mṛcch. 3.6-7 (ed. Kāle, p. 82f.)

Vidūṣaka: bho vaassa abbhantaracatussālaaṁ pavesāmi ṇaṁ
(= bho vayasya! abhyantaracatuḥśālakaṁ praveśayāmyenam)
Cārudatta: alaṁ catuḥśālam imaṁ praveśya...
Clown: 'Hey my friend, I'll just let him enter the house.'
Cārudatta: 'Oh no, don't let him enter the house!'

(396) Pratijñ. 2

alam idānīṁ mahārājo 'timātraṁ saṁtapya
'So no good (for) the great king fretting too much!'

(397) Śiśup. 2.70

saṁprary asāṁprataṁ vaktum ukte muṣalapāṇinā
nirdhārite 'rthe lekhena khalūktvā khalu vācam
'It's out of place to say anything now when the pestle-holder (= Balarāma) has spoken. When a matter has been settled by a letter, let be, let be with uttering words!'

(398) Prakrit: Svapn. 4.1 (Cf. Svapn. 3.1, ed. Kale, p. 23)

mā mā bhūyo avaiṇia (= mā mā bhūyo 'vacitya)
'Oh no, don't pick any more!'

The same particles (incl. kṛtam 'done (with)') may also govern an *instrumental action noun* or even an *infinitive* (P 3.4.66), but the meaning is then often that of an exhortation directed to oneself rather then a command directed to the addressee, cf.:

(399) Śak. 1.1

alam ativistareṇa
'Enough of (my) prolixity!'
≠ 'Don't be prolix!' (possible but not intended reading)

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(400) Bhavatrāta on JŚŚ 1.1.1
       alam atiprasaṅgena
       'Enough of (my) verbiage.'
       ≠ 'Don't be verbous!' (possible but not intended reading)

When **alam** governs an infinitive, the construction is semantically ambiguous:

(401) Mṛcch. 3.6
       alaṁ suptajanaṁ prabodhayitum
       'No good waking a sleeping (**prabodhayitum**) person!'
       'capable of waking/enough to wake a sleeping person.'

None of these constructions has been very productive after the Old Indo-Aryan period. (h)alam or mā + infinitive/gerund is sporadically found in Pali, but with the gerund mainly as a calque on the Sanskrit model: Mahāv. 76.40 yojetvālam [= yojetu[m] alam 'do not employ'; Dīghanikāya [ed. Pali Text Society 1885] II p. 115.5 alaṁ (dāni) mā tathāgataṁ yāci, 144.10 alam ānanda mā soci (cf. CPD s.v. alam, mā and Hendriksen 1944, p. 143 with the reference to Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa [ed. Colombo 1890] V 62f. alam sotūna/sutvā/sutena 'do not listen!'.)

4.4.D. SUPERORDINATE SYNTAGM REDUCED TO AN AUXILIARY

The superordinate clause may be reduced to a *stative* or *habitual auxiliary* denoting merely the continuity or habituality of the state resulting from the completion of the action expressed by the gerund. This implies that the gerund is connected to the nuclear layer of the superordinate clause, necessarily sharing the modal and temporal operators of the latter. Since the superordinate clause has no separate arguments or operators, no element other than an enclitic particle can intervene between the gerund and the main verb (cf. 4.1.A).

The verbs that can occur with auxiliary function in construction with the past (or nonpast) gerund are: ās- 'sit', i- 'go', car- 'move', yā- 'go', vṛt- 'turn, proceed, exist, go on', sthā- 'stand (up)'. Since these verbs also appear as regular main verbs, the only difference between a peripheral and a nuclear juncture may then be the *level of abstraction*. Thus in (402) the meaning of ās- 'sit' is conceived of as referring to a concrete rather than abstract state, whereas in (403) the denoted state is abstract rather than concrete. This difference in meaning is also reflected in tighter word order constraints for the periphrastic reading:

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(402) AV 4.16.7cd

[ā́staṁ jālmá [udáraṁ sraṁsayitvā́ (= sraṁsayitvā́)] kóṣa ivābandhráḥ
parikr̥tyámānaḥ]

'May the villain sit having loosened his belly, like a hoopless vessel, being cut
round about.'

(403) TS 2.5.1.5-6

tásmān málavadvāsasā ná sáṁ vadeta ‖ ná sahā́sīta nā́syā ánnam adyād
brahmahatyā́yai hy èṣā́ várṇam pratimúcyā́ste

'Therefore one should not talk with a woman wearing (blood-)stained clothes, one
should not sit in her company and one should not eat her food, for she is dressed in
(lit. sits having put on) the color of brahmin murder.'[19]

Similarly in (404) and (405) the main verb has a more or less attenuated meaning:

(404) RV 1.57.4ab

imé ta indra té vayám puruṣṭuta [yé tvārábhya cárāmasi]

'We here are yours, O ever-praised Indra, who wander about having taken hold of
you/who constantly keep ourselves to you'[20]

(405) AB 6.15.1

athā́ha yad vaiśvadevaṁ vai tr̥tīyasavanam atha kasmād etāny aindrāṇi
jāgatāni sūktāni tr̥tīyasavana ārambhaṇīyāni śasyanta itīndram evaitair
ārabhya yantīti brūyād

'Then he says: "Since the third pressing belongs to the All-Gods, why then are
these Indric Jagatī-hymns recited at the third pressing as initial ones?" — "Because
they always set out having taken hold of Indra with these hymns", he should
reply.'[21]

(406) TS 2.4.3.1 (cf. Delbrück 1888, p. 407)

téṣāṁ gāyatry ójo bálam indriyáṁ vīryàm prajā́ṁ paśū́nt saṁgŕ̥hyādāy-
āpakrámyātiṣṭhat

'Having grasped and taken their force, strength, might, potency, offspring and
cattle, Gāyatrī departed and stayed away.'

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[19] Delbrück (1888, p. 408): "sie trägt die Farbe des Brahmanenmordes (eigentlich: sitzt da, nachdem sie
angezogen hat)".

[20] Geldner (Rigveda I, p. 74): "die wir uns an dich zu halten pflegen". Delbrück (1888, p. 406): "die wir
wandern, nachdem wir dich ergriffen, zum Stützpunkt genommen haben", oder: "die wir uns immer an
dich halten".

[21] Gune (1913, p. 36): "da man bei jeder Zeremonie zuerst an Indra fest zu halten *pflegt*". Keith (1920,
p. 270): "Verily laying hold of Indra by them they proceed."

(407) KU 2.4.6 (cf. KU 4.7)
**yaḥ pūrvaṁ tapaso jātam adbhyaḥ pūrvam ajāyata guhāṁ praviśya
tiṣṭhantaṁ yo bhūtebhir vyapaśyata**
"who distinguished him who was born of old from austerity — before the
(primeval) waters he was born — who has permanently entered the hidden place,
from things which have come into existence" (Gonda 1975, p. 264; cf. 1.5.M.)

(408) Rm 1.60.4 (ed. Gorresio)
...ataḥ kṣamaṁ na te vaco 'tikramya vartitum
'...therefore it is not possible to persist having transgressed you.'

(409) Manu 3.77
**yathā vāyuṁ samāśritya vartante sarvajantavaḥ
tathā gṛhastham āśritya vartante sarva āśramāḥ**
'Just like all beings exist in dependence on air, so all stages of life are dependent on
the householderhood.'

(410) Sāv. 2.22ab
eka evāsya doṣo hi guṇān ākramya tiṣṭhati
'One fault he has which surpasses all his virtues'

In Classical Sanskrit also *perfective* auxiliaries come to be used in connection with the past
gerund, e.g.: **gam-** 'go (away)' and **yā-** 'go (away)'. E.g.:

(411) Pañc. 1.22 (ed. Kielhorn, p. 91, l. 14)
**tato makṣikoḍḍīya gatā paraṁ tena śitadhāreṇāsinā rājño vakṣo dvidhā
jātaṁ rājā mṛtaś ca**
'Then the fly flew away, while the king's chest was cleft by the sharpedged sword
and the king died.'

(412) Śuk.1
**tato yāvat sā tāṁ sārikāṁ galamoṭanapūrvaṁ vināśayati tāvad uḍḍīya
yayau**
'Then before she had time to strangle that Sārika-bird to death, it flew away.'[22]

The same auxiliaries may also occur in combination with the non-past gerund and present
participle, but the aspectual value of the periphrastic verb-form is then 'progressive' or

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[22] Note that **yā-** has only habitual-durative value as an auxiliary in Vedic Sanskrit (cf. 405).

'durative' rather than 'stative' or 'perfective'. Cf. (413) vs. (414) and (415) vs. (416).

(413) TS 2.5.1.6 = (403)
        èṣā várṇam pratimúcyā́ste
        'for she is dressed in (sits having put on ≠ is putting on) the color of brahmicide'

(414) TS 7.4.10.1
        anupūrvám eváitád yajñakratū́n upétya tā́n ālábhya parigŕhya sómam
        eváitát píbanta āsate
        'Having in this order performed, taken hold of and embraced these sacrificial acts,
        they sit and drink (≠ they are in the habit of drinking) Soma.'

(415) Manu 7.195 (= ex. 54, 1.5.G.)
        ...uparudhyārim āsīta
        '...(the king) should keep on having besieged the enemy' = 'keep the enemy
        besieged' ≠ 'keep besieging'

(416) Rm 4.57.23 (ed. Bombay)
        ...prāyam āsmahe
        '...we are dying' ≠ 'we are dead'

The relative temporal contrast between the past and non-past gerund is thus clearly upheld
in these periphrastic constructions, cf.:

(417) TS 2.2.11.2
        svá eváibhyo bhāgadhéye samádaṁ dadhāti vitṛ́ṁhāṇā́s tiṣṭhanti
        'For his own share he causes strife among them and they keep piercing each other.'

(418) ŚB 11.1.8.1
        té 'rcantaḥ śrā́myantaś ceruḥ
        'They wandered around praying and fasting.'
        Contrast TS 6.1.11.6 purā́ khálu vā́váiṣá médhāyātmā́nam ārábhya carati
        yó dī́kṣitó 'Now the one who is consecrated has long kept himself prepared for
        the sacrifice'.

