

## APPENDIX 1: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN ṚGVEDA

(The roots and gerunds are numbered alphabetically. Repetitions are not counted.)

1. ā+ac- 'bend' > āciā (metrical form)
  - 10.15.6a ācyā<sup>1</sup> jānu dakṣiṇatō <sup>143</sup>niṣādyemām yajñām abhi gṛṇita visve 'bending your knee and sitting down to the south, may you all greet this sacrifice welcome'
2. ā+av- '(grant a) favor, further' > āviā
  - 1.166.13c ayā dhiyā mānave sruṣṭim āvyā<sup>2</sup> sākām nāro daṁsānair ā cikitrire 'with this thought the men have shone forth for Manu with their wondrous powers, pleased with his service (? granting his prayer)'
- 3a. ava+as- 'throw off' > avāsyā
  - 1.140.10c avāsyā<sup>3</sup> sisumatir adīder 'having thrown off the mothers, you shone forth'
- 3b. pra+as- 'hurl' > prāsyā
  - 1.121.13c prāsyā<sup>4</sup> pārām navatim nāvyaṇām āpi kartām avartayō 'yajyūn 'having hurled it onto the other side of the ninety rivers, you rolled the ones who do not sacrifice right into the pit'
- 4a. api+i- 'approach' > apitiā
  - 2.43.2c vṛṣeva vājī sisumatir apityā<sup>5</sup> sarvato naḥ sakune bhadrām ā vada 'like a rutting bull upon approaching the mother-cows, proclaim good fortune on us from all sides, O bird!'
- 4b. abhi+i- 'go against, attack' > abhītia (3x)
  - 4.32.10d prā te vocāma vīryā yā mandasānā ārujaḥ | pūro dāsir abhītyā<sup>6</sup> 'we would like to praise your manly deeds, i.e. the Dāsīc fortresses you, while intoxicated, broke down, having charged'
  - 9.55.4b yō jināti nā jīyate hānti sātṛum abhītyā<sup>7</sup> | 'he who vanquishes and is not vanquished, slays the enemy upon attacking him'
  - 10.99.5c ānnam <sup>8</sup>abhītyārodayan muṣāyān 'having gone out to gather food, he has caused crying while stealing'
- 4c. ā+i- 'come (upon)' > etiā
  - 10.66.14c prītā iva jñātāyaḥ kāmam <sup>9</sup>ētyāsmē devāsō 'va dhūnutā vāsu 'like pleased relatives having attained a wish, shake down wealth on us, O gods!'
- 4d. prati+i- 'go against, attack' > pratītyā
  - 10.116.5d pratītyā<sup>10</sup> sātṛūn vigadēṣu vṛṣca 'going against the foes, cut them down in combats!'
5. prati+iṣ- 'search for' > pratīṣyā
  - 10.129.4d satō bāndhum āsati nir avindan hṛdī pratīṣyā<sup>11</sup> kavāyo manīṣā 'the bond of the existing in the non-existing the sages found out, having searched with contemplation in their hearts'
6. pra+arpay- 'set in motion' (caus. < ṛ- 'move') > prārpyā
  - 1.113.2c prārpyā<sup>12</sup> jāgad vy ù no rāyō akhyad 'having set the living world in motion, she has discovered treasures for us'
- 7a. kṛ- 'do, make' > kṛtvī (5)
  - 1.161.3d tāni bhrātār ānu vaḥ kṛtvī<sup>13</sup> ēmasi 'having done those things, brother, we shall come after you'
  - 10.15.12b tvām ... 'vāḍ dhavyāni surabhīni kṛtvī<sup>14</sup> 'you brought the libations, having made them fragrant'
  - 10.17.2b kṛtvī<sup>15</sup> sāvarṇām adadur vivasvate 'having made a similar one, they gave it to V.'
  - 10.109.7b punardāya<sup>64</sup> brahmajāyām kṛtvī<sup>16</sup> devāir nikilbiṣām | ūrjam pṛthivyā <sup>85</sup>bhaktvāyorugāyām ūpāsate 'having returned the brahmin's wife, achieved freedom of offense

- with the gods and enjoyed the vigour of the earth, they worship the strider (= Viṣṇu)  
 10.159.4a *yénéndro haviṣā kṛtvī*<sup>17</sup> *ábhavad dyumny úttamáh* ‘with which sacrifice having offered, Indra became splendid, lofty’  
 10.174.4a = 10.159.4a (above)
- 7b. *akhhali-+kr-* ‘make the sound a. (? croaking, jubilant sound, syllable)’ > *akhhalikṛtyā*  
 7.103.3c *akhhalikṛtyā*<sup>18</sup> *pitáram ná putró anyó anyám úpa vādantam eti* ‘bursting out in jubilant croaking (? producing syllables), one frog goes up to another talking one, like a son to his father’
- 7c. *aram+kr-* ‘make ready’ > *aramkṛtyā*  
 10.51.5b *éhi manur devayúr yajñákāmo* ‘*ramkṛtyā*<sup>19</sup> ‘come here; Manu, the godly one, is willing to sacrifice having prepared everything’
8. *vi+kr-* ‘split asunder’ > *vikṛtya*  
 10.68.8d *niṣ ʔaj jabhāra camasám ná vṛkṣād bṛhaspátir viravéṇa vikṛtya*<sup>20</sup> || ‘Bṛhaspati brought it out like a bowl from a tree, having split it asunder with a roar’
9. *abhi+kram-* ‘attack’ > *abhikrámya*  
 1.80.5c *índro vṛtrásya dódhataḥ sánuṃ vájreṇa hilitáh* |<sup>21</sup> *abhikrámyāva jighnate* ‘Indra, enraged, smites with the bolt down upon the neck of the defiant Vṛtra, having attacked him’
10. *abhi+khyā-* ‘behold, perceive’ > *abhikhyāy(ʔi)a* (2x)  
 1.155.5d *dvé id asya krámaṇe svardṣo* ‘*bhikhyāya*<sup>22</sup> *martyo bhuraṇyati* ‘having beheld two of the footsteps of the sun-eyed one, the mortal starts to move’  
 2.30.9d *yó naḥ sánutya utá vā jighatnúr abhikhyāya*<sup>23</sup> *tám tigítēna vidhya* ‘any outsider or killer of us, take sight of him and pierce him with your sharp weapon!’
- 11a. *gam-* ‘go’ > *gatvāya, gatví*  
 8.100.8c *dívam suparṇó gatvāya*<sup>24</sup> *sómam vajrīna ábharat* ‘the fair-feathered one having gone to the sky, brought down the Soma for the bolt-holder’  
 4.41.5c *sā no duhīyad yāvaseva gatví*<sup>25</sup> ‘may she milk for as if having gone on pasture’  
 10.101.9c = 4.41.5c (above)
- 11b. *ava+gam-* ‘come down to’ > *avagátya*  
 6.75.5b *ciṣcā kṛṇoti sámānavagátya*<sup>26</sup> | ‘he makes a whizzing sound on coming down to the battlefield’
- 11c. *ā+gam-* ‘come’ > *āgátya* (3x)  
 3.35.8c *tásyāgátya*<sup>27</sup> *sumánā řṣva páhi* ‘of it, having come, drink good spirits, you lofty one!’  
 3.42.7c *imám indra gávāsīram yāvāsīram ca naḥ piba* | *āgátya*<sup>28</sup> *vṛṣabhiḥ sutám* ‘drink this, Indra our (draught) mixed with milk and barley, having come, extracted by bulls!’  
 3.50.1b *índrah svāhā pibatu yásya sóma āgátya*<sup>29</sup> *túmro vṛṣabhó marútvān* ‘Indra, to whom the Soma belongs, should drink while uttering blessings, having come, the stout bull with the Maruts’
- 11d. *pari+gam-* ‘surround’ > *parigátya*  
 2.15.4a *sá pravohṇṇ parigátya*<sup>30</sup> *dabhīter vísvam adhāg áyudham iddhé agnáu* ‘having besieged Dabhīti’s abductors, he burned the whole arsenal in the lit fire’
- 11e. *sam+gam-* ‘come together’ > *saṃgátya*  
 10.97.21c *sárvāḥ saṃgátya*<sup>31</sup> *vīrudho* ‘syái sám datta vīryám ‘all having come together, O herbs, bestow on him the full potency!’
- 12a. *apa+gur-* ‘reject, threaten’ > *apagūryā*  
 5.32.6d *tám cin ... indro apagūryā*<sup>32</sup> *jaghāna* ‘him ... Indra slew upon putting him down’
- 12b. *abhi+gur-* ‘welcome, approve of’ > *abhigūriā*  
 2.37.3c *āyūyā*<sup>103</sup> *dhr̥ṣṇo abhigūryā*<sup>33</sup> *tvám neṣtrāt sómam draviṇodaḥ piba řtúbhiḥ* ‘drawing it to yourself and extolling it, drink the Soma from the cup with the seasons, O bold Draviṇodas (= bestower of wealth)!’

13. *guh-* 'conceal' > *gūḥvī*  
 7.80.2b *gūḥvī*<sup>34</sup> *tāmo jyótiṣoṣā abodhi* 'having concealed the darkness, the Dawn has awoken with light'
- 14a. *sam+grabh-* 'grab' > *samgṛbhya/a* (3x)  
 1.53.3c *átaḥ* <sup>35</sup>*samgṛbhya* *ābhībūta ā bhara* 'grab from it, O superior one, and bring here!'  
 3.54.15d *samgṛbhya*<sup>36</sup> *na ā bhara bhūri paśvaḥ* 'grab and bring us a lot of cattle!'  
 10.46.6c *átaḥ samgṛbhya*<sup>37</sup> *viśām dāmūnā ... iyate nṛṇ* 'having grabbed of that the chief of the tribe ... hurries to the men'
- 14b. *prati+grah-* 'take up, receive, accept' > *pratigṛhya*  
 1.125.1b *prātā rātnam prātaritvā dadhāti tām cikitvān pratigṛhya*<sup>38</sup> *nī dhatte* 'in the morning the early visitor brings a treasure; by accepting it the wise one puts it down for himself'
- 14c. *karna+grah-* 'grasp the ear' > *karnagṛhya*  
 8.70.15a *karnagṛhya*<sup>39</sup> *maghāvā śauradevyo vatsām nas tribhyā ā nayat* 'having grasped it by the ear, the generous son of Śuradeva brought us three a cow'
- 14d. *pāda+grah-* 'grasp the foot' > *pādagṛhya* (2x)  
 4.18.12d *kās te devō ádhi mārḍikā āsid yāt prākṣiṇāḥ pitāram pādagṛhya*<sup>40</sup> | 'which god was merciful onto you, when you smashed the father into pieces having taken hold of his legs?'  
 10.27.4d *prā tām kṣiṇām pārvate pādagṛhya*<sup>41</sup> | 'him I smash against the rock, having taken hold of his feet'
- 14e. *hasta+grah-* 'grasp the hand' > *hastagṛhya* (2x)  
 10.85.26a *pūṣā tveto nayatu* <sup>42</sup>*hastagṛhya* [*svinā ...*] 'May Pūṣan lead you from here, having taken your hand'  
 10.109.2d *agnir hōtā* <sup>43</sup>*hastagṛhyānināya* 'Agni, the Hotṛ, brought her, having taken her hand'
15. *anu+ghuṣ-* 'announce' > *anughūṣyā*  
 1.162.18d *pāruṣ parur anughūṣyā*<sup>44</sup> *vi śasta* 'upon announcing the name of each limb in due order, cut them off!'
- 16a. *abhi+cakṣ-* 'behold, regard favorably' > *abhicákṣiā* (2x)  
 1.92.9a *visvāni devī bhūvanābhicakṣyā*<sup>45</sup> *praticí cakṣur urviyā vi bhāti* 'watching over (? having beheld, turned her eye towards) all the beings, the goddess, facing every eye, shines widely out'  
 8.1.34c *sāsvatī nāry* <sup>46</sup>*abhicakṣyāha sūbhadram aya bhójanam bibharṣi* 'having set her eye at it, his wife Śasvatī exclaimed: "What a wonderful treat you carry, my lord!"'
- 16b. *prati+cakṣ-* 'perceive' > *praticákṣiā* (2x)  
 2.24.6c *té vidvāmsaḥ* <sup>47</sup>*praticakṣyānṛtā pūnar yāta u āyan tād úd iyur āvisam* 'those wise ones, having perceived the falsehoods, returned again to enter whence they came'  
 2.24.7a *ṛtāvānaḥ* <sup>48</sup>*praticakṣyānṛtā pūnar āta ā tasthuḥ kavāyo mahás pathāḥ* 'the pious sages, having perceived the falsehoods, betook themselves again away from there to the great road'
- 16c. *vi+cakṣ-* 'behold, regard, study' > *vicákṣiā*  
 8.13.30d *mimite yajñām ānuśag vicákṣyā*<sup>49</sup> || 'he measures the sacrifice, having studied it carefully (? continuously)'
- (?) *sam+cakṣ-* 'behold, consider' > *samcákṣiā*  
 1.165.12c *samcákṣyā marutas candrávarṇā áchānta me* 'you golden Maruts, who are worth to look at (? having seen you), have enchanted me'; as gerundive: Grassmann, Geldner, Renou; as gerund: Padapāṭha, Śāyana, Oldenberg)
17. *ni+cāy-* 'notice, contemplate' > *nicāyīā* (2x)  
 1.105.18c *új jihite nicāyīā*<sup>50</sup> 'he goes away, having noticed me'  
 3.26.1a *agnīm nicāyīā*<sup>51</sup> ... *havāmahe* 'we call upon Agni, having contemplated on him'
18. *jakṣ-* 'eat' > *jagdhvāya*

