

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

EDITED BY

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING
Ohio State University

OLIN H MOORE
Ohio State University

C E PARMENTER
University of Chicago

EDWARD SAPIR
Yale University

VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume III, 1934

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

AND

MURRAY BARNSON EMENEAU

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

1934

VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated
Mantras of the Veda

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

*Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in The Johns Hopkins University*

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology
in Yale University*

AND

MURRAY BARNSON EMENEAU

*Research Fellow in Sanskrit
in Yale University*

Volume III

NOUN AND PRONOUN
INFLECTION

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA

1984

COMPOSED AND PRINTED AT THE
WAVERLY PRESS INC
BALTIMORE MD U S A

CONTENTS

Preface	13
Abbreviations and symbols	15
Chapter I Introduction and summary, §§1-126	17
Formal variants, §§2-8	17
Syntactic and stylistic variants, §§9-126	18
Transfer of epithet	20
Form attraction or assimilation	21
Phrase inflection	22
Miscellaneous variants	23
Arrangement of materials	23
Summary of syntactic variations	24
Vocative and other cases	25
Nominative and other cases	26
Accusative and other cases	27
Instrumental and other cases	29
Dative and other cases	33
Ablative and other cases	35
Genitive and other cases	36
Locative and other cases	39
Number	42
Gender	45
Dedicatory expressions	47
FIRST PART FORMAL VARIANTS, CHAPTERS II-X	
Chapter II Duals in <i>au</i> and <i>ā</i> , of all declensions, §§127-136	51
Chapter III Fem endings <i>ai</i> and <i>ās</i> as dat or gen (abl) sing, §§137-152	56
Chapter IV Stems in <i>a</i> , §§153-174	63
1 Nominative and vocative plural in <i>ās āsas</i>	63
2 Neuter plural in <i>ā</i> or <i>āni</i>	65
3 Instrumental plural in <i>ais ebhis</i>	69
4 Ablative singular in <i>āt</i> and <i>tas</i>	70
5 Instrumental singular of <i>ā</i> stems in <i>ā</i> and <i>ayā</i>	70

Chapter V Short and long <i>i</i> stems, §§175-223	72
1 <i>i</i> forms from <i>i</i> stems	72
2 <i>i</i> stems of uncertain quantity	78
3 <i>i</i> forms from <i>ī</i> stems	79
4 Interchange between different <i>ī</i> declensions	82
5 Other variants concerning <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> stems	86
6 Alternative case endings within the same declension	86
Chapter VI. Long and short <i>u</i> stems, §§224-251	90
1 <i>ū</i> forms (normally fem) from original <i>u</i> stems	91
2 <i>u</i> forms (normally masc -neut) from original <i>ū</i> stems	92
3 Influence of <i>devi</i> declension on <i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> stems	93
4 Alternative case endings within the same declension	95
Chapter VII <i>r</i> stems and consonant stems, §§252-288	98
1 Stems in <i>r</i>	98
2 Consonant stems variant ablaut forms	99
3 Interinfluence of stems in <i>vant</i> , <i>vāns</i> , (<i>v</i>) <i>as</i> , <i>van</i>	101
4 Stems in <i>n</i>	102
5 Heteroclitc stems and the like	106
Chapter VIII Diphthongal stems, §§289-295	109
Chapter IX Adjectives and numerals, §§296-300	112
1 Feminine adjectives	112
2 Pronominal adjectives	113
3 Numerals	113
Chapter X Pronominal forms, §§301-320	114
1 Enclitic and orthotonic	114
2 Sporadic pronominal form variants	119

SECOND PART SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS,

CHAPTERS XI-XXIX

Chapter XI Vocative and nominative, §§321-342	123
Direct address and indirect statement	123
Phrase inflection	128
Vocative and nominative of independent statement	135
Transfer of epithet	136
Miscellaneous	137
Chapter XII Vocative and accusative, §§343-352	140
Direct address and indirect statement	140
Phrase inflection	141
Transfer of epithet	143
Errors	145

Chapter XIII Vocative and other cases, §§353-371	146
A Vocative and instrumental	146
B Vocative and dative	147
C Vocative and ablative	150
D Vocative and genitive	150
E Vocative and locative	153
Chapter XIV Nominative and accusative, §§372-407	155
1 Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology	155
2 Phrase inflection	161
3 Interchange of subject and object	165
4 Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative	168
5 Case attraction	172
6 Transfer of epithet	176
7 Neuter acc adverbs varying with nom adjectives	185
8 Miscellaneous and doubtful	186
Chapter XV Nominative and instrumental, §§408-419	190
1 Instr of means or agent and subject nom	190
2 Associative instr and (collateral) subject or predicate nom	192
3 Instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr) and nom of bahuvrīhis	194
4 Nom and instr of part dedicated in offering	195
5 Transfer of epithet	195
6 Nom of independent sentence and instr	198
7 Miscellaneous	198
Chapter XVI Nominative and dative, §§420-431	201
1 Dative of purpose varying with nominative	201
2 Dative varies with nom of secondary adjective in dedications	203
3 Dative varying with nominative of independent statement	203
4 Phrase inflection	204
5 Transfer of epithet	204
6 Miscellaneous	206
Chapter XVII Nominative and ablative or genitive, §§432-449	208
A Nominative and ablative	208
1 Abl of source and subject nom (passive active)	208
2 Independent nominative and dependent ablative	208
3 Phrase inflection	209
4 Transfer of epithet	209
5 Miscellaneous	209
B Nominative and genitive	211
1 Partitive genitive and nominative	211

2 Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative	212
3 Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive	215
4 Transfer of epithet	216
5 Miscellaneous	218
Chapter XVIII Nominative and locative, §§450-458	221
1 Independent nominative and dependent locative	221
2 Phrase inflection	221
3 Case attraction	222
4 Transfer of epithet	222
5 Miscellaneous	225
Chapter XIX Accusative and instrumental, §§459-477	229
1 Associative instrumental complementary accusative	229
2 Other accs and instrs, substantially equivalent	231
3 Acc of bahuvrīhis instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr)	234
4 Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals	235
5 Case attraction	236
6 Other miscellaneous variants	236
7 Phrase inflection	238
8 Transfer of epithet	239
Chapter XX Accusative and dative, §§478-492	241
1 After verbs of motion and the like	241
2 Dedicatory expressions	243
3 Dative of purpose accusative (object or goal)	243
4 Miscellaneous final dative accusative	244
5 Miscellaneous dative of interest accusative	245
6 Transfer of epithet	247
Chapter XXI Accusative and ablative, §§493-499	249
1 With verbs of separation, guarding, etc	249
2 With prepositions	249
3 Miscellaneous	250
4 Transfer of epithet	252
Chapter XXII Accusative and genitive, §§500-522	254
1 With verbs governing both cases	254
2 With nouns containing verbal force	256
3 Dedicatory expressions	256
4 Descriptive or possessive genitive modifying accusative	256
5 Partitive genitive modifying accusative	259
6 Phrase inflection	260
7 Miscellaneous	260
8 Transfer of epithet	261

Chapter XXIII Accusative and locative, §§523-555	264
Accusative and locative of goal	264
1 With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like	265
2 Adverbial acc loc	269
3 With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root <i>dha</i>)	270
4 With various prepositions	272
5 With verbs other than those of motion	272
6 Locative absolute and accusative	273
7 Case attraction	273
8 Miscellaneous	274
9 Corruptions	275
10 Transfer of epithet	276
11 Phrase inflection	277
Chapter XXIV Instrumental and other oblique cases, §§556-611	278
A Instrumental and dative	278
1 As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities	278
2 With expressions of uniting	281
3 Other syntactic shifts	282
4 Case attraction	283
5 Corruptions	283
6 Phrase inflection	284
7 Transfer of epithet	284
B Instrumental and ablative	285
1 Instrumental of means and ablative of source	285
2 Instrumental of means and ablative of cause	286
3 With expressions of separation	287
4 Dependent on prepositional adverbs	288
5 In adverbial forms	288
6 Case attraction, and miscellaneous	289
C Instrumental and genitive	289
1 Objective genitive	289
2 Subjective genitive	290
3 Partitive genitive	290
4 Instr -gen of time	291
5 Case attraction	292
6 Miscellaneous	293
7 Transfer of epithet	296
D Instrumental and locative	296
1 Time expressions	297
2 Place expressions	298
3 Instrumental of means or cause and locative	299

4 Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative	301
5 Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining	302
6 Miscellaneous	302
7 Phrase inflection	303
8 Transfer of epithet	304
9 Textually doubtful or corrupt	304
Chapter XXV Dative and ablative, genitive, locative, §§612-655	305
A Dative and ablative	305
B Dative and genitive	306
1 With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like	307
2 With nouns of uniting	308
3 Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive	308
4 Dative of purpose	312
5 Dative and genitive with verbs	313
6 Phrase inflection	314
7 Miscellaneous	314
8 Errors	315
C Dative and locative	315
1 After verbs	315
The roots <i>dhā</i> and <i>dā</i>	316
Other expressions of placing and giving	317
Verbs of uniting	318
Verbs of bringing and the like	319
Verbs of saying	319
Miscellaneous verbs	319
2 With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like	320
3 Miscellaneous	320
Chapter XXVI Ablative, genitive, and locative, §§656-684	322
A Ablative and genitive	322
Ablative of source or separation and genitive	322
Case attraction	323
B Ablative and locative	323
1 Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case	323
2 With prepositions	325
3 In adverbial forms	325
4 Case attraction	326
5 Phrase inflection	326
6 Miscellaneous	326
C Genitive and locative	327
1 Locative of position adnominal genitive	327

CONTENTS

11

2	After the preposition <i>antar</i>	329
3	Adverbial uses	330
4	Dependent on verbs	330
5	Transfer of epithet	331
6	Miscellaneous	331
	Chapter XXVII Singular and plural, §§685-743	332
1	Generalizing singular and plural	332
	<i>Āmredita</i> compounds	332
	Words connected with the ritual	333
	Divine personages	338
	Words meaning people, geographical terms, etc	339
	Words denoting living beings	342
	Words meaning enemy, demon, evil, etc	345
	Words meaning a boon of some sort	348
	Words meaning act of heroism, power, etc	350
	Words denoting various abstract concepts	352
	Words denoting parts of the body etc	352
	Seasonal and meteorological	354
	Utensils and other articles	355
	Plurale tantum	355
	Adjectives and pronouns	356
	Personal pronouns, referring to priests and associates	358
2	The neuter singular (and plural)	368
3	Plural of <i>viśva</i> with singular noun	370
4	Elliptic plural	370
5	Adverbs	371
6	Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group	371
7	Transfer of epithet	372
8	Phrase inflection	374
9	Pluralization, or the reverse, in same context	377
10	Form assimilation	378
11	Change of words or meanings of a word	379
12	Doubtful or erroneous	380
	Chapter XXVIII Dual and other numbers, §§744-778	381
1	Elliptic dual and <i>devatā-dvandvas</i>	381
2	Collective singular varies with dual	383
3	Dual and plural of parts of the body	384
4	Other entities conceived as dual or plural	385
5	Generalizing dual (for sing) and plural	385
6	Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets	386

7	Transfer of epithet	387
8	Phrase inflection	388
9	Dualization, or the reverse, in same context	391
10	Form assimilation	396
11	Corruptions and errors	397
Chapter XXIX Gender, §§779-852		399
1	Male and female persons and animals	399
2	Variation of nouns in grammatical gender	400
3	Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'	407
4	The indefinite neuter	408
5	Adverbial forms	412
6	Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender	416
7	Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun	417
8	Compound nouns	417
9	Nom agentis (masc) nom actionis (fem)	418
10	Substitution of one noun for another	418
11	Transfer of epithet	423
12	Phrase inflection	426
Index of subjects		435
Index of words and stems		436
Index of mantras		437

PREFACE

This third volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals with the inflectional forms of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. The general plan and purposes of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* series have been set forth in the preface to Volume 1, *The Verb* (1930). Volume 2, *Phonetics*, appeared in 1932.

Except for a preliminary and incomplete collection of materials, Bloomfield's relation to this volume does not go beyond the formulation of the original project. On the other hand, I have had the benefit of active assistance from my friend and pupil Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, who supplemented Bloomfield's lists of materials by extensive additions of his own collectanea, and prepared a preliminary draft of the entire book. I hope that it may be possible for him to continue this cooperation in future volumes of the series; this volume has benefited greatly by his industry and acumen. I have, however, worked over the entire book in the most intimate way, and the responsibility for its final form is wholly mine.

During correction of the proof, we received Hanns Oertel's valuable monograph, "*Zur Kapiṣṭhala-Kāṭha-Samhitā*" (SBBAW ph.-h. Abt., 1934, Heft 6). We felt able to make only the most important additions from its materials; these are indicated by references to "Oertel" followed by a page-number. They include all appropriate variants not previously noted by us.

The publication of this volume, as of its predecessors, has been made possible by the very generous financial aid of the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and of the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, to both of which we are deeply grateful.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The standard abbreviations used in this volume are the same as in its predecessors VV = Vedic Variants, the numerals 1 and 2 after VV refer to the first and second volumes Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Concordance *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*

The asterisk * indicates a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in that same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute, that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

§1 This volume of the Vedic Variants deals with the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and aims to include all variations in the inflected forms of such words in the repeated mantras of the Veda, except as indicated in §9. The material falls into two divisions, which we call formal variants, and syntactic and stylistic variants. Under formal variants we include all variations between what are intended as equivalent forms for the same case, number, and gender. Under syntactic and stylistic variants are included the rest, that is variations in case, number, and gender. The latter are, as was to be expected, much more numerous than the former.

FORMAL VARIANTS

§2 The formal variants constitute a kind of addendum to the third volume of Wackernagel's great grammar, which, we need scarcely say, has been constantly consulted by us and has been of infinite value. Students of that masterly work will find, we hope, that it is supplemented and at times corrected by this book.

§3 We begin with variation between the dual endings *ā* and *au* in all declensions (Ch II). They are fairly numerous and interesting, but reveal nothing new in principle. Next (Ch III) the variations between the feminine endings *ai* and *ās* in the dative and ablative-genitive singular, which put this important matter in a somewhat new light. Not only may *ai* forms be used as ablatives as well as genitives, but also *ās* forms as datives, the latter fact has, so far as we know, never before been specifically recognized.

§4 Coming now to formal variants in the *a* declension specifically (Ch IV), we take up first the nom. pl. in *ās* or *āsas*, which is largely a matter of meter. The same is true of the more numerous variations in the neuter plural *ā* and *ām*, and of the relatively few interchanges of the instr. pl. in *ais* and *ebhis*. The abl. sg. endings *āt* and *(a)tas* interchange but rarely, and so far as we have noticed only in pronouns and pronominal adjectives. Still rarer, and somewhat dubious, are the interchanges of *ā* and *ayā* in the fem. instr. sg.

18 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

§5 The next chapter (V) is a long one, and takes up variant forms of the short and long *i* declensions. That there is much interplay between these declensions has long been recognized, but the extent and variety of these interchanges as here revealed is surprising and goes farther at a number of points than has been shown by any previous treatment. Next comes a much shorter but still fairly lengthy chapter (VI) on variations in the short and long *u* stems, also with interesting results.

§6 In the *r* declension we find little except variations between long and short *r* in the gen. pl., and one or two shifts of ablaut in the stem final. Such shifts of ablaut form the first part of the section dealing with consonantal stems. It is followed by a section dealing with the interplay of *vant*, *vāns*, (*v*)*as*, and *van* stems. Next a section on *n* stems, the principal variations here are in the neuter plural (*a* and *ā*, partly phonetic in character, very rarely *ā* or *a* and *āni*), oblique cases with and without intermediate ('euphonic') *a*, instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems, and loc. sg. in *an* or *ani*, largely a matter of meter. This chapter (VII) is concluded with a few miscellaneous variants dealing with heteroclitic stems and the like.

§7. The short chapter (VIII) on diphthongal stems does not contain much of general interest. That on adjectives and numerals (IX) is also brief and not very important, it contains chiefly shifts between fem. adjectives in *ā* and *ī*, and nominal and pronominal forms from pronominal adjectives.

§8 Our formal variants conclude with a chapter (X) on the forms of pronouns. Except a few sporadic and miscellaneous variants listed at the end, they all concern interchange between enclitic and orthotonic pronouns, acc., dat., and gen. sg. and pl. Meter is apt to be concerned in them, and in the case of the acc. sg. forms also certain phonetic aspects, which have already been referred to in VV 2.

SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS

§9 These are much more numerous than the formal variants. We have found shifts between every one of the eight cases and every other, as well as between each of the three numbers and genders and every other. In these sections we usually group nouns, adjectives, and pronouns together, without distinction, since it is obvious that as a rule the principles governing shift of case in noun forms are just the same as in adjective and in pronoun forms. The lists are in general as complete as we could make them by repeated and intensive search.

However, in the variations in number we have included complete lists of pronoun variants only when there is no change of person or stem. That is, we have tried to include all shifts between pronouns of e.g. the 1st sg. and 1st pl., and between 2d sg. and 2d pl., but not of 1st sg. and 2d pl. or vice versa. To have included the latter would have swollen the lists out of all proportion to the value of the additional materials for our present subject, in so far as they have a bearing on number, this bearing is sufficiently illustrated by the examples we have included.—In a few other cases, all specifically noted, we have given only examples, rather than complete lists, of formally similar variants occurring in the same passage.

§10 As was to be expected, there are great differences in the frequency of interchange between the various categories. Certain of the cases—such as vocative and locative—hardly ever exchange, while others—such as nominative and accusative—exchange very frequently. Case variations as a whole are much more numerous than those of number and gender, and number variations much more numerous than those of gender.

§11 Roughly speaking we may think of these variants as falling into two main categories. One group consists of those in which the variation has an immediate relation to the meaning of the two varying morphemes. Thus, first, we may find the substitution of one construction for another, where both are equally possible, without change of meaning, or with so little change that the meanings are essentially identical. For instance, after certain prepositions and certain verbs different oblique cases may be used without difference of meaning. Or a double dual may vary with a pair of singulars. Or a noun may vary in gender, and consequently its form, or the form of a modifying adjective or pronoun, may vary, without difference in meaning. Or the difference of meaning may be a very slight one, such that similar changes occur in considerable numbers in Vedic tradition, as is the case with instrumentals and datives like the following: the RV *pāda sam tam sñcatu rādhasē* 'may he sprinkle it unto bounty' is changed in KS, in the like context, to *sam tat sñcatu rādhasā* 'may he sprinkle it with bounty,' which means virtually the same thing. There are very many cases of this sort among the interchanges of case, and they constitute one of the most interesting and important results of this volume. They show interplay between the various case forms to a hitherto unsuspected extent.

§12 There are all possible gradations between absolute equivalence and marked difference of meaning in connection with such shifts of

form On the whole, we recognize it as our duty to seek for differences of meaning, however slight, when different morphemes are used But the important lesson of our materials is not the differences between variant syntactical usages, these were pretty well understood before It is rather the surprising extent to which they play into one another Constructions which at first sight seem to have nothing to do with one another turn out to be practically interchangeable on an astonishing scale Who would think *a priori* that there could be any relation between the instrumental, of either accompaniment or means, and the final dative? Yet we find a large number of cases like that quoted above, in which the two are virtually synonymous And we shall find that this is no isolated instance

§13 The second large group of these variants consists of those which have no real relation to the syntactic uses of the variant morphemes, but whose interest consists in the light they throw on the processes of Vedic tradition They illumine the ways in which the whole stock of mantra material was reworked in the course of centuries, but do not illustrate points of Vedic grammar

Transfer of epithet

§14 Probably the most widespread of the processes here referred to is that to which we have given the name of 'transfer of epithet' A change in number, gender, or case, or in two or all three of these, may signalize the application of an epithet (whether noun, adjective, or pronoun) to a different person or thing in one text from that to which it applies in another Thus, RV 10 125 3cd reads *tām mā devā vy adadhuh purutrā, bhūristhātrām bhūry āveśayanīm* In the repetition of this in the AV 4 30 2cd, *āveśayanīm* is changed to *āveśayantah* The RV original means 'the gods have established me (Vāc) variously in many places, me of many stations, bestowing abundantly' The epithet *āveśayanīm* here agrees with the object, Vāc In the AV it is made to agree with the subject, the gods 'introducing (installing) me abundantly,' or 'making me enter into many things' By this alteration the AV substitutes a nominative for an accusative, a plural for a singular, and a masculine for a feminine, yet obviously the change has no bearing on the syntax of case, number or gender It interestingly illustrates the psychology of the Vedic traditionalists, whatever may have been precisely in the mind of the composer of the original form (this is a problem which may be left for exegetes of the passage), the AV has a secondary *lectio facilior*, the meaning of which is simple

enough, evidently the AV redactor stumbled over the recondite meaning of the passage in its R̥gvedic form. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 126

§15 Only slightly different is a case like the following *tasmaṁ devā amṛtāḥ* (AV *amṛtam*) *saṁ vyayanāṁ* (AV ^{tu}) AV TS MS ApMB, 'let the gods provide for him nectar' or 'let the immortal gods provide for him' (objects supplied from the preceding line). Here one of the two variant forms, in this case we believe the original one (that of AV), contains an independent noun, not strictly speaking an 'epithet' of any other word, which in the other version is 'transferred' as an epithet to the word *devā(k)*. The reverse of this, in which the older form of the variant presents an 'epithet' which is given independent construction in the secondary form, also occurs (an example is found in the next paragraph). Such variants as these are also included by us, with a slight stretching of the term, in the category of 'transfer of epithet'.

§16 Transfers of epithet are extremely common, and are found as between each of the three genders and numbers and almost every two of the eight cases. Often the variation involves more change than that of the word-ending alone, the variant forms may be really different words, as in *asmabhyam indav indrayuh* (SV *indriyam*) RV SV, here the RV *indrayuh* is an epithet of the subject of the verb (*pavaśva*), SV changes it into *indriyam*, object of that verb. Since such variations really concern Vedic psychology rather than grammar and syntax, variants of this sort are included in our lists of 'transfer of epithet'.

Form attraction or assimilation

§17 The process described as 'transfer of epithet' involves in many, perhaps most, instances attraction in form (case, number, or gender) to another word in the context. We have, however, restricted the term 'form attraction' or 'assimilation' in a technical sense to a different group of variants. In them a word, without being made to refer to a different person or thing in such a way that the process can be described as 'transfer of epithet,' nevertheless suffers a change in form by attraction or assimilation to an adjacent word in the context. Such variants are fairly frequent as between different cases, and we then describe the process as 'case attraction'. They are much rarer as between different numbers and genders.

§18. The word exercising the attraction may be a name or epithet of the same person or thing to which the variant word refers, as in *yajñasya* (AV *cūṭasya*) *mātā* (SMB *mātaram*) *suḥavā me* (AV *no*) *astu*

AV TB SMB (preceded in SMB by *ākūtim devīm manasā prapadye*) 'I do homage with my mind to the goddess Ākūti, the mother of the sacrifice, may she be easily invoked for us' So SMB, construing the epithet 'mother of the sacrifice' with the accusatives of the preceding pāda, while the other texts make it agree with the subject in its own pāda, but both refer to the same personage

§19 Furthermore, however, the word exercising the attraction may not refer to the same entity as the attracted word. In such cases the result is a real difference of meaning as well as of construction. In the following formula we have two such attractions, each in a different text *haviṣā yajña* (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS *°yauh*) VS MS KS TB. The original form was clearly that found in MS KS '(They praised Indra,) his strength, with oblation, at the sacrifice'. In VS *indriyam* is attracted to the case of *haviṣā* 'with oblation, with powers'. In TB *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam* '(They praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, (his) strength' (§473). Such changes as these are easy enough in the ritualistic language of the Vedic mantras, which are much more interested in impressive sound than in sense. They occur between most of the cases.

§20 Special attention may be called to a particular type of case attraction, in which one form of the variant contains a relative pronoun, most often in the nominative case (the defining or 'articular' relative), as in *tam kravyādāṁ asīsamam* AV, *yah kravyāt tam asīśamam* Kauś, 'I have appeased the flesh-eater' (§396). Here, if we regard the AV form as older (which however can scarcely be regarded as certain), the change is a sort of converse of case-attraction, the assimilated form being the older. But such instances can hardly be separated from the following, where the assimilated form, without the relative, is clearly secondary *tam u śtuhī yo antah sindhau sūnuh satyasya yuvānam* AV, *tam u śtuhī antahsindhum sūnum satyasya yuvānam* AŚ, 'praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful' (§394).

Phrase inflection

§21 The third type of variation which seems to us to illustrate the underlying psychology of Vedic tradition, rather than the grammar or syntax of the language, is that to which we have given the name of 'phrase inflection'. In it a phrase is lifted out of its original context and used in a different one, which requires a different form or construction for one or more of the words. Sometimes it is a single pāda which is borrowed and adapted to a new context, perhaps in the same

vicinity, as when AV 4 34 6b *āṣireṇa pūrṇā udakena dadhṇā*, 'full of milk, water, and sour milk,' is repeated in the next stanza with *pūrṇān* for *pūrṇā(h)*. The stanzas are otherwise different, in the first the nom case agrees with the nouns in the preceding pāda, *ghṛtahrādā madhukūlāh surodakāh*, while in the second the acc agrees with the preceding acc (*caturāḥ kumbhāns caturdhā dadāmi*). The same sort of adaptation to new contexts occurs much more often in passages which are not so closely associated.

§22. A somewhat different type of 'phrase inflection' is illustrated by the following *āyusmatidam* (ApMB HG *āyusmān idam*, MG once *āyusmann idam*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV SMB ApMB PG HG MG (bis), 'O long-lived one (or, being long-lived) do thou put on this garment'. In some texts the epithet is masculine, here the Aryan boy at the initiation ceremony is addressed. In others it is feminine, these address the bride at the marriage rite. An entire stanza may be thus adapted to a new *material* context (as distinguished from the different *verbal* context concerned in the variant quoted above), and such 'phrase inflection' is a very fruitful source of variation in number and gender, while case variation is usually associated rather with the type of the preceding paragraph. Yet the two do not differ much in essence and it is impossible to draw a sharp line between them. They include a great many variants which the Vedic ritualists would call *ūhas* or *vikāras*.

Miscellaneous variants

§23. It should finally be said that, among the variations in case particularly, there are not a few that are miscellaneous and unclassifiable. Generally they involve rather sweeping reconstructions of the variant passage, with substitutions of different words and other drastic changes. For the sake of completeness we have tried to include even these, and indeed many of them have considerable interest, and throw light on the mental operations of the ritualistic traditionalists, and at times on the exegesis of individual passages.

Arrangement of the materials

§24. In arranging the 'syntactic and stylistic' variants (as distinguished from the 'formal variants', §1) we have decided, after some hesitation, to follow strictly the classifications suggested by the forms themselves. We shall begin with the variants of each case with every other case, whatever their nature, and then follow with the variants

24 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

of the three numbers and the three genders. This involves separation of the variants of the types last described, cases of 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', 'phrase inflection', and miscellaneous, into thirty-odd possible divisions (not all showing actual examples), so that e.g. variants involving 'transfer of epithet' appear separately under variations of Vocative and Nominative, Vocative and Accusative, Vocative and Instrumental, and so on through the list. Of course, such variants may be said logically to belong together, for they illustrate the same aspect of Vedic literary psychology, and nothing else. In principle it makes no difference what case-forms, number-forms, or gender-forms are involved.

§25 Despite this objection, we feel that it was impossible for us to do otherwise than follow the lines of formal variation. For no rigid line can be drawn between the categories at certain points. Form attraction or assimilation often seems to have been a contributory influence in bringing about a syntactic shift, which nevertheless occurs elsewhere without any such contributory influence. Some types of 'phrase inflection' are closely similar to, and should certainly not be separated from, certain syntactic variations. For instance, the shift between a vocative of direct address, usually with a second-person verb, and a nominative of indirect statement, typically with a third-person verb, is a genuine syntactic variation. Yet it occurs also, and quite often, in cases where a formula is lifted from its original context and adapted to a new context, and where the change of case is precisely due to this fact, so that we have a genuine and typical case of 'phrase inflection' (see §329). By consulting our Table of Contents and the Index of Subjects it will be easy for any one interested to bring together all the instances of 'transfer of epithet' etc.

SUMMARY OF SYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

§26 We shall now proceed to summarize very briefly the contents of the syntactic chapters, and to indicate the most important results that bear on Vedic grammar and syntax. In this summary we shall ignore the variants dealing with 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', and 'phrase inflection'. We shall begin with brief accounts of the most important and interesting ways in which each of the eight cases varies with the others, and follow with corresponding statements on variations of number and gender.

Vocative and other cases

§27 Variations between the vocative and other cases usually signalize shift between direct address and indirect reference, as in *māte-vāsmā adīte* (ŚG ^{°t}h) *śarma yacha* (ŚG *yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB, 'like a mother grant, O Aditi (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him' (§§322, 326) However, in variants with the nominative, the latter may be appositional to a 2d person subject, so that direct address is found in both forms Thus, *ā tiṣṭha mitravardhanah* (AV ^{°na}) AV KS TB †ApŚ †, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends' (§§323, 334)

§28 Similarly also with other cases in variation with voc Thus, a vocative of direct address may vary with an accusative of indirect reference *rcā yāmi maruto brahmanaspatim* (SV ^{°te}), *devān* (SV *devā*) *avo varenyam* RV SV MS KS, 'with a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' or 'I approach [you], O Maruts' etc (§343) Or else both forms may contain direct address *namasyāmas tvedyam* (KS ^{°ya}) *jātavedah* RV MS KS TB, 'we pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas (to thee, O worshipful J)' (§348)

§29 With the instrumental, where both forms have direct address, a second subject may be expressed by an associative instr or by another voc, as in *mo ſū na indrātra* (TS †*indra*) *prtsu devaih* (KS *devāh*, TS MS *deva*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB, 'O Indra along with the gods (and ye gods, or O god!)' (§353) On the other hand the instrumentality thru which a result is expected may be indirectly referred to in the instr or directly addressed in the voc *jaḡatyaṇam* (AŚ ^{°ty} *cnam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (^{°mī}, ^{°nī}) TS MS KS AŚ, 'O jaḡatī (by means of the jaḡatī) may we (I) settle him in the tribes!' (§354)

§30 Likewise with the dative both these types are found *agnaye* (AV Kauś *agne*) *samudham āhārṣam* (*ahārṣam*) AV Kauś AG GG SMB ŚG PG HG ApMB, 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great Jātavedas', *kṣayadvīra* (TS ^{°vīrāya}) *sumnam asme te astu* RV TS (§§358-9)

§31 And with the genitive, the shift between direct address and indirect reference is found in *ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS KS ^{°tur}) *ādhipatyē* (TS ^{°tyah}) TS MS KS AŚ, 'in [thy] overlordship, O Savitar' or 'in Savitar's overlordship' (§363), while direct address is found in both variants in *bṛhaspatīsutasya ta* (KS om *ta*) *indo* (KS MS *inda*) TS MS KS, *bṛhaspatīsutasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK *inda*) VS VSK ŚB (§365)

Nominative and other cases

§32 Perhaps the most characteristic way in which the nominative may vary with other cases in general is that in which one variant form has an independent statement, with subject nominative, which in the other form is compressed into syntactic dependence, as a rule on an adjoining sentence, the nominative being replaced by any other case. Thus, with the accusative *nīrtim tvāham pari veda vīvatah* VS MS ŚB, *nīrtir itī tvāham pari veda vīvatah* (sarvatoḥ) AV TS KS, 'I know thee completely as Nīrti' (§393). Or the dependence may be created by the insertion of an active verb *īyam vedih paro antah prthivyāh* RV AV VS ŚB AŚ LŚ, *vedim āhuh param antam prthivyāh* TS KSA, 'this altar is the extreme limit of the earth' or 'they declare the altar (to be) the extreme limit of the earth' (§392). And notably we find a group in which the independent nominative is put in a relative clause *tam u śūhī yo antah sindharu* AV *tam u śūhī antahsindhum* AŚ, both meaning 'praise him who is within the waters' (§394).

§33 With the instrumental *gavā te krīnāni* TS ApŚ *īyam gaus tayā te krīnāni* MŚ, 'with a cow let me buy of thee' or 'here is a cow, with her' etc (§418).

§34 With the dative *tasmā etam bharata tadvaśāya* (*tadvaśo dadih*) RV (both), 'bring this to him who desires it' or 'bring this to him, he desires it and is generous' (§425).

§35 With the ablative *viśno* (*viśnoh*, *viśnos*) *sthānam asi* (MS *sthāmāsi*, KS *sthāmnaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ (§433). In KS connected syntactically with the following, *ita vīryam akṛnot*.

§36 With the genitive *agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān* (*vṛtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS ApŚ, *agnīṣomau vṛtrahanau tayor* (*vṛtrahanāu agnīṣomayor*) *aham devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS MŚ (§445).

§37 With the locative *krte yonau* (KS *krto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (*vījam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB, 'in the prepared womb (the womb is prepared,) scatter here the seed' (§450).

§38 With the vocative (§338) *tīṣṭha ratham* (*rathe*) *adhī tam* (*yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB *ṭah*) RV VS ŚB TB. Instead of 'O vajra-handed', TB says 'since (thou art) vajra-handed'.

§39 Otherwise most of the interchanges between nominative and other cases either belong to general classes like 'transfer of epithet' or 'phrase inflection' (§§14-6, 21-2), or are matters of alternative syntactic expressions for what is essentially the same idea. Thus, the same thought may be expressed in an active or transitive form, with accusative of direct object or goal, or in an intransitive or passive form, with the

accusative changed to a nominative, as in (om) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh , 'I gratify Agni,' but *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG , 'let Agni be gratified' (§373)

§40. Similarly, the instrumental of agent or means expresses that which performs an action, and so in intransitive or passive expressions may vary with another expression in which it is made the subject of an active verb, in the nominative, as in *ya im vahanta āśubhiḥ* RV , 'who travel by horses,' but *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV , 'when horses carry [him]' (§408) And in the same way, with a verb denoting origin, the ablative of source with a passive expression is the equivalent of the subject nominative with the corresponding active, in *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā* JB AG Kauś , 'from him thou wast produced,' *asmāt tvam adhi jāto* 'si VS ŚB TA KŚ Karmaṇ , same sense, but *ayam vai tvām ajanayad* ŚŚ , 'he verily has begotten thee' (§432)

§41 In a rather more intricate way, but fairly commonly, the dative of purpose varies with a nominative (usually then an epithet of the subject), as denoting something desired for or attributed to the subject Thus, *pade-pade pāśinah santi setavaḥ* (AV °ve) RV AV KS ApŚ , 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420)

§42 Other variations are related to specific aspects of the syntax of other cases and will be treated in dealing with them below

Accusative and other cases

§43 The accusative may be used in forming adverbs, of such loose and general meaning that they may vary with corresponding forms of practically any other case Thus even with the nominative, the nominative form being then of course an adjective, as in *subhūḥ svayambhūḥ prathamah* (AŚ ŚŚ °mam) VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ , where the word 'first' has essentially the same meaning and application whether it be in form an adjective agreeing with the subject (VS ŚB), or an adverb (AŚ ŚŚ), §404

§44 The instrumental varies in such cases especially easily with the accusative, being used in quite the same adverbial way, as in *ghṛtācy asy upabhr̥ṇ nāmnā* (VSK nāma) VS VSK ŚB (and others, §471) Here both mean simply *nomine*, 'by name'

§45 The final dative may also be substantially equivalent to an adverbial accusative, as in *tan* (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu sobhāyan* (MS °ṇi) TS MS TA , 'may the gods aid me unto splendor (splendidly)' (§487)

§46 The locative is used as well as the accusative in forms that are

vaguely adverbial *tena devā devatām agra* (VS MS KS *agram*) *āyam* AV VS MS KS *tapasā* (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyam* TS TB TA MahānU, 'by this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning (*agre* or *agram*)' (§530)

§47 The accusative of goal, which develops into, and cannot clearly be distinguished from, the purely syntactic accusative of 'direct object', is found varying in one way or another with every other oblique case. Naturally the psychology of the passages varies to some extent. Thus with the instrumental and accusative, the variation is specially apt to occur when the verb may be felt as connoting the idea of 'joining', which suggests the associative instrumental, as in *śunam kīnāśā abhi* (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaḥ* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS SB, 'prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals' (§467). But these two cases also interchange where no notion of 'joining' is present, as in *pra śmaśru* (SV *śmaśrubhū*) *dodhavad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV *dhā bhuvat*) RV SV, 'shaking (with) his beard' (§469). Or the 'inner', 'cognate', or 'resultative' accusative varies with an instrumental of manner or means *ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV, *taṁ orkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* TB, 'they sing with ghee a song (sing with songs) unto the young' (§465). And *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *haviṣā*) *yukta* MS TB (and others, §466), 'offer (with) oblation to Indra here'.

§48 So the final dative or the dative of the interested party may vary with the accusative of goal, *kāmena mā* (TA *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA *āgāt*) AV TA, 'by love love has come to (for?) me', *sā paprathe pṛthivī pāṛthivāni* (KS MŚ *vāya*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ, 'this earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region)' (§§478-9). Many other cases will be found below under accusative and dative variants, but in perhaps the majority of them the psychological difference is greater between the two variant forms.

§49 With the ablative we find strict equivalence only after prepositions (*ā* 'until' with acc = abl, §494). But with verbs of separation the two things separated (one acc, the other abl) may change places, as in *nyam duruktāt* (PG *tam*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG, 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493).

§50 With the genitive, equivalence to the accusative shows itself chiefly after certain verbs which may govern both cases, and after nouns with verbal force. Thus, verbs of eating and drinking show objects in either case, as also in the locative *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ*

(MŚ **tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ **īm nadīm*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ, 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river' (§§501, 544)

§51 Verbs of offering take acc, gen, or instr of the thing offered *tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ, *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV, *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *haviṣ ā*) *juhota* MS TB (§502)

§52 Verbs of ruling, of knowing, and of robbing, see §§503-5

§53 Nouns with verbal force *mām anuvratā bhava* HG, *agner* (AV *patyur*) *anuvratā bhūtvā* AV TS KS TB MŚ ApMB (§506)

§54 As to the locative, its use as virtual equivalent of the accusative of goal is very familiar, a striking instance is *yasya vratam (vrate) paśavo yanti sarve*, *yasya vratam (vrate) upatiṣṭhanta āpah*, §§523, 526, 'into whose control go all cattle, under whose control enter the waters' Here a minority of texts, and different ones in the two cases, substitute a loc *vrate* for the acc *vratam*, altho motion is surely implied both times There are, however, many cases of such variants where the loc may be interpreted as denoting position, in contrast with an acc of motion, see our detailed discussion below, §§523 ff We shall also find there that verbs of placing, *dhā* and its group, govern acc and loc interchangeably, altho often one may plausibly argue some psychological difference in the variant usages (§§533 ff) With various prepositions, too, the two cases are at times nearly or quite equivalent (§§539 ff)

Instrumental and other cases

§55 An important general class of variants between instrumental and other cases concerns the associative instrumental, which may theoretically vary with any other case in this way, that in one form two parallel nouns are put in the same case (any case whatever), while in the other form one of them is replaced by an associative instrumental That is, 'A and B' is the equivalent of 'A along with B' Such variants actually occur with voc, nom, and acc Thus, with the vocative, *mo gū na indrātra* (TS † *indra*) *pṛtsu devāḥ* (KS *devāḥ*, TS MS *deva*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Originally, 'O Indra along with the gods', in KS at least, 'O Indra (and) ye gods' (§353)

§56 With the nominative, *yavā* (MS *yavair*) *na barhiṣ bhṛum kesarāni* VS MS KS TB, 'the hairs on his eyebrow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw together with barley)' (§412)

§57 With the accusative, *rūpāir apinśad* (TB **rūpāni pinśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV AV VS MS KS TB (both) N, 'he shaped all beings along with forms', or 'shaping forms (and) all beings' (§459)

§58 The associative instrumental is by its nature related to the meaning of bahuvrīhi compounds, so that in theory we may expect an associative instr, either of a karmadhāraya compound or a separate uncompounded word, to vary with a bahuvrīhi compound agreeing with the noun with which the instr is connected, in any case whatever. We actually find such variants with nom and acc only, so far as noted. Thus, nom, *tripād ūrdhva ud at puruṣaḥ* RV ArS VS TA, *tribhūḥ padbhīr dyām arohat* AV, 'with three quarters (Puruṣa) went aloft (mounted the heaven)' (§413). Acc, *rākām aham suhāvām* (AV "vā) *suṣṭūti huve* RV AV etc, 'I call on Rākā of (with) good call, with fair praise' (§470).

§59 Verbs of joining, and their antonyms denoting severance or separation, show a curious blend of constructions involving the associative instrumental in interchange with accusative, dative, ablative, and locative. Even the genitive also becomes involved if we add nominal expressions equivalent to verbs of joining, and dat and loc vary with each other (§645). Details will be set forth under the various rubrics, here we shall content ourselves with a group of variants which illustrate the several types.

aṅgāny ātman (aṅgair ātmānam) bhuṣajā tad aśvinā, 'the physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)' or 'his body with his limbs'. See §462.

saṁ mā sṛjāmy adbhīr (apa) oṣadhībhiḥ, perhaps 'I unite myself with (unto?) waters, with plants'. See §460. Acc and instr.

tvaṣṭā rūpena samanaktu yajñam tvaṣṭā rūpāni samanaktu yajñāni, 'let Tvaṣṭar unite sacrifice with form (forms with sacrifices)'. Here the acc and instr interchange doubly, the result being substantial equivalence (§461).

susambhṛtā ("te) tvā saṁ bharāmi, 'I unite thee with (unto) good union'. Dat and instr, §560.

saṁveśane tanvas ("vā) cārur edhi, 'in joining of (with) thy body'. Gen and instr, with a nominal expression. The dat is also used, §§455, 560, 578.

saṁ devānām sumatyā (sumatau) yajñivyānām, '(bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods'. Loc and instr, §605.

—The following curious case may also be noted here.

saṁyagmāno ("nā, "nau) divā (diva ā) pṛthivyā ("vyāḥ), 'uniting with heaven and earth' or 'uniting from heaven and earth'. Abl and instr, §576.

§60 The above contain verbs of joining, verbs of separation are

more restricted, and with them the most characteristic constructions are the abl of separation or the associative instr (by analogy with verbs of joining)

tebhr no adya (tebhyo na indrah) savitota viṣnuh (tebhyo asmān varuṇah soma indrah), sc *vi muñcantu*, 'may free us from these (fetters of Varuna)' or the like, §573

§61 But note also the following, where two accs vary with an acc and an instr (for abl)

vi kumāram jarāyūnā (vi garbham ca jarāyu ca), sc *bhinadmī*, 'I separate the child from the afterbirth (the embryo and the afterbirth)' (§459)

§62 An instr still felt, apparently, as associative, tho without clear expressions of joining, varies without marked difference of meaning with the acc, dat and loc

pra rādhasā (rādhānsi) codayāte ('yate) *mahitvanā*, 'let him promote us with favor (unto favors), with might' (§469)

varsvānaro na ūtaye (ūtyā) [ā pra yātu parāvatah], 'let V come unto (with) aid' (§558)

sve dakṣe (svair dakṣair) dakṣaputeha sīda, 'be seated here in (with) thine own powers' (§603)

§63 The instrumental of means may vary with any other oblique case. The means whereby an end is obtained may also be regarded as its source or cause, and so be expressed by the ablative, or, with nominal forms, by the subjective genitive. With expressions of gratification it may exchange with the objective genitive. It may be felt as the occasion, the sphere within which the action takes place, and so be put in the locative. And finally, with nouns meaning 'something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality' (§556), it very often interchanges with a final dative, as expressing the result rather than the means. There is in this last interchange a slight shift in psychology, but from the point of view of Vedic thought it is very slight, as may be seen from such an example as the following, which is typical of many: *pra no rāyā parīnasā* (SV *rāye parītyase*), followed by *raṭsi vājāya panthām*, RV SV KB, 'break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength'. Here the RV original has a dative in the near-synonym *vājāya*, which has doubtless caused SV's alteration to the dative *rāye*. But we shall see (§558) many cases where no such assimilatory influence is found.

§64 With the ablative of source or cause *yās te viśas tapasah* (TB *°sā sambabhūvuh* AV TB), 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy

tapas '—*bhuvāḥ tvam indra brahmanā* (MS °*no*) *mahān* RV TS MS KS AŚ, 'become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words' (§§569, 571)

§65 With the genitive the instr of means exchanges in various ways. After expressions of gratification an objective genitive varies with it in *juṣṭam devebhīr* (AV *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhīḥ* (AV *mānuṣānām*) RV AV, 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579). The subjective genitive may be its equivalent with nominal (participial or quasi-participial) forms, as in *āpo devīḥ prathamajāḥ ṛtena* (AV *ṛtasya*) RV AV, 'the divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta' (§580). And with verbs of offering, the partitive gen (as well as the acc, §466) may vary with the instr, as in *tasmā indrāya havīṣā juhota* MS, *tasmā indrāyāndhūso juhota* RV, 'to Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma)' (§582).

§66 And finally the locative, as expressing the occasion or sphere of activity, may vary with an instr which seems often, tho not always, to be felt as expressing the means, as in *marutām prasave* (VS ŚB °*vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ, 'in (upon, by) the impulse of the Maruts conquer' (§§593, 601).

§67. The instrumental lends itself easily to use in adverbial formations of many sorts. No sharp distinction can be made between such forms which contain temporal or local force (instr of time and place), and others which are more vaguely adverbial, denoting manner or attendant circumstance of various kinds. We saw in §44 that the instr and acc interchange in this latter way. Some variants of instr and dative come pretty close to this, as *kāmena* (TS MS *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS om *prati*) *grhṇāmi* AV TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ, 'I receive thee with (unto) affection', i.e. 'affectionately', which is about all that is meant by both forms (§558). Worth mentioning is the following, in which instr, dat, and loc all are used, with little difference of real meaning *apām uta praśastiṣu* (RV *†praśastaye*, AV VSK °*ubhīḥ*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB (§§558, 601, 690), 'unto (by, in) praising of the waters [O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong]' An instance of instr and loc would be *sa rāye sa purandhyām* (SV °*dhyā*) RV SV AV JB, preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhūval* 'may he stand by us in our work, unto riches, in (with) liberality' (§603). The last word means virtually *liberaliter*, note the parallel dative *rāye*.

§68 In adverbial or quasi-adverbial forms denoting time the instr varies with abl, gen, and loc. Thus, *yad ahnā* (and *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA MahānU, *yad ahnāt* (and *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA

(on the latter forms see §575);—*madhu naktam uṭṭasah* (KS, °sā, TS TA °sī) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA. BṛhU. MahānU Kauś Here it seems fairly certain (see §584) that all three forms mean 'at dawn', the only question is whether *uṭṭasah*, which varies with both instr and loc, is gen ag (as we think probable) or acc pl.

§59 In similar forms with local meaning the instr varies with abl and loc *ayam paścād* (MS *paścā*) *vidadvasuh* MS KS (§575) *adhi kṣamā viśurūpam yad asti* (MS † *āsta*) RV AV MS TB, *adhi kṣamā viśvarūpam yad asya* ArS, both *kṣamā* and *kṣamī* 'on the earth' (§598)

Dative and other cases

§70 The dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to, or desired for, some other entity in the context, and may vary with a form which has the construction natural for that entity. Thus the variant form may be nominative, in apposition with the subject, as in *pade-pade pāsīnah santri setavah* (AV °ve) RV AV KS ApŚ, 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420). Quite similarly the accusative, as in *mahyam sūro abharaḥ jyotiḥ kam* AV 'to me the sun brought (it) in order to light,' *mahyam jyotiḥ abharat sūryas tat* KS, 'to me the sun brought that (as) light' (§486). Of almost the same nature is the following variant in which, after a verb of ruling, the 'object' required is genitive instead of accusative, so that we find gen and dat varying, *kṣayantam rādhaso* (TS °se, KS *śavase*) *mahah* (TS KS *mahe*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB, 'ruling over (unto) great bounty (strength)' (§628). Elsewhere the genitive form of the variant is dependent on another dative of purpose, with which the dative form is parallel *rāye* (ApŚ *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā [dānāya samudhīmah]* SV ApŚ, 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches)' (§629). With the instrumental, also, the dative of purpose often varies, but here the psychology is rather different, the same thing (regularly a boon or desired quality) is felt alternately as means or as desired result *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* (LŚ °yenā) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ, 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength' (§558).

§71. The loose use of the dative of indirect object or of the interested party, the 'to' or 'for' case, makes it possible to use it in variation with almost any other oblique case after various verbs and verbal nouns. Thus after verbs of motion acc and dat are used to express the goal (cf §§478 ff) *kāmena mā* (TA *me*) *kāma āgan (āgāt)* AV TA, 'by love love has come to me'. The loc is also used in the same sense and

frequently interchanges with the acc (§§523 ff), with the dative it is not in common interchange in this meaning, perhaps the clearest case is the following with a verbal noun *devebhyo* (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV ApŚ, 'bearing the oblation to the gods' (§646)

§72 With verbs of giving and placing, especially *dā* and *dhā*, the loc and dat are in specially close relations, on which see §§639 ff and VV 2 §101. The simple *dā* is not used with the loc of the person, otherwise the constructions of *dā* and *dhā* are or may be identical. Even this exception disappears with some compounds of *dā*, as in *tam devebhyah paridādāmi* ApŚ, *tam deveṣu paridādāmi vidvān* AŚ MŚ, 'I give him over to the gods'. Moreover the acc comes into contact with both dat and loc in connexion with such roots as *dhā*, which may govern either acc of person and loc of thing ('set in') or dat (loc ?) of person and acc of thing ('establish for, give to'), as in *svargam me lokam yaṣamānāya dhehī* Vait, *svarge loke yaṣamānam hī dhehī* (and *dhehī mām*) TB ApŚ (§482). And with noun compounds containing *dā* or *dhā*, an adnominal genitive may vary with a dative dependent on the verbal force still felt in the root *devebhyo* (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS *dhā*) *asat* VS TS MS KS †, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (§619).

§73 Verbs of saying, offering, and various others are construed interchangeably with dat and loc *devebhyo* (*deveṣu*) *mā sukr̥tam* (*nah sukr̥to*) *brūtāt* (etc.), 'declare me (us) virtuous to the gods' (§647) — *prthivyām* (KŚ *vyā*) *amṛtam juhomi* AŚ KŚ ApŚ, 'I offer nectar to the earth' (§650).

§74 Verbs of joining show especially the instrumental (§59) in variation with other cases. But as we saw that both dat and loc vary with instr, it is not surprising to find them varying with each other, as in *apṛye prathī muñca tat* (*muñcatam*) AV Kauś, *dv̥ṣadbhyah prathī muñcāmī pāśam* (*pāpam*) SMB BG ApMB, '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy' (§645). And as the gen was seen to vary with the instr after nouns of joining (§59), so also with the dative *samveśanas* (*ne*) *tanuvai* (*tanve*, *tanvaś*, *tanvā*) *cārur edhī*, 'in joining of (with) thy body (uniting to thy body)' (§578). Here all three cases, instr, dat, and gen, interchange.

§75 With the ablative the relations of the dative are more specialized, indeed practically restricted to verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. With them the dative of the interested party easily interchanges with the ablative of separation, as in *sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme* (*asmat*), followed by *ārāc cid dv̥ṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* (*ta*), 'may Indra, well-

saving, keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612) The original form of this (RV) has the dative, only the secondary AV. (and MS) the very natural ablative

§76 Even the gen is found in exchange with the dative after verbs in a couple of cases, which to be sure strike us as rather anomalous, see §§632-4 below

§77 With the genitive, however, the dative varies chiefly after nouns and adjectives rather than verbs. Among these one prominent group consists of adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like, with which the loc is also almost equally frequent *juṣṭo vāco (vāce) bhūyāsam* 'may I be pleasing to Speech' (§616), [*prīyam mā kṛnu*] *uta śūdra utārye (śūdrāya cāryāya ca)*, 'make me dear to both Śūdra and Aryan' (§654)

Ablative and other cases

§78 The ablative as the 'whence' case expresses source, cause, or place from which, and in various ways may interchange with any other oblique case. Thus in expressions of origin it may vary with the instrumental of means or the locative of position, since the source of anything may be regarded either as the instrument which produces it, or as its original and typical location. So, *yās te vīśas tapasah* (TB °sā) *sambabhūvuh* AV TB, 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy tapas' (§569) — *karkandhu jagñe madhu sārāgham mukhāt* (MS *mukhe*) VS MS KS TB, 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§660). Also an adnominal genitive may replace the ablative in similar phrases *tato mā yajñasyāśiṁ āgachatu* MS KS ApŚ, 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me', *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ, 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (§656)

§79 Similar ablatives vary with instrumentals and locatives where no idea of origination is expressed, at least clearly *bhūvas tvam indra brahmanā* (MS °no) *mahān* RV TS MS KS AŚ, 'become thou great, O Indra, by (from, as a result of) our holy word' (§571) — *tāh* (VS ŚB *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prṣṭhāt* (TS KS *prṣṭhe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB, '(the ships proceed) from (upon) the back of the mountain bull' (§661) — *apām yo madhyato* (KS *madhye*) *rasas* KS TB, 'the sap that comes from (is in) the middle of the waters' (§664)

§80 With expressions of separation, the ablative seems to us the natural case, but it may interchange with the instrumental (by analogy with the antonymic verbs of joining, §60), with the dative of the interested party, and with an adnominal genitive. So, *tebhir no adya* (ApŚ *tebhyo na indrah*) *savitota viṣṇuh* KŚ ApŚ, *tebhyo asmān varunah*

sama indrah Kauś, 'may free (in *muficantu* is the verb) us (today) from these (fetters)' (§573) — *sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme (asmat)*, followed by *ārāc cid dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* ('ta), 'may Indra keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612) — *mā parā seci mat payah* (no *dhanam*, *nah svam*, *me dhanam*), 'let not the sap from me (our, or my, wealth) be poured away' (§656) — Furthermore the accusative may vary with the ablative after such verbs, according as the entity in question is treated as the thing removed or that from which something else is removed *vyam duruktāt* (PG 'tam) *paribādhamānā* ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG, 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493)

§81 Unusually lively are the relations of the ablative with other cases after prepositions and prepositional adverbs. Thus *ā* in the sense of 'until' governs either acc or abl (while in the sense of 'from' it governs only the abl, but may vary with an acc in the other sense) *ūrjo* (intending *ūrdhvo*) *mā pāhy odṛcam* MŚ, *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcah* TS (and others, *ā + udṛcam* or *udṛcah* 'until the end of the sacrifice'), §494 And, with different meanings, *pari* with acc interchanges with *pari* with abl (l c)

§82 The prepositional adverbs *paras*, *avas*, *arvāk* govern either instr or abl without difference of meaning (§574) The preposition *pari* in the sense of 'from' regularly governs only the abl, but one variant shows abl varying with gen dual (§657) In somewhat different senses, the prepositions *adhi* and *antar* govern either abl or loc (§665)

§83 Adverbial forms with abl endings vary with instrumental and locative adverbs, sometimes we can still feel the force of the 'from' case in the abl form, but sometimes not, the form having faded out to an indifferent adverb *āre* (TS *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS 'na) *uta pūruṣaghnām* (TS 'ne) RV TS (§667) Here *ārāt*, like *āre*, can only mean 'far away', not 'from afar' — *ayam paścād* (MS *paścā*) *vidadvasuh* MS KS (§575)

Genitive and other cases

§84 The partitive genitive may be used as the virtual equivalent of an appositional noun, which may then replace it in another form of the same passage, taking the case of the word on which the genitive depends. In theory, such partitive genitives might therefore vary with any other case. Actually we find them varying with vocative, nominative, accusative, and instrumental. So, *tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe* RV VS, *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV, 'thou art most excellent, O plant (most

excellent of plants)' (§367).—*subhūr* (*svayambhūr*) *asī* (*nāmdāsi*) *śreṣṭho raśmīr* (*raśmīnām*) , ' the best ray (best of rays)' (§439) —*īmam mā hīnāsīr ekaśapham* (also, *divpādam*) *paśum* (TS KS *paśunām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB, 'this whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals)' (§515) —*vasantena* (*grīṣmena*, etc) *tvartunā* (KSA °*nām*) *haviṣā dākṣayāmī* TS KSA, 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc) season (of the seasons), with oblation' (§581)

§85 In a somewhat similar way, a descriptive or possessive genitive may vary with an appositional or adjectival form which agrees in case with the word on which the genitive depends in the other variant. When, as often happens, there seems to be reason for supposing that the genitive is more original, we may suppose that case-attraction has been at work. Indeed, this may sometimes be assumed even when the reverse is the case, that is when the assimilated form is historically older in the variant passage, for case assimilation is certainly a very old phenomenon, and may easily have been replaced in individual instances by a phrase containing a descriptive or possessive genitive. Such variants occur especially between genitive and nominative, accusative, and locative. So, *vṛṣāsy ūrmuḥ* TS TB, *vṛṣormīr asī* MS KS MŚ, *vṛṣṇa ūrmīr asī rāṣṭradāh* VS ŚB, 'thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)' (§440) —*avyo* (SV PB *avyam*) *vāram vi dhāvoti* RV SV PB, 'he (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (the woolen sieve)' (§509) —*asyā* (MG *ṭasyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG °*nyām*) AV MG, *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh ApMB, 'in this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' or 'in this woman, in her canal' (§672)

§86 With the dative of purpose, especially in infinitives, such assimilation may fairly be called regular, but here also dependent genitives may vary with the assimilated dative form. And we find the same variation with ablative infinitives. See Delbruck, *ATŚ* §§54, 103, 232b, and our §§629, 659 below. *rāye* (ApŚ *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā* (*dāndya samadhimahī*) SV ApŚ, 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches, note that this is the secondary reading)' —*tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad antoh* (*ā mamatoh*), ' until my return'. Here also the assimilated ablative *mad* is the original reading (TS), while the secondary AŚ MŚ have *mama*, gen.)

§87 The genitive is acutely described by Speyer (*VSS* §62) as 'hauptsächlich der adnominale Casus'. A large number of its variations with other oblique cases (not nom. or voc.) have this trait in common, that the gen. is broadly adnominal, the other case (acc., instr., dat., abl., loc.) broadly adverbial. That is, the gen. is definitely dependent

38 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

on a noun (whether we classify it as objective, subjective, descriptive, possessive, or partitive makes little difference) The variant case is usually also dependent on the same noun, but is differently felt, it is governed by a verbal notion felt in the noun So perhaps most clearly with the acc, as in *mām anuvratā bhava* 'be faithful to me', cf *agner (patyur) anuvratā bhūtvā* 'being faithful to Agni (to her husband)' (§506) Or again in the acc and gen after nouns of agent in *tar*, as *dātā varū-nām (varūni)*, §507

§88 With the instrumental, an adnominal gen describable as objective varies with the associative instr after nominal expressions of joining, and with an instr of means after nominal (and apparently even verbal) expressions of gratification, while a subjective adnominal gen may also vary with an instr of means depending on a passive participle or its equivalent So, *samvasānam* (SV °no) *vivasvatah* (SV °tā) RV SV, 'fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat' (§578) — *juṣṭam devebhīr uta mānuṣebhīh* (AV *devānām uta mānuṣānām*) RV AV, 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579) — *yan me (mayā) manasā vācā* [*kṛtam*], 'what (has been done) by me (on my part, as if 'my deed') with thought or speech' (§580)

§89 Rather varied also are such instances of adnominal gens varying with *dat*s, we quote an example or two at random *devabhīyo* (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS °dhā) *asat* VS TS MS KS †, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (objective gen), §619 — (*eṣa sya te madhu-mān indra somah*), *vṛṣā vṛṣne* (SV °nah) *pari pavitre akṣāh* RV SV, 'this honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve)' (possessive gen), §621

§90 With the ablative *tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgachatu* MS KS ApŚ *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ, 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me' or 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (possessive gen), §656 — *agnir etu prathamō devatābhyah* SMB, *agnir aitu prathamō devatānām* AG etc, 'let Agni go (come) first from among the gods (first of the gods)' (partitive gen), §656

§91 With the locative *asmākam* (TS *asmāsu*) *santu āśīṣah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ, 'let blessings be ours (be in us)' (possessive gen), §671 — *ahih śayata uparṣk prthivyāh* (TB °vyām) RV MS TB N, 'the dragon lies clinging to the earth' (objective gen), §676

§92 Special mention may be made of the gen after adjectives meaning 'pleasing' and the like, which varies especially with the *dat* (§77), but also with the *instr* (§65), the *loc* is likewise used (§77) but we have noted no case of its variation with the gen

§93 In addition to its adnominal use, however, the gen is also used with not a few verbs, and often varies with other cases, particularly the acc. Thus after verbs of eating and drinking the acc and the (partitive) gen (occasionally also the loc) are found *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh* (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tīm nadīm*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ, 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvati river' (§§501, 680). So after verbs of offering, the (partitive) gen varies with the acc and instr (§§51, 65). Verbs of ruling and of intellectual activity also govern either gen or acc (§§503-4), and verbs of robbing either two accs or acc of the person and gen of the thing (§505).

§94 With verbs of gratifying the gen interchanges with the instr *tena tṛpyatam anahau* TB ApŚ, *tasya tṛmpalam ahāhākuhī svāhā* ŚŚ (§579).

§96 The dat and gen vary after verbs only rarely, and probably as a result of the general tendency to confusion between these two cases (§614, and for examples after verbs §§632-4). On the variations of loc and gen after verbs, also sporadic, see §§680-2.

§96 In adverbs of time there is one variant, *madhu naktam ulōṣasah* (°*sā*, °*si*), which appears to involve the gen in relations with both instr and loc (§§68, 584), and in adverbs of place we find a gen varying with the (apparent) loc *dive-dive*, §678.

§97 As to the gen after prepositions, we find it once replacing the regular abl after *pari* (§657), and once varying with the loc after *antar* (§677).

Locative and other cases

§98 The locative is commonly thought of as the 'where' case. Somewhat more scientifically it may perhaps be defined as denoting fundamentally the sphere within which, or that in relation to which, something exists or takes place. Its meaning is, in any event, broad enough to permit it to exchange on occasion, with little difference of meaning, with all the oblique cases, from accusative to genitive. To begin with the ablative, which expresses the source of anything, this may also be conceived as its original or typical location, and so be put in the locative *karkandhu jajñe madhu sārāgham mukhāt* (MS *mukhe*) VS MS KS TB, 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§660). Or, *śvām prajābhyo 'hansantam (ahins°) prthivyāh sadhasthād* (TS MS KS KS °*sthe*) *agnim ('gnm) kṣanāmāh* (°*mi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB, 'we (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni ' (§664).

§99 More familiarly the locative tends in the opposite direction, it

inclines to denote the final rather than the original location, and so varies with the accusative (or dative) of goal, often as we think (cf §523), tho by no means always, with no difference of meaning, as in *yasya vratam* (*erate*) *paśavo yañi sarve*, 'into (not in!) whose control go all cattle' (§526) Or with dat, *mahyam vātah pavalām* (*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV *kāmāyāsmān*) RV AV TS KS, 'the wind shall blow (blows) for me unto this desire' (§646)

§100 With neither 'final' nor 'original' tinge, but simply as denoting the general sphere, that in (any sort of) relation to which something exists or takes place, the locative varies with instrumental, dative, or genitive. The instr may be one of means, manner, or accompaniment. So, *śam u yāh kumbha ābhṛtāh* and *śam yāh kumbhebhīr ābhṛtāh*, 'brought in a pot (with pots)' (§600) — *apām uta praśastiṣu* (*ṭaye*, 'ṭābhīh'), 'in (by, unto) praising of the waters [become ye strong, O gods (horses)]' (§601) — *rāyas poṣena* (*poṣe*) *sam iṣā madema*, 'may we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' (§603) — *sve dakṣe* (*svar dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha śida*, 'be seated in (with, or by) thine own power(s)' (§603)

§101 With the dative, the locative in this sense interchanges in dependence on both noun and verb forms. Thus quite standardly with adjectives meaning 'pleasing' and the like (for other cases used with them, gen and instr, cf §88, 65) *supṛito manuṣo viśi* (SV *viśe*) RV SV, or *prīyam mā brahmanī* (*ne*) *kuru* 'make me beloved to (with, among) the brahman caste' (§654). And with various verbs, such as *hu* 'pour (in, upon)' or 'offer (to)', *prthivyām* (KŚ *vyā*) *amṛtam juhomi* AŚ KŚ ApŚ, 'I pour nectar on (offer to) the earth' (§650). Or *ci* 'pile, build' *śahasrākṣa* (*kṣo*) *medhāya* (*medha ā*) *cīyamānah*, 'piled up at (for) the sacrifice' (§651).

§102 So with the genitive. The person or place at or near which something is located (*loc*) may also be conceived as its possessor, or as that upon which its influence is exerted (*objective gen*). Thus, *mayy āśīr astu mayi* (*mamāśīr astu mama*) *devahūth*, 'may prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)' (§671) — *nanāndarī sumrājñī bhava*, and *nanānduh samrājñy edhi*, 'be queen over (of, in relation to) thy sister-in-law' (§676).

§103 Rather more specifically, we find the locative interchanging with most of the other oblique cases after various verbs. Special attention should be directed to the rather complicated interchanges after verbs of placing, especially *dhā*, where acc, dat, and loc all appear. The relations of the dat and loc have been summarized above, §72. The regular constructions are acc of person and loc of thing ('set,

establish in'), or dat of person and acc of thing ('establish for, give to') So, *svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi* Vait, *suvarge loke yajamānam hi dhehi* (and *dhehi mām*) TB ApŚ, 'grant heaven's world to me the sacrificer' or 'set (me) the sacrificer in heaven's world' (§482) But two accusatives may also be used, a second acc replacing the loc of the remoter goal, so most clearly, perhaps, in the following where the verb *ā-sic* 'pour' is equivalent to a verb of placing, *ā gharṃe (gharmam) sīṇca paya usriyāyāh* 'pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink' (§535)

§104 We have seen above (§§59, 74) that the loc varies with various other cases (instr, dat) after verbs of joining, we may add here one case in which it varies with the acc after *saṃ-dhā*, construed as a verb of joining *aṅgāny ātman (aṅgaur ātmānam) bhṛṣajā tad āśvīnā* (followed by *ātmānam aṅgaḥ samadhāt sarasvatī*), 'joined his limbs upon his person (his person with his limbs)' (§536)

§105 The use of the loc after verbs in variation with other cases has perhaps been sufficiently illustrated under the other cases. Summarily we may recall its interchange with the gen (and acc) after verbs of eating and drinking (§93) and some others (§680-2), and with the dat (§73) after various verbs. With the acc it varies after a verb of beating, *āghnānāḥ pāṇinoraśi* and *urah paśaurēv āghnānāḥ*, 'beating upon their breasts with their hands' or 'beating their breasts and thighs (?)', §545. The person or thing spoken about (not to) is put in acc or loc with a verb of speaking, *pratiprasthātāḥ paśau* (MŚ *paśum*) *saṃvadasva* ApŚ MŚ, 'speak about the victim with (the slaughterer)' (§543), this contrasts with the classical usage in which the person addressed may be put in acc or loc (as well as dat) after verbs of speaking, doubtless an extension of the goal construction. This classical usage, however, is found with dat and loc *devebhyo (deveṣu) mā sukṛtam (nah sukṛto) brūlāt* (etc), 'declare that I am (that we are) righteous to the gods' (§647) —After a verb of fighting an 'inner' acc varies with a loc (*tvayā*) *vayam saṃghātām-saṃghātām (saṃghāte-saṃghāte, saṃghātām*, omitting the 2d form) *jeṣma (jayema, saṃjajyema)*, 'may we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight' (§546)

§106 In adverbial expressions of time, place, and manner the loc seems to be used in interchange with practically all other oblique cases. So, with acc *tena devā devatām agra (agram) āyan, tapasā (tayā) devā devatām agra āyan*, 'by this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning' (§530)

§107 With instr especially in place and time expressions, in our

opinion (cf §594) without any essential difference of meaning *maghāsu* (*aghāsu*, *maghābhīr*) *hanyante gāvah* (*gāvo grhyante*), 'in the (asterism) Maghās (Aghās) cows are slain (taken),' §596 — *madhu naktam utoṣasah* ('*śā*, '*śu*'), see §594 (also gen) — *adhī kṣamī viśurūpam* (*kṣamā viśvarūpam*) *yad aśī* (*asya*, *āsta*), 'on the earth', §598

§108 With abl, *āre* (*ārāt*) *te goghnām* (§667), both 'far off'

§109 With gen, see §96 — Dative variants have not been noted

§110 After prepositions with acc, after *adhī*, *acha*, *antarā* (§§539–42), with abl, after *adhī* and *antar* (but with difference of meaning, §665), with gen, after *antar* (§677)

§111 Finally, we have noted a very few cases where the loc seems to be used in a way approaching the absolute construction, and varies with a regularly governed accusative. We might expect to find any other case varying with the quasi-absolute loc just as well, but have not noted any others *nābhā prthivyāh samīdhāne agnau* (TS '*dhānam agnum*, MS KS '*dhāno agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB (followed by *rāyapośāya brhate havāmahe*), 'when Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him)' or 'we call upon Agni enkindled' (§548)

Number

§112. A large majority of the variations in number concern cases of what we call generalizing singular and plural. We have included under this head all cases in which singular and plural interchange without any clearly intended difference in meaning, as well as cases in which the singular is generic, while the plural seems to refer more particularly to various specific instances. No line can be drawn between the two classes. Thus in such a variant as *asmān rāya uta yajñāh* (KS † *yajñāh*) *sacantām* TS KS ApŚ, *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asascata* MS, 'let wealth and sacrifice(s) attend us (wealth and sacrifices have attended you)', no one can say that the plural *yajñāh* really means anything different from the generic singular *yajñāh*, 'sacrifice' in general (as an institution), and on the other hand one could not deny that the plural may have concentrated the attention more on the various specific acts of sacrifice. Such instances are very numerous §§685 ff. Of essentially the same sort are the (also very common) variations between singular and plural pronouns, particularly of the first person (§§722 ff.), many of which refer either to the speaker alone or vaguely to him and his associates, but the use of a plural rather than a singular pronoun certainly does not prove that he is really including other persons than himself, as in *agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi nah* (TB *mā*) RV TB, 'O Agni,

protect us (me) with powers' Here the chances are that RV means 'me' as well as TB, but there is no way of proving it. Such variants belong psychologically with the variations in number of verb forms treated in VV 1 §§344 ff, and like them show in not a few cases more or less inconsistency with the context in one or both forms (§723). Thus *śraddhe śrad dhāpayeha nah* (TB *mā*) RV TB, here the context in both forms contains a 1st plural verb, so that *mā* of TB is mildly inconsistent with its context.

§113 In our chapter on gender (cf §807) we shall see that the neuter singular is not infrequently used in forms which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, and varies with more definite plural epithets of the same or different gender (§727). A good example is *kr̥ṣ{apacyās* (TS KS °yam) *ca me* 'kr̥ṣ{apacyās (TS KS °yam) *ca me* VS TS MS KS (preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*), '(plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation' or 'that which ripens' etc. To the same general category belongs the use of substantive pronouns in the neuter singular in variation with pronouns agreeing in number and gender with the predicate (§730), as in *tad* (VS *tā*) *āpah sa* (VSK *tat*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS VSK TA MahānU, 'that is the waters, that Prajāpati'. Neuter singular adverbs also belong originally to the class of indefinite neuters, and vary either with adjectives or with plural adverbs which presumably must originally have been more definite in meaning (with some noun understood), as in *nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau* Ppp TS KS, *nīcār uccāh svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* and *nīcār*, *uccā* and *uccāh*, are synonymous (§734).

§114 When two or more nouns are used in correlation, we occasionally find adjectives variously put in the singular, then agreeing formally with only one (as a rule the nearest) of the series, or in the dual or plural, agreeing with the whole group. There is little real difference in the meaning, cf §§735, 757, and the same kind of variation has been noted in verb forms, VV 1 §§353 ff. Thus, *candīna jyotiḥ amṛtam dadhānāh* (°nā), *śukram na jyotiḥ amṛtam dadhānā* (°nāh), here *dadhānā* agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, while *dadhānāh* includes her and the Aśvins. Or, *yasya dyaur urvī prthivī ca mahī* AV, *yena dyaur ugrā prthivī ca dr̥dhā* (TS *dr̥dhe*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS, here the final adjective is singular, agreeing with *prthivī* alone, in all but TS, which makes it dual, including *dyaur*.

§115 An elliptic dual or plural may vary with a singular referring only to the first of the group. Both may be followed by a complementary singular referring to another member of the group, as in *mītrah*

44 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

(SV *mitrās*) *pānty adruhak* RV SV (preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*) Here *mitrās* means Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman, and *aryamā* is a complementary singular (§733) So also *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryaś ca* VS ŚB, where *indrā* can only be elliptic (= Indra and Sūrya), §747 In other cases an elliptic dual plus complementary singular may vary with a double dual, as in *dyāvā hotrāya prthivī* (°vīm), §746, or such a double dual may vary with two singulars, whether the two form a devatā-dvandva compound as in *indrāsūrā janayan visvakarmā* TB but *indrah sūrah prathamō visvakarmā* AŚ (§749), or whether the two duals are separated by other words as in *viṣṇum agan varunam pūrvahūti* AV, *viṣṇū agan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tim) VS MS etc (§748) The normal Sanskrit dvandva compounds, of both types (dual and neuter singular), are likewise found, the former varies with equivalent double singulars, as in *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh, mayi dakṣakratū* (§750), and the two types vary with each other, *kṣutpipāsābhyaṁ* (and °pāsāya) *svāhā* (§751)

§116 In the case of certain parts of the body, and also some other entities (§§752-3), it is possible to think of them either as dualities, with regard to their two component parts, or as singular units. So the nose is either singular or dual (referring to the two nostrils) *apāncna nāsike* (MS °kām) VS MS With certain other parts of the body, as well as other entities, either dual or plural is possible, as in the case of the constellation Phalgunī, which is made up of two pairs of stars, and so may be either dual (referring to the two pairs) or plural (referring to the total of four stars) *phalgunīr* (TS °nī) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS (§754-5)

§117 There remain many number variants which show more real and definite change of meaning in the different forms. By simple multiplication or division, a singular entity may be made dual or plural, or vice versa, as in *tasya te dattām yasya* (and *yayoh*) *prāno 'sī svāhā, tasya te dadātu yeṣām prāno 'sī svāhā, tasya te dadātu yasya prāno 'sī svāhā*, all modulations in a single passage of TS (§§740, 767-70) Such modulations may occur in repetitions of the same context, or in adaptations of old material to a new context, in which case they constitute what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§739, 764-6) They include many ritualistic ūhas and vikāras. There are also not a few instances of 'transfer of epithet' from one entity to another (§§737-8, 762-3), as in variations of case, and some instances in which, without proper 'transfer of epithet', we seem to note external assimilation of form which consists in change of number (§§741, 773-7) These are of the same sort as the corresponding variations in case, and call for no comment

Gender

§118 Real change of gender in nouns is a well known phenomenon in Sanskrit, and is sufficiently illustrated by the variants. It may appear in different forms of the noun itself, that is in shift between endings characteristic of different genders, or in change of the gender of modifying adjectives or pronouns. Some of the variations in gender revealed by the variants have not been recorded previously. We shall not anticipate them here (see §§783-802), but may call attention to a fact which has not been clearly brought out before, that some of these shifts appear to be mere nonce-phenomena, and due to assimilation to words in the context. Thus in the mantra *vyomā* (TS *vyoma*) *saptadaśah* (sc *stomah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ, §794, the stem *vyoman*, regularly neuter, appears to have masculine gender in all texts except TS. We have no doubt that the original form of this variant presented the word as if masculine, but it seems to us equally clear that this is due to assimilation to the gender of the predicate *saptadaśah* (*stomah*). It hardly justifies us, therefore, in attributing real variation in gender to the stem *vyoman*. And this is by no means an isolated instance, as the sections mentioned will show.