(419) ŚB 5.1.1.1
        atimānénaivá kásmin nú vayáṁ juhuyāméti svéṣv evā́syéṣu júhvataś
        ceruḥ
        'Because of self-conceit saying: "Where could we now offer?", they kept offering

in their own mouths.' (Cf. Delbrück 1888, p. 128.)

Periphrastic constructions based on the past participle are more or less synonymous with constructions based on the past rather than the non-past gerund, cf. Hit. **sarpas tu vyāpāditaś tiṣṭhati** 'But the snake lies dead' (contrast 416). Cf.:

(420) Megh. 58c
...**śṛṅgocchrāyaiḥ kumudaviśadair yo vitatya sthitaḥ khaṁ**
'...which has penetrated (lit. stands having penetrated) the sky with his heights white as night lotuses'

The gerund is not normally construed periphrastically with temporal auxiliaries, such as **as-** 'be' or **bhū-** 'be(come)', which are used with the participles to form periphrastic perfect tenses. A possible exception is: MBh 15.11.20 (ed. Bombay), **kutas tvam asi** (cr. ed. Poona: **adya**) **vismṛtya vairaṁ dvādaśavārṣikam** 'How have you forgotten a twelve years' enmity?'; cf. Ludwig 1897, p. 4; Jacobi 1899, p. 581). The normal construction would have been with an active predicative participle: **vismṛtavān**.

4.5. MARKING THE CLAUSE BOUNDARY

Due to its syntactic status as a reduced clause or non-finite phrase (rather than full clause), the gerundial syntagm is mostly connected *asyndetically*, i.e. without any overt connector, to the superordinate clause:

(421) RV 10.15.6ab
[[ā́cyā jā́nu] [dakṣiṇató niṣádya] imáṁ yajñám abhí gṛṇīta víśve]$_S$
'Bending your knee and sitting down to the south, greet you all this sacrifice welcome!'

(422) AV 13.1.52
[[védiṁ bhū́miṁ kalpayitvā́] [dívaṁ kṛtvā́ dákṣiṇām] [ghraṁsáṁ tádagním kṛtvā́] cakāra víśvam ātmanvád varṣéṇā́jyena róhitaḥ]$_S$
'Having shaped the earth into an altar, having made the sky the sacrifice fee, and having made the heat to fire, the ruddy one has made everything spirited, using water as sacrificial butter.'

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(423) AV 10.4.4ab

[araṁghuṣó [nimájya] [unmájya] púnar abravīt]ₛ

'The *araṁghuṣa* having immerged and emerged said again'

To counteract the implication of chronological sequence in recursive gerundial constructions, *disjunctive* or *copulative conjunctions* are inserted between the conjuncts:

(424) Suśr. 1.13.19

[atha [jalauko'vasekasādhyavyādhitam upaveśya] [saṁveśya vā]
[virūkṣya cāsya tam avakāśaṁ mṛdgomayacūrṇair] yady arujaḥ syāt]...

'Now having seated or lain down the patient who is to be treated by bleeding with leeches and having besmeared that spot with pulverised cow-dung mixed with earth, if it should be healthy...'

4.5.A. CONNECTIVES AND COHESIVE DEVICES

To increase the sententiality of the gerundial syntagm or emphasize the sense of temporal sequence, the superordinate clause is sometimes connected to the gerundial clause by means of a *temporal* or *consequential connective* (e.g. **átha** 'then, so'). Such connectives are sporadically used also after absolute and conjunctive participles (Speyer 1896, p. 91).

The earliest example of this construction is found in the Ṛgveda (425). In the Atharvaveda it occurs about four times, being more frequent in the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas (cf. Keith 1920, p. 90), especially in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (cf. Minard 1956, p. 71ff. § 166ff.). In the post-Vedic period it hardly ever occurs.

(425) RV 10.85.33cd

[sáubhāgyam asyai dattvâya] átha ástaṁ ví páretana

'Having given luck to her, go you then away back home!'

(426) AV 9.5.27ab

[yâ pûrvaṁ pátim vittvâ] átha anyáṁ vindáté 'param

'Whoever, having found a former husband, then finds another one'

(427) AV 12.4.28ab

[yó asyā ṛ́ca upaśrútya] átha góṣv ácīcarat

"If anyone, having overheard her verses, has then made her go about among his kine" (Whitney 1905, p. 698)

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(428) AV 12.4.52ab

[yé gópatiṁ parāṇíya] átha āhúr mā́ dadā iti
'They who, having lead away her leader, then say: "Do not give!"'

(429) AV 3.3.6cd

[ápāñcam indra tám kṛtvā́] átha imám ihā́va gamaya
'Having put him away, Indra, do you install this man here!'

(430) MS 1.6.10 (102, 10)

[hávīṁṣy evá pū́rvāṇi nirúpya] átha sāyám agnihotrám juhoti
'Having thrown out the first offerings, then he offers in the evening the Agnihotra.'

(431) TS 1.5.9.6

[manuṣyā̀yén nvái yó 'har ahar āhṛ́tyā] áthainaṁ yā́cati sá ín nvái tám
úpārchaty
'Someone who, having every day given something to a man, then solicits him for
something, he surely becomes a nuisance to him.'

(432) ŚB 1.6.1.21

[sá ā́jyasyopastīrya dvír havíṣo 'vadā́ya] áthopáriṣṭād ā́jyasyābhi-
ghārayati
'Having spread some clarified butter (on it) and cut off twice of the burnt offering,
he then pours that clarified butter on it.' (Cf. Minard 1956, p. 71ff.)

(433) Nala 5.7

[tān samīkṣya tataḥ sarvān nirviśeṣākṛtīn sthitān]
saṁdehād atha vaidarbhī nābhyajānan nalaṁ nṛpam
'Then having inspected all those standing there with invariable shape, the Princess
of Vidarbha did not in her hesitation recognize Nala the king.'

Apart from átha, also átaḥ 'then, next', tátaḥ 'then, afterwards', tad 'then', ca 'and' are
used in this function. (According to Gune 1913, p. 35 also paścāt is once so used in ŚB
1.5.5.12, but this was explained in a different way by Minard 1956, p. 75 § 178; cf. also:
MBh 1.194.22 abhipūjya tataḥ paścād... abravīt = ex. 259.)

(434) ŚB 4.2.5.9

átra ha vā́ 'sā́v ágra 'ādityá āsa [tám ṛtávaḥ parigṛ́hyaiva] áta ū́rdhvā́ḥ
svargáṁ lokám upód akrāman...

'This sun was down here in the beginning. But the seasons having encompassed him went then upwards into the sky...' (Cf. Minard 1956, p. 74 § 177.)

(435) Kath. 17.41

[iti saṁcintya saṁmantrya te devyā saha mantriṇaḥ
tāṁ prachādya] tam ūcuś ca mṛtā devīti bhūpatiṁ
'Thus having thought and negotiated with the queen and concealed her, the ministers said to the king: "The queen is dead."'

Another device to mark or emphasize the clause boundary in the Yajurveda and Brāhmaṇas is to express the (topicalized) subject *proleptically* in the gerundial syntagm and then refer back to it anaphorically in the main clause. This construction is especially common when the subject refers to a divinity or any prominent or salient personage (cf. Verpoorten 1977, p. 230f.; Œrtel 1926, p. 25ff.). E.g.:

(436) KS 29.7 (175, 16)

[sa indro$_{SUBJ}$ vṛtraṁ hatvā] sa$_{ANAPHOR.}$ etam āgneyam avindata
'This Indra, having slain Vṛtra, he found this (cup) sacred to Agni.'

(437) KS 22.1 (57, 18) = 29.9 (178, 7)

[prajāpatiḥ$_{SUBJ}$ prajās sṛṣtvā] sa$_{ANAPHOR.}$ riricāno 'manyata
'Prajāpati having created the creatures, he thought he had exhausted himself.'
Cf. TS 6.6.5.1 prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata sá riricānò 'manyata 'P. created the creatures and then felt himself emptied'.

(438) KS 23.8 (83, 10)

[devā$_{SUBJ}$ vā asurān hatvā] vairadeyād īṣamāṇās te$_{ANA.}$ diśo 'mohayan
'The gods having slain the Asuras, fleeing from the payment of wergild, they confused the quarters.'

(439) TB 1.2.3.3

[indro vṛtraṁ hatvā 'surān parābhāvya] sa imāṁl lokān abhyajayat
'Indra having slain Vṛtra, having defeated the Asuras, he won these worlds.'

(440) JB 1.209.3 (1)

[ahorātre devā$_{SUBJ}$ abhijitya] te$_{ANAPHOR.}$ vajram eva paridhim akurvata
'The gods having won day and night, they made the thunderbolt the enclosure.'

(441) AB 7.15.7

[tasya ha śataṁ dattvā] [sa$_{SUBJ}$ tam ādāya] so$_{SUBJ}$ 'raṇyāt grāmam eyāya
'He gave a hundred for him, he took him, and he came from the forest to the village.'

Similarly there may be anaphoric reference to a shared complement:

(442) AB 5.27.10

...[athānyām$_{OBJ}$ āhūya] [tāṁ$_{ANAPHOR.}$ dugdhvā] tena$_{ANAPHOR.}$ juhuyāt
'....then having summoned another (cow) and milked her, he should offer with it.'

The increased sententiality of the gerundial syntagm may lead to *semi-absolute constructions* where the expressed subject of the gerund appears explicitly in a different case from that of the coreferential subject of the main clause (cf. Delbrück 1888, p. 409; Speyer 1896, p. 91 § 287), e.g.:

(443) ŚB 3.4.2.1

[ātithyéna vái devā́$_{SUBJ}$ iṣṭvā́] tā́nt$_{OBJ:EXP}$ samád$_{SUBJ}$ avindat
'The gods having sacrificed with the Ātithya, strife fell upon them.'

The normal construction in a case like (443) would have been to *suppress* the subject in the gerundial syntagm and have it appear as the accusative experiencer in the superordinate clause, cf.:

(444) ŚB 11.6.1.7 (cf. ŚB 3.4.2.1, JB 1.258[2x])

taṁ$_{OBJ:EXP:U>A}$ ha [enam dṛṣṭvā] bhīr$_{SUBJ:A}$ viveda
'Upon seeing that one, fear fell upon him.'