- 10.146.5c *svādóḥ phálasya jagdhváya*<sup>52</sup> *yathākāmaṃ ni padyate* ‘having eaten of a sweet fruit, one lies down as one wishes’
19. *jan-* ‘give birth to’ > *janitvī*  
 10.65.7d *dyām skabhitvy*<sup>153</sup> *āpa ā cakrur ójasā yajñám janitvī*<sup>53</sup> *tanvī ni māmṛjuh* ‘having supported the sky, they have brought forth the waters with strength; having given birth to the sacrifice, they have grasped it for themselves’
20. *juṣ-* ‘be(come) pleased with’ > *juṣtvī* (3x)  
 1.118.5b *ā vām rátham yuvatis tiṣṭhad átra juṣtvī*<sup>54</sup> ‘may the young lady ascend your chariot, having found pleasure in it here’  
 8.62.6 *juṣtvī*<sup>55</sup> *dákṣasya sominaḥ sákhāyam kṛṇute yūjam* ‘pleased with the skilful Somist, he makes him his ally friend’  
 9.97.16 *juṣtvī*<sup>56</sup> *na indo supáthā sugāny uráu pavaśva* ‘pleased with us, O juice, (create) good roads, good to travel on, purify yourself on the broad (course)!’
21. *pari+tap-* ‘heat oneself’ > *paritápya*  
 10.167.1d *tvám tápaḥ*<sup>57</sup> *paritápyājayaḥ svāḥ* ‘having heated yourself, you have conquered the sun’
22. *vi+tṛ-* ‘penetrate’ > *vitūryā*  
 10.68.3c *bḥhaspátiḥ párvatebhyo vitūryā*<sup>58</sup> *nir gā ūpe* ‘Bḥhaspati, having made his way through the mountains, strewed out the cows’
- 23a. *dā-* ‘give’ (> *dad-*, pres. st.) > *dattváya*  
 10.85.33c *sáubhāgyam asyai*<sup>59</sup> *dattvāyáthāstam ví páretana* ‘having wished her happiness, proceed then to your homes!’
- 23b. *ā+dā-* ‘take’ > *ādāya* (3x)  
 4.26.6d *sómam bharad dádrhāno devāvan divo amúṣmād úttarād ādāya*<sup>60</sup> || ‘the godly (eagle) brought the Soma, holding it, having taken it from that high heaven’  
 4.26.7a *ādāya*<sup>61</sup> *syeno abharat sómam* ‘having taken, the eagle brought the Soma’  
 10.166.5a *yogakṣemám va*<sup>62</sup> *ādāyāhám bhūyāsam uttamá* ‘having taken your property and goods (? security), I wish to be the highest’
- 23c. *pari+dā-* ‘give away’ > *paridāya*  
 1.105.2d *paridāya*<sup>63</sup> *rásam duhe* ‘having given away her juice, she milks (him)’
- 23d. *punar+dā-* ‘give back’ > *punardāya*  
 10.109.7a<sup>64</sup> see *kṛ-* 10.109.7b
24. *ati+div-* ‘play ahead’ > *atidívyā*  
 10.42.9a *utá prahām atidívyā*<sup>65</sup> *jayāti* ‘and having played ahead of the (opponent’s) lead, he will win’
25. *ā+dṛ-* ‘pay heed to, pay regard to’ > *ādṛtyā* (2x)  
 1.103.6c *yá ādṛtyā*<sup>66</sup> *paripanthíva ...* ‘yajvano vibhájann éti védāḥ ‘who paying heed (? taking care) like a waylayer ... keeps distributing the possessions of the one who does not sacrifice’  
 8.66.2c *yá ādṛtyā*<sup>67</sup> *śasamānāya sunvaté dátā jaritrá ukthyām* ‘who, paying heed, is a giver to the laboring pressing singer of what is praiseworthy’
- 26a. *dṛṣ-* ‘see’ > *dṛṣtvāya*  
 10.34.11a *striyam dṛṣtvāya*<sup>68</sup> *kitávam tatāpa* ‘upon seeing (his) woman, it distresses the player’
- 26b. *anu+dṛṣ-* ‘look back’ > *anudṛṣya*  
 10.130.7c *pūrveṣām pánthām anudṛṣya*<sup>69</sup> *dhírā anvālebbhire rathyo ná raśmín* ‘after looking back to the way of their predecessors, the wise ones have grasped the reins (of the sacrifice) like charioteers’
27. *abhi+pad-* ‘resort to’ > *abhipádyā*  
 10.71.9c *tá eté vácam abhipádyā*<sup>70</sup> *pāpāyā sirís tántram tanvate áprajajñāyah*

- 'these ones stretch out bad yarn (? flowing water [Geldner]) into (? as [Geldner]) a fabric by having resorted to the holy speech in an evil manner, lacking wisdom')
28. pā- 'drink' > pītvā<sup>71</sup> (7x), pītvī (4x)
- 1.4.8a asyā pītvā<sup>71</sup> satakrato ghanó vṛtrānām abhavaḥ 'having drunk of it (= Soma), O you of a hundred resources, became a slayer of harassers'
- 8.69.7c mādhvah pītvā<sup>72</sup> sacevahi | triḥ saptá sákhyuḥ padé 'having drunk of the mead, let us be united three times in the seven footsteps of the friend!'
- 8.92.6a asyā pītvā<sup>73</sup> mādānām devó devásyáujasā | visvābhi bhūvanā bhuvat 'having drunk of this god's intoxicating draughts with might, the god has overpowered all beings'
- 9.23.7a asyā pītvā<sup>74</sup> mādānām indro vṛtrāny apratī | jaghānā jaghānac ca nú 'having drunk of his intoxicating draughts, Indra has slain harassers and shall slay them now again'
- 9.108.2a yāsya te pītvā<sup>75</sup> vṛṣabhó vṛṣāyáte 'of whose your (draughts) having drunk the bull feels like a bull'
- 10.44.8d vṛṣṇah pītvā<sup>76</sup> máda ukthāni samsati 'having drunk of the potent (draught), he sings praises in intoxication'
- 10.96.9d prá yát kṛté camasé mármṛjad dhāri pītvā<sup>77</sup> mādasya haryatásyāndhasaḥ 'when he strokes the tawny pair at the prepared bowl, having drunk of the intoxicating pleasant draught'
- 3.40.7c pītvī<sup>78</sup> sómasya vāvṛdhe 'having drunk of the Soma, he has grown strong'
- 8.76.10b uttiṣṭhann ójasá sahā pītvī<sup>79</sup> śipre avepayah 'standing up with force, having drunk, you have shaken your lips'
- 10.55.8c pītvī<sup>80</sup> sómasya divá ā vṛdhānāḥ sūro nir yudhādhamad dásyūn 'having drunk of the Soma, strengthened from the sky, the hero blew away the Dasyus in the fight'
- 10.113.1d pītvī<sup>81</sup> sómasya krátumām avardhata 'having drunk of the Soma, the wise one has grown strong'
29. pū- 'cleanses' > pūtvī
- 8.91.7c apālām indra triṣ pūtvī<sup>82</sup> ákṛṇoḥ sūryatvacam 'Apālā you made sun-skinned, Indra, having cleansed her thrice'
30. pra+pruth- 'snort aloud' > praprúthyā
- 3.32.1c praprúthyā<sup>83</sup> śipre maghavann ṛjīsin vimūcyā<sup>99</sup> hāri ihā mādayasva 'having snorted aloud with your lips, you bounteous one, who are rushing forwards (? receive the residue of Soma), release the tawny pair and enjoy yourself here!'
31. vi+bād- 'force asunder, drive away' > vibādhyā
- 2.23.3a ā vibhādya<sup>84</sup> parirāpas támāmsi ca jyōtiṣmantam rátham ṛtásya tiṣṭhasi 'having dispersed the prattling and darkness, you mount the shining chariot of truth'
32. bhaj- 'share, enjoy' > bhaktvāya
- 10.109.7c<sup>85</sup> see kṛ- 10.109.7b
- 33a. bhid- 'split' > bhittvā
- 10.68.7c āṇḍéva bhittvā<sup>86</sup> śakunásya gárbbham úd usriyāḥ párvatasya tmánājat 'he himself drove out the cows from the mountains, like a bird's brood having broken the eggs'
- 33b. vi+bbid- 'pierce, split into pieces' > vibhidyā
- 10.67.5a vibhidyā<sup>87</sup> púram ... niṣ trīni sākám udadhér akṛntat 'having split the fortress into pieces..., he cut free at once the three from the sea'
- 34a. bhū- 'become, turn into, be' > bhūtvā, bhūtvī (3x)
- 10.162.5ab yás tvā bhrātā pátir bhūtvā<sup>88a</sup> jāró bhūtvā<sup>88b</sup> nipádyate 'he who turned into your brother, your father, turned into your lover, sleeps with you'
- 7.104.18c váyo yé bhūtvī<sup>89</sup> patáyanti naktábhīr 'who turned into birds fly about in the nights'
- 10.85.29c kṛtyáišā padvāti bhūtvī<sup>90</sup> ā jāyā visate pátim 'this magic, having become possessed of feet, approaches the husband as his wife'