§119 Of a different sort are variations between names of male and female animals and persons, where the change merely indicates that some texts have in mind a male animal or person, others the corresponding female (§§779-82).

§120 A small but interesting group of cases shows variation between distinctively feminine forms and others which are, at least in appearance, masculine, tho referring to feminine entities. Thus it has long been recognized that the anomalous *yusmās*, acc pl of the 2d personal pronoun, is a feminization of the regular *yusmān*, which has common gender tho its ending presents a masculine aspect (§803). Contrariwise, agent nouns in *tar* have regularly a corresponding feminine stem in *trī* when applying to feminine entities, but at least one variant presents the masculine (really 'common') stem in *tar* under such circumstances (§805).

§121. We have seen above (§113) that the neuter gender, especially in the singular number, often has a sort of indefinite force. Even when a masculine or feminine entity is referred to it may be used in such a sense, as in *indrasya* (and *ignor*) *dhruvo 'si* (*dhruvam asi*), 'thou (O knot, *granthi*, masc) art Indra's (Viṣṇu's) firm one (firm thing),' §808. Such usage is particularly common with pronouns, demonstrative or relative, as in substantive pronouns (§§113, 812), *sam tam* (KS ApŚ *tat*)

svīcatu rādhasē (°sā) RV KS Vait ApS, 'let him besprinkle that unto (with) bounty' Here the pronoun refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *aśśu*, masc) and hence has masculine gender in RV, but once, in repeating the mantra in the same context, KS uses the neuter *tat*, 'that (thing)', tho still having the same reference (§809) —But an indefinite masculine may also vary with such an indefinite neuter, when the unspecified entity is conceived personally instead of impersonally (§§810–1) This is particularly common with negative expressions, such as *ahur jaghāna* (*dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (*kim*) *cana*, 'the serpent has slain (seen) no one (nothing)'

§122 We regard the common use of neuter forms in adverbs as belonging to the indefinite neuter Such adverbs are often found in variation with adjectives of any gender, and also—more rarely—with adverbs of other genders (usually feminine), in the latter we assume that originally some definite noun must have been understood with the adjectival adverb (see §§813–24)

§123 The agreement of pronouns shows some interesting variations as to gender Thus when a pronoun refers to a series of nouns of different genders, it may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the greater number of the nouns, or else it may be masculine (really 'common') gender if the series includes both masculines and feminines (§825) Also, when the antecedent and the predicate of an anaphoric pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (§826),—aside from the possibility of the use of the indefinite neuter in a substantive pronoun, to which we have alluded above

§124 Gender variations are related to the peculiarities of compound nouns first, in the case of dvandvas, which may appear either as neuter singular or as dual (or plural) with the gender of the final member (§751), and further, in the case of karmadhārayas varying with bahuvrhis based upon them The karmadhāraya, naturally, keeps the gender of its final member, while the bahuvrhi takes the gender of the noun it agrees with (§829)

§125 There remain a considerable number of cases in which variation in gender is due to the application of the variant word to different nouns Either one noun may be substituted for another of different gender, resulting in change of the gender of its epithets (§§831–3), or without such change in actual language, epithets may be understood to apply to different entities which are not expressed, with the same result (§§834–9) In some such cases the mantra is taken from its original context and adapted to a new one, resulting in what we call 'phrase inflection' (see §§846–51) Or again, without change of con-

text, an epithet may be 'transferred' from one entity to another, these 'transfers of epithet' are of exactly the same sort as the numerous similar ones involving change of case, and call for no special comment (§§840-5)

Dedicatory expressions

§126 Expressions of dedication of some offering or homage to some deity or power are, of course, very common in the ritual language of the Veda, and the great variety of their syntax deserves special mention. The deity addressed may be expressed by a nominative, subject of a verb meaning 'be gratified' or the like, which verb may be expressed or understood, or by the nominative of a secondary adjective meaning 'belonging to' such and such a deity, by the accusative, object or goal of a verb expressed or understood, or by a dative or genitive. The thing offered may be expressed by the nom, acc, instr, or (after verbs of offering) gen. A few examples may be quoted here

(om) *agnim tarpayānu agnis trpyatu*, §373

himavate ('vato) *hastī* (*hastinam*), §§376, 618

svāhā devā ājyapāh (*devān ājyapān*) *agnim svāhā svāhāgnim agnaye svāhā*, etc, §§377, 485

pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā pūṣno vaniṣṭhuh, §§414, 508

kapota ulūkah śasus te nṛṛtyar (*nṛṛtāh*), §424

dṛgbhyah srotram (sc *ālabhate*) *dīśah srotram* (sc *anvavasṛjatāt*), §485

tasmā indrāya sulam ā (*haviṣā, havir ā, indrāyāndhaso juhota* (*juhomi*), §§466, 502, 582

aryamno ('ne) *lopāśah*, §618

FIRST PART FORMAL VARIANTS

CHAPTERS II-X

CHAPTER II

DUALS IN AU AND Ā, OF ALL DECLENSIONS

§127 We do not include here, of course, variations in which *āu* varies with *ā* followed by hiatus before a vowel, since these are variant sandhi forms, both standing for *au*, on them see VV 2 §§885 ff We treat here as *ā* forms before vowels only those in which *ā* is fused with the following vowel

§128 In the RV in general, and especially in its oldest parts, *ā* is found before consonants and in pause, *au* before vowels Contrast §221 below, in the locative of *i* stems *au*, not *ā*, is regular in pause Before *u* vowels this *au* is represented in the RV by *ā*, before other vowels by *āu* (for the usage of other schools see VV 2 1 c) We divide our materials into the two classes of (1) *au ā* before consonants and in pause, (2) before vowels See most recently Wackernagel 3 p 45 ff, and for the primary materials Lanman NI 340 ff, 574 ff, also Sommer, *Festschrift Streitberg*, 253 ff, where ingenious attempts are made to explain the cases of 'irregular' *ā* before vowels

§129 In a couple of cases the following word varies, so that *ā* is followed by a consonant, *au (āu)* by a vowel, in accordance with the original distinction

tasyām suparnāv adhi yau nivṛṣṭau TB ApŚ *tasyām suparnā vṛṣṇā*
ni śedatuh RV

abhayam mtrāvarunāv ihāstu nah (AG °*varunā mahyam astu*) AV AG

§130 Flagrantly at variance with the rule is the double case in the next variant, which also changes the word after *āśvinā* (°*nau*), but this time *āśvinau* occurs before a consonant, and that in RV itself (to be sure in a late hymn, 10 184 2c), while AV has the *ā* form before a vowel—both contrary to the rule Furthermore RV ends the pāda with *devau*, instead of regular *devā*, and is followed by all later texts (two substituting *ubhau*) except AV, which introduces the regular *ubhā* (Hence, possibly, the assimilatory change in the ending of the preceding word in AV, whose meter suggests a pronunciation with hiatus, *āśvinā ubhā*)

garbham te āśvinau devau (AV *āśvinobhā*, PG HG *āśvināv ubhau*) RV
AV ŚB BṛhU SMB ApMB HG MG PG *garbham yonyām*
āśvināśyām AVPPP 13 2 4c (Barret, JAOS 48 38)

§131 The remaining cases require little individual comment Almost all show the ending before consonants or in pause Final position in the pāda is always treated as 'pause', ā is here regular even when the next pāda begins with a vowel, with which the final ā is fused in the samhitā writing The ā form characterizes the RV and its school texts, KS also shows it in most of the variants, but there are exceptions The cases before consonants and in pause which concern RV, besides those above mentioned, are

caturakṣau pathirakṣī (AV *pathiradī*) *nṛcakṣasau* (AV TA °sā) RV

AV TA This is the only exception, except that noted in §130, to the rule among the RV variants It is noted by Lanman 576 The hymn (10 14) containing it is Atharvānic (rather than 'late'), yet, curiously, the AV itself (supported by TA) has the 'regular' form Note that all three texts are irregular in the preceding *caturakṣau* Dissimilation or assimilation of ending as between these two words? Even tho the hymn belongs by its subject matter to AV rather than to RV, the RV form is, a priori, more apt to be original, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 124

ubhobhayāvinn upa dhehi danṣṣrā (AV °rau) RV AV

yo akṣeneva cakriyā (SV °yau) *sacibhih* RV SV TB

dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā (AV °nau) RV AV TS MS KS ŚŚ

somam pibatam madyam dhṛtavratā (AV GB °tau) RV AV GB

uto te vṛṣanā (ArS *haritau*) *harī* RV ArS

yajñasya hi stha ṛtvjā (TS ApŚ *ṛtviyau*) RV SV KS PB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

ubhā rājānā (AV °nau) *svadhayā madantā* (AV °tau) RV AV MS

prātaryujā vi bodhaya RV TB AŚ N *prātaryujau vi mucyethām* TS

ā dhātām (RVKh Scheft °tam) *puṣkarasrajau* (RV RVKh Scheft

AV ApMB MG °jā) RV RVKh AV ŚB TA MahānU BrhU

AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG *kr̥nutam puṣkarasrajā* AVPPp

3 18 5 (Barret, *JAOs* 32 364) Add to VV 1 §332

dyaus ca nah (KS TB *tvā*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV KS TB *dyaus ca ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau* AV

māduṣkṛtau vyenasā (AV °sau) RV AV AVPPp Note preceding °kṛtau in all!

aśvinā (ApMB °nau) *tvā pra vahatām rathena* RV AV ApMB

yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV ApMB HG MG *yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB BrhU

§132. Next some cases before consonants or in pause which concern AV In the first group AV, either alone or with others, has the *au*

form, we just saw that in several cases where RV has *ā*, AV has *au*
tā no muñcalam āgasah TS MS *tau no muñcalam anhasah* (TS KS
āgasah) AV TS KS

ubhā hi hastā vasunā prnasva VS TS ŚB *hastau prnasva bahuvih*
vasavyarh AV TS MS KS

vītho ghr̥tāsya guhyā juṣānā (AV °*nau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS *suṣṭutyā*, TS *suṣṭutir*, MS °*tī*) *vām vyānā*
 (TS MS KS *vāvr̥dhānā*, AV *vāvr̥dhānau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ
 ŚŚ On *vām vyānā* see VV 2 §236

yā (AV *yau*) *patyele apratitā* (AV °*lau*) *sahobhīh* AV VS MS SB
 ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§133 Yet, contrariwise, AV occasionally shows *ā*
chandasvatī (AV *chandaḥpakṣe*) *usasā* (MS KS °*sau*) *pepiśāne* AV TS
 MS KS ApMB

And, in the same verse

ketumatī (TS ApMB *ketum kṛtvāne*) *ajare bhūriretasā* (MS °*sau*) AV
 TS MS KS ApMB

ya indrāgnī asanam sakhāyau KS *yo agnīṣomāv ajuze sakhāyā* AV

§134 In the rest neither RV nor AV figures KS and the RV
 school texts seem to favor *ā*

ukhyasya ketum prathamam juṣānau (KS † KapS °*nā*) VS MS KS
 KapS 25 1, ŚB Oertel 83

imān me (ApŚ *no*) *nutrāvarunau* (ApŚ °*nā*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG
nirastā sandāmarkau saha tena yam dvīṣmah KS *nirastau śandāmarkau*
sahāmunā ApŚ

apanullau (KS °*tā*) *sandāmarkau* (MS *śandā*) *saha* MS KS *apa-*
nullau śandāmarkau sahāmunā TS TB ApŚ

devā (VS *devaru*) *devam avar̥dhatām* VS TB

śubham gamiṣṭhau (KS °*thā*) *svayamebhīr āsvarh* (KS † *asubhīh*) TS MS
 KS TB

añkau nyañkāv (PB LŚ *añkā nyañkū*, MŚ MG *añkū nyañkāv*) *abhito*
ratham yau (MG *ye*) TS TB PB MŚ HG PG MG ApMB
 LŚ ApŚ

samjagmānau (KS °*nā*) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*) *pr̥thivyā* MS KS TB
 ApŚ MŚ

yathāyatham nau tanvau (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* MS AŚ MŚ

In MŚ phonetic corruption, see VV 2 §410

sudughe mātārā (TB °*rau*) *mahī* VS TB

indravantā (TB °*lau*) *havr̥ idam juṣethām* TB ŚŚ

sum vasūthām (MS *vasethām*) *svarvidā* (TS *svar*°, KS °*vidau*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB

hotā yakṣad aśvinā (VS KŚ °*nav*) *chāgasya hanṣa* VS KŚ KS

hotā yakṣad aśvinau (KS °*nā*) *chāgasya vapāyā* VS KS

hotā yakṣad aśvinau (TB °*nā*) *sarasvatīm* VS MS TB

hotā yakṣad aśvinā (MS °*nav*) *sarasvatīm* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

§135 The following do not properly belong here

[*gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā* (VS *nāsatyā*, followed without fusion by *aśvāvad*)

RV VS AŚ The VS comm understands *nāsatyā*, not °*yau*, if

au were intended, *āv* should stand by the VS rule, see VV 2 §885

There is no real variant here, VS writes more accurately what RV also intends, namely final *ā*]

[*imā* (ApŚ *imau*) *prānāpānau* TB ApŚ But Poona ed of TB *imau*, which is proved correct by ApŚ which quotes TB]

[*urvaśi ca pūrvacūtīś cāpsarasau* (VSK MS KS °*sā*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

Followed by a vowel, all texts *āv* or *ā* intending *au* Add to VV 2 §888]

[*kavī devau pracetasau* (VSK °*sā*) VS VSK TB As preceding, add to l c]

§136 We come now to the few sporadic cases in which *āv* (for *ā*) before a vowel, which is the rule in RV, varies with *ā* which fuses with the following vowel. They add nothing to our knowledge and permit no general conclusions

śunāśtreha sma me juṣethām AV (prātika Vait) *śunāśtrāv imām vācam*

juṣethām (TA om *ju*) RV TA AŚ ŚŚ N The AV seems to

be 'hifalutin', misapplying the hieratic *ā* where it does not belong

uśāsānaktāgnā (KS AŚ °*gna*, ŚŚ °*naktā agna*) *ājyaśya vītām* MS KS

AŚ ŚŚ And in the same passage, *daivyā hotārāgnā* (°*gna*, °*hotārā*

agna), etc The ŚŚ form (RV school) should be *āv*, not *ā* (VV 2

§885) No v l is quoted If the text is correct, possibly ŚŚ

quoted from a different school (note that the mantra is found

neither in RV nor in its Brāhmanas) The other alternative

would be to hold that ŚŚ intends the ending *ā*, not *au*, and shows

anomalous lack of sandhi

daivyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS *hotārā ūrdhvam*, KS *hotārordhvam imam*,

MS *hotārā ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* VS TS MS KS *daivā*

hotārā ūrdhvam (Ppp *hotārā imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV Ppp The

AV form is plural Ppp ms (9 1 8) reads *hotāra* but intends

°*rā* since a dual verb follows All texts but KS have sandhi

forms of °*rau*

aśvinādhvaryū MS TA *aśvināv adhvaryū* ŚŚ (Also quoted in Conc

under *agrar hotāśvinā*)

[*añkāñkam* (KS *añkañkam*, MS *añkāvañkam*) *chandaḥ* TS VS MS KS
 ŚB Only MS seems to understand a dual *añkau* here, if *añkāñkam*
 is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form *añkā*
 must be understood. Even MS has only one accent, *añkāvañkāḥ*,
 tho one ms has *añkāu āñkam*, and p p analyzes *añkau*, *añkām*.
 These forms are however probably mere corruptions, the presump-
 tion is that the unknown (and perhaps artificial) name of a meter
 here found is meant for a single word. The variant therefore
 hardly belongs here.]

CHAPTER III

FEM ENDINGS *ai* AND *ās* AS DAT OR GEN (ABL) SING

§137 On this phenomenon see Wackernagel 3 §15d According to him it originates exclusively, or almost so, from the coincidence of sandhi in final *ai* and *ās* before vowels, both appearing then as *ā*, or perhaps more properly as *āy* with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* Wackernagel refuses to admit any important relation to the increasing blend between dat and gen cases as a whole, which becomes especially marked in later Sanskrit and in Pāli-Prakrit This blend, in general, is signaled by the genitive's absorption of the functions of the dative, while our phenomenon regularly shows the reverse The limitation of its occurrence, on a large scale, to one particular ending (e.g. fem datives in *aye* show no such general use as genitives) speaks for the peculiar nature of the confusion, as contrasted with any general tendency to fusion of the two cases It should also be noted that the *ai* forms clearly, tho less commonly, may be used as ablatives no less than as genitives We therefore feel with Wackernagel that a formal confusion, probably that suggested by him, must have been concerned in this matter

§138 Yet we greatly doubt whether it is right to exclude the syntactic relations of the genitive and dative cases so largely from consideration We shall show below (§§151-2) that *ās* forms are used as datives, as well as *ai* forms as genitives, this has not heretofore received due attention And we shall show later (§§614 ff) that the blend of dative and genitive, especially the use of gen forms in dat function (but also to some extent the reverse), appears quite clearly in our syntactic variants, and without limitation to any particular forms Some of the *ai* *ās* variations seem precisely parallel to variations between other dat-gen forms To separate them rigidly and regard one group as purely formal, the other as syntactic, seems subjective and unjustifiable Cf our remarks in §615

§139 We shall therefore follow tradition to the extent of classifying here, as purely formal variants, shifts between *ai* and *ās* endings where the most reasonable interpretation seems to require taking them in the same syntactic function That is, in the major group, the form in *ai* is apparently to be taken as a gen or an abl And in the rest, we

find it hard to avoid assuming the reverse substitution, *ās* with dative function. These are listed §152, we believe that they have not been specifically noted before. In connection with them particularly, however, the possibility of syntactic rather than formal confusion must be borne in mind, quite similar instances of other gen forms with dat functions will be found below in the section on variations between dative and genitive. Inevitably there are some borderline cases which are especially doubtful, in the last analysis all the variants found here and in the syntactic section on dative varying with genitive must be considered together.

§140 We include here pronominal as well as nominal forms, since they are obviously identical in nature and cannot be separated.

§141 The substitution occurs in no RV, SV, or AV passage. It shows a varying frequency in the YV texts. VS shows it in about 20 variants, more than any other texts, very often VSK disagrees with VS. TS has about 15 cases, KS only one, and MS perhaps no entirely certain case. The school texts of VS and TS follow their *saṃhitās*. In general, then, it is the Vāj and Tait schools where the change is common. They also show the reverse change (*ās* in dative function), which is rare, almost unknown, in MS and KS. Our results confirm the approximate correctness of Caland's view, AO 5 49-51, notably his statement that MS KS do not use *ai* for *ās*, but KSA has at least one case, *adityai pājasyam*, §143. That VSK regularly prefers *ās* accords with Caland's findings for ŚBK. It is perhaps noteworthy that it is the relatively late and secondary YV schools which show this interchange in both directions, whereas the more conservative MS and KS do not favor it.

§142 We begin with forms used in genitive function. The following are noun forms from *ā* stems, and seem reasonably certain.

indrāgnubhyām chāgasya vapāyā (KŚ °*yai*) *medaso 'nubrūhi* KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Assign to Indra and Agni (part) of the goat's omentum and fat'. Also, *agnīṣomābhyām chāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubrūhi* ŚB *ukhāyāh* (TS °*yai*, MS KS °*yām*) *sadane sve* VS TS MS KS. Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam* 'Within the firepan, in thine own seat'. The parallels point to a genitive with *antar*, not a genitive of 'equivalence' as Keith takes it. There is no sound evidence for a gen of 'equivalence' in Sanskrit, while the use of a gen with *antar* is proved by BR s v, a very clear case is VS 40 5 *agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai vartanyāgrayanasya vīryena* (KS *jagatyā vartanyā*) *devas tvā savitotsrjatu* (etc.) TS KS *agneṣ tvā mātrayā jāgatyā vartanyā devas tvā santonayatu* MS.

idāyās (ApŚ °yah) *padam ghṛtavac carācaram* AŚ ApŚ MŚ *idāyās padam ghṛtavat sarīsrpam* AV SMB · *idāyā srplam ghṛtavac carācaram* TA HG Comm on TA takes *idāyā* as dat of purpose, *gosampādanārtham*, but this seems fanciful
priyo dātur dakṣināyā iha syām AV *priyo devānām dakṣināyā dātur iha bhūyāsam* VS The AV reading is masked by sandhi, but
 p p *dakṣināyāh*

§143 Genitives of *i* or *ī* stem nouns The first seven occur all in the same context, they are used in dedicating various ribs of the horse to various deities at the *aśvamedha*. All the unambiguous forms are genitives (e.g. *yamyai*, *yamyah* are paralleled by *yamasya*), so that it seems best to count the forms in *ai* as genitives also

yamyai pātūrah TS *yamyāh pātorah* KSA

sarasvatyai (MS KSA °yā) *nṛpakṣatih* VS TS MS KSA

indrānyai (MS °yāh) *ṣaṣhi* VS MS

nṛṛtyai (MS °yāh) *pañcamī* VS MS

adityāh (VS °yai) *pañcamī* VS MS

adityai (KSA °yā) *dvādaśi* TS KSA

yamyai (MS °yās) *trayodaśi* VS MS

adityā (VS °yai) *bhasat* VS MS This and the next also occur in the *aśvamedha*, in the general context of the preceding

adityai (MS °yah) *pājasyam* VS TS MS KSA

devasya tvā savituh prasave sarasvatyā vācā yantur yantren° (VS TS

ŚB *sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantren°*) °bhīṣīncamī VS TS MS

KS ŚB — P p of MS *sarasvatyah*

(*devasya tvā savituh prasave* 'svinor bāhubyām) *sarasvatyai* (KS °yā)

bharīṣajyena VS KS TB *sarasvatyās tvā vīryena yasase nnadya-*

yabhi ṣīncamī MS

yatra bhūmer juṣase (TA *bhūmyai vṛnase*) *tatra gacha* AV TA (*bhūmyai* for *bhūmyās* = *bhumes*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 136, and §182 below)

§144 Genitives of *u* stem nouns

patir yad vadhvo (ApMB *vadhvai*) *vāsasū* RV AV ApMB The variant (gen) ending here and in the next two is (*v*)as, not (*v*)as

yatrasprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vrkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG The latter has a stupid corruption in *vrkṣas* for *-sprkṣat* (VV 2 p 105) Its *tanuvai* can only be defended as for *tanvās* = *tanvas*, a partitive gen (cf §517)

na hi te agne tanvai (JB *tanvai*, TA ApŚ *tanuvai*) AV KS JB TA ApŚ Kauś Followed by *krūram ānāṣa* (KS ApŚ *ānāṣa*, JB

krūram vveda, TA *kr° cakāra*) *martyah* (KS *martah*) 'No mortal has attained (comprehended, TA accomplished) the savagery of thy self, O Agni' So Caland on ApŚ Whitney (note on AV) suggests that it may mean 'succeeded in inflicting a wound on thee,' which would make it possible to interpret *tanuvai* as a true dative (of interest), but this seems less likely to be the sense

§145 Genitives of pronouns

na hy asyā (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma grbhānāmi* AV ApMB 'I do not mention her name'

imam amum āmuṣyāyanam amuṣyāh putram KS *imam amuṣya* (VSK *imam amum amuṣya*) *putram amuṣyai* (VSK °yāh) *putram*

VS VSK ŚB In one of the two occurrences in ŚB *amuṣyai*

is printed for *amuṣya*, doubtless by a misprint

tasyai (MS KS *tasyā*) *vān mātyā* (TS *māti*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

'Its, the mind's, daughter, speech'

§146 Less certain are the following cases of genitives First, from nominal *ā* stems

asyā janatāyāh śraṣṭhyāya svāhā MS *asyai janatāyai śraṣṭhyāya* ApŚ 'For preeminence over this folk' But this may be the 'assimilated' dative with following dative of purpose, cf Speyer, *Skt Synt* 66 supra, Delbruck, *AIS* 149 (Quoted in Conc also under *agne balada*)

§147 From *i* and *ī* stems in the following the alternative to genitive construction would be a dative of possession or interest, see next section *adityā* (VS TB ŚB *adityai*, VSK *aditer*) *bhāgo* 'sī VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

adityai (MS KS MŚ *adityā*) *†rāsnāsi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA ApŚ MŚ KS

indrānyai (MS MŚ MG °yāh, KS °yās) *saṁnahanam* VSK TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ MG

prthivyai (MS °yā) *varmāsi* VSK KŚ ApŚ MŚ

adityāh (VS ŚB KŚ °yai) *sada āsīda* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. KŚ

adityās sadane sīda KS

§148 From pronouns These, like the preceding group, might perhaps be construed as datives of possession or interest The dative of possession is however not common in the oldest language and seems to disappear later For this and other reasons, particularly in view of the established use of *ai* forms as genitives, we consider these also very probable cases of genitive forms It must be confessed that at times the decision is delicate

yasyai (VSK *yasyās*) *te yajñīyo garbhah* VS VSK ŚB KŚ PG

yasyai (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS VSK ŚB

yasyai bahvīs (MS *yasyā bahvya*) *tanuwo* (MS *tanvo*) *vītaprsthāh* MS TB And others, §671 Comm on TB *yasyai yasyā devyās tanuvah*

yāsyā apaśavyā tanūs tām asyā apajahi ŚG SMB (also with *yāsyā apuṭryā*, *yāsyāh patighnī*) *yāsyāh pāpī lakṣmīr yā patighnī tā asyā apahata* SMB *yāsyāh pāpī lakṣmīs tām asyā apajahi* SMB *yāsyai grhaghñī tanūs tām asyai nāsaya svāhā* PG (also with *patighñī*, *paśughñī*, *prajāghñī*, *yaśoghñī*) *yāsyai ghorā tanūs tām ito nāsaya svāhā* HG (also with *nanditā*, *patighñī*) The first *asyai* is clearly gen On the second see §612

§149 We now come to variants used in ablative, rather than genitive, function First, from pronominal *ā* stems

yo martasyā dīśo abhādāsād agnim sū ṛchatu MS (also with *indram*, *marutah*, *mutrāvarunau*, *somam*) *agnim sa ṛchatu yo martasyai* (KS †^{°syā}) *dīśo 'bhādāsah* KS ApŚ (also with *indram*, *aditum* etc) *agnim sa dīśām devam devatānām ṛchatu yo martasyai dīśo 'bhādāsah* TB (also with *indram* etc) *iyam dig yo martasyai* (KS ^{°syā}) etc KS TB ApŚ

§150 From *i* and *ī* stem nouns

gāyatriyai (MS KS ^{°yā}) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS ŚB

sūryas tvā (MS *tvā rasmibhūh*) *purastāt pātu kasyās cid abhiśastyai* (TS MS KS ^{°śastyāh}) VS TS MS KS ŚB Striking because the modifying pronoun *kasyās(cid)* has *ās* even in VS ŚB Cf next *āsanyān mā mantrāt pāhi* (MŚ *pāhi purā*) *kasyās cid abhiśastyāh* (AŚ ^{°tyai svāhā}) TS AŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf prec

prthivyai (MS KS ^{°yā}) *mā pāhi* TS MS KS

pañktyai (MS KS ^{°yā}) *nidhanavat* VS TS MS KS ŚB

apahato 'raruh prthivyai TS ApŚ *apahato 'raruh prthivyai devayajanai* TS ApŚ *apahato raruh prthivyā adevayajanah* TS ApŚ (p p of TS *prthivyāh*!) *apārurum adevayajanam prthivyā devayajanāḥ* (ApŚ †*adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ (the latter ambiguous) *apārurum prthivyā* (p p ^{°vyāh}) *adevayajanam* MS MŚ *apārurum adevayajanam prthivyā* [*iti*, ambiguous] ApŚ *apārurum prthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB

pāpāt (KŚ *pāpah*) *swapnyād* (KŚ ^{°nād}) *abhūtyāh* (KŚ ^{°yai}) AV KŚ *agne dabbhāyo pāhi prasityai pāhi durīṣṭyai pāhi duradmanyai* (TS TB add *pāhi duścaritāt*) TS VS ŚB TB † (in VS text has *duradmanyā itī*) *agne 'dabbhāyo pāhi prasityāh pāhi durīṣṭyāh pāhi*

duradmanyāh KS (text °*manyā* *iti*) —Also listed in Conc under *pāhu*
adbhaya sambhūtaḥ pṛthivyai rasāc ca TA ApŚ *adbhaya sambhūtaḥ*
pṛthivyai (MS KS † °*yā*) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS MS KS
kṣetṛiyāt tvā nūrtyā jāmiśamsāt AV *kṣetṛiyai tvā nūrtyai tvā* TB ApMB
 HG (*kṣetṛi* = *kṣetṛiya* occurs only in this passage)
 [amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV TB
 ApMB No *ās* form here]

§151 Genitives in *ās* as datives We have referred above to the few but interesting cases in which fem *ai* *ās* forms vary in dative construction. These, to be sure, might be taken merely as cases of the growing tendency for the gen to absorb the functions of the dative, to be signalized below (§§614 ff). Yet the parallel cases just discussed make it obviously likely that the identity of the two endings in sandhi before vowels and their consequent confusion in abl-gen function has something to do with these cases. At least they deserve separate grouping, apart from other dative-genitive variants. They are either dependent syntactically upon *namah*, *svāhā*, or the root *vidh*, none of which seem to be regularly construable with the genitive, or else are used as datives of purpose. It is particularly to be noted that the *ās* forms are found chiefly in Vājasaneyin and Taittiriya school texts, which are also those in which *ai* in genitive function is favored. Evidently this confusion of endings, in both its aspects, is characteristic of these schools. But one or two cases, textually doubtful, occur in MS too.

§152 The variants are

yā te agne rudrīyā tanvīs tayā nah pāhu tasyās (MS KS *tasya*) *te svāhā*
 TS MS KS

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda (MS *tayā vidhema*) *tasyās* (MS *tasyai*)
te namas TS MS

tasyai (TS *tasyās*) *te devī havisā vidhema* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N
 Keith's note takes *tasyās* with *haviṣā*, rendering 'oblation for you'. But *tasyās* can mean 'you' only by virtue of going with *te*, from which this interpretation most implausibly separates it. Keith ought to render 'To thee, goddess, let us offer with her oblation', a monstrosity which his translation avoids by simply omitting *tasyās*. It is better frankly to recognize that *tasyās* is used as dative, or else to consider that the gen here replaces a more usual *dat* (cf §634)

tasyās (MS *tasyai*, KS † *tasmai*, read *tasyai*) *te devīṣṭuke vidhema haviṣā vayam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA. Keith makes the same suggestion as in prec, q v

īśāyaḥ (MS °yā, but p p °yaḥ) *manyum rājānam* VS MS TB Followed by *barhiṣā dadhur indriyam* 'They have bestowed (upon thee) King Wrath and power along with (or, by) the barhiṣ, unto authority' It seems impossible to construe *īśāyā(h)* as gen, note the p p of MS

kṣātrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi VS ŚB *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °pāya, p p °pāyāh) *kṣātrasya tanvas pāhi* MS TA *pratikas, brahmanas tvā paraspāyā [iti]* ApŚ MŚ (could stand for °pāyaḥ or °pāyāh) In the same passage the next two

divas tvā paraspāyāh (MS °pāya, not repeated in p p), *antarikṣasya*

MS TA (and ApŚ *pratika*, with °pāyā [iti]) and

prānasya tvā paraspāyaḥ (MS °pāya, v l °pāyāś, p p °pāyāh) *cakṣuṣas*

MS TA (and ApŚ *pratika* as before) In these three adjoining

formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended 'for the protection of ' Note that TA has °pāyāh twice and °pāyaḥ once—

all in the same passage VS has only one of the formulas, in which it uses the dat of a neuter stem °pa- (§801), equivalent to °pā-

This same neuter form is read thrice in MŚ s p, but once the v l °pāyāh occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA has the regular dative form °pāyaḥ!), and its p p reads °pāyāh in the two cases which it repeats at all

CHAPTER IV

STEMS IN A

1 Nominative and vocative plural in *ās āsas*

§153 Among the variants occur only forms of *a* stems, to which *āsas* was originally restricted. In general *āsas* is more ancient, or hieratic and archaizing, *ās* is younger or more popular. Since the variation involves a difference of a syllable in the length of the word, the meter is often concerned in it. But other changes may result in making both forms metrical, and it may be difficult to say in such cases whether these other changes were responsible for the change between *ās* and *āsas*, or vice versa. At times the familiar *ās* is allowed to replace *āsas* in defiance of the meter, without compensatory change. But conversely a later text, in its passion for 'hifalutin' language, sometimes puts in an unmetrical *āsas* for original *ās*.

§154 We begin with variants both forms of which are metrically more or less defensible, and first with those in which we take *āsas* to be the original reading, secondarily altered to *ās*.

yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh RV *yena devā amṛtam anv avindan* AV
dhruvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KA TB ApŚ
 SMB MG Here TB ApŚ compensate for the lost syllable by the patch-word *ha*

devāso (and, *devās tvā*) *dadhire purah* RV (both) The RV itself uses a patch-word, the older form was certainly *āsas*.

viśve devāso adhī vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu*
 (Ppp *^{ti}, KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV * also *tueha*, and *pakvam*,
 Ppp *mām iha*, SMB ApMB HG *paścāt*) AV (ter) Ppp KS † SMB
 ApMB HG Add to VV 1 §116

ā yāta pitarah somyāsah (HG *somyāh*) AV HG *eta pitarah somyāsah*
 SMB GG V1Dh *parā yāta pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV
 HG *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ
somyāh) TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf VV 1 §256

ye devānām ṛtvijo yajñīyāsah (and, *ṛtvijo ye ca yajñīyāh*) AV (both)
 As between these two, it seems clear that *yajñīyāsah* is older, the other showing evidences of patch-work. But even it is certainly

secondary to *ye devānām yajñyā yajñvyānām* RV The AV introduces *ṛtvjo*, exalting the priests at the expense of the gods

§155 Next a group in which the *ās* forms seem older, *āsas* being as a rule due to conscious archaizing

tubhyam sūtāsah somāh SV *tubhyam somāh sūtā ime* RV The SV in its eagerness for archaism has crowded out *ime*, and left a *pāda* which is metrically bad

asmān (MS KS TS † *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*) RV SV TS MS KS *asmān devāso 'vatu haveṣu* AV †

mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāh (Ppp *durevā yātudhānāh*) RV AV Ppp *mā tvā dabhan durevāsah kaśokāh* AV

punar agnayo dhṛṣṇyā (ŚŚ °*yāso*) [*yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva*, ŚŚ *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*)] AV ŚB BṛhU ŚŚ *athaste dhṛṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva svāhā* HG *atho yatheme dhṛṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG *ime ye dhṛṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) AG The ŚŚ reading is archaizing and metrically harsh, tho possible HG MG AG all treat the formula as prose, but all have the archaizing ending

ete pūtā vipāścīh RV *le pūtāso vip°* SV

ye antarikṣa uta ye (Kauś °*kṣe ye ca*) *divi śritāh* (Kauś °*tāsah*) Kauś MG In different contexts Pronouncing the *a* of *antarikṣe*, MG makes a good jagatī, eliding it, Kauś makes a good triṣṭubh Kauś wins a hieratic ending only by allowing a rather unhieratic elision (cf VV 2 p 420 ff), and is forced to make a further change of *uta* to *ca*

§156 In the following variant two adjoining adjectives vary in both readings, the longer and shorter endings interchanging in the two forms

harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB *dhṛṣṭā*) *marutvāh* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV The ms of Ppp has *ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā marutvam*, emended by Barret, JAOS 35 60, to *hṛṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (for which *dhṛṣṭā* or *hṛṣṭā* would seem at least equally possible) *marutvan*

§157 We now come to cases in which one or the other reading makes distinctly bad meter In most of them *āsas* is metrically better, and as a rule certainly original

yatra devāso (KS *devā*) *ajuṣanta viśve* VS KS ŚB MŚ *viśve devā yadajuṣanta pūrve* TS The latter patches the meter while using the shorter ending If KS were original (tho metrically poor), the hieratic *devāso* of VS etc would also be an attempt to patch the meter, but on the whole this seems unlikely

- trayo gharṁāso anu jyotiṣāguh* (MS KS *relasāguh*) TS MS KS ApMB
trayo gharṁā anu rela āguh AV
- viśve devāso* (AV *devā*) *aditih sajoṣāh* AV Ppp TS MS ApMB Cf also
viśve devāh sajoṣasah AV MS TA
- ye devā* (RV VS AB AŚ ŚB *devāso*) *divy ekādaśa stha* RV AV VS
 TS MS KS AB ŚB MŚ AŚ Sāyana at AV 19 27 11 appar-
 ently read *ye devā divyā divy ekādaśa stha*
- yena devāso* (AV *devā*) *asahanta dasyūn* RV AV
- vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa* (KS *avasṛṣṭā*) *āhutāh* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ
devāso barhūr āsadan RV *devā barhūr āsata* PB
- te devāso* (TS *devā*) *yajñam imam* (Ppp *havir idam*) *juṣadhvam* (AV
juṣantām) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *te devāso havir idam*
juṣadhvam AV
- viśve devā iha mādayantām* (KS *viṛayadhvam*) TS KS TB *viśve devāsa*
iha viṛayadhvam (AV *mādayadhvam*, VS ŚB Vait LŚ *mādayan-*
tām) RV AV VS TS ŚB Vait LŚ ApMB
- §158 Much more rarely the original form has *ās*, and the archaizing change to *āsas* spoils the meter
- ye stha traya ekādaśāh* (ŚŚ *ekādaśāsah*) KS ŚŚ This is really prose and so should not strictly be counted here, but its cadence simulates an anuṣṭubh pāda in KS, the presumably original form
- suddhā bhavata yajñīyāh* AV *suddhā bhavantah śucayah* (N *bhavanto yajñīyāsah*) *pāvakāh* AV N Cf also *abhūma yajñīyāh* *suddhāh* AV Since *pāvakāh* must be read metrically *pavākāh*, the line is tri-ṣubh and the AV reading is correct Very likely N intended it as jagatī, reading *pāvakāh*, and altered the prereding case ending to fit its conception of metrical requirements
- §159 The following variant is prose, as is also the first quoted in the preceding paragraph
- āmanasya devā* (MS *deva*) *ye putrāh* (KS *putrāso*) MS KS

2 Neuter plural in *ā* or *ānī*

§160 The ending *ānī* is, of course, originally borrowed from *n* stems (Wackernagel 3 p 105), where both *ā* and *ānī* are prehistoric (Indo-Iranian, *ibid* p 277), and are equally familiar in the Veda It is a curious fact that, nevertheless, the variants reveal practically no shift between *ā* and *ānī* in *n* stems, the only possible instance noted is *janimā(nī)*, in *viśvā devānām* etc, §164, and cf §269

§161 Of our variants nearly all are metrical, and in general the meter is reasonably good in both forms, despite the difference in number of

syllables in the two variant forms, the shorter ending is generally accompanied by a patch-word or other difference of reading. Altho *ā* is certainly older and more hieratic than *āni* (half again as common as *āni* in RV), the variants show no clear preponderance of originality in either. The alteration may be in either direction, indeed not infrequently both endings are found in both forms of the variant, but in different words, as in

brahmayjeshā sambhṛtā vīryāni AV *bra^a vīryā sambhṛtāni* TB
samyopayanto duritāni viśvā RV MG *samlobhayanto duritā padāni* AV
atīkrāmanto duritā padāni (N *duritāni viśvā*) AV N

§162 Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter, and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either
indrasya vocam pra kṛtāni vīryā RV *indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam*
 RV Ppp ArS MS AB KB TB AA N *indrasya nu prā* (so read, see Whitney) *vocam vīryāni* AV Jagatī and triṣṭubh
nakir asya pra minanti vratāni RV AV *nakis ta etā vratā minanti* RV
 Triṣṭubh and dvipadā virāj

sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS *havanā jyoṣa*) TS MS Jagatī
 and triṣṭubh Cf also *sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and,
havanāni joṣat) KS (both)

duritāni yāni kām ca cakṛma MS *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA
 Jagatī and anuṣṭubh

§163 But elsewhere the same meter is used with both forms, the shorter form is accompanied by a patch-word or other change, and there is no clear evidence of priority

sa hi viśvāni (RV **viśvāni*) *pārthivā* RV (both) KS

kṛtāni kartvāni ca RV *kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* RV

atī (RV **agne*) *viśvāni duritā tarema* (RV **rājānah*, **svastaye*, **pīpar-tana*, **tāni parṣan*) RV (5 times) PB

skannemā viśvā bhuvanā TB TA ApS *askannemā* (so text, for *skan-nemā* or *āsk^a?*) *viśvā bhūtāni* KŚ Different words, *bhuvana* and *bhūta*, the latter being shorter and so requiring the longer ending

āndā śuśnasya bhedatī RV *śuśnasyāndāni bhedatī* RV

dadhad ratnāni dāśuṣe RV SV VS TS MS KS TB *dadhad ratnā vi dāśuṣe* RV *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāryāni* RV VS The first and third variants in relation to each other might be classed in the preceding, as anuṣṭubh and triṣṭubh

agnir havyāni sūśvadatī RV *agnir havyā sūśūdātī* RV

§164 Next a group which is exactly like the preceding except that for one reason or another there seems reason for supposing that the *ā* form is older, yet the *āni* form is metrically good

abhi yo viśvā (and, *abhi viśvāni*) *bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV (both) See *RVRep* 117

talo vi tṣṭhe bhuvanānu (AV °*nāni*) *viśvā* RV AV

viśvā rūpābhi (MS *rūpāny abhi*) *caṣṭe śacibhiḥ* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

The MS tries to improve the meter, which in the original is read with hiatus, *rūpā abhi*

aṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanti Vait and AV Ppp, *JAOS* 30 221

prīyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantiḥ TB (probably secondary)

tatrāhaṭās trīni śatāni śaṅkavah AV *tasmīn sūkam trīśatā na śaṅka-*
vah RV N

apa cakrā āvṛtsata KB ŚŚ *mā cakrā āvṛtsata* MS † *apa cakrāni vartaya*
TB ApŚ The last clearly secondary

viśvā devānām (TS *viśvāni devo*) *janīmā vivakti* AV TS KS Cf *sarvā devānām janīmāni vidvān* Kauś, which, if a true variant of the other, would show the only *āni ā* variation noted for an *n* stem, cf §§160, 269 Of the others, AV KS are more apt to be original than TS

ata inoṣi karvarā purūni RV AV Ppp *ata invata karvarāni bhūni* AV
sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N °*nam*) *akarma* (Ppp MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś
sadanāni santu) AV Ppp VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ *sugā vo devāḥ sadanedam astu* KS

vratā nu (AB AŚ ŚŚ ŚG *vratāni*) *bibhrad vratapā adābhyah* (MS AB AŚ *adabdhah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG Only RV school texts have *vratāni*, two other schools *vratā nu* But this is, of course, not conclusive evidence of priority

yatremā viśvā bhuvanādhi tasthuh RV AV N *yenemā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuh* TA

yas tā vṛjānāt sa pituṣ (TA *saṁtuh*) *pītāsāt* RV AV TA N *yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS *pītuh*) *pītāsāt* AV VS

[*achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuh* TS *achidrosijah kavayah padānutakṣi-*
ṣuh, em from ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*, KS]

§165 The converse of the preceding is shown in a group where *āni* seems to be the older reading Presumably *ā* is here due to conscious archaizing in a secondary text With *ā* often goes a patchword which preserves the meter

kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (TA *MahānU devo atiduritāty*) *agnih* AV TA
MahānU

prīyāny aṅgāni svadhūtā parūṅṣi (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūni*) TB Vait
punantu viśvā bhūtāni (MS *bhūtā mā*, TB *viśva āyavah*) AV VS MS
KS TB

śalam pavitrā vlatā hy (MS *vlatāny*) *āsu* MS ApŚ ApMB
ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS
 MS

ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni cākṛpe AV ŚirasU *yo rudro viśvā bhuvanānuveśa*
 TS KS ApŚ MŚ Probably not a real variant
prajāpate na tvad etāny anyah (MS **na hi tvat tāny anyah*, KS *nahī*
tvad anyā tētā) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) KS SB ŚB TB TAA
 BṛhU AŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB ApMB N

§166 We come now to variants in which one form is metrically poor. It happens, a little surprisingly, that the metrically superior form seems always to be historically older, there is no apparent case of secondary correction of the meter. We begin with a few cases in which the original has *ā*, and *āni* is metrically bad.

hinvā (Vait *hinvā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harwah* TS KŚ ApŚ MŚ
 Vait

aṣṭau śatā yān mīlam tad vadanti ŚB *aṣṭau ca śatāni* [samvatsarasya, inserted in Gastra with all but two mss] *muhūrtān yān vadanti* GB

§167 In the rest the *āni* ending is original and metrically superior. The form in *ā* is in several instances clearly due to haplology, these (the first two) are treated in VV 2 §808.

viśvāny anyo (AV *viśvānyo*) *bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (AV MS *bhuvanā vicaṣṭe*)
 RV AV MS TB

trīni padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU — Ppp ms *padānīkātā* which Barret, JAOS 30 195, emends to the AV reading, but it may equally well go with TA MahānU.

yasmīn viśvāni bhuvanāni (MS *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *taṣṭhuh* RV VS MS
 Cf prec but one, the unmetrical *viśvā* may have been influenced by *bhuvanā*, the first alteration (?).

tiraś cūttāni (KS ms *cūttā*) *vasavo yighānsati* RV AV MS KS *tiraś satyāni maruto yighānsāt* TS. Von Schroeder emends KS to *cūttāni*, which seems rather arbitrary.

sa cūttāni (Ppp ms *cūttām*) *mohayatu pareṣām* AV Ppp Barret, JAOS 32 351, reads Ppp as *cūttā*. It may, however, have intended *cūttāni*.

agnir vṛtrāni jañghanat RV SV etc. In Svīdh occurs the *pratīka agnir vṛtreṭi*, i.e. apparently, *vṛtrā-iti*. Perhaps a corruption.

§168 Finally, a few variants in which one or both versions are prose. The first is particularly interesting, in it TS and PB are prose, and

substitute the prosaic *āni* for the *ā* of the other texts Or else, was the prose version older, and to make it metrical was *ā* substituted for *āni*?
etā (TS PB *etāni*) *te aghnye* (TS *aghnye*, PB *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* VS TS
 PB SB MŚ

abhi savanāni (TS *savanā*) *pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB Prose in both
ariṣṭāni me sarvatmānubhṛṣṭah AV *ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu* (PG
me 'ngāni) Vait PG *ariṣṭa msvāny aṅgāni* TS TAA MŚ Prose
 in both

3 Instrumental plural in *ais* *ebhis*

§169 The variants are not very numerous nor particularly interesting In most of them *ais* is substituted for an original *ebhis* Thus most clearly in the following group, where *ais* is unmetrical

sam vajebhih (MS *vājaih*) *puruścandrair abhadyubhih* RV AV MS †
 2 2 6b 20 4, KS

samyñānam nah (KS *nas*, TB *na*, Poona ed *nah*) *svebhyah* (AV
svebhih, TB *svaih*) RVKh AV MS KS TB Followed by
samyñānam aranebhyah (AV *aranebhih*, TB *aranaih*), same texts The
 AV forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB
 is much worse

tvaṣṭar devebhih sahasama indra ApMB *tvaṣṭa devair sahamana indrah*
 MG

somo rudrair (TS *rudrebhir*) *abhi rakṣatu tmana* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
 It is strange that only TS (usually secondary in relation to MS
 KS) has the metrically correct form (against three different
 schools!) Is it possible, after all, that the others have the original
 reading (tho poor metrically), and that TS has corrected the meter
 secondarily?

gambhīrebhih pathibhih pūrvinebhih (MS *purvebhih*) MS KS AŚ SMB
gambhīraih pathibhih pūrvyaih (AV *pūrvanaih*) AV TS HG The
 meter requires *gambhīrebhih* thruout Whitney on AV 18 4 63
 suggests emendation of MS to *purveyebhih*, which was evidently
 the original on which TS HG *pūrvyaih* is based

§170 In another little group AV seems secondary in substituting
ais for *ebhis*, tho it preserves the meter by patch-words or other changes
angīrobhir a gahi yaṣṭīyebhih RV TS MS *angīrobhir yaṣṭīyair ā*
gahiha AV

prehi-prehi pathibhih pūrvyebhih (AV *pūrvānaih*) RV AV MS AŚ
 AG

vīryebhir (MS *vīrebhir*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā savīṣṭha* (TB *śaci*°,
 Poona ed *śavi*°) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

70 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

§171. In other cases, on the contrary, it seems a fair guess that the older version is that with *as*, the archaizing *ebhis* being secondary, tho the meter is not necessarily decisive

jambhyais (KS °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (KS † °*rān*) *uta* VS TS KS In

KS the suffixal *y* is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation, perhaps KS archaizes secondarily

sajogā devazr (VS ŠB *sajūr devebhūr*) *avaraiḥ paraiś ca* VS TS MS KS ŠB

tebhiḥ tvam putram janaya ŚG *tas tvam putram* (ApMB *putrān*) *mndasva* AV ApMB *tas tvam garbhinī bhava* HG Note that ŚG is forced to read *tvam* as a monosyllable

satyam pūrvar (KS *pūrvebhūr*) *ṛṣibhiḥ samvidānah* (KS † °*bhis cākṣpānah*, ApŠ °*bhis cākupānah*) MS KS ApŠ Here KS spoils the meter

§172 In the following neither metrical nor other considerations clearly decide the original form

mitrāvarunau dhiṣnyaiḥ (KS °*yebhūr agnibhiḥ*) MS KS *aṅgīraso dhiṣnyaṛ agnibhiḥ* TA (prose in the latter)

mṛdam barsvaiḥ (TS *barsvebhīḥ*) VS TS MS KSA Prose The majority are more apt to be original

mandūkān jambhyebhiḥ (KSA *jambhaiḥ*) TS KSA TB ApŠ Prose

4 Ablative singular in *āt* and *tas*

§173 The few variants under this head all concern pronouns or pronominal adjectives, and hence belong, perhaps, more properly in our chapter on Pronouns The forms are, moreover, adverbial or quasi-adverbial in function Two concern *uttarāt* or *uttaratas*, one *tasmāt* and *tatas* The last variant, whose right to be placed here is highly questionable, presents three rare forms in *tāt* from *añc* stems, dubious in character and solely Rīgvedic, for which AV substitutes more usual forms in *tas*

viśvakarmā tvādityaṛ uttarataḥ (MS KS *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŠB *viśvakarmā va ādityaṛ uttarata upadadhatām* TA

jāgrviś ca mārundhatī collarād (MG *collarato*) *gopāyatām* KS † MG † *tasmād* (ArS VS VSK *tato*) *virād ajāyata* RV ArS VS VSK TA *prāktād apāktād* (AV *prākto apākto*) *adharād udaktāt* (AV *udaktah*) RV AV

5 Instrumental singular of *ā* stems in *ā* and *ayā*

§174 Only one or two dubious cases

agner jīhvām abhi (MS *jīhvābhi*, p p *jīhvām*, *abhi*, AV KS *jīhvayābhi*)

†*grñitam* (AV *grñata*) AV VS TS MS KS Cf VV 2 §309 The AV KS parallel suggests taking MS as an instr, in spite of p p *ayā pavā pavasvarñā vasūni* RV SV PB *uta na enā pavayā pavasva* RV SV The accent of *pavayā* is on the ultima, which gives pause Oldenberg (Noten on 9 97 53) suggests, among other solutions, that we have either mistaken accentuation caused by that of *ayā'* in the preceding (the first variant just quoted), or adverbial shift of accent

svāveśayā (VS ŠB *veśā*) *tanvā samvśasva* VS MS KS ŠB Wackernagel 3 p 118 supra takes *svāveśā* as instr, as the parallel suggests But below, §415, we have suggested taking it as nom

[*āśīrdāyā dampatī vāmam aśnutām* TS *yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS *yam āśīrā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* TS *yayāśīrā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* AV Keith takes *āśīrdāyā'* as dual adj with *dampatī*, we prefer to take it for *āśīrdāyāyā* with Wackernagel 3 p 116 infra In any case there is no variation between case-forms *ā* and *ayā*, rather *-dayā* and *-dā* are from the different stems *-dāyā* and *-dā*]

CHAPTER V

SHORT AND LONG *i* STEMS

§175 Out of a mass of miscellaneous variants concerning *i* and *ī* declensions, there stands forth with overwhelming force a large group showing confusion between forms proper to the four declensions which are primarily and regularly feminine, viz the short *i* feminines (type *gati*), the monosyllabic 'radical' *ī* stems (type *śrī*), and the two derivative *ī* declensions (types *devī* and *vrkī*). We shall begin with these, in §§176-213. Their treatment in Wackernagel 3 pp 134 ff, 163 ff, which see for the extensive earlier bibliography, is in general excellent. While our materials do not perhaps reveal much that is new in principle, they nevertheless supplement Wackernagel on many points, and they emphasize rather more than his treatment the interchanges in various directions. Occasionally they suggest that forms in which Wackernagel sees other influences may well be due to simple confusion between the declensions (cf notably §189).

§175a No very distinct school tendencies seem to us to be shown by the variants. Yet we would call attention to the behavior of the Taittiriya school, which in certain groups of variants seems to show a sort of perverse desire to differ from the regular usage. Thus, the endings *ibhis*, *ibhyas*, and *ibhyām* from short *i* stems (similarly *ūbhyām* from short *u* stems, §230) seem to be characteristic of this school (§§188-9), while conversely it shows some tendency to prefer short *i* forms from *ī* stems (see notably §§198-9). Nor are these sections the only ones which contain examples of such perverseness in the Tait school. We have noticed like conditions in this school on other points, cf VV 2 passim, notably §§767, 946.

1 *ī* forms from *i* stems

§176 We shall begin with variations between short and long *i* forms and first those in which apparently original *i* stems present *ī* (*devī* or *vrkī*) forms. From the phonetic standpoint these cases have been treated in VV 2 §§526 ff.

§177 Nom sg in *īs* from *i* stems. Here a striking group of cases concerns lengthening of the *i* in the nom sg of *i* stems, resulting in forms like *vrkīs*. While some of them are more or less dubious, they

are too numerous and on the whole too well attested to permit doubt of the reality of the phenomenon, which so far as we can see happens not to be recorded by Wackernagel (cf his p 135) In every variant the *ī* is secondary historically

ayās cāgne 'sy *anabhasastis* (AŚ ApMB HG °*līś*) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG

abhīṣṭar (HG °*ṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG *ca no grhe*) RVKh HG
plāṣir (TB °*sīr*) *vyaktah śatadhāra ut saḥ* VS MS KS TB

visvā abhīṣṭih prtanā jayati MS *visvā hi bhūyāh prtanā abhīṣṭih* TS
'In all conflicts he shall become a protector,' Keith, who would read *abhīṣṭih* The accent, on the ultima (so also MS), supports this interpretation, the fem 'protection' is *abhīṣṭi* But we see no reason to refuse to admit, even in a masculine, confusion with the *vṛkī* declension, we should not emend TS Add to VV 2 §529

sam arīr (MS KS *arīr*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB The meaning is obscure, and the interpretation of *arīr* doubly so Eggeling on ŚB 3 9 4 21 takes it as acc pl, BR as nom sg, the author of ŚB understood it as nom pl, see Eggeling's note, Wackernagel 3 §§70, 78 considers the passage corrupt and would emend to *vidrām*, implying *arīr* as nom pl, a nom sg *arīr* is to him 'unglaublich' Had he known the other forms in this section he might have been less emphatic We think that they prove *arīr* as nom sg not at all impossible in itself

[*vañkrīr asvasya svadhītih sam eti* RV VS TS KSA Conc quotes *vañkrīr* for all texts but KSA, actually *vañkrīr* is found in all, and is an acc pl]

§178 Nom sg in *ī* from *i* stems The forms in which *ī* of the *devī* type is substituted for *i* are on the whole more dubious than the preceding group, but the first, at least, seems to be a clear and a well attested case

ātīr (TA KSA *āti*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS
TS MS KSA Stem *āti* is Rīgvedic

sam te methī bhavatu sam yugasya trdma ApMB *sam methir bhavatu sam yugasya tardma* AV There is much variation in the form of this word (see BR), but *i* forms are older and at all periods more usual

kārṣṭar (MS KS MŚ *kārṣṭy*) *asī* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ BrhPDh Boethlingk in pw assumes a stem *kārṣṭin* for the form *kārṣṭy*, but in so doing falsifies the accent, which in MS is written *kārṣṭy* MS pp reads *kārṣṭih*, *asī* Knauer (on MŚ 2 3 17)

suggests irregular sandhu for *kārṣas*. On the whole, the variant seems to differ in no wise from the preceding two, except that the original form (i or ī stem?) is uncertain

rantir asī TS *rantī ramatīh sūnuh sūnarī* ApŚ *vasvī rantih sumanāh* MS *sumanmā vasvī rantī sūnarī* SV JB But the SV is very uncertain, it may be taken with the comm as a dual, see Benfey, Glossar, s v *ram*. The form *rantī* of ApŚ is for *rantis* by the usual sandhu

athā jivir (RV *adhā jivī*, ApMB *athā jivī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB See VV 2 §529 In RV dual, in ApMB sing but possibly influenced by recollection of the RV form *śirah-śirah prati sūri vi caṣṭe* TS ApŚ *śiro devī prati sūrīr vi caṣṭe* KS A peculiar case, *sūri* is a fem nonce-formation to the usual *sūri*, which is used without change in KS as a fem. It reminds us of the tendency noted below (§225) towards a repartition of short *u* stems and *ū* stems as masc and fem respectively, but this is the only case noted of such a tendency among *i* stems

§179 Acc sg in *īm* from *i* stems Only a couple of cases, each involving, perhaps, extraneous considerations

ākūtim devīm subhagām (TB *manasah*) *puro dadhe* AV TB *ākūtim devīm manasā prapadye* SMB Perhaps *ī* in SMB by form-attraction to *devīm*

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV Here the meter favors *ī*, and is perhaps responsible for the SV form

§180 Voc sg in *i* from *i* stems We find a number of cases in which the regular voc *e* in *i* stems is replaced by *i*, from the *ī* declension *pūrnā darvi* (AV MS *darve*) *parā pata* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ In RV only stem *darvi*

yās ca bhūmy adharāg yās ca paścā MS *yās te bhūme adharād yās ca paścāt* AV The stem *bhūmi* has *devī* forms even in RV, probably influenced by its synonym *prthivī* (cf Wackernagel 3 p 136)

abhy enam bhūma ūnuhi (TA *bhūmi vnu*) RV AV TA Cf prec *ide rante 'dite sarasvatī priye preyaś mahi viśruti* TS *ide rante* (MŚ *rante juṣṭe*) *sarasvatī mahi viśrute* PB MŚ The form *viśruti* may be formally assimilated to *mahi* (and *sarasvatī*?)

§181 Dat sg in *yai* from *i* stems The extension of *devī* forms to the *i* declension in the dat, abl, gen, and loc sg was so common and persistent that it is familiar even in classical Sanskrit, where it also applies to the monosyllabic *ī* stems (type *śrī*), cf §209 for Vedic variants

of this declension. We shall also find, in §209, a case of a *vr̥kī* noun showing a dative of the *devī* type. It is worth noting that no *devī* nouns occur among the variants with dative forms borrowed from the rival *ī* and *i* declensions, but there is one isolated instance of an abl sg. of *vr̥kī* type from a *devī* stem, §210.

§182 Among the dative forms here collected, there is little clear indication of relative age, but if anything the older texts seem unexpectedly to prefer the *yai* ending. (To be included here is also the variant *yatra bhūmer* [*bhūmyai*] §143 above, where *bhūmyai* has gen. function.) Most of the variants are prose, once *yai* (monosyllabic) seems intended to make meter out of what is a prose formula in the other texts.

devavīṭaye (MS °*vīṭyai*) *tvā* (KS *vo*) *gr̥hnāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
ApŚ *devatābhīyas tvā devavīṭaye gr̥hnāmi* KS. Only MS is intended to be metrical.

ṛṭaye (TB *ṛṭyai*) *stenahṛdayam* VS TB

anuṣṭup (TB °*tuk*) *pañktyai* (MŚ *pañktaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ

bhūṭyai (AŚ *bhūṭaye*) *namah* MS ApŚ MŚ AŚ

adūtyai (ŚG °*taye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ŚG

saṃvesāyopaveśāya gāyātriyai (etc.) *chandase* (TS ApŚ omit) 'bhūbhū
taye (TS ApŚ *abūbhūṭyai*, ŚŚ 'bhūbhṛṭyai, KŚ 'bhūbhūṭyai) *svāhā*
TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ

vasyaṣṭaye (misprinted *vaspa*°) *tvā* LŚ *vasyaṣṭyai tvā* Vart

cūṭṭaye svāhā HG *cūṭṭyai svāhā* ApŚ

gopūthāya vo nārātaye MS *bhūtāya tvā nārātaye* VS ŚB *rakṣāyai tvā*
nārātyai KS *sphūṭyai tvā nārātyai* TS TB ApŚ

anumataye (TB °*tyai*) *svāhā* ŚB TB BrhU AG ŚG Kauś *asūyantyai*
cānumatyai ca svāhā AŚ

suvargeyāya (VSK *svar*°) *śaktyai* (VSK ŚvetU *śaktyā*) VSK TS
ŚvetU *svargyāya śaktyā* (MS *śaktaye*) VS MS KS ŚB. Metrical, *śaktyai* three syllables.

§183 A couple of infinitive variants in *e ai* may be added here, altho they are probably not really comparable. The origin of the *ai* of certain infinitive forms is really unexplained, that *-dhyai* is formed by affixing the dative ending (IE **ai* or **ei* =) Skt *e* to a stem final **dhya* or **dhyā*, as commonly assumed, is hardly more than a placebo, and still less likely is it that the frequent ending *-tavar* (with double accent, on stem and ending both) is from a stem **tava* or **tavā*, since the parallel and similar *-tave* obviously belongs to stem *tu* (see below, §238). But whatever be the history of these forms, the important

point for our purposes is that from RV on the infinitive of this type is always *dhyaī*, never *dhye* except in the isolated TS occurrence of our first variant, and this is likely to be a mere phonetic simplification of *ai* to *e* (VV 2 §705). The other variant which follows is even more dubious

te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye TS *tā* (VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV VS MS KS ŚB N Two mss of KS also have *gamadhye*
paridhāsyai yasodhāsyai PG . *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG The MG forms, at least, are best taken as verbs (fut ind) Stenzler (questioningly) and Oldenberg follow the comm in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive form and *yaśodhāsyai* as a cpd Cf VV 1 §177, 2 §705

§184 Abl-gen sg in *yās* from *i* stems What has been said on the datives in *yai* applies equally here It only needs to be noted, further, that in the first group of variants the form for which *yās* is secondarily substituted in SV is not the usual *es*, but the older *yas*, which is the only form known in RV from the stem *avī*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 138
avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV **vāraih*) *pari priyah* RV SV (ter) *avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyam* RV SV *avyo* (SV †*avyā*) *vārebhīh* *paṇate madantamah* RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vārebhir arṣati* (SV *avyata*) RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāre mahīyate* RV SV *avyo* *vāreṣu* (SV *avyā vārebhir*) *asmayuh* RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāraih paripūtah* RV SV

yonyā (TA *yoner*) *iva pracyuto garbhah* AV TA
eṣā tvā pātu nṛṛter upasthāt (TA *nṛṛtyā upasthe*, AV *prapathe purastāt*)
 RV AV TA

sūryāyā ūdhe 'dityā (VSK † *KŚ* † *adityā*, MŚ *ūdhar aditer*, KS *ūdho aditer*) *upasthe* VSK TS KS ŚŚ *KŚ MŚ*
adityā (VS TS ŚB *adityai*, VSK *aditer*) *bhāgo* 'si VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

§185 Nom-acc dual in *yau* from *i* stems A single variant shows this form in three YV texts of different schools, while only one (VS) has the 'proper' ending *ī*, clearly as a secondary substitution (note that the meter requires *śronyau*, as three syllables) The ending *yau* belongs originally to the *vṛkī* declension, whence it was taken over first into the *devī* nouns (§212, below), and then sporadically into *i* stems
aṇsau grīvās ca śronyau (VS *śronī*) VS MS KS TB

§186 Instr-dat-abl dual see §189 below

§187 Nom pl *īs* from *i* stems In one variant TS has *vahnīs*, an

isolated form of *vahnī*, which seems never to have been noticed previously, for the regular *vahnayas* of other texts, perhaps under the influence of the preceding and parallel *dauvīs*

upa (TS MS *upo*) *devān dauvīr vīśah prāgūr vahnaya* (TS *vahnīr*) *uśṛjah* (VS ŚB *prāgūr uśṛjo vahnītamān*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§188 Instr, dat -abl pl *ī-bhis*, *-bhyas*, from *i* stems Regarding *ī* in these forms, it is to be noted that the p p of TS reads short *i* where the s p has *ī*, suggesting that *ī* was interpreted as (originally rhythmic) lengthening of quasi-final *i* (this lengthening is regularly abolished in the pada-pāthas, VV 2 §428). This lengthening seems specially common before labial consonants (VV 2 §§464 ff, 515 f, etc.). It may be noted, however, that the other conditions favorable to such lengthening, which include the vowel's being followed by a single consonant, exist only in the instr plur (*-bhis*). The general influence of the *ī* stems, so common in other case forms, seems to us an amply sufficient explanation of these forms also, other pada-pāthas do not seem to support that of TS, and we are not inclined to see influence of the law of rhythmic lengthening here.—The variants in this and the next section seem to suggest a preference for *ī* in the Tait school, so also with *ū* for *u*, §230, cf §175a

rtān prṣṭībhih (KSA *prṣṭibhih*, ms *bhr̥*°) TS KSA Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 359, take *prṣṭi* for an *ī* stem, but the usual theory (e.g. Wackernagel 3 p 136) that makes it an *i* stem is more plausible

prṣṭibhyah (KSA *prṣṭi*°) *svāhā* TS KSA See prec

svāhākṛtibhyah (TS ApŚ °*tibhyah*) *preṣya* TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

Most MŚ mss °*tibhyah*

hrādunibhyah (KSA °*ni*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA Originally *i* stem, Wackernagel 3 p 138

§189 Instr -dat -abl dual in *ībhyām* from *i* stems The forms *akṣībhyām* and *śronībhyām* are in our opinion in no wise different from the plural forms of the preceding section. We cannot agree with Wackernagel 3 pp 54 f, 303, who regards them as directly based upon the nom dual *akṣī*, *śronī*. If other *ī* forms from short *i* stems were unknown, or even rare, this suggestion might be considered. But since just the opposite is the case, we see no reason to look for any more specific motivation of these dual forms. Note that the stem *śroni* even has a nom dual *śronyau*, following the (*vr̥kī*, or later) *devī* declension (§185)

sucakṣā aham akṣībhyām (MG *akṣi*°) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N In the older language the form with *ī* is commoner than that with *i*

mitrāvarunau śronibhyām (KSA °ni°) TS KSA

śronibhyām (TS °ni°) *svāhā* TS KSA

yakṣmaṁ śronibhyām (ApMB °ni°, v 1 °ni°) *bhāsadāt* RV AV ApMB

ya° bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV

2 i stems of uncertain quantity

§190 So far we have dealt only with what we believe to have been originally short i stems, attracted towards ī declensions. The reverse process is at least equally common, especially with *devī* nouns, but also with *vr̥kī* and monosyllabic (*śrī*) types. The confusion is in a few cases so old and profound that we really do not know which is original. Thus the question of *takarī* or °ri is left doubtful by Wackernagel (3 p 186), and we can add nothing to his statement except that in the following variant AVPpp, according to Roth, has *tagarim*

vi te bhīnadmī takarīm (KS °rim, AV *mehanam*, Ppp *tagarim* [Roth])

AV TS KS ApŚ

§191 The most familiar case of this sort is the notorious *oṣadhī* or °dhī. Lanman (NI 371) classified it doubtfully as a *devī* noun. Wackernagel (3 p 186) contents himself with stating the broad facts, as follows: the sing. (lacking in RV family books) has only i forms in the Veda (to W's single exception from AV we can add another from ApMB, §192). In the plural RV and AV have ī forms except in the nom. (voc.), where *ayas* and *īs* interchange. Both types are found later, but i forms predominate in classical Sanskrit.

§192 Our variants from this stem are few except for the nom. pl. We have noted only one acc. sg. and one dat. pl.

imām kṣānam oṣadhīm (ApMB °dhīm) RV AV ApMB

oṣadhibhyah (ŚG °dhī°, sc *namah*) MG ŚG

§193 As to the nom. pl., the forms *ayas* and *īs* are not metrically equivalent and in metrical variants (which include all but one of those here noted) this needs to be borne in mind. In nearly all of them *īs* is the older form, historically, and in most it is also favored by the meter. As a rule later texts substitute *ayas*, often without any attempt to patch the meter.

yā oṣadhīh (AV TS TB Kauś PrānṅU °dhayah) *somarājñih* RV AV
VS TS AB TB PrānṅU Kauś SMB GG KhG

yatrauṣadhīh samagmata RV VS *yad oṣadhayah samgachante* (KS *samagmata*) TS MS KS

yā oṣadhīh pūrvā jātāh RV VS KS ŚB ŚŚ KŚ N *yā oṣadhayah prathamajāh* MS KS MŚ MG *yā jātā oṣadhayah* TS TB ApŚ

Note that MS etc. by a further change make passable meter.