4.6. WORD ORDER

Sanskrit word order is eminently free to *thematically* and *metrically* conditioned variation. The elements of a syntactic construction are thus held together by morphosyntactic and semantic *dependency* relations rather than (tight) phrase structures or linear constraints. The following generalizations about word order in complex structures involving the gerund are hence not to be taken very strictly, especially for metrical texts.

4.6.A. WORD ORDER WITHIN THE GERUNDIAL SYNTAGM

The order of constituents within the gerundial syntagm is somewhat more constrained than in finite clauses. The complement(s) and adjuncts of the gerund almost always precede it, but occasionally there is thematic fronting of the gerund (445) or some other element of the gerundial syntagm:

(445) ŚB 9.2.1.2.-3
áthāgním ā́ rohati... [ārúhyāgním...]
'He then mounts the fire-altar. Having mounted the fire-altar...'

Alternation of word order of parallel elements as in (446)-(447) in adjacent gerundial syntagms is quite common (cf. Minard 1956, p. 92ff. § 221ff.):

(446) ŚB 3.6.3.17
[áthāsā́dya$_{GD}$ srúcaḥ$_{OBJ}$] [apa$_{OBJ}$ upaspŕ́śya$_{GD}$]
'Having put down the spoons, having rinsed with waters (the fingers)'

(447) Rock inscr. of King Skandha Gupta at Junāgaḍh 457 A.D. (Collection, p. 24, l. 5)
[krameṇa budhyā nipuṇaṁ pradhārya$_{GD}$][dhyātvā$_{GD}$ ca kṛtsnān guṇa-doṣahetūn] [vyapetya$_{GD}$ sarvān manujendraputrāṁl] lakṣmīḥ svayaṁ yaṁ varayām cakāra
'Whom Lakṣmī at last chose, having in her wisdom carefully reflected and considered all the causes of good and bad qualities and rejected one after another all (other) princes.'

Discontinuous gerundial clauses are extremely rare, but do sporadically occur in (Ṛgvedic) poetic diction:

(448) RV 8.76.10
[uttíṣṭhann ójasā sahá$_{PPLE-S}$ [pītvī$_{GD}$]$_{GD-S}$ [śípre$_{OBJ}$ avepayaḥ$_{PRED}$]$_{SUP-S}$ [sómam$_{OBJ>GD}$] indra [camū́ sutám]$_{ATTR>OBJ>GD}$
'Standing up with strength, having drunk, you have let your lips tremble, the Soma, Indra, pressed in the bowl.'
= 'Standing up in strength having drunk the Soma pressed in the bowl, O Indra, you have let your lips tremble.'

4.6.B. ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS IN THE CLAUSE COMPLEX

The most frequent ('unmarked') position of the gerundial syntagm in peripheral and core-layer junctures (except in the construction **alam** + gerund) is between the (shared) subject or Actor (especially if thematic or referentially salient), as possibly preceded by (shared) peripheral constituents, and the rest of the superordinate syntagm:[23]

$$[(\text{SETTING-ADV})^n \ (\text{SUBJ/AG}) \ [(OBJ) \ (ADV)^n \ GD]^n \ (\text{OBJ}) \ (\text{ADV})^n \ \text{PRED}]$$

The main deviations from this pattern are: (i) *thematic fronting* of the gerund (i.e. post-gerundial position of subject or agent and peripheral arguments), (ii) *incorporation* of the gerundial syntagm (if restrictive or backgrounded) within the main verb phrase, (iii) *postposing* of the gerundial syntagm after the main clause for backgrounding or for 'after-thought'-effect. In particular it should be noticed that the thematic contrast between given or topicalized/thematic vs. new or focalized/contrastive is not primarily expressed by differences in constituent order on the clause level in Sanskrit. Postposing of dependent clauses is hence not a common means of bringing into (contrastive) focus.

Although the sentence-initial (or pre-gerundial) position of the (shared or main clause) subject is the rule in later Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit, post-gerundial position of the subject is nearly as frequent in the Ṛg- and Atharvaveda:

(449) AV 12.2.54

[tám indra$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ idhmáṁ kṛtvá$_{\text{GD}}$] yamásyāgníṁ nirádadhau
'Having made this into fuel Indra removed Yama's fire.'

(450) ŚB 2.2.4.18

té$_{\text{CATAPHOR.>}}$ hutvá$_{\text{GD}}$ deváḥ$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ imáṁ prájātiṁ prájāyanta
'Those gods having offered gave birth to this offspring.'
(Cf. Minard 1956, p. 25 § 55.)

When the gerundial clause is short or textually backgrounded it may occur between the main verb and its object or obligatory complement:

(451) RV 3.35.8c

[tásya$_{\text{GEN}}$ [āgátya]$_{\text{GD-S}}$ sumánā$_{\text{OBJ}}$ ṛ́ṣva$_{\text{VOC}}$ pāhi$_{\text{PRED}}$]$_S$
'Of that, having come, good spirits, O lofty one, drink!'
= 'Come and drink good spirits of that, O lofty one!'

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[23] In periphrastic constructions the order is more or less fixed as: [GD (ENCL) AUX], cf. 4.4.D, 3.1.C.

(452) RV 2.17.6cd

...yénā pṛthivyāṁ ní krívim$_{OBJ}$ śayádhyai vájreṇa [hatvy]$_{GD-S}$ ávṛṇak$_{PRED}$ tuviṣváṇih

'...with which bolt having slain, he tossed with a mighty sound Krivi down on the ground to lie.'

(453) AV 4.11.6cd

[yénā devāḥ svàr āruruhúr$_{PRED}$ [hitvā́$_{GD}$ śárīram]$_{GD-S}$ amṛtasya nā́bhim]$_S$

'By which the gods ascended to heaven, having left the body, to the navel of immortality.'

(454) AB 3.15.1

[tám$_{OBJ}$ sarvāṇi bhūtāni [vibhajya]$_{GD-S}$ anvaichan$_{PRED}$]$_S$

'Him all creatures, having distributed themselves (= severally), went in search of.'

(455) ŚB 11.6.1.7

[tám$_{OBJ}$ ha [enám dṛṣṭvā́$_{GD}$]$_{GD-S}$ bhī́r$_{SUBJ}$ viveda$_{PRED}$]$_S$

'Upon seeing that one, fear fell upon him.'

Frequently in the Ṛg- and Atharvaveda, but later almost exclusively as a means of *back-grounding* or expressing an *'after-thought'*, the gerundial syntagm is placed after the superordinate clause (cf. Minard 1956, p. 101ff. § 251ff.; Thommen 1905, p. 525). Occasionally this leads to the postposing of the complements of the gerund (cf. 464). E.g.:

(456) RV 10.129.4cd

sató bándhum ásati nír avindan [hṛdí pratīṣyā́$_{GD}$ kaváyo$_{SUBJ}$ manīṣā́]

'The bond of the existing in the non-existing the sages found out, having searched with contemplation in their hearts.'

(457) RV 1.56.1cd

dákṣam mahé pāyayate [hiraṇyáyam rátham āvṛtyā$_{GD}$ háriyogam ṛ́bhvasam]

'He lets the powerful one (= Soma) be drunk for might, having turned the wagon hither, drawn by the tawny steed, the cleverly fabricated one.'

(458) RV 1.177.4cd (cf. also 2.3.8, 3.21.1, 5.2.7, 10.112.3, 10.52.1)

stīrṇám barhír ā́ tú śakra prá yāhi píbā [niṣádya$_{GD}$] ví mucā hárī ihá

'The *barhis* is strewn, come along now here Śakra, drink having sat down, unyoke your steeds over here!'

(459) RV 3.14.5ab

vayám te adyá rarimá hí kámam uttānáhastā [námasopasádya]

'Today we have granted your wish, having sat down before you in obeisance with hands outstretched.'

Cf. Avesta Yasna 28.1 ahyā yāsā nəmaŋhā ustānazasto rafəδrahyā "I entreat with hands outstretched in reverence of him, (our) support" (Insler 1975, p. 25).

(460) RV 4.18.12cd (cf. 10.27.4d, 10.85.26a; AV 5.20.5)

kás te devó ádhi mārdīká āsīd yát prākṣiṇāḥ pitáram [pādagŕhya]

'Which god was merciful to you when you tossed your father against the rock, having grasped his legs?'

(461) RV 6.75.5b

ciścā kṛṇoti [sámanāvagátya]

'He causes a whizzing on stepping down onto to the battle-field.'

(462) RV 9.55.4

yó jinắti ná jíyate hánti śátrum [abhítya]

'Who conquers and is not conquered, slays the foe on attacking him.'

(463) AV 1.25.1a

yád agnír ắpo ádahat [praviśya]

'When Agni burned the waters having entered them'

(464) AV 4.15.14cd

mádhye hradásya plavasva [vigŕhya catúraḥ padáḥ]

'In the midst of the pool swim, having spread out your four legs.'

(465) AV 15.14.1-12 (= ex. 97)

sá yát prắcīṁ díśam ánu vyácalan mắrutaṁ śárdho bhūtvắnuvyàcalan [máno 'nnādáṁ kṛtvá]

'When he moved out toward the eastern quarter, the troop of Maruts, having come into being, moved out after, having made mind their food-eater.'

(466) AB 7.28.1

apīndraḥ somapīthe 'bhavat [tvaṣṭur āmuṣya somam]

'But Indra obtained a share in the Soma drinking, having stolen the Soma of Tvaṣṭṛ.'

(467) JB 1.22.1 (3)

atha haiṣāṁ sabhāga āvavraja [uptvā$_{GD}$ keśaśmaśrūṇi][nakhāni nikṛtya$_{GD}$]
[ājyā{-}bhyajya$_{GD}$][daṇḍopānahaṁ bibhrat]

'Then he went to their assembly, having shaved his hair and beard, cut his nails, smeared his eyes and anointed his body, carrying a stick and sandals.'

(468) AĀ 1.5.2

tām atrotsṛjati [dvādaśakṛtvaḥ śastvā]

'He leaves off, having recited this verse twelve times.'

(469) MBh 1.734 (ed. Calcutta = cr. ed. Poona 1.3.72cd: anivedya gurave)

na tv aham etam apūpam upayoktum utsahe [gurave 'nivedya]

'I cannot eat this cookie without (first) announcing it to my *guru*.'