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- 10.145.5c *ubhé sáhasvatī bhūtvī<sup>91</sup> sapátnīm me sahāvahai* ‘both of us having become powerful, let us overpower my rival!’ (= AV 3.18.5 *bhūtvā*)
- 34b. *abhi+bhū-* ‘surpass’ > *abhibhūya*  
 3.48.4c *tvástāram indro janúṣābhibbhūyāmúṣyā<sup>92,100</sup> sómam apibac camūṣu* ‘having surpassed Tvaṣṭr by his (superior) nature and stolen the Soma, Indra drank it from the bowls’
35. *ā+bhṛ-* ‘bring’ > *ābhṛtyā*  
 10.71.3c *tām ābhṛtyā<sup>93</sup> vy ádaduḥ* ‘having brought her, they distributed her among many’
- 36a. *mā-* ‘measure, produce’ > *mitvā*  
 10.5.3b *ṛtāyīnī māyīnī sám dadhāte mitvā<sup>94</sup> sísum jajñatur vardhāyantī* ‘the two truthful crafty ones (= heaven and earth) have got together; having produced a baby (= Agni), they gave him birth, bringing him up’
- 36b. *vi+mā-* ‘measure out’ > *vimāya*  
 10.114.6c *yajñám vimāya<sup>95</sup> kaváyo manīṣá ṛksámābhyām prá rátham vartayanti* ‘having measured out the sacrifice with wisdom, they bring forward the chariot with Ṛk and Sāman’
- 36c. *sam+mā-* ‘measure equally’ > *sammāya*  
 1.67.10d *sádmeva dhīrāḥ sammāya<sup>96</sup> cakruḥ* ‘the crafty ones have made it, having measured it out equally (? fittingly) like an abode’
37. *sam+mī-* ‘close one’s eyes’ > *sammīlya*  
 1.161.12a *sammīlya<sup>97</sup> yád bhūvanā paryásarpata kvā svit tātyā pitārā va āsatuḥ* ‘having closed your eyes, when you moved around the beings, where then, I wonder, were your darling parents?’
38. *vi+muc-* ‘release’ > *vimúcyā* (2x)  
 1.104.1c *tám ā ní ṣīda ... | vimúcyā<sup>98</sup> váyo<sup>151</sup> vasāyāśvān* ‘sit down on it..., having set free the powers, having unyoked the horses’  
 3.32.1d<sup>99</sup> see *pra+pruth-* 3.32.c
39. *ā+muṣ-* ‘steal’ > *āmúṣyā* (2x)  
 3.48.4d<sup>100</sup> see *abhi+bhū-* 3.48.4c  
 8.4.4c *āmúṣyā<sup>101</sup> sómam apibas camū sutám* ‘having stolen the Soma, you drank it pressed into the bowl’
40. *mohay-* ‘confuse’ (caus. < *muh-* ‘be confused’) > *mohayitvā*  
 10.162.6b *yás tvā svápnena támasā mohayitvā<sup>102</sup> nipádyate* ‘he who confuses you with sleep, with darkness, and sleeps with you’
41. *anu+mṛs-* ‘seize’ > *anumṛśyā*  
 10.68.5c *bṛhaspátir anumṛśyā<sup>103</sup> valáśyābhrám iva vāta ā cakra ā gāḥ* ‘Bṛhaspati, having seized Vala’s cows, drove them in front of himself as the wind the clouds’
- 42a. *ā+yu-* ‘draw to oneself’ > *āyūyā*  
 2.37.3b<sup>104</sup> see *abhi+gur-* 2.37.3c
- 42b. *ni+yu-* ‘fasten’ > *niyūyā*  
 10.70.10a *vánaspate raśanāyā niyūyā<sup>105</sup> devānām pātha úpa vakṣi vidvān* ‘O tree, fasten (the animal) with the rope and bring it to the place of the gods, knowing!’
- 42c. *vi+yu-* ‘separate’ > *viyūyā*  
 10.131.2b *kuvid ángá yávamanto yávam cid yáthā dānty anupūrvám viyūya<sup>106</sup> |* ‘I take it you know how the corn growers cut the corn after separating it into bunches in due order’
43. *yuj-* ‘yoke’ > *yuktvā* (4x), *yuktvāya*  
 1.161.7d *yuktvā<sup>107</sup> rátham úpa devām ayātana* ‘having yoked the wagon, you went to the gods’  
 1.177.1d *yuktvā<sup>108</sup> hāri vṛṣanā yāhi arvān* ‘having yoked the tawny stallions, come here to me!’  
 1.177.3c *yuktvā<sup>109</sup> vṛṣabhyām vṛṣabha kṣitīnām hāribhyām yāhi pravátōpa madḥk*

- 'having yoked (the wagon) with the two bulls, O bull of all peoples, come swiftly with the tawny pair here to me!'
- 5.40.4c *yuktvá*<sup>110</sup> háribhyām úpa yāsād arvān 'may he yoke (the wagon) and come here with the tawny pair!'
- (? 8.57.1 = Vāl. 9 *yuvám devā krátunā pūrvyēna yuktā* (*yuktvá* oder *yuktám*) ráthena (wohl ráthe ná zu ändern) taviṣám yajatrā | āgachataṁ nāsatyā śácībhir idám ṛtīyam sávanam pibāthaḥ "Ihr beide Götter, schirret in der früheren Absicht die Stärke gleichsam an den Wagen, ihr Opferwürdige, und kommet mit euren Künsten, Nāsatyā's! Ihr sollt diese dritte Somaspense trinken!" (Geldner, Rigveda II, p. 378 with fn.))
- 19.93.14c *yé yuktváya*<sup>111</sup> páñca satasmayu pathā viśrávy eṣām "die anspannen ließen und für uns fünf Hundert (anwiesen), (daß es) auf ihrem Wege ruchbar wurde" (Geldner, RV, III, p. 295)
44. á+yudh- 'not to) fight' > áyud[*d*]hvi
- 10.108.5c *kás ta enā áva sṛjād áyudhvy*<sup>112</sup> 'who would let them go without having put up a fight?'
- 45a. ā+rabh- 'take hold of' > ārābhya
- 1.57.4b *yé tvārābhya*<sup>113</sup> cárāmasi 'we who move on having taken hold of you (? constantly keep ourselves to you)'
- 45b. sam+rabh- 'take hold of each other' > samrābhya
- 10.94.4c *samrābhya*<sup>114</sup> dhīrāḥ svásṛbhir anartīṣur āghoṣáyantaḥ pṛthivīm upadbībhiḥ 'having taken hold of their sisters (= fingers) the skilful ones have danced, making the earth resound with their footsteps'
46. ni+rudh- 'check, repress' > nirūdhyā
- 7.6.5c *sá nirūdhyā*<sup>115</sup> náhuṣo yahvó agnir viśas cakre balihṛtaḥ sáhobhiḥ 'he, Agni, the youngest one, having repressed the tribes of the Nahuṣ, made them pay tribute through his superior power'
47. abhi+vap- 'strew over, cover' > abhyúpyā
- 2.15.9a *svāpnenābhyúpyā*<sup>116</sup> cúmuriṁ dhūnim ca jaghántha dásyum prá dābhītm āvah 'having covered Cumuri and Dhuni with sleep, you killed Dasyu, (but) you were good to Dabhīti.'
48. viṣ- 'be active, labor' > viṣṭví (3x)
- 1.110.4a *viṣṭví*<sup>117</sup> sámī tarānitvéna ... amṛtatvám ānasuḥ 'having labored with toil and zeal, they have reached immortality'
- 3.60.3d *saudhanvanāso amṛtatvám érire viṣṭví*<sup>118</sup> sámībhiḥ sukṛtaḥ sukṛtyāyā 'the sons of Sudhanvan have reached immortality, having labored with toil, skilful with skill'
- 10.94.2c *viṣṭví*<sup>119</sup> grāvāṇaḥ sukṛtaḥ sukṛtyāyā hótus cit pūrve havirādyam āsata 'having labored, the stones, active with good work, have become sacrificial food even before the Hotṛ'
49. vṛ- 'cover, encompass' > vṛtvā, vṛtví
- 1.52.6b 'po *vṛtví*<sup>120</sup> rájaso budhnám āsayat 'having encompassed the waters, he lay on the bottom of the (earthly) region'
- 10.90.1c *sá bhūmim viśvato* <sup>121</sup>*vṛtvāty* atīṣhad daśāṅgulám 'having encompassed the earth on all sides, he extended beyond it the length of ten fingers'
50. vṛj- 'turn, twist, throw down' > vṛkṭví (or < vṛaṣc- 'cut down', cf. AV 4.7.10 vṛṣṭvá)
- 10.87.2d *á jihvāyā mūradevān rabhasva kravyādo vṛkṭvy*<sup>122</sup> *ápi dhatsvāsán* 'grab the idolaters of dummy gods with your tongue, having thrown (? cut; Sāyana chittvā) down the flesh-eaters, put them in your mouth!'
- 51a. abhi+vṛt- 'overpower, overcome' > abhivṛtya
- 10.174.2c *abhivṛtya*<sup>123</sup> sapātnān abhi yā no arātayaḥ abhi pṛtanyántam tiṣṭābhi yó na irasyāti 'having overcome our rivals, those who are our enemies, thread upon the attacker, upon him that grudges us!'

## 51b. ā+vṛt- 'turn hither' &gt; āvṛtyā

1.56.1c *dákṣam mahé pāyayate hiraṇyāyaṃ rátham āvṛtyā*<sup>124</sup> *háriyogam f̥bhvasam* 'he lets the powerful one (= Soma) be drunk for might, having turned the chariot hither, drawn by the tawny steed, the cleverly fabricated one'

## 52. vṛṣ- 'rain' &gt; vṛṣṭví

5.53.14c *átīyāma nidás tiráḥ svastibhir* <sup>165</sup>*hitvāvadyám árātīḥ | vṛṣṭví*<sup>125</sup> *sám yór āpa usri bhṣajám syāma marutaḥ sahá* 'may we transcend the scorn successfully, leaving behind abuse and enmities; after raining, the waters (will be) prosperity, health, in the morning, remedy, O Maruts, let us be with (you; or: that all)!'

## 53. abhi+vlag- '?seize, ?attack, ?throttle' &gt; abhivlāgyā (2x)

1.133.1 *abhivlāgya*<sup>126</sup> *yáttra hatā amitrá vailasthānám pári tṛṣhā áseran* 'where having been seized, the enemies lay slain over the cemetery, crushed.'

1.133.2 *abhivlāgya*<sup>127</sup> *cid adrivaḥ sírsā yātumátinām | chindhi* 'having seized the heads of the sorceresses, O you master of the pressing-stone, cut them off!'

## 54. sam+sā- 'sharpen' &gt; samśāyā

10.180.2c *srkám samśāya*<sup>128</sup> *pavim indra tigmám vi sátrūn tāḥi* 'having sharpened your spear, the hot tip (of your spear), Indra, crush the enemies'

## 55. sru- 'hear' &gt; śrutvā

6.50.5c *śrutvā*<sup>129</sup> *hávam maruto yád dha yáthá bhūmá rejante ádhvani právikte* 'having heard the call, when you come, O Maruts, the ground trembles on your chosen rode'

## 56a. ā+sad- 'sit down on' &gt; āsadyā/a (5x)

1.109.5c *tāv āsadyā*<sup>130</sup> *barhiṣi yajñé asmin prá carṣaṇī mādayethām sutásya* 'both (of you) having sat down on the sacrificial grass at this sacrifice, enjoy the pressed (draught), O energetic ones!'

2.36.2c *āsadyā*<sup>131</sup> *barhír bharatasya sūnavaḥ potrád á sómam píbatā* 'having sat down on the sacrificial grass, sons of Bharata, drink of the Soma from the Soma-vessel'

6.52.13d *yé agnijhvā utá vā yájatrá* <sup>132</sup>*āsadyāsmin barhiṣi mādayadhvam* 'you who have Agni as your tongue or are else worthy of sacrifice, sit down on this sacrificial grass and enjoy yourself!'

6.68.11d <sup>133</sup>*āsadyāsmin barhiṣi mādayethām* 'having sat down on this sacrificial grass, enjoy yourselves!'

10.17.8c <sup>134</sup>*āsadyāsmin barhiṣi mādayasva* 'having sat down on this sacrificial grass, enjoy yourself!'

## 56b. upa+sad- 'sit down at' &gt; upasadya

3.14.5b *vayám te adyá rarimā hi kāmam uttānāhastā nāmasopasadya*<sup>135</sup> 'today we have granted your wish, having sat before you in obeisance with hands outstretched'

## 56c. ni+sad- 'sit down' &gt; niśadyā/ā (10x)

1.108.3c *tāv indrágnī sadhryāñcā niśadyā*<sup>136</sup> *vṛṣṇaḥ sómasya vṣaṇā vṛṣethām* 'sit down together, Indra and Agni, you bulls, and pour into yourself the powerful Soma!'

1.177.4d *stīrṇám barhír á tú śakra prá yāhi píbatā niśadya*<sup>137</sup> *vi mucā hári ihá* 'the sacrificial grass is strewn, come along now here Śakra, drink having sat down, unyoke your steeds over here!'

2.35.10c *séd u hiraṇyavarnaḥ | hiraṇyáyāt pári yóner niśadyā*<sup>138</sup> *hiraṇyadā dadaty ánnam asmai* 'and of golden color he is, (? coming) from the golden womb, having seated himself there; the givers of gold give him food'

3.21.1d *stokánām agne médaso ghṛtásya hótah práśāna prathamó niśadya*<sup>139</sup> | 'taste, O Agni, as the first one of the drops of the fat, the clarified butter, O Hotṛ, having sat down!'