- kalpantām āpa oṣadhayah* (TS TB °dhīh) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
 Here probably *ayas* is original, tho poor metrically, and the secondary *īs* is introduced to improve the meter
- śam no bhavantu apa oṣadhayah* (AV * °dhīh) śvāh AV (bis) (Read *apa* at 2 3 6, see Whitney's note) The meter is certainly better with *īs*
- oṣadhīh prati modadhvam* RV VS *oṣadhayah prati modadhvam enam* (KS om *enam*, VS ŚB °dhvam *agnim etam*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB *oṣadhayah prati grbhnāta* VS VSK ŚB *oṣadhayah prati grbhnātāgnum* (MS *grbhnā*) *etam* TS MS KS The RV is clearly old and sound with *oṣadhīh* Most other texts, if really based on it, substitute *oṣadhayah*, which spoils the meter, some try to patch it with generally poor success
- sam oṣadhayo rasena* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ *sam oṣadhībhur oṣadhīh* VS ŚB Probably not real variants, both metrically passable
- oṣadhayah* (RV VS °dhīh) *prācucyavuh* RV VS TS MS KS The RV original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests *prācu*°), and the change to *-ayah* was doubtless meant to improve it
- indrāgnī dyāvāprthivī āpa oṣadhīh* (KS °dhayah) TS KS *sūryāgnī dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayah* MS Vocatives This is the only prose variant, the isolated TS is apt to be secondary

3 *i* forms from *ī* stems

§194 The stem *rātrī* There is no doubt that *rātrī* 'night' (Wackernagel 3 p 185) was originally a *devī* noun, as it still is exclusively in RV According to Wackernagel, KS also has only *ī* forms except *rātrayah* which it uses exclusively for *rātrih* in the nom pl, and a single case of nom sg *rātrih* In the variants, as we should expect, older texts in general show *ī* forms, later ones *i* forms We find

§195 Nom sg in *is*

lalo rātry (TA *rātrr*) *ajāyuta* RV TA ManānU Two mss of MahānU *rātrr*

rātrī (TB *rātrī*, KS v 1 *rātrih*) *stomam na jigyūṣe* (KS † TB °ṣī) RV KS TB Voc in RV

śam rātrī (VS *rātrih*, VSK TA *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK MS TA On VS see §206

§196 Acc sg in *im* (note preference of KS for *im*, cf Wackernagel 1 c)

rātrim-rātrim (MS KS ŚB KŚ MG *rātrim-rātrim*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MG

80 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

anuvān (etc, see VV 2 §255) *rātrim* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *junva*
VS TS MS KS GB Vait

rātrim (KSA *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA

rātrim dhenum wāyatim (AV *upāyatim*) AV HG ApMB *rātrīm dhe*^o
wā^o SMB PG MG

rātrim (KS *rātrīm*) *junva* TS KS PB Vait

ye rātrim (KS *rātrīm*) *anulīṣṭhantī* (KS † *°ṣṭhatha*) AV KS

§197 Nom pl in *ayas*

yās te rātrih (MS KS *rātrayah*) *savitar devayānīh* TS MS KS Here
rātrih certainly makes better meter, but is found only in TS,
while MS KS (generally older than TS) agree on *rātrayah*. The
latter is the usual Vedic form (but no nom pl occurs in RV or
AV), and is prescribed for the Veda by Pān 4 1 31

§198 The stem *varūtrī* (or *varu*^o, VV 2 §562) Like *rātrī* this is
originally a *devī* noun but shows *i* forms (Wackernagel 3 p 184), tho
only in texts of the Tait school among the variants (cf §175a)

Acc sg in *im*

varūtrim (KS † *varutrīm*) *tvaṣtur varunasya nābhīm* TS KS *varūtrīm*
tvaṣtur varunasya nābhīm VS ŚB *tvaṣtur varutrīm varunasya*
nābhīm MS

Nom pl in *ayas*

varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr TS *varūtrīs tvā* (KS *°trīs tvā*) *devīr viśva-*
devyāvatīh VS KS ŚB Wackernagel 1 c suggests that *varū-*
trayas is influenced by the adjoining *janayas*. But this will not
explain the other variants here

varutrīr avayan KS *varūtrayas tvāvayan* ApŚ

§199 Root *i* stems, type *srī* Cf Wackernagel 3 p 187 Here
forms of the *i* type are rare. We find two involving the nom sg (one
of them, however, doubtful), and two the dative plural. Again, as in
the prec, Tait texts seem to favor short *i*

veṣāśrīr (TS *°śrīr*) *aśī* TS KS GB PB Vait LŚ Wackernagel 1 c
suggests influence of the neighboring *vasyaṣṭīr aśī* in TS

asrīvayaś (TS ApŚ *°viś*, MS *°vis*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

The word is obscure and probably artificial. VS comm takes
°vayaś as a cpd containing stem *vayas*. It must certainly be felt
as nom sg, and so the other forms of the variant. If they are
felt as containing the stem *vī* (in *pada-vī* etc), the variation between
MS and TS would belong here

namah senābhyah senānībhyas (VS TS *°mbhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS
MS KS See VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem
in composition) §523

namah śvanibhyo (MS *śvanī*^o) VS MS KS *namo mṛgayubhyah śvanibhyaś ca vo namah* TS See VV 2 §528 Boethlingk's postulation of a stem *śvanin* 'having dogs' is most implausible, particularly in view of *senānibhyaś* above

§200 Other *ī* stems (mostly of the *devī* type) show only sporadically variant forms of the *i* declension among the variants We shall classify them by case forms, first, nom sg in *ih* for *ī*

prati tvā parvatī (TS TB *°tir*, MS KS *MŚ pārvatī*) *vetu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *MŚ* One ms of KS *parvatī*

nārīr asī VS TS MS ŚB TA *MŚ nāry asī* VS KS ŚB The stem *abhrīr* or *babhrīr* almost always found in the context may have caused form assimilation (Wackernagel 3 p 184)

ambā ca bulā ca nītatnī ca MS *ambā dūlā nītatnīr* TS In AV 6 136 1 *nītatnī* is the epithet of a plant, here of a brick The chances are that the *ī* stem is original

§201 The original type of the stem *skambhanī* (*°nī*) is variously given Macdonell, *VGr* §375A3, implausibly thinks that it is a cpd of *skambha* and the root-noun *nī* We prefer to hold (with BR and Wackernagel 3 p 183) that it is fem to RV *skāmbhana* If the accent of VS VSK (*skambhanī*^o, TS *°nt*) is correct, the rule would require *vrkī* declension, so that in our variant VS would be regular, VSK irregular KS has no accents in this mantra but in 2 7 accents *skāmbhanī*, which would suggest that the fem stem is a *devī* form In either case Tait texts have a shortening of the *ī*, as seems to be their tendency

diva (*divas*, *divah*) *skambhanīr* (VS ŚB *°nīr*, VSK † KS † *°ny*) *asī* VS VSK KS TS ŚB TB ApŚ In KS 1 6 read *skambhany asī dhānyam asī*, acc to note on KS 31 5

§202 Nom pl in *ayas* for *īs* or *yas* (On the endings *īs* and *yas* in the *devī* declension see §213)

aṅgulayah śakvarayo dīśaś ca me yajñena kalpantām VS *śakvarīr aṅgulayo dīśas* TS MS KS The form *śakvarayo* is likely to have been influenced by the neighboring *aṅgulayah* (Wackernagel 3 p 184)

devānām patnīr (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *dīśah* (MS KSA † *visah*) VS TS MS KSA The meter requires three syllables, *patnayah* is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p 183 f)

nārīs (VS *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS *patnyo*) *loma* VS TS KSA *mahānāmni revatayah* TS MS KSA *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS See Wackernagel 3 p 184

§203 Instr pl in *ibhis* for *ībhīs*
śamībhīh śamyantu tvā VS *śmībhīh* (KSA † *śmī*?) *śmyantu tvā* TS
 KSA

§204 Voc sg in *e* for *i*, among the variants only by apparent assimilation to neighboring forms in *e*, as suggested for our first variant by Boehtlingk ZDMG 52 81, Wackernagel 3 p 185 top

sarasvate nu (GG *sarasvaty anu*) *manyasva* GG KhG ApG HG In preceding *pāda* occur *adite* and *anumate*, to which *sarasvate* seems assimilated

vā tubhyam adite mahi (TS *mahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Again doubtless assimilation of *mahe* to *adite*

4 Interchanges between different *i* declensions

§205 So much for variants between long and short *i* declensions We now come to variations between forms proper to different *i* declensions, that is to the three types *devī*, *vrkī*, and *śrī* We begin with

§206 Nom sg in *i* (of *devī* type) from *vrkī* nouns In most of these variants the *ī*s form is older, as we should expect *Vrkī* nouns begin to appear with noms of *devī* type, lacking *i*, as early as RV itself (Wackernagel 3 p 172)

adurmanāṅgalih (AV *ālī*, Ppp *ālīṣ*) *patilokam ā vīsa* (AV *vīsemam*) RV

AV Ppp SMB ApMB

gaurīr (AV *gaur in*, TB TA *gaurī*) *mīmāya salilam lakṣatī* RV AV
 TB AA TA N

mśvarūpu śabalīr (KS *śavalī*) *agnīketuh* TS KS PG

śinhīr asī TS MS ApŚ MŚ *śinhy asī* VS KS ŚB KŚ *śinhīr* (KS *śinhy*) *asī rāyaspoṣavanīh* TS MS KS *śinhīr* (VS KS ŚB KŚ *śinhy*) *asī sapatnasakī* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ KŚ *śinhīr* (KS *śinhy*) *asī suprajāvanīh svāha* TS MS KS *śinhy asī suprajāvanīh rāyaspoṣavanīh svāha* VS ŚB *śinhīr* (VS KS ŚB *śinhy*) *asī adityavanīh* (MS adds *sajātavanīh*) *svāha* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mahiṣīr (KS *āṣy*) *asī* TS MS KS MŚ On this see Lanman, NI 368 In RV the word is *māhiṣī*, with accent and inflection of *devī* type, in TS MS *mahiṣī'r*, of *vrkī* type KS accents *mahiṣy asī*, as if of *vrkī* type, but yet has the *devī* ending Wackernagel 3 p 179 distinguishes two words, *mahiṣī* 'Buffelkuh', and *mahiṣī* 'Furstin', the latter he separates entirely from *mahiṣa* and regards as fem to compv *māhiyas* This however seems forced In RV 5 25 7d (repeated elsewhere) *mahiṣī* is commonly taken to mean 'she-buffalo'

samhātasi viśvarūpī (TS ApS °*pīh*) VS TS ŚB ŚŚ ApS As in the KS form of the preceding, VS accents the word on the ending, as if it were a *vr̥kī* form

phalgūr (KSA °*gur*) *lohātornī balakṣī* (VS *pal*°, KSA ms *valakṣis*) *tāh* †*sārasvatyah* VS TS MS KSA Von Schroeder emends KSA to °*kṣī*, but since MS VS TS make the word oxytone (KSA has no accents here), while the masc is paroxytone, it should belong to the *vr̥kī* declension KSA therefore has the correct form, which should be kept

śam rātrī (VS *rātrih*, VSK TA *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK MS TA Mahidhara and Griffith take *rātrih* as plural, blithely undisturbed by the singular verb with which it goes It is indeed true that the preceding parallel pāda has *ahāni* 'days' as subject (but with properly plural verb) The *vr̥kī* nom sg of *rātrī* is heretofore unrecorded (even in Wackernagel 3 p 185) On *rātrih* see §195

§207 Nom sg in *īs* (of *vr̥kī* type) from *devī* nouns Such forms are much rarer, and generally dubious The first is the clearest variant, and in it Whitney calls *sarasvatīh* in AV a 'blunder' This however seems too drastic, especially since TB has the same form But it may be partly due to form assimilation to *tisro devir* preceding (subject of *sadantām*, *sarasvatīh* is included in the subject)

sarasvatī (AV TB † °*tīh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °*tīm*) RV AV VS MS KS TB N Both edd of TB °*tīh*

sapatnūr abhūbhūvarī (ApMB °*rīh*) RV † ApMB † The ending may be influenced by the preceding (acc pl 'l) *sapatnūr*, so Winternitz, p xxii

vāmī (KapS *vāmyā*) *te samdṛśi viśvam reto dheṣīya* (KS KapS *dheṣīya*) *tava vāmīr* (KS KapS *vāmy*) *anu samdṛsi* MS KS KapS *viśvasya te viśvāvāto vṛṣṇyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛsi viśvā retānsi dheṣīya* TS † Kerth's translation of TS is scarcely possible We must apparently take *vāmī* *vāmīr* as nom sg fem, and *anu* as adverbial, *dhā* middle with *relas*, as commonly with *qarbhām* 'Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight', MS KS 'lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni, that art all, possessest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds', TS

baḥabojopakāśnī HG *khajāpo 'jopakāśnīh* ApMB In VV 2 §381 it is suggested that ApMB may have a *vr̥kī* form But two good mss read °*nī*, which may well be intended A plural would also be conceivable

§208 The nouns *srī* and *lakṣmī*, nom sg Two variants in the same passage concern these two words, the one a monosyllabic *i* stem, the other originally a *vrkī* noun, so that both should have noms in *s*, and do so in Classical Sanskrit, where *lakṣmī* is the only *vrkī* noun which regularly retains the old *s* ending This is undoubtedly due to the influence of the synonym *srī* (Wackernagel 3 p 171 f) Nevertheless the *devi* form, without *s*, of *lakṣmī* is known in the Veda (ibid p 175) In the MahānU form of the following variant not only is *alakṣmī* read without *s*, but it has even caused the neighboring *śrī(s)* to lose its *s*, producing a *devi* nom sg from a monosyllabic stem, which is nowhere recognized in our grammars (cf Wackernagel 3 p 172) All mss of MahānU seem to agree, and the comm supports the form

śrīr me bhajatu TA *śrī me bhajata* MahānU Followed by *ṭalakṣmīr me nākyatu* TA *alakṣmī me nasyata* MahānU

§209 Dat sg in *ai* (of *devi* type) from *vrkī* and *śrī* nouns The *devi* ending in this and other oblique cases is well known as an alternative form in Classical Sanskrit with monosyllabic *i* stems So in the Vedic *vrkī* nouns, *ai* may replace *e*, cf Wackernagel 3 §88c The shift has its phonetic aspect, on which see VV 2 §705 We find one or two variants of each class

sukham meṣaya meṣyai VS ŚB *sugam meṣaya meṣyai* (RV *meṣye*)

RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ Ons ms of KS *meṣye* It may be noted that TS MS KS read *meṣyai*, retaining the accent of *meṣye*, while VS VSK ŚB accent *meṣyai*, as is proper for a *devī* form

veśāśrīyai (LŚ *°ye*) *tvā* Vait LŚ Add to VV 2 §705

śrīyai (MG *srīye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *vedhavai*) MG ApMB

§210 Abl sg in *as* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* noun Contrariwise, a *devi* stem shows a *vrkī* form in the abl sg in the following Strange to say, the irregularity occurs only in late sūtra texts (to be sure, of the RV school, perhaps a hyper-archaism?)

ayusmatyā (AŚ ŚŚ *°iya*) *ṛco ma gata* (Vait *mapagāyā*, Kauś *ma satṣi*)
tanūpat (ŚŚ *°pah*) *sāmnah* (AŚ *sāmna om*) TS AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś
ayusmatyā ṛco ma chaṭṣi etc JB

§211 Loc sg in *yām* and *ī* We find one stray variant in which AV shows *i* against RV *yām* Wackernagel 3 pp 168, 170, admits only *yām* for *devī* nouns and only *ī* for *vrkī* nouns He does not allude to this variant case, the stem occurs only here, so that there is no evidence for its original declension On it cf Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* p 49

āṣṭryām (AV *āṣṭrī*) *padam kṛnute agnīdhāne* RV AV MG The accent is on the final in both RV AV

§212 Nom -acc dual in *yau* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns In this case the original *vrkī* ending began to displace the old *ī* of *devī* stems as early as AV, and became universal in classical Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p 175) As we saw above (§185), it even affected sporadically short *i* stems

ghṛtācī stho dhuryau pātam VS ŚB *ghṛtācyau stho yajamānasya dhu yau pātam* MŚ

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB ApŚ °vī) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KhG
osadhya (°) *vaiṣṇave* [from *ā* stem] *sthak* MŚ

yadārāghatī (read *yadā rā*°) *varadah* Vait *yadā rākṣitūyau vadatah* ApŚ
An obscure *n pr*

§213 Nom (voc) pl *yas* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns This ending is exactly analogous to the dual ending just mentioned, originally peculiar to the *vrkī* type, *yas* appears in *devī* nouns in AV and becomes regular later Wackernagel 3 p 177 has noted many of our variants After two consonants *yas* is often spelled *vyas*, cf VV 2 §791 *tās tvā devīr* (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB BG °sā) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG *vyayasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG (In PG *devīr* is to be taken as acc VV 1 §70)

tisro rohinīr (KSA *rohinyo*, ms *rau*°) *vaśā mautriyah* (KSA °*triyah*) TS
KSA To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791

tisro rohinīs (KSA °*nyas*) *tryavyas tā vasūnām* TS KSA
rohinīs (VS °*nyas*) *tryavyo vāce* VS MS

pañcāvīs (KSA °*vyas*) *tisra ādityānām* TS KSA

anyataenyo mautriyah (MS °*nīr mautrih*) VS MS

pāvamānāh (RVKh TB YDh °*nyah*) *punantu nah* (tvā, mā, tv) SV
RVKh TB MG YDh

nārīs (VS *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS *patnyo*) *loma* VS TS KSA

devīr vāmīr asya bhūvanasya (TS † *bhūtasya*) *prathamajā ṛtavarīh* MS

TA *devyo vāmryo* (VSK *vāmryo*) *bhūtasya prathamajā makhasya*
vo 'dya śiro rādhyāsam VS VSK ŚB Voc

tisrah śilpā vasā vaiṣvadevyah TS KSA *śilpā vaiṣvadevīh* (VS °*devyah*)
VS MS †

mahānāmni revatayah TS MS KSA *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS

tāh prācyā (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhure* (KŚ † °*hīre*, Vait *saṁjigāhure*) Vait KŚ MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhure* ApŚ

phalavatyo (MS KSA °*vatīr*) *na oṣadhayah pacyantām* VS MS KSA
ŚB *phalinyo na* TS TB

86 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

yasyā (RVKh VS *yasyām imā*) *bahvyaś tanvo vīlaprṣṭhāh* RVKh VS
 MS *yasyai bahvīś tanuvo vīlaprṣṭhāh* TB
devānām patnīr (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *diśah* (MS KSA † *viśah*)
 VS TS MS KSA
yā devīr antān abhito dadanta AV *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito* MG
yāś ca devīr antān ApMB HG *yāś ca devīś tantūn* (SMB *devyo*
antān) PG SMB See VV 2 §63

5 Other variants concerning *ī* and *ī* stems

§214 Stems in *ī* and *in* Leaving now the interchanges between the feminine *ī* and *ī* declensions, we take up next a few cases of apparent confusion between *ī* and *in* stems In the first two cases clear *in* stems are provided in secondary texts with nominatives in *is*, as if from *ī* stems (cf Wackernagel 3 p 279 infra) In the other two cases here quoted, contrariwise, the SV substitutes nominatives in *ī* for RV *is*, the SV forms are taken by Benfey as from *in* stems
dūrehetīh patatrī vājīnāvān MŚ MG *dūrehetīr indriyāvān* (PB † *yavān*)
patatrī (PG *trīh*) TS PB TB PG ApMB
tan no dantī (TA *dantīh*) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Stem *danti* otherwise unrecorded
vyānashī (SV *śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhīh* (SV *dharmānā*) RV SV
suparno avyathir (SV *thī*) *bharat* RV SV Pān 3 2 157 records
avyathir

§215 Highly anomalous is the following gen pl *mahinām* of VSK If textually sound it must apparently be due to the influence of *in* stems, even a short *ī* stem of any gender should have *ī* in this case But since it seems necessary to take it as a feminine, its anomaly is increased, for *mahinām* could not pass for a gen pl fem even from an *in* stem

mahinām (VSK *mahinām*) *payo 'sī* VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
 MŚ ŚG

6 Alternative case endings within the same declension

§216 Instr sg *ī* and *yā* We come now to variants which show different case endings within one and the same declensional type, that is, cases in which no 'foreign' influence from a different *ī* or *ī* declension is to be assumed And first interchange between the old instr ending *ī* and the later *yā* The first concerns a *devī* noun, the rest short *ī* stems
aśvibhyām dūgdham bhiṣajā sarasvatyā (MS *vati*) VS MS KS TB
acitī yat (AV *acitīyā cet*) *tava dharmā yuyopīma* RV AV TS MS KS

yah samadhā ya āhuti (KS °*tyā*) RV KS AŚ AG
dvābhyaṃ iṣṭaye vñśatyā (VS ŚB ŚŚ °*śatī*) ca AV VS MS ŚB TA
 AŚ ŚŚ

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS °*tyā*, TS °*tīr*, MS °*tī*) *vām vyānā* (TS
 MS KS *vāvr̥dhānā*, AV *vāvr̥dhānau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
 The AŚ ŚŚ reading is corrupt TS *suṣṭutir* is acc pl, MS
suṣṭutī may be a dual adj, but may equally well be taken as
 instr sg

§217. Instr sg *i* and *yā* See Lanman NI 380 for the conditions
 under which *i* normally appears, namely at or near the end of a *pāda*.
 We find variants only of *svasti* with °*tyā* The former is original in
 the first, and probably in the second, in the latter, however, it is adver-
 bial and need not be felt as instr Cf Wackernagel II 1 p 123, III
 p 146 supra

sam sūribhir maghavan (RV MS KS *harivah*, AV † *harivan*) *sam*
svastyā (RV *svasti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS *tenantu yajamānāḥ svasti* (KS * ApŚ
 °*tyā*) TS KS (both) ApŚ

§218 Instr sg *inā* from fem nouns, and *yā* from masc nouns
 Here we find two cases (the first in the list) in which nouns which are
 regularly fem have the masc ending *inā*, and conversely two nouns
 usually masc have the fem ending *yā* To be sure *yā* was not origin-
 ally restricted to the fem, and Wackernagel 3 p 147 regards MS
kikīdivyā in our third variant as older than the RV °*vinā* To us this
 seems most unlikely, it is rather a late and secondary confusion, either
 of form or of gender (on change of gender see §§783-802)

pretinā dharmanā (MS *pretyā dharmāṇe*) *dharmam jinvā* VS MS ŚB
vr̥kṣam wāsanyā (HG °*ninā*) *jahī* AV HG

cāṣena kikīdivina (MS °*divyā*) RV VS MS KS

maninā (KS *manīyā*) *rūpāni* TS KS KSA

§219 The stem *pati* shows *patinā*, *pateh*, and *patyā*, *patyuh*, the
 latter two under the influence of nouns of relationship, cf Whitney
 Gr §343d, Wackernagel 3 p 142

upa preta marutaḥ sudānava (KS *svatavasa*) *enā viśpatinābhy amum*
rājānam TS KS *preta marutaḥ svatavasa enā viśpatyāmum rājā-*
nam abhi MS MŚ

agne gr̥hapate sugr̥hapatir aham tvayā (with varr) *gr̥hapatinā* (VSK
 °*patyā*) *bhūyāsam* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś
sugr̥hapatir mayā tvam (with varr) *gr̥hapatinā* (VSK °*tyā*) *bhūyāh*, same
 texts

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS °*path*, KB ŚŚ °*pateh*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS
KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ
ito mukṣīya mā pateh ApŚ *mṛtyor mukṣīya mā patyuh* MŚ *prelo*
muñcatu mā pateh PG †

§220 Loc sg in *i ī* Despite Wackernagel's scepticism (3 p 155), which admittedly has much justification, we are inclined to hold that *upasruti* in the following is a loc, and probably *upaśruti* also, tho we have suggested the possibility of taking it as an adverbial (quasi-neuter) accus (VV 2 §525)

agne tam sūktavāg asy upaśruti (MS °*ti*, TB *upaśruto*) *divas* (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§221 Loc sg in *ā au* On the original distinction see Wackernagel 3 p 152 f, *au* belongs to the position before a pause (contrary to the usage in the nom-acc dual, §128), and internally before a vowel (being then represented by *ā* before *u* vowels, *āv* before others, in RV SV VS, for other schools see VV 2 p 414), while *ā* occurred before a following consonant. Among the variants we find the shift only internally before a consonant. Generally speaking late and secondary texts substitute *au* for original *ā*.

ṛtasya yonā mahiṣā aheṣata RV *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā agrbhnan* (TS KS ApMB *ahinvan*) TS MS KS ApMB

aya(h)sthūnam (TS °*nāv*) *udtau* (RV °*tā*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS *sīdan yonā* (SV *yonau*) *vaneṣv ā* RV SV

utoditū (AV °*tau*) *maghavan sūryasya* RV AV VS TB ApMB

sattā ni yonā (SV *yonau*) *kalakeṣu sīdati* RV SV

devo narāsanso 'gnau (ŚŚ † 'gnā) *vasuvane* AŚ ŚŚ

sātū (SV VS *sātau*) *vājasya kāravah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ

[*mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito* (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārinah* AV VS TS MS KS The accent of AV *pū'rvacittā* corresponds neither with *pūrvacito* nor with *pūrvacittau*. Following p p it is usually taken as nom pl, for °*cittāh*, a poor substitute for °*cito*. But the MS reading suggests that the p p may be wrong and a loc intended.]

§222 Nom-acc sg neut in *im* No grammar recognizes the neuter ending *m* from *i* stems except for the pronoun *kim* (see e.g. Lanman NI 377, Wackernagel 3 §72). But TS TA agree on *sānasim* in the following, which can be nothing else. It is of course due to the analogy of *a* stems, and perhaps to the direct suggestion in the following and parallel adjectives *dyumnam* (TS KS *satyam*) *citraśravastamam*.

avo (TS MS KS TA *śravo*) *devasya sānasya* (TS TA °*sim*) RV VS
TS MS KS TA

[*mā me hārdi* (MŚ *hārdim*) *tvṣā* (MŚ *dvṣā*) *vadhūh* TS MŚ But here
the different, masculine stem *hārdi* would be meant, if MŚ really
intended *hārdim* (three mss *hārdi*)]

§223 Alternative writing of *iy* and *y* in stem final of *ī* and *i* stems
This purely phonetic matter has been treated in VV 2 §§788-792 and
need not be discussed here, as it does not really concern inflection

CHAPTER VI

LONG AND SHORT *U* STEMS

§224 The conditions here are different from those of the *i* and *ī* stems in several respects. In the first place, there seems to have been no *ū* declension originally corresponding to the *devī* type. Stems in *ū* were either declined like *vrkī* (polysyllabic stems, type *tanū*) or like *śrī* (monosyllabic stems, type *bhū*). Forms analogous to *devī* begin to occur quite early, to be sure, in the case of *tanū* nouns, as early as the RV itself. But these are rare in RV and are to be regarded as secondary. This analogical influence, incidentally, never extended to the nom sg, which in *ū* stems always ends in *s*, even in later Sanskrit. In oblique cases of the sing it is extended also to *ū* feminines, as in the *i* declension.

§225 As in the case of *i* and *ī* stems, there is considerable inter-influence between long and short *u* stems. But here the matter is complicated by a tendency which manifests itself quite early (already in RV) to develop a parallelism between masc and neut stems in short *u* and corresponding fems in *ū*. (See Wackernagel 3 §§66b, 68b, 101.) This appears both with *u* and *ū* stems. The former are originally of common gender, and remain optionally so thruout the history of the language, the fem stem may be like the masc. But *ū* nouns are mostly fem to begin with. Hence at an early time adjectives in *u* (a very common type) tend to develop fems in *ū*, by the side of those in *u*, or also in *ī* (following the *devī* type, see below, §297). Conversely root stems in *ū* when used in composition, and even derivative (fem) nouns of the *tanū* type when so used, begin very early to develop masc and neut forms in short *u*. We have noted above (§178, end) a single variant which seems to show a like tendency in *i* stems, which has heretofore not been noticed. But adjectives in *i* were always relatively rare, and probably for this reason such a tendency never acquired much scope, whereas the very frequent *u*-stem adjectives afforded a wide field for its development. Hence, in distinction from the interchange between *i* and *ī* stems, that between *u* and *ū* stems is usually found to be connected with this distinction of gender. More concretely, it most commonly means that an original *u* stem shows fem forms alternatively

with *ū* for *u*, or an original *ū* stem shows masc or neut forms alternatively with *u* for *ū*. To be sure, there are cases which go beyond these limitations. For instance, even uncompounded *ū* fems show forms of the *u* declension (Wackernagel 3 §101a, and §232 below). And root-nouns, and even other nouns, in short *u* sometimes follow the *ū* declension even in the masc, or otherwise avoid the short *u* inflection (§227 ff.), these *ū* forms are however regularly secondary in the variants containing them.

1 *ū* forms (normally fem) from original *u* stems

§226 We shall begin with interchanges between long and short *u* forms, and first with stems which (at least as masculines or neuters) are originally short *u* stems. The *ū* forms which occur are normally fem, but occasionally secondary texts show them in masc forms.

§227 Nom sg in *ūs* from *u* stems. The first variant concerns a fem adjective, so that *ū* is as normal as short *u*. The others, however, are masc, the *ū* is here clearly secondary, the older form being *u*.
phalgūr (KSA °gur) *lohitorvā balakṣī* (with varr, §206) *tāh ṣārasvatyah*

VS TS MS KSA

śundhyur (VS TS °yūr) *asī mārjāliyah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ
avasyur (VS ŚB °yūr) *asī duvasvān* VS TS MS KS PB ŚB ŚŚ MS
v 1 °yūr

§228 Nom sg in *ūs* varying with *ut*. As stated by Whitney, Gr §345, roots in *u* when used as root-nouns generally take a root-determinative *t*. Forms declined as simple *u* stems occur, indeed, in the oldest language (Wackernagel 3 §66b), but are rare. However, instead of adding *t*, sometimes root-nouns of this type show forms of the *ū* declension. Given the rarity of root-nouns in *u*, without added *t*, it is not unnatural that the very familiar root-nouns in *ū* should affect forms from *u* roots. We thus have a few variants in which a nom in *ut* varies with one in *ūs*. In every case it seems that the variant originally had *ut*, and that *ūs* is secondary. All are masculine. The first two variants should be added to VV 2 §554.

devaśrud imān pravape MS MŚ *devaśrūr etāni pravape* TS HG
devaśrut tvam deva gharma devo devān pāhī (MS *gharma devān pāhī*
tapojān) VS MS ŚB *devaśrūs tvam deva gharma devān pāhī* TA
ApŚ

havanasrun (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV TB

§229 Nom pl in (*u*)*vas* from *u* stems. (The ending is doubtless always to be pronounced *uvas*, on the writing *vas*. *uvas* cf VV 2

§§788-93) The first three variants concern feminine adjectives, where the $\bar{u}$ form causes no difficulty. In the others the proper masc form *vipanyavas* of RV is changed to $^{\circ}$ yavas in SV. The latter form occurs in RV but only as a fem. This change has a phonetic aspect, cf VV 2 §§601-4, and below §231. It is shown in VV 2 l c that SV prefers *u* for *a* before *v*.

vīrudhah pāraṣṣṇvah (TS MS KS $^{\circ}$ navah) RV VS TS MS KS N
tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvah (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS
sumnāyuvah (KS $^{\circ}$ yavas) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS $^{\circ}$ nyam) *dhatta* MS KS
tad viprāso vipanyavah (SV $^{\circ}$ yuvah) RV SV VS Nr̥pU VāsuU
 SkandaU ĀrunU MuktiU

tū vām gīrbhīr vipanyavah (SV $^{\circ}$ yuvah) RV SV

§229a Once, in a fem voc pl of a cpd of *kratu*, the RV has *-kratavas* (Wackernagel III §78), for which KS has the more regular *-kratavas*, while MS KapS substitute a sing *-krato* (still fem, not masc, cf Oertel 74).

adhā (TS MS *athā*) *śatakrato* (KS † $^{\circ}$ kratavo, MS † KapS $^{\circ}$ krato) *yūyam* RV VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB

§230 Instr-dat-abl dual in *ūbhyām* from *u* stem. The variants concern the stem *hanu*. Wackernagel 3 p 54 f explains the $\bar{u}$ as derived from the nom dual *hanū*, but cf §189 above, where similar forms from *i* stems are mentioned. We prefer to regard these cases as of the same sort as other long-vowel forms in short-vowel declensions. Only TS has $\bar{u}$, cf §175a.

hanūbhyām (KSA *hanu* $^{\circ}$) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŚ

hanubhyām (TS *hanū* $^{\circ}$) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS MS KS

2 *u* forms (normally masc-neut) from original $\bar{u}$ stems

§231 Among the variants occur chiefly compounds of monosyllabic ('radical') nouns in original $\bar{u}$, in addition there is one case of *tanuh* varying with *tanūh*, in which the former is clearly secondary (cf Wackernagel 3 p 194), and one of a compound of this stem, a masc adjective in which *uh* (two texts) varies with $\bar{u}h$ (one text, cf *ibid*). Nearly all the forms are of masculine or neuter gender, as is to be expected. Only three cases are represented nom sg, dat sg, and nom pl. In the two latter the phonetic moment of *a* *u* before *v* plays a rôle, see VV 2 §§601, 604, and above §229.

§232 Nom sg in *us* from $\bar{u}$ stems. Besides the two cases of *tanū* just mentioned, the variants chiefly concern compounds of *bhū*, and are of masc gender.

vyam te yajñīyā tanūh (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ *vyam* (VS ŚB eṣā) *te śukra tanūr* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
agne sadakṣah satanur (KS † °nūr) *hi bhūtā TS KS agnih sudakṣah*
sutanur ha bhūtā MŚ Masc adjectives
ābhur (MS KS ābhūr) *asya mṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhah) VS TS MS KS
 Masc
sambhūr (KS °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 Masc, note retention of ū in *mayobhūr* in KS
vibhūr (PB *vibhur*) *asi pravāhanah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ MŚ †
 HG Masc
vibhūr (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitṛā* VS TS MS
 KSA ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Masc
sumnahūr (KS *† °hur) *yajña* (TS *yajño devān*) *ā ca vakṣat* VS TS
 MS KS KapŚ ŚB MŚ Oertel 139 Add to VV 2 §554
śitipāt chityoṣṭhah śitibhrus (KSA † °bhrūs) TS KSA Masc Add
 to VV 2 §554

§233 Dat sg in *ave* from ū stems Only in masc and neut compounds of *bhū* The writing *uve* for *ve* concerns phonetics, see VV 2 §789

abhibhuve (MS *abhibhve*, KS *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ
vibhuve (KS † *vibhave*, MS *vibhve*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ
samvēcāyopaveśāya 'bhibhuve (MŚ 'bhibhave) *svāhā* KS MŚ
ariṣṭyā avyathyan 'bhibhuve *svāhā* KS Add to VV 2 §604

§234 Nom pl in *avas* from ū stems In compounds of monosyllabic stems

śitibhravo (MS °bhruvo) *varūnām* VS MS Cf last variant in prec § but one

samudram na subhvaḥ vā abhiṣṭayah RV *samudram na suhavam* (AV *subhuvas*, TB Poona ed *suhavam*) *tasthivānśum* AV TB ApŚ
mahiṣam nah subhvam tasthivānśum MS Ppp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret emends *subhuvas*, suggesting also *subhuwam* (JAOS 35 46), *subhavas* would do perhaps as well as *subhuvas*, altho the AV comm understands the word as fem (if the nom is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain, in RV, perhaps not a real variant of this passage, *subhvaḥ* is fem, the acc form must be masc)

3 Influence of devī declension on *u* and ū stems

§235 This has been discussed above in §225 The variants are mostly ū stems of the *tanū* type, to which are added one or two short *u* stems (On fem adjectives in *vī* see §297)

§236 Acc sg *tanūm tanvam* Only this stem varies in the acc sg, *tanūm* is not R̥gvedic

sonitrā prasūtā dāvya āpa undantu te tanūm (VSK *tanvam*, the jaṭṭha has *tanūm*) *dirghāyulvāya varcase* VSK KŚ PG

svayā tanvā tanvam arayat AV svām yat tanūm tanvām arayata MS
AA AŚ ŚŚ *svā yat tanū tanvam arayata KS KSA svāyām yat tanvām* (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm arayata TS KŚ*

na te tanūm tanvā sam paprcyām AV na vā u te tanvā tanvam (AV *te tanūm tanvā*) *sam paprcyām RV AV*

§237 Dat sg in *var* from *ū* stems (*tanū* type), cf VV 2 §705 To these cases are to be added those in which the form in *var* is used in the sense of a genitive and varies with *vas* They are grouped in §144

śam v astu tanvar tava VS śam u te tanve (TS *tanuve*) *bhuvat TS KSA śam astu tanve mama AV* In VS the svarita accent is retained in *tanvā*

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvar*) *syonah TS TB ApŚ SMB PG*

samveśanas tanuvar (SV KS MŚ *tanve*) *cārur edhi SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ* In the accented texts (TB TA) the svarita accent of *tanvā* is retained in *tanūvar*

kuhvar (KSA *kuhve*) *trayo 'runarītāh TS KSA* Von Schroeder emends KSA to *kuhvar* TS accents *kuhvā*, i e with the svarita of *kuhvā*

§238 Dat sg in *var* from short *u* stems One variant from the fem noun *jīvātu* The others are infinitives in *tavā* *tave* See above, §183 We do not think it likely that the infinitive ending *tavā* is really due to the direct influence of the *devī* declension, it is hardly likely to be a feminine form at all But as it is externally similar to these forms, it seems that such variants must be included here (NB By an incomprehensible and most deplorable slip, VV 2 §705 records the variant *sunavar* 've in *śakrāya su° tvā RV JB* as a dative form [Also *indrāya su° tvā* in the same passage should have been quoted] The form is of course a 1st sg subj, and might have been noticed in VV 1 §26, but *sunave* is doubtless a bad reading, if not a phonetic simplification, Oertel JAOS 18 28 reads as RV)

agnes tvā mātrayā jīvātave TS KS agneṣ tvā mātrayā jīvātvar MS

daśamāsyāya sūtave (HG °*var*) ApMB HG Also *daśame māsi sūtave RV* etc

havyāyāsmar vodhave (KS °*var*) *jātavedah TS MS KS Kauś*

puṇse putrāya vetṭavar (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*, KS † *kartave*, MG *kartavar*, v l °*ve*) KS ŚB TB BṛhU ApŚ ApMB HG MG

§239 Abl sg in *vās* from *ū* stem (*tanū*)

agne yan me tanvā (TS *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas tan*
VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *yan me agna ūnam tanvas tan* MS KS
The accented texts (VS TS ŚB) retain the svarita accent of the
older *tanvās* (TS *tanūvā*)

§240 Loc sg in *vām* from *ū* stem (*tanū*)

svām yat tanūm tanvām arayata MS AA AŚ ŚŚ *svayā tanvā tanvam*
arayat AV *svā yat tanū tanvam arayata* KS KSA *svāyām yat*
tanvām (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm arayata* TS KŚ As above, the
svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS *tanuvām*)
[*svāyām tanūn* (RV *tanū*) RV ApMB MG Knauer mistakenly
regards *tanūn* as a 'shortening' of *tanvām*, but see VV 2 §308]

§241 Nom pl in *ūs* from (fem of an) *u* stem

māndā vāśāḥ śundhyūr (KS *śundhyūvo*) *ajrāḥ* TS KS Nom pl fem
adjective, the ending *ūs* is anomalous in either *u* or *ū* stems, and
is clearly due to the analogy of *devī* forms, more specifically, to the
parallel *īs* (and *ās*?) forms in the context

4 Alternative case endings within the same declension

§242 We come now to forms which can hardly be said to be due to
any known 'foreign' influence, at least within historic times, that is,
variant forms both of which may be called proper to one declension,
so far as the usage of our texts goes Cf the similar *i* and *ī* forms,
§§216 ff

§243 Instr sg *unā* and *vā* One variant of *madhu*, see Lanman NI
409, Wackernagel 3 p 146, and next section
kratum rihanti madhunābhy (SV *madhvābhy*) *añjate* RV AV SV

§244 Abl os and *vas* The variants concern *madhu* and *vasu*,
for both of which the regular forms in RV are *madhvah*, *vasvah* (Wacker-
nagel 3 §75a note, cf §69a) In all the variants RV shows these
forms, while later texts substitute *madhoh*, *vasoh*, which are rare in RV
but regular later

madvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavanta ūrmayah* RV SV
madvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavaṣva dhārayā* RV SV
madvah (SV *madhoh*) *pibanti gauryah* RV SV AV MS
madvah (VS * MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhoh*) *pibatam āśvinā* RV VS
(both) MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

madhvas (AV SV *madhoś*) *cakānaś cārur madāya* AV SV AŚ ŚŚ
madhuo (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV
ed u madhuo (SV PB *madhor*) *madintaram* RV AV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ

vasvah (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuṇḍ vanāti nah* RV KS TB TA MahānU

vasor vaso purusprah SV *vaso vasvah purusprah* RV

§245 Loc sg in *ū* *vi* (*uvi*), and in *vi* *vī*

srucīva gṛtām camvīva (TB ApŚ *camū va*) *somah* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ The loc of this word is otherwise *camū* in RV The isolated *camvīva* is parallel to and perhaps influenced by *srucīva*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 188 Yet the similar *tanvī* is regular

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS *tanuvi*) *repa ā dhuh* RV TS

§246 Loc sg in *ā* *au* Wackernagel 3 p 153 says that *ā* for *au* in *u* stems is not proved, despite the frequent occurrence of it in the parallel form of *i* stems, he denies various cases which have been suggested He says nothing about the form *sumnayā*, which seems to us a more likely instance than any other This isolated form is commonly considered an instrumental, from an otherwise unknown stem *sumnayā* It occurs only once in RV (in the variant here quoted, 10 101 4), and the AV variant has *sumnayau* AV 7 55 1 has *sumnayā* (the only occurrence in AV and apparently the only other one anywhere), and Whitney notes that there a locative seems required To us it seems almost certain that *sumnayā* is loc to the familiar stem *sumnayu* Render 'the wise (*kavis* span the yokes etc) before the gods, before (presumably = for the benefit of) the pious man' *dhīrā deveṣu* (KS * *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV *ṇyau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB

§247 Nom acc sg neuter in *u* *ū* This is regarded by Wackernagel 3 §72 as a matter of rhythmic lengthening, the *padapāṭhas* have in fact *u* for *ū* Only one variant has been found (cf VV 2 §555) *sa hi purū* (SV *puru*) *cīd ojasā virukmatā* RV SV

§248 Nom acc pl neuter in *u* *ūni* (*ū*) *visvā vasu* (TS ApMB *vasūni*) *dadhire vāryāni* RV VS TS KS ApMB (KS v 1 *vasū*) The meter is better in the original form, *vasūni*, the later and secondary reading, makes the cadence difficult [*saṃ gṛbhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed *purū*) *śalā* RV AV MS KS TB]

§249 Loc sg in *vam* (?) *vām* One variant contains a form which can only be intended as a locative of *tanū*, and which appears according to well-established tradition as *tanvam* in two sūtra texts, while a third has the regular *tanvām* Caland in his translation of ApŚ adopts *tanvām* from MŚ, we should probably follow him but for the fact that AŚ certainly read *tanvam*, as well as ApŚ (the AŚ comm repeats the form),

this seems to us to make it certain that the form *tanvām* is no mere scribal error. The preceding adjective *vśvabhṛti*, which can only modify *tanvām*, makes it equally certain that the form is meant as a locative. No such form, with short *a* before *m*, is recognized in any grammatical authority. We know of only one other place at which it might with some plausibility be assumed, this is AV 19 37 2, *varca ā dhehī me tanvām*, here SPP reads *tanvām* with the comm and one ms, cf Lanman, *NInfl* 412. Another way out in this case would be to take *tanvām* as acc (cf §380, and on two accusatives with verbs of placing §535) (Lanman l c mentions also AV 19 55 3 *tanvām*, suggesting that *tanvām* be read, but here the acc is quite possible as object of *puṣema*). While we have no explanation for the form, we find it impossible to deny that at least in the ApŚ AŚ form of the following variant, and perhaps also in AV 19 37 2, *tanvām* is used as loc sg of *tanū*.

prajāpater vśvabhṛti tanvām (MŚ 'vām) *hutam asī svāhā* (AŚ omits *svāhā*) AŚ 3 11 11 (omitted in Conc) ApŚ MŚ 'Thou art offered in the all-sustaining body of Prajāpati'

§249a On *tanūn*, loc sg, for *tanū*, see VV 2 §308

§250 Voc sg neuter *u* *o*. In one variant this shift occurs, cf Wackernagel 3 §77, Whitney §336h, where VSK *uru* should be added to the small stock of voc neut forms of the *u* declension. We may note that AV TS have this pāda in nominative form (*urv antarikṣam*), and VSK may possibly have been influenced thereby (a sort of blend of the two readings). But VV 2 §912 is wrong in calling VSK 'illogical'.

dyāvāprthivī uro (VSK † *urv*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS TB

§251 Alternative writing of *uv* and *v* in stem final of *u* and *ū* declensions. As in the similar case of *vy y* (§223), we refer to VV 2 §§788–93 for this phonetic or orthographic question.

CHAPTER VII

R STEMS AND CONSONANT STEMS

1 Stems in *r*

§252. Most of the few variants concerning this declension are cases of genitive plurals. In this case-form TS has only short *r* (Keith, *HOS* 18, cxli, cxlviii), the variants show the same form sporadically in TA and MS. It should be noted that ApŚ according to Garbe's text (which reports no variants) fails to follow TS in this respect in its two variants. Is this due to editorial carelessness?

svāveśo 'ay agreḡa netṛnām (TS *netṛ°*) TS MS KS *agrenīr asī svāveśa unnetṛnām* VS ŚB. Three mss of MS also *netṛ°*.

ākhuḥ kaśo te pitṛnām VS VSK MS *pāṅktrah* (but see VV 2 §418)

kaśo te pitṛnām (KSA † *pitṛ°*) TS KSA

pitṛnām (TS † MS *pitṛ°*) *ca manmabhūh* RS VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

Kauś N

pitṛnām (TS *pitṛ°*) *sadanam asī* TS ApŚ

devānām tvā pitṛnām (ApŚ *pitṛ°*) *anumato bhartum śakeyam* TA ApŚ

yā no dadātu śṛavanam pitṛnām KS *sā no dadātu śṛavanam pitṛnām*

(TS *pitṛ°*) TS MS AŚ ŚŚ N

dhātā dhātṛnām (TS † *dhātṛ°*) *bhūvanasya yas patih* RV TS KS

prajananam vai pratīṣṭhā pitṛnām (TA Poona ed *pitṛ°*, v 1 *pitṛ°*)

TA MahānU

astāvya agnir narām (MS *nṛnām*) *suśevah* RV VS MS. Both these genitives of *nṛ* are Rīgvedic.

§253. In strong case forms of nouns of relationship, Tait texts twice present the vriddhi instead of the guna grade in compounds (cf Wackernagel 2 1 §43a)

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB °*pitārā*) RV TB

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu°*) *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS † °*lāras*) TS MS KS BDh VīDh

§254. The gen-loc dual ending *ros* is regularly pronounced dissyllabically (as *uros* or *ṛos*? Wackernagel 3 §113). The TB reading of the

following seems to be an attempt to do justice to this pronunciation, see VV 2 §368

asamṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh (TB *mātrvoh*) *śucih* RV TB

2 Consonant stems variant ablaut forms

§255 We find first a group of cases concerning real or apparent variation in ablaut grade of consonantal stems. Most often the vowel *a*, of normal (guna) grade, varies with *ā* which on its face is vriddhi grade, tho it may be actually due to secondary analogy of one sort or another. The same guna form in *a* may also vary in weak cases with zero grade. We begin with a case of nom sg masc of a stem in *-sad*, lengthened to *-sād* in two texts. It has been noted in VV 2 §499 that the grammars do not recognize ablaut in this stem.

viśvā āsā dakṣinasat (AB AŚ °sāt, ŚŚ *dakṣinatah*, LŚ *dakṣinadhak*) VS
MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

§256 And once we find what appears to be lengthening of the *a* in the nom of a participial stem in *ant*. If correct, this would doubtless be caused by the analogy of *mant* and *vant* stems. But it occurs in an unpublished part of MŚ and is suspicious (VV 2 §503). *anadvāns tapyate vahan* (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ. Note *anadvāns* in the same pāda.

§257 Nom -acc neuter forms are normally made from the weak stem, but occasionally strong forms are found by analogy with the masc. The variants contain two compounds of *pad* appearing in RV regularly as *pad*, but in later texts as *pād*, and one case of an *s* stem. See Wackernagel 3 pp 235, 288.

dvīpac catuṣpad (AV Ppp VS Kauś *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV AV
Ppp VS VSK TS Kauś

dvīpac catuṣpad (SV *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV SV
yachā nah śarma saprathah (VS KS TA ApŚ ApMB HG °thāh) RV
VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N *yachāśmai śarma saprathāh* AV TS. That *s* stems occasionally show nom acc neut forms in *ās* is certain (Lanman 560, Wackernagel 1 c, 228, and cf next variant). Since *saprathas* is a standard epithet of *śarman*, it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible to understand *saprathās* as a fem, agreeing with the subject of *yachā*, the earth (so apparently Keith on TS). Cf VV 2 §502 [*śarmā* (TA °ma) *saprathā āvr̥ne* KS TA *śarma yachātha saprathah* AV. But all mss of AV °thāh, which should be read, VV 2 §502.]

§258 The acc sg of masc *s* stems normally has short *a*. But in

100 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

one variant the KS ms reading shows *ā* Wackernagel 3 p 182 denies this lengthening to other *s* stems than *uṣas*, and von Schroeder emends the KS to short *a*, but cf Whitney §415b, 2, 3 We see no reason for refusing to recognize the KS form with *ā*, tho we do not doubt that it is analogical and secondary, it may be metri gratia, see VV 2 §502. *viśām agnīm atithīm suprayasam* (KS °*yāsam*) RV KS

§259 The stem *ayās* normally shows no ablaut, the *ā* being always long In some secondary texts, however, weak case forms are made with short *a*, on the analogy of *as* stems So Neisser, *ZWbch d RV s v*, convincingly Geldner, *VSt* 3, 122, n 5, and Wackernagel 3 p 282, derive the form *ayasā* from the different stem *ayas*, 'iron', which in some occurrences seems to us clearly impossible

ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś Cf also *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe*, with variants, below §416, and VV 2 §502

§260 The stem *vṛṣan* regularly has no vriddhi in its strong cases But occasionally, by analogy with other *n* stems, such forms as *vṛṣānas* occur (Wackernagel 3 p 267)

vṛṣanah (TB *vṛṣānah*) *samadhīmah* RV AV SV TB ŚB Both nom pl

§261. The stem *ap*, *āp*, 'water', regularly has *āpas* in the nom and *apas* in the acc, but the two are occasionally interchanged The variants show one such interchange in the acc, the only recorded variant for the nom is due to an editorial error

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu acāriṣam* RV VS MS KS ŚB AŚ LŚ MŚ MG ApMB Note that RV itself has *āpo* as acc

[*śam no bhavantv āpa oṣadhayah* (*apa oṣadhīh*) *śivāḥ* AV (both) So RWh, but *āpa* is an emendation, withdrawn by Whitney in his translation The word is *apa* both times, tho nom, VV 2 §498 suggests metrical shortening]

§262 In compounds of *han*, we find the strong stem *-han* instead of the weak *-ghn* in the acc pl cf Wackernagel 3 p 328

rakṣoghno (MŚ MŚ add *vo*) *valagaghnaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣnavān* MS KS ApŚ MŚ *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣnavān* (ApŚ *† *vaiṣnavam*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ (bis) *rakṣoghno valagaghno* *vasthīcāmi* (and, '*vasthīnāmi*') *vaiṣnavān* KS (bis) *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahano* '*vasthīnāmi vaiṣnavān*' VS VSK TS ŚB

§263 In a single variant ApMB may possibly show a nom pl masc form of a participle with weak instead of strong stem, a kind of con-

fusion which is more extensively found in Prakrit. That a nom is intended seems to us virtually certain (cf the following *ukṣamānāh* which is perfectly parallel). To be sure the state of the text of ApMB is such that almost anything is conceivable, cf Winternitz xvii. And, as W suggests, the true reading might be *vahato ukṣamānāns*, with both epithets acc, going with *gṛhān* in the first pāda.

vrām vahanto (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānāh* AŚ ApŚ

AG ŚG ApMB MG *vrām vahantah sumanasyamānāh* HG

§264 Finally, from *mant* and *vant* stems are occasionally formed nom-acc pl neuter forms with lengthened *ā*. Among the variants they occur only in RV, and are replaced in SV by the 'regular' forms with short *a*. Cf Whitney §454c (the statistics are incomplete), and Wackernagel 3 p. 258 f.

ava dronānī ghṛtavāntī sīda (SV °*vanti roha*) RV SV

mateva sadma paśumāntī (SV °*mantrī*) *hotā* RV SV *pari sadmeva paśu-
māntī hotā* RV

3 Interinfluence of stems in *vant*, *vāns*, (*v*)*as*, *van*

§265 The similarity in form and meaning between formations of this sort has led to various confusions, some of which established themselves as regular elements in Vedic declension. This is most strikingly true of the vocative forms of *vant* and *vāns* stems (Wackernagel 3 pp. 258, 301). It must be assumed that the original voc. endings were *van* and *vas* respectively. But in the R̥gveda *vas* is used almost exclusively from *vant* stems, by analogy with the *vāns* stems. Conversely, in later Sanskrit, beginning with the AV, *van* is used in the voc. of *vāns* stems, by analogy with the *vant* stems which in post-RV times had this ending, the analogy was assisted by the nom. sg. masc. *vān*, which coincided with the ending of *vant* stems. We find a considerable number of variants between vocatives in *vas* and *van* from *vant* stems, and one (the first) from a *vāns* stem. In all cases where the chronology is clear, *vas* is the older reading.

hotāś cikitvo (AV °*vann*) *avṛṇīmāhīha* RV AV

harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā
hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV (Ppp also °*van*)

namas te astu bhagavah (GB MG °*van*) VS TS MS KS GB TA MG
namas te bhagavan astu VS

agnāṣī patnīvan (VSK † *agne vākpatnī*, MS KS MŚ *patnīvāṣīn*, TS
patnīvāṣh) *sajūr devena* (MS KS *sajūs*) VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB

ye te sarasva (KS °vann) *ūrmayah* RV TS MS KS N
māyā hi māyā avasī svadhāvah (SV °van) RV SV TS MS KS TA N
sam sūribhīr maghavanī (RV MS KS *harivah*, AV *harivant*) *sam*
svastyā (RV *svasti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
vivasva ādityarṣa te somapīthas TS KS *vivasvann* (VSK °vān) *ādī-*
tyarṣa te somapīthah VS VSK MS ŚB MŚ
dīvo jyote (and, *jyohīr*) *vivasva āditya* KS (bis) *devajūte vivasvann*
āditya MS

§266 Otherwise the variants here all concern nom sg masc forms. Twice *vant* forms (in *vān*) are substituted for the older *van* form (in *vā*) from *maghavan*, which quite commonly appears as *-vant* even in later Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p 264 f.)

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu AV *svasti no maghavā dhātū indrah*
 RV VS TS MS KS MahānU *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS TA
 MahānU *idam havir maghavā vetu indrah* SV

satrācyā maghavā (SV *maghavānt*) *somapīthaye* RV AV SV

§267 The others are purely sporadic. The stem *sv-avas*, an *s* stem in which the preceding *v* is radical, not suffixal, is once, in RV itself, drawn into the *vant* (or *vāns*?) declension, showing a nom in *vān* (Wackernagel 3 p 287). In the other variant a perf pple in *vāns* shows in a secondary reading a nom in *vā*, as if from a *van* stem (perhaps aided also by *as* stems? followed by *y*, so that *-ās* would appear as *-ā*). Wackernagel 1 p 332, 3 p 300 supra, has noted this variant, he seems to think that external sandhi (before *y*) may be concerned in the form in *-vā*, but he recognizes the unquestionable occurrence of *van* forms from *vān* stems elsewhere, and we see no reason to doubt that *-vā* is such a form.

sumṛdīkah (VSK °likah) *svavān* (VS VSK *svavā*) *yātū avvān* RV
 VS VSK

dadhanvān (VS ŚB TB °vā, MS KS °vān) *yo naryo apsu antar a*
 RV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB

4 Stems in *n*

§268 Aside from one or two *van* forms, mentioned in the preceding sections, and one case of different ablaut grades noted in §260, most of the variants concerning *n* stems fall into four groups: neuter plurals in *a*, *ā*, and *āni*, oblique cases of the singular with and without the vowel *a* in the stem, instrumentals singular of *man* stems with *nā* for *mnā*, and locatives singular in *an* and *ani*.

§269 Neuter plurals. We should expect to find here a number of

variations between *ān* and *ā* (or *a*), both being common endings of *n* stems in the nom-acc neuter pl, and this variation being common in *a* stems, which took over the ending *ān* from *n* stems (§160 ff) Strange to say, we have found hardly a single clear case The best is *sarvā devānām janmānū vidvān* Kauś, which seems rather a vague parallel to, than a genuine variant of, *viśvā devānām* (TS *viśvān deva*) *janmā vivakti* AV TS KS (§164) Otherwise we find only variants in which the shorter form is probably intended as singular, varying with a plural in *ān*, such as

vocad brahmān (SV *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV SV TS MS The SV *brahma* (so p p) is no doubt to be taken as sg with Benfey (who connects it with *tat*)

ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyusṣṭih AV *katī dhāmānī katī ye vivāsāh* MS

The AV is undoubtedly sg

§270 Among neuter plural forms of *n* stems we find, therefore, chiefly variations between *ā* and *a*, where the long vowel cannot be regarded as rhythmically lengthened (VV 2 §459 f, Wackernagel 3 p 276) In each of our variants short *a* of RV is replaced in AV by *ā*, the variations are all noted in Lanman NI 540

yatra gavām nṛitā sapta nāma (AV *nāmā*) RV AV
varma (AV *varmā*) *śivayadhvam bahulā prthūnī* RV AV KS ApŚ
trinsad dhāma (AV *dhāmā*, MS *trinsaddhāmā*) *vi rājati* RV AV SV
 ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB (The AV variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460) Pratīka in MŚ The compound of MS MŚ is to be taken as masc nom sg, but AV has a neut pl

§271 In one variant all MS KS mss have the form *dhāman*, for *dhāma* of the other texts The preceding adjective *divyān* proves that only an acc pl can be intended The form is best understood as a sort of blend with the loc sg (of goal, the word is dependent on a verb of motion)

upa pra yāhi (TS † *yāta*) *divyānī dhāma* (MS KS °*man*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB The KapS has *dhāma*

§272 Oblique cases of the singular with alternative presence or absence of *a* in the stem The *a* was regular after a long syllable It was standard in all periods of the language after two consonants, and in the oldest language it is often written after one consonant when the preceding syllable has a long vowel (furthermore, when not so written, it is often shown by the meter to have been pronounced) Cf Lanman, NI 524, Wackernagel 1 p 11, 3 p 268, Edgerton, *Language* 10 260 *somah kalase satayāmanā* (SV AV °*yāmanā*) *pathā* RV SV AV Here,

as just stated, the meter proves that RV pronounced °*yāmanā*, in SV AV it is written so

rlasya tvā vyomane (MŚ *vyomne grhnāmi*) TS MŚ

ojase balāya tvodyache vṛṣane kuṣmāyāyūṣe varcase (MS KS *vṛṣne kuṣmāya*) MS KS TB ApŚ Here the *a* (in TB ApŚ) is uncalled-for, after a short syllable, and clearly secondary

§273 Instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems, type *mahinā* On these forms see Wackernagel 3 p 268 f, and literature there cited, especially Bloomfield JAOS 16, clvi

varśvānaro mahimnā (TS *mahinā*, KŚ *mahinām*) *vśvakṛṣṭih* (TS KŚ *vśvaśambhūh*) RV TS KŚ This is the only occurrence in RV of the metrically bad *mahimnā* after the cesura, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 50 7

elāvalī mahinā (AV *mahimnā*) *saṁ babhūva* RV AV Cf prec *anīrīkṣāyārṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā prathantu* TS *rṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā* (VS *varimnā*) *prathantu* VS MS KS *divo mātrayā varinā* (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prathasva* VS TS MS KS ŚB In the last, which is metrical, *varinā* makes better meter

dyaur va bhūmnā pṛthuvīva (VSK *bhūmir va*) *varimnā* VS VSK ŚB *dyaur mahnāsi bhūmir bhūnā* (KS Kauś *bhūmnā*) MS KS Kauś *bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur varinā* TS

§274 Loc sg in *an* *anī* On this see Wackernagel 3 p 273 The ending *an* is characteristic of older and hieratic language It also differs from *anī* in being a syllable shorter, the majority of our variants show the form at the end of *triṣṭubh-jagatī* *pādas*, so that either ending makes good meter In these variants, where the longer ending *anī* is found in RV, the surrounding *pādas* are *jagatī*, so that the RV reading matches them, in such cases the substitution of *an* is apparently due to conscious hieraticism In other cases the ending *anī* is secondary and introduces a *jagatī* *pāda* in an otherwise *triṣṭubh* verse It is shown by Wackernagel, following Eggeling and Caland, that the Kāṇva recension of the Vājasaneyin school prefers *anī*, against Mādhyamdina *an*, but if such variants occur in mantras, we have not noticed them, so that our variants happen to show no trace of this

§275 The cases in which the variant word ends its *pāda* (*triṣṭubh* or *jagatī*) are the following Four times out of six the *anī* ending is secondary In all except the first the secondary ending (whether *anī* or *an*) makes the *pāda* metrically inconsistent with its context, at least in certain texts

mā samṣṛkṣāthām parame vyoman (AB AŚ *vyoman*) VS MS KS
AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ Here the stanza is otherwise jagati, the
AB AŚ reading seems to be a (secondary) patching of this pāda
to make it consistent

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsan* (MS *apipakṣa āsan*) RV
VS TS MS KS ŚB N

pratya aṅgeṣu prah tṛṣṭhāmy ātman (SMB *ātman*) VS KS ŚB TB
SMB HG

tam pratyañcam arcīṣā vidhya marman (AV *marman*) RV AV Accord-
ing to Roth Ppp reads *marman*

satyadharmānā parame vyoman (MS *vyoman*) RV MS

sa jāyāmānah parame vyoman (RV * *man*) RV (ter) MS In RV
consistent with context as to meter

§276 The next two variants are prose, chronological priority is not
very clear

apām tvā bhasman (MS KS *bhasman*) *sādayāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB

It is possible that MS really read *bhasmant* (see v Schr's note)
asmīn brahmany asmīn karmany AV *asmīn brahmany asmīn kṣatre*
'smīn karmany ŚŚ *asmīn brahmany asmīn kṣatre* KS *asmīn*
brahman asmīn kṣatre 'syām āśīṣy asyām purodhāyām *asmīn kar-*
man (PG *karmany*) *asyām devahūtyām* TS ApŚ PG *te nah*
pānīn asmīn brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmīn karmany MS
The preponderance of texts seems to point to *ālder an*

§277 Thrice the hieratic ending *an* is introduced secondarily to the
detriment of the meter

tam ātman (TS *ātman*) *pari grhnīmahe vayam* (MS *grhnīmasīha*) TS
MS KS

śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*,
AŚ 'hany *ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ Clearly *ahani* is required
by the meter

jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke SV *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharman kṣor anīke*
RV Benfey is certainly right in regarding *dharmam* as merely a
way of writing *dharman* (note that a dental consonant follows)

§278 Otherwise both forms may be real metrically, if final *y* in *any*
(before a vowel) be pronounced as a consonant, or other changes accom-
pany the shift and make the meter sound

yat te asmīn ghora āsan juhomi KS *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS
yasyās ta āsan ghore juhomi AV *yasyās te asyāh krūra āsañ*
juhomi TS ApŚ *yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi* VS ŚB

ātman (ĪśāU *ātmany*) *evānupaśyati* VS ĪśāU

[*divye dhāmann* (TB Conc **dhāmany*) *upahūtah* (TB *^o*tā*) TS MS TB (bis) Poona ed of TB *dhāmann* both times]
 [†*ṛṣṭīye dhāmāny abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *avrayanta* VS TA † MahānU † Conc *dhāmany* for *dhāmāny*]

§279 As an addendum to the *n* declension, we may mention an isolated curiosity which concerns noun formation rather than inflection *dhāmne tvā* KS *dhāmyai tvā* ApŚ The latter is due to attraction to the forms which follow in the series of formulas, viz *sanyai, vityai, śaktyai, bhūtyai*

§280 The Concordance erroneously reports a voc sg variant of a neuter *n* stem

[*vācaspate vidhe nāman* (AŚ Conc *nāma*, but text *nāman*) KS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ]

Compare the next, where the forms are obscure but look like vocatives of *in* stems

lājiṣṇ chācīṣn (MS *lājiṣ śācīṣ*) *yavye gavye* (TS KSA TB ApŚ *sacīṣn yaśo mamāṣm*) VS TS MS KSA 4 9 (add in Conc) ŚB TB ApŚ See Keith's note on TS , but the MS form may intend a voc in *i* (not *in*)

5 Heteroclitic stems and the like

§281 Stems in *an* and *i*, type *asthān āsthi* On these see Wackernagel 3 p 302 ff The variants show shifts between the two forms of the stem in the nom-acc pl (strong stem), and in the weak cases, both those with *bh* endings and the 'weakest' forms Sometimes the accent—regularly recessive in the *i* stem but on the stem final in the *an* stem—reveals the secondary character of one form

teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (AV *sam dadhmo akṣāni*, Ppp *sam dadhmo akṣāni*) RV AV Ppp Both accents regular

aṅgāni ca me sthāni (VS and v l of MS '*sthāni*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS So far as accents are written they are regular, except that MS p p writes *āsthāni*

asthabhyah (KSA *asthi*^o) *svāhā* VS KSA No accent in KSA

bhadram paśyemākṣabhir (KS † and v l of MG '*ākṣibhir*) *yajatrāh* RV SV VS MS KS TA ApŚ MG NṛpU NṛuU Accent *ākṣibhir* in KS anomalous

akṣyoś (MŚ *akṣnoś*) *cakṣuh* TS TAA MŚ PG *cakṣur akṣnoh* AV Vait No v l quoted for MŚ , but mss of AV mostly *akṣyoś* (or *akṣoś*, a bad writing for the same, cf VV 2 §335, where this might have been quoted), some mss of Vait also *akṣyoś*, which should be read in AV Vait (see Whitney's note)

caḥsur ā dhattam akṣyoh (MŚ *akṣnōh*) TS MŚ

§282 Stems in *s* *r* (Wackernagel 3 p 310 ff) The single variant noted concerns *ūdhar* *ūdhas* as a locative, cf Wackernagel l c 311, Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 70 8, both of whom are inclined to deny any loc *ūdhar* (not to speak of *ūdhas*) It seems, however, impossible to construe the form in the following variant otherwise than as loc It is very possible that *ūdho* (*ūdhas*) is the true reading of all texts, for most MŚ mss read *ūdho* 'di'

sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, MŚ *ūdhar aditer*, KS *ūdho aditer*) *upasthe* VSK TS KS ŚS KŚ MŚ

§283 Strong cases of stem *panthā*(*n*) The older forms (stem *panthā*) are replaced in secondary texts by those from stem *panthan*, sometimes (in the first quoted cases) clearly to the detriment of the meter, but usually this is patched up by other changes Once even occurs *pathayo* as nom pl (from stem *pathi*)

anykṣarā ṛṇavah santu panthāh (AV *panthānah*) RV AV ApMB
ye te panthāh (TS KS TB ApŚ *panthanah*) *savitah pṛ. vyasah* RV VS
TS KSA TB ApŚ

ye te pantha adho divah SV Svidh *ye te panthāno* 'va *divah* AV
emam panthām arukṣāma AV *sugam panthānam arukṣam* ApMB
panthānam bhrūbhyam VS *panthām* (p p *panthānam*) *bhrū* MS
tam panthānam (Ppp Roth, *panthām*) *jayemanamitram ataskaram* AV
Ppp

ye panthāno bahavo devayanāh AV *ye calvārah pathayo devayānāh* TS
SMB PG BDh Wackernagel p 308 plausibly suggests influence
of the phrase *pathibhir devayānāh*

§284. Weak forms of *path*(*i*) Once the instrumentals *pathā* and *pathyā* from this stem interchange In RV VS ŚB *pathyā* may indeed be taken as nom (see §419), but in the others it is certainly instr
in sloka etu (AV *etr*, TS ŚvetU 'kā *yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh*
(*sūrih*, *sūrah*, *sūrāh*, VV 2 §328) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
ŚvetU

§285 The stem *āsan* *āsya* See Wackernagel 3 p 317 An interesting blend form *āsyān*, loc sg, a cross between *āsan* and *āsye*, seems to have been the true Atharvan reading (AV GB Kauś, and possibly Vait ?) in the following, it has not been noted by the Conc or the grammarians See VV 2 §328 Most AV and Kauś mss have *āsyān*, and Gaastra adopts it for GB, it is, to be sure, not noted by Garbe as found in Vait mss

vān mā āsan (MŚ PG *āsye*) AV TS GB TAA Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś
PG BDh

108 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

pari swayam cinuṣe annam āsyē (SV *āsani*) RV SV In a jagatī stanza, read *āsyē* in RV, cf Edgerton, *Language* 10 253 ff

§286 The stem *yoṣan(ā)* *yoṣā* See Wackernagel 3 p 112 The only variant noted concerns the acc sg *yoṣām* *yoṣanām*, both forms are metrically consistent with their surroundings (both RV), and there is no evidence of priority

ny ūhathuh purumutrasya yoṣām (and *yoṣanām*) RV (both)

§287 The stem *yūṣan* *yūṣa* See Wackernagel 3 p 317
apo yūṣnā (TS KSA *yūṣena*) VS TS MS KSA

§288 Stems *rai* *rayi* See Wackernagel 3 p 214 ff, and for the phonetic aspect of this variation VV 2 §396

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyari*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS ŚB TB MŚ (Conc also AŚ ApŚ under the last, but the same passage is meant) *rayyari* is late and secondary

CHAPTER VIII

DIPHTHONGAL STEMS

§289 Compare the last section (*rai rayi*) Besides this, the variants noted all concern the stem *div* (*dyu*), except one isolated case of instr sg *nāvayā* varying with *nāvā* from *navi* On this latter see Wackernagel 3 p 224 The RV original has *nāvayā*, which has been used to posit an otherwise unknown stem *nāvā* Wackernagel however suggests that it is a poetic nonce-formation, substituted for *nāvā* on the analogy of the instr forms in *ō ayā* from *ā* stems The AV *nāvā* is formally more regular, but metrically poor
sa nah sindhum iva nāvayā (AV *nāvā*) RV AV TA For other related formulas see Debrunner, *Festschrift Winlernitz*, 7

§290 Coming to the stem *div* (*dyu*), we find a single anomalous genitive *dyaus* for *dyos*, one acc pl *divas* varying with *dyūn*, and a considerable number of acc sg forms *divam dyām* The gen *dyaus* occurs only in MS, for *dyos* of all other texts No v l is quoted This is a much clearer case than any of the other alleged instances of *dyaus* as abl-gen, on which see Wackernagel 3 p 224 infra, with references

sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB

Possibly a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism, cf VV 2 §732

§291 The accusative variants, both singular and plural, concern the extension of the stem *div* outside of its proper range, see Wackernagel 3 p 220 The one case of acc pl is

atī didyūn (MS *dyūn*, TS KS TB ApŚ *divas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The accent in TS TB is *divás*, not the R̥gvedic *divas*

§292 Otherwise only acc sg *dyām* varying with (secondary) *divam* is found This shift is frequent While *divam* is already common in the RV itself, the only variants concerning RV have *dyām* in that text This form is probably dissyllabic in RV in all the three following cases, read *dyām* in the first, *dyām* in the second and third (and *prthvīm* in RV in the third, cf Edgerton, *Language* 10 252)
tad astabhnā uto divam (RV *uta dyām*) RV SV ArŚ

dyām (AV *divam*) *ca gacha prthivīm ca dharmanā* (AV *dharmabhīh*)
RV AV TA

sa dādāhāra prthivīm dyām utemām (AV * *prthivīm ula dyām*, **prthivīm divam ca*, ApŚ *prthivīm antarikṣam divam ca*) RV AV (bis) VS
VSK TS MS KS KSA PB ŚB ApŚ N According to Roth,
Ppp has *dyām utāmūm* for AV 11 5 1

§293 In one AV variant the reading *dyām* seems probably secondary, and intended to patch the meter in a changed form of the mantra where the meter requires a monosyllable

divam (Ppp *dyām*) *antarikṣam ād bhūmim* AV Ppp *divam samudram ād bhūmim* AV The latter is probably original It occurs in a Rohita hymn, and is very appropriate to the context, which deals with the sun's defensive activities The other, with *antarikṣam* for *samudram*, is magical rigmarole, describing the wearer of an amulet, after *divam*, *antarikṣam* follows so naturally! We assume that *divam samudram* was changed first to *divam antarikṣam*, and that then Ppp tried to correct the meter by substituting *dyam* (here, if a monosyllable, contrary to Sievers' Law) for *divam*

§294 The remaining cases concern YV texts, and are chiefly prose, or if metrical, meter seems to play no part in the shift Nor is there much clear indication of priority, KS, apparently the oldest YV text, prefers *dyām* in a number of cases, but not unanimously

divam skabhana KS *dyam stabhana* KS *divam dṛnha* VS TS MS KS
JB ŚB TB MŚ

divam gacha VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA ApŚ MŚ *dyam gacha* MS
KS AB AŚ MŚ

divam (KS ApŚ *dyam*) *te dhūmo gachatu* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
divam agrena mā lekhih (MS MŚ *hinsih*) TS MS ApŚ MŚ *dyam mā lekhih* VS KS ŚB KŚ

divam agrenasprkṣah VSK † *divam agrenaprāt* (VS *agrenāsprkṣat*) VS
TB *dyam agrenāsprkṣah* (MS KS * TB °*ṣat*) VS KS (ter) MS
TB ŚB

ud divam (KS *dyām*) *stabhāna* VS TS KS ŚB PB ApŚ *divam agre-*
nottabhana MS MŚ

sūryena dyām (KSA *divam*) TS KSA

ā yā dyām (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā prthivīm orv* (KS *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS
TS MS KS ŚB

drapsas te dyām mā skān (KS ApŚ *skān*, MS *te divam mā skān*) VS
MS KS ŚB ApŚ

ararus te divam mā skān TS ApŚ *ararus te dyām* (KS ApŚ *ararur*

dyām) mā paptat MS KS ApŚ *araro divam mā paptah* VS ŚB
Vait

§295 The stem *diva* for *div* (*dyu*) is according to Wackernagel (2 1 pp 109, 113, 146, and 3 p 220) found in the Veda only in compounds. On *dive-dive* see §678. Tho this is a matter which does not strictly concern the theme of this volume (but rather Noun Formation), we record here in passing a clear case of locative *dive* in KS, no other interpretation is at all possible.

divi (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *utlamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS †
°*thām*) MS KS TB ApŚ

CHAPTER IX

ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

1 Feminine adjectives

§296 We find a number of variations between *ā* and *i* stems, feminines to masculines in *a*, see (pending the appearance of Wackernagel II 2) Thumb-Hirt, *Handbuch*, 197, Macdonell, *VGr* 273 n 1, and for the usage in Classical Sanskrit, Renou, *Gr Scte* 279 f The variants reveal no general principles so far as we can see

samhitāsi viśvarūpā MS KS ApŚ *samhitāsi viśvarūpī* (TS ApŚ °*pīh*)
VS TS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ

upasthāvarābhyo dāśam VS *upasthāvarābhyo bairdam* TB (so Poona ed)

śivā rutasya (VSK *śiva rtasya*, TS and v 1 of MS *śivā rudiasya*)
bheṣajī (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS

śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (TS *viśvāhabheṣajī*, VS *viśvāhā bheṣajī*, MS *viśvāha bheṣajā*) VS TS MS KS

sakhā saptapadī (ApMB °*padā*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB Kauś ApMB
MG *sakhe saptapadā bhava* PG

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB ApŚ °*vī*) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KhG
ośadhyā (!) *vaiṣṇave sthah* MŚ

annādā (KB °*dī*) *cānnapatnī ca bhadrā ca* AB KB AŚ

vairājī (KSA † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA We see no reason to
emend KSA, as v Schroeder would

śamgayī (MS ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadānū*) MS ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ

[*varīśvadevy āmukṣā* MS KS † Conc *varīśvadevāmukṣā* for KS †]

§297 There are also a couple of cases in which the fem suffix *ī* is alternatively added to *u* stems, varying with the stem in *u* which may be of either gender, cf §225 above

achudrām pārayiṣṇum (SMB °*ṣṇīm*) TS SMB

dhiṣane vīdū (VS VSK ŚB *vīdvī*, KS *vīte*) *satī* (KS om) *vidayethām*
(VSK *vīlī*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB

§298 Otherwise we have noted in the Conc only one erroneous quotation of fem forms in *atī* and *antī* from a *vant* stem

[*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā rīśantām* (KSA *viśantām*) RV TS KSA † Conc
ūrjasvantīr for KSA]

2 Pronominal adjectives

§299 There are only a few cases of variation between pronominal and nominal endings in these adjectives. See Wackernagel 3 p. 579 ff. Perhaps the most interesting is the first quoted, in which, curiously, the late and secondary ApŚ substitutes a pronominal for a nominal form of *viśva*, changing its own Samhitā, the pronominal forms of this stem are in general prehistoric, the nominal forms secondary, see Wackernagel 3 p. 581.

viśvārād aśvīśvānām (ApŚ *viśvāsām*) *nāṣṭrānām hantā* TS ApŚ
ye keśīnah prathamāh (MŚ °me) *satram āsata* TB ApŚ MŚ. This and the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ.

viśvasṛjah prathamāh (PB MŚ °me) *satram āsata* (MŚ °te) PB TB
ApŚ MŚ

dakṣīnāyām (AŚ °nasyām) *dīrī māsāh pītaro māṇḍāyantaḥ* TS AŚ
[*te vrāṇam* (KS *samvrāṇam*) *abhi samyantu sarve* MS † KS Conc *sarvāh*
for MS, but the reading is *sarvā* before a vowel, and *sarve* is intended, so p. p.]

3 Numerals

§300 We have noted only the doubtful KSA reading *aṣṭabhyah* (with short *a* characteristic of the later language) for *aṣṭābhyah*, cf. VV 2 §495, Wackernagel 3 p. 358.

aṣṭābhyah svāhā TS KSA † (Conc *aṣṭa°* for KSA, ed. with ms *aṣṭa°* in all three occurrences, first hand once *aṣṭa°*).

aṣṭābhyah śatebhyah svāhā TS KSA. Here the ms. of KSA reads *aṣṭa°*, ed. em. to *aṣṭā°*.

CHAPTER X

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1 Enclitic and orthotonic

§301 Almost the only formally equivalent variants in pronominal forms are those in which enclitic and orthotonic forms interchange. We find such variants in the forms of the accusative, dative, and genitive forms, singular and plural, of the first and second personal pronouns. In all three cases in the plural, and in the dative and genitive singular, the orthotonic forms are in each case at least one syllable longer than the enclitic. And even in the accusative singular, when followed by words beginning in a vowel, the orthotonic forms *mām*, *tvām* result in an extra syllable in contrast with the enclitic *mā*, *tvā*, in which the final vowel fuses with a following initial vowel. Consequently variations between these forms generally involve metrical considerations. Usually other changes in the formula result in metrical correctness for both variant forms. At other times one or the other form is metrically imperfect.

§302 Accusative singulars. The forms *mām mā* and *tvām tvā* are the only ones of this class which do not vary in number of syllables, and even they, as we have just seen, produce readings of different syllabic length when followed by initial vowels. In addition to such metrical considerations, certain phonetic moments may be involved. Thus, when a consonant follows, they show presence or absence of final nasal (usually *anusvāra*), and as such might have been included in VV 2 §§300 ff. Also some of the variants between *mām* and *mā*, when followed by a vowel, seem to involve haplogy or dittology (double or single syllables *mā* or *ma-*), in this connexion some of these variants were listed in VV 2 §812, but that list was incomplete and must be supplemented from the following materials.