Further examples from RV: 1.105.18, 1.177.4, 3.60.3, 4.26.6, 4.32.10, 4.41.5, 7.21.7, 8.13.30, 9.69.9, 10.15.12, 10.51.5, 10.52.1, 10.68.8, 10.96.6, 10.112.3, 10.131.2. From AV: 1.7.4, 2.29.6, 3.28.2, 4.11.6, 5.22.4, 5.22.8, 6.103.3, 8.9.2, 10.1.27, 10.6.5, 11.1.30, 11.5.15, 12.2.38, 12.3.4, 12.3.32, 15.4.1-12.

According to Verpoorten (1977, p. 234) the 'epexegetic' gerund occurs in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa mainly only after *verba dicendi*:

(470) AB 5.14.2 (cf. AB 3.12.2)

so 'bravīd [etya]$_{GD-S}$ kiṁ mahyam abhāktety...

'He said having come: "What have you allotted to me?"'

Note that when the discourse complement precedes the *verbum dicendi* we would automatically get postposing of the gerundial clause: sa kiṁ mahyam abhākta iti abravīd etya. Thus it may be that anomalous word order patterns like (470) are merely due to the postposing of the discourse complement.

4.6.C. CONSTITUENT ORDER IN MULTIPLY COMPLEX SENTENCES

The order of clauses or predicates within a complex sentence tends to reflect iconically the chronological order of events (cf. 471-472, 473cd). But when the interclausal temporal relation is explicit in the grammatical forms of the predicates or the morphosyntax of the clauses, also thematic and metrical considerations may affect the word order (cf. 474-475).

(471) RV 10.109.7

[punardā́ya~GD~ brahmajāyā́m][kr̥tvī́~GD~ deváir nikilbiṣám] [ū́rjam pr̥thivyā́ bhaktvā́ya~GD~] urugāyám úpāsate

'Having given back the brahmin's wife and worked out freedom of offense with the gods and obtained their share of the vigor of the earth, they worship the strider.'

(472) RV 5.32.6cd

...tám cin [mandānó~AOR.PPLE~] vr̥ṣabháḥ sutásyoccáir índro [apagū́rya~GD~] jaghā́na

'...intoxicated by the pressed (Soma), the bull Indra, having raised his weapon high, has slain him.'

(473) RV 10.55.8

[yujā́ kármāṇi janáyan~PRES.PPLE~] viśváujā aśastihā́ viśvámanās turāṣā́t [pītvī́~GD~ sómasya][divá ā́ vr̥dhānáḥ~AOR.PPLE~] sū́ro nír yudhā́dhamad dásyūn

'Bringing about deeds with the united (Maruts), the all-powerful killer of slander, the knower of all and conqueror of the powerful, having drunk of the Soma, (and) strengthened from heaven, the hero blew down the Dasyus.'

(474) RV 7.80.2ab

...eṣā́ návyam ā́yur dádhānā~PRES.PPLE~ gūḷhvī́~GD~ támo jyótiṣoṣā́ abodhi

'...conferring new life, having concealed the darkness with light, this here Dawn has awaken.'

(475) RV 8.76.10

uttíṣṭhann~PRES.PPLE~ ójasā sahá pītvī́~GD~ śípre avepayaḥ
sómam indra camū́ sutám

'Rising up with strength upon drinking the Soma that was pressed in the bowl, O Indra, you have shaken your lips.'

(476) RV 10.94.4cd

[saṁrábhyā~GD~ dhī́rāḥ svásr̥bhir] anartiṣur [āghoṣáyantaḥ~PRES.PPLE~ pr̥thivím upabdíbhiḥ]

'Having taken hold of their sisters (= fingers) the skilful ones have danced, making the earth resound with their footsteps.'

(477) AV 8.9.2ab

yó ákrandayat salilám mahitvá yónim kṛtvá tribhújam śáyānaḥ_{PRES.PPLE}
'Who made the sea cry with his might, having made a threefold womb for himself,
while lying there.'

(478) AV 10.8.18cd (= 13.2.38 = 13.3.14)

sá devā́nt sárvān úrasy upadádya_{GD} sampaśyan_{PRES.PPLE} yāti bhuvanā́ni
víśvā
'Having placed all the gods on his breast he goes (? keeps) watching all beings.'

When the gerundial clause is coordinate with or subordinate to a present participial clause,
the former expresses a preceding action or activity in relation to the latter, while when the
gerundial clause is coordinate with a preterital non-finite clause, the order of events is
mostly determined by the linear order (473):

(479) RV 10.6.7ab (cf. 8.96.21b)

ádhā hy àgne mahnā́ niṣádyā_{GD} sadyó jajñānó_{PERF.PPLE} hávyo babhū́tha
'For now, O Agni, having sat down in your might, at the moment you were born,
you have become worthy of being invoked.'

4.7. SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE GERUNDIAL SYNTAGM

Unless temporally neutralized, the gerund with its complements expresses literally only the
prior completion of an action or state performed or undergone by the Actor or topical
Undergoer of the superordinate clause. This value appears in its purest form in the peri-
phrastic construction where the superordinate clause is reduced to an auxiliary expressing
the continuity of the inferred resulting state. In non-periphrastic constructions the semantic
relation of the gerundial syntagm to the superordinate unit is interpreted as more complex,
ranging from the notion of mere actional sequence to various logical implicatures.

4.7.A. BACKGROUNDED CIRCUMSTANTIAL QUALIFICATION

The most neutral or least marked interpretation of the gerundial clause in peripheral linkage
is as denoting a weakly restrictive or parenthetic circumstantial qualification referring to a
preceding action or inferred resulting (concomitant) state (cf. 480), which is contextually
given and/or informationally subordinate to or supportive of the main predication. A back-

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grounded restrictive gerundial clause is neither elliptically nor contrastively in the scope of the main clause and tends to lack independent spatio-temporal peripheral arguments. The main clause is mostly expressive of a narrative statement or a deferential request.

This value, which appears to the fore especially in early Vedic narrative and hortatory discourse, is compatible with a rendering of the gerundial clause by a perfect or present conjunctive participial clause sharing the absolute time reference of the superordinate clause. The *unmarkedness* of this value of the gerundial clause is seen in that it cannot very well be paraphrased by either a coordinate or subordinate finite clause or by a temporal or circumstantial adverbial phrase and in that it shows no special constraints on aspect, word order (postposing being frequent in RV and AV) and interpropositional relation (the exact logical relation to the main clause being frequently undefinable):

(480) RV 10.15.6ab

ā́cyā jā́nu dakṣiṇató niṣádyemáṁ yajñám abhí gṛṇīta víśve
'Bending your knee and sitting down to the south, greet you all this sacrifice welcome!'

(481) RV 10.145.5 (= AV 3.18.5: bhūtvā́; cf. RV 10.85.29cd)

ahám asmi sáhamānā́tha tvám asi sāsahíḥ
ubhé sáhasvatī bhūtvī́ sapátnīm me sahāvahai
'I am the winning one, and you are the winner. Having both become (bhūtvī́) powerful, let us overpower my rival!'

(482) RV 2.37.3cd

āyū́yā dhṛṣṇo abhigū́ryā tvā́ṁ neṣṭrā́t sómaṁ draviṇodaḥ píba
ṛtúbhiḥ
'Drawing it to yourself and extolling it, drink the Soma from the cup with the seasons, O bold Draviṇodas (= bestower of wealth)!'

(483) RV 10.97.21cd

sárvāḥ saṁgátya vīrudho 'syái sáṁ datta vīryàm
'All coming together, O plants, may you give him the potency.'

(484) RV 4.4.12cd

té pāyávaḥ sadhryàñco niṣádyā́gne táva naḥ pāntv amūra
'These protecting powers of yours, having sat down together, O Agni, may protect us, O you unerring one!'

(485) AV 12.4.41ab

yā vaśā udákalpayan devā yajñād udétya

'What cows the gods shaped out, having risen from the sacrifice.'

(486) AB 3.21.1

indro vai vṛtraṁ hatvā sarvā vijitīr vijityābravīt prajāpatim

'Having slain Vṛtra and won all the fights, Indra said to Prajāpati'

(487) JB 1.73.1 (3)

so 'gnir mukhād bībhatsamāna ūrdhva uddrutya mastiṣkam
uddhatyāsṛjyata

'Now Agni, revolting from the mouth, having sped upwards and thrown off (Prajāpati's) brain, was created.'

(488) JB 2.398 (śloka) (= 3.255)

...te hiṁkṛtya punar āruhya sarva evādhūnvata jarasaṁ tanūnām

'...having uttered hiṁ and ascended again, they all shook off the decrepitude from their bodies.'

(489) Megh. 22

śuklāpaṅgaiḥ sanayanajalaiḥ svāgatīkṛtya kekāḥ
pratyudyataḥ katham api bhavān gantum āśu vyavasyet

'Received by the peacocks with tears in their eyes, having turned their cries (? their cries having been turned [by them]) into welcome, may you still somehow endeavour to speed on.'

(490) Megh. 83

utsaṅge vā malinavasane somya nikṣipya vīṇāṁ madgotrāṅkaṁ
    viracitapadaṁ geyam udgātukāmā |
tantrīr ārdrā nayanasalilaiḥ sārayitvā kathaṁcid bhūyo bhūyaḥ
    svayam api kṛtaṁ mūrchanāṁ vismarantī

'Or having placed the vīṇā in her lap covered with soiled clothes, wishing to sing a song containing an allusion to my gotra, composed in words, and somehow forgetting from time to time the melody given by herself, having touched the strings wet with her tears (she will fall in your sight).'

(491) KūP 1.9.15

tasya tadvacanaṁ śrutvā vihasya garuḍadhvajaḥ

uvāca devaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ meghagambhīraniśvanaḥ

'Having heard that speech, the one with Garuḍa as his emblem said with a laugh (or: having burst into laughter) to the god Brāhmaṇa, with a deep voice sounding like a cloud.'

(492) KūP 1.25.84ab

śrutvā tadvacanaṁ kṛṣṇaḥ prahasan vai vṛṣadhvajam | uvāca...

'Having heard that speech, Kṛṣṇa said bursting into laughter to Śiva...'

(493) KūP 1.9.19

tataḥ prahasya bhagavān brahmā vedanidhiḥ prabhuḥ
pratyuvācāmbujākṣaṁ sasmitaṁ ślakṣṇyā girā

'Then having burst into laughter the exalted lord Brahma, the treasure of wisdom, answered the lotus-eyed one, with a smile and gentle speech'.