4.4.12c *té pāyavaḥ sadhryāñco* <sup>140</sup>*niśadyāgne táva naḥ pāntv amūra* 'these protecting powers of yours, having sat down together, O Agni, may protect us, O you unerring one!'

5.2.7d *evāsmád agne vi mumugdhi pásān hótas cikitva ihá tū niśadya*<sup>141</sup> || 'so free us



APPENDIX 1: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN RV

- now from the fetters, Agni, you thoughtful Hoṭṛ, having sat down here!’
- 10.6.7b *ádhā hy ágne mahnā niśádyā*<sup>142</sup> *sadyó jajñānó hávyo babhūtha* ‘for now, Agni, having sat down in your might, at the moment you were born, you have become worthy of being invoked’
- 10.15.6b<sup>143</sup> see *ā+ac-* 10.15.6a
- 10.52.1b *viśve devāḥ sástána mā yáthehá hótā vṛtó manávai yán niśádyā*<sup>144</sup> ‘O All-Gods, instruct me as to how I should meditate, chosen to Hoṭṛ-priest, having sat down (at my office)!’
- 10.112.3d *asmābhir indra sákhibhir huvānáḥ sadhricinó mādayasvā niśádyā*<sup>145</sup> | ‘invoked by us, friends, enjoy yourself together (with us) having sat down!’
- 56d. *ā(+)**ni+sad-* ‘sit down at’ > *ā(+)**niśádyā/ā* (4x)
- 2.3.8d *tisró devīḥ svadhāyā barhīr édám áchidram pāntu śaranám niśádyā*<sup>146</sup> | ‘the three gods may according to wont sit down on the sacrificial grass and protect like a holeless shelter!’
- 3.35.6c *asmín yajñe barhīsi ā niśádyā*<sup>147</sup> *dadhiśvéamám jathára indum indra* ‘having sat down at this sacrifice on the sacrificial grass, put this juice in your belly, Indra!’
- 6.40.1c *utá prá gāya gaṇá ā* <sup>148</sup>*niśádyāthā ...* ‘and break into a song, having taken your seat in the group!’
- 10.14.5d *ihá mādayasva* | ... ‘*smín yajñe barhīsi ā niśádyā*<sup>149</sup> || ‘enjoy yourself here, having sat down at the sacrifice on the sacrificial grass!’
57. *vi+sah-* ‘conquer’ > *viśáhya*
- 7.21.7d *indro maghāni dayate* <sup>150</sup>*viśáhyéndram ...* ‘Indra distributes presents having conquered’
58. *ava+sā-* ‘unyoke’ > *avasāya*
- 1.104.1c<sup>151</sup> see *vi+muc-* 1.104.1c
59. *skabh-* ‘support’ > *skabhitvī*
- 10.65.7c<sup>152</sup> see *jan-* 10.65.7d
60. *upa+sthā-* ‘go up to’ > *upasthāya*
- 3.48.3a *upasthāya*<sup>153</sup> *mātáram ánnam aitta* ‘having stepped up to his mother, he (Indra) has asked for food.’
61. *ud+snā-* ‘swim up, emerge’ > *utsnāya*
- 2.15.5c *tá utsnāya*<sup>154</sup> *rayim abhī prá tasthuḥ* ‘having emerged from the water, they came upon a treasure’
- (?*mithas+spṛdh-* ‘vie with each other’ > *mithasṛdhya*
- 1.166.9b *viśváni bhadrá maruto rátheṣu vo mithasṛdhyeva taviśāny āhitā* ‘all blessings, like forces to be vied for (? as if having vied with each other), are loaded on your wagons, O Maruts!’)
62. *han-* ‘slay’ > *hatvā* (3x), *hatvāya* (2x), *hatvī* (4x)
- 1.100.18b *dásyūn chímyūms ca puruhūtá évair hatvā*<sup>155</sup> *ṛthivyām sárva ní barhīt* ‘much-invoked in the usual way (? with eager), having slain (*hatvā*) Dasyus and Símyus, he tossed them down on the ground with the arrow’ (Or: ‘... may he slay ... and toss them down ...!’; cf. Geldner, Rigveda I, p. 129 fn. 18)
- 1.103.2b *sá dhārayat ṛthivīm papráthac ca vājreṇa hatvā*<sup>156</sup> *nír apáh sasarja* ‘he made the earth firm and broadened it; having slain with the bolt, he released the waters’
- 2.12.3c *yó* <sup>157</sup>*hatvāhim áriṇāt saptá sindhūn* ‘he who slew the dragon and released the seven rivers’
- 10.84.2c *hatvāya*<sup>158</sup> *sátṛūn ví bhajasva véda* ‘having slain the foes, distribute their possessions!’
- 10.157.4a *hatvāya*<sup>159</sup> *devā ásurān yád áyan* ‘when the gods went, having slain the Asuras’
- 2.17.6d *yéna ṛthivyām ní krivim sayádhyaí vājreṇa hatvy*<sup>160</sup> *ávṛnak* ‘the bolt with which he slew and threw down Krivi on the ground to lie’

APPENDIX 1: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN RV

- 2.20.8d *hatvī*<sup>161</sup> *dāsyūn pūra āyasīr ni tārīt* ‘he slew Dasyus and pulled down iron fortresses’  
 2.30.10d *hatvī*<sup>162</sup> *téṣām ā bharā no vāsūni* ‘having slain (the foes), bring their possessions to us!’  
 3.34.9d *hatvī*<sup>163</sup> *dāsyūn prāryam vārṇam āvat* ‘by having slain the Dasyus, he has furthered the Aryan hue’  
 63. *vi+han-* ‘strike back, destroy’ > *vihatyā*  
 5.4.5c *viśvā agne abhiyūjo vihatyā*<sup>164</sup> *satrūyatām ā bharā bhójanāni* ‘having struck back all the assaults, Agni, bring here the goods of the inimical ones!’  
 64. *hā-* ‘leave’ > *hitvā* (2x), *hitvāya*, *hitvī* (4x)  
 5.53.14b<sup>165</sup> see *vṛṣ-* 5.53.14c  
 10.165.5c *hitvā*<sup>166</sup> *na ūrjam prá patāt pátiṣṭhaḥ* ‘leaving our strength behind, may she fly forth as fast she can!’  
 10.14.8c <sup>167</sup>*hitvāyāvadyām pūnar ástam éhi* ‘leaving blemish behind, go back to your home’  
 2.38.6c *sásvāñ āpo vikṛtam hitvy*<sup>168</sup> *āgād* ‘everybody has returned, having left his work half-done’  
 6.59.6c *hitvī*<sup>169</sup> *śiro jihvāyā vāvadac cārat* ‘having abandoned his head talking wildly with his tongue, he moves’  
 9.69.9d *sutāḥ pavitram áti yanti ávyam hitvī*<sup>170</sup> *vavriṁ harito vṛṣṭim ácha* ‘extracted they move over the woollen strainer, leaving behind their cover, the tawny ones, for the rain’  
 10.99.5b *hitvī*<sup>171</sup> *gāyam āréavadya āgāt* ‘having left his home, he has come without disgrace’  
 65a. *ati+hā-* ‘cut amiss’ > *atihāya*  
 1.162.29 *mā te grḍhnūr avisastātihāya*<sup>172</sup> *chidrā gātrāny asinā mithū kaḥ* ‘may no greedy bad carver, having cut amiss with the sword, maltreat your severed limbs’  
 65b. *sam+hā-* ‘rouse oneself’ > *samhāya*  
 2.38.4c *ūt* <sup>173</sup>*samhāyāsthād* ‘having roused himself, (Savitṛ) has arisen’

APPENDIX 2: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN ATHEARVAVEDA

(\* indicates books 19-20)

1. ā+ac- 'bend' > āciā  
 #18.1.52a<sup>1</sup> = RV 10.15.6a
- 2a. ā+i- 'come (upon)' > étia (2x+\*1)  
 1.7.4d brávitu sárvo yātumān ayám asmíty étya<sup>2</sup> 'let everyone who has a demon come and say "here I am"!'   
 10.6.5d sá naḥ pitéva putrébhyaḥ sréyaḥ sreyaś cikitsatu | ..evébhyo maṇir étya<sup>3</sup> | 'for us, as a father for his sons, let it provide what is better and better, ..the amulet, coming from the gods'   
 \*19.58.6c imám yajñám sahá pátnībhīr étya<sup>4</sup> yāvanto devāḥ sám iṣā mādayantām 'having come to this sacrifice together with their spouses, let the gods, as many as they are, revel on the oblation'
- 2b. ud+ā+i- 'rise' > udétia  
 12.4.41d yā vasā udákalpayan devā yajñād udétya<sup>5</sup> 'what cows the gods shaped out, rising up from the sacrifice'
- 2c. sam+ā+i- 'come together' > samétya (2x)  
 11.6.18d purástād ... víšve devāḥ samétya<sup>6</sup> té no muñcantvāmhasaḥ 'from the east ... all the gods having come together, let them free us from distress'   
 12.3.4b āpas putrāso abhi sám viśadhvam imám jivám jivadhanyāḥ samétya<sup>7</sup> | 'enter into the waters, O sons, rich in life, having come together to this living one'
- 2d. ud+i- 'rise' > udítya  
 18.2.47c té dyām<sup>8</sup> udítya<sup>8</sup>vidanta lokám 'having risen into the sky, they have found a place'
- 2e. ni+i- 'go down' > nítia  
 12.2.38b múhur gṛdhyaiḥ prá vadatyártim mártyo nítya<sup>9</sup> 'a mortal, having gone down to suffering, speaks forth repeatedly with greedy ones'
- 2f. parā+i- 'go away' > parétia (3x)  
 5.22.8b mahāvṛṣān mūjavato bāndhvāddhi parétya<sup>10</sup> 'eat your connection, the M. and M., having gone away!'   
 10.4.19c síndhor mádhya parétya<sup>11</sup> vyājinam áher viśám 'having gone away to the middle of the river, I have washed out the snake's venom'   
 14.1.43d evā tvám samrājñyédhi pátyur ástaṁ parétya<sup>12</sup> 'so be you supreme, having gone away to your husband's home!'
- 2g. prati+i- 'go to meet' > pratítya  
 \*19.49.9c rátri táśya pratítya<sup>13</sup> prá grīvāḥ prá síro hanat 'may night, having gone to meet him, smite away his neck and head'
- 3a. ṛ- 'go' > ṛtvā (10x)  
 4.40.1-8 agnim/yamám/váruṇam/sómam/bhūmim/vāyúm/sūryam/bráhma ṛtvā<sup>14-22</sup> té párāñco vyathantām 'having gone against Agni/etc., may they stagger away'   
 6.120.2d jāmim ṛtvā<sup>23</sup> máva patsi lokāt 'having gone to my own folks, let me not fall down from the world'   
 12.4.53c devānt sábrāhmaṇān ṛtvā<sup>24</sup> jihmó lokān nirṛchati 'having gone against the gods accompanied by the brahmins, he goes supine out of this world'
- 3b. nir+ṛ- 'go out' > nirṛtya  
 10.2.2c jánghe nirṛtya<sup>25</sup> nyadadhuḥ kvā svij 'having separated (?) his two back-thighs, where,