§303 Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in metrical passages
punar mām aitu (AV Vait Kauś *maritv*, TA * *mā praitv*) *indriyam AV*
SB TA (bis) *BṛhU ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG Cf*
 also *punar dravnam* (and *brāhmanam*) *aitu mā* (AG MG *mām*)
TA AG SMB HG MG. The AV Vait Kauś form is metrically deficient and may be haplogical.

vṛtraghna (MS KS °ghnah) *stomā upa mām upāguh* (AV *mema āguh*, KS *mām ihāguh*) AV TS MS KS Here both forms are made metrical

tayā mām indra sam sṛja RVKh *tayā mū sam sṛjāmasi* HG ApMB The RVKh form would be a syllable short (reading *mendra*) but for its use of *mām* before a vowel

tam mā sam sṛja varcasā RV AV etc *sam māgne varcasā sṛja RV AV* KS ApMB *sam mām ayaṣa varcasā* (TS adds *prajaya*) *sṛja TS* MS KS The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion

mśve deva abhi rakṣantu (KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV **tveha*, Ppp 5 4 4d *mām iha*) AV Ppp KS †

§304 Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in prose passages, cf VV 2 §812 (haplology or dittology)

tāni mām avanti SMB *te māvātām AV* *te mavantu AV TS PG* *te māvata te mā jīvata KS ApS* *te mām avanti KS ApS* *taṁ māvata AV*

āyur bṛhat tad asīya tan māvatu (MS *mām avatu*) ApS MS *tan māvatu* (MS AG MG *mām avatu*) PB TA TU ApS MS AG MG *tan mavit MG* *tan mām āvit TA TU*

ihaiṣa kṣemya edhi ma prahāsīr (ApS °*hasīn*) *mām amum amuṣyayunam* (AS *prahāsīr amum mamuṣyayunam*, ApS † *mamum āmuṣyāyanam*) MS AS ApS MS Caland assumes for ApS the same text as MS

yā devy asīṣṭaka (°*ke*) *sa mām upaseṣva* (MS *niopaseṣva*) MS KS ApS (four entries in Conc)

§305 Variations of *mām* and *ma* before a consonant or final Here the variants are metrically equivalent, and there is no need to separate metrical from prose variants

ā roha mām (AV *ā mā roha*) *mahate saubhagaya RV AV* *uddhriyamāna ud dhara pāpmano mā* (MS *mām*) AS ŚŚ ApS MS ApMB

upa mām (TB *mā*) *bṛhat saha divu* *hwayatām ŚB TB ŚŚ* The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them

upa mām sakhā bhakṣo (TB *mā bhakṣah sakhā*) *hwayatām TB AS ŚŚ*

upa mām (TB *mā*) *rathamtaram saha* *hwayatam ŚB TB ŚŚ*

upa mām (TB *mā*) *vāmadevyaṁ* *hwayatām ŚB TB ŚŚ*

upa mām (TB *mā*) *dhenuh* *hwayatam TB AS ŚŚ*

upa mām (TB *mā*) *divyāh* (TB ŚŚ omit) *sapta* *hwayantām TB AS ŚŚ*

evam mām brahmacārīnah TA TU *evā mā brahmacārīnah* Kauś
evam mā śrīdhātārāh SMB *evam mā sakḥāyo brahmacārīnah* SMB
gopāya mā (VāDh *mām*) *śevadhī te* (with varr) 'ham *asmi* Samhito-
 paṇiṣadB VāDh ViDh N

trp̄tā mā tarpayata (MG *mām tarpayantu*) KS MG

divo nu mām (HG ApMB *mā*) *bṛhatō antarikṣāt* AV HG ApMB
 Prs *divo nu mām* GB Vait Kauś

na mām (N *mā*) *brūyā vīryavatī tathā syām* ViDh VāDh N

punantu mā (RV *mām*) *devajanāh* RV AV VS MS KS TB Prs
punantu mā (BṛhPDh *mām*) Vait Kauś BṛhPDh

punar dravnam aitu mā (AG MG *mām*) TA AG SMB HG MG
 The same with *brāhmanam* for *dravnam*

prthivī mātar mā mā hīnsīh (KS ŚB *hīnsīr mo aham tvām*) VS TS ŚB
 ŚŚ *mā mām mātā prthivī hīnsīt* TS MS

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hīnsīṣṭam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim* MS KS
mā mā hīnsīh svām (svam) *yonim* VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

samuddho mā (ŚG *mām*) *sam ardhaya* VSK ŚG

[*āyusmantam karota mā* (RVKh Aufr *karotu mām*, Scheft *karotu me*,
 KS *kṛnota mā*) RVKh KS TA BDh A dat or gen is uncon-
 struable, only *mā* or *mām* can be read in RVKh, *me* has crept in
 perhaps from the end of the preceding verse, *dehi me*, or else by
 confusion with the similar *pādas dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me, sarvam*
āyur dadhātu me]

§306 Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in metrical
 passages

abhi tvām indra nonumah RV SV *abhi tvā śūra nonumah* RV AV SV
 VS etc A significant case, the final *m* of *tvām* is a sort of 'Hiatus-
 tilger' (cf VV 2 §309)

jayantam tvānu devā madantu (TS *tvām anu madantu devāh*) RV AV
 SV VS TS The original was read *tvānu*, TS implies the irregu-
 lar or later pronunciation *tvā-* (Edgerton, *Language* 10 247f), and
 tries to 'correct' the meter

tābhīṣ tvābhīṣīncām MG *tena tvām abhi*° YDh The MG is 'cor-
 rected' in YDh as in prec

mahe cana tvām adrivah (SV *tvādrivah*) RV SV ŚŚ Both may be read
 metrically, but Sievers' Law requires *tv-*

yam tvām ayam (TS KS *tvāyam*) *svadhīṣ tejāmānah* (*tetiṣānah*, *tigma-*
tejāh) RV TS MS KS *ayam hi tvā svadhīṣ tetrjānah* VS ŚB
 Sievers' Law would make RV hypermetrical

viśvantu (read *viśantu*) *tvām āhulayaś ca sarvāh* MU *viśvam tu* (read

māntu) *tvākulayah sarvā(h)* PrānāgU The latter is metrically poor

[*tena grhṇāmi tvām aham* (AV *grhṇāmi te hastam*) AV VS ApMB
tena tvāham pratigrhṇāmi tvām aham HG]

§307. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in prose passages
etat te tata (tatāsau) ye ca tvām anu (KS *tvānu*) TS KS TB ApŚ
ApMB The same with *tatāmaha*, *pūāmaha*, *pratātāmaha*, *prapī-*
tāmaha, for *tata* (only KS reading *tvānu*) *ye ca* (Conc wrongly
omits *ca* for ŚŚ) *tvām anu* (ŚŚ *tvām atrānu*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ ŚŚ
ye cātra tvānu MŚ GG KhG

prajāḥ tvānu (TS ApŚ *tvām anu*) *prānantu* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ
ApŚ MŚ The TS form simulates meter, and also makes better
assonance with the preceding formula, *prajāḥ tvām anu prānhi*
It is of course secondary

§308. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* before consonants and final
ajasram tvām (ApŚ *tvā*) *sabhāpālāh* TB ApŚ
atas tvā vṣṇuḥ pātu MS *vṣṇus tvām indriyena pātu* (TS KS *tvām*
pātu) VS. TS KS ŚB

avatām tvām (VSK KS ApŚ *tvā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* VS VSK KS ŚB ApŚ
māsvā tvām (KS *tvā*) *prajā upāvarohanu* VS KS ŚB ApŚ
vṣṇus tvā (SMB v 1 *tvām*) *nayatu* SMB PG *vṣṇus tvām unnayatu*
MG Note that in MG *tvām* is used before a vowel, 'hiatusilger'?
[*tvā* (!) *manasānārtena vācā* KŚ Read *tvām* or *ā tvā* (so Weber in
note), or *tvāmanasā*]

[*tvām* (so Poona ed, Conc *tvā*) *bhūtāny upaparyāvartante* TA]
[*deva savitar etam tvā* (VSK Conc *tvām*, by error) *vrnate* VSK
TB etc]

§309 Variants of dat sg *mahyam*, *tubhyam* with *me*, *te* in metrical
passages In all cases both forms are metrically sound
anamivāh pradīśah santu mahyam ApŚ *asapatnāh* (Vait text *sapa*°)
pradiśo me bhavantu AV Vait

tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam TS *sarvam tad astu te ghṛtam* (AV. *astu me*
śvām) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

tubhyam (and *ye ta*) *āranyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vane hitāh* AV (both)
mahyam dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān TB ApŚ *sā me dhukṣva yaja-*
mānāya kāmān (KS *dhukṣva sarvān bhūtākamān*) KS TB ApŚ
Both sound

śvām mahyam madhumad astu annam AV *syonam annam madhuman*
me kṛnomi MS

§310 Variants of dat sg forms in prose passages

118 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

agnir janavin mahyan jāyām imām adāt Kauś *agnir janitā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu svāhā ŚG*

§311 Variants of gen sg *mama*, *tava* and *me*, *te*, mostly in metrical passages

aṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanī Vait *pryāny aṅgāni tava vardhayanīh*
TB *dhruvam aṅgam priyam yat tanūs te MŚ* While MŚ is metrically poor, its deficiency occurs in the first part of the pāda and seems not to be connected with the use of *te* for *tava*

tat punīdhvam yavā mama ViDh *punīdhvam ca yavā mama ViDh*
sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh All metrically sound

tava syāma (TS syām) śarman (TS °man) trivarūtha udbhau (TS udbhūti) VS TS *śarman (MS °mans) te syāma trivarūtha udbhau MS KS TA* The pāda is hypermetric in VS, TS, apparently based on VS, corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV 1 p 253) Apparently MS KS have the original

śam u te tanve (TS tanve) bhuvat TS KSA *sam v astu tanva tava VS* Both metrically sound

syāma te sumatāv apī RV TS *syāma sumatau tava AV* Both may be read metrically

tava-tava rāyah MS KS MŚ *to-to (TS ApŚ to te) rāyah VS TS ŚB*
ApŚ tava rāyah MS MŚ Prose

§312 Variants of acc pl *asmān*, *yuṣmān* and *nas*, *vas*, all in metrical passages

abhyanti nā (SV abhyeti nā, AV asmān aty abhy) ojasā spardhamānā RVKh AV SV VS The AV is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically

arāyo śasmān abhūduchunāyate TB AŚ ApŚ *urāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate RV TAA Vait MŚ* Both metrically sound

asmān (SV sā nah) sile payasābhyaṅvatsva AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
evāsmān (KS evā mān) indro varuno bṛhaspatih MS KS *tenāsmān indro varuno bṛhaspatih AV* *tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih TS ŚŚ* All metrically sound

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt (mss ādāt) MŚ *mā sv (Poona ed mo ṣv) asmān tamasy antar ādhāh TA* *mo ṣvatvam asmān tarādhāt (so, with p p) MS* No metrical considerations involved in the variation

tebhīr na adya savitola viṣṇuḥ KŚ *tebhyo asmān varunah soma indrah Kauś* *tebhyo na indrah savitola viṣṇuḥ ApŚ* All sound

yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām AŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB BDh *yo 'smān dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām ŚB † 1 6 20d* Both sound

sa no aryamā devah PG *so 'smān devo aryamā* MG *sa imām devo aryamā* (ApMB *adhvarah*) AG SMB ApMB Deficient meter in PG

§313. Variants between dat pl *asmabhyam* (*asme*) and *nas*, all in metrical passages

athā nah (TS *athāsmabhyam*, AV *adhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS °*tana*) RV AV VS TS MS KS N *tad asme sam yor arapo dadhātana* RV Hypermetric in TS

dalto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāśma*°, AŚ *dattāyāśma*°, SMB *dattāśma*°) *dravneha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yaca bhadram* MS All sound, but MS evidently secondary
śāntū nah santv oṣadhīh AV *śivā asmabhyam oṣadhīh* KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG Both sound

§314 Variants between gen pl *asmākam*, *yuṣmākam* and *nas*, *vas*, in metrical passages, both forms are metrically sound each time
apī jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh *apī nah sa kule bhūyāt* MDh
aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham a* vi *śevā* AV

2 Sporadic pronominal form variants

§315 Besides the variations between orthotonic and enclitic forms, only a few sporadic formal variants occur among the pronouns. Among the personal pronouns, the old form *tubhya* for *tubhyam* is found once in PG, HG reading *tubhyam*. The PG form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p 459

tubhyam (PG *mama tubhya*) *ca samvnananam* PG HG

§316 The R̥gvedic locative *tve* occurs in a number of secondary texts (only KS reading *tvayī*) in the following variant, which shows that we must modify Wackernagel's statement, 3 p 462, that there are no new occurrences of *tve* after the RV

āruroha tve sacā (KS *tvayī apī*) KS TB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

§317. The R̥gvedic dual form *yuvabhyām* persists also in TS N in the following variant, only KS using the later *yuvābhyām* (if the edition is right, but the best ms of KS has *yuvā*°!) Wackernagel 3 p 464 says that *yuvā*° is used exclusively outside of the RV except for one AŚ passage (Whitney 492b). Evidently this statement is true only if we understand it to apply to new passages, not repeated from RV
athā (KS *adhā*) *somasya prayatī yuvabhyām* (KS ed *yuvā*°, v l *yuvā*°)

RV TS KS N

§318 An anomalous form written *yuṣmān* before a vowel (i.e. *yuṣmām*? or *yuṣmān*?) seems to be intended as a genitive in the following

120 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

It is not recognized by the grammars but is textually well established *yusme* (GB † *yusmān*, Gaastra with all mss, all mss of AV also *yusmān*, Whitney, Index) *astu dīve dīve* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ No acc can be construed, like *yusme*, the form can only be gen, dat, or loc, and of these it seems that gen is the best choice

§318a The old dative or locative *asme* varies once with *nah* (and later *asmabhyam*)

athā nah (TS *athāsmabhyam*, AV *adhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS "tana) RV AV VS TS MS KS N *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV

§319 The only other variants concern demonstrative stems (For fem *yusmās* see §803) Once the gen-loc dual of *ena* varies between *enos* and *enayos*, as noted by Wackernagel 3 p 521

na parā jgye kataras canaroh (AV *canarnayoh*) RV AV TS MS KS AB

§320 Once TA uses a wholly anomalous form *amī*, for AV *amū*, as nom dual fem of *asau* No other form than *amū* for this case, in any gender, has been noted elsewhere, and this form of TA is ignored in the grammars It is particularly strange to find it used as a fem (the noun is *tārake*), if it were masc we might assume a use of the plural for dual The comm interprets by *amū* but offers no remarks, and we can think of no explanation, unless the influence of *devī* nouns
amī ye subhage divi TA *amū ye divi subhage* AV

**SECOND PART SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC
VARIANTS
CASE, NUMBER, AND GENDER
CHAPTERS XI-XXIX**

CHAPTER XI

VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

§321 The vocative and nominative case forms are, in the dual and plural numbers (and sometimes also in the singular), formally distinguishable only by accent and consequently only in accented texts. We have tried to include cases where this accentual distinction is preserved, along with other cases in which a difference of stem or ending appears. It would have been clearly improper to include here instances from texts in which no accents are written, if the forms are identical, merely because our interpretation (however obvious and certain it may appear) makes a particular form vocative in one text and nominative in another. Since, however, the Concordance does not record accents, so that these variations can only be got from the original texts, it is likely that our collectanea are not complete in this regard.

Direct address and indirect statement

§322. As might be expected, a large proportion of the variants concerns shifts between direct address and third-person statement, of the sort treated from the point of view of verb forms (with shift between second and third persons) in VV 1 §§292, 327 ff. For example *māte-vāsmā adite* (ŚG *aditih*) *sarma yacha* (ŚG *yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB, 'like a mother grant, O Aditi, (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him'. This sort of change requires no comment, unless perhaps this, that the direct-address form of the variant need not necessarily contain a second-person verb, tho it most commonly does. For instance *svasā* (ŚG *sakhā*, ApMB *priyā*) *devī* (HG ApMB *devānam*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB ApMB PG ŚG HG *svā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG. Here MG changes the statement of 'fact' (really a magic formula implying a strong wish that it may be a fact) into a direct prayer, in which the personified power addressed is put in the vocative, but instead of saying 'protect us from harm!', the phrase 'may we not be harmed' is used. This of course means the same thing.

§323. In VV 1 §§293, 332 we have already seen that the case of the subject and the person of the verb in such variants are sometimes incongruous. The lists there given will be found only partly duplicated

by our lists below. The conditions are different when one approaches the subject from the point of view of the variation in case. Notably a nominative referring to the subject in a sentence of direct address can not necessarily be called a syntactic incongruity. It may easily be an appositional nominative, modifying the subject, as in *ā tiṣṭha mitra-vardhanah* (AV °na) AV KS TB † ApŚ †, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends'. Here and in many similar cases both forms of the variant contain direct address, and usually a 2d personal verb, yet the nominative may fit as well as the vocative and is frequently the original form. In such cases it often appears that the change (in either direction) is due to form-assimilation to an adjoining word. Thus *somam piba vṛtrahā śūra* (TS TA MahānU °hañ *chūra*) *vādvān* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU, 'drink the soma, O hero, being the wise slayer of Vṛtra' or 'O heroic slayer of Vṛtra, being wise'. Of course the Taittirīya texts must be secondary, and no doubt the following vocative *śūra* helped the change to *vṛtrahan*, yet their sense is quite as good as that of the original. But as much can hardly be said for the TS reading of the following, which shows the reverse change (nom instead of voc), also under the influence of surrounding forms, but yielding a much less satisfactory result since the name of the god Indra, who is addressed, does not go well as nom in apposition to the subject of the verb *saṁjagā indra* (TS *indrah*) *sagano marudbhīh* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ, 'O Indra, in association with the band of Maruts' or 'in association with the band of Maruts, being Indra'. This pāda immediately precedes the one quoted above, so that TS has substituted a nom for the voc *indra*, while putting the voc *vṛtrahan* in place of the nom.

§324 The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syntactic incongruity, since the nom *indrah* of TS is not really construable in an intelligent way. Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335-6. In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the variant incongruous (voc with 3d person or nom with 2d). Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same variant, e.g. *madhvā yaṁnam nakṣatī* (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīṇānah* (AV *prān*°), followed by *narāśaṁso agnīh* (VS TS KS *agne*), AV VS TS MS KS. Here AV MS (probably original) have 3d person verb with nom subject, VS TS have 2d person verb with voc subject, only KS

is inconsistent, having 3d person verb with voc subject. It might be suggested that KS contains a blend of the other two forms. But more probably KS represents the first change from the original reading (of AV MS), and VS TS have a further change based on KS and designed to correct its poor syntax.

§325 It should be noted that not a few vocative-nominative forms differ only in the lack or presence of a final visarga—a very slight phonetic difference. They are collected and related to similar phonetic shifts in VV 2 §380.

§326 We shall list first the variants in which a nom. with 3d person verb varies with a voc. with 2d person. This is the simplest type, and requires no comment, the shift in either direction is extremely natural and common.

māteuāsmā adite (ŚG *aditih*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG *yansat*) AV TS MS
KS TB TA, ŚG ApMB

indra vājam ajayut TS TB *indra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

bhavaṭi bhikṣām dehi Kauś *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* ṚG

indrah (SV PB *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ Followed,
in RV SV, by *kratum punīta* (SV *punīṣa*) *ukthyam*

agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt ApŚ *agniṣ tān asmāt pra nunottu lokāt* MŚ *agniṣ tān* (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudaty* (AŚ °tv, SMB *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB

aditih keśān (AV MG * *śmaśru*) *vapatu* AV AG MG (both) ApMB
adite keśān (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG (both)

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ
MŚ PrānāgU AG ŚG MG ApMB *annasyānnapatih prādāt* PB

āyātu varadā devī, *akṣaram brahma sammilam*, *gāyatrī chandasām mātā*,
idam brahma juṣasva nah TA TAA MahānU *āyāhi viraje devy*,
akṣare brahmasammile, *gāyatrī chandasām mātā*, *idam brahma juṣasva me* MG. All the noms. in TA etc. go with *āyātu*, which in MG is changed to 2d person.

agnir hotā vetu AŚ ŚŚ *agne vihi* AB ŚB AŚ MŚ

jayanta upaspr̥ṣatu HG *jayantopa spr̥ṣa* ApMB

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB ApŚ *avasānam me vasānapatir vndat* MŚ

sāvitṛm bho anu brūhi AG ŚG ApG HG *sāvitṛm me bhavān anu bravitu* GG

sam devī (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS † °*vasyākhyata*) TS KS
ApŚ

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB GG *udakenaudhi*, ApMB *vāyuv udae-*

nehi, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG
 The form *id* of MG is a dubious imperfect, perhaps rather the
 participle *id*, cf Kanuer p 165 s v *id*, and VV 1 p 87 In any
 case MG has an indirect reference instead of direct address
prthivi mātār mā mā hinsih VS TS ŚB ŚŚ *mā mām mātā prthivī*
hinsit TS MS

agnināgnih samvadatām TA *agne agnīnā samvadasva* TA ApŚ HG
pra candramās tirate (TS † *tirati*, AV † *candramas tirase*) *dirgham āyuh*
 RV AV TS MS N See VV 1 p 221

purukṣu tvaṣṭā (MS *tvaṣṭah*) *suviryam* (VSK TS *suviram*) VS VSK
 TS MS *purukṣu deva tvaṣṭar* [text *tvaṣṭā*, accentless, followed
 by *r-*] AV *tvaṣṭah poṣāya viṣya nābhīm asme* KS Verb *viṣyatu*
 or *viṣya*

indra (MS *indrah*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS *°daśenaujah*)
 TS MS KS AŚ VerL *rakṣatu* in MS, *rakṣa* in the others See
 VV 1 p 223

araro divam mā paptah VS ŚB Vait *ararur* (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā*
paptat MS KS ApŚ *ararus te divam mā skān* TS ApŚ

yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām MŚ *yajñah pratyāṣṭhāt* (v 1
praty u ṣṭhāt) KS *yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ
visvāś ca deva (PG *devah*) *prtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG † *°ṣyak*) KS PG *visvā*
 † *deva prtanā abhiṣya* TB ApŚ HG See VV 1 p 242, and on
abhiṣyak (for *°ṣyat*), VV 2 §142, where this form might well have
 been mentioned

tasya na iṣṭasya prīṭasya dravnehāgameh VS *tasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya*
dravnam ā gamyāt (KS *dravnehāgamyāh*, ApŚ *dravnehāgameh*)
 TS KS ApŚ *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṭasya dravnehāgamyāt*
 MS *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravnam māgachatu* KS See
 VV 1 pp 61 f, 232

divo jyote (KS * *jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) *āditya te no*
devā(h) āsuvadhvam MS KS (bis) *vivasvān aditur devajūts te*
na ādityā vyantu TS See VV 1 p 239

uṣo dadṛkṣi (PB *uṣā*, read *uṣāḥ*, *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB
vaptā (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasī* (PG *vapatr*) *hesasmaṣru*
 (AG PG MG *keśān*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG In PG
 change to 3d person verb to agree with *vaptā* (originally not sub-
 ject but appositional nom), in HG MG change to voc to mend
 the same syntax, felt as incongruous See VV 1 p 241 f and
 below §334

yo (TS TB ApŚ *yad*) *agnih* (TS TB ApŚ *agne*) *kavyavāhanah* (RV

kravya°, TS TB ApŚ °vāhana) RV VS KS TS TB ApŚ AŚ
Followed in RV VS KS TS by *pitṛn yakṣad* (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛ-*
dhah, by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB, only *pratīka*
in AŚ ApŚ

śrutakakṣo aram (SV °kakṣāram) gave RV SV Preceded by *aram*
aśvāya gāyati (SV °ta) Note plural verb in SV, cf VV 1 §372c
[*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrah karmasu no vatu* TB But
Poona ed of TB text and comm *indra 'vata*]

§327 In the following group the nom and voc forms are distin-
guished only by the accents (see above, §321)

śvena mā (ApMB *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā pasyatāpah* (ApMB *pasyantv āpah*) AV
TS MS AB ApMB *āpah* is nom in ApMB, voc in the rest
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorn(u)vāthām (MS MŚ °tām) VS VSK TS MS
KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

aśvinā pibatam (VS KŚ °tām) *madhu* (TB ApŚ *sutam*) RV VS TB
MŚ KŚ

devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB *śrayadhvam*) KS TB
tasmai te dyāvāpṛthivī revatībhiḥ AV *asmabhyam dyāvā° sakvarībhiḥ* TB
Cf VV 1 p 224, under *kāmam duhātām* etc

aśvināu eha gachatam RV AB AŚ ŚŚ *aśvinav eha gachatām* (TS TB
°tam, in same stanza in which RV N have °tām) RV TS TB N
svāttam cit āpo devīḥ svadataṛnam TS ApŚ *svāttam sad āpo devīḥ*
svadantu MS *āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK *sad*) VS VSK ŚB
(*abaddham mano*) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS KŚ BDh
dikṣen (sc *dikṣā-īd*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ*
ŚG See VV 1 p 225 In KŚ read probably *dikṣen*

apātām aśvinā gharman VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ *gharman apātām aśvinā*
(accented in MS which is therefore inconsistent if not corrupt!)

MS TA *aśvinā gharman pātām* (MS *pibatām*) VS MS ŚB
TA ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ Consistent in all but the first MS form

usve devāso adhi vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS *usve devā abhi rakṣantu*
(KS *anu tṛṣṭhantu*) *tveha* (AV *KS † *meha*, AV **pakvam*, SMB
ApMB HG *pascāt*) AV (thrice) KS SMB ApMB HG

vājīnau vājaytau avajighratam (KS °tām) MS KS MŚ *vājīno vāja-*
jito vājam avajighrata VS TS ŚB ApŚ Similarly

vājīno vājayito vājam bhāgam avajighrata nī mṛjānāḥ (KS *bhāge nī*
mṛjātām, TS *bhāge nī mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB *vājīnau vāja-*
jtau bhāge nīmṛjyethām MS MŚ In this and the prec KS
has noms, the rest vocs

aśvinā bhīṣajāvataḥ (MS °tam, TB † °ta) VS MS TB See VV 1 p 71

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG ApMB *tena brāhmano vapatu* MG See VV 1 p 229 The MG form can of course only be nom, the other is ambiguous except for the accent

ā mā gantā pīlaro viśvarūpāh MS *ā mā gantām* (VSK *gantam*) *pīlārā mātārā ca* (VSK *yuvam*) VS VSK † 10 3 12c TS KS ŚB Add to VV 1 §337

§328 In VV 1 §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent tendency of SV to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person forms, where RV has third person references The following (all listed l c) show correspondingly vocs in SV for noms of RV

pavamāna vy āśnuhi SV *pavamāno vy āśnavat* RV

ayā somah (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV

svāyudhah sotṛbhīh pūyate vṛṣā (SV **bhīh soma sūyase*) RV SV

Phrase inflection

§329 In another group the mantras are found in different contexts Thus we have the variant *hotrābhīr agnir* (*agne*) *manuṣah svadhvarah* The vocative form occurs in RV AV, preceded by *sadāsi ranvo yavaseva puṣyate* 'Thou art ever pleasant, as grazing land to the grazer, having fair sacrifices, O Agni, thru the offerings of man' The nominative form occurs in RV in a quite different context as an independent sentence (with copula unexpressed) 'Agni has fair sacrifices thru the offerings of man' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2)

hiranyavarṇā subhagā AV *hiranyavarṇe subhage* AV Quite different contexts

evāyam daśamāsya [*asraḥ jarāyunā saha*] VS ŚB *evā tvam daśamāsya* [*sahāvehi jarāyunā* RV, *sākam jarāyunā pata* AV] RV AV In Ppp (see Whitney on AV 1 11 6) *evā te garbha cṛatu nir aitu daśamāsyo bahir jarāyunā saha*

bhāratīde sarasvatī [*yā vah sarvā upabruve tā naś codayata śrīye*] RV *sarasvatīdā mahī* [*imam no yajñam ā gaman*, etc.] RV

indrā (RV **indro*) *viśvābhīr ūtibhīh* RV (both) AV SV

viśvānī deva (RV **devo*) *vayunānī ndvān* RV (both) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA In one RV passage and all others except AV preceded by *agne naya supathā rāye asmān*, in the other RV passage, by *rbhuś cakṛa idyam cāru nāma*, AV has different surroundings but requires a voc

upedam upaparcanam [*āsu goṣṭhūpapṛcyatām*] RV TB LŚ *upehopa-parcana* [*asmin goṣṭha upa pṛñca nah*] AV See VV 1 §85

anlarakṣena saha vājīnīvan (once, °vān) AV (ter) Verbs are consistent
sahamāne (PG HG ApMB * °nā, RV AV *devajūte*) *sahasvatī* (HG
 ApMB * °tī, PG *sarasvatī*) RV AV PG ApMB (bis) HG See
 also §346, *devajūte*

imam yajñam asvinobhā brhaspatih RV TS *imam yajñam brhaspate*
śvinobhā KS Followed respectively by *devāh pāntu yajamānam*
nyarthāt, and *indrāvata kāvyair dansanābhīh* Yet the contexts
 are fundamentally the same (cf below under *devah savitā*°, §399)

ā pavasva madīntama RV SV *sa pavasva madīntama* RV SV *sa*
punāno madīntamah RV

samiddho agna āhuta RV AV TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ (followed by
 2d person verbs) *samiddho agnir āhutah* [svāhākṛtah pīpartu nah]
 KS ApŚ MŚ The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV) with
 an unmetrical yajus text *īṣto agnir āhutah pīpartu* (KS TB svā-
 hākṛtah pīpartu) *na īṣtam havīh* (TB ŚB omit last two words) VS
 MS KS ŚB TB

sa tvam no nabhasas pate (GB patih) TS GB *tvam no nabhasas pate*
 AV TS *ayam no nabhasas patih* AV GB Vait Kauś

ghṛtapṛtiko ghṛtapṛtīho agne (KS ApŚ agnih) AV MS KS ApŚ
 ApMB HG *ghṛtākavāno ghṛtapṛtīho agnih* AŚ *ghṛtam vasāno*
ghṛtapṛtīho agne KS

hiranyaparna sakune PG *hiranyapakṣah sakunih* HG *hiranyavarnah*
śakunah MU

agnis tigmēna śocisā RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
agne ti° so° RV AV

pavamānah (RV * °na) *kanīkradat* RV (both) SV

īndram soma (and, somo) *mādayan dāvyaṃ janam* RV (both) Fol-
 lowed or preceded respectively by *sindhōr wormih pavamāno*
arṣasi, and *ā vidyutā pavate dhārāyā sūtah*

devebhyo havyaavāhana RV *devebhyo* (ApŚ *devēṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV
 ApŚ *devebhyo havyaavād aśi* ApŚ See *RV Rcp* on 3 9 6b The
 second ApŚ variant occurs in a context different from any of RV
 and belongs to §339

deva devebhyo havīh (SV *devebhyah sūtah*) RV SV *devo devebhyah sūtah*
 RV SV

sahasrote satāmagma RV *sahasrotih satāmaghah* RV

sahasraposaṃ (AV Kauś *sahasrā*°) *subhage* (TS * *subhagā*) *rarānā* RV
 AV TS (both) MS KS Kauś SMB ApMB

matra satyānām pate (ŚŚ *satyānām adhīpate*) TB ŚŚ *mitrah satyānām*
 (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Each in a series, with

130 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest So next

śavitā prasavānām (AV adds *adhipatīh*) AV TS PG *śavitah prasa-vānām adhipate* ŚŚ As prec

§330 The following are cases in which the variant containing direct address has no second-person verb form (cf §322)

śvasā (ŚG *sakhā*, ApMB *prīyā*) *devī* (HG ApMB *devānām*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB ApMB PG HG ŚG *śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG

upā brahmānu savanānu vṛtrahā (SV °han), *paramajyā ṛcīṣamah* (SV °ma) RV AV SV Preceded in RV by *ā no viśvāsu havya indrah samatsu bhūṣatu*, 'May Indra associate himself with us the slayer of Vṛtra' etc SV misunderstands *bhūṣatu*, taking it in its later sense of 'adorn' or 'honor' To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshippers, the resulting first half verse is *ā no viśvāsu havyam indram samatsu bhūṣata*, cf VV 1 p 199 But since *vṛtrahā* cannot (like *havya indrah*) be made accusative without metrical change, it is made voc, with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb, and *ṛcīṣamah* then follows it

agnir yaśtedam namah KS *agne yaśtar idam namah* TS TB 'Agni is the sacrificer, this homage (to him)' 'O Agni sacrificer, this homage (to thee)'

§331 Perhaps in this same group may be placed the following rather puzzling variant

taśyās te devy adita (Kauś *aditur*) *upasthe* MS KS Kauś *upasthe te devy adite* 'gnim TS Followed in Kauś by *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat*, for which the others have versions containing *ādadhe* (1st person), see VV 1 p 211 In all except Kauś there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used In Kauś Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb, but note that Kauś retains *te*, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation

§332 Similar variants used in different contexts ('phrase-inflection') are

sahasrākṣo amartyah AV · *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV In the second passage a verse of homage, with direct address, is accompanied by the voc of the deity addressed, the preceding pāda is *namas te rudra kṛnmas*

aśveva cītrārurī [mālā gavām rīāvarī, sakhābhūd aśvinor upāh] RV SV
[*vyam hi te amanmahy, āntād ā parākāt,*] *aśve na citre arurī* RV
The latter is secondary, see *RVRep* 63

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS PG *bhūyāśma*
te sumatau viśvavedah MS † In the latter a direct address See
VV 1 p 218

indra somasya pīlaye RV *indrah somasya pīlaye* RV *indrah somasya*
pīlaye vṛṣāyate RV A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc.
yajñīṣṭham havyavāhana RV *yajñīṣṭho havyavāhanah* RV Again a pro-
noun accompanies the voc

§333 We come now to variations between direct address and indirect
reference in which either the voc or the nom seems incongruous in one
form of the variant, as in *narāsanso agnih* (*agne*), §324 Other cases of
this sort are

agne (TS KS *agnir*) *manyum pratnudan pareṣām* (TS KS *purastāt*)
RV AV TS KS In the next pāda RV AV TS have *pāhi*, KS
pātu All are consistent except TS, which has nom with 2d per-
son verb, cf VV 1 p 231

sa no mayobhūh pīto (*pītav*) *āviśasva* (*āviśeḥa*, MŚ *pītur āviśeḥa*) TS TB
AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG *sa nah pīto madhumān ā viśeḥa* (Kauś
viśeḥa) KS Kauś Only Kauś is inconsistent, MŚ (secondarily)
restores consistency with nom matching 3d person verb

apālām indra (MG *indras*) *triṣ* (*trih*) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, ApMB † *pūrtvy*
a-, MG *pūrtvy a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG The verb in the
following pāda is 2d person in RV AV JB, but 3d in MG and
ApMB, despite voc epithet in pāda b, see Winternitz, Introduc-
tion to ApMB, xvi, VV 1 p 233 f

vidar agnir (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS MŚ *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS MŚ
add *yāt te*) VSK TS MS ŚBK MŚ *vidar agnir nabho nāma* VS
KS ŚB See VV 1 p 233 TS is inconsistent

vy astabhnā (VS ŚB *aska*°, MS *aśka*°, KS *aśa*°, TS *askabhnād*, TA
aśabhnād) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VSK MS KS *viṣṇa*, TS *viṣṇur*) *ete* RV
VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA—TB is secondary but consistent,
TA inconsistent, and apparently a sort of blend of the other two
See VV 1 p 232, where read VSK *viṣṇa* (instead of VS)

dyāvāprthivī urv antarikṣam AV TS *dyāvāprthivī uro* (VSK † *urv*)
antarikṣa VS VSK MS KS ŚB Context of AV different from
all the others, there a simple third-person prayer In the rest
either (as in MS) directly addressed to the deities, altho there
also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived

132 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

as the direct agents (the following pāda is *bṛhaspatir no haviṣā vṛdhātu* TS MS), or, as in VS VSK ŚB, the following pāda (*bṛhaspataye haviṣā vṛdhema*) contains a first personal statement. In TS the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to *bṛhaspatir*, subject of *vṛdhātu* in the next pāda. Keith understands them as exclamations.

§334 We now come to variants both forms of which contain direct address, and generally a second-person verb. Nevertheless in one form a nominative appears where the other form has a vocative. Either may be the original form, since a nom. in apposition to the 2d person subject is often as easy to construe as a voc., in the example given in §323, *ā tiṣṭha mātṛavardhana* ('nah), it is hard to say which reading was the older. We shall quote first a group in which the nominative seems to be the original form and the vocative secondary.

pavamānah (SV 'na) *samlanam esi kṛṇvan* RV SV. A slight tendency for SV to prefer the voc. referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following, cf. VV 1 §328.

aprosṇvān grhapatir (SV 'pate) *mahun aṣi* RV SV.

suddho mamaddhi somyah (SV *somya*) RV SV.

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS *sarūpa vṛṣann aghni* SV JB.

samrad aṣi kṛṣānuh (ŚŚ 'no) VS VSK TS MS KS PB ŚŚ ApŚ.

sūyavasād bhagavatī (KŚ 'ti) *hi bhūyah* RV AV AB KB AŚ KŚ.

ApŚ N. Addressed to the cow, KŚ makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc.

vapla (ApMB *vaptra*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasī* (PG 'ti) *kesasmaśru* (AG PG MG *kesan*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG. The change of the nom. original of AV to a voc. in HG MG belongs here, see §326.

āyusman (MG 'mann) *idam pari dhatsva vasah* ApMB HG MG, cf. also *āyusmatidam* etc., AV. Lect. fac. in MG.

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, v 1 *cayyo*, HG *cayyo*) *vi bhajasi* (SMB *bhṛjasi*), HG *bhajā sa* *jivan* AV SMB HG ApMB. Nom. masc. in all but SMB (*ca aryo* in ApMB, for HG see VV 2 §244). In SMB adapted to a different context which requires a fem., (*ca*)*ārye*, voc. fem. Note however that SMB baldly retains the masc. form *jivan* from the original! (*jivanī* would be unmetrical.)

sakhā (PG *sakhe*) *saptapadi* (ApMB PG 'pada) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB PG ApMB MG. The (predicate) nom. is clearly original. *purovata* (KS 'to, TS 'to *varṣan*) *jinvā* TS MS KS. This and the

adjoining formulas are pretty low bathos, but some of them have nom forms even in MS

brahmachāry asī (SMB GG *asī asau*) ŚB AG ŚG SMB GG KhG PG ApMB *agneś cāsi brahmachārīn mama ca Kauś* Perhaps hardly to be called variants

[*dhruvaidhī poṣyā* (PG *poṣye*) *mayī* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV Stenzler and Oldenberg take *poṣye* as voc fem, addressed to the bride If this be correct, the variation belongs here We have preferred to understand *poṣye* as loc sg masc, going with *mayī*, see §454]

§335 In some cases the change of case form seems to be due to the definite assimilatory influence of a neighboring word, see §323 These deserve special listing, the following are those in which the nom seems to be the older form and the voc secondary

somam pība vītrahā sūra (TS TA MahānU °*hañ chūra*) *vidvān* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU §323

nicerur asī nīcumpanah (TS TB *nīcāñkana*, MS KS *nīcāñkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Preceded in all by *avabhṛtha nīcum-puna* (etc, voc in all) Doubtless the nom is original and the voc assimilated to that of the preceding pāda

saṃjagmāno divah kavīh (SV LŚ *divā have*) RV SV LŚ Preceded by *ṛdhak soma svastaye* It is likely that the voc *soma* had something to do with the change to voc *have* The next pāda begins with *pavasva*, 2d person, which may also have helped

agner agne puro agnir (KS †KapS [Oertel 73] *agne*, TS †TB †*puro-agnir*, cpd) *bhaveha* VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB TB The orig seems to be TS TB ('harbinger of Agni', Keith), the second voc of KS KapS is apparently assimilated to the first *agne*

§336 In the rest the nominative seems to be secondary We shall put first those cases in which form assimilation to a neighboring word seems to have operated, as in the preceding section, note that they are very much more numerous than the opposite shift

sajoṣā indra (TS *indrah*) *sagano marudbhīh* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ §323

utso deva (SV twice *devo*) *hīranyayah* RV SV The surrounding noms have been responsible for *devo*

ṛjīṣī savasas pate (SV *patih*) RV SV Preceded by *(tvam indra yaśā asī pavasva devāyusaḥ* (SV *deva āyusaḥ*) RV SV PB Benfey translates *deva* as voc, it is accented *deva* If this is correct and it is a nom, it might be explained by assimilation to *āyusaḥ* if that is a nom, but Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 9 25 5 considers it a neuter adverb

134 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

dyāvāprthuvī uro (VSK † *uro*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS ŚB *dyāvāprthuvī uru antarikṣam* AV TS The TS reading belongs here, see §333

agne sadakṣah satanur (KS † *°nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS *agnih sadakṣah satanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ The verb is 2d person in all, the nom of MŚ is attracted to the following noms

vasupate vasudāvan RV VS ŚB *vasudāvā vasupatih* TS MS KS Preceded in all by *sa bodhi sūrur maghavā*, TS etc assimilate to these noms

kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava icchamānah* RV MS TB *kṛtaḥ* partly suggested by *icchamānah*

prajāpatih (ApMB *°te*) *tanvam me juṣasva, tvaṣṭā devaḥ sahamāna indrah* (ApMB *тваṣтар devebhis sahasāma indra*, cf Winternitz, xx) ApMB MG Followed in MG by *visvair devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānah, punsām bahūnām mātaraḥ syāva*, in ApMB by *visvair devair rātubhiḥ samrarānah, punsām bahūnām mālara syāma* Both texts are poor and doubtless corrupt, but the vocs in ApMB are doubtless more original, and may have been changed into noms in MG under the influence of the participle in pāda c, which is nom in both

sahasrākṣa medha ā (VSK *medhāya*) *cīyamānah* VSK TS KS *sahasrākṣo medhāya cīyamānah* VS MS ŚB Preceded in all by *imam mā hinsūr dvipādām paśum* (TS KS *paśūnām*) Voc is likely to be original, attraction to *cīyamānah* in VS etc

śaravye brahmasamsite (TS *°tā*) RV AV SV VS TS *śaro brahmasamsitah* TB ApŚ Preceded in all by *avasṛṣṭā* (TB ApŚ *°tah*) *parā pata* Voc was original, in TS the adjective, and in TB ApŚ both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom by the nom adjective preceding

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devi* (ApŚ MŚ *devī*) *prathamānā purastāt* (KS ApŚ MŚ *prthag yat*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ Direct address and 2d person verb in all, voc original, nom attracted to *prathamānā subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB *suwirinah sṛja-sṛja* HG Preceding pāda ends with *suwirinah*, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition)

sakhe (AV *sakhā*) *sakhāyam ajaro jarimne* RV AV In the latter attraction to the case of *ajaro*

vrihīnām medha (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *tasmīn sīda* Attraction to the following nom in MŚ

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms

indra (MS *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV KS MS In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra'

punar āgāh punarnava (AV *punarn*^o, AV * *°vah*) RV AV (both)

namas te astu śisara (PG *śisaro lapetāpahvara*) PG † 1 16 24, ApMB HG The nom of PG is hardly interpretable, indeed one is almost tempted to suppose that *śisaro* is meant for *voc* (of an otherwise unknown *śisaru*) It must refer to the same individual as *te* (a kind of dog demon)

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS *°lah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ In AV Ppp (Whitney on 6 5 1) *ghṛtebhur āhutah* Ppp and KS are awkward and secondary, the nom must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [*ud enam* (ApŚ *asmān*) *uttaram* (VS TS KS *°rām*, ApŚ *°rān*) *naya*]

rātri (TB *°rī*, KS v 1 *°rīh*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB *°ṣi*) RV KS TB In all preceded by *upa te gā vākaram, vṛnīṣva duhitar divah* The nom must be taken in apposition with the subject of *vṛnīṣva*
ṛtena (MG *ṛtena*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī roha vanṣa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG The appositional nom of MG is awkward

indra kṛtvā (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vasāma* RV MS KS Perhaps the direct address to the Maruts (*maruto*, *voc*) in the same pāda made the redactor of MS feel that the *voc indra* must be got rid of The nom is however clearly inferior, perhaps 'When we, O Maruts, acting as Indra, desire' (?) On the original cf Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 1 165 7 In VV 2 §380 we have called the nom 'hardly construable'

agne (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV SV MS TA

Vocative and nom of independent statement

§338. In a few cases the shift between nominative and vocative marks more radical changes in the relation of the word so changed to adjoining words Thus, a vocative epithet may be developed into a separate clause or sentence (cf §§32, 38) The first step in this direction is illustrated by this

taṣṭhā ratham (TS *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB *°lah*) RV VS ŚB TB Here TB, introducing a conjunction *yad*, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, tho still dependent, clause 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder' The awkward reading of VS ŚB is intermediate and paved the way

§339 Note also the ApŚ variant *devebhyo havyavād asi*, under *devebhyo havyavāhana* etc §329, and the following, which show the final result of this tendency

kāmyāsi PB MŚ GG *kāmye* MS

agne prāyaścitte SMB PG ApMB HG *agne prāyaścittir asi* ŚG

Similarly with *vāyo* and *sūrya* (*āditya*)

agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva KS ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam*

Vait *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŚB Parallels rather than real variants?

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me VS *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me* PB *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no* ŚŚ

Transfer of epithet

§340 There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of 'transfer of epithet' That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case Cf §14 above

tava śravānsy upamāny ukthyā (SV °ya) RV SV In RV the adj goes with *śravānsi*, in SV with Indra

śrātās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB TA *vātāper*, KS ŚŚ *vātāpe*) *havanasrutah* MS KS (9 8) KB TA ŚŚ In MS *vāt°* agrees with *somāh*, in the others with Indra, either with the voc *indra* or with the pronoun *te* and the adj *havanasrutah*

satyasya dharmanas patī (ApŚ *pate*, Vait MŚ *satyasya dharmanā*, AŚ *pari satyasya dharmanā*, PG *pari sakhyasya dharmanah*) ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ AŚ PG In ŚŚ (probably original) *patī* (dual) is part of the predicate of the two preceding pādas In ApŚ it is applied to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as addressed

devā ājyapā juṣānā agna (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS In the original (MS KS) addressed to Agni (voc), but he is not one of those who are to participate in the action of *vyantu* The redactor of VS felt therefore that there was no reason for bringing Agni in at all, the rest of the verse suggests that Indra is above all the god who is to 'taste the butter', hence *indra(h)*, as one of the *devā(h)* who are the subject of the verb

vivasvanti (VSK °vān, TS KS °va) *ādityarṣa te somapīthah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The epithet belongs, as it should, to the sun (*āditya*) in all but VSK, which seems to apply it, incredibly, to *somapīthah*

anu dyāvāprthivī supranītiḥ (ŚŚ °te) AŚ ŚŚ The original pāda d of AV 7 73 6 (see Whitney's note), Ppp (Roth) agrees with AŚ, with nom agreeing with *śavitā* of pāda c, while ŚŚ (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b

sva devā (TS TB ApŚ *sva devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *devā* is accentless both times in VS, tho comm in one of them takes it as nom (*vayam yajamānā devā bhūtā*) In KS 14 1 it is voc, in KS 18 12 nom (but two mss make it voc), in MS nom, the Tait texts make it accus attracting it to the case of *sva* and making it a second object If nom it must, of course, agree with the subject (as comm on VS says)

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ (AV † *devah*) RV AV VS TB ApMB In AV the epithet (originally voc) is transferred to *bhaga(h)* Ppp agrees with RV

vṛttacakrā āśīnāḥ HG ApMB *anmuktacakra* (v 1 °rā) āśīraṇ PG See §454

yat te suśīme hṛdaye (SMB PG ApMB HG °yam) KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yat te suśīmam hṛdayam* KBU 2 8 (not in Conc) *suśīme* is voc fem, *hṛdaye* loc See §457 If *suśīmam* be allowed to stand, it is a case of transfer of the epithet to *hṛdayam* 'the heart that is thine, of well-parted hair' ('despite the bizarre sound of this to us, it is perhaps not impossible in a Vedic text, the 'heart' is the essence of the person, and any epithet of the person may be applied to it) Deussen would read *suśīme*, however *agne vaiśvānara* (MS * °rah) *svāhā* TS MS (bis) TB The subject is *gyotis* (neuter!), and if the nom can stand it must be felt as going with it But, altho no v 1 is recorded, we suspect a corruption (final visarga added, VV 2 §380)

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °nītur, MS °dhīte, KS * °dhītam, v 1 °tim, KS * 38 12b† °nītha, KapS °dhītam or °tim) *yajñāḥ* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB The voc agrees with *agne* (understood in KS), the nom with *brahmā*, the acc with *tvā* (sc Agni) of the preceding

Miscellaneous

§341 One or two miscellaneous cases, hardly to be called true variants

svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno VS TS ŚB *svān*

nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno KS · *suwān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre 'star ahasta kṛśāno* MS *svāna bhrāt, aṅghārur bambhārṇh, hastah suhastah, kṛśānur vśvāvasuh* TA † In TA part of the *gandharvaganāh*, obviously based on the other list (addressed to the *gandharvas* at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion

agnir ājyasya vetu vaughak ŚB *agna ājyasya vyantu vaughak* ŚB Also *agninājya*^o, *agnim ājya*^o Rigmarole formulas, with repetition (with slight variations) of the same words attached to various cases of the stem *agni*, as required in a set of offerings

§342 We now append some nominative-vocative variants whose right to be called such is doubtful, either because of dubiety of interpretation of forms, or because textual corruption or editorial error is involved

svapnah svapnādhīkarane RVKh *svapna svapnādhīkaranena* AV *svapna svapnādhīkaranena* Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 35 52) Probably *svapna* is a sandhu form for *svapnah*, VV 2 §980

sumṛdikā sarasvatī (MG °tī) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG Read °ti in all, so v 1 of MG, and its comm *he sarasvatī* In TA 1 21 3 the Bibl Ind ed reads *sarasvatī*, but Poona ed °ti

sumanah suhitaranyavān (ŚŚ °vah) AV ŚŚ But °vān is Roth's emendation and must be rejected

ud īrṣvātah pativati (ApMB °vati) *hy eṣā* RV ApMB See Winternitz, xix, some ApMB mss °vati, comm °vati interpreted as a 'Vedic' nom ! A voc seems impossible

vyam oṣadhe (PG °dhī) *trāyamānā* PG ApMB HG Here too (cf prec) the voc is absurd, yet is clearly intended in ApMB HG, see Winternitz xxiv, and Oldenberg *SBE* 30 166 note

[*śṛtam haviḥ śamutāḥ* (TS ApŚ *haviḥ śamutah*) TS MS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Conc *śamutā* for MS MŚ, but both follow this word with *it*, intending *śamutāḥ*]

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ See Knauer's note The nom is unconstruable as such

tām nah pūṣaṇ chvātamām erayasva HG *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV °an) etc RV AV ApMB *sā nah pūṣā śvātamām eraya* PG The verb being still 2d person in PG, this might be classed with §337, but PG is really hopeless

stomatrayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patnī TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patnī* MS In the latter apparently *stomas* and *patnī* are subject and predicate, the divergence of gender signalizes the badness of the reading

(*aśvakrānte rathakrānte*) *viṣṇukrānte vasumdhare* (TA °rā), *śirasā dhārītā devī* (TA *dhārayiṣyāmā*), *rakṣasva mām pade-pade* TA MahānU The nom is impossible as member of a series of vocs, which are epithets of the personage addressed (*tvām* must be supplied) With MahānU's *dhārītā*, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by attraction In fact the comm on TA seems to have read *dhārītā devī*, and for *vasumdharā* (which he does not quote, did he read °dhare?) he has *he bhūme sarvāni vastūni dhārayantī satī* Evidently the text of TA is very uncertain

indra (MS *indrāḥ*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV MS The nom is not construable

na vā ojīyo rudra tvad asti RV TA *ojīyo rudras tad asti* MS s p, but p p reads like RV but for *tad* instead of *tvad* The MS is corrupt and uninterpretable Add to VV 2 §365 (*tvad tad*)

praty etā vāmū (AŚ *sunvan*) *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ °vakta, v 1 °vaktar) uta KB AŚ ŚŚ Discussed VV 2 p 180 All texts seem to have read °vaktar, but a voc seems unconstruable, and a nom must have been intended, whatever the form was

yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha (TB °bhūva, Poona ed °tha) TB ApŚ *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhṛato*, v 1 *bibhṛto*, *bibhṛato*) *jātavedaḥ* AV KS The nom is very awkward, Whitney translates a voc *śarīram me vicarṣanam* (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU *pratīkam me vicakṣanam* PG Scheftelowitz reads *vicakṣana* in RVKh, but this seems unconstruable

śaviṣṭha (AA °thah, but Keith °tha with v 1 °thah) *vajrin ojasā* (AA *Muhānāmnyah ṛṇjase*) RV SV AA *Mahānāmnyah* A mere corruption of tradition

arvāgvaso svasti te pāram asīya MS KS ApŚ *arvāgvasur* [*iti tvr uktvā*] MŚ (pratīka) It seems clear that MŚ's *pratīka* refers to the mantra of MS There is no v 1 recorded, but no nom can be really intended

CHAPTER XII

VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Direct address and indirect statement

§343 The variants between vocative and accusative are much less numerous than those between vocative and nominative, and naturally do not parallel them altogether, yet it is rather curious to observe the extent to which they correspond. Thus, to begin with, we find a group in which one form addresses directly a divine personage or a thing (vocative), while the other expresses the same prayer, wish, or statement indirectly, referring to the same personage or thing in the accusative. Generally in such cases the variants occur in different contexts, so that we have a sort of phrase-inflection, an adaptation of the same mantra material to different situations. But not always so, in a few cases the same passage undergoes this syntactic modification, just as in the first group of nominative-vocative variants (§326). Among the simplest cases of this sort are two in which a first person verb meaning in substance 'I invoke' is used in both forms of the variant, with the god invoked in the accusative or vocative.

indram (SV *indra*) *dhenum sudughām anyām 1sam* RV SV. The preceding pāda is *ā tv adya* (SV *tvadya*) *sabardugham huve gayatrave-pasam*. SV, by reading *tva(dya)* for *tv adya*, turns the verse into a direct address to Indra. 'I call upon Indra' or 'I call on thee, Indra'.

rcā yāmi maruto brahmanaspatim (SV *°pate*), *devan* (SV *deva*) *avo vare-nyam* RV SV MS KS. 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' 'I approach [you], O Maruts etc'.

§344 In a few other cases the accusative is the object of a causative or active verb, while the vocative goes with a corresponding intransitive, the action is thought of alternatively as performed by an outside agency upon the entity referred to, or by that entity itself. These are similar to many variations of the acc. with the nom., §372 ff.

ihava dhruvā (ŚG *sthūne*) *prati tṣṭha sālē* (ŚG *dhruva*) AV ŚG HG. *ihava dhruvām nī minomī sālām* AV PG HG. 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)', or 'Right here I fix firm the house'.

tasmar tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB *tasmar stanam pra pyāyasva* HG.
 'Swell for him, O breast!', or 'Swell thy breast for him' See
 VV 1 §32

unnambhaya prthwīm TS KS MS ApŚ *pra nabhasva prthivī* AV
 'Split open the earth' (addressed to Dhātār) 'burst open, O earth'
 Ppp agrees with TS etc, and AV addresses Dhātār in pāda c,
 AV probably secondary

§345 In the stray variant which follows the acc is original ('the
 sacrifice has gone to the gods'), AŚ (the reading of which is repeated
 by its comm.) makes it a direct address to the gods
devān (MS *devān*, AŚ *devā*) *janam agan yajñāh* MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ †

Phrase inflection

§346 The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect
 reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant
satyadharmānam adhware RV SV (preceded by *kavim agnim upa stuhī*)
satyadharmāno adhvaram (TS °re) RV TS (preceded by different
 pādas of direct address)

yajñīṣṭham havyavāhana (and °nam) RV (both) Voc accompanies 2d
 pers pronoun

rudra jalāṣabheṣaja AV *rudram jalāṣabheṣajam* RV

śatamūle satakrato RV *śatamūtīm satakratum* RV Voc with *te*, acc
 with *indram*

stomebhīr havanasrutam (and °tā) RV (both) Acc with *mahāntam*
 (*indram*), voc (dual) with *indrāgnī* or *asvinā*

stomebhīr visvacarṣam RV *stomebhīr visvacarṣane* RV AV

utlānaparne subhoge (Ppp °nām *subhagām*), followed by *devaṣūte* (Ppp
sahamānām) *sahasvatī* (Ppp °tīm) RV AV Ppp (JAOS 40 161)

The latter also in nom form, §329, *sahamāne*

indav indrāya pītaye RV *indum indrāya pītaye* RV SV

indum (RV also *indav*) *indrāya matsaram* RV (both) SV

indram (RV also *indra*) *somasya pītaye* RV (both) AV SV

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravincha bhakṣīya TS ('may I enjoy the wealth
 of thee') *tasya na iṣṭasya pūtasya dravinchāgameh* VS ('wealth
 of , come to us here') And others, see VV 1 §104u, and §326
 above The forms differ only in accent

§347 We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative
 variants In these there is direct address both times, but the person
 or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one
 form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively

expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative. While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff). Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form.

§348 In the group to be mentioned first the accusative form is older than the vocative.

indram karmasv āvatam (MS VS *^ota) RV AV VS (both) MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *indram karmasv avatu* MS *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrāh karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but Poona ed *indra 'vata*) See VV 1 §354. The voc. is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra.

namasyāmas tvedyam (KS ^oya) *jātavedah* RV MS KS TB 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J'. The RV original makes the epithet *īdyam* agree with *tvā*, the KS attracts it to *Jātavedah*, but in either case it refers to the same person.

agnim (SV *agne*) *ratham na vedyam* RV SV. On this complicated verse (cf. also *agnī ratho na vedyah* RV, and below §387) see *RVRep* on I 186 3, with references, and especially Oldenberg, *Prol* 288. There is no doubt that SV is secondary. All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni, this is doubtless the reason for SV's change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense, the pronoun *vah* (plural!) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm. as equivalent to *tvām*!

pra yā bhūmim (TS ApMB ^omi) *pravatvati* RV TS MS KS ApMB N. Followed by *mahnā jinoṣi* (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahnā*. Addressed to Pṛthivī, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (*bhūmā*)', by a natural confusion TS ApMB assimilate *bhūmī* to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets. Note that the short *i* of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem *bhūmī* instead of *bhūmi*, cf. *yās ca bhūmy* etc., §180.

mahyā indram (ApMB *indra*) *svastaye* RV ApMB. Occurs twice in ApMB, in different contexts, both different from that of RV. On one of them see Winternitz xxxi f. Both are inferior in sense.

§349 The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are

ye tvā rātry (MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS MG *yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe* PG *yām tvā rātry upāsmahe* (TS *upāsate*, SMB *rātri yajāmahe*)

AV TS SMB Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d, PG and MG assimilate the form of the orig voc to the object pronoun

indra śaviṣṭha satpate RV *indram śaviṣṭha satpatim* SV Repeated in SV from RV 8 68 1, where the first three pādas are *ā tvā ratham yatholaye sumnāya vartayāmasi, tvārkūrmim rīṣaham* The acc epithets of the prec have attracted two of the three vocs of the last pāda, the curious thing is that one (*śaviṣṭha*) is allowed to remain even in SV

śociṣkeṣam vicakṣana (AV **°nam*) RV ArS AV (both) TS KS Preceded by *tvā deva sūrya* Clear attraction to the prec acc in AV

hotāś cikīṭvo (AV *°vann*) *avrnīmahīha* RV AV *agne hotāram avrnīmahīha* VS TS MS KS ŚB In all texts *tvā* occurs in prec 'In that today we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar)'

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV *°nītir*, MS *°dhīte*, KS **°dhītam*, v 1 *°dhītim*, and *†*°nītha*, KapS *°dhītam* or *°dhītim*) *yajñāś* (AV MS KS **agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) KapS ŚB See §340

svar devā (TS TB ApŚ *suvar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The acc certainly secondary, and perhaps influenced by *svar*, see §340

vaha kāla (HG *kālam*, v 1 *kāla*) *vaha sṛyam mābhī vaha* ApMB HG Undoubtedly ApMB is correct and original Addressed to an elephant 'Carry, black one, carry' 'Carry me towards fortune', Probably *kāla* should be read in HG with two mss, certainly *kālam* does not make sense 'Carry the time' (Oldenberg) is ridiculous, and 'carry the black one' is little better

Transfer of epithet

§350 The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few corruptions, concern 'transfer of epithet' from one person or thing to another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender) *rayim no dhehi subhage suvīram* (MŚ *suvīre*, PG † *suvīryam*) AV TS MŚ PG 'Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one' 'grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons' There is little real difference in the sense, the possession of good sons by the deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner *vardhā samudram ukthyam* (SV *°ya*) RV SV In RV *ukthyam* modifies *samudram*, in SV it is transferred to *soma* (in pāda a)

indram sakhāyo (KS °yam) *anu sam rabhadhvam* (KS *vyayadhvam*)

RV AV SV VS TS MS KS The voc *sakhāyo* refers to the subject (warriors), the acc to the object (Indra)

subhage kāmṣṭilavāsi TS KSA TB ApŚ *subhadrikām kāmṣṭilavāsi-nīm* VS MS See Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 141, 144 The words are applied differently, the accs to a rival queen, the vocs (spoken by the priest) to the Mahiṣi Both occur in an obscene passage in the *aśvamedha* In the voc form note the absence of the imprecatory suffix *ka*

kṛnuta dhūmam vṛṣanah sakhāyah AV *kṛnuta dhūmam vṛṣanam sakhāyah* RV The whole AV verse is a wretched corruption of the RV original All that need concern us here is that *vṛṣanam*, in the orig an epithet of *dhūmam* (so Grassmann *Wbch*, Geldner, Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following *sakhāyah*

has tam indra tvāvasam (SV PB *tvā vaso*) RV SV AB GB PB AŚ This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820, where this variant might have been included The RV has a cpd adj agreeing with *tam* The SV misunderstands it as containing an acc *tvā*, and then makes the seemingly necessary correction to *vaso*, which is then a voc going with *indra*

āganma mitrāvarunā varenyā (MS *varena*, KS *varenyam*) TS MS KS In KS the epithet goes apparently with *bhāgam*, to be supplied in sense (the following pāda is *rātrīnām bhāgo yuwayor yo asti*) In TS (probably a lect *fac*) it is made to agree with *mitrāvarunā* MS has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326

achudram (SMB °iāh) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented SMB makes the epithet go with the subject, it may be taken as either voc or nom

svargam arvanto jayema Vait *svargān* (AŚ text, *svagān*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ *jayatah*, AŚ also, as variant given in the text, *arvato jayati*) SV AŚ ŚŚ *arvanto* is voc in SV, nom in Vait, in both cases going with the subject (in ŚŚ either nom or voc) In the second version of AŚ it is transferred to the object

rbhum rbhukṣano rayim RV *rbhukṣanam rbhum rayim* RV SV In the first passage *rbhukṣano* is a voc elliptic plural, 'O *Rbhukṣan* (and the two other *Rbhus*)' In the second it is an epithet of *rayim* See *RVRep* on 4 37 5

nāma svadhāvan guhyam (ApMB *svadhāvat svaryam*) *bibharṣi* RV ApMB In RV *svadhāvan* refers to Agni, in ApMB it is made an epithet of *nāma*

§351 There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15, in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet. They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an 'epithet'

avavyayann asutam deva vasma (TB ApŚ *vasvah*) RV MS KS' TB

ApŚ The original 'Removing the black garment, O god' In

TB ApŚ *vasvah* must apparently be meant as an epithet of *deva*, its meaning is obscure, Caland translates the RV reading. See

VV 2 p 124

visvam ā bhāsi rocanam (AV *^{na}) RV ArS AV (both) VS TS MS

TA MahānU The subject is the sun, the object, in the orig.,

visvam rocanam. In AV *rocana* must be felt as an epithet of

the subject, 'shining'. This adjective is unknown to the RV,

where *rocana* is always a noun

Errors

§352. Finally, a few errors

evā hīndra KB AA TA AŚ Mahānāmnyah The Conc follows the Bibl Ind ed of AA in quoting *hīndram*, but see Keith's AA, 142, n 12. Voc in all

kāma kāmam mā āvartaya PB MŚ *kāmam-kāmam mā āvartaya* MS

But one of von Schroeder's best mss reads *kāma kāmam* (both

accented), this and the reading of MŚ, its ritual text, convinces

us that the printed reading of MS is merely due to bad editing.

yām iṣum girīśanta VS MS TS KS ŚvetU NilarU The ed of

NilarU used in Conc has *girīśantam* in text and comm. But the

AnSS ed has ^{na}*santa* in text (comm ^{na}*santam*). The acc can be

construed only with difficulty, Deussen assumes a voc

devayuvam (TB *devā*^{na}) *visvavārām* (AŚ ^{na}*vāre*) TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

Preceded by *ghṛtavalīm adhvaryo* (AŚ † ^{na}*yoh*) *srucam āśyasva*. The

accs go with *srucam*, the spoon, perhaps AŚ means *visvavāre* as a

voc fem addressed to the spoon, but this is really nonsense, even

if it be detached from the preceding and taken with the follow-

ing (*idāmahar devān īdenyān*). Note that AŚ is also corrupt in

adhvaryoh (omitted in Conc, to be added to VV 2 §381)

CHAPTER XIII

VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

A Vocative and instrumental

§353 The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering. Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning. Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed, while in another form a second vocative may function. The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55-7). The examples we have noted are

mo ṣū na indrātra (TS † *indra*) *prtsu devaṁh* (KS *devāh*, TS MS *deva*)

RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods', in KS, 'O Indra (and) ye gods'. The next pāda begins with *astu* and MS TS read *devāstu*, which however MS pp resolves as *devāh*, *astu*—implying the reading of KS. The reading *deva* would of course be voc sg, as epithet of Indra, thus would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15.

devīr-devīr (ApŚ *devīr devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS ApŚ. In MS an āmredita compound 'Ye several goddesses'. In ApŚ 'Ye goddess along with the gods'.

ā yāhu śūra haribhyām (SV KB ŚŚ *hariha*, AŚ *harī iha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ. See notes of Whitney and Keith. Apparently *harī iha* is intended in all but AV, *harī* would seem to be voc 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds'.

§354 In another way the voc and instr may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf §29), here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40).

jagatyarnam (AŚ °*ty enam*) *vikṣv ā vesayāmah* (MS KS °*m*, AŚ °*m*)

TS MS KS AŚ. The AŚ reading may be only a phonetic variant or corruption (see VV 2 §709), but if genuine it could be interpreted

as meaning 'O jagatī (instead of 'by the jagatī') may I settle him in the tribes' That is, the potency which in the original is to be the instrument for bringing about the desired result is directly addressed for this purpose in AŚ

ātmāsy ātmanr ātmānam (GB *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hinsih* GB Vait Kauś 'Thou art ātman, O ātman, injure not my ātman' or, ' injure not my ātman by the ātman ' If textually sound, this would be substantially the reverse of the preceding change (assuming that here the voc is original) But Gaastra reads in GB like the others (with v 1 in 2 mss)

§355 The following might be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' but for the fact that the two forms are used in quite different contexts, so that it is rather what we have called 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2)

devī devebhīr yajate (and **tā yajatraih* RV (both) *devī deveṣu yajātā yajatra* RV AV MS The latter is certainly secondary, *yajatra* is made to agree with a preceding *agnī*, whereas in the original the word agreed with *devebhīr* The contexts are different See *RVRep* 241

§356. In one stray case a voc varies with an adverbial instr
sā nas samantam anu parihi bhadrayā ApMB *sā mā* (MG *nah*) *samantam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG SMB *bhadre* refers to the sacred belt, *mekhalā* 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB says 'fairly', using the old RV adverb Or this may be the original reading, and *bhadre* a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction, the variant should in any case have been quoted in VV 2 §747

§357 The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf §15) A voc epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance
utūla parimīdho 'sī PG *ūlena parimīdho 'sī* HG *ulena pariṣīto 'sī* ApMB Original is apparently PG, *utūla* '(runaway) servant' The word *ula* or *ūla* seems to mean some kind of wild animal, see Bloomfield *SBE* 42 643 (on AV 12 1 49) But the interpretation of HG ApMB is very obscure, Oldenberg abandons the text

B Vocative and dative

§358 Here again the variants are few But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-

sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf §30) The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case

agnaye (AV Kauś *agne*) *saṃudham āhārṣam* (ŚG GG *ahārṣam*) AV Kauś AG GG SMB ŚG PG HG ApMB (The false emendation *agre* in AV is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc) Lanman ap Whitney regards the voc *agne* as original on metrical grounds More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio difficilior The rest of the verse refers to Agni (Jātavedas) in the 3d person, not in direct address, and more particularly, the datives *brhate jātavedase* follow immediately, and it is almost certain that *agnaye* has been assimilated to them, replacing *agne* Note that the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni Jātavedas However, the comm on AV reads *agnaye*, and so does one of SPP's reciters 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great J'

brhaspataye mahiṣa (TS *mahī śad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS *brhaspate mahiṣāya dwe namah* Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 273) *brhaspate mahiṣa dyuman namah* MŚ Followed by *viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān* AV (and Ppp) *namo viśvakarmane sa u pātv asmān* TS MŚ In the first pāda there is a double case, *brhaspate* varies with *pataye*, and *mahiṣa* with *ṣāya* of Ppp Altho the AV comm reads *mahī śad* like TS, we no longer hold the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original reading All texts but TS have a form of the stem *mahiṣa*, we attribute special weight to Ppp *mahiṣāya* which we had previously overlooked We now take the original to be MŚ 'O Bṛhaspatī, mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee), homage to Viśvakarman, may he protect us' Since no dative is expressed in the first pāda, one of the two vocs (which really indicate the recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts, hence *mahiṣāya* Ppp, *brhaspataye* AV TS The change to direct address in the second pāda in AV Ppp is also due to a sort of assimilation, it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different divinity

§359 Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation Thus in the first instance the voc is clearly original

and the dative assimilated to the pronoun *te*, which is found also in the older form

kṣayadvīra (TS °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* RV TS Addressed to Rudra, the preceding is *are te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnām* RV, *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS The meaning of TS is far from clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS, instead of 'hero-ruler', in other respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy, we think *sumnam* is felt as 'hymn' in TS) But the assimilation is clear

vasavo rudrā ādityā elā vah pannojanāḥ MS KS *vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo visvebhyo vo devebhyah pannojanāḥ gṛhnam* TS The former is clearly original 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc' In TS we take it that there is still direct address, *vo* referring to the gods, and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as assimilated to the case of *vo* At any rate TS means 'I take the footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, All-gods' (or at least, *vo* must certainly go with *visvebhyo devebhyah*, as its position clearly suggests, rather than with *pannojanur* as Keith takes it)

pustipate (MS *pusta*° ApŚ °*pataye*) *pustis* (MS om) *caksuse punar dhiku* (dehi) MS AŚ ApŚ Caland adopts voc for ApŚ, but this involves also reading *pustim* for *pustis*, which is supported by AŚ and which MS lacks altogether To us it seems that ApŚ has a genuine (the secondary) variant 'To the Lord of Prosperity prosperity' Give back etc'

§360 The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epithet' (§14)

vīpra ṛgatham gāyata yaj juṣoṣatu (AA °*ṣat*) AA ŚŚ *inprāya ṛgātham gāyata yam juṣoṣate* SV Preceded by *pra va indraya vṛtāhanta-maya* In SV the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer)

tasmai rudrāya namo astu agnaye (KS ApŚ *astu devah*, MŚ † *stu devaya*) AV KŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚirasU (Ppp has the pāda ending *astu adya*, TS TA MahānU ending *astu*) Lectio difficillima in AV (probably original) The voc *devah* cannot refer to the same personage as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only associated with Rudra Add to VV 2 §909

§361 A couple of anomalous cases

ekam 1ṣe TB ApŚ SMB KhG PG ApMB ApG HG MG Followed, where more than a pratika, by *viṣṇus tvānvetu* (*naṣatu*) 'One (step) for nourishment, may Viṣṇu accompany (lead) thee' Simi-

lar are *īṣa ekapādī* (sc *bhava*) AG ŚG *īṣe tvā sumanṅgalī prayāvatī susīme* Kauś In these the formula is the first of a series employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording. In TS we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context from any occurring in the others, as follows *ekam īṣa (vṛṣṇas tvānu vi cakrame)* 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣṇu has stepped along after thee' Keith denies any relation between this and the other mantras, but it seems to us probable that he is wrong. TS has simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered from other occasions. It has turned *īṣe* into a voc, probably thinking of the RV adjective *īṣa* (but comm *sarvadevair iṣyamāna*) [*kanyakumārya* (TA °*mārī*) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU Poona ed of TA °*kumārī*, but with accent on the penult (!), and its comm °*kumārī*. Occurs in a series of formulas which are closely parallel, differing only in using various names, in all the others datives are found. Neither a voc nor a nom is, in fact, conceivable here. Perhaps TA has a mere phonetic corruption, belonging to VV 2 §§700-701. Comm understands a dative, adding *līṅgādinvatyayāḥ sarvatra chāndaso draṣṭavyāḥ* (very simple!)]

C Vocative and ablative

§362 We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the vocative is surely original, it is subject of the following verb *yaja* '(!) broad atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice]' In VS ŚB this is violently detached from the following phrase containing *yaja*, and apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the comms), but the reading is certainly poor.

uro antarikṣa (VS ŚB *uror antarikṣāt*) *saṁūr devena vātena* VS TS MS

KS ŚB (Delete reference to KS 2 2)

D Vocative and genitive

§363 Here again the variants are not numerous. Some are essentially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final visarga, see especially §366. Most of them are cases of shift between direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the same noun is referred to in the genitive. In quite a number of these, however, as in the nom-voc cases mentioned §333, one form or the other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic harshness. Thus

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyarh*) TS MS KS AŚ

Followed in all by *payasvatī rantur* (MS *rātūr*) *āśā no astu* 'In (by) [thy] lordship, O Savitar' 'in the lordship of Savitar' But the first part of the stanza is directly addressed to a different deity, and the voc *savitar* is harsh

yena te te prajāpate TB ApŚ *yenaite prajāpateh* MŚ Followed in all by *ījānasya nyavartayan* Here the following gen *ījānasya*, which in the (doubtless original) TB ApŚ form agreed with *te* referring to Prajāpati, is doubtless connected with the alteration to *prajāpateh* But in MŚ's form *te* is lost and the statement becomes third-personal

tām savitāh satyasavām sucitrām AV *tām savitūr varenasya citrām* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Followed in all by *āham vṛne sumatim viśvajanyām* (AV *vīśvavārām*) 'O Savitar, this [thy] favor' 'this favor of Savitar' In the 3d pāda all, including AV, refer to Savitar in the 3d person, with *asya* This rather mild inconsistency does not prove that AV is secondary, on the contrary it may suggest that the others have assimilated to the following context
apsu te rājan varuna AV *dvīpe rājño varunasya* KS AŚ Followed by *grho hiranyayo mutah* (AŚ *mutō hiranyayah*) 'A golden house is built for thee, O king Varuna (for king Varuna)' The 2d half verse refers to Varuna in the 3d person in AV, but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS AŚ, note that they are metrically very poor Form assimilation

yad bhūmer hṛdayam, [*divi candramasī śritam*] ApMB † *veda te bhūmi hṛdayam* PG HG Even ApMB addresses Earth directly with a voc in the following, it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda

viṣṇoh (ApMB *viṣṇo*, v l *viṣṇoh*) *śreṣṭhena* (RVKh Scheftelowitz *śraṣṭhyena*) *rūpena* RVKh ApMB MG 'With the noblest form of Viṣṇu' 'with [thy] noblest form, O Viṣṇu' The same pāda, with different divine names, is found AV 5 25 10-13, with vocatives, and Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 48 38), with *savitūś*, *viṣṇoh*, *tvastṛuḥ*, but *bhagah* (for *bhaga*?) Barret emends to vocs in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ, but this seems dubious procedure The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with *ā dhehī*, in all

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS *sanāmy* †*agneh*) VS TS MS KS 'May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni)'

ghṛtaviatīm adhvaryo (AŚ † 'yoh) *srucām iśyasva* TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ See §352, end, AŚ has a stupid corruption

§364 One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2)

punānāya prabhūvaso RV SV *punānasya prabhūvasoh* RV The voc agrees directly with *soma*, the gen with *yasya* which refers to Soma
parnam vanaspater i va TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG *parnam vanaspate*
'nu tvā SMB Quite different contexts

§365 We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive. These are similar to the variants of the voc with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff. In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation.

bṛhaspatīśutasya ta (KS om *ta*, leaving hiatus) *indo* (KS MS *inda*)
indriyāvataḥ patnīvantam (KS *°vato*) *graham grhnāmi* (MS *rādhyā-*
sam, KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS MS KS *bṛhaspatīśutasya deva*
soma ta indo (VSK *inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvato grahān ṛdhyāsam*
 VS VSK ŚB It is evident that VS has assimilated the voc of all other texts to the gen *te* and accompanying adjectives. Note that only the Vāj texts have another voc (*deva soma*), which makes *indo* unnecessary.