Note that in (493) the gerund **prahasya** contrasts aspectually and probably also temporally with the present participle **hasan** in KūP 1.26.51 **atha tat sarvam akhilaṁ dṛṣṭvā karma mahāmuniḥ | mārkaṇḍeyo hasan kṛṣṇaṁ babhāṣe madhuraṁ vacaḥ** 'And then having seen all that activity, the great sage M. spoke to K. sweetly while smiling'.

This function of the gerund is especially common as a cohesive device in narrative discourse, e.g. **tad uktvā/śrutvā/dṛṣṭvā/vicintya...** 'Having heard/said/seen/thought that..' (cf. Söhnen 1979, p. 14ff.).

4.7.B. ADDITIVE-SEQUENTAL RELATION

This value of the gerundial clause can to some extent be distinguished from the previous one by increased *discourse prominence* (i.e. lack of givenness or contextual predictability) and transitivity (incl. kinecity) as well as dependence on marked modal and aspectual operators of the superordinate clause. It appears to the fore in recursive gerundial structures in additive-sequential linkage in procedural discourse and post-Saṁhitāic narrative and (to a lesser extent) hortatory discourse. It is specifically incompatible with an idiomatic rendering by a conjunctive perfect or past participle in modern European languages in operationally marked contexts (cf. 1.2.A). In Vedic and early Classical Sanskrit it is not available in negative and interrogative sentences. Often there is coreference of more than one core argument, implying that the construction is approaching a cosubordinate core-layer juncture, where all core-layer and peripheral operators are automatically shared (cf. 4.3). When the main clause is a modally unmarked narrative statement, the gerundial clause

may have this value without assuming operational transfer or this reading and the previous one remain indistinct, cf. (494):

(494)   RV 10.162.6b
 ...yás tvā svápnena támasā mohayitvá nipádyate
 '...who confuses you with sleep and darkness and then lies with (you).'
 '... confusing... then lies...'

(495)   MS 3.9.4 (119, 13)
 āvṛhya ha sma vái purá sáṁsthite yajñè 'gnáu yūpaṁ prásyati
 'Previously one used to dig up and throw away the post into the fire after the completion of the sacrifice.'

(496)   ŚB 1.8.1.3
 kumbhyā́ṁ mágre bibharāsi sá yadā́ tā́m ativárddhātha karṣū́ṁ khātvá tásyāṁ mā bibharāsi
 'First you shall keep me in a pot and when I shall grow out of it you shall dig a trench and keep me in that.'

(497)   ŚB 14.1.1.23 (Delbrück 1888, p. 591)
 yadā́ na upaneṣyásé 'tha te śiras chittvā́nyátrāpani dhāsyāvaḥ
 'When you have received us as your pupils, we shall cut off your head and [then] put it aside elsewhere'

(498)   TU 2.5.1
 vijñānaṁ brahma ced veda tasmāc cen na pramādyati śarīre pāpmano hitvā sarvān kāmān samaśnute
 "If one knows Brahman as understanding and one does not swerve form it, he leaves his sins in the body and attains all desires." (Radhakrishnan 1953, p. 546)
 "A person who knows knowledge as Brahman — and does not swerve from it — enjoys all desires — after he has abandoned all the sins innate to the body (or, after he has abandoned all sins in his body, that is to say, during his life)."
 (Röer 1931, p. 215)

(499)   BC 1.69
 vihāya rājyaṁ viṣayeṣvanāsthas tīvraiḥ prayatnair adhigamya tattvaṁ jagaty ayaṁ mohatamo nihantuṁ jvaliṣyati jñānamayo hi sūryaḥ
 'For he will give up the kingdom in his indifference to wordly pleasures and having

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attained the truth with great effort he will shine forth in this world to demolish the darkness of infatuation, full of knowledge as the sun.'

(500) Hit. 2.10 (Lanman [1884], p. 33, l. 3)
satvaram gatvā mām darśaya
'Go immediately and show me!'

The alternation of backgrounded and non-backgrounded gerundial clauses in recursive gerundial structures in additive-sequential linkage is reflected in translation by alternating coordinate and subordinate or dependent clauses:

(501) KS 11.10 (156, 15ff.)
tā́ni pū́rvasyāgnér ánte nidhā́ya kr̥ṣṇám vā́so yájamānam paridhāpaitvā́-nvārambhayitvā́itā́ni juhoti
'Having placed them near the eastern fire (and) having clothed the *yajamāna* into the black cloth he takes hold of him from behind and offers them.'

(502) JB 2.68 (13)
ājyasthālīm sasruvām ādāyottareṇāgnīdhram ca sadaś ca parītyāpareṇa gārhapatyam upaviśyopasthe kr̥ṣṇājinam ādhāya caturgr̥hītam ājyam gr̥hītvā juhoti
'Having taken the butter bowl and the *sruvā*-ladle he goes round to the north of the Agnīdhra-fire and Sadas and sits down behind the Gārhapatya-fire, placing a black-antilope skin in his lap and taking melted butter four times from the bowl and offers'

(503) AB 5.27.10
athānyām āhūya tām dugdhvā tena juhuyāt
'Then having called another one, one should milk her and sacrifice with that.'

(504) BĀU 6.4.8
sa yām icchet kāmayeta meti tasyām artham niṣṭhāya mukhena mukham samdhāya upastham asyā abhimr̥śya japet
'Whom one should desire (thinking), "may she desire me", into her should one insert the member, join one's mouth to her mouth, touch her genitals and mutter'

(505) MGS 1.1.16
imam stomam arhata ityagnim parisamuhya paryukṣya paristīryaidhos-yedhiṣīmahīti samidham ādadhāti samidasi samedhiṣīmahīti dvitīyam
'With the mantra... , having swept together the fire, having sprinkled it with water

on every side, having strewn grass round it, he puts one fuel-stick on the fire with the words... , he puts the second (fuel-stick)...'

(506) GGS 1.1.9

anuguptā apa āhṛtya prāgudakpravaṇaṁ deśaṁ samaṁ vā parisamūhyopalipya madhyataḥ prācīṁ rekhām ullikhyodīcīñ ca saṁhatāṁ paścāt madhye prācīs tisra ullikhyābhyukṣet

'Having fetched the concealed water and smoothened the ground, which may lean against the northeast or be level, he should anoint it and draw from the middle an eastern line, and also one northern one, converging in the west, and then having drawn three eastern lines in the middle, he should sprinkle (them) .'

(507) Daś. 4 (ed. Kale 1966, p. 127f.)

tac chrutvā tām anekajanmaramaṇīm asakṛd āśliṣya harṣāśrumukho muhur muhuḥ sāntvayitvā tatprabhāvadarśite mahati mandire 'harniśaṁ bhūmidurlabhān bhogān anvabhūvam

'Having heard that, I repeatedly embraced her, who had been my lover in so many lives, and, having consoled her over and over with my face full of tears of joy, I then experienced, day and night, in a great temple created by her super-human power, enjoyments unheard of on this earth.'

(508) Hit. 1.3 (Lanman [1884], p. 23, l. 8)

ityālocyopasṛtyābravīt

'Having contemplated thus, he went up and said'

(509) Pañc. 283 (ed. Vidyāsāgara, quoted from Speijer 1886, p. 295 § 37 Rem. 1)

...mahān matsyaḥ salilān niṣkramya bahiḥ sthita āste

'...a big fish has got out of the water and is staying outside (the water)'

4.7.C. FOREGROUNDED TEMPORAL/CIRCUMSTANTIAL QUALIFICATION

Being expressive of a preceding action, a gerundial clause may by *implicature* or *conversational inference* acquire the (pregnantly) restrictive temporal or logical implicature of 'after and only after X' or 'because/by the means of X'. This function appears typically in expository discourse and corresponds in translation and parahrase to an adverbial clause or phrase of time, circumstance, cause or condition. Like a non-backgrounded gerundial clause, a propositionally restrictive gerundial clause ranks high in discourse prominence,

but it is pragmatically presupposed or specifically outside the elliptically extended scope of main clause operators (cf. 4.3). It follows that only a restrictive gerundial clause can be based on an atelic durative or mental process verb, embedded in a non-finite clause or phrase and dependent on some other argument than the Actor or topical Undergoer.

4.7.C.1. TEMPORALLY RESTRICTIVE CONDITION

In the following examples, the gerundial clause functions as a propositionally restrictive qualification that provides a temporal condition for the validity of the main proposition. This function is not yet to the fore in early Vedic Sanskrit, which instead uses adverbial or participial clauses or phrases, especially for weightier temporal qualifications.

(510) RV 2.24.6c
té vidvā́m̐saḥ praticákṣyā́nr̥tā púnar yáta u ā́yan tád úd īyur āvíśam
'those wise ones, having perceived the falsehoods, returned again to enter whence they came'

(511) AV 10.3.6a
svápnaṁ suptvā́ yádi páśyāsi pāpám
'If, when having fallen asleep, you shall see an evil dream'

(512) AV 11.1.16cd (cf. also 3.4.7, 9.4.15, 11.6.21, 18.2.26)
ārṣeyā́ daivā́ abhisaṁgátya bhāgám imám tápiṣṭhā r̥túbhis tapantu
'Let those of the seers, those of the gods, when they have come together unto their share, being most hot, heat this with the seasons.'

(513) RV 2.43.2c
vr̥ṣeva vājī́ śiśumatīr apítyā sarváto naḥ śakune bhadrám ā́ vada
'Like a spirited bull (bellows), upon mounting the mother-cows, proclaim good for us from all sides, O bird!'

(514) AV 8.8.16b
imá uptā́ mr̥tyupā́śā́ yā́n ākrámya ná mucyáse
'Here are spread the fetters of death having stepped into which you shall not be released.'

(515) ŚB 4.2.2.11
tásmād apigŕ̥hya nā́sike ná híṁkartuṁ śaknoti
'Therefore one cannot say *hiṁ* after taking hold of one's nostrils.'

(516) ŚB 14.7.3.13; 14 = BĀU 4.5.13 & 14
na pretya saṃjñāsti
'There is no consciousness after dying.'

(517) Nala 26.7
jitvā parasvam āhṛtya rājyaṃ vā yadi vā vasu
pratipānaḥ pradātavyaḥ paramo dharma ucyate
'Upon winning another's property or taking away his kingdom or possession, a revenge play has to be offered, the highest unwritten law prescribes.'