- foresooth did they set them in" (Whitney)
- 3c. *prati+arpay-* 'send in opposite motion' (caus. < *prati+f-* > *pratyarpayitvā*)
- 12.2.55a *pratyāñcam arkám pratyarpayitvā<sup>26</sup> pravidvān pānthām vi hyāviveśa* "having sent in opposite motion an opposing song, I, foreknowing, have entered abroad on the road" (Whitney)
- 4a. *kr-* 'do, make' > *krtvā* (42x+\*2, 3 = RV)
- 3.3.6c *āpāñcam indra tām<sup>27</sup> krtvāthemám ihāva gamaya* 'having done away with him, Indra, install this one here!'
- 3.25.2c *tām sūsannatām krtvā<sup>28</sup> kāmo vidhyatu tvā hṛdi* 'having made it well-straightened, let love pierce you in the heart'
- 3.25.6c *áthainām akratúm krtvā<sup>29</sup> mámaivá kṛṇutam váśe* 'then having made her powerless, bring her in my own power!'
- 4.7.3a *karambhám krtvā<sup>30</sup> tiryām pibasphākám udarathím | kṣudhā kila tvā duṣtano jakṣivānt sá* (Whitney: *jakṣivāmsam*) *ná rūrupaḥ* (see ex. 352)
- 4.18.2a *yó devāḥ kṛtyām krtvā<sup>31</sup> hārād áviduṣo gṛhám* 'anyone, O gods, who, having made witchcraft, should take it to the house of someone unknowing'
- 4.18.3a *amā krtvā<sup>32</sup> pāpmānam yás tēnānyām jighāmsati* 'anyone who has made evil at home and desires to slay someone else with it'
- #5.17.11b<sup>33</sup> = RV 10.109.7b (*kṛtvī*)
- 5.22.4b *adharāñcam prá hiñomi námaḥ krtvā<sup>34</sup> takmāne* 'I send him forth downward, having paid homage to the fever'
- 6.103.3b *amī yé yúdhamañyánti ketūn<sup>35</sup> krtvāñikasáh* 'those who come to fight, having made their ensigns, in rows'
- 8.6.26c *vṛkṣād iva srājám<sup>36</sup> krtvāpṛiye práti muñca tát* 'as if having made a garland from a tree, fasten it on the obnoxious one!'
- 8.9.2b *yó ákrandayat salilám mahitvā yónim krtvā<sup>37</sup> tribhūjam sáyānaḥ* 'who made the sea roar with might, having made a threefold lair as he lay'
- 10.1.9a *yé 'tvā<sup>38</sup> krtvālebbhiré* 'they who made and took hold of you'
- 10.9.5c *apūpānābhim krtvā<sup>39</sup> yó dádati sataúdanām* 'who, having made her cake-naveled, gives her of the hundred rice-dishes'
- 10.9.6c *hiranya jyotiṣām krtvā<sup>40</sup> yó dádati sataúdām* 'who, having made her lighted with gold, gives her of the hundred rice-dishes'
- 10.9.25c *táu pakṣáu devi krtvā<sup>41</sup> sá paktāram dívam vaha* 'having made them wings, O divine one, carry him that cooks (you) to heaven!'
- 11.5.9c *té krtvā<sup>42</sup> samidhāvúpāste* 'having made (them both) fuel, he worships'
- 11.8.11c *sárīram krtvā<sup>43</sup> pādavat kám lokám ánu práviśat* 'having made a body with feet, what world did he afterward enter?'
- 11.8.18c *gṛhám krtvā<sup>44</sup> mártyam devāḥ pūruṣam áviśan* 'having made the mortal a house, the gods entered man'
- 11.8.29a *ásthi krtvā<sup>45</sup> samidham tádaṣṭāpo asādayan | rétaḥ<sup>46</sup> krtvājyam devāḥ pūruṣam áviśan* 'having made bone their fuel, then they caused eight waters to settle; having made seed their sacrificial butter, the gods entered man'
- 11.8.29c<sup>46</sup> see 11.8.29a *krtvā*
- 12.2.4c *tām máśājyam krtvā<sup>47</sup> prá hiñomi dūrám* 'having made him use beans as sacrificial butter, I send him far forth'
- 12.2.43c *vyāghráu krtvā<sup>48</sup> nānānám tām harāmi sivāparám* 'having made two tigers severally, I take the non-propitious one'
- 12.2.54c *iṣíkám járatim iṣṭvā<sup>211</sup> tilpiñjam dáñḍanam naḍám | tām indra idhmám*

- kṛtvā*<sup>49</sup> *yamasyāgnīm nirādadhau* 'having made offering of withered (?) cane, of T., of D. of reeds, having made fuel of this, Indra removed Yama's fire'
- 12.4.20b *devā vasām ayācan mūkham kṛtvā*<sup>50</sup> *brāhmaṇam* 'the gods asked for the cow, having made the brahmin their mouth'
- 13.1.47b *himám ghraṁsám cādhāya*<sup>132</sup> *yūpān kṛtvā*<sup>51</sup> *pārvatān varsājyāvagnī ijāte rōhitasya svarvidah* 'having set cold and heat, having made the mountains sacrificial posts, having rain as sacrificial butter, the two fires of the skyfinding ruddy one performed sacrifice'
- 13.1.52b *védīm bhūmim kalpayitvā*<sup>75</sup> *dīvam kṛtvā*<sup>52</sup> *dakṣiṇām | ghraṁsám tād agnīm kṛtvā*<sup>53</sup> *cakāra visvam ātmanvād varṣénājyena rōhitah* 'having shaped the earth as sacrificial hearth, having made the sky sacrificial fee, then having made heat his fire, the ruddy one made all that has soul with rain as sacrificial butter'
- 13.3.1b *yó drāpim kṛtvā*<sup>54</sup> *bhūvanāni vāste* 'who clothes himself in beings, having made them into a garment'
- 15.14.1-12 *sá yāt prācīm dīsam ānu vyācalan mārutam sárdho* (2: *indro*; 3: *vāruṇo rājā*; 4: *sómo rājā*; etc.) <sup>181-193</sup> *bhūtvānuvyācalan máno* (2: *bálam*; 3: *āpo*; 4: *āhutim*; etc.) '*nnādám kṛtvā*<sup>55-67</sup> 'as he moved out toward the eastern quarter, having become the troop of Maruts (2: Indra; 3: king Varuṇa; 4: king Soma; etc.; or: the troops of Maruts (etc.) having come into being, it...), he moved out after, having made mind (2: strength; 3: the waters; 4: the offerings; etc.) (their or his) food-eater'
- #18.2.33b<sup>68</sup> = RV 10.17.2 (*kṛtvī*)
- #18.3.42b<sup>69</sup> = RV 10.15.12 (*kṛtvī*)
- \*19.8.6c *sadhricir indra tāh kṛtvā*<sup>70</sup> *māhyam sivatamās kṛdhi* 'having made them come together, make them most propitious for me!'
- \*19.30.1 *tēnemám varmiṇam kṛtvā*<sup>71</sup> *sapātnām jahi víryāih* 'having made him armed with this, slay my rivals with your manly powers'
- 4b. *ā+kr-* 'bring towards' > *ākṛtya*
- 10.1.6c *praticih kṛtyā* <sup>72</sup> *ākṛtyāmūn kṛtyākṛto jahi* 'having turned the witchcrafts in the opposite direction, slay those witchcraft-makers!'
- 4c. *namas-+kr-* 'bow down' > *namaskṛtya*
- 7.102.1a *namaskṛtya*<sup>73</sup> *dyāvāpṛthivībhyām antāriksāya mṛtyāve mekṣyāmyūrdhvas tiṣṭhan* 'having bowed down to heaven and earth, to the atmosphere, to death, I will urinate standing erect'
5. *pari+kr-* 'cut around' > *parikṛtya*
- 5.14.3b *riśyasyeva pariśāsám parikṛtya*<sup>74</sup> *pāri tvacáh | kṛtyām kṛtyākṛte devā niškām iva prāti muñcata* 'having cut around out of (his) skin a strip, as it were of a stag, fasten O gods, upon the witchcraft-maker, like a necklace' (Whitney)
6. *kalpay-* 'shape, form' (caus. < *kļp-* 'be fit') > *kalpayitvā* (2x)
- 13.1.52a<sup>75</sup> see *kṛtvā* 13.1.52b
- 13.1.54a *gīrbhir ūrdhvān kalpayitvā*<sup>76</sup> *rōhito bhūmim abravīt* 'having shaped them aloft by songs, the ruddy one said to the earth'
- 7a. *ā+kram-* 'step into' > *ākrāmya*
- 8.8.16b *imā uptā mṛtyupāsā yān ākrāmya*<sup>77</sup> *nā mucyāse* 'here are spread the fetters of death, having stepped into which you shall not be released'
- 7b. *parā+kram-* 'stride forth' > *parākrāmya*
- yātra tāpah parākrāmya*<sup>78</sup> *vratām dhārayaty úttaram* 'where penance, having put forth its strength, maintains the higher vow'
- 7c. *pari+kram-* 'stride about' > *parikrāmya*
- 12.4.17d *ubháu tasmai bhavāsarvau* <sup>79</sup> *parikrāmyeṣum asyatah* 'having walked around, hurl

- the arrow at him, Bhava and Sarva!
8. *krī-* 'buy, make business' > *kṛtvā*  
 3.15.2d *té mā juṣantām páyasā gṛtēna yáthā kṛtvā*<sup>80</sup> *dhánam āhārāni* 'let them enjoy me with milk, with melted butter, so that (by) having done business I may obtain wealth'
- 9a. *gam-* 'go' > *gatvā* (3x+1), *gatvāya*  
 2.36.3d *gatvā*<sup>81</sup> *pátim subhágā vi rājatu* 'having gone to a husband, let her with good fortune rule'  
 4.14.2c *divás pṛsthám svār gatvā*<sup>82</sup> *miśrá devébhīr ādhvam* 'having gone to the back of the sky, to the heaven, sit mingled with the gods!'  
 12.3.13a *yád yat kṛṣṇáh śakuná éhá gatvā*<sup>83</sup> *tsáran viśaktam bila āsāsāda* "whenever the black bird, coming hither, hath sat down upon the orifice, surprising what is resolved" (Whitney)  
 \*19.8.3d *suhávam agne svastyāmartya mártiyam gatvā*<sup>84</sup> *púnar āyābhināndan* "with easy invocation, O Agni, having gone with well-being to a mortal, come thou again enjoying" (Whitney : "translation only makeshift; thoroughly corrupt")  
 \*20.128.5c *sūryo dívam iva gatvāya*<sup>85</sup> *maghāvāno vi rapsante* 'having gone like Sūrya to the sky, they abound in (? riches), munificent'
- 9b. *anu+gam-* 'go after' > *anugātya*  
 \*19.44.10 *táu tvānugātya*<sup>86</sup> *dūrām bhógāya púnar ohatām* 'those two, having gone far after you, brought you back for enjoyment'
- 9c. *sam+gam-* 'come together' > *saṁgātya* (4x)  
 3.4.7b *pathyā revátīr bahudhā virūpāḥ sárvāḥ saṁgātya*<sup>87</sup> *váriyas te akran* 'the wealthy roads, of manifoldly various form, all having come together, have made wide room for you'  
 9.4.15c *devā saṁgātya*<sup>88</sup> *yát sárva ṛṣabhám vyākalyayan* 'when all the gods, having come together, distributed the bull'  
 11.6.21c *bhūtāni sárvā saṁgātya*<sup>89</sup> *té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ* 'all beings, having come together, may free us from distress'  
 18.2.26c *tát te saṁgātya*<sup>90</sup> *pitáraḥ sánídā ghāsād ghāsám púnar ā vesayantu* 'let the associated fathers come together and make that enter you again bit from bit'
- 9d. *abhi+sam+gam-* 'come together unto' > *abhisamgātya*  
 11.1.16c *ārṣeyā daivā abhisamgātya*<sup>91</sup> *bhāgām imám tápiṣṭhā ṛtūbhis 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'
10. *sam+gṛ-* 'swallow' > *saṁgīrya*  
 6.135.3c *prāṇān amūṣya saṁgīrya*<sup>92</sup> *sám girāmo amúm vayam* 'swallowing up the breaths of him yonder, we swallow him all up'
- 11a. *gra(b)h-* 'seize' > *gṛh(b)ītvā* (1+\*2)  
 12.3.20c *amsūn* <sup>93</sup>*gṛbhītvānvārabhetām* 'having seized the (Soma)-stalks, take you two hold after'  
 \*19.58.3b *várco gṛhītvā*<sup>94</sup> *pṛthivīm anusámcarema | yásasā gāvo gópatim úpa tiṣṭhanty āyatír yáso gṛhītvā*<sup>95</sup> *pṛthivīm anusámcarema* 'having seized splendour, may we go about upon the earth; the cows, coming, wait upon the lord of cows; having seized glory, may we go about upon the earth'  
 \*19.58.3c<sup>95</sup> see 19.58.3b above
- 11b. *sam+grah-* 'grasp' > *saṁgṛbhya*  
 11.5.6d *sá sadyá eti pūrvasmād úttaram samudrám lokānt saṁgṛbhya*<sup>96</sup> *múhur ācárikrat* "he goes at once from the eastern to the northern ocean, having grasped the worlds, again and again violently shaping (?) them" (Whitney)
- 11c. *ni+grah-* 'seize' > *nigṛhya*