§366 The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character, the original voc *agne* becomes *agnch* by addition of the evanescent final visarga, on which see VV 2 §§378 ff. (this variant was overlooked there and should be added to §381). It will be noted that not a few of the other voc-gen variants show this same phonetic relationship, and as we have suggested elsewhere it is quite likely that in some of them the phonetic moment is more weighty than the syntactic. We doubt, however, whether Knauer (MG, Einleitung, xxii f.) is right in suggesting that this added visarga was intended as an external mark of an imperative or vocative form, we even question whether it indicated (as Knauer thinks) aspirate pronunciation of a following consonant.

dā agne (MG *agneh*) *prajāyā saha* RV AV PG ApMB MG (All MG mss. actually read *dāgneh* with secondary crasis, this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989, Knauer emends.) Preceded by *tubhyam agre* (MG *agnch*, on this cf. VV 2 §864) *paryavahan, sūryām vahatunā saha, punah* (AV *sa nah*) *patibhyo jāyām* 'Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?)'. But note that MG also contains voc *agne* (for original *agre*), addressing the verse to Agni.

§367 In a couple of cases a voc. varies with a partitive gen. (see §84)
tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe RV VS *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV 'Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants)'. Same context. The masc. gender is peculiar, apparently there is thought of the

gender of *vrkṣa* A tree is addressed But fem forms occur in the following verses of AV

atho rājann (AV *uta rājñām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV TB Addressed to a king, either makes good sense The gen *rājñām* might be assimilated to the following gen ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('[who shall make thee] also, O king, highest of men')

§368 The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14) To that category certainly belongs the following

purā krūrasya viṣṭpo virapsin (MS *sinah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

It is clear that MS has transferred the epithet *virapsin*(ah) into agreement with *krūrasya* Otherwise the interpretation is dubious Mahidhara understands 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings to and fro, O mighty one (Viṣṇu or the sacrificer)' So, with misgivings, Eggeling, *SBE* 12 64 n 3 Sāyana on TS 1 1 9 3 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking *viṣṭpo* as abl gerund So Griffith and Keith, Eggeling thinks this more probable than the other

§369 A stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc (or nom) to gen

vīder agnir (VSK ŚB *agne*, MS *Mś agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS *Mś add yat te*) VSK TS MS ŚBK *Mś vīder agnir nabho nāma* VS KS ŚB See §333 The nom is doubtless the original form, but certainly the voc is better than the gen, which must be construed in dependence on *nāma* ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed

śaṣṭis cādhvaryū (ApŚ *yo*, AŚ † *yor*) *navatis ca pāsāh* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ A voc is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's' Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ

E Vocative and locative

§370 First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf §15), an originally independent noun, in loc construction, is made into a voc epithet of the subject

apadyamānah prthivyām TA ApŚ *apadyamānā †prthivi* TS ApŚ *avyathamānā prthivyām* (MS once *vyām* without v l, once *prthivi* according to p p, but s p might also be read *prthivi*, and one ms has *vyām*) VS MS KS ŚB Followed in all by *āsā dīśa ā prna* Except in TA ApŚ the firepan is addressed, and doubtless the

loc is original 'not falling to (wobbling upon) the earth' In TS (ApŚ), and perhaps once in MS, the loc is assimilated to the subject and treated as a grandiloquent epithet of the firepan The earth is a symbol of solidity and security —In TA ApŚ the same verse is used in a different ritual connexion which requires a masculine pple (phrase-inflection)

§371 The next is probably not a real variation in case
sa supranīte (ŚŚ °*ti*) *nṛtamah svarād asī* AA ŚŚ Both forms may be taken as locs, and the text mss of ŚŚ actually read °*te*, see VV 2 §695

CHAPTER XIV

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

1 Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372 The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions. In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5). But of course the materials correspond only in part. For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation. On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form.

§373 A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG 4 9, 10 and BDh 2 5 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted. Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (*tarpana*) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (*om*) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh, *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG. So with *vāyu*, *sūrya*, *viṣṇu*, *prajāpati*, etc. A similar set occurs in AG, with the verb understood thruout, and expressed (*tṛpyantu*) only at the end. The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG, hence such variants as *ṛṣayah* (sc *tṛpyantu*) AG ŚG (*om*) *ṛṣāns tarpayāmi* BDh. Finally, it must be noticed that in the middle of the list ŚG suddenly shifts to a causative construction like that of BDh (*śrutim tarpayāmi*), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form. Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG form. The Śāmbavya Gṛhya (quoted by Oldenberg, *ISi* 15 153) has a similar list with the names all in the nominative.

§374 Cases also occur in which the same verb form, or at least a form in the same voice, is found in both variants, but is used now in active sense, governing the acc, now in intransitive, passive, or reflexive sense, with nom subject. Naturally these would find no inclusion in

VV 1, yet they are psychologically of the same nature as active-passive or causative-intransitive shifts. Of these we find the following examples *apochatu* (AV °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV AV 'Let him (Indra) shine away the paired *kimīdins*', or 'let the paired *kimīdins* fade away'. The verb *apa-vas* is transitive in RV, in this AV passage it seems impossible to avoid taking it as intransitive. In AV 2 8 2 and 3 7 7 it is also commonly taken as intrans, but Bloomfield (*SBE* 42 289, 338 f.) would make it trans *ā no mśvasu havyah* (SV *Svidh havyam*) RV AV SV AA ŚŚ Vart *Svidh*. Followed in RV AV SV by *indrāh* (SV *indram*) *samatsū bhūṣatu* (SV °*ta*). The verb is used in a different sense, explained in §330.

ny asvina hr̥tsu hama (ApMB *kāman*) *ayansata* (AV *aransata*) RV AV ApMB. In the RV original 'O Aśvins, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts'. In ApMB, with less feeling for the middle 'O Aśvins, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts'.

ekapadī dvīpadī aṣṭapadī bhuvanānu prathatām svahā TS *ekapadīm aṣṭapadīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS ŚB *ekapadam dvīpadam tṛīpadam catuṣpadam bhuvanānu prathantām* KṢ. Only TS seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds'. In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= *prathayantu*, cf. the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous. (Comm on VS and Eggeeling make *bhuvana* subject 'let the worlds spread her along' or (comm) 'make her renowned'. Better indefinite subject, as suggested VV 1 p. 268.

somam rajanam oṣadhiṣv apsu VS TS MS ŚB *somo rajauṣadhiṣv apsu* KṢ. Preceded by *vajasymam* (KṢ *vajasya nu*) *prasavaḥ suṣuve gre* (TS *ṣagre*, add to VV 2 §908). In the original 'The instigation of strength pressed out this King Soma,' etc. KṢ eliminates the pronoun *nam* and brings *somo raja* into agreement with the subject of the verb, which is now felt as passive, probably it also understands *prasavaḥ* as 'offshoot'. 'The offshoot of strength, (viz.) King Soma, was pressed out'.

§375 A little different is the next, in which the sense of the verb is also changed, but is transitive both times, the subject and object being reversed.

avratō (AA °*tam*) *hivoti na sprīṣad rayīm* (AA *rayih*) SV AA. Preceded in SV by *na kāmam*, in AA by *na somo*. 'The man who pays no

vows attains not his desire, wins not wealth', SV 'Soma impels not him who keeps no vows, wealth will not come near (him)', AA See Keith's note on AA

§376 Frequent in the YV formulas are dedicatory expressions (cf §126) in which no verb at all is expressed. In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulative) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker. These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts, or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed. So we get such variants as these, it would hardly be worth while to list them completely.

himavate (TS KSA TA ^{to}) *hastī* (TA *hastīnam*) VS TS MS KSA TA 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant'

dhūmīṇ vasantāyālabhate VS *dhūmrā vasantāya* MS. In the same passage, *prṣato hemantāya* VS, *prṣanto hemantāya* MS, and others.

anumatya caruh (MS *carum*) TS MS KSA *aditya viṣṇupatnyai carum* (KSA *caruh*) VS TS MS KSA. And others.

agnaye 'nhome ^{to} *śākāpālah* TS KSA ApŚ *agnaye 'nhome purodāsam aśākāpālam nirvapati* MS. In this and the following MS alone has acc. thruout, all others nom., the verb *nirvapati* is however regularly omitted in MS. So

agnaye varṣvānarāya dvādaśakapālah VS TS KS KSA *varṣvānarām dvādaśakapālam* MS

nutrāvarunābhyām āgomuḃbhyām payasyā (MS ^{to} *yām*) TS MS KSA — Similarly *marudbhya nomuḃbhyām* etc., *agnaye gāyatrāya* etc., *brhaspataye pāṇktāya* etc.

§377 In one passage with no verb expressed, the name of the deity is put alternatively in the acc. and nom. The case to be expected is rather dat. or gen., cf §455 under *agnim svāhā* etc. The TB comm. supplies *uddīśya* to govern the acc. No explanation of the nom. in ŚB is offered by the comm. or by Eggeling. Perhaps an intransitive form of *trp* is to be supplied with the nom. and a transitive form of the same verb or of *yaj* (*hotā yakṣat*) with the acc. (cf §§373 and 459 under *svāhāgnim*). Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc. forms in ŚB.

svāhā devā ājyapāh (TB *devān ājyapān*) ŚB TB

§378 Next may be recorded a group in which a form of *kṛ* or *dhā*, 'make' or 'put', with acc., varies with a form of *as* or *bhū* with nom.,

or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulative verb Thus
parā svapnamukhāḥ śucah AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ 'Away
 the dream-faced pains' (supply *santu* in AV, rather than 'I put'
 with Whitney), 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly,
 'away put the dream-faces')

ojasvantam mām āyusmantam varcasvantam (MS *mām sahasvantam*)
manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait *āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*) TS MS
 AŚ Vait *ojasvān aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VSK *ojasvy aham*
manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam ŚŚ *oṣṭho 'ham man° bhū°* VS ŚB

bhrājasvantam mām āyusmantam varcasvantam (MS *mām varcasvantam*)
manuṣyeṣu kuru TS MS *bhrājasvān* (ŚG *bhrājasvy*) *aham* (VS
 ŚB *bhrāṣṭho 'ham*) *manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ
jaradaṣṭim kṛnomi tvā AV *jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi* SMB Ppp (JAOS
 42 125) reads as SMB

brahma varma mamāntaram RV AV SV ApŚ *brahmāham antaram*
kṛnve (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ 'Brahman is my inner defense' 'I
 make B my inner (defense)'

asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī AV *asmākam kṛno harivo medinam tvā*
 Ppp (JAOS 37 263 f) *iha kṛno harivo medinam tvā* KS *asya*
 (RVKh Scheftelowitz *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh *kulmo*, Sch em *kurmo*)
harivo medinam (RVKh Sch *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh TS TB

viśvāḥ dhātām anapasphurantīm RV VS ŚB ApŚ *viśvāḥ santv ana-*
pasphurantīh AV TA

catuṣṭomo abhavad (MS KS *catuṣṭomam adadhād*) *yā turīyā* TS MS
 KS 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoma'

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N °nam) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś *sada-*
nāni santu) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *sugā vo devās sada-*
nedam astu KS *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni*
santu) TS ApŚ

ariṣṭām tvā (KŚ MŚ MG *mā*) *saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB *kṛnomi*,
 KŚ MŚ MG *dadhātu*) RV KŚ MŚ MG ApMB *ariṣṭāham saha*
patyā bhūyāsam VS The contexts are essentially similar, but the
 forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman

asmānam tanvam kṛdhi AV *asmā bhavatu nas* (AV *te*) *tanūh* RV AV
 VS TS MS KSA *asmā bhava paraśur bhava* ŚB BrhU KBU
 AG SMB HG MG ApMB The contexts are in part similar

ākhum te rudra paśum karomi MS MŚ *ākhus te paśuh* VS TS TB
 ŚB ApŚ *ākhus te rudra paśuh* TS ApŚ

yathā tvam (PG *tvam agne*) *suśravah suśravā asy* (SMB *deveṣu*) *evam*
aham suśravah suśravā bhūyāsam (SMB *brāhmaneṣu bhūyāsam*,

AG PG MG *evam mām suśravah saśravasam kuru*) AG SMB
PG ApMB MG

§379 In a couple of other cases forms of *dhṛ* (passive) or *pad* (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom form of the variant, otherwise they are exactly like the preceding

evā te dhṛiyatām garbhaḥ AV *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV *evam garbham dadhāmi te* 'sau (ApMB *dadhātu te*, HG *dadhāmi te*) ŚB BṛhU ŚG ApMB HG *evam tam garbham ā dhehi* RVKh MG *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB

viśvasya janitor adhamam cakāra (RV * AV *adhamas padāṣṭa*) RV (both) AV 'He has made him lowest of every creature' 'may he fall lowest of every creature'

§380 There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root, these are given first

evam aham āyusā samundhe (SMB *samedhaṣṭya*) SMB I'G *evam mām āyusā* (HG *mām medhayā*) *samedhaya* ApMB HG 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me'

sahobhau caratām dharmam MDh *saha dharmam cara* NāradaDh *saha dharmas caryatām* GDh

tvam yajñeṣv īdyaḥ RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *tvām yajñeṣv īdate* RV

vedim bhūmim kalpayitvā AV *vedir bhūmir akalpata* AV Both in same hymn, 'shaping the earth into a *vedi*' 'the earth took shape as a *vedi*'

varca ā dhehi (KS *dhāya*) *me tanvam* (KS *tanūh*) AV KS 'Set splendor in my body' 'my body has been set in splendor' On *tanvam* see §249

māmīṣām (TS TB ApŚ *maiṣām*) *kaṁ canoc chisah* RV SV VS TS TB ApŚ *maiṣām uccheṣi kim cana* AV *māmīṣām moci kaṁ cana* AV 'Leave not one of them' 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be let go')

ganā (KS *te*) *me mā vi tṛṣṇaḥ* VS TS KS ŚB *ganān me mā vi tītṛṣaḥ* (MŚ *vi tītṛṣat*, Vait *vy arīṛiṣaḥ*) TS Vait MŚ

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha PB *yunaṁ vi vāyūm antarikṣena te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ

yuktās tisro vimṛṣaḥ sūryasya PB *yunaṁ vi vīṛṣaḥ sūryasya te* TS ApŚ *yunaṁ vi vīṛṣaḥ sūryaḥ sava* [iti] MŚ

divṣantam (AV *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV AV *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV AV

TB ApŚ *dvīṣaṅś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *dvīṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ All in the same verse Add to VV 1 §§79, 238
mṛtyava ekaśatam parah Kauś mṛtyūn ekaśatam caye ApŚ Others,
 §509 The verb in Kauś is *nir yantu*

pāpmānam te 'pahanmah KŚ pāpmānam me 'pa jahī (MG *me hata*)

Kauś MG *pāpmā me hatah* AG *hato me pāpmā* AG MG
caritrāṅś te śundhāmi VS ŚB *śuddhāś caritrah* TS ApŚ

trayastrīṅśat (VS *catuṣtrīṅśat*) *tantavo ye vi tanvire* (MS *yam* [for *yān*]
vi tanvate, KS AŚ *yān vi tanvate*) VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

' which were stretched out (which they stretched out) '

ad id ghṛtēna pṛthivī vy udyate (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūduh*) RV AV MS
 KS N *ād id pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS

atharīṣām bhinnakāh kumbhah SMB bhinnadmi te kuṣumbham AV *atho
 bhinnadmi tam kumbham* Ppp

*ayam var tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhiṣayataṁ asau svāhā ŚŚ asmād
 var tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhiṣyātām* (JB *°thā eṣa tvaj jāya-
 tāṁ*) JB AG Kauś

yenākṣā (SMB *°kṣān*, PG *°kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenā kṣam*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ
 SMB *abhyasīcatam*, PG *abhyasīcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

apahato 'raruh pṛthivyā (also *°vyar devayajanyar*, *°vyā adevayajanaḥ*)

TS ApŚ *apāraram adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanaḥ* (ApŚ † *ade-
 vayajano*) *jahī* KS ApŚ *apāraram pṛthivyā devayajanaḥ bādhyā-
 sam* VS ŚB *apararam pṛthivyā adevayajanam* (ApŚ *°rum adeva-
 yajanam pṛthivyāḥ*) MS MŚ ApŚ (the last apparently an abbrevi-
 ated form of the KS formula)

§381 In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms. Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nom form, as in §§376-7

pumānsam putram janaya AV ŚG *pumāns te putro nārī* ApMB
 'Bear a male son' 'a male son is thine, O woman'

antarīkṣasya dhartrīm (TS *om an° dha°*) *viṣṭambhanīm* (TS *°nī*) *dīśām
 adhiṣatnīm* (TS *°nī*) *bhuvanānām* (MS *dīśam bhuvanasyādhiṣat-
 nīm*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS predicate noms with pre-
 ceding copula, in the others agreeing with object of *sādayāmi*

sūryam cakṣur gamayātāt, vātām prānam anvasṛjātāt MS KS AB TB
 AŚ ŚŚ *sūryas te* (AV *sūryo me*) *cakṣur vātah prānah* AV TS
 KSA ŚŚ [Cf *sūryam* (TA *sūryam te*) *cakṣur gachatu vātām ātmā*
 RV TA *sūryaś cakṣur vātah prānam, puruṣasya vi bheṣire* AV]
 In the same passages *antarīkṣam asum* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ

anlarikṣam ātmā AV TA ŚŚ prthwīm śarīram MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ prthwī śarīram (MŚ °ram asi) AV ŚŚ MŚ With the first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like is to be understood. The second is a nominal clause (with 3d person copula 'understood', as used to be said). MŚ in a still unpublished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person *asi*, which would seem to require a voc. instead of nom. *prthwī*, or else *prthwī-śarīram* as a cpd.

aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh (MG prataram na āyuh) RV AV MG
'We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended for us, or the like)'

§382 Others, in which the nom. form is subject of other intransitive verbs, are

ā te prānam suvamasī AV punas te prāna ayati (TA ayati, AŚ āyātu) TS † TA AŚ

sahasrina upa no mahi vājan (no yantu vājah) RV (both)

tasya ta iṣṭasya vīṭasya dravineha bhakṣya TS tasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya dravnam ā gamyat TS tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya svīṣṭasya d. avnam māgachatu KS And others, see VV 1 §104u. Cf. also §326 above.
ihava tiṣṭha nimata (MG nātara) AG ŚG MG ApMB ihava dhruvā (ŚG sthāne) prati tiṣṭha śale (ŚG dhruva) AV ŚG HG ihava dhruvām na minomi śalam AV PG HG

ūrnamradasam (ūrṇā) tvā stṛnamī (KS ūrnamradah prathasva, Kauś ūrnamradam prathasva) svāsastham (VS † ŚB † °sthām) devebhyah VS TS KS ŚB TB Kauś ApŚ ūrnamradah of KS might be taken as voc. (since the text is here not accented), but Kauś suggests rather nom., and *svasastham* can only be nom. (neut.).

yamāya somam sunuta (AV somah pavate) RV AV TA

§383 We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as a sort of transition to the next subdivision.

sam ī vatsam na mātṛbhīh RV SV AB AŚ sam vatsa va mātṛbhīh RV SV AB AŚ The first is followed by *srjatā gayasadhanam*, the second by *indur hinvāno ayyate*. The calf is compared to *soma* in both, and the sense is essentially identical. The two hymns are workings-up of the same material, see *RVRep* 13, and on 9 104 2. We find here something like the 'phrase inflection' found in the next group.

2 Phrase Inflection

§384 Often, as is well known, a phrase or an entire pāda is lifted out of its original context and put into a new context. Thus, naturally,

may require a change in the case of one or more noun forms. To such alterations we have applied the term 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2). As regards nominative-accusative shifts of this sort, they differ from those listed above essentially only in that the context in the two forms differs in such a way that in one form the nom. is required, in the other the acc. (In the preceding variants the context is essentially the same, but their internal syntax has been altered in a way that involves shift of case.)

§385 A simple illustration is the *pāda kṣirena pūrṇa (pūrṇān) udakena dadhnā* (both AV). In the first form the nom. agrees with the nouns of the preceding *pāda* (*ghṛtaḥradā madhukūlāḥ suṛodakāḥ*), in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with *kumbhāns* of the preceding *pāda* (*caturāḥ kumbhāns caturdhā dadāmi*).

§386 Sometimes two entire *pādas* are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words. Thus the two following variant *pādas* are *pādas b, c* of a verse which in RV has for a *tan aḥyan bhuriḥor dhīya*, but in SV *esa surjēna hasate*. The epithets of Soma are in RV objects of *aḥyan*, in SV subjects of *hāsate samvasānam* (SV °no) *viwasvataḥ* (SV °ta), followed by *patim* (SV *patir*) *vāco adābhyam* (SV °yah) RV SV.

§387. The long list of such variants now follows. It will be noted that sometimes shifts of number and gender as well as case are involved. For convenience these are listed separately, after the others (§388). Otherwise neither subdivision nor, as a rule, individual comment seems to be called for.

pavamano vicarṣanīḥ RV *pavamānam vicarṣanīm* RV. In quite different contexts, nom. subject of *arocayat*, acc. object of *gāyala tiro raṇsany asṛtam* (RV * °taḥ, SV *asṛtaḥ*) RV (both) SV *kosa va pūrṇo vasuna SMB · koṣam na pūrṇam vasunā nyrṣtam* RV AV *agnī ratho na vedyah* RV *agnim ratham na vedyam* RV Cf. §348 *hṛanyābhīṣum* (and °śur) *asvinā* RV (both). See RVRep on 8.5.28 *iśāno jagatas patih* AV TS KS ApMB *iśānam jagadatih sada* PG *avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyah* (and, *priyam*) RV SV (both in each).

pīvasphākam udāratham AV *pīvo vṛkka udārathih* RV KS *viśvasya jagato nīṣām* (ArS *rātrī*) RVKh ArS *sindhutas pary ābhṛtaḥ* (and °tam) AV (both) *sutam somam diviṣṭiṣu* RV *sutah somo diviṣṭiṣu* RV SV *susamiddham* (VS *susam°*) *varenyam* VS TB *susamiddho* (VS MS *susam°*) *varenyah* VS MS KS TB.

suṣvānam (and °no) *devavīṭaye* RV SV (both in each)

ṛṣbhū sambhṛtam rasam RV SV TB *ṛṣ° sambhṛto rasah* RVKh SV TB

barhiś ca vedīś (ŚŚ *vedīm*) *ca* MS ŚŚ

dogdhṛīm dhenum ŚŚ *dogdhṛī dhenuh* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB The verb is *āśvām* in ŚŚ, in the others *jāyatām*. Likewise, in the same passages, these acc forms in ŚŚ with corresponding noms in the others *volhāram anadvāham*, *āsum sapṭim*, *ṛṣṇum ratheṣṭhām*, *pū-amdhīm yoṣām*, *sabheyam yuvānam*. The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of 'phrase inflection' on a large scale

bahubhyah panthām anupaspasānam (AV.* °*nah*, TA † *anapaspaśānam*) RV AV (bis) MS TA N The same verse, with acc governed by following verb, in all except AV 6 28 3, where the nom occurs preceded by *yah prathamah pravatam a sasāda*. This AV passage has adapted the orig to a quite new context, see Whitney's note and Fischel, *VSt* 2 73

tiras tamānsi darśatah (RV * °*tam*) RV (both) AV SV TB ŚB ŚŚ The RV acc form and ŚŚ are followed by *ghṛtuhavanam idyam* RV *ghṛtuhavana idyah* ŚŚ The nom of RV etc is in apposition with *agnih*, subject of *sam idhyate*, the acc is appropriate to its different context. In ŚŚ both occur as nividh, cf *RVRep* 192

agnih (RV **agnim*) *sukrena sociṣā* RV (both) KS

apām patim vṛṣabham oṣadhīnam KS *apam patir vṛṣabha* (KS om *vṛ°*) *oṣadhīnam* MS KS

ghṛtam duhānām aditīm janaya VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *ghṛtam duhanaditir janāya* KS

sahasradhāru payasā mahi garh RV *sahasradharam payasa mahīm gām* VS TS MS KS ŚB Occurs thrice in RV, the nom being subject of various verbs. In the others preceded by *yam asya kanvo aduhat prapinām*, a pāda found also in AV, where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz *sahasradhāram mahīso bhagaya*

manih sahasravīryah AV *manam sahasravīryam* AV

yajīṣṭham havyavāhana (and °*nam*) RV *yajīṣṭho havyavahanah* RV *rathīnam rathīnām* RV SV TS MS KS ŚB TB *rathīnam* RV See *RVRep* on 1 11 1

viśvajanasya chāyā (MS KS MŚ ApMB *chāyāsi*) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ ApMB *viśvajanasya chāyām* ApŚ

dyuh kīrtir varco yaśo balam HG · *dyuh kīrtim yaśo balam annādyam*
prajāṃ PG

sahasradhāram (TAA *^{ro}) *akṣitam* (TAA *^{lah}) RV AV TAA (both)

In RV both words are acc masc, epithets of *indum*. In AV twice in a wholly different stanza *ud utsam śatadhāram, sah° akṣ°, evāsmākedam dhānyam, sah° akṣ°*. This is recast in TAA thus *yathā kūpah śatadhārah, sahasradhāro akṣatah, evā me astu dhānyam, sahasradhāram akṣitam*. Ppp (JAOS 37 294 ff) agrees with TAA but for *akṣatah* and *akṣatam* (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the corruption *rūpaś* for *kūpaś*, which Barret l c failed to correct. The Ppp TAA reading makes both forms nom both times (once masc, once neut), and is simpler than AVŚ, which is certainly harsh, see Whitney on 3 24 4, who takes the forms as acc depending on the verb of the prec stanza. In pāda d they might be taken as nom neut, as in Ppp TAA, but in b this is difficult, since *ulsa* is otherwise masc. We feel however that accs are impossible, and that either *ulsa* is here felt as neut, or the forms of pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom neut).

Cf the next, which is evidently related

sahasradhāram śatadhāram utsam akṣitam AV *sahasradhāra utso akṣi-*
yamānah ApŚ Cf preceding Different contexts

aṅgabhedam aṅgujvaram AV *aṅgabhedo aṅgujvarah* AV

indram (RV * *indrah*) *somasya pītaye* (RV * adds *vṛṣāyate*) RV (both)
 AV SV

duhśansam martyam ripum RV *duhśanso martyo ripuh* RV

dhanamjayam rane-rane RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait MŚ *dhanam-*
jayo rane-rane RV SV TS MS KS

manhīṣṭham vājasātaye RV SV *manhīṣṭho vājasātaye* RV AA ŚŚ

prajāpatih prathamajā ṛtasya AV MS TS TA MahānU *prajāpatim*
prathamajāṃ ṛtasya MS TB

§388 The following are precisely similar except that the variant forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case

bahvīm prajāṃ janayantīm sarūpām (ApMB * *janayanti suratnā*, * *janayantau saretasā*) TA MahānU ApMB (bis)

aṣṭasthūno daśapakṣah Kauś *aṣṭāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV

śadhram adya diviṣprśam (RV * SV MS * KS °*sah*) RV (both) SV TS
 MS (both) KS ApŚ N For *diviṣprśah*, nom pl rather than gen
 sg, see RVRep on 1 142 8

gaur āsvah puruṣah paśuh AV TA *gūm āsvam puruṣam jagat* (AV
paśum, RVKh *āsvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh AV TA MahānU
 ApMB HG *gā asvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ

viśvā rūpāni bibhrataḥ (AV *^olam) AV (both) MS
samānam yonim anu samcarantam RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *samānam*
yonim anu samcaranti (AV MS ^ocarete) RV AV TS MS KS
 ApMB
manīṣṭham vo maghonām RV *manīṣṭhāso maghonām* RV
viśvair devair anumatā (KS TA ^olam) *marudbhīḥ* AV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TA In both KS TA different contexts, in KS neut acc
 adverb, see §817, in TA masc acc adjective, §849
amṛtā martyebhyah RV *amṛtam martyābhyah* TB ApŚ
sahasrasā medhasātā sanīṣyavaḥ (RV KB *medhasātāv va tmanā*, VSK
medhasātā va tmanā) RV VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŚB *sahas-*
rasām medhasātāv va tmanā RV SV

3 Interchange of subject and object

§389 We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant pāda is altered. But now there is no longer any change in the syntax of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as goal of motion or the like. Yet without any alteration in the form or meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject* and now as object. Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and vice versa. It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty. Thus in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say 'Brahman has increased the gods' or 'the gods have increased brahman'

udgrābham ca nigrābham ca VS TS ŚB ApŚ *udgrābhaś ca nig. ābhaś*
 ca MS KS MŚ Followed in all but MŚ by

brahma devā (MS s p *devan*, KS *devān*) *avīrydhan* (MS KS ^odhat)

The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to *brahma* rather than coordinate with it, cf. Keith on TS 1.1.13.1

na tat prāpnoti nirṛtim parācariḥ (KŚ *nirṛtiḥ parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ *nābhī*
prāpnoti (MŚ *prāpnuyw*) *nirṛtim parācariḥ* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB
 AŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Destruction reaches it not' or 'it reaches not destruction'. For MŚ's verb see VV 1 p. 265

oja na jūtir (TB *jūtim*) *ṛṣabho* (MS † *vṛṣ*^o, add to VV 2 §359) *na bhāmam*
 VS MS TB Followed by *vanaspatir na dadhad indriyān* TB
 makes *ojas* subject and *jūti* predicate of the first simile, reversing the relationship found in the others, but there is little real difference

tābhāḥ samrabdham anv avindan (TB *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣad urvāḥ* AV
TB 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them',
or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions)' In
a mystic verse to Rohita, one version makes as good or as bad
sense as the other

viśvam anyām abhīvāra AV (Ppp *viśvam anyābhi vavāra*, which Whitney
adopts, tho Barret *JAOS* 26 223 alters it to *anyām abhi*) *viśvam*
anyābhivāvṛdhe TB ApŚ No doubt Ppp, supported by TB ApŚ,
is more original in making *anyā* subject and *viśvam* object, but the
AVŚ reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one'
vyok ca paśyāḥ (PG °āsi, MG °ati) *sūryam* (MG °yah) AG PG
ApMB MG 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun
behold him)' See VV 1 p 235

gamad indram (SV *indro*) *vṛṣā sutah* (SV *sutam*) RV SV Apparently
the reversal of relationship in SV was due to a feeling that *vṛṣā*
is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (*sutah*)
tam vartanur (SV °nūr) *anu vāvṛta ekam it puru* (SV *eka it*) SV AV
'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV)
'the path has followed him, the One, manifoldly' (AV) The latter
is probably a secondary mouthing over of SV

ā tvā sakhāyah sakhya vavṛtyuh SV *o cit sakhāyam sakhya vavṛtyām* RV
AV In SV the passage is extensively reconstructed, the original
object *sakhāyam* is made subject (with change of number also),
and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pro-
noun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the
object *tvā*

§390 In the remainder there is no double nom-acc shift, but a
single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc.),
of the (always 'transitive') verb

pra yakṣma elu nirṛtim (AV °tīh) *parācaḥ* AV TB HG ApMB 'Let
the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV), 'let the fever go far
away to perdition'

jayānām (SV °nah) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV *mātrbhāḥ*) RV SV Followed
by *vedhām āśāsata śriye* RV, *medhām āśāsata śriye* SV
sa sūra ā (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayaṇ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ Fol-
lowed by *ayā dhvyā taranur adṛibarhāḥ* (ŚŚ *aṅgirasvān*) The TB
comm makes *indram* acc of goal, supplying *gachatu*, the subject is
sūrah = *ādityah* ŚŚ makes *indrah* subject and *sūrye* loc
tṛṣṭhantam ava gūhāt (mss °si) AV *tṛṣṭhann evāva gūhasi* ŚŚ No
intelligible meaning in either form

agninā tapo 'nvabhavat (KS † KSA † 'nvābhavat) TS KS KSA TB ApŚ

Followed in TS KS KSA by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named. In the first formula the form *tapo* is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS and KSA construe it as acc, this is doubtless the original construction 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained?) *tapas*' KS makes it nom 'tapas has come up to (equalled, attained, see him) thru (by) Agni'. Other phrases in the same lists are *yamena pitṛn* (KS *pitarah*), *indrena devan* (KS *devāh*, not in KSA), *vātena prānan* (KS *vāyunā pranah*, not in KSA), *vyaghrenaranyān pasūn* (KS *°aranyah pasavah*), *ṛṣabheṇa* (KS KSA *vrṣ°*) *gah* (KS *gāvah*), *vrṣṇinavah* (KS *°avayah*), *yavenauṣadhīh* (KS *°dhayah*), *brāhmanena vācam* (KS *vācah*)

vi parjanyaṃ (TS *°yah*) *ṛjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyah sṛjatām*) *rodasī annu* RV TS MS KS. In RV the subject is the Maruts and *parjanyaṃ* defines the *divah kosam* of the preceding half-verse. The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, *divah kosam*.

muñcatu (KS *muñcemam*) *yajñam* (ApŚ *yajño*, KS adds *muñca*) *yajñāpatim anhasah swaha* MS KS ApŚ. In MS preceded by *var-dhatam bhutṛ dadhnā ghṛteṇa*, in KS by a similar but expanded phrase. It is evident that *bhutr* 'prosperity' is in both texts the agent that is to 'release the sacrifice and sacrificer from evil'. ApŚ with the same context as MS produces a lectio facilius by making *yajñah* the subject of *muñcatu* 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer'.

pra yam (SV *yo*) *raye niniṣasi* (SV *°ṣati*) RV SV. In VV 1 p 243 we have taken SV (whence read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking *yo* to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (*marto yas te vaso daśat*). But perhaps Benfey may be right in making *yo* refer to *te* (= Agni) 'what mortal shall worship thee, who will lead [him] to wealth'. As to the 3d person in such relative clauses cf VV 1 §331, to which the variant should be transferred if this interpretation is correct.

prasnapayanty ūrmanam RV *prasnāpayanta ūrmayah* SV. The acc in RV is an epithet of soma, in SV it is replaced by an additional subject 'the ten associates (i.e. fingers) wash (soma), and the waves'. See VV 1 p 49, the SV form must intend present middle. Delete this variant on VV 1 p 143.

śrīyam ca lakṣmīm ca TAA *śrīś ca lakṣmīs* TAA *śrīś ca puṣṭis*

MahānU Same context, in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm supplies *paramātmā*
[*indrāḥ karmasu no 'vatu* TB *indram karmasu avatu* MS For the better reading of TB see §326]

§391 In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another
samudrā (MS ^o*drān*) *nadyo veśantāḥ* (MS ^o*tān*) AV MS Preceded by *divam brūmo nakṣatrāṇa, bhūmam yakṣāṇa parvatān*, and followed by *te no muñcantu anīhasaḥ* In AV the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of *muñcantu*, in MS of the object of *brūmo*

devā ājyapā juṣānā agna (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS (*svāhā*) *devān ājyapān svāhāgnim hotrāj juṣānā agna ājyasya vyantu* TB In the first version *devāḥ* is subject of *vyantu*, in the second it becomes an additional object of *yakṣad* in the preceding (*hotā yakṣad agnim svāhājyasya* [sc *devān*])

yenāvṛtam kham ca divam mahīm (MahānU *mahī*, v 1 *mahīm*) ca TA MahānU Followed by *yenādityas tapati tejasā bhrājasā ca* If the nom be read, *mahī* (with *kham* and *divam* which must then also be nom) would be subject of *āvṛtam* 'by whom was enclosed the air, the sky, the earth' But Deussen's translation implies the v 1 *mahīm* in MahānU, in that case all three nouns are objects of *tapati* in the next pāda 'by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth' The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so

4 Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of *āhuḥ* 'they say' an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation Thus

vyam vedih paro antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ RV AV VS ŚB AŚ LŚ *vedim āhuḥ param antam pṛthivyāḥ* TS KSA In the same verse
ayam yajño bhuvanasya (AV *visvasya bhu*^o) *nābhīḥ* RV AV VS LŚ *yajñam āhur bhuvanasya nābhīm* TS KSA And likewise

ayam somo vṛṣṇo āsvasya relah RV AV VS LŚ *somam āhur vṛṣṇo*

TS KSA —In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom remains in all texts Cf also

dīrgham yac cakṣur adīter ananlam AŚ *yad āhuḥ cakṣur adītāv ananlam* PB JB (see Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases*, §48 24 R) Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender, and here the form with *āhuḥ* is likely to be older

§393 The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following In the first the particle *iti* is brought in with the nom to make the syntax clear, in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence

nirṛtim tvāham pari veda visvatah VS MS ŚB *nirṛtir iti tvāham pari veda visvatah* (AV *sarvatah*) AV TS KS The meter seems to indicate that the acc is original, it is to be noted also that the preceding pāda in all texts has a similar phrase with *iti*, which may have attracted *nirṛtim* into its own construction 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti'

atas tvā rayim abhi (SV *rayir abhy ayat*) RV SV The RV original makes *tvā* object of *bharat* in pāda c, and *rayim abhi* probably an adverbial phrase, 'unto riches' (Otherwise but implausibly Grassmann) SV by a lect fac expands into a separate sentence 'thence may riches come unto thee'

anūgaso yajamānasya vīrāh (MŚ *vīrān*) AV ApŚ MŚ (Mss of MŚ *anuṣaso* for *anū*°, and all but one *vīram*) The original has an independent sentence with nom, MŚ attracts the noun into apposition with *no* in *yo no dveṣti* preceding

nābhā prthivyāh samīdhāne agnau (TS °*dhānam agnim*, MS KS °*dhāno agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The only possible construction for the nom in MS KS seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject, *agnim* is object of the verb in the next pāda (*rāyaspoṣāya brhate havāmahe*) 'He (Agni) is kindled at the navel of the earth, we call Agni unto great increase of wealth' The very harshness of this may, however, be considered an argument for its greater originality, the other texts look suspiciously like lect fac

tvām (TB *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV MS KS TB Preceded in all by *tvām vardhanti kṣitayah prthivyām* In RV etc supply *vardhanti* also in this pāda (*rāya uhh*° subject, *tvām* object) In

- TB this is made an independent statement (*tvam* subject, *rāya ubh°* predicate, comm *latsampādaka ity arthah*)
agnim (SV *agnih*) *sudīṭaye chardih* RV AV SV (Conc VS for SV)
 In RV AV *agnim* and *chardih* are both accs with the preceding *īdiṣva* In SV 'Agni is the chardis'
adhvarakṣtam (TA 'kṛd) *devebhyah* VS ŚB TA Preceded by *tvā ādade*, in VS ŚB *adhvarakṣtam* agrees with *tvā* But TA inserts between the two passages *abhṛir asī nārīr asī*, thus it makes our variant *pāda* an independent statement, understanding *asī*
indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi AV *indrasya bhāgah sunte dadhātana* ApŚ The latter is scarcely intelligible, *bhāgah*, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood The plural *dadhātana* is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow
tāni (HG *tām nah*, PG *sā nah*) *pūṣaṇ* (AV *pūṣan*, PG *pūṣā*) *chivata-mām* (PG *śiv°*) *erayasva* (PG *eraya*) RV AV ApMB ApG HG PG The PG has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean 'She (the bride) is Pūṣan (felt as 'prospering one') to us, bring her hither, most felicitous' The comm so takes it, Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading
agnim hotāram iha (MS MŚ *upa*) *tam huve* TS MS ApŚ MŚ *agnir hotopa tam huve* KS 'I call here (hither) Agni the hotar' 'Agni is the hotar, I call him hither'

akṣatam arīṣtam vāṇdam SMB *akṣatam asy arīṣtam vāṇnam gopāya-nam* ŚG In both preceded by a formula containing acc *tvā*, with which the epithets agree in SMB, in ŚG they are made predicates of a separate sentence It is hard to say which is original here

§394 A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc is part of the main clause Thus

tam u śukhī yo antah sindhau AV *tam u śukhy antahsindhum* AŚ Followed by

sūnuh (AŚ *sūnum*) *satyasya yuvānam* 'Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful' The relative clause is here original, AŚ compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuh* also to *sūnum* Note the chastic, rhetorically involved order of AV (*yuvānam* at the end agreeing with *tam* at the beginning) AŚ has a lect fac, involving case attraction, but all the epithets refer to the same person

§396 The reverse of this appears in the next, where the relative clause with predicate nom appears only in the secondary PG

samvatsarasya pratimā (PG °mā) AV TS KS ApŚ SMB PG HG

MG The following pāda in PG is *yā tam rātrīm upāsmāhe* (for the others see VV 1 p 213), only PG has *yā* as subject of the relative clause, in which *pratimā* is predicate

§396 Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions

tam kravvādam aśīsamam AV *yah kravvāt tam aśīsamam* Kauś
veda te bhūmi hṛdayam PG HG *yad bhūmer hṛdayam* [†*dīvi candramasī śritam*] ApMB The latter is metrically poor and doubtless corrupt

yo devo vīśvād yam u kāmam āhuh AV *visvādami agnim yam u* MS
hutādam agnim yam u KS *yam hutādam agnim yam u* ApŚ
The nom is doubtless original, the acc being due to attraction to the case of the following, note that ApŚ still has a relative clause, but attracts it into the same construction as the following

dhattād asmabhyam dravineha bhadram (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca bhadram*) TS MS ApŚ *datto asmabhyam* (etc, see Conc)
dravineha bhadram AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

apāsya ye ṛśmāh pāsāh KS ApŚ ('off what fetters are bound on him')
apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān Kauś Followed by *mṛtyūn* (KS ed *mṛtyor*, but best ms *mṛtyūn*) *ekasatam suve* (Kauś *nude*) The secondary change in Kauś is due to the influence of *mṛtyūn*

tāhūr vahānam suktām u lokam (TA *vahemam suktām yatra lokāh*)

RV AV TA *vahāsi mā* (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *suktām yatra lokāh*
(KS † *lokah*) KS TB ApŚ

pṛchāmi (LŚ °mo) *yatra bhuvanasya nābhīh* RV VS LŚ *pṛchāmi tvā*
(AV *visvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīm* AV TS KSA TB

§397 In the next following group there is in both variants a relative clause, the nom is construed as part of this, while the acc is syntactically part of the main clause (both refer to the same entity) As in some of the preceding, the alteration is usually due to formal case attraction

āranyān (AV VS °yā) *grāmyās ca ye* RV AV (bis) VS TA Preceded by *paśūn* (*paśūns*) *tāns cakre vāyavyān* In RV TA *āranyān* goes with the preceding accusatives, in AV VS it is attracted into the relative clause In AV 11 5 21 the pāda occurs in a different context

jyēsṭho (SV °ḥam) *yo vṛtrahā grne* RV AV SV There are no other

accs in the stanza, SV has turned *jyeṣṭho* into an acc to provide an object for the verb *gr̥ne*

citrabhānum (TB ApŚ °*bhānū*) *rodasī antar urvī* RV SV MS KS. TB ApŚ Preceded by *aganma mahā namasā yaviṣṭham*, *yo dīdāya samiddhah sve durone* (with unimportant variants) The acc goes with *yaviṣṭham* as object of *aganma* in the first pāda, because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo* This assumes that the TB comm is right in understanding °*bhānuh*, nom sg, instead of dual (with *rodasī*), which would be formally possible

kakṣivantam ya auṣṇyah (TS TA °*jam*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA N The Tait version can only be interpreted by referring *ya(h)* to the god addressed 'who (didst make famous) K A' So Sāyana, who supplies *ṛtavān asi*, and Keith Of course the other reading (in which K° goes with the preceding object acc and is referred to by the relative, 'K who is the A') is original (cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 18 1)

yathā mūrāya varunāya śamtamah (SV °*mam*) RV SV Preceded by *punātā dakṣasādhanam*, *yathā śardhāya vīlaye* 'Clarify the strength-producing (Soma), that (it may be) for a refreshing draft for the throng, that (it may be) most gratifying to M and V' So RV, making *śamtamah* subject of a separate clause, SV brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasādhanam*

yadī śrāto (AV *srātam*) *juhota* RV AV ApŚ MŚ Followed by *yady aśrāto* (AV °*tam*) *mamattana*, same texts The preceding pāda of RV AV makes clear the antecedent *indrasya bhāgam ṛtvīyam* 'If cooked do ye offer it, if not cooked, delay' The AV has attracted the adjectives into direct agreement with *bhāgam* (The comm on AV, however, takes them as nom neuter, supplying *havh*)

svarpatiṃ yad īm vṛdhe RV AV *svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV The acc agrees with *indrām* (*somasya pītaye*) in the preceding pāda, SV makes it subject of *vṛdhe*

5 Case attraction

§398 The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper 'transfer

of epithet', but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples *hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm* (TB °ti) VS MS TB It seems fairly clear that TB has attracted *saras°* to the case of *tanūnapāt*, but how either of the noms is to be construed is not obvious. Comm on VS dares to say that *tanū°* is nom used for acc! Perhaps the TB version may be understood as containing an independent statement 'Let the hotar worship' (The deities are) *Tanūnapāt, Sarasvatī* ,

anyam (AV *anya*) ū ṣu *tvam* (AV omits *tvam*) *yamy anya u tvām* RV AV N See Whitney on AV 18 1 16 We believe that *anya* is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following *anya* *apsu dhūto nṛbhīḥ sutah* RV *apsu dhautam nṛbhīḥ sutam* SV Preceded by *śubhram andho devavātam*, and followed by *svadanti gāvah payobhīḥ* Sāyana takes the RV pāda as parenthetical (pādas a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding *somam* or the like as object of *svadanti* SV assimilates the participles in b to the case of *andho*, an easily comprehensible lect fac Grassmann's suggestion that RV is incorrect is implausible

§399 As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption

hṛtsu kratum īvaruno (MS °nam) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The subject is originally Varuna, who has instilled 'insight into hearts, Agni into dwellings' MS has an unintelligent assimilation of V to the surrounding accs, perhaps with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding stanza

tebhīḥ (AV VS VSK *tebhyaḥ*) *svarād asunītim elām* (AV *asunīti. no adya*) RV AV VS VSK It seems clear that AV, which Whitney calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of *asunītim* to the case of the adjoining word The following pāda is *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *tanvāḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV *kalpayasva*)

vṣṇum agan varunam pūrvahūtīḥ AV *vṣṇū agan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tim) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ In AV the prayer itself is the subject of *agan*, in MS it is made the goal, along with Viṣṇu and Varuna, the subject being the offering or the water used with it The other texts use a locative which might be one of goal, agreeing in sense with MS, but see §457

gāyatrī chanda indriyam, tryavir (KS *trya*^a) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS
 KS TB *gāyatrīm chanda indriyam, tryavim gam vayo dadhat* VS
 TB The noms are subjects of *dadhuh*, the accs objects of *dadhat*, being assimilated to *indriyam* and *vayo*, which are accs (objects) in both versions. These are the first of a series of formulas, all of the same type, the meter names (in nom form) are *uṣṇak* (*uṣṇihā*), *anuṣṭup*, *brhaṭi*, *pañktiś*, *triṣṭup*, *jaḡati*, *virāt*, *dvipadā* (*dvipāc*), *kakuc* (*kakuc*), *atichandā*. For the epithets of cattle (*dityanād*, *pañcāvīr* etc.) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Conc.

ukhām (MS KS † *ukha*) *vasāram adhi vedim asthāt* MS KS ApŚ
 Preceded by *syūtā devobhir amṛtenāḡah* (MS KS °*āḡāt*). The word *ukhā* is subject in MS KS and it seems scarcely possible to interpret ApŚ (which addresses it directly in the 2d person) otherwise, yet ApŚ stupidly assimilates the form to the following accs. Caland translates *ukhā*, but notes that Hir Ś also reads *ukhām*, so that the corruption is evidently very old.

devah savitābhīmātīṣāhah AV *savitu devo 'bhīmatīṣāhah* Ppp *devam trātāram* (TS KS *savitāram*) *abhīmātīṣāham* RV TS KS. Assuming (cf Oldenberg, *Prol* 326 f.) that the acc, as in RV TS KS, is original (tho it is difficult), the change to the nom in AV is easy to understand. In AV the preceding pāda is *dhata vdhata bhūvanasya yas patih*, and the following *adityā rudrā avinobha, devah pāntu yajamānam nirṛthāt*. For c the others have a different version beginning *imam yajñam* (cf §329), it is significant that this acc is also eliminated in AV.

yajñasya (AV *cittasya*) *matā* (SMB *mātaram*) *suhava me* (AV *no astu* AV TB SMB. Preceded by *akūlīm devīm manasa prapadye* in SMB, which has put the epithet *mātā* syntactically into the preceding clause, making it agree with *devīm*, the meter proves it secondary).

samyag āyur īyajño (MŚ *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhah*) KS MŚ. See VV 1 p 100. In MŚ *yajñam* is attracted to the case of *āyur*.

īdāno (KS °*na*) *vahnir* (KS *vahnim*) *namasa* AV VS VSK TS MS KS. Followed by

agnim (AV *agnih*) *sruco adhwareṣu prayatsu* (AV *prayakṣu*), same texts. The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree, VS TS MS. A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding: 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration, to Agni (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed'. In AV *agnim* is

changed to *agnih* to agree with its synonym *vahnah*, and the two pādas are more closely connected than in the original. In KS the attraction has worked in the opposite direction, *vahnir* becomes *vahnim* to match *agnim*, *srucō* is now the subject, *īdānā* agrees with it, and the preceding pāda (*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* [AV *ghṛtā cut*], see §467) is changed to *achāyam yanī śavasā ghṛtācīh* (note retention of *ayam*, now ungrammatical!) 'here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier'. Ppp has *īde vahnim namasāgnim srucō 'dhvareṣu prayatsū*, which is translatable but obviously secondary.

gāyatrī trīṣṭubham jagatīm anuṣṭubham (MS *°līm vīrūjam*) AV TS MS *gāyatrī trīṣṭub jagatī vīrāḥ* KS. This is the 3d pāda of a verse whose 4th pāda in TS MS KS (omitting slight variants) is *arkam* (TS *brhad arkam*) *yuñjānāh svar ābharann idam*. It appears that KS has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with *yuñjānāh* (the leaving *arkam* to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS MS), they thus become subjects of the verb *ā-abharann*. The AV varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt, its accs must depend on the verb of the 1st pāda.

yuvo ratho adhvaram (AV † GB † *°ro*) *devavītaye* RV AV AB 6 12 7 (add in Com.) GB. Followed by the verb *yāti* (*yātu*) 'Your chariot goes to the sacrifice'. In AV *adhvaro* is awkwardly attracted to the case of *ratho* 'let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach'. Ppp is reported to read *adhvaram*.

ā gharṃ agnim ṛtayanā asādī (TA *asādīt*) RV TA *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto na sādī* MS. In the latter *agnim* has been changed to the case of *gharṃ*.

kāmam (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā vīsa* (AV *vīveśa*, KS TB *vīsat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ. There seems little doubt that the nom is original, and it is likely that the acc is due to attraction to the case of *samudram*. The two accs must be taken as in apposition. According to the comm. on TA the subject is *dakṣinā*. TB has the following explanation of the meaning: *samudra va hi kāmah, neva hi kāmasyānto 'sti, na samudrasya nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhūh* RV *nayantam gīrbhīr vanā dhīyam dhāh* SV. Highly problematical, *nayanto* agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject ('they', really the singers), *nayantam*, like the other accs in the verse, must be object of *dhāh*. In SV the subject is Agni and the accs probably refer to the singer (now singular).

6 Transfer of epithet

§400 A very large number of nom-acc variants concern what we have described above (§14) as 'transfer of epithet' That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group, but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form As in all cases of 'transfer of epithet', these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case, such instances are given separately No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made

- §401 The following show no change in number or gender
vyarth dhūmam aruṣam (MS KS °yo) *bharibhrat* RV VS TS MS KS
 ApMB '(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke', original, changed in MS KS to read 'the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke'
svar devā (TS TB ApŚ *devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §§340, 349 The nom or voc is certainly original, the acc secondary The nom would apply the epithet *devāh* to the priests 'we have gone to heaven as gods', the acc, 'we have gone to heaven, to the gods'
ye ca devān (ŚŚ *devā*) *ayajanta* AV ŚŚ The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of *dakṣinā*, AV means 'who have sacrificed to the gods' (referring to *maghavāno* which follows) In ŚŚ *devāh*, if nom, must refer to *maghavānah*, as in the preceding variant It might however be voc (again as in the preceding)
mā no hṛnītām atithur (SV *hṛnīthā atithim*) *vasur agnah* RV SV Followed by *puruprasasta eṣah* RV 'let not Agni, our kindly guest, be ashamed of us, much praised is he' The SV distortion makes *atithi* object of the verb, referring to some vague person (the *yajamāna*?) other than Agni, to whom it originally belonged It seems to mean 'be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni), Agni is kindly, much praised is he'
dīdīhi deva devayuh (SV °yum) RV SV Preceded by *abhī dyumnam bṛhad yaśa iśaspatē* In RV *devayuh* is in logical apposition with the subject of the imperative, in SV it is apparently made to refer to the worshiper (so Benfey), as a second acc with *dīdīhi*
jastram indra (KS *jastrāyano*) *ratham ā tistha gavit* (AV *govidam*) RV SV AV VS TS MS KS Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference But the

rest of the stanza is triṣṭubh, and it is curious that AV turns this pāda into a jagatī by this otherwise harmless alteration. One or two mss are quoted by Lanman as reading *govat*, but Ppp (JAOS 40 151) supports *govdam*.

uprasya vā yac chaśamāna ulthyam (AV °yah) RV AV. Followed by *vājam*, with which the adjective agrees in RV, in AV (with the help of the adjoining *śaśamānah*) it is transferred to the subject (Agni).

pari dyukṣam sanad rayim SV *pari dyukṣah sanadrayih* RV. In RV both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following pāda, in SV *sanad* is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with *rayim* as object, and *dyukṣam* agreeing therewith.

āreśatrum (TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *āre satrūn*) *kṛnuhi sarvavīram* (TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ °vīrah) AV † TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ. In AV the epithet goes with the object (*īmam* of the preceding pāda), in the others, with the subject.

punar brahmāno (brahmā) vasunītha (°nītar, °dhīte, °dhītm, °dhītam) *yajñānah (agne)*, see §340.

ava priyā (AV *priyān*) *adhūṣata* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB. If *priyā(s)* is really nom, as commonly assumed it must agree with the subject (in RV apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitrs), *priyān* is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers. Grassmann takes *priyās* as acc fem, supplying *gīras* (Most AV mss read *avā 'priyān*, with wrong accent, see Whitney's note).

ūrdhvo adhvaram divi deveṣu dhehi VS ŚB *ūrdhnam* (VSK °vo) *īmam* (VSK omits) *adhvaram* *hotrā yacha* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA.

jāmim (KS † *camī*, see VV 2 §57) *mā hīnsīr* (AV *mā jāmim moṣīr*) *amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* (AV KS † °nām) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ. The nom agrees with the subject, the acc with the object *jāmim*.

svargān (svargam, svagān) *arvanto (arvato) jayata* (jayema, jayatah, juyati), see §350.

tam akratum (KU °tuh) *paśyati vītaśokah* TA MahānU KU ŚvetU *pīa yo jagñe vidvān* (AV °vān) *asya bandhum* (AV *bandhuh*) AV TS KS. Followed by *viśvā devānām* (TS *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivakti*. The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure. It is, however, clear that *bandhuh* must be construed with or as the subject of *vivakti*, and *bandhum* as one of the objects of *vivakti* or object of *vidvān*.

urudrapso viśvarūpa induh TS ApŚ *purudasmō viśurūpa induh* VS ŚB *purudasmavad viśvarūpam induh* KS Followed by *pavamāno* (VS ŚB *antar*) *garbham* (TS *dhīra*, VS ŚB *mahimānam*) *ānañja dhīrah* (TS *garbham*) The adjectives agree with the object *garbham* in KS, with the subject *induh* in the others

samārabhyordhvo adhvaro divispṛsam TS TB *ūrdhvo adhvaro divispṛk* MS KS In the ritual the TS passage (followed by *ahruto yajño yajñapateh*) is addressed to the sacrifice (*āghāra*), and can only be interpreted (understanding *āghāram* as object of *samārabhya*, as TB does) 'lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (*āghāra*), the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed' The reading of MS seems to be a lect fac, *samārabhya* is taken easily with the preceding formula, and *divispṛk*, assimilated to the preceding nouns, applies to *adhvaro* (KS omits *samārabhya*) Keith considers the TS TB reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice

sarasvatī vayati peso antaram (TB and ms of KS °rah) VS MS KS TB Preceded in all by *tad asvinā bhiṣajā rudravartanī* 'The Aśvins and Sarasvatī make(s) his inner form' *antaram* agrees with *peso* But *antaraḥ*, read by the sole ms of KS as well as TB (v Schr emends), is difficult The TB comm seems to have no qualms about making it agree with *Sarasvatī* (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = *antar?* *yā tu sarasvaty antaraḥ śarīramadhye*) All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with *peso*

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApMB *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG *abhūma*) AV HG 'I have risen up after the immortals' 'we have risen up immortal' The AV verse seems on the whole to be secondary to that of the Yajus texts, and to have transferred the epithet to the subject

asmin yajñe suhavām (AV °vā) *johavīm* AV MS KS TS AŚ ŚŚ N Preceded by *kuhūm devīm sukṛtām vulmanāpasam* (with slight variants) AV comm also has *suhavām*, agreeing with *kuhūm*, if *suhavā* be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman

prajāpātir yam prathamo jigāya ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB *prajāpātir prathamo 'yam jigāya* AŚ Preceded by *tayānantam kāmam aham jayānu* In AŚ (*a*) *yam* goes with the preceding nouns 'this Prajāpati was the first to win (it)' The other, with *yam* referring to *kāmam*, is doubtless original

§402 Transfers of epithets between nominative and accusative forms which involve also changes in number or gender or both are

viśvāni yo amartyo (havyā marṣeṣu ranyati) RV viśve yasminn amartye (havyam martāsa indhate) SV See §457

tad ayam (MG idam) rājā varuno 'numanyatām AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG *ayam* agrees with the subject *rājā* etc, *idam* with the object *tad*

devān achā na majmanā RV deva indro na majmanā SV In SV the epithet *deva* is attracted into agreement with the subject

yā rājānā (TS °nam) saratham yātha (MS yāta) ugrā TS MS KS Subject is Mitra and Varuna, with which *rājānā* agrees 'ye (MS they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot' TS transfers it to the object 'ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot'

agniṣ tad visvam (AV mss viśvād) ā prnāti (AV °tu) vidvān RV AV TS MS KS With Whitney and SPP *visvād* (epithet of Agni) must be kept in AV

anāhanasyam vasanam jariṣnu (ŚG car°, PG °nuh) ŚG PG HG ApMB See VV 2 §57

anuttas carṣanādhṛtā SV anutta carṣanādhṛta RV Preceded by *tvam vṛtrani hanṣi* (*anuttā* with *vṛtrani*, °*tas* with *tvam* = Indra)

ayā san (MS ŚŚ ayah san, KS ayas san, Kauś ayāṣyam) havyam ūhiṣe MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG The original epithet of Agni is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to *havyam*

devatrā yantam avase sakhāyah (KS °yam) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *anu tva matā pitaro madantu* The original applies *sakhāyah* to *mātā pitaro*, KS transfers it to *tvā* (influenced no doubt by *yantam*)

vapāvantam (MS °to) nāgninu lapantah TS MS TA Preceded by *añjanti yam prathayanto na vprāh*, MS transfers the epithet from object to subject

prānyā luntāns tṛate dhatte anyā AV avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB In AV *anyā anyā* refers to weaving maidens, in TB it is transferred to the threads

visvani yo amartyah RV visve yasmin amartye SV The n acc *visvani* of RV agrees with the following *havyā*, the masc nom *visve* with the following *martāsah*

duvīm (VS devīm) nāvam svaritram anagasam (AV °sah) RV AV VS TS MS KS In AV *anā* is transferred to the subject of *āruhema*

sā śamtātī (SV °tā, TB ApŚ santacī) mayas karad apa sridhah RV SV TB ApŚ śamtātī is epithet of *mayas*, on the other see VV 2 §156

- bhūrīsthātrām bhūry āveśayantīm* (AV °tah) RV AV See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 126, and §14 above
- nśvavidam* (AV °do) *vācam anśvaminvām* (AV *anśvavinnām*) RV AV Discussed by Edgerton, l c 128, the AV is secondary
- yavēna* (AV * *yavēna vā*) *kṣudham puruhūta nśvām* (AV * *nśve*) RV AV (quater) The AV once transfers the epithet 'all' from *kṣudham* to the subject (of *tarema* in the preceding)
- dhīnām antah sabardughah* RV *dhenām antah sabardughām* SV In RV the adjective agrees with *vanuspatir* (= Soma), in SV it is attached to the false form *dhenām*
- parāsutṛpo abhi kośucānah* RV *parāsutṛpah kośucatah śṛnūhi* AV In RV śo° agrees with Agni, subject of preceding *śṛnūhi*, in AV with the object (*mūradēvān*)
- dyumantam sam idhīmahi* RV SV VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ *dyumantah sam idhīmahi* AV TS MS KS Acc with preceding object *tvā*
- gharmam śocantah* (AŚ °ta, ŚŚ °tam) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ In AB nom with *dhiṣanāh* in preceding, in ŚŚ acc with *gharmam* On AŚ cf VV 1 p 165
- āmum naya* (RV MS *āyum na yam*) *namasā īlāhavyam* (RV † MS † °yāh) RV AV MS In RV MS *rā°* goes with nom *pañca janāh* in the following
- achudram* (SMB °rāh) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented SMB may understand voc rather than nom
- vande dārum* (? see VV 1 p 218) *vandamāno vivakmī* RV *vandadvārā vandamānā vivastu* SV Preceded by *indrasyeva pra tavasas kṛtāni*, in SV *vanda°* is attracted into agreement with *kṛtāni*
- vandārus te* (VS ŚB °rus te, add to VV 2 §958, MS KS °rum te) *tanvam* (*tanuvam*) *vande agne* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The meaning here shifts with the form, nom 'praising', acc 'praiseworthy' (fem gender, with *tanvam*, tho the masc would have the same form)
- akhidrāh* (ApŚ *aghorah*, VS ŚB *achinnapatrāh*, MS *achinnapatrah*) *prajā abhivṛpasya* (VS MS ŚB *anuvikṣasva*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
- nśvāh pṛtanā abhikhūtaram naram* (SV PB Svidh *narah*) RV AV SV PB AŚ Vait Svidh Followed in RV AV SV by *sajūs tatakṣur indram jajanus ca rājase*
- ahrulo maho dharunāya devān* (AV *devah*) RV AV Followed by *duvīva jyotah svam ā mīmīyāh* (AV † °yāt) In AV (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) *devah* is made an epithet of the subject (a horse)

trīn samudrān samasrpat svargān (MS °gah) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS °pan) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ *ye ceme* (TS *cemām*, VS *cainam*) *rudrā abhitah* (MS NilarU *abhito rudrah*) VS TS KS MS NilarU The nom *ime* goes with *rudrah*, *enam* (= Rudra) or *imām* (apparently the earth) is construed as object of *abhitah*

śukrām vayanīy asurāya nīrujam RV *śukrā vi yanti asurāya nīruje* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A' *sa nah prthu* (TB °uh) *śravāyāy* RV SV ŚB TB *prthu*, object 'the broad (space)' In TB transferred to the subject (Agni) *ny adhur mātrāyām* (KS *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayo dhasah* (KS °sam) MS KS In MS *vayo*° goes with *kavayo*, in KS with *agnim* in the following

apo mahi vjayati cakṣase tamah RV *apo mahi vrnute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV PB *mahī* refers to the subject Uṣas, *mahi* refers to the darkness which she uncovers

sūryam cāmū rīśādasah (RVKh °sam) AV RVKh ŚŚ (cd of AV *cāmum rīśādasam*, but mss as ŚŚ, RVKh Scheftelowitz p 157) The original nom pl agrees with *devāh* in the next sentence, RVKh has acc sg with *sūryam* (The form *amū* is probably neut pl of *asau*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 350)

ulokam u dve upa jāmim iyatuh RV *lokam u* (ApŚ 1d) *dve upa jāmī iyatuh* MS ApŚ *jāmī* transferred from object to subject *agnim bharantam* (MS KS °tā) *asmayum* VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *yuñjāthām rāsabham yuvam*, *asmin yāme vṣanvasū* The acc agrees with *rāsabham*, the nom dual with the subject of *yuñjāthām* (the adhvaryu and yajamāna) The mss of MS (s p and p p) read *asmayuh*, perhaps they intend *asmayū*, which would be another transfer

tā (TS *te*, VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhya* (TS °ye) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Only in TS the pronoun (*te*) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following *te*, enclitic from *tvam*)

suvirāh prajāh prajanayan parihi TS MS KS TB ApŚ *suviro vīrān prajanayan parihi* VS ŚB

varenyakratūr (AV °tur) *aham* RVKh AV *īdenyakratūr* (text *īde*°, doubtless misprint) *aham* ApŚ Scheftelowitz reads °tur in RVKh The form °tūr is acc pl fem agreeing with the waters, and this is a simpler reading than °tur (nom sg masc), going with *aham*

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcaranta (PB *abhisam*) TS PB TB PG ApMB *dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG The mss of MŚ MG read *dhvāntā* (nom dual, going with the subject in the preceding pāda) *vātāgnim* (for which *vātāgram* is doubtless the true reading, cf VV 2 p 402)

ā rasmīn (RV *rasmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB *svasvah*) RV VS ŚB TB

jyotiṣmatī (MS °*tīh*) *prati muñcate nabhaḥ* TS MS KS PG Followed by *devī rātrī sūryasya vratāni*, or an equivalent In MS *jyo*° (originally epithet of *rātrī*) is made an object of the verb

jīvam (comm *jīvan*) *devebhya uttarām stṛnāmi* AV *devebhyo jīvanā uttarām bharema* TA In TA *jīv*° is epithet of the subject, so *jīvan* if this is intended in AV (then with variation of number only), *jīvam*, if intended, must go with the object *uttarām*

hiraṇyārūpam (MS KS MŚ °*varnam*) *uśaso vyuşṭau* RV MS KS MŚ *hiraṇyārūpā* (TS TB °*varnāv*) *uśaso* (TS TB °*sām*) *viroke* VS TS ŚB TB Followed by

ayasthūnam (TS *ayasthūnāv*) *uditā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS In both of these the dual noms agree with the subject, Mitra and Varuna, the accs with the object, *garlam*

ekavīṁśa rbhavaḥ (VS †°*va*) *stutam* (VS *stutāh*) VS MS KS TB One of six consecutive and parallel verses in all, the remaining five have (before *stutam* or *stutāh*) *rudrāḥ pañcadase*, *vasavaḥ triṁśtā*, *stome saptadase*, *trayastrinse 'mṛtam* (°*tā*, VS), *trinave marutaḥ* (TB *ma*° *tri*°) In VS *stutāh* agrees with the subject, a group of gods that varies in each verse In the others it agrees with the object in pāda d (*haviṣ indre vayo dadhuh*)

hiraṇyayāḥ (MS °*ayā*) *sucayo dhārapūtāḥ* RV MS Preceded by *trī rocanā dvyā dhārayanta* In RV *hir*° agrees with the subject, the Ādityas, in MS with the object *rocanā*

mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS *vīram jajanaḥ janiṣṭham*) RV VS MS KS TB

urv (AŚ *ūrvy* and *urvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* VS MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ The nom must agree with the subject of *vīhi*

sa praty ud (MS *sa pratyaiñ*) *aid dharunam* (TS MS KŚ *dharuno*) *madhvo agram* AV TS MS KS KSA AŚ ŚŚ KŚ Part of a mystic verse, the sense is no better and no worse, whether the adjective goes with *sa* or with *agram* But it may be based on *juhomi te dharunam madhvo agram* RV AV, in a ritualistic connexion, this rather points to the originality of the acc

mahāsam nah subhvam tashvānsam MS *samudram na subhvaḥ svā abhīṣṭayāḥ* RV *samudram na suhavam* (AV *subhavas*, TB Poona ed *suhavam*) *tashvānsam* AV TB ApŚ — Ppp reads like MS but for *subhavas* (Barret *subhavas*, suggesting *subhavam* as a better reading, JAOS 35 46) Same context in all except RV, the acc agrees with *samudram*, the nom with the subject of the verb in the next pāda. Perhaps AV is influenced by recollection of the RV passage (i.e. shows contamination of two passages)

yajā no (or *yajāno*, so Poona ed of TB with MS, see VV 2 p 376) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS TB AŚ ApŚ Nom *devo* is construed as epithet of subject Agni, acc as object of *yajā* (or *yajāno*), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers

avīraghno (ApMB † °nī) *vīratarah* (HG °lamah, AŚ ApŚ ApMB *vīravataḥ*) *suvirān* (HG *susevān*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB *vīram hi* (read *avīraghni*?) *vīravataḥ susevā* MG. The accs refer to *grhān*, the noms to the subject *aham*, which is fem in ApMB MG. Presumably the masc *aham* is more original, *vīratarah* would be impossible in ApMB MG. Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet. But the nom *susevā* of MG alone is certainly secondary

vi mamarsa rohito visvarūpāḥ TB *vi rohito amṛśad visvaūpam* AV. The latter original (*visvaūpam* object)

parīmam rāyo manuṣyam KS *parīmam rāyas paro yajamānam manuṣyāḥ* TS. And others, see §§442 etc. In KS *manuṣya* is applied to the *yajamāna*, 'let wealth invest this man'. In TS *rāyas* is gen, and *manuṣyāḥ* must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men', or, with thought of *dauvīr viśo* in the preceding, 'human clans'

codad rādha upastutas (ArS °tani) *cid arvāk* RV AV ArS MS TB. In RV etc the adjective goes with the subject, Indra, in ArS with *rādha(s)*

apo devā (TS MS KS ApŚ *devīr*) *madhumatīr agrbhnan* (TS ApŚ *agrbhnan*, MS KS *agrbhnām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. The acc fem *devīr* is doubtless orig, *devā(h)* goes with the subject

ayam (TA *idam*) *devo vanaspatiḥ* AV TA. Preceded by *varano vārayātān* (*vārayāt*). TA feels the need of an object, and alters *ayam* to *idam*

ādityā rudrā upariśprso nah (KS °sam mā) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśprsam mā* RV VS TS. Followed by *ugram cettāram adhvīrajam akran* (AV *akrata*). The adjective, orig going with *mā*, is transferred to the subject in AV

ād im aśvam na hetūrah (SV °ram) RV SV Followed by *aśūsubhann amṛtāya, madhvo* (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* 'As drivers (deco-rate) a horse', RV in SV *hetāram* is Soma (attracted to the case of *rasam*), 'the inciting one'

yasya dyāvo na vcarantī mānuṣā (SV °ṣam) RV SV The meaning of RV is doubtful Oldenberg 'whose (Indra's) gifts to men go their course like the days', Geldner 'for whom the ages (*yugāni*) of men pass like (his) days' In SV *mānuṣam* is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean 'friendly to man', the relative clause might mean 'whose heavens do not pass away' (so Benfey)

taḥ jānatīr abhy anūṣata vrāh RV *tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata kṣāh* ArS In RV *taḥ* is object of *jānatīr*, in ArS *tā(h)* attracted to agreement with it

indra jaḥharam navyo (SV AŚ ŚŚ °yam) *na* AV SV AŚ ŚŚ For the difficulties involved see Whitney's note, in any case the word goes with Indra in AV, with *jaḥharam* in the rest

tvam ṛsamudram prathamo vi dhārayah (SV °drah *prathame vidharman*) RV SV Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom 'You first arranged the sea (for the gods)' 'du bist das Meer im allerhochsten Trager' (Benfey)

indram juṣānā vrṣanam (VS *janayo*) *na patnāh* VS MS KS TB Here different words are involved 'Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives' 'taking delight in Indra, like wedded women'

§403 In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term 'transfer of epithet' applies strictly In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term Namely in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an 'epithet' of any other word In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section Cf §15

pratnam ni pāti kāvyam RV ('he protects the ancient wisdom') *†pratnāni* (Conc *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyah* KS ('he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like]')

prajāpatim aham tvayā samakṣam ṛdhyāsam GB Vait *prajāpatir aham tvayā sāksād ṛdhyāsam* MŚ 'May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee' 'may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thru thee' The latter is original, see Caland on Vait

achāyam et śavasā ghr̥tena (AV *ghṛtā cit*) AV Ppp VS TS MS *achāyam yanti śavasā ghr̥tācīh* KS See §467

samdhātā samdhim (MS *samdhur*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (*puro*°, *puru*°)
RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The nom can only be
felt as going with the subject, but the whole verse is very corrupt
in MS

gīrah somah (SV *gīra stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāh* RV SV 'The puri-
fied soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV 'the puri-
fied one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions'

evam tam garbham ā dhehī RVKh MG *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva*
ApMB

asmabhyam indav indrayuh (SV *indriyam*) RV SV The verb is
pavasva, to which SV supplies an object *indriyam*, *indrayuh* is
nom, epithet of the soma-drop (*indu*)

duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV AV *turas cid viśvam ṛarnavat tapas-
vān* AV *duraś* is object of *avṛnod*, *turaś* apparently felt as epithet
of the subject

samudhyamānah prathamānu dharmā (TB ApŚ *prathamō nu dharmah*)
RV † TB ApŚ (RV p p *prathamā, anu, dharmā*) The original
neut pls were misunderstood later and made into noms sg masc,
epithets of the subject, Agni Doubtless the adjacent *samudhya-
mānah* helped Caland translates ApŚ as if it had the RV read-
ing, tho he has no note

yuṣmāns ca dāyam ma upetā (ŚŚ *dāyam copetām*) AB ŚŚ Followed
by *vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmaṣi upetā* is nom sg of a
nomen agentis used as periphrastic future 'he shall obtain you as
an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know'
In ŚŚ we have *upetām*, past pple, attracted into agreement with
vidyām, in this form there is no verb to govern the accs

dharṣā (VSK °*ṣān*) *mānuṣah* (KS °*ṣam*, TS ApŚ °*ṣān*) VS VSK TS
MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In KS TB ApŚ acc object of the verb,
in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject 'be bold, as a
man (VSK let the man be bold)'

tasmar devā amṛtāh (AV °*tam*) *sam vyayantām* (AV °*tu*) AV TS MS
KS ApMB In AV *amṛtam* is a noun, object of the verb

7 Neuter acc adverbs varying with nom adjectives

§404 In a small and simple group we find neuter accusative adverbs
varying with nominative adjectives, virtually equivalent in meaning
subhūh svayambhūh prathamah (AŚ ŚŚ °*mam*) VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
somah prathamō uvide RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jāyā prathamam*
AV 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)' '(thou wast) Soma's
wife first'

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG *ncaranty apatuvratā ŚŚ yac cacārā-nanuvratam* (adverb) ApŚ Preceded by *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (or the like)

ava tara (TS *avattaram*, AV *avattaro*) *nadīṣv ā* (AV *nadinām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaram* apparently an adverb, *avattaro* adj agreeing with the subject MS p p has *avataram*, which seems to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS

svasti nah pūrnāmukhah pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB HG We now would render (rather than as in VV 1 §359) 'Happily may he, with his face turned full towards us (HG they, with their faces), walk round us' So better than Oldenberg's interpretation of HG, 'walk round our full face' The Sūtra itself renders by *pradakṣinam*

asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp *mānaveṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś See §623