(518) Rm 6.16.15 (ed. Bombay, quoted from Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr. III: 5120)
yathā pūrvaṃ gajaḥ snātvā gṛhya hastena vai rajaḥ
dūṣayatyātmano dehaṃ tathānāryeṣu sauhṛdam
'Just like an elephant having first bathed then taking dust with his hand soils his own body, so friendship is on unworthy persons.'

(519) Kauṭ. 3.2.2
kanyādānaṃ kanyām alaṃkṛtya brāhmo vivāhaḥ
'Giving of the girl after adorning her is the Brahman-form of marriage.'

(520) Prakrit: Priy. 4.0
ta savvabala saṃdohena anteuraṃ supīḍiam karia dānim evva āranṇiam
muccāvehi
(=tat sarvabalasaṃdohenāntaḥpuraṃ supīḍitaṃ kṛtvedānīm evāraṇyikām mocaya)
'So now, having oppressed the harem with the full force of your strength, set Āraṇyaka free.'

4.7.C.2. TEMPORALLY RESTRICTIVE GERUNDS IN DISCOURSE

An important discourse function of temporally restrictive gerundial clauses (especially in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Pali, but occurring already in the Brāhmaṇas) is the anaphoric repetition of the final verb (phrase) of a preceding sentence or clause before continuing with the narrative or ritual description. The gerundial clause being contextually given, this is frequently also a backgrounding device:

(521) ŚB 1.7.3.19
sá ráthāt papāta sá patitvá bāhúm ápi śaśre
'He fell from the cart and, having fallen from it, he broke his arm.'

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(522) TU 2.6.1

so 'kāmayata bahu syāṁ prajāyeyeti sa tapo 'tapyata so tapas taptvā idaṁ sarvam asrjata yad idaṁ kiṁ ca tat srṣtvā tad evānuprāviṣat tad anupraviśya sac ca tyac ca abhavat

'He desired: "Let me become numerous, let me procreate myself!". He performed austerity and having performed austerity he created this all, whatever there is here. And having created it, he entered it. And having entered it, he became both the actual and the beyond.'

(523) ŚB 6.1.1.8 (cf. 1.6.4.2)

bhū́yānt syāṁ prájāyeyéti sò 'śrāmyat sá tápo 'tapyata sá śrāntás tepānò bráhmaivá prathamám asrjata

'May I become more numerous, let me procreate myself, thus (thinking) he exerted himsel and performed austerity. Exhausted (**śrāntás**), having performed austerity (**tepānò**), he then first created Brahman.'

A (foregrounded) temporally restrictive clause may in principle also be conceived of as expressing an indirect speech act with the same implication as an additive-sequential clause, which is why many gerundial clauses are ambiguous as to the parameter of propositional restrictiveness, cf.:

(524) AV 3.3.6cd

ápāñcam indra tám krtvā́themám ihā́va gamaya

'After having put him back, Indra, then install this one here.'
Or: 'Put him back and then install...!'

(525) ŚB 6.5.4.13

utthā́ya brhatí bhavéty utthā́ya hīmé lokā́ brhánta úd u tiṣṭha dhruvā tvam ity úd u tiṣṭha sthirā tvaṁ prátiṣṭhitéty etat

"'Having risen, do thou become great,' [= VS 11.64] — for these worlds, having risen, are great; — 'and stand up steadfast!', that is, 'stand thou up firm and fixed!'" (Eggeling, SBE 41, p. 245. Or.: 'Rise and become great!'; cf. TS 5.1.74 út tiṣṭha brhatí bhavordhvā́ tiṣṭha dhruvā́ tvám ity āha prátiṣṭhityā "'Arise, become great, stand upright, be thou firm', he says for support." Keith 1914, p. 398.; cf. TS 4.1.6.3, MS 2.7.6, KS 19.7, 16.6, KapS 30.5, TĀ 4.3.2, 5.3.7, MŚS 5.1.9.23.)

4.7.C.3. INVERTING THE TEMPORAL IMPLICATURE

A finite or non-finite temporal clauses is pragmatically presupposed even when not conveying given information. This can be tested by negation: a temporal clause remains a valid proposition even when the sentence is negated, e.g. *Indra did not kill Vṛtra having drunk Soma* (=> I. drank S.).[24] The information focus of the sentence is therefore typically on the main clause, which relates to the temporal clause roughly as (asserted) 'comment' to (presupposed or given) 'topic' (cf. van Dijk 1977, p. 206ff.; Holland 1984, 1986). Alternatively, the thematic roles may be inversed by e.g. reversing the clause order, but even so the temporal clause remains pragmatically presupposed due to its syntactic function.

This functional asymmetry is reflected in lexical and referential asymmetry: In general, anaphoric pro-forms (i.e. pronouns and pronominal adverbs) in adjacent clauses tend to refer to constituents in main clauses rather than subordinate clauses (Smaby 1974, p. 261), and adverbials of place and time have a reduced information value when occurring in temporal clauses, which themselves rank low in temporal referentiality (Edgren 1971).

To this generalization, there is an important stylistically conditioned exception. The information structure may be reversed, so that it is the (postposed) temporal clause that is asserted or foregrounded against the (preposed) main clause which is pragmatically presupposed or backgrounded. This stylistic tour is known in classical grammar as *cum inversum* (cf. Rynell 1952, p. 16; Edgren 1971; Heinämäki 1974, p. 27).

It is possible to foreground the gerundial clause and background the superordinate clause, given that the latter ranks low in discourse prominence and expresses a hypothetical mood, such as a wish, negation or question. This leads to the inversion of the interpropositional relation in the sense that the superordinate clause comes to appear as if a temporal qualification of the gerundial clause rather than vice versa:

(526) Śak. 7.9

   pradakṣiṇīkṛtya bhagavantaṁ gantum icchāmi
   'I want to go (only) having circumambulated the sage!'
   => 'I want to circumambulate the sage before I go.'

(527) Śak. 7.25

   tvām eva puraskṛtya bhagavantaṁ draṣṭum icchāmi
   'I want to see the sage having put you in front.' => 'I want you to see the sage first.'

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[24] Note that the negation test does not work very well with backgrounded non-restrictive temporal clauses, which become restrictive or meaningless when negated: *A funny thing happened when I was in Boston last week* : ??*A funny thing did not happen when I was in Boston last week* (Andersson 1973). Moreover, as Lakoff (1984) has shown, causal subordinate clauses need not be presupposed when sentence-final, cf. *I'm leaving, because here comes my bus*, but not **Because here comes my bus, I'm leaving*. Similarly, sentence-initial conditional clauses differ in terms of their presuppositions from sentence-final ones (Bolinger 1972, p. 37; cf. also Levinson 1983, p. 167ff.).

(528) Hit. 2.10
       kutas tvaṁ vilambyāgato 'si
       'How have you come after such a delay?'
       => 'Why have you delayed so much in coming?'
       (Cf. Minard 1956, p. 103; Rocher 1980, p. 186.)

Another way of inverting the temporal relation is by negation. When negated, the gerundial clause has normally the sense of 'without having V-ed', but with temporal implicature we get the meaning 'before V-ing':

(529) AB 5.30.6 (25.5.6 *gāthā*)
       tad eṣābhi yajñagāthā gīyate [5]:
       yathā ha vā sthūriṇaikena yāyād akṛtvānyad upayojanāya
       evaṁ yanti te bahavo janāsaḥ purodayāj juhvati ye 'gnihotram
       'About this the following sacrifice-*gāthā* is sung: As when one would go with only one ox, not having applied anything else for yoking, similarly all these people go about who offer Agnihotra before sunrise.' (Cf. Horsch 1966, p. 75.)

(530) ŚB 2.3.2.5
       átha prātáḥ ánaśitvā muhūrtáṁ sabhā́yām āsitvā́pi kā́maṁ pályayeta
       'And again before taking food in the morning, having sat down for a moment in the hall, he may also, if he so like, walk round (the Sabhya or hall-fire)'

4.7.C.4. NON-PRETERITAL TEMPORAL QUALIFICATION
By *repeating* the gerund in a temporal qualification it is possible to express a simultaneous or concomitant action or state:

(531) Māl. 4.11ab
       pathi nayanayoḥ sthitvā sthitvā tirobhavati kṣaṇāt
       'Just while standing before my eyes on the road, she disappears all of a sudden.'

(532) KūP 1.32.5
       tatra sā bhītahṛdayā kṛtvā kṛtvā pradakṣiṇam
       dhāvamānā susambhrāntā vyāghrasya vaśam āgatā
       'There, while continuously circumambulating and running perturbed with a scared heart, she fell into the power of the tiger.'

Note, however, that the repetition of the gerund may alternatively convey the sense of repeated or distributive action, cf. 3.4. E.g.:

(533) KūP 1.25.22

dṛṣṭvā dṛṣṭvā samāyāntaṁ tatra tatra janārdanam
pūjayāṁ cakrire puṣpair akṣatais tannivāsinaḥ
'Having seen over and over again the harasser of men coming there and there, the people living there worshipped him with fresh flowers.'

(534) ŚB 1.3.1.8

sá vái saṁmŕjya saṁmŕjya pratápya pratápya prá yacchati
'Each time having brushed and heated a spoon he hands it to (the Adhvaryu).'

4.7.C.5. INSTRUMENTAL IMPLICATURE

Inasmuch as an antecedent action may be conceived of as *instrumental* in bringing about a desired or intended subsequent result or state of affairs, a temporally restrictive (and mostly transitive) gerundial clause may receive an additional implicature of 'by the means of/through'. Unlike the modal-instrumental function of the gerund, this implicature does not cancel the basically relative past tense of the gerund (cf. 3.2, 3.3):

(535) RV 3.34.9d

hatvī dásyūn prāryaṁ várṇam āvat
'(By) having killed the Dasyus he helped forth the Āryan hue.'

(536) AV 3.15.2cd

té mā juṣantāṁ páyasā ghṛténa yáthā kṛītvā dhánam āhárāṇi
'Let them enjoy me with milk, with melted butter, so that (by) having done business I may obtain wealth.'

(537) AV 10.10.33ab

brāhmaṇébhyo vaśāṁ dattvā sárvāṁl lokānt sámaśnute
'By giving a cow to the brahmins one attains all the worlds.'