APPENDIX 2: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN AV

- 20.133.3a *nigfhya*<sup>97</sup> *kárñakau dváu nirāyacchati madhyame* ‘having seized the two forked branches he inserts (the atiriktam) in the middle (of them)’ (Caland 1953, p. 339)
- 11d. *prati+grah-* ‘accept’ > *pratigfhya*  
 3.29.8d *māhām prānēna mātmanā mā prajāyā pratigfhya*<sup>98</sup> *vi rādhiṣi* ‘let me not, having accepted, be parted with breath, nor with self, nor with progeny’
- 11e. *vi+grah-* ‘swallow’ > *vigfhya*  
 4.15.14d *mādhye hradāsya plavasva vigfhya*<sup>99</sup> *catūraḥ padāḥ* ‘swim in the midst of the pool, having spread out your four legs’
- 11f. *hasta+grah-* ‘grasp the hand’ > *hastagfhya* (4x; 2 = RV)  
 5.14.4b *pūnaḥ kṛtyām kṛtyākṛte hastagfhya*<sup>100</sup> *pārā naya* ‘lead away the witchcraft back to the witchcraft-maker, having grasped its hand’  
 #5.17.12d<sup>101</sup> = RV 10.109.2d  
 5.20.5c *nārī putrām dhāvatu* <sup>102</sup>*hastagfhyāmitrī bhītā samaré vadhānām* ‘may the woman run to her son to grasp his hand, the enemy, terrified at the clash of weapons’  
 #14.1.20a<sup>103</sup> = RV 10.85.26a
12. *cāy-* ‘take notice of’ > *cāyitvā*  
 9.1.1c *tām* <sup>104</sup>*cāyitvāmftam vāsānām ḥṛdbhiḥ prajāḥ prāti nandanti sárvaḥ* ‘having taken notice of it as putting on immortality, all creatures rejoice to meet it’
13. *ci-* ‘pile’ > *citvā*  
 10.2.8c *citvā*<sup>105</sup> *cityam hánvoḥ pūruṣasya divam ruroha* ‘(who) having piled a pile in man’s jaws, ascended to heaven’
14. *vi+chid-* ‘cut asunder’ > *vichidya*  
 6.139.5a *yáthā nakuló vichidya*<sup>106</sup> *samádadhāty áhim pūnaḥ* ‘as a mungoose, having cut asunder, puts together again a snake’
15. *jakṣ-* ‘eat’ > *jagdhvā* (2x)  
 5.18.10c *té brāhmaṇāsya gām jagdhvā*<sup>107</sup> *vaitahavyāḥ párābhavan* ‘those Vaitahavyas, having devoured, the brahmin’s cow, perished’  
 5.19.10c *ná brāhmaṇāsya gām jagdhvā*<sup>108</sup> *rāṣṭre jāgāra káścana* ‘no one, having devoured the cow of the brahmin, he keeps watch in the kingdom’
- 16a. *abhi+ji-* ‘conquer’ > *abhijitya* (1+\*1)  
 12.3.36a *sárvaṅt samāyā abhijitya*<sup>109</sup> *lokān* ‘having conquered, you have come together to all the worlds’  
 \*19.54.6a *sárvaṃl lokān abhijitya*<sup>110</sup> *brāhmaṇā kálāḥ sa iyate paramó nú devāḥ* ‘having conquered all worlds by the brahmin, this time goes on as highest god’
- 16b. *sam+ji-* ‘conquer’ > *samjitya*  
 11.9.26d *yūyám imám samgrāmám samjitya*<sup>111</sup> *yathālokám vi tiṣṭadhvam* ‘having wholly conquered this conflict, scatter to your several worlds!’
17. *ṭṛh-* ‘tread’ > *ṭṛḍ(d)hvā*  
 \*19.36.5c *ḍurñāmnāḥ sárvaṃs* <sup>112</sup>*ṭṛḍhvāva rákṣāmsy akramīt* ‘having scattered all the ill-named ones, it has trodden down the demons’
18. *ṭṛ-* ‘traverse’ > *tīrtvā* (2x)  
 9.5.1c *tīrtvā*<sup>113</sup> *tāmāmsi mahānty ajó nākam ā kramatām tritīyam* ‘having traversed the great darknesses variously, may the goat step into the third heaven’  
 9.5.3c *tīrtvā*<sup>114</sup> *tāmāmsi bahudhā vipásyann ajó nākam ā kramatām tritīyam* ‘having traversed the darknesses variously looking out, may the goat step into the third heaven’
- 19a. *dā-* ‘give’ > *dattvā* (6x+\*1, 1 = RV)  
 9.4.19a *brāhmaṇébhya ṛṣabhám dattvā*<sup>115</sup> *varīyaḥ kṛṇute mánāḥ* ‘having given a bull to the brahmins, one makes one’s mind wider’  
 9.5.29c *vāsó hiranyám dattvā*<sup>116</sup> *té yanti divam uttamám* ‘having given a golden garment,

- they go to the highest heaven'
- 10.10.33b *brāhmaṇebhyo vaśām dattvā*<sup>117</sup> *sārvāṃl lokānt sāmaśnute* 'having given a cow to the brahmins, one attains all the worlds'
- 11.8.10c *putrēbhyo lokām dat(t)vā*<sup>118</sup> *kāsmims té lokā āsate* 'having given the world to their sons, in what world do they sit?'
- #14.2.28<sup>119</sup> = RV 10.85.33c
- 14.2.74b *yédām pūrvāgan raśanāyāmānā prajām asyāi drāvīṇam cehā dattvā*<sup>120</sup> "she who hath come hither before, girdling herself (?), having given to this woman here progeny and property" (Whitney)
- \*19.71.1e *āyuh ... | māhyam dattvā*<sup>121</sup> *vrajata brahmalokām* 'having given to me life-time ..., go to the the *brahma*-world!'
- 19b. *ā+dhā-* 'take' > *ādāya* (2x)
- 12.2.35 *dvibhāgadhanām ādāya*<sup>122</sup> *prā kṣiṇāty āvartyā* 'having taken to himself the double-portioned riches of the oldest son, (Agni) destroys with ruin'
- 12.5.57a *ādāya*<sup>123</sup> *jītām jītāya lokē3mūṣmin prā yacchasi* 'having taken to yourself what is oppressed for him who is oppressed, you present (it to him) in that world'
- 19c. *prati+ā+dhā-* (BRW: +dhā-) 'fit, aim against' > *pratyādāya*
- 10.1.27b *utā hanti pūrvāsīnam* <sup>124</sup>*pratyādāyāpara iṣvā* "Also the after one slays with an arrow fitting it (?), the one shooting in front" (Whitney); "Him that first hurls (the arrow), the other, laying on in defence, slays with the arrow" (Bloomfield); "oft trifft den zuerst schießenden der andere (spätere) entgegenzielend mit dem Pfeil" (Roth 1894, p. 681)
- 19d. *sam+ā+dhā-* 'take together' > *samādāya*
- 9.5.23c *sārvam enām* <sup>125</sup>*samādāyedamidam prā veśayet* 'having taken it all together, he should cause it to enter here and there'
- 19e. *upa+dhā-* 'put on' (*dad-* pres. st.) > *upadāya*
- 10.8.18c *sā devānt sārvān ūrasy upadāya*<sup>126</sup> *sampaśyan yāti bhuvanāni visvā* 'having placed all the gods on his breast he goes (? keeps) watching all beings'
- 13.2.38c = 10.8.18c above
- 13.3.14c = 10.8.18c above
- 19f. *punar+dhā-* 'give back' > *punardāya*
- #5.17.11a<sup>127</sup> = RV 10.109.7a
- 20a. *dr̥s-* 'see' > *dr̥ṣtvā* (2x)
- 4.36.6c *svānah śimhām iva dr̥ṣtvā*<sup>128</sup> *té nā vindate nyāñcanam* 'like dogs on seeing a lion they do not find a hiding-place'
- 12.3.29c *yōṣeva dr̥ṣtvā*<sup>129</sup> *pātīm ftviyā yāitāis taṇḍulāir bhavatā sām āpaḥ* 'like a menstruating woman on seeing her husband, unite yourself, O waters, with these ricegrains!'
- 20b. *parā+dr̥s-* 'see afar' > *parādṛṣya*
- 8.8.2c *dhūmam agnīm* <sup>130</sup>*parādṛṣyāmitrā hṛtsvā dadhatām bhayām* 'having seen smoke, fire afar, let our enemies set fear in their hearts'
- 21a. *ā+dhā-* 'put on' > *ādāya* (2x)
- 8.6.13b *yā ātmānam atimātrām āmsa ādhāya*<sup>131</sup> *bibhrati* 'they who put their excessive self on the shoulder and carry it'
- 13.1.47a<sup>132</sup> see *kṛtvā* 13.1.47b
- 21b. *pari+dhā-* 'put round, on' > *paridhāya*
- 2.29.6d *savāsīnau pibatām manthām etām asvino rūpām paridhāya*<sup>133</sup> *māyām* 'may the two that dwell together drink this mixed beverage, having put on the form of the Asvins as magic'
22. *vi+dhū-* 'shake away' > *vidhūya*
- 13.2.8d *vidhūya*<sup>134</sup> *devās tāmo divam āruhat* 'having shaken away the darkness, the god has



- ascended into the sky'
23. *parā+nī-* 'lead away' > *parānīya*  
 12.4.52a *yé gópatim*<sup>135</sup> *parānīyāthāhūr mā dadā* iti 'they who, having led away her master, then say: "do not give!"'
24. *pac-* 'cook' > *paktvā* (3x)  
 4.34.5b *viṣṭāriṇam paktvā*<sup>136</sup> *dīvam ā viveṣa* 'having cooked the V., one has entered the sky'  
 11.1.18d *paktvā*<sup>137</sup> *sukṭām eta lokām* 'having cooked this, go to the world of the well-doers!'  
 11.1.37b *yéna devā jyōtiṣā dyām udāyan brahmaudanām paktvā*<sup>138</sup> 'with what light the gods went up to the sky, having cooked the brahmin-porridge'
25. *pat-* 'fall' > *patitvā*  
 4.12.7a *yādi kartām patitvā*<sup>139</sup> *samsasré* 'if having fallen into a pit, he has been crushed'
- 26a. *ā+pad-* 'reach' > *āpādya*  
 11.1.30c *yéna rōhāt páram āpādya*<sup>140</sup> *yád váya uttamām nākam* 'by which he may ascend to the highest firmament, having arrived at that vigour which is beyond'
- 26b. *pra+pad-* 'betake oneself to' > *prapādya*  
 14.1.64c *anāvyaḍhām devapurām prapādya*<sup>141</sup> *sivā syonā patiloké virāja* 'having gone forward to an impenetrable stronghold of the gods, bear rule in the husband's world, propitious and pleasant!'
- 27a. *pā-* 'drink' > *pītvā* (2x)  
 2.13.1c *ghṛtām pītvā*<sup>142</sup> *mádhū cāru gavyām pītvā putrān abhi rakṣatād imám* 'having drunk the sweet, pleasant melted butter of the cow, defend this boy as a father his sons!'  
 10.10.31a *vaśāyā dugdhām pītvā*<sup>143</sup> *sādhyā vásavaś ca yé | té vái bradhnāsya viṣṭāpi páyo asyā úpāsate* 'having drunk the cow's milk, the perfectibles and they who are Vasus, they verily worship the milk of her at the summit of the ruddy one'
- 27b. *sam+pā-* 'drink up' > *sāmpāya*  
 6.135.2c *prānān amúśya sāmpāya*<sup>144</sup> *sám pibāmo amúm vayám* 'drinking up all the breaths of him yonder, we drink him all up'
28. *pū-* 'cleanses' > *pūtvā*  
 #14.1.41c<sup>145</sup> = RV 8.91.7c *pūtvī*
29. *bandh-* 'bind' > *baddhvā* (3x)  
 7.38.5d *iyám ha máhyam tvām ośadhir*<sup>146</sup> *baddhvēva nyānayat* 'may this herb, having as it were bound you, conduct you here to me'  
 8.8.10 *mṛtyór yé aghalā dūtās tébhya enān práti nayāmi baddhvā*<sup>147</sup> 'the sad messengers that are death's, them I lead them to meet, having bound them'  
 10.6.18c *sāmvatsáras tám baddhvā*<sup>148</sup> *sárvaṁ bhūtām ví rakṣati* 'the year having bound it on defends all existence'
- 30a. *bhaj-* 'share, enjoy' > *bhaktvā*  
 #5.17.11c<sup>149</sup> = RV 10.109.7c
- 30b. *vi+bhājay-* 'distribute' (caus. < *bhaj-*) > *vibhājya*  
 11.1.13d *vibhājya*<sup>150</sup> *dhīrítarā jahītāt* 'having shared them out wisely, leave the others!'
- 31a. *bhū-* 'be(come)' > *bhūtvā* (43x+\*2)  
 1.7.6c *dūtó no agne bhūtvā*<sup>151</sup> *yātudhānān ví lāpaya* 'on becoming our messenger, Agni, make the sorcerers scream!'  
 3.3.3d *śyenó bhūtvā*<sup>152</sup> *viśa ā patemāh* 'having become a falcon, fly to these subjects!'  
 3.18.5c<sup>153</sup> = RV 10.145.5c *bhūtvī*  
 3.28.2b *eśā pasūnt sám kṣiṇāti kravyād bhūtvā*<sup>154</sup> *vyádvari* "she quite destroys the cattle, having become a flesh-eater, devourer (?)" (Whitney)  
 3.30.3c *samýāñcaḥ sávratāḥ bhūtvā*<sup>155</sup> *vācam vadata bhadrāyā* 'having become accordant, of

like courses, speak words auspiciously'