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śuciḥ (VS *śuci*, comm *suciḥ*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *śuci* may be taken as an adverb

visvar devair anumatā (KS TA °*lam*) *marudbhīh*, see §388 above KS has an adverb

vṣvak patantu didyavah RV *vṣvañco asmac charavah patantu* AV *agne yāhi suvidatrebhir arvān* (MS *arvāh*, p p *arvān*) RV AV MS TB N

prān (VS TB *prāñk*, MS *prāk*, p p *prān*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK MS ŚB TB ApŚ

pratyak (p p *pratyāñ*) *somo atisrutah* MS *pratyāñ* (VS TS MS † ŚB † TB *pratyāñk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS * †10 31b, MS *atisrutah*) AV † (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ

§405 Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem acc adverb varying with a nom adjective, but the form is very suspicious *dīdāyānīdhmo* (MS °*mām*) *ghṛtanīrnag apsu* RV TS MS '(Agni) shone in the waters without kindling' If MS is sound it would seem to have an adverb All s p mss agree, curiously the p p reads *dīdāya*, *asme ity asme*

8 Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406 The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classifiable Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of one form, or both, is troublesome

sakṛd yat tvā (KS *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS *garbham*) *āśayat* TS KS
Here *garbha* is used in different senses 'embryo' (TS) and 'womb' (KS)

amāsi sarvān (AŚ *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭah* AŚ Kauś. *amo 'si sarvān asi praviṣṭah* ŚG *amā hy asi sarvam anu praviṣṭah* SMB The original is certainly *sarvān* (from *sarvānc*), the accs are lect *fac*
apa snehitīr (SV *snihitam*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poonā ed *stuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA The latter is plainly corrupt. The acc *nṛmanām* (bad form in any case) may be felt as a second object, correlative with *snehitīr*, but the interpretation is certainly dubious

sūryasya marīcīh TA *sūryo marīcīm ādatte* TA Probably the two are not really related. The former occurs in a list of the *patnīs* of various gods, the latter in a cosmic verse about creation

udādāya pṛthvīm jīvadānum (TS TB ApŚ *jīradānuh*, MS KS *jīradānum*) VS TS MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ The nom is clearly established as the reading of the Taish school, but there is no main verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe. Both Keith and Caland think an acc (agreeing with *pṛthvīm*) must be read

kratum dadhikrā (MS *°krām*) *anu santavīvat* (VS MS KS ŚB *samsanīṣyadat*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N The context is identical in MS, and only a nom seems construable 'Dadhikrā, showing his strength according to his will' Is the final *m* in MS mere 'Hiatusstilger'? Cf VV 2 §308 ff

samānam aymam (PB †*ayman*) *pary eti* (TA ApŚ *aymā pari yāti*) *jāgrvāh* RV PB TA ApŚ In RV 'watchful he (Agni) goes about his accustomed course' The nom *aymā* is apparently felt as an epithet of Agni (TA comm *svargagamanaśilak*), but is scarcely to be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ) Comm on PB understands *ayman* (for *ayman*) as a loc, but probably misunderstands the intention of its text. On *y* for *j* in PB see Caland's translation, xxv The Conc should be corrected for this and *īyunaymī te pṛthvīm agnīnā saha*, and these interesting variants added to VV 2 §192 Cf also Raghu Vira, *Kaṣīṭhala-Kaṭha-Samhitā*, 5, Oertel 28

bṛhaspatim yajñam akṛnvata ṛṣim RV *bṛhaspatir yajñam atanuta ṛṣih* AV The same passage in both texts, dealing otherwise wholly with Yama, the introduction of a statement about Bṛhaspati's action is evidently a stupid blunder

yāñs (TA Poona ed text and comm *yās*) *te soma prāñññs tāñ* (*tāñ*, *tāñ*) *juhomi* TA MahānU Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine' Comm on MahānU supplies *paśyāmi* as governing the acc The nom *yās* makes construction simpler (*prāñññs* for *prāññs* being then attracted to the following *tāñ*)

sañ takṣā hanti cakrī vah (HG *cakrīnah*) ApMB HG Obscure and likely to be corrupt in both forms According to Oldenberg, HG would mean 'the carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels' *cakrī*, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of *takṣā*!

brahmānam (TB °na) *indram vayoḍhasam* VS TB After *hotā yakṣad*, only acc seems construable Comm on TB in fact takes *brahmānas* as acc pl (agreeing with *dvāras* preceding)!—as if from *brahman*, with strong stem for weak

manyum (AV *manyur*) *ṛsa īdate mānuṣīr yāh* (TB † *īdate devayantīh*) RV AV MS TB The nom is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times It is really unconstruable, as Whitney observes, comm reads *manyum* Yet Ppp has *manyur*, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools

purānan (TA °nā) *anu venati* RV TA N Comm on TA *puratanān devan* In fact neither a nom pl masc nor a nom or acc pl fem is construable

narāśansena nagnahum (KS TB °huh) VS MS KS TB The form must be acc in all Von Schroeder emends KS to °hūm, TB comm keeps the form °huh but regards it as acc neut

parīdam vajy ajinam (PG °dam vājinam) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajinam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG HG ApMB Haplology in PG (VV 2 p 362), *vājinam* not construable

bahuprajā nirṛtiṃ (AV °tir) *ā viveśa* RV AV N Whitney assumes an acc in AV, but the passage is mystic nonsense and perhaps anything is possible This might be classed with 'case attraction' above, since apparently AV has made *nirṛti-* agree with *bahuprajā*

ā viveśāparayitam (TA °tā) AV TA Only the acc can be construed, so comm on TA interprets the form, tho he reads °ta like both editions

tilvīlāstam irāvatiṃ AG † *tilvīlā syād irāvati* ApMB, and others, always with nom Stenzler (note in transl of AG p 83) regards the acc ending as certainly erroneous

§407 In the rest there seems to be no genuine variant at all
sindhur (MahānU v 1 *sindhur*) *na nāvā durtātā parṣi* RV MS TB
 TA MahānU The v 1 is worthless, no nom could be construed
havyam pārāvatebhyah AV ŚŚ So mss of AV, R-Wh emend wrongly
 to *havyah*
pūṣanvān karambham MS KS AB *karambhah* is read by Von Schroeder
 in MS by emendation, and the Conc quotes KS as °*bhah*,
 erroneously All texts should read °*bham*
śimāh kṛnavantu śimyantah TS KSA Conc quotes *śimām* for KSA,
 this is a false reading of one ms, rejected in the ed
tān sma mānuṣaṭkṛthāh AŚ *ete nānuṣaṭkṛtāh* Vait But all mss of
 Vait read *ca tāmsamānuṣaṭkṛtā(h)*, with Caland we should
 probably assume that they intend the AŚ reading
trptām juhur mātulasyeva yoṣā RVKh † N † Conc reads *trptā* for
 RVKh, with Aufrecht, but see Scheftelowitz, p 87
vāyavyah śvetah puche VS MS *vāyavyam svetam* ApŚ The latter
 should be deleted in the Conc, it is no mantra but the beginning
 of a Brāhmaṇa passage, TS 2 1 1 1
īṣamāna (ŚŚ °*nā*) *upaspṛśah* AV ŚŚ Read in AV as in ŚŚ (with
 mss, SPP, Whitney's Index, and see Bloomfield's note on 20.
 127 2)

CHAPTER XV

NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1 Instr of means or agent and subject nom

§408 The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed. Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action. In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in

ya im vahanta āśubhāh RV *yadī vahantī āśavah* SV 'Whoso travel by horses' 'when the horses carry (him)'

manyur akārṣṇin manyuh karoti TAA *manyunā kṛtam manyuh karoti* BDh

§409 It is not even necessary that the verb form should vary, once, at least, the same verb is taken as either passive or middle-deponent
na karmanā lipyate pāpakena ŚB TB BrhU BDh *na karma lipyate nare* VS IśāU 'He is not stained by evil action' 'action does not stick to (stain) a man'

§410 A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc of direct object, but becomes nom as subject of a passive verb

antar dadhe parvataih HG ApMB *antarhitā girayah* ŚG 'I interpose with mountains' 'mountains are interposed'—In same context *antar mahyā pṛthivyā* HG † ApMB †, *antar dadha ṛtubhih, ahorātrāś ca samdhībhih* (HG *ātrāih susamdhībhih*), *ardhamāsaiś ca māśaiś ca*—all HG ApMB *antarhitā pṛthivī mahī me, antarhitā ma ṛtavah, ahorātrāś ca samdhīyāh, māśāś cārdhamāsāś ca*, all ŚG

§411 More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning. The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument. 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so'. In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities

are so common, such a shift is particularly easy, it would indeed not be difficult anywhere. It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric diction (βίη 'Ἡρακλεΐη). But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective, or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is rarely found among our variants, the first example is perhaps the only one—Instead of the subject nom., the voc. of direct address is also found varying with the instr. in the same way, §354

pra te divo na stanayanti suṣmāh (MS °yanta *suṣmarh*) RV TS MS
 'Thy (Agni's) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven', 'they
 (se *gīrah*) have thundered to thee with furies like (those) of heaven'
abhi stomair (RV * SV * *stomā*) *anūṣata* RV SV (both in each) AV
 VS 'Songs of praise shouted to thee'. 'they shouted to thee with
 songs of praise'

vājasya mā prasavena (VS ŚB °vah) VS TS KS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
 Followed by *udgrābhenod agrābhūt* (*ajgrābham*, etc.) 'He has (I
 have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exalta-
 tion' 'increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation'

tam tvābhikḥ suṣṣutibhīr vājayantah RV *tam tvā gīrah suṣṣutayo vāja-*
yanti SV 'Strengthening thee with these fair praises' 'songs of
 fair praise strengthen thee'

punantu manavo (RV *vasavo*, VS KS *manasā*) *dhīyā* (Vś KS *dhīyah*)
 RV AV VS MS KS TB 'Let men (Vasus) purify with prayer'
 'let prayers purify with mind' The change of *manavo* to *manasā*
 introduces a different word, but it is to be noted that it replaces
 the instr. *dhīyā*, and so in a way restores the original construction
 of the sentence

abhi yo mahinā divam RV AŚ *abhīmam* (TS MŚ † °mām, MS MŚ
 v 1 °mān) *mahinā* (VS °mā, delete MŚ v 1 in Conc.) *divam*
 (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ Followed by *mitra* (VS
vipro) *babhūva saprathāh* 'The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed
 this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty', VS substitutes *vipro*
 for *mitra* (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns *mahinā* into
mahimā, nom. 'the wise, far-spreading majesty has'

kṣatram agne (AV *kṣatrenāgne*) *suyamam astu tubhyam* AV VS TS
 MS KS In AV neither the pāda itself nor the context furnishes
 a subject for *astu*. Apparently indefinite subject. 'by dominion,
 Agni, let it be of easy control for thee' The other reading is sup-
 ported by Ppp and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps
 to be suspected of secondariness 'let dominion, Agni, be of easy
 control for thee'

śukro brhan dakṣinayā (TB *brhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pṛpartu* AV TB 'Let the bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee' 'let the bright one, the mighty [comm, the *sāman*], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee' On this use of root *pṛ* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408 ff (esp 409)

2 Associative instr and (collateral) subject or predicate nom

§412 An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case So we find such instr forms attached to a subject or predicate nom, varying with a nom as collateral subject or predicate For the same variation with other cases than the nom see §§55-7 With the nom this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr, expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like Such words occur in most of the following variants

a dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB °sṛī, MG °sam) *aguh* (with varr) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG Preceded by a *vatso jagatā saha* Ppp reads *a dadhnaḥ kalaśas ca yah* The ApMB substitution has phonetic aspects (VV 2 §701), but Ppp supports it in sense by reading a nom (Note, however, that the fem stem *kalaśi* is post-Vedic) 'They have come with pots of sour milk' '(they and) pots of sour milk have come' Knauer prints MG as *kalasam arayam*, but the mss are clearly corrupt, the syllable *air* must conceal the true case-ending of *kalaśa* Read *kalasair ayam*, as in Kāṭhaka G (see Caland's ed and note on this) In the same context

emām paṛisrutah kumbhah AV *enam paṛisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG *a tvā paṛisrutah* (°sṛutah, °sṛtah, *hiraṇmayah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °ah) AG PG MG ApMB HG

yaśasā (ArS *yaśo*) *mā dyavāpṛthivī* ArS PG MG The verb to be supplied is a form of *vid* 'find', from *pāda* c *yaśo bhagasya ca mā vidat* (MG *riṣat*) PG MG, *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS ('let glory of fortune find [me]', so correct rendering in VV 2 p 98) —So, in same stanza, between these two *pādas*

yaśasendrābṛhaspatī PG MG *yaśo mendrābṛhaspatī* ArS Cf prec 'With glory let find (come to) me' However, the dual forms might be taken as vocs, supplying a 2d person verb 'with glory (come) to me, O ' (So Oldenberg on PG)

yavā (MS *yavair*) *na barhiḥ bhrūvī kesarānī* VS MS KS TB 'The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley)'

samā bhavantūdvaro (TS °*vatā*) *npādāh* RV TS KS 'The heights and depths shall be equal' 'the depths shall be equal with the heights' *teṣām iṣṭāna sam iṣā madantu* RV VS TS MS N *sam no mahānu sam iṣo mahantām* KS A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter, it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section *satyā eṣām* (AG *elā*) *āśiṣah santu kāmāh* (ApMB HG *santu kāmāh*, SMB Jorgensen *santu kāmāh*, v 1 *kāmāt*, AG *santu sarvāh*, VS *samnamantām*) VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG 'Let their prayers, their desires, come true' 'let their prayers with their desires (or perhaps, according to their desires' cf the v 1 *kāmāt*) come true'

ādityas (ApMB °*yais*) *te vasubhir ā dadhātu* HG ApMB Preceded by *indro marudbhīr ṛtudhā* (HG *iha te*) *krnotu* (HG *dadhātu*) 'Indra with the Maruts', *Āditya with the Vasus* 'Indra with the Maruts with the Ādityas, with the Vasus'

sam revatīr jagatibhiḥ prcyantām VS ŚB ŚŚ *sam revatīr jagatibhir* (VSK °*bhiḥ sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatibhiḥ sṛjyāhvam* (VSK *prcyantām*) TS VSK TB *sam revatīr jagatīh* MS The latter belongs to the same context as the others, but the verb of mingling is postponed to the next pāda (*śivāh svābhiḥ sam asṛkṣatāpah*), and the original instr which was paired with *revatīr* is made into a supplementary subject

tan mṛtyunā nṛtīh samvidānā AV *tan mṛtyur nṛtīyā samvidānah* TB Here nom and instr change places, without real change of meaning 'Destruction in unison with death' 'death in unison with destruction'

tām viśvair devair (KS *viśve devā*) *ṛtubhiḥ samvidānah* (KS °*nāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Followed by *prajāpatir viśvakarmā vimuñcatu* (ApŚ *yunaktu*) KS turns the original complementary instr (dependent on *samvidānah*) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda

śukrah śukraśociṣā VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS 'The bright with the bright-shining one' 'the two bright, bright-shining ones'

tayor (TS TB *tasyām*, MŚ *yasyām*, v 1 *asyām*) *devā adhisamvasantah* (MŚ *abhisamvśantah*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ *tasyām devair samvasanto mahātva* AV In AV the following verb is *madema*, in the rest *mādayantām* or °*yadhvam* 'The gods, dwelling together' 'may we, dwelling together with the gods'

parīmam yajamānam manuṣyāh saha rāyas poṣena prajāyā ca vyayantām

MS *parīmam rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāh* TS The associative instr is pointed with *saha* See §§402 etc
indrāghoṣas (MS KS °ṣās) *tvā vasubhīh purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah pu° pāntu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhīh pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *indrāghoṣā vo vasubhīh purastād upadadhatām* TA Followed by the next two, q v
manojavās tvā pītṛbhīr (KS *pītarō*) *dakṣinatah pātu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS KS ŚB *pītaras tvā manojavā dakṣinatah pāntu* MS *manojavaso vah pītṛbhīr dakṣinata upadadhatām* TA See next
pracetās tvā rudraih paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB . *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS . *pracetā vo rudraih paścād upadadhatām* TA This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (*viśvakarmā tvāditayanr*) in which all texts have the instr When a nom is substituted for the instr (as twice in KS and twice in MS) it may be felt as a second subject, so belonging in this group Yet it is at least as likely to be felt as sole subject, modified by the word (*indrāghoṣās* etc) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective

3 Instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr) and nom of bahuvrīhis

§413 Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr (a karmadhāraya), and again in the nom as a bahuvrīhi, an adjective epithet of the subject The instr seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr of means In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one Sometimes the instr occurs in separate, uncompounded forms

aśvānām sadhastuti (TB °tuh) RV TB The verse reads *ye me pañcāśatam dadur, aśv° sadh°, dyumad agne mahi śravo, bṛhat kṛdhi maghonām, nṛvad amṛta nṛnām* 'Who have given me 500 horses, of (these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB having joint praise), make great the fame' etc

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS °tyā, TS °tīr, MS °tī) *vām uyānā* (TS MS KS *vāvṛdhānā*, AV °nau) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ If MS intends nom dual, its variation with AV KS is like the foregoing 'having good praises' or 'along with good praise' But *suṣṭutī* may be taken also as instr TS makes the form acc pl depending on the pple, and AŚ ŚŚ are hopelessly corrupt

am tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā (ApMB °dho, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG The following verb is *anu jayantām* AV . 'after

thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born' ApMB
'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good'
Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if *svayādhā*
were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle,
but the order seems against this

prāno agnih paramātmā pañcavāyubhir āvṛtaḥ PrānāgU *prāno 'gnih*
paramātmā vai pañcavāyuh samāśṛitaḥ MU 'The Paramātmā is
surrounded by the five breaths' ' has entered in with (or, per-
haps, as) the five breaths' Here the psychology is a little differ-
ent, the instr seems clearly one of means

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV *vi yo rajānsy amūṣṭā sukratuh* RV
Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in
the karmadhāraya

tripād ūrdhva ud ant puruṣaḥ RV ArS VS TA *tribhāḥ padbhir dyām*
arohat AV Here two separate words are used instead of the kar-
madhāraya compound

4 Nom and instr of part dedicated in offering

§414 In the long list of dedicatory formulas used in presenting parts
of the horse's body to various deities in the Aśvamedha, we find a
number of times variation between instr of the part dedicated (and
acc of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' under-
stood), and on the other hand nom of the part dedicated and gen or
dat of the deity (with copula 'understood') Cf §126 on the various
types of dedicatory formulas We shall not record a complete list here,
others will be found in the same vicinity

pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā VS MS ('Pūṣan [we gratify] with the *van*^o)
pūṣno vaniṣṭhuh TS KSA ('the *van*^o is for Pūṣan') - Similarly
andhākīn ('he, ^oheh) *sthūlagudayā* (*sthūra*^o, ^ogudā), and others, same
texts

5 Transfer of epithet

§415 As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between
nom and instr is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or
thing to another In most cases there is a variation in number or
gender as well as case, we quote first those in which case alone varies
svāveśayā (VS ŚB ^oveśā) *tanvā samvṛśasva* VS MS KS ŚB In VS

ŚB the adjective, if as we believe (cf §174) it is nom, agrees with
the subject (*ṛtākā*), in MS KS with *tanvā*

prātaryāvāno adhvaram RV VS TB *prātaryāvabhīr adhware* SV Pre-

ceded by *śrudhī śrutkarna vahnibhīr, devair agne sayāvabhāh, ā*
śidantu (SV *śidatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* In
 the original *prātar*° agrees with the subject, in SV it becomes an
 associative instr attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by
 the instrumentals in the preceding

anullāś carṣanūdhr̥tāh SV *anullā carṣanūdhr̥tā* RV In RV *carṣanūdhr̥tā*
 is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf Oldenberg, *Noten*, 1 p 162,
 n 1), in SV it is transferred to the subject (*tvam* = Indra)

§416 In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as
 well as case

paro devebhīr (MS °bhīyo) *asurair* (MS °ram) *yad asti* (TS *asurair guhā*
yat) RV TS MS KS Preceded by *paro divā para enā prthivīyā*,
 except in MS which has *paro divah para enā prthivīyāh* (abls for
 instrs), MS makes *devebhīr* over into *devebhīyo* in accord with this,
 and since the meter does not permit *asurebhīyo*, it transfers this
 word to the subject *yad*

ghnanto (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vītrāny apratī* AV MS KS TS ApŚ Nom
 goes with subject *vayam*, instr with associative *indrena*
indrena sayujō (AV °jā) *vayam* AV TS ApŚ 'We allied with Indra'
 'we with Indra as ally'

indrena devīr (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhah samvidānāh* TS MŚ
ta ā vahanṭi (MS *tayā vahanṭe* [so p p]) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS TB
tad āharantī kavayah purastāt KS In MS *tayā* by attraction to
 preceding *svadhayā*, cf VV 2 §342

udyan bhrājabhṛṣṭabhrīr (PG °bhṛṣṭr) *indro marudbhīr asthāt* SMB
 PG GG

śuddha (SV *śuddhair*) *āśīrvān mamattu* RV SV Preceded by *śuddhair*
ukthair vāvṛdhvānsam, to these instr forms the SV has assimilated
śuddha(h) of RV

aganma mahā (KS *maho*) *namasā yaviṣṭham* RV SV MS KS AB
 KB TB ApŚ AŚ ŚŚ 'We have come with mighty homage (KS
 mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni)' KS apparently
 understands a nom pl with its *mahō*

abhukhyā bhāsā bṛhatā śusukvanīh RV *dṛśe* (MS *dṛśā*) *ca bhāsā bṛhatā*
śusukvanīh (KS °vabhīh, MS *śusikmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
 In MS *śu*° is made an epithet of *bhāsā* In KS too the epithet no
 longer agrees with the subject (Agni) It is perhaps made coordi-
 nate with *bhāsā*, or possibly it is meant to agree with *śusastibhīh*
 in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular
 since the latter word is fem)

ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*)
kṛtaḥ AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayā san*† (MS *ayāh san*, KS *ayās san*, ms
ayāsā) *manasā hataḥ* (MS *kṛtaḥ*, p p and KS *kṛtaḥ*) MS KS TB
 ApŚ ApMB HG Followed by

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*,
 KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ
 ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ In the first
 of these two pādas, the instrs are transferred to *manasā* from
 agreement with the subject (Agni), in the second they are attracted
 to the like construction by the preceding *ayasā*

uruvyacasō dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner*
dhāmnā patyamāne AV The AV version is corrupt, by a false
 verse division *uru*° (originally epithet of the divine doors, *dvārah*)
 is transferred to *dhāmnā* Ppp agrees with the others

pāvakayā yas (TS *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 The nom in TS is really due to phonetic alteration, cf Oldenberg,
Prol 453, and VV 2 §343 But it is construable in agreement with
 the unexpressed subject of the verb *ruruce*

saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV AV SV N *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣāḥ* (MS
avhṛutāḥ) AV MS The instr goes with a preceding *indrena*, the
 nom with the *gāvaḥ* who are addressed But the contexts are
 quite different, and the pādas in their original forms probably
 unrelated We take it that AV has a contamination of the MS
 pāda with that of RV etc

§417 The following cases are also classed as 'transfers of epithet' as
 explained in §§15-6 They show in one form a true 'epithet', in the
 other sometimes a form of the same, sometimes a different word, not
 properly an epithet of anything but independently construed

acittibhiś cakṛmā yac cid āgah RV MS KS *avidvānsaś cakṛmā kac*
canāgah TS

apa druḥā (AV *druhuḥ*) *tanvam gūhamānā* RV AV The instr of man-
 ner, virtually an adverb, of RV becomes in AV an epithet of the
 subject, a she-demon

harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB *dhṛṣṭā*) *marutvaḥ* RV TB N *harṣamānā*
hṛṣṭāso marutvan AV In TB the orig nom epithet becomes an
 adverbial instr of a different but related stem

indrādhipatīḥ (MS KS *patyāḥ*) *pṛpṛtād ato nah* TS MS KS AŚ
 'O Indra, as overlord (with thy overlordship)'

vaiśvānarah pavayān nah pavitraḥ TA *vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu*
 AV The TA reading seems to be intended by Ppp (Whitney on
 6 119 3) 'May V with purifiers (V the purifier) purify us (me)'

198 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

yena prajā (MS *ya imāh prajā*) *viśvakarmā jajāna* (TS *vyānaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In MS *yah* goes with *viśvakarmā* The original 'by which V produced creatures'

yenaṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU MundU *bhūtas tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA MahānU MundU (2 1 9) Deussen reads *bhūtas* in MahānU but observes that a v 1 has *bhūtas* and that this is a better reading The nom is secondary and attracted to *antarātmā* See also Deussen's note on the MundU passage

tenā (TS *sā*) *no yajñam piprhu viśvavāre* AV TS Nom is secondary *candro* (SV *candraṇ*) *yātu sabhām upa* RV SV Preceded by *śvātra-bhājā vayasā sacale sadā* Apparently under the influence of the preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom is changed into an associative instr The 'shining ones' are soma-drops according to Benfey

prayah kavīnām matī (SV *matih*) RV SV In RV *matī* is instr 'by the hymn of the seers' In SV it is anomalously made into an epithet of *indu*

sūyavasasī mānave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA *daśasye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The original *daśasyā* is instr of stem *daśasyā*, 'benevolently' TA's *daśasye* seems, like *yaśasye*, to be dual nom fem agreeing with the subject

6 Nom of independent sentence and instr

§418 Twice a dependent instr of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom, which is however resumed by a pronominal instr in the same construction as the nominal instr of the variant form See §33

gavā te krīnāni TS ApŚ *iyam gaus layā te krīnāni* MŚ 'With a cow let me buy of thee' 'here is a cow, with her'

etat te rudrāvasam tena (VSK † *etena rudrāvasena*) *paro mūjavato 'tīhi* VS VSK ŚB 'This is thy food, O Rudra, with it depart' 'with this food, O Rudra, depart'

7 Miscellaneous

§419. The remaining nom-instr variants are scarcely classifiable They mostly involve various reconstructions of the material, in sense at least, and usually in form, extending far beyond the mere change in case-form

in śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*) RV AV

- VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU In RV VS ŚB *pathyā* may be taken as nom, with Grassmann and Oldenberg 'as the path of the *sūri*' In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr. 'like the lord on his path' Cf §284
- ganair mā mā vi tīrṣata* MS *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB *ganān me mā vi tīrṣah* (MŚ "ṣat) TS MŚ See §§380, 459
- jajñānam* (SV "nah) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV *mātrbhiḥ*) RV SV Followed by *vedhām aśāsata* (SV *medhām āśā*) *śriye* 'The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune' 'the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune'
- yajñam hinvanty adribhiḥ* RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV Preceded by *tam duroṣam abhī narah, somam viśvācyā dhryā* In RV *narah* is subject of *hinvanty* and *somam* its object In SV it seems that *narah* must be taken with Benfey as voc, with no verb expressed, and that *pāda c* must be completely detached from the preceding
- tan nau samvananam kṛtam* MG *tena samvananau svake* HG 'That concord has been made for us' 'thereby we are concordant'
- tayā devāḥ sutam ā babhūvuh* TS KSA TB *sā no asmin suti ā babhūva* VS MS 'Therewith the gods mastered the libation' 'it is present for us at this libation' See Keith on TS 4 1 2 1, n 6
- prthivīm bhasmanāpṛṇa* (MS KS *bhasma*) *svāhā* VS MŚ KS ŚB ApŚ 'Fill the earth with (thy) ashes' In MS KS sc *gachatu* 'let (thy) ashes (go) to earth'
- ya indrena saratham yāti devaḥ* AV *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ
- mandūkyā su sam gamah* (TA *gamaya*) RV † TA *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV (corrupt)
- āptam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ *āpāma manasā* VS ŚB 'Mind has been obtained' 'may we obtain by mind' Ritualistic rignmarole
- ārohātmātmānam* (MŚ *ārohātmanātmānam*) *achā* TB Aś ApŚ MŚ 'Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self' TB Bibl Ind reads *ārohātyātmānam*, text and comm, Poona ed like the others
- mūrā* (SV *mūrar*) *amūram purām darmānam* RV SV Benfey 'den durch Thoren unbethorten' Obscure
- tam devās sam acikṣpan* KS *tām devaḥ sam ajīgamam* TS The sense is radically altered 'Him the gods have fashioned' 'her I have united with the gods' Both preceded by *añgāny ahrutā yasya* (TS *yasya*)
- sam indro viśvadevebhīr aṅktām* VS ŚB *sam indrena viśvebhīr devebhīr aṅktām* TB ApŚ In the latter the barhis is the subject

sam aryamā sam bhago no nīyāt RV ApMB *sam bhagena sam aryamnā* (followed by *sam dhātā sṛjatu varcasā*) AV See Whitney on AV 14 1 34, which doubtless understands *bhagena* and *aryamnā* as parallel with *varcasā*

kālena bhūtam bhavyam ca AV *kāle ha bhūtam bhavyam ca* AV vulgate, but by emend for *kālo* of most mss, kept by SPP *kālena* of the other form is also an emendation for *kāle ha*, which SPP keeps This last emendation seems justified and is supported by Ppp (JAOS 46 37f) In the other, while the loc would be possible, there seems no reason to reject the well attested nom form, which is adopted by Bloomfield and Whitney The contexts are different tho related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be called 'Phrase Inflection'

[*krānā* (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sindhūnām kalaśān avīvasat* (SV AV *acikradat*) RV SV AV *krānā* is problematic, Oldenberg takes it with Lanman as instr, see *RVRep* 136 for a different view In SV we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation, in AV an attempt at rationalization of SV, which is grammatical ('the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound') but silly]

CHAPTER XVI

NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

1 Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420 Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word. This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in *mandrā dhanasya sātaye* (KS °yah) TS MS KS TB KŚ MŚ ŚG

Waters are referred to 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth' 'fair winnings of wealth'. All mss. of KS agree on the form *pade-pade pāśinah santi setavaḥ* (AV °ve) RV AV KS ApŚ 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)'

agner apunann usṛjo amṛtyavaḥ RV *agner akṛnvanṇ usṛjo amṛtyave* MS *devā akṛnvanṇ usṛjo amartyave* ApŚ. In RV *amṛtyavaḥ* is adj., 'immortal ones', agreeing with the subject, in MS a noun, 'unto immortality', meaning about the same thing. ApŚ doubtless intends the same meaning as MS, cf. VV 2 §650

prajāvatīḥ (MŚ °varīr, v 1 °vatīr) *yasaso* (MŚ °se) *vīśvarūpāḥ* TB ApŚ MŚ. In TB ApŚ *yasaso* is adjective '(here come the cows) with many calves, renowned, varied in appearance'. In MŚ *yasase* is evidently the noun, 'unto renown', the ultimate meaning is substantially the same.

ājyam uktham avyathāya (TS *avyathayat*, KS *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS °notu) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Comm. on TS *tvaṃ aryathayad vyathārahitaṃ kurvat*, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts.—The same with *praṅgam uktham, mān utvatiyam u°, niskevalyam u°, vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*

aso gathā no 'ritā vṛdhe ca (SV *vṛdhas cit*) RV SV 'That thou mayst be our helper, and for (our) increase', RV. In SV the dat. of purpose becomes a nom. of a nomen agentis, being assimilated to *avitā* 'and (mayst be our) increaser'.

ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharman AV *ayam sahasram ānavo* (Benfey and Caland assume *sahasramānavo*) *dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ °mā) SV ApŚ MŚ. Comm.

on SV takes *dr̥śah* as nom (= *draṣṭā*), 'seer' or 'eye' If this be accepted the variant would belong here, *dr̥še* is a dat (infinitive) But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ (perhaps abl-gen in form")

śajātānām madhyamasthā edhī (AV *madhyameṣṭhāh*, MS KS *madhyameṣṭheyāya*) AV VS TS MS KS *śajātānām madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV

§421 Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to

tava praśastayo mahīh (SV *praśastaye mahe*) RV SV Preceded by *tam tvā madāya ghr̥ṣvaye, u lokakṛtnum īmahe* In RV our pāda is an independent statement 'great are thy praisings' In SV it is assimilated to the datives of pāda a 'unto great praising of thee' *rāyaspoṣā* (MŚ °*poṣāya*) *yajamānam viśantu* KS ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *imām devā ajuṣanta viśve* 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer' In MŚ the subject *devāh* of the preceding clause holds over 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS ApŚ, it is thru them that the desired result is expected Cf *rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām*, in a similar context, for which one ms of MŚ also reads *rāyaspoṣāya* Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412

ā yāhīma indavah RV AŚ *ā yāhy ayam indave* SV This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV may not be quite properly described as one of purpose 'Come! Here are the soma-drops' 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma'

§422 We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom, subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf Delbruck, AIS 89, where it is suggested that 'case-attraction' does not properly describe this dative)

mayah patibhyo janayah (AV °*ye*) *pariṣvaye* RV AV ApMB 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace' 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife'

§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause)

brahmadvīṣe (RV also °dvīṣah) *śarave hantavā u* RV (both) AV The nom form is preceded by *tapurmūrdhā tapatu rakṣaso ye* 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them)' See *RVR*ep on 10 125 6

2 Dative varies with nom of secondary adjective in dedications

§424 In dedicatory expressions (cf §126), the deity may be expressed either by the dative or by the nominative of a secondary adjective, these variants resemble some of those quoted above in §420, except that the dative is not one of purpose

kapota (MS °tā) *ulūkah śaśas te nīrṛtya* (TA KSA *nīrṛtāh*) VS TS MS KSA 'These are for Nīrṛti (Nīrṛti's)'

vāyusantṛbhyām āgomugbhyām payah MS *vāyosāvitra āgo° caruh* TS KSA P p of TS *vāyosāvitrah* On the formation see VV 2 §716 *ātir* (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA

3 Dative varying with nominative of independent statement

§425 Like other cases (cf §§32-8), a dative may be replaced by a nominative of independent statement, or vice versa

tasmā etam bharata tadvasāya (and, *tadvaso dadih*) RV (both) 'Bring this to him who desires it' 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous'

§426 Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause

agninetrebhyo devebhyah purahsadbhyah svāhā VS ŚB *ye devā agninetrāh purahsadas tebhyah svāhā* VS ŚB *ye devāh purahsado agninetrā* (KS 'gni°) *rakṣohanas tebhyah svāhā* MS KS *ye devāh purahsado 'gninetrā tebhyo namas tebhyah svāhā* TS Others similar (VS 9 35-6, MS 2 6 3, KS 15 2)

namo vah pitaro ghorāya (VSK adds *manyave*) VS VSK TS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG *namo vah pitaro yad ghoram tasmai* AV MS And, in same passage *namo vah pitaro jīvāya* VS TS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG *namo vah pitaro yaj jīvam tasmai* VSK MS Note the difference in phraseology in VSK

4 Phrase inflection

§427 There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom and dat , in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2)

patir (VS ŚB *patye*) *viśvasya bhūmanah* RV SV VS KS ŚB Followed in RV SV KS by *vy akhyad rodasī ubhe*, in VS ŚB by *juhomi viśvakarmane*

sahasrākṣāyāmartya AV *sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV Preceded respectively by *namas te rudra kṛnmah*, and *anyatrāsman ny ucyatu*

prāci dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣitādityā iṣavah AV *prācyai tvā dīse gnaye 'dhipataye 'sitāya rakṣitra ādityāyeṣumate* AV The first is followed by *tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyas* etc , the second by *etam paridadmah* Similar variants in the five following verses, see Conc under *dakṣināyai tvā* , *prāciyai tvā* , *udīcyai tvā* , *dhruvāyai tvā* , *ūrdhvāyai tvā*

janāya vṛktabarhiṣe RV *janāso vṛktabarhiṣah* RV Different contexts *stotāra indra gīrvanah* RV SV *stotṛbhya indra gīrvanah* RV The nom is preceded by *vayam ghā te api śmasi*, the dat by *yad dītsasi stuto magham*

5 Transfer of epithet

§428 The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14) We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet' In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun Cf §15

tasmā u brahmanas patih RV KS *ayam ca brahmanas patih* AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ Preceded by *tasmā somo (devā) adhī bravat (bruvan)* The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god 'And him (may) Brahmanaspati (bless)' 'and (may) B here (bless him)'

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS °*patih*, KB ŚŚ °*pateh*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KS In all preceded by *juṣṭo vāco (vāce) bhūyāsam* 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech' in MS, 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech'

vyam te rān mitrāya (KS *mitro*) *yantāsi tṛyamanah* VS KS ŚB 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS, a guiding friendly controller)' We suspect that KS is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following nouns

pitarah pitāmahāḥ pare vare (KS *'varebhyas*) *te nah pāntu* (MS omits *te nah p^o*) *te no 'vantu* TS MS KS 'Let the fathers the earlier and the later, guard us' In KS *avarebhyas* is made to refer to the petitioners 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us' Note however that we should expect an acc agreeing with the following *nah*

§429 Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are

suprāvyē (AV *'vyā*) *yajamānāya sunvate* RV AV Preceded by *aham dadhāmi dravinam* (AV *'nā*) *haviṣmale* RV makes *su^o* go with *yajā^o* *sunvate* 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma' Whitney adopts the RV reading following the AV comm and one ms, but notes that AVPr 4 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was *suprāvya* It may be taken either as acc pl neut with *dravinā*, or better as nom sg fem with the subject In any case it must be derived not from the stem *suprāvi* but from its equivalent *suprāvya* (RV)

ūrnāmādā yuvatir (AV *'mrādāḥ pṛthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA *'vatī*) RV AV TA 'The maiden (earth, this is what RV TA also mean) soft as wool to him that gives *dakṣiṇā*', in TA the epithet 'possessed of *dakṣiṇā*' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous' *varīśvānarāya matir navyasī* (ArS *'se*) *sucih* RV ArS In ArS the epithet is transferred from *matir* to *varīśvā^o*

tu asmā (KS *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ and v 1 of MS *'yo*) *dravinam* (KS *'nāni*) *dattvā* MS KS ApŚ 'They, giving wealth to this Agni' 'these Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer)' The subject *te* refers to Agnis just mentioned, hence the secondary *agnayo* by attraction

nābhā samdāyī navyasī (SV *'dāya navyase*) RV SV Preceded by *yad dha krānā vivasvatī* (SV *'te*) In RV *navyasī* agrees with the subject of *samdāyī* (Oldenberg understands *nābhāḥ*), in SV with *vivasvate* The stanza is somewhat problematic in both

§430 Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following, in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective) Cf §15

- āre te goghnam uta pūruṣagham* RV *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghe* TS
See under *kṣayadvīra* (TS °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* (which follows this), §359 'Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy man-killing' (RV) In TS the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with *te* (Rudra)
- rāyas poṣam cikūṣe* (AV °*ṣi*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS
ŚŚ 'Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth' 'let her grant to the wise' Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with *dākuṣe* of the preceding pāda (in Ppp and all others but not in AVŚ, which has a quite different pāda c)
- rātri* (KS v 1 *rātrih*, TB *rātrī*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣi*) RV
KS TB The epithet (in RV referring to some unspecified 'conqueror') is transferred to Night

6 Miscellaneous

- §431 The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable
- ādityās* (MS °*yebhyas*) *tvā prabhāntu* (MS *prabhānu*) *jāgatena chandasa* TS MS 'Let the Ādityas pluck thee forth' 'I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas'
- yathānam jarase nayāt* AV *athānam jarimā nayet* HG The latter is evidently poor, perhaps 'then may old age lead him'? Or is it felt as *jarim ānayet*, as if involving a stem **jarī*? Note lingual *n* in *nayet*!
- īyam* (AV MS *yā*) *teṣām avayā durīṣṭyar* (AV MS *durīṣṭh*) AV TS MS Followed by *sviṣṭm nas tām* (AV wrongly *tān*) *kṛnotu* (AV *kṛnavad*) *viśvakarmā* (MS *vi° kṛnotu*) Ppp has *yā durīṣṭā*, *sviṣṭam tad vi° kṛ°* TS 'this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it for us a perfect sacrifice' AV MS could apparently only mean 'that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it' This does not fit the requirements, it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption Whitney emends to *durīṣṭeh* Ppp *durīṣṭā* might be interpreted as a loc of *durīṣṭi*, 'in case of an imperfect sacrifice', conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom sg fem of *durīṣṭā*) led to the further change to *durīṣṭh*
- yathā prthivyām agnaye samanāman evā mahyam samnamah sam namantu* AV *yathāgnih prthivyā samanamad evam mahyam bhadrāh samnatayah samnamantu* TS KS † 5 20 And others in the same passage

vāk patamgāya dhīyate (TS *śiśriye*, MS *hūyate*) RV AV SV ArS VS
 TS MS ŚB *vāk patamgo aśiśriyat* (KS **gā aśiśrayuh*) AV KS
 The verse is desperately obscure, we can contribute nothing to its
 elucidation

eka eva rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyah N *eka eva rudro* (ŚvetU *eko hi ru*°,
 ŚirasU *eko ru*°) *na dvitīyāya tasthe* (ŚvetU *tasthuh*, ŚirasU *tasmai*,
 but Poona ed with comm *tasthau*) TS ApŚ ŚvetU ŚirasU In
 N 'one only is Rudra, there is no second existent', in the others,
 'one is Rudra, he does not (or they, indefinite, do not) tolerate
 ('stand for', Hume) a second' Add to VV 1 §§76, 359

[*kanyakumāryan* (TA **māri*, Poona ed **māri*) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU
 See §361]

[*jyēṣṭhāya* (ŚŚ *jyēṣṭho*) *yad apracetāh* AV ŚŚ But AV mss *jyēṣṭho*]

CHAPTER XVII

NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

A *Nominative and ablative*

1 Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive active)

§432 Variations between these two cases are few and scattering. Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases. In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root *jan* 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root. The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf §40)

ayam var tvām ajanayad ŚŚ *asmād var tvam ajāyathā* JB AG
Kauś asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'sṛ VS ŚB TA KŚ Karmap 'He has begotten thee' 'thou wast produced from him'

2 Independent nominative and dependent ablative

§433 The variants found here belong to §§32-8. In the first the relative pronoun justifies construction of the nom. as independent, tho it is really equivalent in sense to the dependent abl., cf §32, end. This meaning is probably more likely to be right than the alternative interpretation which would make the nom. correlative with the subject of *chumbhantu*, a construction impossible in the locative form of the variant. Cf §§450, 669

(*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp *agnih samkusikaś ca yah*) AV Ppp (*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp as before) AV Ppp 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S'

vṛṇo (vṛṇoh, vṛṇos) sthānam asṛ (MS MŚ *sthāmāṣṛ*, KS *sthāmnah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. In KS construed with the following, *ita indro vīryam akr̥not*. According to ApŚ also the two are connected in sense, see Keith, *HOS* 18 p. 14 n. 2

3 Phrase inflection

§434 We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf §§21-2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun

pāpebhyāś ca pratigrahaḥ (RVKh °hāt) RVKh TA MahānU BDh
The contexts are different tho similar

4 Transfer of epithet

§435 This occurs a few times, in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case

pra skannāḥ (KS *skannam*, v 1 °nāñ) *jāyatām havih* KS KŚ ApŚ
Probably the abl is original 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground)' If KS really intends a nom, it would agree with *havih* 'let the oblation that has fallen be born'

ud asya śuśmād bhānur nārta (MS *bhānor nāvyaḥ*) RV MS TA ApŚ
In the original *bhānu* is applied in the simile to Agni, subject of the verb In MS it seems to apply to *śuśmād* (Understand doubtless *na avyāḥ*, despite p p which does not divide)

pāpāt (KŚ *pāpah*) *svapnyād* (KŚ °nād) *abhūtyāḥ* (KŚ °yaḥ) AV KŚ
Preceded by *paryāvarte duḥsvapnyāt* In KŚ *pāpa* seems to be transferred to the subject

apahato 'aruh prthivyā adevayaṇanah (*prthivyā devayaṇanyar*) TS ApŚ
(both in each) The epithet is (altered and) transferred from *araru* to *prthivī*, or vice versa

§436 In another case the original, and perhaps only correct form of the variant shows an ablative which is independently construed, while the nominative form (if textually sound) is attracted into agreement with the subject Cf §15

parāmṛtāḥ (TA °mṛtāḥ) *parimucyanti sarve* TA MahānU MundU KaivU
The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahānU, and by the Poona ed (*Upaṇiṣadām Samuccayah*) in KaivU Deussen understands 'the immortal' from which 'all are freed' as *prakṛti*, 'material nature' If the nom is read it would apply to the subject in a pregnant sense '(so as to be) immortal'

5 Miscellaneous

§437 The rest are unclassifiable, some are under suspicion of corruption

adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ (TA ApŚ *sambhūtaḥ*) *prthivyā* (KS † MS °vyā)

rasāc ca (KS *rasah*) VS KS MS TA ApŚ Followed by *viśvakarmanah samavartatādhi* (VS ^o*tāgre*) Comm on VS supplies *yo rasah* as subject, the KS reading is doubtless secondary (certainly unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like understanding of the passage In fact, however, the original subject must have been the *puruṣa*, understood from the original context *gārhapatyah* (ŚŚ ^o*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamah* VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *āyam agnir grhapatiḥ* Original 'he, Agni Gārhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to our offspring' ŚŚ seems to mean 'he, Agni, is house-lord, most liberal dispenser of good things from the gārhapatya-fire to our offspring' This is barely intelligible

madhu reto (KS *madhur ato*, TS *madhor ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātu asmān* TS MS KS AŚ KS has the simplest and, in this case, probably the original reading 'let Madhu and Mādhava (the two spring months) protect me' TS 'let Mādhava protect us after (or, from) Madhu' MS AŚ seem likely to contain a corruption, MS p p *madhuh, amtah*, pointing towards the KS reading As it stands the reading may be rendered 'let the sweet seed and Mādhava protect us', or 'let Mādhava protect the sweet seed and us' Either is bathetic, but perhaps no worse than many Yajus passages

nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yaūṣam MS *nakṣatrānām mā samkāśaḥ ca pratikāśaḥ cāvatām* Vait Kauś 'May I not be cut off from the presence of the nakṣatras' 'may the presence and the gleam of the nakṣatras aid me'

satyā tā dharmanas patī ApŚ *satyād ā (satyādā?) dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, Vait MŚ *dharmanas* [but MŚ mss *dharmanā*] *pari*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ See VV 2 §65

apāraram adevayajanam prīhvyā ṛdevayajanāḥ (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ Caland would read *adevayajanāḥ* (acc pl masc) in both We too find ApŚ uninterpretable, since *adevayajano* can scarcely fit the subject of *jahi* But KS could mean 'Smite away Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the sacrifice to the gods' Caland, like the Conc, misquotes KS as *adevayajanāḥ*

mṛtyur (!) me pāhi TAA *mṛtyor mā pāhi* TS MS KS TB AŚ Comm on TAA says that *mṛtyur* is for *mṛtyor*, *vyatyajena* The variant should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716

satyā eṣām (AŚ *etā*) *āśiyah santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB HG *kāmāḥ*, SMB Jorgensen *kāmāḥ*, one ms *kāmāt*, AG *santu sarve*, VS *samnaman-*

tām) VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG See §412 The abl could mean 'according to their desire', like the instr

B *Nominative and genitive*

1 Partitive genitive and nominative

§438 First among the nominative-genitive variants may be put a group of cases where the two forms are virtual synonyms. Namely in one form is used a partitive genitive (almost appositional at times), depending on a nominative, while in the other the two words are both nominatives, in syntactic agreement (See §84). Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as *dakṣiṇā* (and *prācī*, *ūrdhvā*, *pratīcī*, *utācī*) *dik*, 'the southern (etc.) quarter', AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB. Besides this list, TS also has one with the variant *daśām* in each case 'the southern (etc.) one of the quarters'. Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS MS KS ŚB have *vasanta* (and *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *śarad*) *ṛtuh*, and *hemanta*-*śirāv* (*°rā*) *ṛtū*, 'the spring (etc.) season', while TS in each instance reads *ṛtūnām*, 'the spring (etc.) of the seasons'.

§439 Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following
subhūr asi (ŚŚ *subhūr nāmāsi*) *sreṣṭho rasmar* PB ŚŚ *subhūr asi śreṣṭho rasminām* TS ApŚ *svayambhūr asi sreṣṭho raśmah*
 VS MS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ 'The best ray' 'the best of rays'
yathāmī (RVKh *yathāmīśām*, AV *yathaiśām*, SV *yathasteśām*) *anyo anyam na jānan* (KVKh AV SV *jānāt*) RVKh AV SV VS 'That those may not know the one the other' 'that of those one may not know the other'

trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt KS † *trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB ApŚ *yad bhuvanasya* must mean the same as *bhuvanam yad*, 'what land'

yās (TS *yeśām*) *tisrah prathamagāh* (TS KS TA *paramagāh*) TS MS KS TA In TS preceded by *ye grahāḥ pañcaganīnāḥ* 'what cups pertain to the five peoples (i.e. are five in number, cf. Keith's note), of which three are first-born'. Followed by *teśām (tāsām) iśam ūrjam sam agrabhīm*. The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number 'five'. On the fem. gender see §835.

amṛtasya nidhūr hitah RV TB TA *amṛtam nidhutam guhā* SV Preceded by *yad ado vāta te grhe* 'What store of nectar is placed in thy house' 'what nectar is placed in secret in thy house'.

mutrah satyānām (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Parallel formulas have gen. even in VS. It is not certain that they are partitives, cf. *mutra satyānām pate* (*°nām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ (in different contexts, to be sure).

Here we place also the following, tho the TS is poor and less close in meaning to the original

yad enaś cakrṇān baddha ṛṣa AV *eno mahac cakrṇān baddha ṛṣa* MS
enas cakrṇān mahi baddha eṣām TS The last seems to mean 'the
 one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound', other-
 wise Keith Undoubtedly *eṣa* is the proper form

2 Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative

§440 Not very different from these are a group in which the genitive is no longer partitive but rather descriptive or possessive, and so substantially equivalent to a nominative epithet of the subject, which may vary with it (cf. §85)

vṛṣāsy ūrmih TS TB *vṛṣormir asī* MS KS MŚ *vṛṣṇa ūrmir asī*
rāṣṭradāh VS ŚB 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave) '

martānām (AV *martāsas*) *cīd urvaśir akṣpran* RV AV 'Even of (or,
 for) mortals Urvaśis (even mortal Urvaśis) have been fashioned '
 See Bloomfield, JAOS 20 183

pratiṣṭhe stho devate (MG *devate dyāvōprthwī*, ApMB *devatānām*) *mā mā samtāptam* HG ApMB MG 'You (a pair of shoes) are
 standing-places, deities (of the deities) '

mā no rakṣo abhi nad yātumāvātām (AV *°māvat*) RV AV The varia-
 tion accompanies a change in the meaning of *rakṣas* (abstract in
 RV, but in AV used in its later concrete sense) 'Let not the
 injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, *rahṣas*) get at us '

apam sakhā (GB *yonih*) *prathamajā ṛtāvā* (GB *ṛtasya*) RV GB Here
 the nom. of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive 'first-
 born, ṛta-full' or 'first-born of the ṛta' GB quite naturally falls
 into the familiar rigmarole expression *prathamajā ṛtasya* instead of
 the RV phrase, which is more recherché, so much so, indeed, that
 Grassmann was moved to suggest that *ṛtasya* should be read for
ṛtāvā in the two places where the phrase occurs

§441 In a different way the two variants result in the same meaning
 when the possessive genitive with an abstract noun varies with a nomi-
 native plus the nominative of a corresponding concrete, in predicate
 relationship

yāvās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB *yāvānām cāyāvānām*
cādhipatyam āsīt TS 'The Y and A were overlords' 'the over-
 lordship belonged to the Y and A '

ta (MS *ta u*) *evādhipataya āsan* VS MS KS ŚB *teṣām ādhipatyam*
āsīt TS 'These same were overlords' 'theirs was the over-
 lordship '

§442 In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant. Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the genitive depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive.

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vīdat (MG *riśat*, mss. mostly *riśak*) PG MG *yaśo bhagasya vīdatu* ArS 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG, doubtless original. ArS makes *yaśo* object, and *bhagaś ca* is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen. 'let him find glory of fortune'. The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different. *parimam yajamānam rāyo manuṣyānām* VS ŚB *parimam rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāh* TS *parimam yajamānam manuṣyāh saha rāyas poṣena prajāyā ca vyayanlām* MS *parimam rāyo manuṣyam* KS. Only the relations of VS and TS concern us here (for MS see §412, for KS §402). The former 'riches (subject) of humans'. The latter 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects, §402). *āpah prajāpatiḥ yajñō* (ApŚ *prajāpateh prānā*) *yajñasya bheṣajam aśi* (ApŚ omits *aśi*) KŚ ApŚ 'Thou art the waters, Prajāpati, sacrifice, 'the waters are Prajāpati's life-breaths'. Here ApŚ substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction.

ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā (VS *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīve*, MS *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve*) *bṛhadrathamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS † *kalpantām*) VS TS MS. In all preceded by a long list of nouns, parallel subjects of the verb. By a clearly secondary distortion (with phonetic aspects, VV 2 §§803, 840) TS allows a discordant phrase to intrude, changing the following word to a different one. Original 'May the vrata, day and night, thighs and knees, the Brhat and Rathamtara sāmans, prosper for me thru the sacrifice'. TS 'May the vrata by the rain of day and night, the Brhat' etc.

§443 Such cases shade off into a rather miscellaneous group in which the genitive (possessive or vaguely descriptive) no longer depends on the nominative with which, in the other form of the variant, the other nominative (replacing the genitive) is somehow correlated. The only connecting link in this group is this: of two nominatives, correlative subjects or subject and predicate, in one form of the variant, one is replaced in the other form by a genitive dependent on some other word than the remaining nominative. Thus

[*dyutānas* (MS KS *nītānas*) *tvā māruṭo minotu* (MS KS *nīhantu*)]

mitrāvarunau (TS KS °*varunayor*) *dhruvena dharmanā* VS TS MS KS ŚB [*varunas tvā dhṛtawrato dhūpayatu* (TA °*vrata ādhūpayatu*)] *mitrāvarunau* (TA °*varunayor*) *dhru° dhar°* MS TA [Conc fails to divide these sentences properly] 'Let Dyutāna (Nītāna) fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuna with firm ordinance (or, with the firm ordinance of M-V)'

vi śloka etu (*eti, ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (*sūrih, sūrah, sūrah*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU See §419

agnir hotā vetu (ŚB and TB Poona ed *vettu*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (*vettu*) *prāvitrām* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Let Agni the hotar enjoy (know), let Agni enjoy (know) the office of hotar' 'let Agni the hotar enjoy (know) Agni's office of hotar'

daṁve vede ca gāthīnām (ŚŚ °*nāh*) AB ŚŚ Preceded by *adhīyata* (ŚŚ °*te*) *devarāto, rikhayor ubhayor ṛṣih, jahnūnam cādhipatyē* (ŚŚ *cādhitasthīre*) See Keith, *HOS* 25 308 n 8 In ŚŚ what was originally possessive gen ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthun[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject

pitaro nārāśansah sannah (VSK *sādyamanah*) VS VSK *pitaro nārāśansah* KS *pitṛnām nārāśansah* TS Soma is referred to, it is 'when settled, the Nārāśansa fathers' (VS VSK), 'the fathers, as Nārāśansa' (KS), 'Nārāśansa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS) All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense

vāyuh pūtah pavtreṇa VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *vāyoh* AV VS VSK MS ŚB Kauś The contexts are the same, *pūtah* applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect fac, it turns *vāyuh* into a gen, 'purified by Vāyu's strainer'

§444 Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word

śiva no astv aditer (TS KS °*itr*) *upasthe* TS MS KS AŚ *aditer upasthe* is a standard cadence (see e.g. *RVRep* 659), and *upasthe* without a dependent gen is scarcely conceivable The orig must have meant 'may she (the Viṣṇupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of Aditi' In TS KS there is felt to be need of a specific name of the deity referred to by the preceding series of nom epithets, hence *aditur* is substituted for *aditer*, by a sort of case attraction

yena dhātā brhaspateh (ŚG °*tih*) VSK AG (1 17 12a) ŚG *yena pūṣṭ brhaspateh* SMB GG ApMB HG MG Followed by *indrasya*

cāvapac chiraḥ, the *ca* here confirms the obvious secondariness of ŚG, which clearly has assimilated *bṛhaspateḥ* to the case of *dhātā mātā* (MS *mātur*) *mātari mātā* MS KS ApŚ. Preceded by *prthivī prthivyām sīda*, with which the first *mātā* doubtless goes in sense 'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother'. In MS 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother'. If MS is original, the other form may have assimilated *mātur* to *mātā*, but anything is possible in such rignmarole.

cakṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam AV *cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdihau* TS *cakṣuṣa* in TS's lect fac may be partly due to formal assimilation to *manasaś*.

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV *supratīkah sasūnuḥ*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB. The gen of the YV texts agrees with the preceding *agneḥ*. In AV (but not in Ppp, which agrees with the rest) a closer connection is sought with the following noms (*tanūnapāt* etc.), beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni. See Whitney on 5.27.1.

3 Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§445 As with other cases (§§32-8), so with the genitive, a nominative out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship of any kind. Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it. Thus *agner aham sviṣṭakṛto devayajyayāyuh pratiṣṭhām gameyam* KS *agneḥ sviṣṭakṛto ham devayajyayāyusmān yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* TS *agnih sviṣṭakṛd yajñasya pratiṣṭhā tasyāham devayajyayā yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* MŚ. Note *tasya* in MŚ, resuming *agnih*. *agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān* (and, *vrtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS ApŚ *agnīṣomau vrtrahanau tayor* (MŚ *vrtrahanāv agnīṣomayor*) *aḥam devayajyayā vrtrahā bhūyāsam* KS MŚ *somasyāham devayajyayā reto dhiṣīya (dhe)* TS ApŚ MŚ *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā reto dhiṣīya* KS *catuspāda uta ye dvīpādah* KS MŚ *catuspādām uta yo* (TS *ca*) *dvīpādām* AV TS. Preceded by *yeṣām* (AV *ya*) *īṣe paśupatiḥ paśūnām* AV looks original, the gen depends on *īṣe*. In ultimate sense KS MŚ mean the same.

devānām patnīr agnir gṛhapatir yajñasya muthunam (KS *patir muthunam yojamānasya*) *tayor aham devayajyayā* TS KS *devānām patnīnām aham devayajyayā* MŚ.

vikṛptī yā (and, *vikṛptyā*) *brhaspate* AV (both) In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical Whitney would emend *vikṛptyā(s)* to *vikṛptī yā*, but it is quite construable as partitive gen depending on *akṛtyāt* of pāda c 'of the *vikṛptī* (cow) he shall not eat' The relative clause paraphrases the same sense The variation has phonetic aspects VV 2 §791a

4 Transfer of epithet

§446 The usual group of variants due to 'transfer of epithet' (§14) appears here also We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies

na va *śvetasyādhyācare* (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG *dadarsa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* Most texts 'In the domain of the white one (the serpent-demon) a serpent has killed no one' or the like AG (by a phonetic shift, VV 2 §188) makes *sveta* an epithet of *ahir* 'In the house (?) the white serpent has killed nothing' The original genitive is, strictly, no 'epithet' of any expressed word, so that the variant perhaps belongs in §448 *adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanah* (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhvanah*, MG † *śreṣṭhyasya svastyasyādhvanah*, see VV 2 §707) *pāram aśiya* AŚ ApMB MG In AŚ *śreṣṭhah* is an epithet of the subject, in ApMB it becomes an epithet of *adhvanah*

viprasya dhārayā kamh RV *viprah sa dhārayā suta* SV In RV *viprasya* is the human priest, SV transfers it to Soma (cf VV 2 §189)

pibā sutasya matir na (AV *mater iha*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ In either reading the meaning is obscure, if there is no corruption, this much is certain, that *matir* must refer to the subject of *piba*, and *mater* to *sutasya*

vipra viprasya brhato mpaścītah RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU *vipro viprasya sahaso mpaścī* AV In the original 'The priests of the great wise priest' (Savitar, so if *vipas*^o be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen sg, the alternative would be to take it as nom pl with *viprah*) In AV the context is different, the pāda describes the goat that is being sacrificed 'The sage (was born from) the sage's (heat), acquainted with power or the like

viśām kavim viśpatim mānuṣīnām (and, *manuṣir iṣah*) RV (both) The gen goes with *viśām*, the nom with *iṣah*

mahāns te mahato mahimā AV *mahas te sato mahimā panasyate* (SV

paniṣṭama) RV AV SV VS. In RV etc *mahas* agrees with *te*, in the AV variant it is attracted to *mahimā*

§447 The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case
śrūtās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB TA °*per*, KS ŚŚ °*pc*) *havanaśrutah*
 MS KB (fragment) TA ŚŚ Add KS 98 in Conc In MS the
 epithet *vāt°* goes with *somā(h)*, in KB TA with *te* (= Indra), in
 KS ŚŚ with *indra* directly

yeṣām (AV Kauś ya) *īṣe paśupatiḥ paśūnām* AV TS KS MŚ Kauś
vasuḥ (TS ApMB *vasoḥ*) *vīnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV VS TS KS MS
 ApMB In TS ApMB *vasoḥ* is attracted into agreement with
saḥaso, instead of *sūnuḥ*

mahaś (TS MS KS *mahī*) *cid yasya* (TS *hy asya*, KS *devasya*) *mīdhuṣo*
yavyā (KS † 'yavyāḥ) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB The adjective
 is transferred from *yasya mīdhuṣo* to *yavyā* (*avayāḥ*)

garbho yas te yajñryah KS *yasyar* (VSK °*yās*) *te yajñrya garbhah* VS
 VSK ŚB *yasyās te harito garbhah* TS ApŚ The relative agrees
 in KS with *garbhas*, elsewhere with *te* (the cow) Followed by
yasyar (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS VSK ŚB *yonir vas te hira-*
ṇyayah KS Same conditions

śvriḥ śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS *ahann ojaśine*, KS † *sukro ahany ojasye*,
 AŚ *hany ojaśinām*) TS MS KS AŚ If *ojaśinām* is not a mere
 corruption or misprint in the (imperfect) edition, it seems to be a
 gen pl fem of a stem **ojasa*, going with *dīśām* in the preced-
 ing *pāda*

maho gotrasya kṣayatr svarājah (AV * °*jā*) RV AV (both) In RV
svarājah is gen (from *svarāj*), epithet of (neut) *gotrasya* AV,
 doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the
 nom of *svarājan*, making it an epithet of the subject

asya prānād apānati (AV * MS °*tah*) RV AV SV VS ArS TS MS
 KS ŚB *apānati* apparently goes with *rocanā* in the preceding
pāda, as nom sg fem, *apānataḥ* with *asya* See Oldenberg,
RVNoten on 10 189 2, and Whitney on AV 6 31 2

mahām (SV *mahān*) *avīnām anu pūrvyah* RV SV The adjective is
 transferred in SV from *avīnām* to the subject

īmau te pakṣāv (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatrīṇau* (VSK TS †
 KS °*nah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *īmau te pakṣāv ajarau pata-*
trīṇau Kauś The nom agrees with *pakṣau*, the gen with *te*
 The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is *patatrīṇo*,
 before a sonant see VV 2 §732

§448 Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in
 strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§15), are

- juṣṭo vācaspataye* (MS °*ṭh*, KB ŚŚ °*teḥ*, JB °*tyuh*) TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ See §428 Here is no variation of number or gender, the rest show change of one or the other
- yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih* AV *yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmih satyadharmā* TS MS KS The relative is resumed in all texts (with slight anacolouthon except in AV) by *mitrāvaruna(u)*
- agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavah* RV *agner akrṇvann uśijo amṛtyave* MS *devā akrṇvann uśijo amartyave* ApŚ In ApŚ *devā(h)*, substituted for *agner*, goes with *uśijo*
- viśvā devānām* (TS *viśvāni devo*) *janamā vvakṭi* AV TS KS 'He declares all the births of the gods' becomes in TS 'he, the god, declares all births' Ppp *viśvām devā*, looking perhaps a little in the direction of the TS reading—which however is certainly secondary
- yaj* (TS MS KS *yasya*) *jātam janitavyam* (TS MS KS *janamānam*) *ca kevalam* AV TS MS KS Preceded in AV by *yasyedam pradikṭyad virocate* 'In whose direction is what is born and to be born' In the YV texts *yasya* refers to the following *agnim* 'whose is what is born and being born'
- āvr bhuvaḍ* (ArS *bhuwann*) *arunīr yaśasā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV ArS In RV *goh* (gen sg) depends on a noun (something like 'milk') understood with *yaśasā* (adj), as Oldenberg shows, *RVNoten* on 4 1 16 In ArS it is attracted to *arunīr*, felt now as nom pl, the two words are interpreted as 'ruddy rays' The starting-point of the change is the ambiguous form *arunīr*, which in RV is nom sg

5 Miscellaneous

§449 The remaining nominative-genitive variants are hardly classifiable For the most part they concern rather radical reconstructions of very varied character In the first two the 2d personal pronoun forms *tvam* and *tava* interchange, without essential difference of sense in the first at least

- tam u tvam* (SV *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV SV Preceded by *yud dha tyam māyānam mṛgam tava*, of course, goes with *māyayā*
- hastagrābhasya dudhāṣos* (AV *da°*) *tavedam* (TA *tvam etat*) RV AV TA Followed by *patyur janitvam abhi sambabhūtha* (TA °*bhūva*) 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband who takes thy hand' On the verb form of TA cf VV 1 p 178 It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of

forms with subject *bhavān* (*bhavatī*), which would be in effect 2d person (comm glosses as a 2d person) If this be held too violent an assumption with *tvam* preceding as subject, the preceding pāda may be taken as a separate sentence 'thou belongest to a second husband who takes thy hand'

vayam te rudrā syāma RV *vayam vām mtrā syāma* SV 'May we be such (yours)', *tē*, n pl

ayah(h)sthūnam (TS °nāv) *udtā* (TS MS KS. °tau) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indra*) *udathah sūryas ca* VS ŚB See VV 2 §188

vider agner nabho nāma VSK ŚBK *vider* (*vided*) *agnir* (*agne*) , see §333

upasthāśānām mtravad astv ojah TS MS AŚ *upasthāśa mtravatīdam ojah* KS Both TS and MS accent *upasthā'shānām*, i.e. *upasthā'ā'sh°*, but MS p p apparently misunderstands and reads *upasthe ā'sh°* KS has no accents The meaning of *upasthā'* is obscure, on AV 12 1 62 Whitney renders *upasthā's te* by 'standers upon thee', which is purely etymological, Ludwig and Bloomfield, 'thy laps', which would imply *upasthās* Keith on TS renders 'the stay of the earth', implying that this phrase is equivalent to *dhartrī dīśām*, the subject in the preceding pāda Whatever the meaning, in MS TS AŚ *upasthāśānām* goes with the preceding, while in KS *āsā* is to be taken either as a further epithet of *dhartrī* in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence

anu sūrya uśaso anu raśmīn AV *anu sūryasya purutā ca raśmīn* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB '(Agni has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays' '(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun'

garbham āśvatary asahāsau PG *garbham āśvataryā va* ApMB HG *prathamachad* (KS *parama°*) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV VS TS MS KS The nom is an epithet of the subject (Viśvakarman) Keith on TS 'hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense

brahma varma mamāntaram RV AV SV ApŚ *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ

yā (MS *ya*) *yaśo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NilarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS 'What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers' '(serpents) in which are sorcerers' On KS cf VV 2 §990 *stomo yajñas ca* (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °tah) RV TB See VV 2 §188

220 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

śrñwantu (TS ŚvetU °tu) *viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ* (AV *amṛtāsa elat*) RV
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

dhīyā martah śasamate (SV *martasya śamataḥ*) RV SV Preceded by
rdhad yas te sudānave RV , *sa ghā yas te divo narah* SV See VV 2
§189

yasya śrutarvā brhann [ārḥṣo anika edhata] RV *ya sma śrutarvann*
ārḥṣye [brhadanika idhyate] SV

nedīya it sṛnyah (TS † *sṛnyā*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV *ā yavan*, TS MS KS
āyat) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N See §589 Without
change of form, AV reinterprets the originally genitive sg form
(‘may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer’) as a nom pl ‘may
the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer’

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnāni (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām*
anu dattānṛnāni MS The latter is a phonetic corruption, VV 2
§237

pādo ‘syehābhavat (AV *pādasye*°, TA † °*bhavāt*, both edd , add to VY I
§137) *punah* RV AV ArS VS TA Whitney adopts the nom
with comm and a few mss The gen seems not construable
somah prathamō vivide RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jāyā prathamam*
AV See §404

[*tasya mṛtyuś* (KS *mṛtyoś*, but read *mṛtyus* with two mss , TB *mṛtyau*)
carati rājasūyam AV KS TB]

[*agnīṣ tad dhotā kratund vijānan* RV KB TB ApŚ Conc wrongly
janānām for *vijānan* in KB]

CHAPTER XVIII

NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

1 Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450 Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous. Except for the usual group of 'transfers of epithet', few of them fall into recognizable categories. A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative, the first example is particularly simple and clear, in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary

krte yonau (KS *krto yonur*) *vapateha bījam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'In the prepared womb scatter here the seed' 'the womb is prepared, scatter' etc

nābhā prthivyāh samadhāne agnau (MS KS *samadhāno agnim*, TS *samadhānam agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §393

(*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp *agnih samkusikāś ca yah*) AV Ppp (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp as before) AV Ppp On the interpretation of AV see §§433, 669 Whitney considers Ppp the correct reading. The same sense must be intended in both 'and (wipe off) on Agni S'

§451 Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning ('in the atmosphere, in the earth' 'atmospheric, earthly')

antarikṣa uta vā prthivyām AV *yā antarikṣa uta pārthivīr yāh* TB ApŚ *yā antarikṣyā uta pārthivāsah* (AG *pārthivīr yāh*) KS AG The ms of Ppp has *āntarikṣa uta pārthivā yāh*, for the first word we may read *antarikṣa* with Barret, or perhaps better *āntarikṣā* (adjective)

2 Phrase-inflection

§452 One case may be called an instance of 'phrase-inflection', the *pāda* is repeated in (here three) different contexts, requiring change in the case-form

sūtāsa indra girvanah RV 8 95 2b *sūtāṣv indra girvanah* RV SV

3 Case attraction

§453 A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word. Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'

gahanam (ŚB °ne) *yad inakṣat* RV VS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ. Preceded by *dūre cattāya chantsat* 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing' 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached'. Apparently ŚB assimilates to the case of *dūre*. Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB from even VS as well as all other texts.

rūpam indre (MS *indro*) *hiranyayam* VS MS TB. The subjects in the original are Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhārati, who are to put *rūpam hiranyayam* upon Indra. In MS Indra is attracted to the case of the subject nouns and treated as a supplementary subject, no loc being expressed.

utthā hi soma in made (SV *madah*) RV SV AB KB ŚB AA AŚ ŚŚ. Followed in RV SV by *brahmā* (SV °ma) *cakāra vardhanam*. In RV the subject is *brahmā* alone, *soma* (= some) and *made* locs, in SV *soma* (= somah) and *madah* are coordinate subjects. *vardhamāno* (TS °nam) *mahān* (TS MS *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS °ram) VS TS MS KS ŚB. The loc is clearly original, it is apparently to be construed with *ā*, 'on the lotus leaf', altho *ā* regularly follows a loc. In TS both *vardha*° and *puṣ*° are made noms, this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837), undoubtedly the noms of the preceding half line have helped in the change. It is not clear how TS understands *ā*.

4 Transfer of epithet

§454 The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur, in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case.

ā haryato arjune (SV °no) *atke avyata* RV SV. In RV the adjective agrees with *atke*, in SV it is transferred to the subject, *Soma*. *tatrāpi dahre* (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam viśokah* (TA comm and Poona ed text with v l °kam) TA MahānU [TAA 10 12 3, Poona ed, reads *viśokah* in text and comm, the latter calmly refers it to *brahma* without explanation]. In TA *dahre* goes with *tatra*, which refers back to *dahram* in the preceding 'in that small place'. In MahānU *dahram* is an epithet of *gaganam*.