(538) JB 2.73.-74 (*śloka*)

akṣaraśaḥ paccho 'mṛtaṁ lihānāḥ | suvar āyan devatā devasattrāt ||
tapasā karma kavayo 'nugatya | āhnāya mṛtyum ati medhayāyan ||
'In syllables and words, licking ambrosia, the divinities went from the godly sitting to the heaven. By having followed the sacrifice for many days with asceticism, the

poets overcame death with wisdom.'
(Cf. Horsch 1966, p. 119.)

(539) ŚB 1.2.4.10
údañco ha smaivàiṣåṁ palåyya mucyante
'By having fled northwards they indeed free themselves from them.'

(540) AĀ 1.3.1 (cf. 1.5.K)
hiṅkāreṇaitad ahaḥ pratipadyetetyāhuḥ... sa yad dhiṅkṛtya pratipadyate
'"Let him begin the day with the word *hiṅ*", they say... So if one begins (the day) by saying *hiṅ*'

(541) AĀ 2.43
sa yad dhainad vācā agrahiṣyad abhyāhṛtya haivānnam atrapsyat
'Had he been able to grasp it with speech, man would have enjoyed food by having uttered its name alone.'

(542)   MBh 5.1222 (ed. Calcutta; cf. cr. ed. Poona 5.35.33)
na devā daṇḍam ādāya rakṣanti paśupālavat
yaṁ tu rakṣitum icchanti buddhyā saṁvibhajanti tam
'The gods do not protect with a stick (lit. 'having taken a stick') like shepherds; whom they wish to protect, him they endow with intelligence.' [25]

(543) Pañc. III, p. 107 (ed. Vidyasagara 1872 = ed. Hertel 3.3.96)
vṛkṣāṁś chittvā paśūn hatvā kṛtvā rudhirakardamam | yady evaṁ gamyate svarge narake kena gamyate
"If by cutting down trees, by killing victims, by shedding streams of blood, if thus one goes to heaven, by what does one go to hell?" (Speijer 1886, p. 296).

Rocher (1980, p. 185) used (543) as an example of the essentially instrumental value of the gerund (cf. 1.2.). But there is no reason for not assuming that the gerundial clauses in (543) express preceding actions (lit. 'by having cut down trees, killed animals and committed murder, if this is the way one gets to heaven, how does one go to hell?'), while the paralleled instrumental pronoun **kena** emphasizes only the instrumental implicature of these actions.

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[25] Cf. MBh 2.2682a [ed. Calc. < Böhtl. Ind. Spr. II:3196 = cr. ed. Poona 2.72.11] **na kālo daṇḍam udyamya śiras kṛntati kasyacit** 'Time does not raise the stick and cut off anybody's head'.

4.7.C.6. CAUSAL IMPLICATURE

The common abductive reasoning *post hoc ergo propter hoc* may be applied to any expression of temporal antecedence of action. This accounts for the frequent use of temporally restrictive gerundial (and other preterital) clauses to express causal qualifications:

(544) RV 1.4.8 (cf. also 9.108.2 = 10.44.8; 3.40.7)
    asyá pītvā́ śatakrato ghanó vr̥trā́ṇām abhavaḥ
    prā́vo vā́jeṣu vājínam
    'For (by/because of) having drunk of that, O Śatakratu, you became a slayer of harassers. The winner you helped forth in combats.'

(545) RV 9.23.7 (cf. also 1.4.8, 8.69.7, 8.92.6, 9.108.2, 10.44.8, etc.)
    asyá pītvā́ mádānām índro vr̥trā́ṇy aprati
    jaghā́na jaghánac ca nú
    'Having drunk of his potions, Indra has slain harassers irresistable/y, and so he shall slay now again.'

(546) RV 9.108.2
    yásya te pītvā́ vr̥ṣabhó vr̥ṣāyáte
    'Of whose your (draught) having drunk the bull gets to feel like a bull'

(547) AV 12.4.53cd
    devā́nt sábrāhmaṇān r̥tvā́ jihmó lokā́n nírr̥cchati
    '(Because of) having gone against the gods aided by the brahmins he goes supine out of this world.'

(548) ŚB 1.6.3.4
    abhimā́dyann iva hí súrāṁ pītvā́ vádati
    'For having drunk Surā one tends to speak hilariously.'

(549) Br̥hadd. 4.59
    viditvā tapasā sarvaṁ tayor bhāvaṁ riraṁsatoḥ
    śrutvainaḥ kr̥tavān asmi brahmacāryuttame jagau
    'Having by his ascetism found out about the whole affair between those two wanting to make love, thinking he had committed a sin in having overheard, the disciple sang the two last (stanzas).'

(550) Svapn. 4.6b

    smṛtvā smṛtvā yāti duḥkhaṁ navatvam

    'On constantly remembering, one's grief grows anew'

From a discourse functional point of view there are two kinds of causal qualifications. On one hand there are those that qualify the main proposition as such, as in the above examples. On the other hand, there are those that are directed to the addressee as *speech acts* explaining why a certain statement is made or has relevance for the addressee, e.g. 'Run/I have to run for here comes Indra!' ≠ 'I have to run because Indra comes'. This distinction between 'external' or 'referential' vs. 'internal' or 'socio-expressive' causal qualifications can be drawn also for other interpropositional relationships (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976, p. 241). Since the gerund cannot be used to refer to a different topical Actor or Undergoer from that of the main clause, it lacks the 'socio-expressive' causal implicature.

4.7.C.7. CONDITIONAL IMPLICATURE

Any temporally restrictive gerundial clause referring to the future or habitual present may carry a conditional implicature:

(551) TS 2.2.6.2

    dvādaśakapālaṁ nír vapet samamānáyoḥ pū́rvo 'bhidrúhya

    'On twelve potsherds (to Vaiśvānara) one should offer, (when/if) having, as the first of two holding a contract, broken the agreement.'

(552) MBh 1.57.63

    evam uktavatīṁ tāṁ tu prītimān ṛṣisattamaḥ

    uvāca matpriyaṁ kṛtvā kanyaiva tvaṁ bhaviṣyasi

    'To her who was speaking like this the pleased excellent Ṛṣi said: "Upon doing as I wish, you will, indeed, become a girl."'

By a universal logical restriction this implicature is possible only if the predicate underlying the gerund is expressive of a transitory state of affairs (i.e. 'stage-level' vs. 'individual-level' predicate; cf. Stump 1985, p. 66), e.g. *Drunk* (pītvā), *Indra might kill you* (= When/If drunk,...) vs. *Being drunk* (pītvā), *Indra might kill you* (= Because of...).

4.7.C.8. CONCESSIVE IMPLICATURE

The concessive implicature can be derived from the conditional implicature by assuming the fulfilment of a condition against expectation. This reading is sometimes made explicit by

adding the inclusive particle **api** 'also, too, even' after the gerund:

(553) RV 10.90.1cd
sá bhū́miṁ viśváto vṛtvā́ty atiṣṭhad daśāṅgulám
'Having encompassed the earth on all sides, he (yet) stood over it by ten fingers.'

(554) AB 1.8.15
tasmād api mugdhaś caritvā yadaivānuṣṭhyā cakṣuṣā prajānāty atha prajānāti
'Therefore even having wandered around quite confused, when one perceives immediately with one's eye, then one discerns (the way).'

(555) Rājataraṅginī 4.383 (quoted from Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr. I: 20)
akāryāṇy api paryāpya kṛtvāpi vṛjinārjanam
vidhīyate hitaṁ yasya sa dehaḥ kasya susthiraḥ
'Whose body can persist, when he is done good even upon doing misdeeds and thus accumulating sin?'

(556) Kath. 24.78
tataś ca sā rājasutā janakaṁ nijagāda taṁ
tāta rājāpi bhūtvā tvam avicāryaiva ceṣṭase
'Then that princess said to King Janaka: "Daddy, though being a king, you act entirely without considering the consequences!"'

(557) Vedāntas. 148
pradīptagṛhāt svaputraṁ parityajyāpi svasya nirgamadarśanāt
'Because of seeing someone coming out himself from a burning house although having left his own son behind...'

4.7.D. MODAL-INSTRUMENTAL QUALIFICATION

The modal-instrumental value of the gerundial clause appears in its purest form ('in the manner of'/'while') in non-peripheral or inner peripheral complements or adjuncts of manner of moving, speaking, behaving, subsisting, etc. (cf. 3.3.A). Often the gerund is repeated or expressive of a durative atelic activity, e.g.:

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(557) Amar. 80 (quoted from Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr. I: 86)

> aṅgulyagranakhena bāṣpasalilaṁ nikṣipya nikṣipya kiṁ tūṣṇīṁ
> rodiṣi kopane bahutaram phūtkṛtya rodiṣyasi |
> yasyās te piśunopadeśavacanair māne 'tibhūmiṁ gate nirviṇṇo
> 'nunayam prati priyatamo madhyasthatām eṣyati

'Why do you cry silently, continuously throwing down your tears with your finger nails, O wrathful one? Abundantly you will cry yelling loud, when because of the advice of backbiters that lover of yours, weary when your sulkiness has reached its acme, will be quite indifferent towards conciliation.'

In the following example, the gerundial clause merely restates the main clause:

(558) Sāyaṇa on AB 2.1 (= 1.7)

> uktaṁ vidhim anūdya praśaṁsati = uktaṁ vidhiṁ (vakṣyamāṇena)
> anuvādena praśaṁsati

"the author of the AB is now going to extol the preceding *vidhi* (positive rule) with the following *anuvāda* (explanatory, laudatory complement to the rule)" (Rocher 1980, p. 184)

A modal-instrumental implicature is often at hand when the gerundial clause expresses a permanent simultaneous state resulting from a preceding action, cf.:

(559) TS 6.1.3.8

> apigṛhya smayate

'He smiles keeping his mouth closed' (lit. '...having closed his mouth')

(560) Nala 1.25

> sa mānuṣīm giraṁ kṛtvā damayantīm athābravīt

'In a human voice he then said to Damayantī' (lit. 'having made a human voice...')

4.7.E. PURPOSE

Very rarely the gerund is used with the sense of a final adjunct depending on a verb of motion (cf. 3.3.B):

(562) AV 5.20.5cd (= PS 9.24.5)

> ...nārí putrám dhāvatu hastagṛhya...