4.34.4c *rathī ha bhūtvā<sup>156</sup> rathayāna iyate pakṣī ha<sup>157</sup> bhūtvāti divaḥ sámēti* 'having become a chariot-owner, he goes about upon a chariot-road, having become winged, he goes all across the skies'

4.34.4d<sup>157</sup> see above

4.37.11c *priyó dṛśá iva bhūtvā<sup>158</sup> gandharvāḥ sacate striyam* 'as if having become a youth pleasant to look upon, the Gandharva hangs about the woman'

5.5.9c *sará patatrinī bhūtvā<sup>159</sup> sá na éhyarundhati* 'having become a winged brook (?), come here, Arundhati!'

5.19.7c *dvyāsyā dvijihvā bhūtvā<sup>160</sup> sá rāṣṭrám áva dhūnute brahmajyāsya* 'having become two-mouthed, two-tongued, she shakes down the kingdom of the brahmin-scather'

6.42.1c *yáthā sámmanasau bhūtvā<sup>161</sup> sákhāyāv iva sácāvahai* 'as if having become like-minded, we two may hold together like friends'

8.4.18c<sup>162</sup> = RV 7.104.18c (bhūtvī)

8.6.7b *yás tvā svápne nipádyate bhrātā bhūtvā<sup>163</sup> pitéva ca* 'he who sleeps with you in sleep, having become like your brother and your father' (cf. RV 10.162.5b)

9.2.9a *indrāgnī kāma sarátham hi bhūtvā<sup>164</sup> nicáih sapátnān máma pádayáthah* 'having become in alliance with Indra and Agni, O Kāma, make my rivals fall downwards!'

10.1.24c *sétò3ṣṭāpadi bhūtvā<sup>165</sup> pūnah párehi duchune* 'having become octoped, go away from here again, O misfortune!'

10.8.21c *cátuspād bhūtvā<sup>166</sup> bhógyah sárvam ádatta bhójanam* 'having become four-footed, enjoyable, he took for himself all enjoyment'

10.9.3c *suddhá tvám yajñiyā bhūtvā<sup>167</sup> divam préhi sataudhane* 'having become clean, fit for sacrifice, go on to heaven, you of the hundred rice-dishes'

10.10.16c *ásvah samudró<sup>168</sup> bhūtvādhyaskandad vase tvā* 'the ocean, having become a horse, mounted you, O cow!'

11.5.7c *gárbho<sup>169</sup> bhūtvámftasya yónāv indro ha<sup>170</sup> bhūtvásurāms tatarha* 'having become an embryo in the womb of immortality, having become Indra, he has shattered the Asuras'

11.5.15b *amā ghrām krñute kévalam ácāryo bhūtvā<sup>171</sup> váruṇah* "Varuṇa, having become teacher, makes his own (?) the entire ghee" (Whitney)

12.5.41 *agnih kravád bhūtvā<sup>172</sup> brahmagavī brahmajyám<sup>226</sup> pravisyāti* 'having become the flesh-eating Agni, the brahmin-cow enters the brahmin-scather and eats him'

12.5.55 *kṣurápavir mṛtyúr bhūtvā<sup>173</sup> vi dhāva tvám* 'having become a keen-edged death, may you run out!'

13.3.13c *sá savitā bhūtvā<sup>174</sup> antárikṣeṇa yāti sá indro bhūtvā<sup>175</sup> tapati madhyató divam* 'having become Savitṛ, he goes through the atmosphere, having become Indra, he burns through the midst of the sky'

13.3.13d<sup>175</sup> see above

#14.1.25c<sup>176</sup> = RV 10.85.29c (bhūtvī)

14.1.42c *pátyur ánuvratā bhūtvā<sup>177</sup> sám nahyasvámftāya kam* 'having become obedient to your husband, gird yourself in order for immortality!'

15.7.1 *sá mahimā sádrūr<sup>178</sup> bhūtvántam pṛthivyā agacchat* "that greatness, becoming sessile (?), went to the end of the earth" (Whitney)

15.7.2 *tám prajāpatís ca paramēṣṭhī ca ... varṣám<sup>179</sup> bhūtvánuvyāvartayanta* 'having become rain, Prajāpati and the most exalted one ..., turned it out'

15.7.4 *tám sraddhá ca yajñás ca ...<sup>180</sup> bhūtvābhiparyāvartanta* 'unto it turned about both faith and sacrifice..., having come into being'

APPENDIX 2: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN AV

- 15.14.1-12<sup>181-193</sup> see *kṛtvā* 15.14.1-12
- 18.4.10c *ásvā bhūtvā*<sup>194</sup> *pr̥ṣṭivāho vahātha* 'having become back-carrying (?) horses, carry (him)!'
- \*#19.32.5c<sup>195</sup> = RV 10.145.5c (*bhūtvī*)
- \*19.53.9c *kālō ha bráhma bhūtvā*<sup>196</sup> *bibharti parameṣṭhinam* 'having become Brahman, time bears the most exalted one'
- 31b. *sam+bhū-* 'become united' > *sambhūya*
- 10.8.11d *tát sambhūya*<sup>197</sup> *bhavaty ékam evá* 'that having become united, becomes only one'
- 31c. *abhi+sam+bhū-* 'become jointly' > *abhisambhūya*
- 5.28.8b *trāyaḥ suparṇās trivṛtā yád āyann ekākṣarām abhisambhūya*<sup>198</sup> *sakrāḥ* 'when the three eagles went with the triple one, all having become a single syllable, mighty ones'
- 32a. *ud+maj-* 'emerge' > *unmájya*
- 10.4.4a *aramghuṣó* <sup>199</sup>*nimájyonmájya*<sup>200</sup> *púnar abravít* 'then the A. (?), having immersed and emerged, said again'
- 32b. *ni+maj-* 'immerge' > *nimájya*
- 10.4.4a<sup>200</sup> see *unmájya* above
33. *apa+mā-* 'measure off' > *apamitya, apamāya* (?)
- 6.117.2c *apamitya*<sup>201</sup> *dhānyām yáj jaghāsa* "what grain I have devoured, having borrowed (it)" (Whitney)
- \*19.57.6 *nāvāratnān* <sup>202</sup>*apamāyāsmākām* (mss.: *apamayā*) *tātaḥ pári duṣvāpnyām sárvaṁ dviṣatē nirdayāmasi* "having measured off nine cubits, forth from that do we divide off to him who hates us all our evil-dreaming" (Whitney)
- 34a. *mṛj-* 'wipe' > *mṛṣtvā* (2x)
- 12.2.17c *tásmin ghṛtastāvo mṛṣtvā*<sup>203</sup> *tvám agne dívam ruha* 'having wiped off the drops of clarified butter on that, mount the sky!'
- 12.2.20c *síse málām sādāyitvā*<sup>238</sup> *sírśaktim upabárhane | ávyām ásiknyām mṛṣtvā*<sup>204</sup> *suddhā bhavata yajñiyāḥ* 'having settled what is foul upon the head, headache upon the pillow, having wiped off on the black ewe, be cleansed, fit for sacrifice!'
- 34b. *apa+mṛj-* 'wipe away' > *apamṛjya*
- 4.18.8a *apamṛjya*<sup>205</sup> *yātudhānān ápa sárva arāyayāḥ | ápamārga tvāyā vayám sárvaṁ tād ápa mṛjmahe* 'having wiped off the sorcerers, off all the hags, O off-wiper, with you we wipe off all that'
35. *yaj-* 'sacrifice' > *iṣtvā* (5x)
- 9.6.40-43 *yāvad agniṣṭoména/atirātréne/satrasādyene/dvādasāhēna iṣtvā*<sup>206-210</sup> *súsamṛddhenāvarundhé* 'as much as having sacrificed with a very successful A./A./S./D. one gets possession of'
- 12.2.54a<sup>211</sup> see *kṛtvā* 12.2.54c
36. *ud+yam-* 'lift' > *udyátya*
- 8.8.12b *sādhyā ékam jāladandām udyátya*<sup>212</sup> *yanty ójasā* 'the perfectibles go holding up one net-stake with force'
37. *yuj-* 'yoke' > *yuktvá*
- 6.37.1b *úpa prāgāt sahasrākṣó yuktvá*<sup>213</sup> *śapátho rátham* 'the thousand-eyed curse has come hither, having yoked his chariot'
38. *sam+rabh-* 'take hold of together' > *samrábhya*
- \*19.1.3 *rūpām rūpām váyovayaḥ* <sup>214</sup>*samrábhya*<sup>inam</sup> *pári ṣvaje* 'form by form, vigour by vigour, having taken hold of together, I embrace him'
- 39a. *ruh-* 'rise' > *rūdhvā*
- 13.1.8c *dívam rūdhvā*<sup>215</sup> *mahatā mahimná sám te rāṣṭrám anaktu páyasā ghṛténa*