śarman (MS °*mana*) *te syāma* (VS *tava syāma sarmanas*, TS *tava syām śarman*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhut*) VS TS MS KS TA In TS *udbhut* is an epithet of the subject, in the others *udbhau* is loc with *śarman* (Comm on VS understands it as from a stem *ud-bh!* He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhū* The stem is of course *udbhū*, declined as a short *u* stem) In all-but TS *trivarūtha* stands for °*the* and goes with *śarman* In TS it might also be so interpreted, but p p °*thah*, nom, and so Keith

tvam śamudram prathamō vi dhārayah (SV *samudrah prathame vidharman*) RV SV See §402, end

asūrte (MS KS °*tā*, KapS °*tāh*) *sūrte rajasī nṣatte* (MS °*tā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS KapS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajasō vimāne* TS See Oldenberg, *Prol* 313, and *RVNoten* on 10 82 4 Certainly both *asūrte* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *nṣatte*, go with *rajasī*, *asūrtā* is transferred to *bhūtāni*, *asūrtāh* to *ṛsayah*, either *nṣattā* or °*tāh* is possible, referring to either of these nouns

priyo (TB ApS °*priye*) *devānām parama janitre* (AV TA °*adhas*the) RV AV SV KS TB TA ApS MŚ Addressed to the spirit of the dead man, *edhi* precedes The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*

dhruvadhī poṣyā (PG °*poṣye*) *mayi RVKh* SG PG ApMB 'Be thou steadfast with me, prosperous' We take *poṣye* as loc with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc fem addressed to the bride (which is also possible, in that case this variant would belong in §334)

arepasah sacetasah (etc) *svasare manyumatlamās* (SV ApS *manyumantaś*) *cite goh* (SV *citā goh*, ApS *cidākoh*) AV SV ApS MŚ A very obscure verse, in AV *cite* must clearly go with *svasare*, in SV with *arepasah* etc (here nom masc, tho in AV apparently acc fem) On ApS see VV 2 §§47, 61

vivṛttucukrā āśināh HG ApMB (epithets of *prajāh*) *avimuktacakra* (v 1 °*rā*) *āśiran* PG *nivṛttacakrāsau* AG (here an independent sentence, with *nadī* understood, in Conc under *some no*) If °*cakra* is the true reading of PG, it may be a voc fem agreeing with the name of a river to be supplied for the following *asau* (so Oldenberg), or it may be loc with the following *tīre*

viśve devā ansuṣu nyuptah (VSK *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK 'He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the *ansus* (when the *ansus* are offered)' Reference is made to the *graha* called *ansu* (ŚB 4 6 1 1 ff) Probably VSK is original

śucih śukre ahany ojasinā (MS *ahann ojasine*, KS *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasinām*) TS MS KS AŚ *ojasinā* is nom fem agreeing with *ugrā* (sc *dik*) of the preceding, *ojasine* and *'sye* go with *ahann* (*ahany*) *śukre* goes with the latter, *śukro* of KS (and presumably *śucih* which in the others goes with *ugrā*) apparently goes with *indra* of the following (*indrādhīpatyairah piprāt*)

samsr̥ṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu MS *samsr̥ṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS See §548

§455 The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15) We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject The nom seems to be always secondary in this group All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case *urukṣayāh sajanā mānuṣāsah* (TS *'ṣeṣu*) AV TS We take it that TS is original 'widely dwelling with their troops among men' The AV assimilates to the preceding noms, making *mān*^o an epithet of the subject, the Maruts

na yonā (TS *yonāv*, KS *yonir*) *uṣāsānaktā* (KS *'naktāgneḥ*) VS TS MS KS The verse deals with Agni 'Dawn and night, as in his native place' In KS *yonir* is made to agree with *uṣāsānaktā*, called 'the native place' of Agni

sūr asī suvanasya retah (MS *retā iṣṭakā svargo lokah*) MS ApŚ *sūr asī svar aṣṭṭakā svarge loke* KS 'Thou art the brick, the world of heaven (in the world)' Probably KS is orig, and MS has attracted to the case of *iṣṭakā*

ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmanu AV *ayam sahasram ānavo dṛṣah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ *'mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV comes closer to the orig (cf VV 2 §833) The nom of SV etc may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject

vājnam tvā vājno 'vanayāmah (MS *vājny avanayāmu*) MS TA ApŚ 'Thee, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour' 'thee, the whey, I pour into the strong (*mahāvīra*-vessel)' MS is doubtless orig

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS See §449

mahī nīspatnī sadane (KS *'nī*) *ṛtasya* KS TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the firesticks 'Ye that are two mighty queens, (come hither) to the seat of the *ṛta*' 'that are two seats of the *ṛta*, (come hither)' *devānām sumne bṛhate* (TB ApŚ *sumno mahale*) *ranāya* VS MS KS

ŚB TB ApŚ Preceded by *svair dakṣair* (TB ApŚ *sva dakṣe*) *dakṣapiteha śīda* The loc, 'in the favor of the gods', is made an epithet of the subject, 'agreeable to the gods' Caland adopts *sumne* in ApŚ, but this needlessly violates the clear intent of the Tait school

samveśane (noun, 'at entrance') *tanvaś* (AV *tanvā*) *cānur edhi* RV AV *samveśanas* (epithet of subject, understood as 'entering'?) *tanvai* (*tanve*) *cānur edhi* SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ

yāh parastād rocane (MS °*nāh*) *sūryasya* TS MS *yā rocane parastād sūryasya* RV VS KS ŚB 'Which, in the light-space beyond the sun' in MS, 'which bright ones, beyond the sun' Refers to waters

jyotirjarāyū rajaso vimāne (KS °*nah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Preceded by *ayam venaś codayat prśnagarbhāh* KS is secondary but by no means 'absurd' (Keith on TS), it takes the word as an epithet of the subject, meaning 'traverser' or the like, a sense familiar in RV (see e.g. 3.26.7) No need to emend KS with Raghu Vira KapŚ p. 27, n. 2, Oertel 5

§456 In a few cases, contrariwise, an original nom. epithet is changed in a secondary version to an independent locative

pūrvam devebhyo amṛtasya nābhīh (ArS *nāma*, TA TU NṛpU *nābhāyī*) ArS TB TA TU NṛpU N Preceded by *aham asmi prathamajārtasya* The nom. is original 'I am the nave of immortality' The loc. is rationalizing

ukṣā samudro (MS KS °*dre*) *arunah* (RV *aruṣah*) *suparnah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB In the original *samudra* is an epithet of the sun. This seems quite *recherché* to the redactors of MS KS, which understand it of the real ocean, the loc. is rationalizing and secondary but perfectly sensible (the verb *ānveśa* follows), and by no means to be described as a 'mere blunder' (Keith on TS)

āpir no bodhi sadhamādyo (SV °*dye*) *vr̥dhe* RV SV In RV the word is an epithet of *āpir* 'be our friend, convivial, unto increase' In SV it may be felt as agreeing with *vr̥dhe*, conceived as loc., but Benfey takes it as an independent noun, = *sadhamāde*, 'in dem Gottermahl'

5 Miscellaneous

§457 The remaining nom.-loc. variants seem hardly capable of classification, tho many of them are interesting individually

pumān putro jāyatām (ApMB ŚG *dhīyatām*) *garbho* (ŚG *garbhe*) *antah*

- HG ŚG ApMB The double meaning of *garbha*, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change Similarly
garbhe (MS *garbhah*) *sañ* (*san*, *sam*-) *jāyase punah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB As prec
yac ca kimci jagat sarvam (MahānU and TA comm *jagaty asmin*) TA MahānU 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (followed by *dṛśyate śrūyate 'pi vā*) The loc seems to be rationalizing and secondary
yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Different words, cf VV 2 §732
viśvāni yo amartyo, havyā marṣeṣu ranyati RV *viśve yasminn amartye, havyam marṣā indhate* SV 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in all offerings among mortals' 'in what immortal all mortals kindle oblation'
pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣte* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV 2 §746
vr̥ṣā vanam (ApŚ *vane*) *vr̥ṣā madah* (ApŚ *made*, SV *sutah*) RV SV ApŚ 'A bull (is) the wooden (soma-vessel), a bull the exhilaration' Addressed to soma ApŚ has a natural rationalization ('thou art) a bull in the vessel, a bull in the intoxication'
tasya mṛtyuś (KS *mṛtyoś*, read with v 1 *mṛtyuś*, TB *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV KS TB Perhaps TB means something like 'his coronation walks in the presence of death', i.e. proceeds in spite of the powers of destruction? Comm *tasya rājño mṛtyau duṣṭaśikṣā-rūpamarananamuttabhūte satī rājasūyam carati*
vājasya hi prasave (TS "vo) *nannamūti* (TS *namna*) TS MS KS Keith 'the instigation of strength is propitious' Better perhaps with active meaning (well established for *namati*) 'the impulse of strength bows (causes to bend)' MS KS perhaps, with intransitive meaning and indefinite subject 'on the impulse of strength one bows' This and the next belong to a series of mantras which show continuous play on various meanings of *vāja*
viśvam astu dravinam vājo (KS *vāje*) *asme* (KS *ṭasmīn*) RV BS TS MS KS Original 'let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be ours' KS takes *vāja* as 'struggle' 'let all wealth be (mine) in this conflict' Cf prec
apriyah prati muñcatām AV *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś *ṭmuñcatam*) AV Kauś Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies (VV 1 §30)
viṣnum agan varunam pūrvahūti AV *viṣnū agan varunā pūrvahūtau*

(MS °hūtm) VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ See §399 The loc might here be the equivalent of the acc of goal But Mahidhara takes it, probably rightly, as true loc, 'at the morning prayer', and so Griffith and Eggeling A still different interpretation is found in the comms on ŚB and TB, which make it not loc but a dual adjective going with *viṣṇū varunā*

agnir jyotir jyotir agnih SV VS MS KS etc *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* KS The contexts are different

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'He (Agni) stood upright at the sacrifice' 'the sacrifice stood upright'

ṛtasya garbhah (MS *dhāman*, KS *dhāma*) *prathamā vyūṣuṣī* TS MS KS PG 'She who first lighted up (i.e. Uṣas) was the child (abode, or the like) of the *ṛta*' 'first lighting up in the abode of the *ṛta*'

ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye SV *yasya śrutarvā bṛhan* RV See §449

yat te susīme hṛdaye (SMB PG ApMB HG °yam) KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG 'What in thy heart' 'what heart is thine' KBU 2 8 has the version *yat te susīmam hṛdayam*, see §340

yo antarīkṣa rajaso vimānah RV VS VSK TS *yad antarīkṣam rajaso vimānam* AV Different contexts, AV has used a vague reminiscence of RV 10 121 5c in a quite secondary way 'He who measures out the space in the atmosphere' 'what atmosphere measures out space'

atha visve arapā edhate grhah TS *adhā viśvāhārapa edhate grhe* VS The latter 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in the house' TS corrupt, *visve* translatable only as nom sg, cf §731, *grhah* seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject 'all (?) the house flourishes unharmed'

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānah (TA † °maham bibharat pinvamāne) AV TA *svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ Preceded by *sa bibharti pitarām pitāmahān* AV, *sa nah* (TA *tasmīnn eṣa*) *pitarām pitāmaham* TA ApŚ Both *sa* and *tasmīnn* (with which *pinvamāne* agrees) refer to *utsa* of the preceding, while *eṣa* refers to Vaiśvānara The loc of TA is almost 'absolute'

§458 There remain a few corruptions and errors

vasūni jāte janamāna (SV *jāto janimāny*) *ojasū* RV AV SV VS N Followed by *prati bhāgam na dīdhima* (SV °mah) The SV reading seems hopeless

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS *sa im*

228 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

(TS *ī*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā śarīman*) VS TS MS Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all Cf VV 2 §639
 [varṣma divah, nābhā pṛthivyāh TB varṣman divo nābhā pṛthivyāh ApŚ Poonā ed of TB correctly varṣman, a loc is necessary]
 [uta vām uśaso budhiḥ (GB budhiḥ, but Gaastra with all mss but one budhi) RV GB]

CHAPTER XIX

ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1 Associative instrumental complementary accusative

§459 Among variations of the accusative and instrumental we find first a group of cases in which an associative instrumental varies with an accusative which is parallel with and complementary to another accusative. Such variants occur also between the instrumental and other cases (§§55-7). The meaning is virtually the same. Thus *asthi majjānam māsarāṇi* (MS °ram) VS MS KS TB. Followed by *kārolareṇa dadhato gavām tvaci*. 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) *māsara* and the straining-cloth'. In MS there is no real difference of meaning, tho *māsara* is there made an additional direct object, parallel with *asthi* and *majjānam*.

tapūṇṣy (MS *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV VS TS MS KS. Followed by *asamdito vi sṛja viṣvag ulkāḥ*. The original correlates *tapūṇṣy*, *patamgān* and *ulkāḥ* as objects of *vi sṛja*. MS substitutes *tapobhir* for the first, probably as an associative instr., tho it might also be one of means, correlated with *juhvā*.

rūpān apinśad (TB * *rūpān pinśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV AV VS MS KS TB (both) N. 'He shaped all beings along with their forms' 'shaping all forms and beings'.

svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam (MS °jāṇi),

svāhā somam indriyam (MS °jāṇi),

svāhāgnim na bheṣajam (MS °jāṇi), all VS MS TB. The words *hotā yakṣad*, 'let the hotar worship', are understood with all, and it seems that the instrs. of MS must be understood as associative. Without the comparison of the two forms of the variant, we might be tempted to interpret them differently, as instrs. of means or cause ('with' or 'by reason of').

hastyaśvāvatarai rathaiḥ RVKh Conc (Aufr.) *hastyaśvādāgave ratham* RVKh Scheft *bahvasvāzagavedakam* MG

sapta ca mānuṣīr (AG ŚG MG *vārunīr*, PG *vārunair*, v 1 °nīr) *imāḥ* (PG MG *imāḥ prajāḥ*) ApMB HG AG ŚG PG MG. Followed by

sarvāś (ApMB HG *tisraś*) *ca rājabāndhavīh* (PG °*varh*, MG °*vyah*, ApMB °*bandhavīh*, HG °*bandhavah*) ApMB HG AG ŚG † PG MG (Conc puts *prajāh* with the second pāda in PG MG) The preceding verb is *apa jah* in all but the plainly corrupt MG (see Knauer's note) The instrs are associative, equivalent to correlative objects

māsarena parīsrutā (TB *parīṣṛtā*, KS *parīsrutam*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *gobhir na somam aśvinā*, and followed by *sam adhātām sarasvatyā*, *svāhendre sutam madhu* *Parīsrut* is the name of a kind of liquor, and is one of a series of gifts made by the Aśvins to Indra Some (*somam*, *sutam*, *madhu*) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs, *parīsrut* is treated in both ways in different texts In TB *parīṣṛtā* must be meant as nom dual with *aśvinā*, this is a reminiscence of *māsarena parīṣṛtāh* (so VS TB, in MS *parīsrutā*), which shortly precedes in the text

vi kumāram jarāyunā AV *vi garbham ca jarāyu ca* TS KS The verb, continued from pāda a, is *bhavadmī* 'the child with (that is, here, 'from') the afterbirth' 'the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate)' *īdam aham rakṣo 'bhi* (MS **rakṣobhīh*) *sam dahāmi* (MS KS MŚ *sam āhāmi*) TS MS (bis) KS MŚ The instr occurs in the brāhmaṇa passage corresponding to the mantra *rakṣo 'bhi*, it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §383) Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor's silence, there is no v l At a pinch *rakṣobhīh* could be associative, with *īdam* felt as the direct object

ganān me mā vi tīrṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*, Vait *vy arīrīṣah*) TS Vait MŚ *ganavir mā mā vi tīrṣata* MS 'Cause not my troops (me with my troops) to thirst'

§460 Peculiar are the following two cases, it seems doubtful whether the acc in them is of quite the same character as in the preceding *sam mā sṛjāmy adbhīr* (TS *apa*) *oṣadhībīh* VS TS MS KS If TS means 'I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants,' as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand *apah* as a secondary acc, as if of goal (cf the use of the locative in §462), at least he renders 'I united [unite?] myself with waters and plants', which is the meaning of VS MS KS Is it, literally, 'I unite myself unto waters, with plants'? Cf §59

sam tvā nahyāmy adbhīr (TS *apa*) *oṣadhībīh* TS MŚ MG As prec

§461 Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the

phrase, there is an interchange of acc with instr and of instr with acc, the two case-forms changing places

tvaṣṭā rūpena samanaktu yaṣṭam AŚ *tvaṣṭā rūpāni samanaktu yaṣṭan*h
 ŚB TB ŚŚ KŚ 'Let Tvaṣṭar unite the sacrifice with form' or
 'forms with sacrifices'

§462 In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved. In the first it, rather than the instr, varies with the one acc after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr plus acc

aṅgāny ātman (MS *aṅgar ātmānam*) *bhūṣaṣā tad āśvinā* VS MS KS
 TB 'The physician Āśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)',
 or 'his body with his limbs' MS is evidently influenced by
 the following *pāda ātmānam aṅgar*h *śamadhāt sarasvatī* (in all)

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc in one form, while in the other we have acc plus instr

śamudre yasya rasām id āhuh AV *yasya śamudram* (MS KS Ppp
śamudram yasya) *rasayā sahāhuh* RV Ppp VS TS MS KS
 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā'
 AV as it stands would mean 'the Rasā in the ocean', which
 may be defended, but note that the meter needs an extra syllable,
 which the instr *śamudrena* would furnish. If we dared emend AV
 thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461

2 Other accs and instrs, substantially equivalent

§464 The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case. We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc and an instr may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning. We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically, to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up)

§465 We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing. The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path'. Thus

ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam AV *tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam*

TB 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young' 'they sing with songs unto the young'

yam putrina ākramante viśokāh AB *yenākramante putrino (ye) viśokāh*
 ŚŚ Preceded by *eṣa panthā urugāyah suśevah* (ŚŚ *vitato deva-yānah*) '(The path) which they tread' or 'by which they tread'
tantum tulam peśasā samvayanāti VS *pesasvatī tantunā samvayanāti* (KS TB *samvayanāti*) MS KS TB Dawn and Night are referred to as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread'
yena tvābadhnāt (KS *mā*^o, TS ApMB * *yam abadhnāta*, MŚ MG *yaj jagrantha*) *sanitā suśevah* (AV *°vāh*, TS ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ MG *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (bis) MG '(the bond) with which he bound thee' or 'which he bound' Note that the 'inner' acc is not used with the acc of the person

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative' accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after forms of roots *hu* and *yaj*

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhom*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *havr ā*) *juhota* MS TB 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here'
śrucājyām juhvatah AV *śrucājyena juhvatah* TB (so Poona ed for the corrupt *śrucānyena juhvata* of Bibl Ind ed) 'Offering (with) ghee with a spoon' Preceded by *medasvatā yajamānāh*, the instr *medasvatā* (which because of gender cannot agree with *śrucā*, and seems to need a noun) may have caused the change to *ājyena*, which we believe is clearly secondary

§467. With a verb of motion an acc of goal is a very natural construction If however there is contained in the verb also the notion of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental is equally admissible

marya va yuvatibhāh sam arṣati (AV *va yoṣāh sam arṣase*) RV AV SV 'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV (Grassmann, 'mit jemand eilend zusammenkommen') The AV comm reads *yoṣā*, instr, and Whitney calls the construction with *yoṣāh* 'lame', which seems to us unjust The acc of goal is surely quite natural, indeed with this verb the instr strikes us as more recherché, tho comprehensible (suggested by the associative idea in *sam*)

śunam kīṇāśā abhū (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīṇāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaḥ* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals'
trayo gharmā anu rela āgūh AV *trayo gharmāso anu jyotiṣāgūh* (MS

KS *retasāguh*) TS MS KS ApMB 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light)' In a mystical passage, the real meaning is obscure

achāyam eti śavasā ghr̥tena (AV *ghr̥tā cit*) AV Ppp VS MS TS *achāyam yantri śavasā ghr̥tācīh* KS In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV and KS seem to be secondary In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV *ghr̥tā cit* as secondary to KS *ghr̥tācīh* We now think, however, that *ghr̥tā cit* may well be the original reading 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghees (offerings)' It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both *ghr̥tācīh* (agreeing with *sruco* which is made the subject in KS, 'the ghee-filled ladles,' see §403) and *ghr̥tena*, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of *śavasā* It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to *ghr̥tā cit*, a *lectio difficilior*

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech, we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc of the goal of speech In this variant that case varies with an associative instr, if the reading is acceptable
grāvā vaded (KS Conc with v 1 *grāvāvādīd*) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ °*sunā*) KS ApŚ Followed by *indram* (KS ed *endram*, Conc with v 1 *indram*) *sikṣemendunā sutena* Caland assumes the KS reading for ApŚ 'may the pressing-stone cry out in greeting to the shoot of soma, may we present Indra with the pressed drink' But it seems that the instr can stand 'may the pressing-stone cry out along with the shoot of soma,' etc

§469 Other instances, in which the associative idea of 'joining' is hardly felt in the instr, which nevertheless interchanges with an acc, are *devair uk̐tā* (Ppp *sr̥ṣā*, KS *nut̐tā*, ApŚ MŚ *nyuptā*) *vyasarpo mahitvam* (Ppp KS ApŚ MŚ °*tvā*) AV Ppp KS ApŚ MŚ In AV, 'thou didst expand unto might' In the others, with quasi-adverbial instr, 'thou didst expand with might (mightily)'

ye ṭapratheṭām (AV ArS °*thām*) *amatebhīr ojobhāh* (AV *amitā yojanāni*, ArS *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV ArS TS MS KS 'Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues' 'who have spread out with unmeasured strengths' The change in the noun is connected with the change of case Add to VV 1 §331

pra rādhasā (SV *rādhānsi*) *codayāte* (SV °*yate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV 'Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might,' or, SV might mean 'he sends favors unto us with might'

See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 287 f, against Grassmann's suggestion that SV is original

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvatā bhūt* (SV *°dhā bhuvat*)
RV SV 'Shakung (with) his beard'

sa virājam (KS *°jā*) *pari eti* (MS *etu*, KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS MS
KS 'He goes about knowing majesty' 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty' The VS parallel has *sanemī rājā pari yāti vdvān*, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS, taking *virājā* as nominative

aham (AB AŚ *idam*) *tad* (MS *tam*) *asya manasā śvena* (MS * *ghṛtena*)
VS MS (bis) KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *tenāham adya manasā sutasya* KS The contexts are the same, both are followed by *somam rājānam cha bhakṣayāmi* The pronouns *tad* (*tam*, *tena*) refer back to the preceding '(what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,) that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—I here partake of King Soma' KS *tena* seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of *tad* followed by *somam*, both really referring to the same thing For a similar reason MS changes *tad* to *tam*, to agree with *somam*

[*vanema pūrvīr aryo manīṣāh* (p p *°ṣā*) RV The s p has *manīṣā agnīh*, implying *manīṣāh*, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg *Proleg* 385, *SBE* 46 71, *RVNoten* on 1 70 1 'may we, the poor, succeed in many pious thoughts' The p p must understand an instr, it is followed by Geldner *Ved St* 3 87, 89]

3 Acc of *bahuvrīhis* instr of *karmadhārayas* (or separate instr)

§470 The nature of the instr is such that in a *karmadhāraya* cpd it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a *bahuvrīhi* cpd agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all We found above (§413) such variations between instr and nom forms, here we record one of instr and acc, as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr *karmadhāraya* we have the cpd broken up into its parts, an adjective (acc) with dependent instrumental

rākām aham suhavam (AV *°vā*) *suṣṭutī huve* RV AV TS MS KS SMB
ApMB N Comm on AV and Ppp read *°vām*, if *°vā* can stand, it has been attracted to the case of *suṣṭutī* 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise'

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (SV *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV Epithets of Indra, 'endowed with resistless might' or 'resistless with might' The meaning is practically identical Cf VV 2 §818

4 Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471 The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning

juhūr, upabhṛd, dhruvāsi gṛtācī nāmnā TS (intending *juhūr aṣi gṛtācī nāmnā, upabhṛd aṣi*, etc.) *gṛtācī aṣi upabhṛn nāmnā* (VSK *nāma*) VS VSK ŚB (also with *dhruvā* and *juhūr* for *upabhṛd*) *juhūr aṣi gṛtācī nāmnā* TB *dyaṛ aṣi janmanā juhūr nāma* MS (also with *pṛthvy dhruvā*, and *antarikṣam upabhṛn*)

pra hunsasas tṛpalam (SV 'lā) *manyum* (SV *vagnum*) *acha* RV SV The RV *tṛpalam* is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully' In SV if the p p is correct it must also be considered an (instr) adverb (but *tṛpalah*, 'joyful,' n pl adjective, may be intended by the s p)

§472 In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions

yad vo śuddhah (VSK † °dhah) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *jaghanatad*) *idam vas tar chundhāmu* VS VSK ŚB *yad aśuddhah parā jughana tad va etena sundhantām* KS In the latter *etena* is hardly adverbial 'by this (procedure)' In VS etc it seems to be represented by *idam*, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (*idam*) purify' 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thru this)' In MS *yad vo śuddha ālebhe tañ sundhadhvam* there is no such pronoun

yas te rajan varuna deveṣu pāśas tam ta etenāvayaje (KS *ta etad avayaje*) MS KS In KS *etad* is a pure adverb 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (fetter) of thine away' In MS *etena* (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite)' See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc, and those beginning *yas te deva varuna*, which occur in TB and have *etena*

priyena dhamnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda* (VSK TS TB ApŚ * *priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ (bis) *sedam priyena dhamna priyam sada †āsīda* (VSK *priyena nāma priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK ŚB In TS etc texts *priyena nāmnā* = 'with thy dear name', associative instr Conc suggests reading *nāmna* in VSK, but this is unnecessary, 'with that which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought

yad aham dhanena prapananś carāmi ApMB *yad vo devāḥ prapanam carāma* HG *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV *yad* is used as a conjunction, *yenu* with *dhanena*

5 Case attraction

§473 We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above)

vyaciṣṭham annaḥ (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam drśānam* (TS † KS *vidānam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB In the original *annaḥ* is instr of means with either *vyaciṣṭham* or *rabhasam*, which refer to Agni 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful' In TS MS KS it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with *agnim* of pāda a Keith takes *annam* as object of *vidānam*, but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS no such construction is possible

haviṣā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *tam indram paśavah sacā, asvinobhā sarasvatī, dadhānā abhyanūṣata* In most texts *indriyam* is a collateral object ' (praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice ' In VS it is attracted to the case of *haviṣā* ' with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds ' In TB in a similar way the loc *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam* ' (praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism ' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed, this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style

agner juhvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām, abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*) *†grnātam* (AV *grnata*) AV VS TS MS KS Preceded by *davyā* (AV *davā*) *hotārā* (AV °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS *ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* The instr of AV KS is original 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni' In the others the preceding accs have attracted *jihvayā* into their case 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation ' On MS see §174

6 Other miscellaneous variants

§474 The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material

vidhes tvam asmākam nāma (AB AŚ *nāmnā*) MS KS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ

Preceded by *vidhema te nāma*, in AB AŚ the words *dyām gacha* are added, and with this phrase the instr is construed 'Let us

- reverence thy name, do thou reverence our name' (in AB AŚ)
 'do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven'
- taved u stomam* (SV *stomais*) *ciketa* RV AV SV The root *cit* governs either acc or gen, so that it is permissible for SV to reinterpret *tava* (originally possessive) as object of *ciketa* 'I have thought only on thy praise' 'I have thought only on thee with praises'
- cakṣus cit sūrye sacā* RV *cakṣuṣā sūryam dṛṣe* SV In RV *cakṣus* is governed by *ā dade* of the preceding 'he unites our eye to the sun,' cf Bergaigne, *Rel véd* 1 184 The SV has a lect fac 'that we may see the sun with our eye'
- pratiprasthātah paśunehi* KŚ ApŚ *pratiprasthātah paśum upakalpayasva* MŚ 'Come with the cow' 'bring the cow near' Change of verb
- yaṇām yad yaṇāvāhasah* AV *yaṇāir vā* (TB *vo*) *yaṇāvāhasah* RV TS TB The context of RV TS is wholly different from that of AV TB In RV TS followed by *viprasya vā matīnām, marutah śrutā havam*, for the interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 86 2 In AV TB followed by *śikṣanto nopa* (TB *āśikṣanto na*) *śekima* AV makes *yaṇām* object 'in so far as we, O sacrifice-bearers, desiring to effect the sacrifice, have not been able to effect it' TB is variously interpreted, the comm is worthless To us it seems to mean, if anything 'seeking power by sacrifice to you, O sacrifice-bearers, we have not succeeded' But the real explanation is that TB, in repeating the AV stanza, has contaminated it with the similar pāda from a totally different context, which is remembered from RV, or more likely from TS
- stomair (gīro) vardhanty atrayah, gīrbhūh (gīrah) śumbhanty atrayah* RV (both) 'The Atris increase (the god) with praises, the Atris decorate (him) with songs' 'the Atris increase songs (for the god), decorate (i.e. fashion) songs (for him)' The first is preceded by an acc referring to the god, the second by a dat
- divyam suparnam vāyasam* (AV *payasam*, VS TS * KS ŚB *vayasā*, TS * MS *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV AV VS TS (bis) MS KS ŚB AŚ Suparn The original *vāyasam* 'bird' is changed into the instr *vayasā* 'with strength', from a wholly different stem
- pra tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuh, viṣṇus) stavate vīryena* (AV *vīryāni*, TB ApŚ *vīryāya*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU The original means 'Viṣṇu is praised here for his deed of heroism', *stavate* having passive force In AV, unless *pra stavate* is understood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must

apparently be taken with active force 'V here praises his (own) heroic deeds' Instead of this foolish perversion, TB ApŚ have another one, with a dative of result 'V is praised unto (so as to perform) heroism' Cf §558

ghṛtena tvam tanvam (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayaśva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā sam bhava* KS MŚ Kauś MG Parallels rather than true variants, tho the contexts are in some texts the same

nīcād uccā svadhayābhī pra tasthau Ppp TS KS *nīcarī uccarī svadhā abhī pra tasthau* AV The meaning of the always troublesome word *svadhā* is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn AV *svadhāh* is generally taken as acc 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks ('cf *gharmam* of the preceding verse)' The others 'he set forth according to his own will (?)' Bloomfield in a note suggests that *svadhā* may be nom sg in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic Macdonell, *Ved Gr* 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical *ā*, sometimes appears in the nom sg without *s* in the p p but with hiatus in the s p, and refers to RPr 2 29 TPr 10 13 teaches the sandhi *svadhā asī* If nom, the word would mean here '(the first-born's) will set forth' The variant may be partly phonetic in character, it suggests the use of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff, this might have been mentioned in §342)

visvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhūyah VS TS *visvā* (MS *vy*) *amivāh pramuñcan mānuṣibhīh* (KS *śebhyah*, MS *śānām*) AV MS KS See §573 The VS TS reading has all the earmarks of a lect fac, with *mānuṣīr* understand *kṛṣṭis* 'freeing men from fear' Cf VV 2 §§783, 832

udagrābhasya namayan vadhasnarih (SV *śnum*) RV SV There seems to be no object for *namayan* in RV, SV feels it necessary to specify who is 'brought low', and makes it 'the weapon-bearer', doubtless thinking vaguely of demonic enemies

dame-dame suṣṭutar (*tyā*, *īr*, *ī*) *vām vyānā* (*vāvrđhānā*, *īnau*), see §413 The instr is clearly original, acc secondary

[*mā me 'vān nābhīm atigāh* TS KŚ MŚ *mām evā gnābhīr abhigāh* Vait Read in Vait *mā me 'vāg nābhīm*]

7 Phrase inflection

§475 We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21-2)

tvndyumna yakasvatah (RV *^o*vatā*) RV (both) AV See *RVRep* on 1 9 6

8 Transfer of epithet

§476 Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc and instr, all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case

iha tvā goparīnasā (SV ^o*sam*) RV AV SV Followed by *mahe mandantu rādhasē* 'Here thee with (soma-juice, supplying *sutena* with Grassmann) rich in milk' 'here thee rich in milk' Oldenberg suggests as an alternative *goparīnasāh* (sc *somāh*), nom pl, implying that RV p p is incorrect

yam nirmanthato asvīnā RV ApMB HG MG *yābhyām nirmanthatām asvīnau devau* ŚB BṛhU. Preceded by *hiranyayī aranī*, and followed by *tam te garbham havāmahe* (*dadhāmahe*) In the first *yam* refers to *garbham*, in the latter *yābhyām* to *aranī*

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB Followed by *asvinendrāya vīryam* The adjective goes alternatively with *pathā* or *vīryam*

yebhūr vācam vśvarūpebhūr (TB ^o*rūpām*) *avyayan* (TB *samavyayat*) KS TB The adjective is transferred from *yebhūr* (TB comm *yāh karmakausalanā*) to *vācam*

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ ^o*tā*) MS ApŚ And others, see Conc Preceded by *indrena manyunā yujā* In MS *pṛt*^o means 'enemies', in ApŚ '(friendly) champion', agreeing with *indrena* Caland translates the MS reading without comment, we see no reason to abandon the text of ApŚ, tho it is of course secondary and based on MS For *pṛtanyati* with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf RV 1 54 4 The next following word in both is *ghnatā*, agreeing with *indrena*

yayāśīṣā dampatī vāmam asnutah AV *yam āśīrā dampatī vāmam asnutah* TS *yad āśīrā dampatī vāmam asnutah* VS The original *yayā* is transferred to agree with *vāmam*, on the gender-change cf §809

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV ApMB *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV Preceded by *upa* (AV *abhi*) *te 'dhām sahamānām* 'I have laid under (AV over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing, AV I have laid under thee the stronger [plant])' The instr in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808), by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV

§477 There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,

in which a word which in the original is not properly an 'epithet' at all is altered in form so as to become a true 'epithet' of another entity *hastacyuñ* (SV °*cyutam*) *janayanta* (SV † °*yata*) *prastastam* RV SV KS

KB ApŚ MŚ N The original form is a Vedic instr, 'by hand-motion', like the parallel *ḍīdhutibhiḥ* in the preceding, it goes with *janayanta*, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc epithets (of which *prastastam* is one) In SV *hasta*° is made into another epithet of Agni

savātarau na tejasā (TB °*st*) VS TB The word *savātarau* (said by the scholiasts to mean 'having a common calf', with *dhenū* preceding) is one of a series of epithets of *uṣe* 'dawn and night' (in *hotā yakṣad uṣe*) VS *tejasā* is an instr of means with the following verb (*vatsam indram avardhatām*), of which *savātarau* may also be considered the subject 'they two have increased Indra with splendor' It can hardly be doubted that TB *tējasī* is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem dual, the comm takes it as an adjective (*tejasvinnau*), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, 'the two brilliances'

CHAPTER XX

ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

1 After verbs of motion and the like

§478 Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative. In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative, Delbrück (AIS 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons. Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbrück 147 f.), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive. We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur *kāmena mā* (TA *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA *āgāt*) AV TA 'By love love has come to (for) me'

ado māgachatu MS KS MŚ *ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ (Delete ApŚ 4 13 8 under the former heading in Conc. and add it under the latter.) If ApŚ has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf. VV 2 §990), it would belong here.

§479 Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are

sā paprathe prthivī pārthivāni (KS MŚ °*vāya*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region)'

sindhur avabhṛtham avaprayan TS *sindhur avabhṛthāyodyatah* VS 'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath' 'Sindhu lifted up for the p b' The verbal expression is changed in VS to one which more naturally goes with a dative.

śubham yātām (MS *śubhe kam*) *anu rathā avṛtsata* RV TS MS KS Here both *śubham* and *śubhe* may be classed as infinitives.

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which *svasti* is rather ambiguous, Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'), to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial acc.

tam (TS *tad*) *aśvinā pari dhattam svasti* (MŚ 'toye) TS KS MŚ 'O

Aśvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being)'

§481 After a verb of sending, a dative of 'indirect object' varies with an acc of goal tagged with the postposition *upa*

athem enam (AV *athemam enam*) *pra hnuṭāt pitrbhyah* (AV † *pitṛn upa*)

RV † 10 16 1d, AV TA 'Then send him forward unto the fathers' AV comm reads *pitrbhyah* but also comments upon *upa*! (as if blending the two readings)

§482. Verbs of placing, especially *dhā*, may be construed with either acc or dat of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological turns (see §72)

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi Vait *swarge loka yajamānam ha dhehi* (and, *dhehi mām*) TB ApŚ (both in each) 'Grant the world of heaven to me the sacrificer' 'place (me) the sacrificer in the world of heaven'

§483 Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat or acc of person

yajñasya tvā (MS *te*) *yajñapate sūktoktau* (TS *haviṛbhūh*, KS *saha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *sūktavāke* (omitted in VS MS ŚB) *namovāke vidhema* (VS ŚB add *yat svāhā*, MS adds *svāhā*)

tvaṣṭrmanas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭi*°, and so TA Poona ed with v 1 °*trī*°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ We need not accept Pischel's improbable theory that *te* is acc (see Oldenberg's judicious critique, *RVNoten* 1 25 ff) The construction of *sap* 'devote oneself to (a god)' with dat is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested by this construction with *sac* (see e.g. RV 8 60 18)

§484 Other verbs

abhūṣantas te (TB *tvā*) *sumatau navāyām* RV AV TB The usual interpretation makes *te* a gen with *sumatau*, which is dependent on the participle 'presenting ourselves to thy fresh favor' Without denying this possibility we suggest that *te* may be a dat depending directly on the participle, used in the same sense as the simple *bhūṣ* with dat (BR *studere*, *colere*) For this in TB an acc is substituted (comm on TB *sarvataḥ praśansantah*) 'attending thee in a new song of praise'

tam indram abhi gāyata RV 8 32 13 *tasmā indrāya gāyata* RV 1 4 10, 5 4, AV Both 'sing praises to this Indra' The compound *abhi-gar* takes acc, the simple *gar* dat RV 8 32 13 = 1 4 10 entire

2 Dedicatory expressions

§485 In formulae of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126)

dīghbhyah śrotam (sc *ālabbhate*) TB † 3 4 18 1 *dīśah śrotam* (sc *anva-vasṛjalāt*) AB TB AŚ ŚŚ '(He takes) the ear for the directions' '(send) the ear to the directions'

agnim svāhā MS *agnim agnau svāhā* (here a verb of placing is understood) ApŚ MŚ ApMB *svāhāgnim* KS ŚB TB ŚŚ *agnaye svāhā* AV etc Likewise *svāhā prajāpataye* (TB **patim*) TS KSA TB *svāhā sarasvatyar* (KS **tīm*) TS KS etc, *svāhā viśvān devan* KS *svāhā viśvebhyo devebhyah* VS TS KSA ŚB And many other similar phrases The contexts are often quite different The dat is felt as governed by *svāhā*, 'hail to ' The acc is sometimes dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times no such verb is clearly suppliable, and then the acc is commonly understood in a sort of interjectional fashion, however, one may always understand, if one wishes, a verb such as 'we worship' Cf next, and §377 The TB comm supplies *uddīśya* Cf also §459, *svāhāgnim*

ākūtim (MS MŚ MG **tam*) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *ākūtyar prayuje gñaye* (MS KS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Cf prec, and see especially TS 4 1 9 1, where the acc form occurs in a list of several such acc formulae, followed by two in the dat

3 Dative of purpose accusative (object or goal)

§486 The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative, either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word so used Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with any other case, see §70 Thus

rāyas poṣam vi śyatū (RV MS TB **śyatām*, AV MS **śya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV *asya*) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) TB (bis) ApŚ *tvaṣṭah poṣāya viśya nābhīm asme* KS '(Our seminal fluid, *turīpum*) release (let him release, etc) for increase (as increase of wealth) for us (etc)'

mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam AV *mahyam jyotiṣ abharat sūryas tat* KS 'The sun brought (it) to me in order to light' 'to me the sun brought that light' The AV (probably original) understands the object from the preceding pāda, KS by a lect fac makes *jyotis* the object

asamātvīm grheṣu nah AV grhānām asamartyai TS In AV the acc is governed by the preceding *abhi rakṣatu*, Bloomfield, following Śāyana 'preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house' In TS is added another pāda, *bahavo no grhā asan*, the two constituting an independent sentence 'may our houses be many, for unharmedness of our house' *tam te grhnam yajñyair ketubhiḥ saha KS tam te (AŚ tvā) harām brahmanā TB Vait AŚ ApŚ MŚ* The preceding pādas are *yo aśvatthah śamīgarbha āuroha tve sacā (KS tvayy api)* 'The *aśvatthā* that has grown up by thee (TB comm *tve tvayī nimittabhūtāyām satyām*), that for thee I take' In AŚ the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB comm *tvadartham*), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc 'that I take as thee (the firestick)' The firestick of course is made from the *aśvatthā*

vṛṣane śuṣmāyāyuse varcase TS vṛṣanam śuṣmam āyuse varcase kṛdhī MŚ Preceded by *mā mā rājan vibīhṛṣo mā me hārdī (MŚ °dim) tvṣā (MŚ dvṣā) vadhāh* 'Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart unto (i.e. so that I may have) manly fury, life, splendor' 'make (for me) manly fury, unto life, splendor' It is hard to say which is original, if MŚ be considered so, TS could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives
[*pra tad viṣnu (viṣnuh) stavate vīryena (vīryānī, vīryāya)*, see §§474, 558
The instr is the original form]

4 Miscellaneous final dative accusative

§487 There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed, other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant

śukrām vayanīy asurāya nirṇajam RV śukrā vī yantī asurāya nirṇaje SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura' The noun of RV becomes an infinitive in SV, perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining *asurāya*, but cf. also *nirṇaje* in RV 10 49 7

tam (MS tan) mā devā avantu śobhāyai (MS °yi) TS MS TA 'May the gods aid me unto splendor' The MS form seems to be neut acc of a stem **śobhāyīn*, doubtless adverbial, 'splendidly'

prchāmī tvā citaye (LŚ °yam) devasakha VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ
The dat *citaye* may be considered an infinitive 'I ask thee for

understanding (i.e. that I may understand)' LŚ *citayam* (repeated in the comm.) would seem to be from an unrecorded **citaya*, an adjective agreeing with *tvā* 'thee that understandest' Cf next

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV AV 'I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know)' The AV is a lect. fac., attracting the adjective into agreement with *kavīn* The change resembles that in the last

5 Miscellaneous dative of interest accusative

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative, usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also

dyaus ca ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau AV *dyaus ca nah* (KS TB *tvā*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV KS TB The RV passage is in a different context from all the others In KS TB the pronoun is object of *pīpartu* 'protect' Ppp according to Roth ap. Whitney has *mā*, acc., for AV *ma idam*, this latter Whitney finds 'embarrassing', but without reason as it seems to us, *idam* is object of *pīpartu*, me dative of interest We may render with Ludwig 'Dyaus and Pṛthivī: fordere mir dies', or we may take *pīpartu* from *pr* 'fill' in the sense of 'fulfil, grant'

ajīapatendram vījam VS ŚB (*ajīapata*) *indram vījam* (MS MŚ *indrāya vācam*) *vimucyadhvam* TS MS KS TB MŚ 'Ye have caused Indra to win the prize, (be released)' So essentially all but MS MŚ, which mean 'ye have caused Speech to win for Indra'

vanaspatīn vānaspatyān, oṣadhīr uta vīrudhah AV 8.8.14ab, 11.9.24ab, *devān punyajanān pīrān* AV 8.8.15b, 11.9.24d *vanaspatibhyo vānaspatyebhya oṣadhibhyo vīrudhbhyaḥ sarvebhyo devebhyo devajanebhyaḥ punyajanebhyah* Kauś In Kauś a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV passages (used in AV in quite other, and mutually different, contexts)

yajñam hinvanty adribhiḥ RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV 'They promote the sacrifice with stones' 'let the stones be for the sacrifice' See §419, same context, loosely rephrased

madhu tvā madhulā cakāra (Ppp *karat*, MS *kṛnotu*, TA ApŚ *karotu*) RV Ppp MS TA ApŚ *madhu me madhulā karah* AV Change of person in pronoun, 'the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey' 'mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me'

pāvamānyah (SV MG 'nīh) *pūnantu mā* (SV *nah*, MS *tvā*, YDh *te*)
RVKh SV TB MG YDh 'May they purify me (us, thee)'
'may they purify for thee', with indefinite and unexpressed object
Cf next

sa tvā (Kauś *no*, ViDh *me*) *rakṣatu sarvataḥ* AV Kauś ViDh In
ViDh no object is expressed, unless *me* be taken as acc as Jolly
seems to take it (cf above, §483, we take no stock in *me*, *te* as
accs) As in the preceding 'may he protect for me on all sides'
kas te yunakti, and *kas te vimuñcati*, MG *kas tvā yunakti*, and *kas tvā*
vimuñcati, VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ *ko vo yunakti*, and *ko vo*
vimuñcati, ApŚ MŚ MG On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a
rite see Caland on ApŚ 4 16 10, it is simply a mystically grandiose
expression for 'beginning' and 'ending' In most texts *tvā* is used
referring to the rite In MG twice *te* is used referring to the *devatā*,
the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood MG
'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

asmin yajñe yajamānāya sūrim AV *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau*
ApŚ Preceded by *indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi* AV, *indrasya*
bhāgaḥ sumte dadhātana ApŚ Both unintelligent and scarcely
translatable, *yajamāna* and *sūri* ought to refer to the same person,
but only Ppp (as reported by Roth ap Whitney, *yajñapatiś ca*
sūrih) has them in the same case (the nominative, in other respects
Ppp is hardly more intelligent)

tanā (SV *tmanā*) *kṛnvanto arvate* (SV 'taḥ) RV SV Preceded by *suḡā*
tokāya vājīnah Subject is the soma-drops, with which *vājīnah*
agrees in RV 'creating welfare uninterruptedly for the offspring,
they the swift ones, and for the steed' SV 'the swift ones, creat-
ing welfare and horses for the offspring by themselves', or 'creating
welfare and swift horses' "

amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na (AŚ *īma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *apāma edhī mā*
mṛthā na indra SMB 'Do not abandon us (me)' 'do not die for
us' (!) See VV 2 §78

abhī tvādhām sahīyasā RV ApMB *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV See
§476

agnau vā tvā gārhapatyē 'bhiceruh AV *yām te cakrur gārhapatyē* AV
The latter 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee',
while in the former *tvā* is object of *abhicerur* 'bewitched'

samudhah (ApŚ MŚ *samudbhyaḥ*) *preṣya* ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ In all texts
addressed by the adhvaryu to the maitrāvaruna 'order (the hotar
to recite the formula) for the firesticks' The dative is usual with

the stereotyped *preṣya* to denote the *devatā* to which offering or prayer is made, the acc to denote the rite or action ordered (e.g. *sāma* or the like, see BR s v 18 + *pra*) Here *śamudbhyaḥ* is originally the proper form, the kindling sticks being the *devatā* of the formula which the hotar is commanded to recite. But by figurative transference *śamudhah* is treated as the name of the rite 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks'. See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, §§204, 300. *tan mā* (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB Vait. In GB 'let that be strong for me again'. Note hiatus in Vait. If it really intends *mā*, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh 5.508 'let that make me strong again'.

[*yatrā vrksas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG *yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *tanuvai* might be gen with ending *ai* (§144), cf. the AV reading which is certainly gen. But since HG is otherwise corrupt (Oldenberg adopts the AV reading), little reliance can be placed upon it.]

6 'Transfer of epithet

§489 Transfer of epithet (§14) between dative and accusative forms appears in the following cases. First, some in which number and gender are not changed

dakṣāya dakṣavṛdham (TS °dhe) TS MS KS. Preceded by *prajāpataye tvā jyotiṣmate jyotiṣmantam grhnāmi*. In MS KS the adjective agrees with *tvā*, carried over from the preceding, in TS it is attracted into agreement with *dakṣāya*.

dyaus te (AŚ PG *tvā*) *dadātu prthivī* (PG adds *tvā*) *pratigrhnātu* AŚ PG HG. The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc to the gift, 'may heaven give (to) thee'. The next two are similar. *śukram te śukrena grhnāmi* TS KS ApŚ *śukram tvā śukra sukrāya grhnāmi* MS MŚ *śukram tvā śukra ādhunomi* VS ŚB. As in prec and next, the pronouns refer to different things.

śukram te (MS *te śukra*) *śukrena krīnāmi* (MS omits *krī*) *candram candrenāṃptam aṃptina* (MS adds *krīnāmi*) TS MS KS *śukram tvā śukrena krīnāmi* VS ŚB. *te* refers to the seller of the soma, *tvā* to the soma, cf. preceding two.

athatān aṣṭau virūpān (TB † 3.4.19.1 *athatān arūpebhya*) *ālabhate* VS VSK TB. In VS VSK the adjective refers to the eight 'malformed' men who are dedicated (in these texts) to Prajāpati, in TB the same eight are dedicated to *devatās* called 'formless'.

dhattam rayim sahavīram (ApMB *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV ApMB *rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam* AV The epithet *vacasya* is attracted in AV into agreement with *rayim*, in the original it referred to the recipient of the gift

yajñāya stīrnabarhīṣe vi vo made RV AŚ *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhīṣam vivakṣase* SV In the original the adjective agrees with *yajñāya*, in SV with *tvā* of the preceding (*hotāram tvā vṛnīmahe*)

indrāya tvā bṛhadvate vayasvata ukthāyuve (VSK MS °*yuvam*, VS ŚB KS † *ukthāvyam*, VS VSK ŚB °*am grhnāmi*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB The acc goes with *tvā*, the dat with *indrāya* Add to VV 2 §805 (stems *ukthāyu ukthā-vī*)

§490 With change of number and gender as well as case
īdṛvā hi mahe (ApŚ *maḥi*, v 1 *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV ApŚ Followed by *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ °*vīm*, see §746) In SV the adj agrees with *hotrāya*, in ApŚ (if *maḥi* be read) with *dyāvā*

§491. In the following an originally independent noun seems to be attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right in taking KS TB ApŚ as secondary Cf §15

ayakṣmāya tvā samsrjāmi prajābhyah VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah prajāyā samsrjāmi* KS TB ApŚ 'I unite thee unto health, unto progeny' 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny'

§492 Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose) in the following

ūrjasvatī rājasvāś (MS KS *rājasūyāś*, TS *rājasūyāya*) *cūtānāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB The waters are originally described as 'king-creating', in TS this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for king-crowning', which depends on *cūtānāh* ('caring for, having regard to'), cf BR s v 4 *cūt*, 2 See next

svāhā rājasūyāh MS MŚ *svāhā rājasūyāya cūtānāh* TS *svāhā rājasvāh* VS ŚB Supply *apah* in all, we have here a reminiscence of the formula just quoted, q v

CHAPTER XXI

ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

1 With verbs of separation, guarding, etc

§493 The accusative and ablative approach interchangeability chiefly in connexion with certain verbs and certain prepositions. Thus, first, verbs of separation, guarding, purifying, or the like, since they suggest separation of two things or of a thing and a quality, may in principle put either of the two separated entities in either the acc or the abl. Hence the following variants

īyam duruktāt (PG 'lam) *paribādhamānā* ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG
'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or warding off slander (from its wearer)'

āpas tvā tasmāj jīvalāh AV *āpas tat sarvām jīvalāh* ApŚ Followed by *punantu* (ApŚ *śundhantu*) *śucayah śucim* 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all', in ApŚ *tat sarvām* may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc, or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that)'

sakhyam te mā yoṣāh sakhyam te mā yoṣthāh SMB *sakhyāt te mā yoṣam sakhyān me mā yoṣthāh* TB ApŚ ApMB HG The root *y'* is either transitive, 'separate', or intransitive, 'be separated'. In SMB the two clauses, one with active and one with middle verb, seem to be equivalent in meaning (transitive in both!) 'Withhold not thy friendship' The others 'may I not be separated from thy friendship, nor thou from mine'

2 With prepositions

§494 Similarly both cases are used after various prepositions, with or without difference of meaning. Notably *ā* in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc or abl, while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl, never the acc. Also *pori* is used with both cases, tho with different meanings

ūrjo mā pāhy odṛcam MŚ *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcah* TS *ūrdhvo mā pāhy*

anhasah, āsya yaṅṅasyodṛcah VS ŚB *ā-udṛcah* ('*cam*') in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice)' The variant *ūrjo* for *ūrdhvo* (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160

orv antarikṣam ŚŚ *āsmāt sadhasthād oror antarikṣāt* TB ApŚ Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc, 'from' with abl Probably not true variants

ye jātās tanvas (PB '*vam*') *pari* RV MS PB ŚB TA 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)' 'who are born about (near) [her] body' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB has a mere corruption of the RV reading

3 Miscellaneous

§495. Of the rest—barring those classified under 'transfer of epithet'—there is little to be said They concern miscellaneous reinterpretations of the passages, usually with other changes besides the one with which we are concerned, and oftener than not yielding very poor sense in the secondary version, so that the term 'corruption' begins to apply In not a few cases the variation is between *n* and *t*, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871)

rūpam varnam paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam ApŚ *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle' 'may he not wipe away the color from the form' ApŚ is a little less banal than MŚ

yakṣmā yanti janād (AV ApMB *janān*) *anu* RV AV ApMB In RV abl of source 'from the (malicious) folk,' *anu yanti*, 'follow' AV ApMB construe *anu* as postposition with acc *janān* Altho Bloomfield (*The Atharvaveda* 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV reading as compared with RV, we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now, see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 85 31 If there is a single case in which AV shows itself superior to RV in a variant reading, we do not know of it

ūvadhyam vātam (MS *vātāt*) *sabvam* (TB Poona ed *sabuvam*) *tad ārāt* VS MS KS TB Preceded by *apāmatim durnmatim bādhmānāh* 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but *sabvam* is quite uncertain) Does MS *vātāt* mean '(arising) from wind,' referring to *ūvadhyam* and *sabvam*? Or is it to be taken as abl with *bādhmānāh*, or with *ārāt* felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor

divāś cūd antād upamām (TA *†upa mām*, RV *antān upamān*) *ud ānaṣ*
RV AV SV TA Some AV mss read *upa mām* with TA, and
Whitney adopts this Benfey, Glossar, defines *upamām* as 'nahe'
(adverb), but he translates 'zu allen Himmelsenden drang er auf-
wärts,' which seems to imply *antān* The RV alone is easily inter-
pretable 'he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven'
The others perhaps 'even from the bounds of heaven he has
attained unto me (? unto the highest)'

ta āvavrtran sadanād rtasya (TS *sadanān kṛtvā*, KS * *sadanān rātvi*)
RV AV TS MS KS (b15) N 'They have turned hither from
the abode of the *ṛta* (having established their abodes, etc.)' Add
to VV 2 §§421, 665

udṛasya gānapatyān (VS ŚB °yam, KS °ye) *mayobhūr ehi* VS TS MS
KS ŚB In TS °patyāt is certainly intended, this is read not only
in the p p but in the pratika 5 1 2 3, which see for the rather
forced interpretation required by the form But for this we should
assume that °patyān is acc pl, which is probably the intention of
MS (whose p p would seem to read so, judging from the silence of
von Schroeder, see §§526, 705)

antān prthivyā divah TB ApŚ *tad antāt prthivyā adhi* MŚ Preceded
by *yad ghaṁ mah paryavartayat* (MŚ *paryāv*°) *pari-vṛt* caus proba-
bly = 'has brought hither' The TB ApŚ stanza is very obscure,
its last half is different from that of MŚ

alebhānad ṛṣtibhīr yatudhanat RV *utārebhanan ṛṣtibhīr yātudhānān* AV
Preceded by *utalabdhām* (AV *utārabdhān*) *spṛnuhī jatavedah* 'Win
away, O I, him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized
him with spears' So RV The secondary AV takes *spṛnuhī* zeug-
matically as meaning 'win away' = 'set free' in a, but 'win' =
'conquer' in b 'win away both those who are seized, and (conquer)
the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears'

viduḥ prthivyā dīvo janatram (PB °trat) RV PB Followed by *śṛnavanti*
(PB °tv) *apo adha* (PB *dhah*) *kṣarantīh* RV 'they know the
birthplace of earth and heaven' In PB *janatrad* would seem to
be felt as abl of source with *kṣarantīh*, 'flowing from the birthplace'
But this leaves *viduḥ* apparently without object Caland calls it
incomprehensible and adopts the RV reading

yato (KS *yad id*, TS *yadī*) *bhumim janayan nīvakarmā* RV VS TS
MS KS On KapS cf Oertel 16 For the abl pronoun KS
(and TS) have adverbial forms used as conjunctions

§496 Yet more dubious, or certainly corrupt, or based on misunder-
standings or misquotations, are the following

atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA *°nāt*) *te manotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV † TA 'Here let Yama fix a resting-place for thee' The TA reading (comm *sthāpananimitam*) can hardly be anything but a phonetic blunder (VV 2 §405)

jāmim itvā mā mints lokān TA *jāmim itvā māva patsi lokāt* AV The latter is original 'having gone to my relatives let me not fall from heaven' TA Poona ed *jāmī mitvā lokāt* (v l *lokān*) The comm, tho he reads *lokāt*, seems to understand an acc *lokam naiva lapsyasi* In any case TA is scarcely interpretable See VV 2 §198 (besides §871)

yat tvemahe (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB On SMB see VV 2 §§365, 835, where three different commentarial explanations of its seemingly impossible reading are quoted

[*yamād aham varvasvatāt* RV *yan me yamam varvasvatam* PB So Conc, but the facts are obscured both by this comparison and by Caland's remarks on PB 1 5 18, which Caland identifies with RV 10 60 10 The truth is that PB 1 5 18 is a combination of RV 10 58 1ab with 10 60 10cd, when this is realized it will be seen that there is no case variation]

[*pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pṛtyāvatah* KBU *tam ardhamāsam prasutān pṛtyāvatah* JB Conc, but read *ardhamāsyam prasutāt pṛt°*, Oertel, JAOS 19 (2) 112, 115]

[*devānām vakṣi priyam ā sadhastham* VS TS MS KSA Conc *sadhas-thāt* for KSA]

4 Transfer of epithet

§497 Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching It is in any case clear that the acc forms of VS MS KS ŚB are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs of the preceding pāda, also that the abl forms of TS have been drawn into agreement with the preceding *itas*

ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh TS *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām* VS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS Preceded in all by *iṣam ūṛjam aham ita ādam* (ādade, ādi)

§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15)

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV prācīm avācīm ava yann arisṭayai TA The adverbial *prākto* of the original AV is attracted to the case of *avācīm*, which in both texts agrees with *yuvatiṃ* of *pāda a imam adhvānam yam agāma dūrāt* (LŚ *dūram*) RV LŚ *yam adhvāham agāma dūram AV* Again the adverbial form of the original RV is made in AV LŚ into an adjective agreeing with *adhvānam*
anamitram no adharāt AV anamitram me ṭadharāk (KS *no adharāk*) VSK KS followed by

anamitram na uttarāt AV anamitram udak kṛdhī VSK KS Again the original has ablative adverbs This time the acc forms might also be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are adjectives going with *anamitram* 'Freedom from enemies (from) below, (from) above'

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *śronī^a*) *bhāsadāt RV AV ApMB yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV* The original from the rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with *yakṣmam*, 'of the rump' The verb is *vr̥hāmī* In the text of AV there are in fact two such adjectives, synonyms, one is doubtless an ancient gloss (Whitney ad loc, and Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, 47)

§499 We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15)

avatān mā vyathitam (VS ŚB *ītāt*) VS TS ŚB ApŚ *avatād vyathitam* MS KS ŚB 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'
avatān mā nāthitam (VS ŚB *ītāt*), same texts

CHAPTER XXII

ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE

1 With verbs governing both cases

§500 Accusative and genitive touch each other most closely with certain verbs which may be construed with both cases. See in general Delbrück *ATS* 158 ff., our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment. We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbrück does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions, any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires.

§501 Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants. Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character. Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ ApŚ certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvatī was drunk!

papuh sarasvatīyā nadyāh (MŚ *ṛtyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ *ṛtīm nadīm*)

Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ "They drank (of, or MŚ. in) the River Sarasvatī"

sa bhadram akar yo nah somam (AŚ *somasya*) *pāyayīṣyati* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ
indra piba sultānam RV *imam indra sutam piba* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ
ApŚ

yad indro apibac chacībhih VS KS AB ŚB AŚ ApŚ *gasyendro apibac*
chacībhih KS *yam asyendro apibaṇ śacībhih* MS

vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnām TS ApŚ *vācaspatina te hutasyeṣe pra-*
nāya prāśnām (ŚŚ *hutasya prasnāmīṣe pranaya*, ŚB *hutasyāś-*
nām) ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

vasumadganasya upahūtasypahūto bhakṣayām (MŚ *upahūta upa-*
hūtam bhakṣ) TS MŚ

tan me 'śīya HG *tasya te bhakṣīya* (ApMB *'śīya*) TS ApŚ ApMB
mano jyotir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB *ajyam*, AŚ
ājyam me) VS VSK TS MS KS TB ŚB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ

The texts that have acc. and those that have *jyotir* with gen. must

mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter' Those with *jūtir* and gen may be construed in the same way (so Mahidhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested, see Eggeling, *SBE* 12 215 n 1

lekah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā vyanantu TS *sahlah sahlah sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣānā vyanantu svāhā* MS KS
In the same context also passages beginning *ketah saketah*, see Conc

§502 Verbs of offering, cf Delbruck 160, where the gen construction with *hu* is noted for Brāhmana prose but not for RV, altho the RV version of the first variant seems a clear instance

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *haviṣā*) *juhota* MS TB See also §466, etc

indrāgnibhyām chāgasya haviṣ (ApŚ MŚ *haviṣah*) *preṣya* KŚ ApŚ MŚ Also *indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā medasah* (KŚ *vapām medah*) *preṣya*, *indrā*° *purodāśasya preṣya* (KŚ *purodāśam*, supplying *preṣya*), same texts And similar items containing *anu brūhi* instead of *preṣya* We should render the first variant 'prompt (to the offering) of an oblation of a goat to Indra-Agni' The gen seems to be dependent on an expression of offering understood, cf Schwab, *AITzeropfer* 119 Otherwise Delbruck 161

apo (TS KS *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhṛnta* (KS * KapŚ *dehy udadhīm bhṛndhi*) VS TS MS KS KapŚ (Oertel 76) Cf §711, *apas* best taken as acc of plurale tantum stem *ap*

§503 Verbs of ruling

indro visvam virājati AA *indro viśvasya rājati* SV VS AŚ Svīdh

§504 Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbruck 158)

pra tad voced amṛtasya (Ppp VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU *vocē amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV Ppp VS TA 'Knowing immortality' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle *vidvān* is used, obviously it is construed just as a finite verb form would be

§505. Verbs of robbing are recognized as taking two accusatives, but we have found no recognition of their use with an acc of the person and a gen of the thing In TB the following variant seems to show such a use, unless we take *goh* as acc pl (!) as the TB comm seems to do *yad amuṣṇitam avasam paṇim gāh* (TB *goh*) RV TB 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Paṇi of his cow(s)'

2 With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc varying with the gen after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas, cf Delbrück 181, Whitney 271h *mām anuvratā bhava* HG ('be faithful to me') cf *agner* (AV *patyur*) *anuvratā bhūtā* AV TS KS TB MŚ ApMB Tho in different contexts, AV and HG both use the formula in the marriage ceremony

apaścādaghvānnasya (MS MŚ ApŚ *apaścāddaghvānnam*) *bhūyāsam* AV MS MŚ ApŚ 'May I not be failing of food'

śāntir no astu MS *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS The acc seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in *śānti*, Mahīdhara *mā mām prati*

§507. With nouns of agent in *tar*, a difference of accent is said to distinguish *dātā* *vasūni* from *dātā* *vasūnām*, and according to Pān 3 2 135 unaccented *tar* should denote a habitual condition, accented *tār* a specific act. The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory, see Wackernagel, *AIGr* 3 201, 597. We find one such variant *pāda*, the phrase refers to Aryaman, who surely must be characterized as a habitual 'giver of good things' in both texts, in our opinion it would be pedantry to try to find a distinction in meaning between the two forms of the variant

dātā vasūnām puruhūto arhan TS *dātā vasūni vidadhe tanūpāh* MS TS accents the second syllable of *dātā*, MS the first, which accords with the rule of accent. The accusative cannot be taken with *vidadhē* in MS since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence

3 Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc of the deity and instr of the offering varying with gen (or dat) of the deity and nom of the offering (see §126). We content ourselves here with two examples

andhāhīn (TS *°he*, KSA *°heh* but ms *°he*) *sthūlagudayā* (TS KSA *sthūragudā*, MS *sthūragudayā*) VS † TS MS † KSA '(We gratify) the blind-worms with the large intestines' 'the large intestines are for the blind-worms'

pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā VS MS *pūṣno vaniṣṭhuh* TS KSA

4 Descriptive or possessive genitive . modifying accusative

§509 In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'apposi-

tional genitive', varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form. Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend, see §85. The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same: *avyo* (SV PB *avyam*) *vāram vi dhāvati* RV SV PB 'He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sieve)'

vr̥ṣṭim dvāḥ pavasva rītīm apām (SV *apah*) RV SV 'Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV the stream, the waters)'. In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem *ap*, we prefer to construe *apah* thus as an acc pl (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen sing.

[*apāsya* (ApŚ *apāsmān*) *navr̥tān pāsān*,] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekasatam caye*, [*apāsya ye ṛsināḥ pāsāh*,] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekasatam suve* KS ApŚ. Also, in a different tho similar verse, [*apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān*,] *mṛtyūn ekasatam nude* Kauś. 'I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths)'

nāsām āmitro (TB *nainā āmitro*) *vyathir ā dadhar̥ṣati* RV AV TB 'No enemy does violence to their wandering course (to them [or] to [their] wandering course)'. TB comm takes *vyathir* (on the meaning of which see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 117 15) as a nom attribute of *āmitro*, which is obviously absurd.

ūrjo bhāgam pr̥thivyā (KS ApŚ *°vīm*) *yāty* (KS *ety*, ApŚ *etv*) *āpr̥nan* MS KS ApŚ 'He (Savitar) goes filling the earth's lot with food'. 'he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,' or the like. Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication, the acc is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of *āpr̥nan*.

agnim (VS ŚB *agner*) *jyotir nṛcāyya* [*pr̥thivyā abhyābharat*] VS TS MS KS ŚB SvetU 'Fire (and) light' or 'Agni's light'.

somānam (SV *°nām*) *svaranam* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ N. The SV is certainly worthless, on the crucial *somānam* see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 18 1.

§510 In a couple of cases of this sort, the noun on which the genitive depends is in the other form of the variant made into an adjective agreeing with the (now accusative) form which replaces the genitive: *ava devānām yaja heda agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ. In the last variant *hedyān* is an adjective agreeing with the acc *devān* 'the wrathful gods' instead of 'the wrath of the gods'.

pra samrājo (SV °jam) *asurasya prāstam* (SV °tam) RV SV KB
Here too SV has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc noun
of RV ('praise of the lord')

§511 Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms

ādityā rudrā upariṣṣṛṣo nah (KS °sam mā) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariṣṣṛṣam mā* RV VS TS '(Make) me a king' or 'make our king'

ā te agna idhīmahi RV SV TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *ā tvāgna idhīmahi* AV Kauś Followed by *dyumantam devājaram* This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (ZDMG 35 714 ff) as containing acc *te*, but see Oldenberg, RVNoten p 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives) AV has a lect fac, feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing *te* to *tvā*

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *raym dhīmahe ta* (AA *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ Keith (AA 285 n 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc and gen after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf §504), understanding the verb as connected with root *dhī* He follows Sāyana in this Most western scholars have taken *dhīmahe* from *dhā*, *te* is then possessive gen with *raym*, and *tam* also refers to *raym*

devasya te (AG MG *tvā*) *savituh prasave* 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām *hastam grhnāmy asau* AG SMB GG MG 'At the command of god Savitar I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by] the hand)'

§512 In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther
tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīt*) TB AŚ ApŚ *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīt* (Conc reads *hāsīt* with one ms) MŚ *hāsīt* in MŚ may be kept 'desert not my life at the sacrifice'

§513 Sometimes the acc is the sole goal of the verb, either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen, or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc, §459) in the alternate form in which acc is substituted for gen
etam (GB *etasya*) *tvam prajanaya* AB GB The context is the same The pronoun refers apparently to the *yajamāna*, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukirtī (RV 10 131) and other hymns which follow (Otherwise Keith, who seems to us to mis-

understand AB) With the gen of GB is doubtless understood an acc of *ātman* and other parts of the *yajamāna*, specified in the sequel 'Propagate him' or 'propagate his [body, etc]', or possibly 'propagate [such things] for him' In such mystic rubbish almost anything is possible

ganān me mā vī tīrṣah (MŚ °ṣat, Vait *vy arīrṣah*) TS Vait MŚ
ganair mā mā vī tīrṣata MS *ganā me mā vī tīrṣan* VS TS ŚB
 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc)' 'make not me with (my)
 troops to thirst' 'let not my troops thirst'

§514 We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc

ye vā (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspatīnṛ anu* (MS NīlarU *vanaspatīnām*) VS
 TS MS KS ŚB NīlarU ApMB 'Or (serpents) which are of the
 trees (among the trees)'

5 Partitive genitive modifying accusative

§515 Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole', 'des geteilten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc, as with other cases (§84)

īmam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me (TB *kṣatriyānām*) AV TB Kauś
 17 28 (only pratika in Kauś 14 24) 'Increase this kṣatriya for
 me' 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas' TB comm *kṣatriyānām*
madhye

īmam mā hīnsīr ekaśapham (also, *dvipādām paśum* (TS KS *paśūnām*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal
 (one of animals)'

vīrudham (AV °dhām) *balavattamām* (AV * °mah) RV AV (bis) ApMB
 'Most mighty herb (of herbs)'

atho jīva śaradāh śatam VSK *adhā jīvema saradāni śatāni* AV Others
 similar, see Conc

§516 The following is in reality doubtless only a case of sandhi, or perhaps better of orthography

ojisṭhaś carṣanīśahām (TB °sahām) VS TB Preceded by *divo varṣman*
samādhyate, and followed by *vetv ājyasya* 'Upon the height of
 heaven is kindled the mightiest of the rulers of men, let him taste
 the butter' An acc is quite impossible, yet both *edd* and the
 comm have the same reading in TB The comm seems to regard
 the acc, as equivalent to a partitive gen *tān uddīśya teṣām* (*devā-*
nām) *madhye* Final *m* and *n* before *v* in the Veda might both be
 pronounced alike, as a nasalization (Wackernagel 1 §§281a, 283c),

thus confusion between the two may have arisen, and the TB may have incorrectly restored *n* instead of *m*. This variant might have been mentioned in VV 2 §944, tho the original final is clearly *m*, not *n*.

§517. In a few others an acc direct object varies with a partitive gen depending on a relative word

yat tvā (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovāpa* (AV *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ In KS 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected' The others 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (thee angry men) have rejected', or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee'

yat tvā (ApŚ *te*) *śikvāh parāvadhūt* AV ApŚ Followed by *takṣā hastena vāsyā* 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off' 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off' *yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG 'Wherever on thy body, whatever of thy garment it has touched' 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment' On HG see §144

6 Phrase inflection

§518 Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs in the following
bhṛndhā darbha sapatnānām (*sapatnān me*) AV (both) Initial pādas of consecutive verses, different constructions required by what follows
kṛtyākṛtam valagīnam AV *kṛtyākṛto valagīnah* AV Different contexts
sumatīm satyadharmanah (TS ApMB *satyarādhasah*, VS *satyarādhasam*, AV *visvarādhasah*, AŚ *vājināvatah*) AV VS TS MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG ApMB N The VS form is in a different context

7 Miscellaneous

§519 There remain a considerable number of variants between acc and gen which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought.

indrasya vāyoh (SV *vāyum*) *sakhyāya kartave* (SV *vardhayan*) RV SV 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu' 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra'

sakṛd yat tvā (KS *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS *°bham*) *āsayat* TS KS The word *garbha* shifts in meaning, 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb'

vājo nah (MS *me*, KS *mā*) *sapta pradisah* VS TS MS KS Followed by *catasro vā parāvatah*, *vājo no* (MS KS *mā*) *viśvair devair, dhana-*

sātāv ('tā) *ihāvatu* KS makes the pronoun in *pāda* a object of *avatu*, anticipating *mā* in *pāda* c, MS makes it possessive gen with *vājo*, the others, with *nah*, are ambiguous and may be taken either way

rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām (TS °*mānasya santu*) AV TS MS MŚ
 'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's)'
 [yo *adya saumyo vadho 'ghāyūnām udīratī*] *viśūkuham iva dhanvanā*
 [vyasyāh paripanthīnam sadasaspātaye namaḥ] AŚ [yo 'dya saumyo
vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrate] *viśūkuhasya dhanvanā* ['pa tām varuno
dhamat] PB The obscure word *viśūkuh(a)* seems proved to
 refer to some hostile power by LŚ 3 11 3 This makes PB
 (rendered by Caland 'blow them away by means of the bow
 of Viśūkuha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V is a friendly
 power AŚ thus seems more plausible But the word cannot be
 interpreted with any confidence

tad āsata (Ppp N *atrāsata*) *ṛṣayah sapta sākam* AV Ppp N *tasyāsata*
ṛṣayah (TS TAA °*sate harayah*) *sapta tīre* TS ŚB B₁U TAA
 In AV *tad* is direct complement of *āsate*, in place of the more usual
 loc (cf BR s v 2 *ās*, 1), the loc *tīre* has this construction in
 the other texts, and *tasya* (substituted for *tad*) depends on it
 'Sit upon it (its bank)' Ppp and N have the loc adverb *atru*
 instead

apām na yanty ūrmayah RV *apo nayanā ūrmayah* SV Preceded by
pra somāso vipaścītaḥ RV 'the somas rush forth like waves of
 water' SV by a false word-division (VV 2 §829) produces 'the
 somas, (as, i e in) waves, carry forth the waters'

imam rātam (SV *asya rātau*) *sutam piba* RV SV In RV *imanī rātam*
 agrees with *sutam*, in SV *rātau* is a different word from *rātam*
 'at this man's offering'

dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah RV *dhenām antaḥ sabardughām* SV We
 take it that *dhīnām* depends on *sabardughah*, *antaḥ* being an adverb
 That SV is botched is shown by the false accent of *dhenām*, on the
 final syllable, but doubtless *dhenām* (dependent on *antaḥ*) was
 meant Even the RV passage is obscure, for a different inter-
 pretation see Oldenberg, RV *Noten* ad loc

ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB *apasas*, but Gaastra *apas*) *pari* RV GB
 See VV 2 §810

8 Transfer of epithet

§520 Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive
 forms occurs in the following In the first group there is no change of
 gender or number

amanmahī mahata (MS KS *mahad*) *ṛtasya nāma* TS MS KS TB

The gen agrees with *ṛtasya*, the acc with *nāma*

manyum janasya dūdhyaḥ (SV °*yam*) RV SV KS 'The wrath of the evil-minded man' 'the evil-minded wrath of man' The ed of KS has *manyam*, doubtless by misprint

bṛhaspatissutasya ta (KS omits *ta*) *indo (inda) indriyāvataḥ patnīvantam* (KS °*vato*) *graham gṛhnāmi* (MS *rādhyāsam*, KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS MS KS *bṛhaspatissutasya deva soma ta indor (inda) indriyāvataḥ patnīvato grahān ṛdhyāsam* VS VSK ŚB *patnīvant-* modifies *graham* in TS MS, *te* (unexpressed) in KS and probably *te* in VS VSK ŚB (so Eggeling, otherwise BR)

pāñcajanyaśya bahudhā yam indhate AV *yam pāñcajanyaḥ bahavaḥ sam indhate* TS MS KS In the YV texts *pāñca*° is drawn into agreement with *yam*, which refers to Agni, in AV it agrees directly with *agner* of the preceding pāda, so that the real sense is the same *praharṣṇam madirasya made mṛṣāsā astu atha tvā hoṣyāmi* KS *praharṣṇo madirasya made mṛṣāsāv astu* ApŚ Von Schroeder emends KS to *praharṣṇo*, and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with *tvā*, which would be necessary if we keep the text §521 The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as

case

vasum (SV TS *vasoḥ*) *sūnum sahaso jātavedasam* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS 'Good son of strength' 'son of good strength' This seems the simplest interpretation of *vasoḥ* The preceding pāda is *agnim hotāram manye dāsvantam*, Benfey and Keith make *vasoḥ* a noun depending on *dāsvantam*, despite the pāda division A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with *sahasō* 'son of good(s), of strength'

vasumatāḥ (VS ŚB °*matim agne*) *te chāyām upastheṣam* VS MS ŚB 'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni)'

śardhāṇsy agne ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV SV MS ApŚ 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i.e. flames) as thou burnest' 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning' For ApŚ cf VV 1 §27

pātho (Ppp ŚŚ *pātam*, TS *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni* (AV *guhyasya*) *nāma* AV Ppp TS MS KS ŚŚ 'Ye protect (etc.) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts, AV seems to take *pātho* from *pā* 'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes *guh*° agree with *ghṛtasya* 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name'

indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhyupāvaharāmī (VSK *vām bāhū vīryakṛtā upā*) VS VSK ŚB 'I draw you down, two arms of prowess-working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra)' Also *indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upāvaharāmī* TB (here the king, identified with Indra, is addressed)

parīmam yajamānam rāyo manuṣyānām VS ŚB *parīmam rāyo manuṣyam* KS See §§402 etc

§522 There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, becoming an 'epithet' thereof, in a secondary version, in both either gender or number varies as well as case

āṅgūṣānām avāvaśanta vānīh RV *āṅgoṣṇam avāvaśanta vānīh* SV In RV, 'the music of the hymns', in SV an epithet of Soma (*vṛṣanam*) has been extracted from the genitive

paramam padam ava bhūti (VS ŚB *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS *bhūreh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Preceded by *atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoh* (RV N *vṛṣṇah*) In the original *bhūri* is best taken as an adverb 'The bull's (Viṣṇu's) highest footstep shines down mightily' TS makes the word an epithet of *viṣṇoh* 'of mighty Viṣṇu'

CHAPTER XXIII

ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

Acc and loc of goal

§523 By far the largest and most important group of variants showing syntactic contact between these two cases is that concerning the accusative and locative of goal. After verbs denoting motion (in a wide sense), both cases are familiarly used. Many interpreters try to distinguish between them. Thus Delbruck, *ALS* 122, says that the loc is used 'wenn es sich um ein Ankommen bei, ein Eindringen in u s w handelt, während in den A das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z B *deveṣu gachati* er geht unter die Gotter, aber *devān gachati* er geht zu den Gottern hin'. Others, whether consciously or unconsciously, seem anxious to avoid admitting the loc of goal at all. Thus Whitney on AV 6 48 1-3 renders *svasti mā sam vahāsyā yaḡñasyodrci svahā* 'carry me along to welfare at the close of this offering', whereas it obviously means 'carry me prosperously to the end of this rite' (cf Bloomfield *JAOS* 16 3, 23), this would be clear even without the ŚŚ variant *svasti mā sampārayāsyā yaḡñasyodrcam*, with acc instead of loc. Even worse is Whitney's rendering of AV 7 40 1b *yasya vrata upa-tiṣṭhanta āpah* 'in whose course stand the waters', to avoid recognizing the loc of goal (all the parallel texts *vrataṃ*!) Whitney ignores the established meaning of *upa-sthā* (approach, always of motion, never 'stand'). Clearly we must render 'into whose control the waters enter'.