'...may the woman run to her son and grasp his hand...'

4.8. RECATEGORIZATION AND LEXICALIZATION OF THE GERUND

When expressive of movement in time or space or an action that affects the relative position of some entity, the gerund may be recategorized as an adposition (= pre- or postposition) governing only a noun phrase. Given an utterance like **strīm ādāyāgacchat** 'having taken the woman he went' the gerundial clause may by abstraction be interpreted as indicating the mere notion of accompaniment ('with') as following from the preceding action of taking. The consequent demotion of the gerund to the status of an adposition is seen in that the gerundial phrase loses its literal sense as defined truth conditionally ('with' ≠ 'having taken') and ability to take free adjuncts or optional complements, frequently also its coreferentiality constraint. Adding an adverbial adjunct, e.g. **kṣipram** 'quickly', to the gerund therefore makes it revert to its original function: **strīṁ kṣipram ādāyāgacchat** can only mean 'he went *having taken* the woman quickly', not: 'he went quickly *with* the woman'.

Syntactic reinterpretation leads ultimately to lexicalization: a syntactically recategorized gerund enters a closed class of the lexicon as a petrified item distinct from the corresponding non-recategorized gerund. Thus we have to distinguish synchronically between two lexical items **ādāya**: (i) the gerund of **ā+√dā** 'take' and (ii) the adposition **ādāya** 'with'. Although both these forms govern the accusative, the latter form is not a verb-form, as it does not head a verb phrase or predicative syntagm.

4.8.A. THE GERUND AS AN ADPOSITION OR CONJUNCTION

Gerund-derived spatial, temporal and causal adpositions are extremely frequent in and after the later Vedic period. This 'use' of the gerund was known to Pāṇini (3.4.20 = ex. 39), who mentions it in connection with gerundial expressions of location in time or space. Historically, constructions like (563)-(564) can be derived by assuming that the implicit subject of the gerund was a coreferential 'generic Observer' (cf. 4.2.A):

(563) Kāś. on P 3.4.20
    aprāpya nadīṁ parvataḥ sthitaḥ. atikramya tu parvataṁ nadī sthitā
    'The mountain is situated before the river, but the river is situated beyond the mountain'

(564) Rm 2.80.21 (quoted from Speijer 1886, p. 145 § 203)
    jāhnavīṁ tu samāsādya [rājamāraḥ]
    'The highway is along the Ganges.'

With the recategorization of such gerundial phrases as mere adpositional phrases, the coreferentiality constraint of the gerund ceased to be relevant. If adpositional phrases were coreferentially constrained, they could refer only to the spatio-temporal location or abstract relation of the subject or Actor.

Since the distinction between the normal value and the reinterpreted value of the gerund depends on the level of abstraction and availability of optional complements, there is, however, some indeterminacy at this point. Thus while the gerund in (565) is clearly not recategorized, the one in (566) may be analyzed both ways:

(565)   RV 10.165.5cd (≈ AV 6.28.1)
        saṁyopáyanto duritáni víśvā hitvá na ū́rjam prá patāt pátiṣṭhaḥ
        'Dispelling all troubles, having left (us with) our strength, may it (= the dove) fly forth as the fastest flyer.'

(566)   RV 6.59.6c
        hitví śiro jihváyā vávadac cárat
        'Having left (> ? without) his head, talking wildly with his tongue, he moves.'

The attenuation of hitvā 'having left' and muktvā 'having released' as meaning simply 'without' is probably a post-Ṛgvedic phenomenon (cf. ādāya). Recategorized gerunds are most freqent in Epic, Classical and Buddhist Sanskrit, e.g. puraskṛtya 'having placed in front', adhikṛtya 'having placed at the head of', āśritya 'having betaken oneself to', all lexicalized with the meaning 'with regard to, concerning' (cf. Speijer 1886, p. 143ff. § 202; Sen 1928, p. 62f.).

Since lexicalized gerunds can no longer be described within the framework of the syntax of productive gerundial structures, an enumeration of all gerundial adpositions would be superfluous. A particularly interesting case is nevertess the Brāhmaṇic idiom rūpaṁ kṛtvā (+ [appositive] nominative!) 'having taken the shape of', which means almost the same as bhūtvā 'having become' > 'being; as' and is paralleled in Classical Sanskrit by a compound expression, e.g. Pañc. 326 (ed. Vidyasagara) aśvarūpaṁ kṛtvā 'as a horse' (cf. Speijer 1886, p. 23 § 33):

(567)   AB 6.35.4
        ... aśvaḥ śveto rūpaṁ kṛtvā
        '...having taken the form of a white horse' ≈ 'in the form of a white horse'

A somewhat different and more controversial process is at hand when the gerundial phrase is recategorized as a conjunction or complementizer introducing a causal qualification. This is frequently the case with the gerund kṛtvā 'having done', which especially in connection

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with the preceding pleonastic complementizer **iti** 'thus' may function as an explicative connective meaning 'because, seeing that, considering that, judging from':

(568) MBh 2.30.20ab

> **sakheti kṛtvā tu sakhe pṛṣṭo vakṣyāmyahaṁ tvayā**
> 'Considering you a friend (> Because you are), O friend, asked by you I will tell you'

A nearly synonymous locution is (**iti**) **matvā** 'thinking, seeing that' (lit. 'having realized, thought, decided thus'):

(569) ŚvU 1.6c

> **pṛthag ātmānaṁ preritāraṁ ca matvā**
> 'having perceived itself and the instigator to be different'

(570) MBh 1.3.126ab

> **athottaṅkaḥ śītam annaṁ sakeśam dṛṣṭvā aśucy etad iti matvā pauṣyam uvāca**
> 'Having found the food to be cold and containing a hair, thus perceiving it to be impure, Uttaṅka said to Pauṣya'

This locution retains, however, more of the literal meaning and syntax of the gerund.

4.8.B. ADVERBIALIZATION OF THE GERUND

A conspicuous but somewhat problematic case of recategorization and lexicalization is the demotion of the gerundial phrase to the status of an interrogative adverb as in **kiṁ/kathaṁ kṛtvā** 'how, why', where the interrogative pronoun could occur alone, i.e. instead of the entire gerundial phrase.

(571) Rm 2.30.42

> **kiṁ hi kṛtvā viṣaṇṇas tvam**
> 'For what reason are you so depressed?'

(572) Mbhṣy. 1.1.3 & *passim*

> **kathaṁ kṛtvā jñāpakam**
> 'By what means is this implicit rule stated?'

Söhnen (1985, p. 486) argues for the standard literal rendering of such gerundial phrases (i.e. as peripheral adverbial clauses, which should be able to contain any number of additional qualifications), but this would make them absolute in a highly exceptional way (cf. 4.2.B): "Durch welche Handlung (zu erg. meinerseits) bist du denn niedergeschlagen?" (571), cf.:

(573) BrP 159.37
   kiṁ kṛtvā śāntir abhyeti putrāṇāṁ te karomi tat
   "Durch welches Tun (meinserseits) kann deinen (von der Sonne verbrannten) Söhnen Linderung zukommen? Das will ich tun"

Apparently it is, however, more realistic to consider these constructions as lexicalized phrasal items (cf. also 238), especially since they do not allow additional qualifications or adjuncts of the gerund nor the coordination of interrogatives, cf. [**kiṁ kāryaṁ**OBJ **kṛtvā**GD]OBJ-S **viṣaṇṇas tvam** 'by having done what action are you sad?', not: 'by what act on my part are you sad?', *****kiṁ kathaṁ/kadā ca kṛtvā viṣaṇṇas tvam** 'by having done what and how/when are you sad?'.

The possibility of interpreting the gerundial clause as a causal or modal-instrumental qualification (4.7.C.5-6) opens the way to adverbialization of the gerund as an adverb expressing manner, means or attendant circumstance.

Thus e.g. the gerund **prasahya** 'having used force' has been lexicalized as an adverb with the sense of 'forcefully', in which function and meaning it is no longer subject to the coreferentiality constraint nor able to take (separate) adverbal complements or adjuncts:

(574) Ragh. 3.56
   jahāra cānyena mayūrapatriṇā śareṇa śakrasya mahāśanidhvajam
   cukopa tasmai sa bhṛśaṁ suraśriyaḥ prasahya keśavyaparopaṇād iva
   'And with that peacock-feathered arrow he seized Śakra's mighty thunderbolt-banner. So he became furious with him as if because of his *forcefully* tearing out the hair of this glorious god.'

Yet another process of adverbialization is represented by items like **pretya** 'having died', which mostly means simply 'after death', i.e. stands for an entire adverbial or adpositional phrase of time, cf.

(575) Daś. 8. ucchv. (ed. Kale 1966, p. 190)
   kecit pretya kila labhyair abhyudayātiśayair āsām utpādya muṇḍayitvā
   śiro baddhvā darbharajjubhir ajinenācchādya navanītenopalipyānaśan-
   aṁ ca śāyayitvā sarvasvaṁ svīkariṣyanti

'Thus some inspire hope in him about the extraordinary fortunes to be enjoyed *after death,* get his head shaved and tie strings of holy grass around it, cover him with an antilope skin and smear him with fresh butter and put him to sleep without his supper and then appropriate all his property.'

Adverbialized gerunds are most amenable to occur as non-final members in *tatpuruṣa*-compounds, cf.:

(576) NyS 1 a 19
punarutpattiḥ pretyabhāvaḥ
'Existence after death is rebirth.'

(577) MBh 1.36.12
kathaṁ me pretyabhāve 'pi na taiḥ syāt saha saṁgamaḥ
'How should I not have union with them even in the state after death?'

In the nominal succinct style of the classical Sūtras, such *tatpuruṣas* are quite common and occasionally save the gerund from adnominal constructions (cf. 383, 4.4.A):

(578) NyS II a 57
abhyupetyakālabhede doṣavacanāt
'Because of blaming someone for breaking a time of appointment'

(579) Kauṭ. 7.4 (subtitles)
vigṛhyāsana | saṁdhāyāsana | vigṛhyayānam | saṁdhāyayānam | saṁbhūyaprayāṇam
'Staying quiet after making war.' 'Staying quiet after making peace.' 'Marching after making war.' 'Marching after making peace.' 'Marching together (with other kings).' (Kangle 1972, p. 331)