- 'having ascended the sky with great greatness, let him anoint your kingdom with milk, with butter'
- 39b. ā+ruh- 'ascend' > ārūhya  
 8.5.7c sūrya iva divam ārūhya<sup>216</sup> vi kṛtyā bādhatē vaśī 'like the sun, having ascended to the sky, it drives away the witchcrafts, powerful'
40. labh- 'take' > labdhvā (2x)  
 1.8.2a bṛhaspate vāse <sup>217</sup>labdhvāgniṣomā vi vidhyatam 'O Bṛhaspati, having taken him in your power, O Agni and Soma, pierce him through!'  
 5.8.8b yáthēndra udvācanāṃ labdhvā<sup>218</sup> cakrē adhaspadām 'as Indra, having taken U., put him underneath his feet'
41. sam+lup- 'tear up' > samlūpya  
 10.1.30c sárvaḥ <sup>219</sup>samlūpyetāḥ kṛtyāḥ pūnaḥ kartré prá hiṇmasi 'having torn up all witchcrafts from here, we send him forth again to the maker'
42. ud+vah- 'carry up' > udúhya  
 \*19.25.1 utkūlam udvahó bhāvodúhya<sup>220</sup> práti dhāvatāt 'be an up-carrier uphill, having carried up, run back!'
43. vid- 'find' > vittvā (3x)  
 7.97.7 dévā gātuvido gātúm vittvā<sup>221</sup> gātúm ita 'O way-finding gods, having found the way, go on the way!'  
 9.5.27a yā pūrvam pátim <sup>222</sup>vittvāthānyām vindátē 'param 'whoever, having found a former husband, then finds another one'  
 18.2.25c lokám pitṛṣu <sup>223</sup>vittvāidhasva yamarājasu 'having found a place among the fathers, thrive among those whose king is Yama!'
- 44a. upa+viṣ- 'sit down' > upaviṣya  
 14.2.23c tátā upaviṣya<sup>224</sup> suprajā imám agniṃ saparyatu 'having sat down upon it, may she of good progeny worship this fire'
- 44b. pra+viṣ- 'enter' > praviṣya (2x)  
 1.25.1a yád agnir āpo ádahat praviṣya<sup>225</sup> 'when Agni burned the waters, having entered them'  
 12.5.41<sup>226</sup> see bhūtvā 12.5.41
45. pari+viṣ- 'serve (food)' > pariviṣya  
 9.6.53 yád vā átithipatir pariviṣya<sup>227</sup> gṛhān upodāity avabhṛtam evá tád upāvaiti 'verily, when the host goes up to the houses to serve, then he is really going down to the purificatory bath'
- 46a. vṛ- 'encompass' > vṛtvā  
 \*#19.6.1c<sup>228</sup> = RV 10.9.1c
- 46b. pra+ā+vṛ- 'envelop' > prāvṛtya  
 11.8.15c tvacā prāvṛtya<sup>229</sup> sárvaṃ tát samdhā sámadadhān mahi 'having enveloped with skin, all that the great putting-together put together'
- 47a. apa+ā+vṛ- 'turn away' > apāvṛtya  
 12.2.34a apāvṛtya<sup>230</sup> gārhapatyāt kravyádā préta dakṣiṇā 'having turned away from the householder's fire, go forth to the right with the flesh-eating one!'
- 47b. abhi+vṛ- 'overcome' > abhivṛtya  
 #1.29.2a<sup>231</sup> = RV 10.174.2a
- 47c. ni+vṛ- 'turn back' > nivṛtya  
 10.1.17c kartṛṇ <sup>232</sup>nivṛtyetāḥ kṛtye 'prajāstvāya bodhaya 'having turned back from here your makers, O witchcraft, awaken them into childlessness!'
48. vrasc- 'cut down' (? vṛj- 'turn, twist') > vṛṣtvā  
 #8.3.2d<sup>233</sup> = RV 10-87.2d (vṛktvī)
49. sam+sā- 'sharpen' > samśāya

APPENDIX 2: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN AV

- #7.84.3c<sup>234</sup> = RV 10.180.2c  
 50a. *sru-* ‘hear’ > *srutvā* (2x)  
 5.4.2c *dhánair abhi sruvā*<sup>235</sup> *yanti* ‘they go with riches having heard’  
 12.4.27d *nāsy sruvā*<sup>236</sup> *grhé vaśet [= vaśet]* ‘not after (he) has heard (them) may she live in his house’  
 50b. *upa+sru-* ‘overhear’ > *upaśrútya*  
 12.4.28a *yó asyā fca* <sup>237</sup>*upaśrútyātha góṣv ácīcarat* ‘if anyone, having overheard her verses, has then made her go about among his kine’  
 51a. *sāday-* ‘seat, settle’ (caus. *sad-* ‘sit’) > *sādayitvā* (2x)  
 12.2.20a<sup>238</sup> sec *mṛṣṭvā* 12.2.20c  
 14.2.67a *sambhalé málam sādāyitvā*<sup>239</sup> *kambalé durityám vayám | ábhūma yajñiyāh* ‘having settled the defilement on the wooer, the difficulty on the dress, we have become worshipful’  
 51b. *ā+sad-* ‘sit down upon’ > *āsādya* (3x)  
 #7.58.2d<sup>240</sup> = RV 6.68.10d  
 #18.1.42c<sup>241</sup> = RV 10.17.8c  
 18.3.20d <sup>242</sup>*āsādyaśmīn barhiṣi mādayadhvam* ‘having sat down on this sacrificial grass, enjoy yourselves!’  
 51c. *ni+sad-* ‘sit down’ > *niśādya* (2x)  
 12.3.32d *imám prāśnantv ṛtūbhir niśādya*<sup>243</sup> ‘let them partake of this with the seasons, having sat down’  
 #18.1.52b<sup>244</sup> = RV 10.15.6b  
 51d. *ā ni+sad-* ‘sit down at’ > *ā niśādya*  
 #18.1.59d<sup>245</sup> = RV 10.14.5d  
 51e. *sam+ni+sad-* ‘sit down together’ > *samniśādya*  
 4.16.2c *yás tiṣṭhati carāti yás ca vāncati yó nilāyam carāti yāh pratānkam | dvāu samniśādya*<sup>246</sup> *yán mantrāyete rājā tād veda vāruṇas ṛtīyah* ‘whoever stands or goes crookedly, whoever goes hiding or defiantly (?), whatever two people having sat down together deliberate, that king Varuṇa knows as the third’  
 52a. *upa+sic-* ‘pour out’ > *upasicya* (6x)  
 9.6.40-44 *sá yá evám vidvān kṣīrām/sarpir/mādhu/māmsám/udakām* <sup>247-253</sup>*upasicyopahárati ... yá evám vidvān udakām upasicyopahárati* ‘he who thus knowing presents (it) having poured out milk/butter/honey/meat/water ... who thus knowing presents (it) having poured out water’  
 52b. *sam+sic-* ‘pour together’ > *samsicya*  
 11.8.13c *sárvaṁ samsicya*<sup>254</sup> *mártyam devāh púruṣam áviśan* ‘having poured together the whole mortal, the gods entered the man’  
 53. *apa+sidh-* ‘drive away’ > *apasidhya*  
 8.2.7d *apasidhya*<sup>255</sup> *durityám dhattam āyuh* ‘drive away difficulty and bestow long life’  
 54. *sam+siv-* ‘sew together’ > *samsivya*  
 10.2.26a *mūrdhānam asya* <sup>256</sup>*samsivya*<sup>256</sup>*ātharvā hṛdayam ca yāt | maṣṭīskād ūrdhvāh prāirayat pavamāno* ‘dhi sīrśatāh’ ‘having sewed together his head, and also his heart, Atharvan, being purified, sent them forth aloft from the brain out of the head’  
 55. *nis+sṛp-* ‘creep out’ > *nihsṛpya*  
 11.1.25b <sup>257</sup>*nihsṛpyāgnéḥ pūnar énan prá sīda* ‘having crept out of the fire, sit forward again to them!’  
 56. *stabh-* ‘establish’ > *stabdhvā*  
 10.7.7a *yásmint stabdhvā*<sup>258</sup> *prajāpatir lokānt sárvaṁ ádhārayat* ‘where having established (them), Prajāpati maintained all the worlds’

57. *stu-* 'praise' > *stutvā*  
 9.2.2d *kāmaṁ*<sup>259</sup> *stutvōdahām* *bhideyam* 'having praised Kāma, may I shoot up'
- 58a. *ati+sthā-* 'stand over, excel' > *atiṣṭhāya*  
 \*19.33.5c<sup>260</sup> *atiṣṭhāya* *vārcasādhyanyānt sūrya ivā bhāhi pradīśas cātasraḥ* 'having surpassed others with splendour, shine like the sun unto the four quarters'
- 58b. *ud+sthā-* 'stand up' > *utthāya*  
 \*19.31.12a *grāmaṇīr asi grāmaṇīr utthāya*<sup>261</sup> (mss.: *ukthyāya*, *utthyāya*, *ucchyāya*) 'you are a troop-leader, having stood up as a troop-leader'
- 58c. *prati+sthā-* 'establish oneself' > *pratiṣṭhāya*  
 11.3.49 *satyē pratiṣṭhāya*<sup>262</sup> | *tāyainam prāśiṣam tāyainam ajīgamam* 'having established myself in truth; with that I have eaten it, with that I have let it go'
59. *snā-* 'bathe' > *snātvā*  
 6.115.3b *drupadād iva mumucānāḥ svinnāḥ snātvā*<sup>263</sup> *malād iva pūtām pavitreṇe-vājyaṁ viśve sumbhantu māinasah* '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'
60. *sraṁsay-* 'cause to fall off' (caus. < *sraṁs-* 'fall off') > *sraṁsayitvā*  
 4.16.7c *āstām jālmā udāram sraṁsayitvā*<sup>264</sup> (mss: *sraṁsayitvā*) *kōṣa ivābandhrāḥ parikṛtyāmānaḥ* 'may the villain sit with loosened belly, like a hoopless vessel, being cut round about'
61. *svap-* 'sleep, fall asleep' > *suptvā*  
 10.3.6a *svāpnam suptvā*<sup>265</sup> *yādi pāsyāsi pāpām* 'if, having fallen asleep (> then), you shall see an evil dream'
- 62a. *han-* 'smite, slay' > *hatvā* (1+\*1), *hatvāya*  
 4.10.2c *saṅkhēna hatvā*<sup>266</sup> *rākṣāmsy atriṇo vi śahāmahe* 'having slain the demons with the shell, we overpower the devourers'  
 \*19.36.4 *durṇāmnaḥ sārvaṇ*<sup>267</sup> *hatvāva rākṣāmsi dhūnute* 'having slain all the ill-named ones, it shakes down the demons'  
 4.31.2c<sup>268</sup> *hatvāya* = RV 10.84.2c
- 62b. *a+ni+han-* 'not to smite down' > *ānihatya*  
 12.3.44c *brāhmaṇasyānihatyaitām*<sup>269</sup> *svargām* 'without having smitten down anything of the brahmin, go you two to the heavenly world!'
- 62c. *vi+han-* 'smite away' > *vihātya*  
 #7.73.9c<sup>270</sup> = RV 5.4.5c
- 63a. *hā-* 'leave' > *hitvā* (6x)  
 4.11.6d *yēnā devāḥ svār āruruhūr hitvā*<sup>271</sup> *sārīram amṛtasya nābhim* 'by which the gods ascended to heaven having left the body, to the navel of immortality'  
 5.20.3d *hitvā*<sup>272</sup> *grāmān prācyutā yantu sātravaḥ* 'having left their gangs, may the foes go urged forth'  
 #6.28.1d<sup>273</sup> = RV 10.165.5d  
 17.1.8<sup>274</sup> *hitvāsastim divam ā rukṣa* 'having left behind the imprecation, you have ascended that sky'  
 18.2.47b *yē agravaḥ śasamānāḥ pareyūr hitvā*<sup>275</sup> *dvéṣāmsy* 'who departed unmarried (but) assiduous, having abandoned hatreds'  
 #18.3.58<sup>276</sup> = RV 10.14.8 (*hitvāya*)
- 63b. *ava+hā-* 'leave behind' > *avahāya*  
 7.53.4b = 16.4.3b *mō apāno vahāya*<sup>277</sup> *pārā gāt* 'let not expiration leave him low and go away.'
- 65c. *vi+hā-* 'quit' > *vihāya*  
 3.28.5b = 6.120.3b *yātrā suhārdah sukṛto mādanti vihāya*<sup>278</sup> *rōgam tanvaḥ svāyāḥ* 'where

APPENDIX 2: OCCURRENCES OF THE GERUND IN AV

- the good-hearted and well-doing revel, having abandoned disease of their own body'
66. **anu+hā-** 'go after' > **anuhāya**  
5.18.9 **anuhāya**<sup>279</sup> **tāpasā manyūnā cotā dūrād āva bhindanty enam** 'having gone after with fervour as well as with fury, they split him down even from afar'
67. **hims-** 'injure' > **himsitvā** (2x)  
5.18.12 **prajāṃ himsitvā**<sup>280</sup> **brāhmaṇīm asambhavyām pārābhavan** 'having injured the progeny of the brahmins, they perished irretrievably'  
5.19.1c **bhṛguṃ himsitvā**<sup>281</sup> **sṛñjayā vaitahavyāḥ pārābhavan** 'having injured Bhṛgu, the Sṛñjayas, Vaitahavyas perished'  
5.19.11c = 5.18.12c above
68. **ud+hṛ-** 'take up' > **uddhṛtya**  
\*19.68.1c **tābhyām uddhṛtya**<sup>282</sup> **védam átha kármāṇi kṛṇmahe** 'having taken up the Veda by those two, we then perform acts'