§524 In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases. Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc by something like English *in*, or German *in* with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction. We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc to be substantially equivalent to an acc. Take for instance the variant *sūryasyaukā carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS KS *niṣkṛtāni*) TS MS KS PG. We shall not stress the fact that MS KS, generally the older and better YV texts, have the acc, after all, even if TS PG are secondary, they may

quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way. So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering 'one moves among the seats of the sun' or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG and TS). But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the *pāda trīṇśat svasāra upayanti niṣkṛtam*, with the acc *niṣkṛtam* in all alike. To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS PG mean by *carati niṣkṛteṣu* about the same thing that is meant by *carati niṣkṛtani* in MS KS. Naturally, no one would claim certainty for such an interpretation.

§525 While, therefore, we should not deny that some such distinction as that suggested by Delbruck may have been concerned in the origin of the locative of goal, and while we freely admit that in some instances of shift between the two cases a distinction may, nay at times even must, have been felt, we nevertheless believe that our variants tend as a whole to indicate similarity, rather than distinction, between them. It is easy to be over-subtle in such matters, we shall for the most part try not to impose our views upon the materials, preferring to let them speak for themselves. At the same time we shall occasionally call attention to what seem to us significant features, particularly when they support the view we hold, namely that scholars have failed to recognize with sufficient clarity the close similarity between these uses of the acc and loc. Special attention may be called here to the *pāda vayanāṁ ya aviveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS ApS, in which the acc *vayānāṁ* and the loc *mṛgeṣu* occur in two precisely parallel phrases, surely no one would suggest that there can be the slightest difference in meaning between them.

1 With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like

§526 We begin with verbs meaning something like 'go, enter, mount', and list first cases in which the acc and loc seem most nearly akin in meaning.

svasti mā sam vahasya yajñasyodṛci svāha AV *svasti mā sampārasya yajñasyodṛcam* ŚS. See §523.

yasya vratam (RVKh Scheftelowitz, Ppp KS ^(te) *pasavo yanti sarve RVKh AV Ppp TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ* 'Into whose control go all cattle'. Cf. next.

yasya vratam (AV *vratā*) *upatiṣṭhanta āpah*, same texts, immediately after preceding. See §523.

tiṣṭha ratham (TB *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB ^(taḥ) RV VS ŚB TB 'Mount upon (*adhī-stha*) this chariot'.

endrasya jathare (SV °ram) *viśa* RV SV 'Enter the belly of Indra' *svo ruhānā adhi nākam uttamam* (TS † MS † KS *nāka uttame*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky' The verb is *adhi-ruh*

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS MS KS ŚB *rohayānam*, TA *rohēnam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

akṣaram brahma sammutam TA TAA MahānU *akṣare brahmasammute* MG Preceded by *āyātu varadā devī* (MG *āyāhi viraje devī*)

ya āviṣṭo vayasru (Ppp *yo viṣṭo vayasī*) *yo mṛgeṣu* AV Ppp *vayānsi ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS ApŚ See §525

ā mitrāvaruṇā bhagam RV *ā mitre varune bhage* SV Followed by *madhvah (madhoh) pavanta ūrmayah* The SV comm reads accs like RV, and Benfey renders 'In Mitra fließen'

viśo-viśah pravivīśānsam imahe AV *viśvasyām viśi pravivīśānsam* (KS † *pravivīśānam*) *imahe* TS MS KS

prānāpānāyor (ŚG °nā) *uruvyacās tayā* (ŚG *twayā*, so AG must intend, and so Stenzler translates it) *prapadye* AG ŚG 'I take refuge with (flee to) prāna and apāna with thee'

upa dyām upa vetasam AV Vait *upa jmann upa vetase* VS TS MS KS ŚB The verb *avatara* 'descend into' is found in the following pāda in all but AV Vait TS, and in these some such verb is understood

yajñam dadhānāh (ApŚ *vidānāh*) *sukṛtasya lokam* (ApŚ *loke*) KS ApŚ Preceded by *te yantu prajānantah*

purīṣam vasānāh sukṛtasya loke (MS KS *lokam*) VS MS KS ŚB *purīṣam vasānāh svām yonim yathāyatham* ApŚ Preceded in MS KS ApŚ, followed in VS ŚB, by *tatra gacha yatra pūrve parētāh* The acc is certainly one of goal of motion Mahidhara on VS rightly takes *loke* as loc of goal, Griffith and Eggeling construe it with *vasānāh* as loc of situation They also, most violently and against Mahidhara and all probability, detach *sukṛtasya* from *loke* and make it depend on *purīṣam*

rudrasya gānapatyān (VS ŚB °patyam, KS °patye) *mayobhūr ehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's troop' VS ŚB KS, on TS MS see §§495, 705

keṣu (LŚ *kim svd*) *antah puruṣa ā viveśa* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

sudughendre (MS °dram, p p °dre) *śarasvatī* VS MS Followed by *akṣvānā bhīṣajāvataṁ* (VS °tah) See Neisser's illuminating treatment of *av* (ZWBch d RV, s v), which establishes the fact that it

is fundamentally a verb of motion. This receives new support from our variant, where the loc can only be interpreted as equivalent to the acc of goal 'strive towards Indra'.

§527 In the next group the loc can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc. We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases *sūryasyaikā carati nīṣkṛteṣu* (MS KS *nīṣkṛtāni*) TS MS KS PG. See §524.

viṣṇū agan varunā pūrvahūtau (MS ^{°hūtm}) VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ 'It has gone to Viṣṇu and Varuna, to (at) the first oblation'. The generally old and primary MS may be taken as a kind of commentary on the others, yet the loc of situation is possible. A still different interpretation of *pūrvahūtau* is offered by the comma on SB and TB, which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with *viṣṇū varunā*.

anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (AV *grham nah*) RV AV Ppp MG. Preceded by *śivah kapota ṛṣito no astu* 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods'. So essentially Grassmann, taking *grheṣu* closely with *ṛṣito*, the AV supports this. But Ludwig 'im Hause'.

divas (divah) prṣṭham (PB *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*) *suman-mabbhīh* RV PB TA ApŚ. Preceded by *varīvānarah prathathā nākam āruhat* (PB *āruha*). In the original *prṣṭham* is acc of goal with *āruhat*, parallel with *nākam*. In PB *prṣṭhe* could be so construed, as loc of goal, but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with *mandamānah*, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven'. *satyadharmāno adhvaram* (TS ^{°re}) RV TS *vāmam prayaty adhware* VS MS ŚB. Preceded in RV by *ṛtadhītaya ā gata*, in the others by *ā vo devāsa imahe*. RV 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes'. The loc may also be one of goal 'we come to you to the sacrifice'. But a loc of situation is also possible, not indeed with *satyadharmāno*, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Keith), since this would require accentless *adhware* (Whitney 314d), but rather 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance'. Cf also (*kavim agnim upa stuhi*) *satyadharmānam adhware*, in a different context, here the loc is clearly one of situation.

prātaryāvāno adhvaram RV VS TB *prātaryāvabhīr adhware* SV. See the whole verse, quoted §415. The acc is certainly one of goal.

with *prātaryādvāno* 'coming betimes to the offering' The loc may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with *ā sīdatu*, and parallel with *barhiṣi*, 'at the offering'

devasya savituh save (SV *savam*) RV AV SV TS etc etc This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc of situation 'at the instigation of God Savitar' The acc *savam* occurs once in SV, in a verse found also in AŚ ŚŚ Vait, all of which read *save*, it is preceded by *āvīr maryā ā vājam vājino agman*, and followed by *svargam* (AŚ ŚŚ °gān) *arvanto jayema* (*jayatah, jayata*) Clearly SV has acc of goal with *agman* 'have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense 'at the instigation of' Cf next

tasya pūṣā prasave (TS °vam) *yāti vidvān* (TS KS *devah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Similar to preceding

antarikṣe (KS °kṣam) *viṣnur* (MS *viṣnur antarikṣe*) *vyakransta* VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ - *traṣṭubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame* TS 'Viṣnu strode thru (durchschritt, or, strode forth in) the atmosphere' Similar formulas with *dīṣo* (*dīkṣu*), *prthivīm* (°vyām), *dīvam* (*dīm*), and different meter names See also *deva vṣṇa urv adyāṣmin*, §549

§528 In another group we find different words used, either different governing verbs or different variant nouns, resulting in a shift between acc of goal and loc of situation, in these cases we no longer feel doubt that the force of the two cases is quite distinct

prīyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *prīyam sādā āsīda* (VSK TS TB ApŚ * *prīye sādā sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ (bis) *sedam prīyena dhāmnā prīyam sādā āsīda* (VSK *prīyena nāma* [for *nāmnā*'] *prīye sādā sīda*) VS VSK ŚB It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple *sad* is here construed each time with loc, the compound *ā-sad* with acc Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc, instead of 'sit on', it means 'take one's seat upon' It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527, but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant

yāu (MS *yā*) *ātasthatur bhuvanāni vṣvā* (TB *bhuvanasya madhye*) AV MS TB 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe)'

ukṣā bībhartī bhuvanāni (SV ArS *mumeti bhuvaneṣu*) *vājayuh* RV SV ArS

jīvam (ApMB *jīvām*) *rudanti vi mayante adhvare* (AV *nayanīy adhva-*
ram) RV AV ApMB The AV clearly has a lect fac, but the
original is quite obscure in meaning, cf Bloomfield *AJP* 21 411-9,
Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc

antarikṣasya tvā sādāv avagūhāmī (KS **kṣasya sādūpeṣa*) TS KS ApŚ -
divah sādūpeṣa MS MŚ The MS p p absurdly divides *sādū*, *peṣa*,
von Schroeder rightly understands *sādū*, *upa-ṣa*, 'zu des Himmels
Rücken strebe auf'

§529 The following case is like those of the last section in that
agram is acc of goal with *rohatah*, a verb of motion, while *agre* is loc
of situation with *kṛdatah*, it receives separate rubrication because it
leads over to the next following group

agram vṛkṣasya rohatah VS TS MS KSA ŚB TA *agre vṛkṣasya kṛ-*
dah (VSK ŚŚ *kṛt*?) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

2 Adverbial acc loc

§530 In another group of variations between these two forms *agram*
and *agre*, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt
as expressions of the goal In some instances, at any rate, it seems
hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, 'in the beginning'
or the like

agra imam yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim dhātā TS *agra imam adya*
yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim sudhātum yajñapatim devayuvam VS
agram yajñam nayatāgram yajñapatim MS 'Lead forward this
sacrifice' But here, with the verb *nayata*, the word may be
felt as 'to the front'

ahnām ketur uṣasām ety (AV † *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*) RV AV TS MS
KS N Here too, with a verb of motion, the idea of goal may be
present in the acc form, at least 'As banner of the days he goes
(thou goest) at (to?) the head of the dawns'

jayantīnām maruḥo yantu agram (TS *agre*, AV MS KS *yantu madhye*)
RV AV SV VS TS MS KS 'Let the Maruts go at (to?) the
front of the conquering armies'

tena devā devatām agra (VS MS KS *agram*) *āyan* AV VS KS MS
tapasā (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS TB TA MahānU
'By this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning'
Since *devatām* expresses the goal, it seems that *agram* can hardly
be anything but an adverb

āgnur agra (SV *agram*) *uṣasām aśoci* RV SV Perhaps motion is felt
in the verb *ā-śuc* 'Agni was enkindled at (unto?) the beginning of
the dawns'

§531 Similarly *dūram* or *dūre* may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved *bādhaska* (AV *bādhethām*) *dūre* (AV *dūram*, TS Ppp *dwego*) *nirṛtim parācah* RV AV Ppp TS 'Drive perdition afar off'

§532 We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial acc and loc, in a *pāda* where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal

ye arvāñ madhya (TA omits *madhya*) *uta vā purānam* (TA °ne) AV TA 'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times'

3 With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root *dhā*)

§533. The root *dhā* and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the acc of the person and the loc of the thing ('set, establish in'), or with the dat of the person and acc of the thing ('establish for', 'give to'), see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dheh Vait *svarge loke yajamānam hi dheh* (or, *dheh mām*) TB ApŚ

§534 We find also several variants in which, after *dhā*, the thing 'placed' is put in either acc or loc, while the person is expressed by the pronoun *nah*, which might be either dat or acc. It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat in the variant containing acc of the thing, and as an acc in the form with loc of the thing 'set us in' or 'establish for us'. It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized, so that *nah* with acc of the thing might be taken as an acc (something like 'set us unto')

indraṣṣabhā dravine (MS °nam) *no dadhātu* AV MS

sa nah pāvako dravnam (AV °ne) *dadhātu* AV TS MS KS KŚ

sā no bhūmih pūrvapeye (MS °yam) *dadhātu* AV MS

§535 As we said in the last section, there are at least a few variants in which, with verbs of placing or the like, we find two accusatives varying with an accusative and a locative. That is, instead of the loc of the remoter goal, that into which something is set, an acc is used *sutrāmendre* (MS °ram) *sarasvatī* VS MS TB. Followed by *balam na vācam āsya uṣābhyaṁ dadhur indriyam*. This, it seems, can only mean 'have put strength in Indra, speech in his mouth'. It may be however that MS has been influenced by the following verse, a variant of this one, in which *avardhayan* (with acc) replaces *dadhuh*. Similarly, in the same passage

bhūṣajendre (MS °ram) *sarasvatī* VS MS TB Followed by *prānam*
dadhur See prec

ut sakthyā (ŚŚ °yor) *ava gudaṁ* (TS KSA ApŚ *sakthyor grdam*) *dhehī*
VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ *adhāma sakthyor ava gudaṁ dhehī*
Vait

rathamtaram sūma (also *vairājam*, *vairūpam*, and *bṛhat sūma*, and *lāk-*
vararawate sāmānī) *pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe* (KS °kṣam, TS °ṣṭhityaḥ,
om *antarikṣe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB A verb like *stabhndtu* is
supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS *antarikṣam* can
only be construed as an acc of remoter goal 'let the Rathamtara
sāman (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere'

ā gharṁ (AŚ °mam) *sn̄ca paya usruyāyāh* AV AŚ ŚŚ 'Pour the milk
of the brindle-cow into the hot drink' *ā-sic* is here construed as a
verb of placing

§536 The compound *sam-dhā*, as a verb of joining, is construed
either with acc and instr, or acc and loc, it is the loc form which
varies with the acc in the following variant, on which see §462

aṅgāny ātman (MS *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhūṣajā tad āsūmā* VS MS KS
TB Followed by *ātmānam aṅgair samadhāt sarasvatī*

§537 A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal
shift between loc and acc forms

varṣīyo (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyaso yajñe yajñapatim dhāh* VS TS ŚB
varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatāu dhāh MS KS Addressed to
the atmosphere 'Being more extended, establish the patron of the
sacrifice in a more extended sacrifice' 'being more extended than
the more extended, establish the sacrifice in the patron of the
sacrifice' In such rigmarole the inversion of terms makes little
difference

asman yajñe yajamānāya sūrim AV *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau*
ApŚ See §488 Neither reading is intelligible, but the reciprocal
interchange of the forms of *yajña* and *sūri* seems to be similar to
that in the preceding The verb (preceding) is *dadhātana* in ApŚ,
pari nayāmi in AV

§538 Tho the verb is a form of *dhā* in the next variant, the psychology
of the variation seems to be different

dadhad ratnam (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣaputr̥bhya* (AV *dakṣam pi°*) *āyuni* (AV
āyūnṣi) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May he assign wealth and dexterty to the
pitṛs (wealth to the Dakṣapitṛs), and long lives (in [respect to?]
their life)' Neither the acc *āyūnṣi* (complementary object), nor
(apparently) the loc *āyuni* (tho its meaning is not very clear),
can here be understood as the remoter goal of *dadhad*

4 With various prepositions

§539 There are a few variants involving acc and loc after various prepositions. In the first, with *adhī*, the verb is *dadhāti*, 'assigns', possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc in SV

nāma tṛtīyam adhī rocane (SV °*nam*) *divah* RV SV '(Assigns) a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven'

§540 Similarly in the next, we find in SV an isolated use of the loc with *acha*, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV verb of motion (*ajanā*) is replaced in SV by *mṛjantī* 'purify', which was felt as requiring a loc

ajanā vahnīm sadanāny acha RV *mṛjantī vahnīm sadaneṣv acha* SV
'They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats'

§541 A third variant shows *antarā* with acc and loc, only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī upah suvah (MG °*pṛthivyor apasyuh*) TB ApMB
HG MG

§542 Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, *anu* with acc, *adhī* with loc

ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu (KS *pṛthivyām adhī*) RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB
Both mean 'on (or thruout) the earth'

5 With other verbs than those of motion

§543 Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases. Thus, *sam-vad* 'converse (about), discuss' governs either. In passing we may note the absence of any variant showing acc loc of the person spoken to ('goal' of speech), which we might have expected on the analogy of the frequent interchange of the two after verbs of motion. In the later language these cases are quite interchangeable in this construction, but in the Veda such a use of the loc is perhaps hardly to be found

pratiprasthātāh paśmū (MŚ *paśum*) *samvadasva* ApŚ MŚ 'Pratiprasthātar, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer)'

§544 Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen (§501), the loc varying with the acc

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tīm nadīm*)
Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §501

prajāvatīh sūyavasam (AV °*se*) *ruśantīh* (RV and TB comm *riś*°) RV
AV TB See VV 2 §627 on *ruśantīh* TB comm explains by

bhakṣayanāṭh, so also AV comm, tho it reads *ruś* 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage'

§545 A verb of beating

āghnānāḥ pānīnorasī AV *urah paṭaurāv āghnānāḥ* AV 'Beating upon their breasts with their hands' 'beating their breasts and thighs (?)'

§546 A verb of conquering is construed with a loc or with (a sort of 'inner') accusative

tvayā (omitted in VSK TS KS TB) *vayam samghātam-samghātam* (VSK *samghāte-samghāte*, TS TB omit one *samghātam*) *jeṣma* (KS **jayema*, and *†*samjayema*) VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB TB 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight'

§547 The root *ruc* (*rocate*, *ruruce*) is normally middle and intransitive, taking no accus except a 'cognate' or 'inner' acc ('shine forth light' or the like) The original form of the following variant accordingly has a loc, 'on the earth', but KS substitutes an acc (elliptic) dual, and must understand *ruruce* as transitive (equivalent to the causative) 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn'

kṣāman (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS KS *ketunā*) RV VS TS MS KS

6 Locative absolute and accusative

§548 Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute

nābhā prthivyāḥ samīdhāne agnau (TS *samīdhānam agnim*, MS KS *°no agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *rayaspoṣāya brhate havāmahe* 'When Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him)' 'We call upon Agni enkindled etc' On MS KS see §§393, 450

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsrṣṭāsu yulso indro ganeṣu* MS See §607, loc abs in the secondary MS, *yudha(h)* object of the agent noun *samsraṣṭā*

yā svapantam bodhayati (HG *svapatsu jagarti*) ApMB HG '(The she-demon) who awakens the sleeper' 'who wakes while people sleep'

7 Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved

haviṣā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indrīyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB See the passage, discussed §473 TB has assimilated *yajñe* to *indrīyam* *devān aśvināu madhukaśayādyemam yajñam* (ApŚ °*kaśayādyaśmin yajñe*) *yajamānāya mimikṣatam* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O divine Aśvins, with the honey-whip mingle (°besprinkle) this sacrifice for the *yajamāna*' Only the acc seems sensible, ApŚ seems to leave the verb objectless, 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice' It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns. Most perversely, in some of these ApŚ uses acc forms instead of the locs of the other texts! Thus

deva viṣṇa urv adyāśmin yajñe (ApŚ °*viṣṇav urv adyemam yajñam*) *yajamānāyādhi* (ApŚ °*yānu*) *vikramasva* (MŚ *yajamānāya vikramasva*), same texts Here, to be sure, the loc as well as the acc may be defended, with *vi-kram*, cf §530 above But in the next the acc seems as impossible as the loc in the preceding, and is doubtless to be explained in the same way

devy adīte svādītyam adyāśmin yajñe yajamānāyāsuvāsva (ApŚ *adīte* °*nv adyemam yajñam yajamānāyādhi*), same texts

8 Miscellaneous

§550 The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages

dyumnām vṛṇāta puṣyase RV VS TS MS ŚB *dyumnām* (and *dyumne*) *vareta puṣyatu* KS (both) 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper' 'let him choose glory, let him prosper' 'let him choose (him, Netar) in glory, let him prosper'

vṛṣā punāna āyusu (SV °*āyūṣi*) RV SV The pple is intransitive in RV but transitive in SV

lokam pitṛṣu vittvā AV *pitṛn hy atra gachāsi* TA 'Having found a place among the fathers' 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers' *sā śamtātī* (SV °*tā*, TB ApŚ °*cī*) *mayas karad apa smadhah* RV SV TB ApŚ 'She made (for me) blissful (*śamtātī*) joy (joy in bliss)' We should expect *śamtātīm*, 'bliss'

upa tvā kāmā imahe sasṛgmahe SV *upa tvā kāmān mahah sasṛgmahe* RV AV

niskā ime (AV *ete*, MŚ *hy ete*) *yajamānasya bradhne* (MŚ °*nam*, AV *loke*) AV TB ApŚ MŚ 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven, TB comm the world of the Ādītyas, as the fruit of sacrifice)', in MŚ preceded by *darbhah strñīta*, *bradhnām* being

object of this verb 'Strew with darbha-grasses —for these are jewels—the sun (-heaven) of the sacrificer' Caland strangely takes *bradhne* as nom pl (adjective with *niṣkāh*')

suṣadā yonau svāhā vāṭ (TS TB *yonim svāhā*) VS TS ŚB TB *sudhīn yonīm suṣadām prthwīm* (ms °vī) *svāhā* KS Preceded by *anṣam nah pūtam kṛnu* (KS *kṛdhī*), Conc quotes the whole mantra of KS under this We see no way to construe *suṣadā yonim*, Keith assumes *suṣadām*, which is supported by KS (but note there also *prthwī* in the ms ') 'make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in' On the loss of anusvāra cf VV 2 §307 It looks as if VS ŚB, starting from TS's reading, had interpreted *suṣadā* as loc of an unknown **suṣadī*, and changed to *yonau* to match it
samudre yasya rasām id āhuh AV *yasya samudram* (Ppp MS KS *sam° yasya*) *rasayā sahāhuh* RV Ppp VS TS MS KS See §463
cakṣus cit sūrye sacā RV *cakṣuṣā sūryam dṛṣe* SV See §474
tayā devāh sutam ā babhūvuh TS KSA TB *sā no asmīn sutu ā babhūva* VS MS See §419

dṛṇhasva prthivyām VS KS ŚB *dṛṇha prthwīm* PB 'Be firm on earth' 'make firm the earth' Contexts are identical

āvartanam nṛvartanam RV AV *āvartane nṛvartane* TB ApŚ The forms are differently construed, cf Caland's note on ApŚ The latter form of the verse is radically altered

revatī predhā yajñapatim āvīsa MS KS *revatī yajamāne priyam dhā āvīsa* VS † ŚB † *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāvīsa* TS ApŚ 'O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer' 'give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (him)'

upa rṣabhasya (TB LŚ *uparṣ°*) *retasī* (AV *yad retah*), followed by *upendra tava vīrye* (AV °yam) RV AV TB LŚ The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV 9 4 23) The verb is *upa prcayātām*, 'let be mingled', in all but AV, which reads *upa prñca*, this we take as active, and hence construe *yad retah* and *vīryam* as acc, not nom with Whitney If we are right, the acc-loc variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533-8

9 Corruptions

§551 The following seem clearly corrupt

sīrṣṇā śīro 'psasāpso ardayan AV *sīrṣṇā śīro* (ApŚ *gīrau*) *vakṣasā vakṣa ejayan* KS ApŚ The blunder of ApŚ, tho uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV 8 45 5 *gīrau apso na yodhiṣat*, on which see Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* s v

apsas The variant should be added to VV 2 §153a (*apsas vakṣas*, synonyms), 360, 732

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savane mā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Whitney renders AV (p p *savane, mā*) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of *savane* 'mā' (°*nā* + *imā*), which the comin reads So also Conc *ime calvāro rajaso vimānāh* (MŚ °*ne*) KS MŚ Other versions of the pāda (see Conc) all end with *devayānāh* All Knauer's mss read *vimāno*, for this K emends °*ne*, 'im Dunstkreis' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to *vimānāh*

10 Transfer of epithet

§552 Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between acc and loc involve also change of number or gender

amuṣya tvā prane (ŚB KŚ *prānam*) *sadayāmi* TS ŚB TA KŚ ApŚ *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya prāne sodayāmi* MS In ŚB KŚ *prānam* (the life of an enemy) defines *tvā* 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so,' cf the next mantra, *amuṣya tvā prānam apīdadhāmi* These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making *prānam* appositional to *tvā* The others 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so'

ni tad dadhiṣe 'varam param (AV * Ppp °*vare pare*) ca RV AV (bis) Ppp Followed by *yasminn āvithāvasa durone*

abhi yonam ayohalam (SV VS °*te*) RV SV VS Followed by *drone* (RV *drunā*) *sadhashtam āsadat* (RV *asnuṣe*) The adjective is switched from *yonam* to *drone*

varūthyam (SV °*ye*) *varune chandiyam vacah* RV SV

[*yasyām karmāni kurvate* (ApŚ *kṛnvate*) KS ApŚ *yāni karmāni cakṛve* AV Preceded by *anāptā yā* (AV *ye*) *vah prathamā* Obscure, the forms of pāda a are neut pl, going with *karmāni*, so that AV *yani* really corresponds to KS ApŚ *yā* of pāda a, AV *ye* of pāda a of course goes with the subject What *yasyām* refers to is not evident AV p p mss have *anāptā* but *prathamāh*, the latter would be possible, going with the subject]

§553 What is originally a word of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, as its epithet (§15), in *yatrainān* (AG Kauś SMB HG MG *yatraitān*) *vettha nṛitān parāke*

(SMB *parācah*) VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB HG MG *parācah* with *etān*, *parāke* adverbial, 'far away'
ā te vācam āsyām (HG *āsyā*) *dade* HG ApMB *tām te vācam āsyā ādatte* (read *ādade*?) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG Followed in HG ApMB by *ā* (HG om) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* Kirste suggests *āsyād*, more likely *āsyām* is intended, with one ms, as in ApMB If PG is original ('in the mouth'), then HG ApMB have made *āsyē* over into an adjective, 'of the mouth', agreeing with *vācam*, cf *manasyām* which must certainly be taken as an adjective from *manas*
atheme anya upare vicaṣṣanam (AV °ne) RV AV PraśU Followed by *saptacakre śadara āhur arpitam* In the original *vicaṣṣanam* (referring apparently to the cosmic year) is object of *āhur* AV stupidly attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding line Ppp as RV

§554 Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is changed so as to be construed independently (§15)

imam ratam (SV *asya rātau*) *satam piba* RV SV 'Drink this presented soma' 'drink the soma at this man's offering'
agnim īde pūrvacittim (TS °cittau) *namobhih* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'I revere with homage Agni whose is the first (ancient?) devotion (TS, at the first devotion)'

11 Phrase inflection

§555 Occurs once

ṛtasya pade (RV **padam*) *kavayo nī pānti* RV (both) T'A JUB The *pāda* with the loc is preceded by an object *manīṣām*, different contexts

CHAPTER XXIV

INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

A *Instrumental and dative*

1 As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556 With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental. Thus *sam tam sñcatu rādhasē* RV Vait, 'may he pour it (anśu, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KS ApŚ (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) *sam tat sñcatu rādhasā*, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bounteously)' The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common, correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages. They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases. The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty'. The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function.

§557 In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative.

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV. Preceded in all by *ajānuś ca rājase*. In RV *kratvā* seems best taken with *varīṣṭhari*, 'the most extended in power (wisdom, magic power)', yet it might even there be felt as going with the preceding verb ('created [Indra] unto rule, by [magic] power, the most extended'). Certainly the dative of SV must be taken with the preceding, and evidently it is assimilated to *rājase* 'created (Indra) unto rule, unto (magic) power'.

suvargeyāya (VSK *svar*^o, VS MS KS ŚB *svargyāya*) *śaktyā* (TS *ṣya*, MS *śaktaye*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might'.

āpa undantu jīvase (AV *varcasā*, AG *varcase*) AV TS KS AG ŚG

SMB GG ApMB HG MG 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor)' In most texts including AV a dative phrase, *dirghāyutvāya cakṣase* or *varcase*, occurs in the vicinity Delete in Conc the AG reference for *āpa un° jivase*
prajāpates tvā ('teṣ tvā) *prānenābhīprānumi pūṣnah poṣena* (MŚ *poṣāya*) *mahyam dirghāyutvāya* TB ApŚ MŚ 'I breathe upon thee with (unto) Pūṣan's prosperity, unto long life'
pra no rāyā parinasā (SV *rāye panīyase*) RV SV KB Followed by *ratsi vājāya panthām* 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength'

§558 In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case

taṁ hi svarājāṁ vṛṣabham taṁ ojase (SV *ojasā*) RV SV AV Followed by *dhiṣṇane niṣṭatakṣatuh* 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength'

pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuh*, *viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryena* (TB ApŚ *vī jāya*, AV *vīryānu*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU See §474 *saptaṛṣṭayas tapase* (AV °sā) *ye niṣeduh* RV AV *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* (LŚ °yena) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength'

vaṁśvānaro na ūtaye (TS MS ApŚ MŚ *ūtyā*) AV VS TS MS KS AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Followed by *ā pra yātu parāvatah* 'Unto (with) aid'

rāye (TB ApŚ *revaj*) *jātaḥ sahasa* (TB ApŚ °sā) *vṛddhaḥ* KS TB ApŚ 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength'

tās tvā devīr (AV om *devīr*, SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °sā) *sam vyayantu* (PG *vyayasva*) AV SMB PG HG ApMB MG 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age' On PG see VV 1 §70

ā mā somo amṛtatvena (TS °tvāya) *gamyāt* VS TS MS KS ŚB *anāgasam brahmanā* (TB HG ApMB °ne) *tvā kṛnomi* (TB HG ApMB *karomi*) AV TB HG ApMB 'I make thee guiltless by my charm', AV For *brahmane* Oldenberg on HG says 'before the Brahman', rather something like 'unto holiness' or 'holy power' TB comm *paravṛdhāya jātakarmādīsamskārāya*

tena te vapāmi brahmanā (MG °my āyuse, ApMB °my asāv āyusaḥ *varcasā*) VSK SMB PG ApMB MG *tena ta āyuse vapāmi* AG *tenāsyāyuse vapa* ApMB In the texts which have *āyuse* or *āyusaḥ*, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals

tenāśmai yajamānāyuru (MS KS *yajñapatalaya uru*) *rāye* (TS *rāyā*) *kṛdhi*
VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth'

apām stoko abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB °*lac chivena*, HG *abhyapatac chivāya*) AV ApMB HG

apām uta prasastiṣu (RV † *praśastaye*, AV VSK °*tibhīh*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* ('*tha*) *vājīnah* 'Unto (by, in) praising of the waters, O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong' Here the locative is also brought in, without essential difference

śatani bhavāsy ūtibhīh (SV VS * *ūlaye*) RV AV SV VS (bis, add in Conc SV 2 34c, VS 27 41c, with *ūlaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ

kāmēna (TS MS *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS om *prati*) *grhnāmī* AV TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ 'I receive thee with (unto) affection'

maghavañ ('*van*) *chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhīh* (SV PB TB TA ApŚ *ūlaye*) RV AV SV PB TB TA MahānU ApŚ

yam matram na praśastibhīh (SV °*laye*) RV SV Followed by *martāso dadhire purah* 'Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise'

iha priyam prajayā (AV *prajāyai*) *te sam ṛdhyatām* RV AV AG ApMB *sadā pāhy abhiṣṭayc* (°*tibhīh*) RV (both) See *RVRep* on 1 129 9
vanemā te abhiṣṭibhīh (SV °*laye*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ 'May we win by (unto) thy aid'

atho ariṣṭatātaye (RV * AV * °*tibhīh*) RV * AV * PB

§559 Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rigmarole in such instances. Even some of the above variants approach such a classification, which becomes more definitely applicable in the following, here little really intelligible sense can be got out of either form

pretinā dharmanā (MS *pretyā dharmane*) *dharman jñva* VS MS This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the stomabhāga bricks 'With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness' VS (and ŚB) vary between dat and instr in different formulas of the series, MS has the dative consistently thruout To the same group belong *sandhināntarikṣenāntarikṣam* (MS *sandhināntarikṣāyāntarikṣam*) *jñva* VS MS *viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā* (MS *vṛṣṭyai*) *vṛṣṭim jñva* VS MS *anvityā divā* (MS *dive*) *divam jñva* VS MS ŚB *pravayāhnā* (MS *pravāyāhne*) 'har *jñva* VS MS *pratidhina prthivyā* (MS °*vyai*) *prthivīm jñva*

VS MS, and others Cf *anvitar asi dive tvā divam jinva* TS KS GB TB Vait, and other formulas in these texts corresponding to those of VS MS, they seem to confirm the originality of the datives of MS

śukram te śukrena grhnāmi TS KS ApŚ *śukram tvā śukra sukrāya grhnāmi* MS MŚ 'I take thy bright one (thy brightness?) with brightness (with a bright one?)' 'I take thee, the bright one, O bright one, unto brightness (unto a bright one?)'

svāhā maruḍbhīh (MS °bhīyah) *parīśrayasva* (VS ŚB °śrīyasva) VS MS ŚB 'Hail! be encompassed by (for) the Maruts' The comms on VS and ŚB, where the verse is addressed to the chief cauldron (*mahāvīra*), say that 'by the Maruts' means 'by us, the people', having in mind the proportion Indra Maruts = king *viśah*

2 With expressions of uniting

§560 A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf §59)

susambhṛtā (MŚ °te) *tvā sam bharami* TS TB ApŚ MŚ 'I unite thee with (unto) good union'

ayakṣmāya tvā samerjāmi prajābhyah VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah prajāyā samerjāmi* KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring' 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring'

samveśanas (RV AV °ne) *tanuvā* (AV *tanvā*, SV KS MŚ *tanve*, RV *tanvas*) *cānur edhī* RV AV SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ 'Be happy in union (or, as a uniter) with (of, to) thy body' Of course the RV, with an objective genitive, is the original (see §617), but it is interesting that either an instr (AV) or a dat (most texts) may be substituted for this rather unusual form There seems no objection to taking *samveśanas* as a nom agentis, with comms on TB and TA (*samyogayāta*), this would not alter the construction

samjñānam nah svebhyah (AV *svebhīh*, TB *svarh*), followed by *samjñānam aranebhyah* (AV °nebhhīh, TB °nah) RVKh AV MS KS TB In AV TB, 'harmony for us with our own men with strangers,' in the others, 'harmony for us unto (= with) our own men' etc The instr is more natural in sense but metrically inferior and probably a secondary lect fac

ājarasāya sam anaktv aryamā RV SMB ApMB *ahorātrābhyām sam*

anaktv aryamā AV 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night)'

3 Other syntactic shifts

§561 More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV *apo mahi vṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV 'She (Uṣas) folds away (removes) the great darkness, unto seeing' 'she, the mighty one, discloses (removes) the darkness with sight'

§562 A somewhat different understanding of the verb seems responsible for the shift of cases in the following

hastāya (SV *hastena*) *vajrah prati dhāyī darśatah* RV AV SV 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra)'

§563 Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms, other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case

vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi TS ApŚ *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prānāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ *hutasya prāśnāmīṣe prānāya*, ŚB *hutasyāśnāmy ūrja udānāya*) ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech'

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda (MS *tayā vidhema*, KS *tasyan te vidhema*) TS MS KS 'Thy arrow with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS)'

yah samgrāmān (TS MS 'mam) *nayati* (KS *jayati*) *sam yudhe vaśi* (TS MS *sam vaśi yudhe*, KS *sam vaśi yudhā*) AV TS MS KS 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting)' The change in verb (rining, add to VV 2 §553) conditions the change of noun case

pratiṣprasthātār dadhagharmenānūdehi (MŚ *dadhagharmāya dadhy upakalpayasva*) ApŚ MŚ Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different, MŚ 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge'

vīlam śamitre (MS 'trā, KS 'tam) *śamitā* (MS 'tam) *yajadhya* TS MS KS 'Welcome (is it) for the immolator, let the immolator sacrifice', TS 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered by the immolator for sacrifice', MS 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice', KS Cf *vīlam havih śamīlam śamitā yajadhya* VS ŚB, 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahīdhara and Eggehang)

arvāḡ devā asya visarjanena (TB 'nāya) RV MS TB The comm on

TB is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl (which varies with the instr after *arvāk*, cf Speyer VSS §39, and below, §574) But doubtless TB misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i.e. to create it?)'.
tebhah (AV VS VSK *tebhayah*) *svarād asunūtm etām* (AV *asunūtm no adya*) RV AV VS VSK Followed by *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *tanvāh*) *kalpayāti* (RV *yasva*) The interpretation is difficult in any reading, see the commentators

patim surāyā (TB *yaṁ*, VS *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Mahidhara takes *surayā* as associative instr A dat or gen seems required, see §622

saṃr devāḥ sāyamayāvabhāḥ (ŚŚ *devebhyaḥ śāyamayāvabhyaḥ*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ And the same with *prātaryāvabhāḥ* (ŚŚ † *ayāvabhyaḥ*) 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning)' The instr may be suggested by *saṃr*, if the dative (dedicatory) be taken as the original, but the formula is rignmarole and anything is possible

namah kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK *yātāya*, KS *kṛtsamvītāya*, TS MS *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhāvate* VS VSK TS MS KS Certainly a dative is required, tho the variations show that the meaning was not understood VS comm struggles with the instr as an abstract noun, dependent on *dhāvate*, he analyzes it as from *kṛtsnāyata* (*kṛtsnāyatu*) + *tā*, apparently assuming haplology (or is there a misprint, for *yātātayā*?) The original dat is an epithet of Rudra

4 Case attraction

§564 In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change

yunajma vāyūm antarikṣena te (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ *yukt vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere)' Formal assimilation of *te* to *tena*, influenced by *antarikṣena*

dṛśā ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśikmanā MS *dṛśe ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśikmanāḥ* (KS *kvabhāḥ*) VS TS KS ŚB *dṛśe* is infinitival with *suśuk*, and *dṛśā* seems due to formal assimilation apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on *suśikmanā* see VV 2 §240)

5 Corruptions

§565 A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt-

aghāya bhūma harivah parādai (MS *daḥ*) RV AV TS MS On MS

(‘by betrayal’?) see VV 2 §384, it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant
dikṣayedaṃ (KS *dikṣāy*°) *haviṛ āgachataṃ nah* KS TB AŚ There is no stem **dikṣa*, and it seems that KS (all mss and ed) must be an error
[enāhnedam ahar aṣṭya svāhā KS *idāhna id āharam aṣṭya* MŚ ed by em, the mss corruptly point to the same text as KS See VV 2 §709]

6 Phrase inflection

§566 Phrase inflection (§§21–2) occurs
ṛtubhiṣ tvārtavariḥ AV HG *ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyah* AV In two different stanzas, AV 3 10 10 and 5 28 13, one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV 19 37 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman)
asme kṣātrāya varcase balāya RV *saha kṣātreṇa varcasā balena* AV In different contexts
sahasrākṣāya mīdhukṣe (NīlarU *vājine*) VS VSK TS MS KS NīlarU *sahasrākṣeṇa vājīnā* AV The same stanza as in VS etc occurs in NīlarU, but has apparently been influenced (as to *vājine*) by *vājīnā* of the quite different AV stanza

7 Transfer of epithet

§567 The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between dat and instr seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15)

yo agnaye dadāṣa havyadātubhiḥ (SV °*dātaye*) RV SV ‘Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations)’ So it seems best to take SV, with *havya*° as a noun of agent, as in RV 6 48 2 *dāṣema havyadātaye* If however we take the SV form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558

vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā (SV *panīṣṭhaye*) RV SV ‘Go with sustenance most desirable’, RV The SV is usually understood to mean ‘go with sustenance unto praise’ (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun If we dared take *panīṣṭhaye* as an adjective, it might go with the ‘folk’ (*janāya*) of the preceding *pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruhe* (SV °*hah*), this would be a genuine ‘transfer of epithet’

B *Instrumental and ablative*

1 Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§568 Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§569 We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means
yās te mās tapasah (TB °sā) *sambabhūvuh* AV 'TB 'Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy *tapas*'

payasa (MS °sah) *śukram amṛtam janitram*, followed by

surayā (MS KS *surāya*) *mutrāj janayanti* (VS † MS °nta) *retah* VS MS KS † TB 'By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) *sura*, from urine' Here the original clearly had abl *mutraj* (all texts), but instr *payasa* (all but MS), while the form of the stem *sura* was either instr or abl, in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form. MS KS are more apt to be original than VS TB.

surayā (MS *surāyāh*) *somah suta asuto madayo* VS MS KS ŚB TB. The ŚB understands *surayā* as associative instr, so also comm. on TB and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation 'Soma, pressed forth by (MS from) *sura*, distilled unto enjoyment'. This seems supported by Mahidhara on VS *asutah suraya tivrīkṛtāh san yatah prajā akhṛda* (MS *yenu prajā achṛda*) *ajayanta tasmai tva juhomi* TS MS KS.

punsah kartu mātari asiṣikṭa JB *punsā kartra matari ma nṛṣinca* ('cata to be read') KBU 'From (by) a man as creator (father) ye have implanted (implant) me in (my) mother'. On the verb-form see VV 1 §372c.

tābhya enā nī vartaya RV *tābhya tva vartayamasi* KS *tabhī ā vartayā punah* TS ApMB 'From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back'. The last reading is clearly secondary and poor.

§570 Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present

śam yajur bhūyah (TA °bhūh) VS ŚB TA 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulas'

pauruṣeyād dawyāt KS † *pauruṣeyena dawyena* TS MS [*yena-yena vā kṛtam*] *pauruṣeyān na dawāt* AV Preceded by *yad idam abhidāsati*

KS, *yad idam mābhīśocati* TS MS, *yan medam abhiśocati* AV
anyad evāhur vidyāyāh (VSK IśāU *vidyayā*),
anyad āhur (IśāU †*evāhur*) *avidyāyāh* (VSK IśāU *avidyayā*) VS VSK

IśāU 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance' That the words are felt as abls, not gens, is proved by the parallel pādas *anyad evāhuh sambhavāt*, *anyad āhur asambhavāt*, which occur in the vicinity

svāhā yajñam manasah (KS * [2 3] *yajñamanasah*) VS MS KS † (bis) ŚB ApŚ MŚ *svāhā yajñam manasā* (KS °si) TS MS KS ApŚ A verb such as *ā rabhe* (but with the loc *manasi*, viṣṭje—§607) is to be understood In KS 23 5 *svāhā yajñam manasah* (which certainly should be read also in KS 2 3 for *ed yajñamanasah*, cf VV 2 §819), 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the brāhmaṇa *manasā vaḥ yajña ālabhyate*—a striking proof of the equivalence of the two cases in such expressions

2 Instrumental of means and ablative of cause

§571 The ablative of cause is only a slight development of the ablative of source, into which it shades over imperceptibly, and it varies quite as easily with the instrumental of means The following variants seem to contain what may best be classified as causal abls

tena (TB *taṇo*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (°nā) *aviṣṭam* (TB *aviṣṭam*) RV MS TB Preceded by *yad bahiṣṭham nātividhe* (TB °vide) *sudānū*, *achidram śarma bhuvanasya gopā* 'By (thru) this (aid, śarma), O M and V, help us'

bhūvas tuam indra brahmanā (MS °no) *mahān* RV TS MS KS AŚ 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words'

pari satyasya dharmanā (PG *sakhyasya dharmanah*) AŚ PG The PG reading is regarded by Stenzler as corrupt, and we have followed him in VV 2 §143, the context makes it easy to assume a change from *satyasya* to *sakhyasya*, and the reverse change is not easy to understand Yet *pari* is not very easy to construe in AŚ, while in PG it goes very naturally with the abl *dharmanah*, either in

the sense of '(turning away) from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if *satyasya* be read)' In the latter interpretation, the abl of cause with *pari* would be equivalent to the instr

§572 To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablatives were to be accepted as textually sound, they are however all suspicious for one reason or another

abhi śravobhāh prthvīm RV *uta śravasa* (MS *śravasa* [p p °sah] ā) *prthvīm* VS TS MS TA 'And (has spread over) the earth also by reason of his glory' MS like the others has in the preceding the parallel *mahina* (instr) *divah*, 'over the heavens by his greatness' If *śravasah* be accepted it would have to be an abl of cause, but see VV 2 §991

haranyapanir amimāta sukratuh kṛpa (AV *kṛpat*) *svah* AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Whitney adopts *kṛpa* for AV, which is read by some mss and comm (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420) AŚ ŚŚ add the ūha *tṛpa svah* for *kṛpā svah*, which should have been recorded in VV 2 §138 Can the anomalous final *t* of AV be explained as due to misunderstanding of a ms reading in which *t* was inserted, interlinearly or marginally, as a substitute for *k* in *kṛpā*, and later taken as an addition at the end of the word?

satyā eṣām āsiṣah santu kāmāh (SMB *kāmāt*) SMB ApMB HG So Conc, but Jorgensen reads *kamāh* in SMB, with only one ms recorded as reading *kāmāt* Cf §412

3 With expressions of separation

§573. The instrumental is sometimes used with expressions of separation or release, of the thing separated from, by analogy with the associative instrumental used after (antonymic) expressions of joining See e.g. Whitney, Gr 283a, Speyer, VSS §33 In this way it comes to be interchangeable with the ablative of separation

tebhur no adya (ApŚ *tebhyo na indrah*) *śavitota viṣṇuh* KŚ ApŚ *tebhyo asmān varunah soma indrah* Kauś The verb *vi muñcantu* follows 'May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣṇu free us (today) from these (fettlers of Varuna)', or the like

visvā (MS *vy*) *amivāh pramuñcan manuṣibhūh* (KS Ppp °ṣebhyah, MS °ṣānam) AV Ppp MS KS *visva āsah pramuñcan manuṣīr bhūyah* VS TS Followed by *śivābhur* (Ppp VS KS MS *śvebhur*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (VS TS MS KS *ṛdhe*) All evidence points

to *mānuṣībhiḥ* as the original. The AV comm followed by Whitney supplies *ūtībhiḥ*. But the noun most naturally understood with *mānuṣī* is *viś* or *kṛṣṭi*, 'tribe' (see Grassmann, *Wbch* s v). The instr is then probably one of separation 'freeing all diseases from human tribes'. KS Ppp must be interpreted similarly, taking *mānuṣebhyaḥ* as abl, 'from men'. On VS TS see §474. MS has a possessive gen 'freeing (removing) men's diseases'. The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV 6.71.3b, *śvebhīr adya pari pāhī no gayam*, where *śvebhīr* goes with a preceding *pāyubhiḥ* (the context is wholly different). Here *śvebhīr* or *śvābhīr* must be taken either as an adverb, 'auspiciously', or as a noun, 'with kindness'. Note that only AV has *mānuṣībhiḥ* and *śvābhīḥ* in the same case form.

4 Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574 The prepositional adverbs *paras*, *avas*, *arvāk* govern either abl or instr without difference of meaning. This use of the abl is apparently related to the abl of comparison, cf. Speyer, *VSS* §39. *paro divā* (AV vulg. *dvo* by misprint, MS *divah*) *para enā prthivyā* (MS 'yāh) RV AV VS TS MS KS 'Higher than the heaven, higher than the earth here'. Followed (except in one of the two RV occurrences, and AV which repeats this) by *paro devebhīr* (MS 'bhyo) *asurair* (MS 'ram) *yad asti* (TS *asurair guhā yat*) RV VS TS MS KS. *avaś ca yah parah sruca* (Vait. *srucaḥ*, KS *paro divah*) RV KS Vait. *arvāk tva parebhyo 'vidam* (VSK *tvā parebhyah*) *paro varebhyah* (TS *tvā parair avidam paro 'varah*, MS *tvā parebhyah paro 'varebhyo 'vidam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer'.

5 In adverbial forms

§575 Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning. *nīcād uccā svadhuyabhiḥ pratasthau* Ppp TS KS *nīcār uccār svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* has distinct ablative force '(from) below above (nach oben)', or 'below (and) above'. *ayam paścād* (MS *pascā*) *vidadvasuh* MS KS. In this and the next two the p p of MS reads *paścāt*. *ayam paścād* (MS *pascā*) *viśvavyacāḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB. See prec. *maryo na yōṣām abhy eti paścāt* (MS *pascā*) RV AV MS TB. See prec. two.

yad aḥnā (and, *rātriyā*, v 1 *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA MahānU *yad aḥnāt* (and, *rātriyāl*) *kurute pāpam* TAA The comm repeats the strange forms *aḥnāt* and *rātriyāl* (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of *a*-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'

6 Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential

sa *budhnād* (AV Ppp °*nyād*) *āṣṭa januṣābhy* (AV *januṣo* 'bhy) *agram* AV Ppp (JAOS 37 260) TS KS AŚ The instr is doubtless original, note that even Ppp has it 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like The isolated *januṣo* is doubtless due to attraction to the abl *budhnyad*, now taken as an adjective 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached' Otherwise Ludwig

vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyair (ApŚ *āntarikṣair*) *patu* KS ApŚ *vāyuṣ tvantarikṣāt pātu sūryo divah* MŚ

samyagmāno (KS °*nā*, MS TB ApŚ °*nau*) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*) *prthivyā* (ApŚ † °*vya*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ All but TB ApŚ have two instrs 'uniting with heaven and earth' The subject is the *śukra* and (or) the *manthin graha*, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS ŚB, which repeat the formula with each) TB keeps the instr *prthivyā* (the final *ā* is fused with the next word *ayuh*), while ApŚ (which reads *prthivyā āyuh*) understands an abl (so Caland, less likely gen or dat) both must take *diva(h)* as abl Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend vom dem Himmel, von der Erde her' The TB comm understands 'uniting with the earth, as far as (i.e. including) the heaven' *ā divo dyulokasahitayā prthivya* The secondary TB ApŚ reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VV 2 §991, the variant might also be added to VV 2 §732

C Instrumental and genitive

1 Objective genitive

§577 In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental Most of our

variants are miscellaneous in character and show quite different syntactic applications of the two cases

§578 The objective genitive, which easily interchanges with various other cases (§§87 ff), varies with an associative instrumental after noun expressions of union or association, with practically no difference of meaning

samvasānam (SV °no) *vivasvatah* (SV °lā) RV SV 'Fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat'

samvesane tanvaś (AV *tanvā*) *cārur edhī* RV AV 'In joining of (with) thy body' Other texts *samveśanas tanve* (*tanuvai*) , with final dative, see §560

vāveṣām devānām aham (KS *vi° aham dev°*) *devayajyayā prānāh* (KS *prānānām*) *sāyujyam gameyam* KS ApS 'may I go into association with (of) the life-breaths'

§579 After expressions of gratification, the objective genitive interchanges with the instrumental of means

tena ṭṛpyatam aṅhahau TB ApS *tasya ṭṛmpatam ahāhāhukū svāhā* ŚS *juṣṭam devebhīr* (AV *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhīh* (AV *mānuṣānām*) RV AV 'Accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men'

2 Subjective genitive

§580 Again, the subjective genitive varies, without essential difference of meaning, with an instrumental of means or agent, after a participle or its equivalent, the difference is one between nominal and verbal psychology

yan mayā duṣkṛtam kṛtam TA MahānU BDh *yan me kim cana duṣkṛtam* ViDh 'Whatever evil has been done by me (or, of me, as it were 'my deed')'

yan me (TA * BDh * *mayā*) *manasā vācā* TA (both) MahānU BDh (both) As in preceding, the participle *kṛtam* follows

chandobhīr yajñāh sukṛtām kṛtena AV *brahmanā guptah* (ApMB *samprñcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* ApMB HG 'With the deed of the righteous' 'by (with) the holy speech which is made by the righteous man' There is no need to emend HG to *sukṛtām* with Oldenberg *āpo devīh prathamajā ṛtena* (AV *ṛtasya*) RV AV 'The divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta'

3 Partitive genitive

§581. The partitive genitive (almost appositional at times) exchanges in various ways with an instrumental, sometimes with little difference

of meaning, as in the first instance, where the *instr* is appositional to another instrumental, in phrases of this type the *gen* may exchange with any other case (§84)

vasantena (also *grīṣmena*, *varṣābhīs*, *śaradā*, *hemantaśiśirābhyām*) *tvar-tunā* (KSA °nām) *haviṣā dīkṣayāmi* TS KSA 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (with the spring of the seasons), with oblation'

§582 Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering

tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota MS *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma)'

Others with the acc., §§466, 502

§583 Somewhat less close are

yad asya karmano 'tyarīcam ApŚ HG AG ApMB *yat karmanātyarīcam* ŚB BrhU PG 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess'

sukalpam agne tat tava (AV *twayā*) AV TS MS KS 'That (part) of thee is easily made good' 'that is easily made good by thee' Addressed to Agni

anuṣṭup (also *triṣṭup*, *gāyatrī*, *jagatī*, *pañktis*) *tvā chandasām avatu* (KS *chandasāvatu*) TS MS KS 'May anuṣṭubh (etc.) of the meters (with meter) help thee' Formulaic rīgmarole

suṣyotir jyotiṣā (TA ApŚ °ṣām) *svāhā* VS ŚB TA ApŚ 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights)' As prec

teṣām chidram prati dadhmo yad atra KS *teṣām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam imani*, TS *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS TS ŚŚ *tebhīḥ chidram apidadhmo yad atra* MS AŚ 'Of (by) these (33 threads)'

4 Instr-gen of time

§584 The question whether the *gen* can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively, see §678, and cf especially Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on I 79 6 In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the *instr*. We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain

madhu naktam uṣasah (KS °sā, TS TA °sā) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BrhU MahānU Kauś The RV *uṣasah* has been taken (e.g. by Grassmann) as nom pl 'the night and dawns are honey' This is impossible because there is no nom *naktam* (Wackernagel 3 p 234) that form can only be adverbial acc., and consequently

uśasah is also adverbial. It might (with Wackernagel l c and others) be taken as acc pl, but may at least as well be gen sg, in either case it means practically the same as *uśasā* (or °*ś*), 'at dawn'

5 Case attraction

§585 The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships. We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change

cakṣuśah (KapS °*śā*) *plā manasā hi dhīrah* RV VS TS MS KS
KapS ApŚ Raghu Vira emends to *cakṣuśah*, wrongly, assimilation to *manasā* (Oertel 18)

viśvasyeśāna ojasā (SV °*sah*) RV AV SV 'Ruler of all by might' 'ruler of all might' We take it that *ojasā* has been altered to *ojasah* by attraction to *viśvasya*

samvatsarena savitā no ahnām (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ 'By the year of days' 'by the year, by the day' The MS form seems to be assimilated to *samvatsarena*, so in the next two. But note that in all three the formal difference consists in loss of a final nasal, and cf VV 2 §307, where these variants might have been quoted. The change may be largely phonetic in character, since the final nasal seems to have been weakly pronounced

trivṛt no viśṭhayā (KS *trivṛd viśṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ As prec

mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS °*hnā*) *cakṛnū* (with varr) TS MS KS AŚ As prec

traiśṭubhena chandasendrena devatayāgneḥ pakṣenāgneḥ pakṣam upa dadhām TS *traiśṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ pārśvenāgneḥ pārśvam upa dadhām* KS *traiśṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ pakṣenāgneḥ pakṣam upadadhām* MS 'With the *traiśṭubh* meter, with the side of Agni', so TS KS, original. In MS the first phrase is assimilated to the following *agneḥ* 'with the side of the *traiśṭubh* meter, of Agni'. So also with the meter-names *jāgata*, *gāyatra*, *ānuṣṭubha*, *pāñkta*

devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām sarasvatyā vācā (VS TS ŚB *sarasvatyaḥ vāco*) *yantur yantrena abhiṣṭcām* VS TS MS KS ŚB *sarasvatyaḥ vāco yantur yantrīye* (VSK *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhām* VS VSK ŚB Assuming that MS KS are original, we have assimilation of *vācā* to the preceding *sarasvatyā*(s) or °*ya* (§143) and the following *yantur* in

the others If, as is less likely, the gen is original, it has been assimilated to the preceding instr in MS KS

§586 In the next the formal association is of a rather different sort Here the assimilating force is exerted by the construction of a parallel formula in the vicinity, to which the variant formula is brought into closer parallelism by the change, it is not a question of influence of another word in the same passage The three formulas here quoted belong to the same context

pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya vartanyopanśor vīryena MS
pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya (KS °tryā) *vartanyopanśor vīryena* TS KS

bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā śukrasya vīryena
 TS *bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena triṣṭubhyā* (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā śukrasya* MS KS

agnes tvā mātṛayā jagatīyā [gen] *vartanyāgrayanasya vīryena* (KS *jagatyā vartanyā*) TS KS *agneṣ tvā mātṛayā jagatīyā vartanyā* MS

In these three associated formulas, the gens *pāvamānasya* (MS only) and *bṛhadrathamtarayos* (TS only), 'with the hymn of the P' and 'of the B-R (sāmāns),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel *agnes tvā mātṛayā* etc of the third formula, the instr forms (found consistently in KS) are original The second phrase of all three formulas consists of *vartanyā* modified by an adjectival or appositional instr in KS, and again this seems to be the original form In the first formula the instr is replaced by a dependent gen in both TS and MS, in the second and third formulas in TS alone These gens are modelled on the next following phrase, *upānśor* (*śukrasya*, *āgrayanasya*) *vīryena*

6 Miscellaneous

§587 In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant

vayam nāma pra bravāmā (KS † °ma, add to VV 2 §446) *ghṛtasya* (TA ApŚ *ghṛtena*) RV VS MS KS TA ApŚ MahānU (All but one ms of MahānU used by Jacob read *ghṛtena*, which therefore should probably be read as in TA ApŚ, tho the comm has *ghṛtasya*) Caland translates ApŚ as if gen, but the agreement of the Tait texts suggests that *ghṛtena* is the true reading of the school, nonsensical as it seems to us TA comm says the 'name' means the pranava (*om*)

pra yujo (SV *yujā*) *vāco agryah* RV SV Followed by the verb *cakradat* (SV *acikradat*) RV 'let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth' *yujā* may be an adverb (so Benfey), 'the leader of the song has sounded forth together,' or perhaps better a noun, 'the leader of the song together with his associate (the song)'

sarasvatyā (TB °*tyāh*) *supippalah* VS MS TB Preceded by *devo devair* (TB *indro*) *vanaspatih*, *hranyaparno akvibhyām* The instr is associative, and TB glosses the gen by *sarasvatyāh sambandhī rasam parisrutā* (MS °*to*) *na rohitaṁ* VS KS MS TB The instr depends on the verb *vayati* in the prec, felt as a verb of mixing or uniting 'as the red sap with *parisrut*' However, VS comm glosses *parisrutā* with *parisrutah* ('as the red sap of *parisrut*')

ayo bhāgas (TA °*bhāgas*) *tapasā* (AV °*sas*) *tam tapasva* RV AV TA 'The goat is (thy) portion (TA portionless), burn him with heat' 'the goat is the portion of heat, burn him' Whitney considers the AV superior, but wrongly, cf Oldenberg *Noten* on RV 10 16 4

patim surāyā (TB *surāyai*, VS *suraya*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB See §563

sam brahmanā (AV °*nām*) *devakṛtam* (RV AV *devahutam*) *yad asti* RV AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB The instr is associative, with *sam neṣi* (*neṣa*) of prec 'bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods' In AV it becomes a partitive gen with *yad* 'whatever prayers have been', no instr being expressed tho one must still be understood

viśvā (MS *vy*) *amīvah pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS °*ṣebhyah*, MS °*ṣanām*) AV MS KS See §573

§588 Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following

agnir āyusmān sa tena tvāyusāyusmantam karomī (KS *tasyāyam āyusāyusmān astv asau*) TS KS PG ApMB 'By this life' 'by his life' The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used

ayam na nabhasas patih (TS ApŚ *nabhasā purah*) AV TS GB Vait Kauś ApŚ Followed by *samsphāno abhi rakṣatu*

ye barhiṣo (MS °*ṣa*) *namovrkṣim* (VS VSK MS ŚB *namauktim*) *na jagmuh* (VS ŚB *yajanti* for *na ja*°) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ See §419

satyā tā dharmanas patī ApŚ *satyād ā dharmanas pati* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, Vait MŚ *dharmanas pari*, but MŚ *ms dharmanā pari*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

saṁ tvā nahyāmi apa (MŚ MG *adbhir*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS MŚ MG *saṁ tvā nahyāmi payasausadhīnām* AV Cf *saṁ tvā nahyāmi payasā prthivyāḥ* (TS *ghṛtena*), which immediately precedes this, see §460 *pūṣā sanānām* (TS ApŚ *sanyā*), *somo rādhasām* (TS **sā*) TS KS MS ApŚ MŚ (only the first two words in ApŚ MŚ, delete MŚ in Conc under *somo rā*°) In MS KS probably a noun, 'giver', rather than a verb of giving as v Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied 'Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts' etc In TS *āvartṛan* precedes 'Pūṣan (has surrounded me) with gain' etc *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā saṁ bhava* KS MŚ Kauś MG *ghṛtena tvam tanvam* (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayaṣva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N *saṁ it tam rāyā sṛjati svadhāvān* (AV **rāyah sṛjati svadhābhiḥ*) RV AV (both)

āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣānah (ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) TS TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

yena (AV *yasya*) *dyaus ugrā* (AV *urvī*) *prthivī ca dṛdhā* (TS *dṛdhe*, AV *mahī*) RV AV Ppp VS VSK TS MS KS In passing we note that the change from *ugrā* to *urvī* is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of *ugra*

§589 The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following

ariṣtāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ RV AV TS KS *ariṣtās tanvo bhūyāḥ sma* LŚ The LŚ *tanvo* is doubtful as to form and meaning Is it gen with *ariṣtās*, 'without harm to the body' (Whitney *Gr* 296b)? Or abl of source or cause? Or adverbial accus? Or even nom pl ('may we be unharmed bodies, persons')? It may, finally, be a mere error or misprint in the unreliable edition

nedīya it sṛnyah (TS † **yō*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV *ā yavan*, TS MS KS *āyat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Here *sṛnyah* may be variously interpreted in the RV form, it is often taken as gen, 'may the ripe grain come near to the sickle' But acc pl is also possible, likewise nom sg (stem *sṛnyā*) may be considered (cf Oldenberg, *Nolen* on 1 58 4) The AV makes it a nom pl *prthivyā* (MS **vyāḥ*) *sambhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ See VV 2 p 197

[*vācām vācānāṁ* (TS MŚ *vācā mendr*°) TS KS MŚ Read KS like the others, see v Schroeder's note on 31 15, p 18 n 1]

7 Transfer of epithet

§590 The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows

amariṣām cittaṁ prabudhām (TS KS °dhā) *vi nesat* (KS *naṣyatu*) RV AV TS KS 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught' In TS KS *prabudhā* may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed, or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom'

§591 In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15) *stomo yajñas ca* (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo havīṣmatā* (TB °tah) RV TB 'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer' Once the gen has been introduced in TB (see §449), *havīṣmatā* is assimilated to it

vṛṣṇah vatasya yajusā (SV PB °sah) RV SV PB In SV *ojas* is made an epithet of *soma* 'of the bull [that is] strength, pressed out', instead of 'pressed out by strength'

vedam savitrā prasūtam maghonām AG *vedam prasūtam savitrā maghonā* ŚG Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG the reading of ŚG, with no ms authority To us it seems that AG is not only sound but original 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons' ŚG has secondarily assimilated *maghonā* to *savitrā*, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet 'pressed forth by the liberal Savitar'

ghṛtasya vibhrāṣṭim anu śukrasociṣah (RV AV VS KS *vaṣṭi śociṣā*) RV AV SV TS MS KS Followed by *āyuhvānasya sarpiṣah* The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of *sarpiṣah*

D Instrumental and locative

§592 The variations between instrumental and locative are instructive in showing a much closer association between these two cases than has commonly been assumed Speyer (VSS §75) notes uses in which the locative vies with most of the other oblique cases, but does not mention the instrumental And yet our variants show that they are interchangeable, often with little or no difference of meaning, in a variety of ways

§593 'In the instrumental is put that concept which is associated with the principal concept in the action' (Delbrück, *AIS* p 122) The locative designates primarily the sphere within which an action takes

place But the sphere of the action may also be regarded as an accompanying concept of the action Conversely, the accompanying concept may be treated as the circumstance within whose sphere of operation the action takes place The occasion (loc) is at the same time the means, cause, or manner (instr) of the action The phrase *marulām prasave jaya* (TS *jayata*) of TS MS KS MŚ means 'in (upon, German *auf*) the impulse of the Maruts conquer' Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS ŚB, with *prasavena*? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say, just as we imagine a Latinist would be puzzled to make a very clear distinction between *in hoc signo vinces* and *hoc signo vinces*

§594 Adverbial expressions of time and place, as well as manner, occur with both cases Distinctions are often drawn between them Thus it is said that the instr denotes the time or place thruout which the action takes place Delbruck uses the terms *Raum-* and *Zeiterstreckung* of such instrumentals To be sure he admits (*AIŚ* p 130), at least for time concepts, that this distinction cannot always be felt, noting that *daṣā*, instr, 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of *uṣaś*, loc, 'in the morning' We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced

§595 We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc, and of locatives of various sorts And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized, so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, rigma-role formulas, either will do as well as the other (§604)

1 Time expressions

§596. We have already referred to the use of the two cases in expressions of time, and noted that the distinction made by Delbruck and others is not supported by the variants (§594)

maghāsu (RV *aghāsu*, ApG *maghābhur*) *hanyante gāvah* (ApG *gāvo grhyante*),

phalgunīṣu (RV *arjunyoh*, ApG *phalgunībhyām*) *vy* (RV *pari*) *uhyate* (ApG *ūhyate*) RV AV ApG Kauś 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalgunī (Arjunī) the marriage takes place' Distinction of meaning is scarcely conceivable

madhu nakṭam uśasah (KS °sā, TS TA °sī) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś Here *uśasah* (probably gen sg) is the original, and is replaced by either instr or loc, see §584

2 Place expressions

§597 The instr is particularly frequent in expressing the 'way' with verbs of motion (Speyer, VSS §42), but the loc may equally well be used

samudram gandharveṣ(hām anuvīṣhata (KS † °ṣ(hatha) *vātasya patma-nedītā* (KS *patmaṇn īdītā*) MS KS 'On the path of the wind' *avyo vāreṣu* (SV *avyā vārebhur*) *asmayuh* RV SV, and *avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vārash*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool' The verbs are *pavasva*, *punānah*, *hinvanti*, the subject, soma

drunā (SV *drone*) *sadhasṭham aśnuṣe* RV SV 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows

drunā (SV VS *drone*) *sadhasṭham āsadat* RV SV VS As prec

§598 And without the concept of motion, in simple expressions of location, the instr may replace the loc

adhī kṣamī viṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā viṣvarūpam*) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB Here *kṣamā*, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr, and is well known in the RV itself. It cannot be regarded as dependent on *adhī*, which is not found with the instr (tho it may reinforce the loc, as probably here with *kṣamī*)

paro yad idhyate divā (SV *divi*) RV SV Here *divā* is commonly regarded as dependent on *paras* 'beyond the sky' (so Ludwig, Grassmann *Wbch*, and Bergaigne 2 187) Yet it may quite well mean simply 'in the sky', with *paras* an independent adverb (so Grassmann's translation), in that case it would be the precise equivalent of *divi*

tīre tubhyam gaṅge HG *tīre tubhyam asau* PG *tīrena yamune* (and, *tīrenāsau*) *tava* ApMB Preceded by *vṛttacakra āśīnās* HG ApMB, *avimuktacakra* (v 1 °rā) *āśīran* PG It seems scarcely

possible to take ApMB *tirena* otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy bank'

§599 The instrumental adverb *guhā* is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local. This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative *guhāsu*, 'in secret places'

gandharvo dhāma paramam guhā yat (VS *dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat*) AV
VS *gandharvo nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU
trīni padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*)
AV VS TA MahānU

3 Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600 We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means. Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place', cf. (*in*) *hoc signo vinces*, §593. As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc *kumbhe*, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr, 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried. It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough.

śam u yāh kumbha ābhṛtāh AV *śam yāh kumbhebhir ābhṛtāh* AV

§601 Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are

na vai śvetasyābhyācāre (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG. Followed by *ahur jaghāna* (PG *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG MG *kim*) *cana*. Kīrste assumes that HG is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc, 'within the dominion of the white one'. The instr is indeed bad metrically and doubtless secondary. But *abhyācāra* in the sense of *ābhicāra*, 'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV 10.3.2, and there is no need to abandon it, the more since MG has the loc of the same word 'by (MG *in*) the hostile magic of the white one the snake has killed no one (nothing)'. The other texts have different words.

marutām prasave (VS ŚB °*vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB MŚ. See §593.

apām uta praśastiṣu (RV † °*taye*, AV VSK °*ubhih*) RV AV VS VSK
TS MS KS ŚB. Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*tha*) *vājīnah*.

The RV original has a dative of purpose (§558), for it the later texts substitute instr or loc, which are virtually equivalent, with the loc, the praising is the occasion and so the means of the becoming strong 'Become ye strong in (by) the praising of the waters' *śiṣā śakhibhyo haviṣi* (MS KS °ṣā) *svadhāvah* RV VS TS MS KS 'Teach, O S, (thy seats) to thy friends at (by) the oblation' The oblation is the occasion, and so the means, of the teaching *vairūpe sāmān iha* (MS *adhī*, KS *vairūpena sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema*) TS KS MS AŚ 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the *vairūpa sāmān*' The next pāda, which is closely parallel, has an instr (*jagatyā*) in all

meṣam viprā abhisvarā (SV °re) RV SV AV Preceded by *nemim namanti cakṣasā* 'With (in) their song of praise'

vasūnām tvādhītena rudrānām ūrmyādityānām tejasā viśveṣām devānām kratunā maruṭām emnā juhomi svāhā TB ApŚ *vasūnām ādhītau rudrānām karmān ādityānām cetasi* (sc *tvā juhomi*) MS 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasus' etc

akno rūpe (TS *rūpena*) *sūryasya rasmiṣu* (TS † *raśmibhiḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The verb is *grhṇāmi* or *ādhunomi* 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun'

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnādhikaranena* AV 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people]' Cf Edgerton, *AJP* 35 438 f

somasya śuṣmah surayā (MS *surāyām*) *sutasya* VS MS KS ŚB TB 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) *surā*'

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait *svarge loka prornuvāthām* (VSK *prornuvāthām*, MS *prornuvātām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *svarge* (KS † *svarge*) *loka samprornuvāthām* (KSA † *°rnuvāthām*) TS KSA TB 'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world'

agnir ukthesa vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir ukthesv anhasu* AV Contexts essentially the same

§602 Several times, at the end of pādas, the loc sg ending *e* varies with the instr pl *aiḥ* While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (*e ai*, and the light pronunciation of final visarga) are involved, see VV 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added

boḥāmāsi tvā haryaśva yaṣṇān (MŚ *yaṣṇe*) RV SV MŚ

mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatām ādhīpatyaḥ (AŚ °*tye*) TS MS KS AŚ

ghṛtaviṭi sanitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyaḥ*) TS MS KS

AŚ

4 Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion. There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group.

rāyas poṣeṇa (KS *poṣe*) *saṃ iṣā madema* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MS ŚG PG 'May we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' Associative feeling is perhaps indicated by *saṃ*. The meter indicates that KS is secondary.

ivasaṃ (°*vann*, °*vān*) *ādityarīṣa tasmin* (TS *lena*) *matṣva* (TS KS *mandasva*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB 'Delight in it'

ny adhur mātrāyām (KS *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasah* (KS °*saṃ*) MS KS 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS has an instr of manner, MS a loc of situation.

eve dakṣe (VS MS KS ŚB *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s)' Add to VV 2 §706

sa rāye sa puramdhyām (SV °*dhyā*) RV SV AV JB Preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvat* 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality' *puramdhyā* = *liberaliter*

ṛtena (MG *ṛte* 'va') *sthūnām* (ApMB HG °*nāv*, MG °*nā*) *adhi roha vansa* (MG *vansah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG All Knauer's mss *ṛteva*, Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā va*' If he is right, *ṛte* is loc of the sphere of action.

tvayā (RV *tve ā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV 'Worshippers devote themselves to (busy themselves with) thee' Phonetic moments are involved here, VV 2 §911

§604. In some ritualistic formulas the sense of the rignmarole is so feeble that one case will do about as well as any other.

prācyām dīśi (MS KS MŚ *prācyā dīśā*, ŚŚ *prācyā dīśā saha*) *devā ṛtvijo mārjayantām* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter' In ŚŚ *saha* proves that the instr is associative, in MS KS it might also be one of means. Similarly the formulas beginning *udīcyām dīśy*, *ūrdhvāyām dīśi*, *prācīcyām dīśi*, *dakṣīnāyām dīśi*, with variant instrs.

svāyām yat tanvām (*tanuvām*) *tanvām arayata* TS KŚ *svayā tanvā tanvām arayat* AV *svā yat tanvā tanvām arayata* KS KSA 'Produced a body in (with) his own body'

5 Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining

§605 Special rubrication is deserved by a group in which a verbal expression of joining is used, now with an associative instrumental, now with a locative of goal (cf. the similar use of the accusative of goal, §467). In all but the first case the verb is one of placing or of motion, compounded with the preposition *sa-*, in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition

brhaspate †yāmyām (KS *ms yāmyā*) *yuṅgdhī* (*yuṅdhī*) *vācam* TS MS
KS AŚ Von Schroeder emends KS to *yāmyām*, but the instr. is perfectly sound 'yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmī*', whatever *yāmī* may mean

sa- *devānām sumatṛyā* (AV VS MS ŚB *sumatau*) *yajñyānām* RV
AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB '(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods'

sa- *patnī patyā sukr̥teṣu* (TB ApŚ *sukr̥tena*) *gacatām* MS KS TB
ApŚ MŚ 'Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds'

śvena (VSK *śve*) *me sa-* *tiṣṭhasva* VSK TB TAA ApŚ 'Come together with (in, unto) luck for me'

aṅgāny ātman (MS *aṅgaur ātmānam*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS MS KS
TB The verb is *sa-**dhā*, see §462

§606 In one variant involving the root *sprdh* 'vie', the two cases are differently used. This root takes the instr. of the person vied with, the loc. of the person or thing striven for. For the exegesis of the variant see VV 2 §109

spardhante dhīyah (TS KSA *dhīah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA †
sūryena) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA

6 Miscellaneous

§607 There remains a relatively small group in which the instr. and loc. seem to be used in definitely different constructions, often different words are used or the passage is otherwise reshaped

garbha *vet subhṛto garbhiniḥ* (RV *va sudhito garbhiniṣu*) RV SV
KU 'Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women'

vayam rājābhīh (AV * *rājasu*) *prathamā dhanām* RV AV (both) 'We along with (our?) kings, the first' 'we first among the kings'
It is not clear who the 'kings' are. The p p. of both RV and AV read *prathamāh*, Grassmann and Geldner (*VSt* 1 150) understand *prathamā*, n pl

samsr̥ṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsr̥ṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu* MS 'Thus Indra, mingler of the fight (*yudhas*, objective gen ?) with his band (instr of means)' MS has distorted the pāda, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660, some AV mss have *samsr̥ṣṭā*) 'Indra, in the mingled fights and bands' or 'when the fights and bands are mingled'

yathā prthivyām agnaye samanāman evā mahyam samnamah samnamantu AV *yathāgnih prthivyā samanāmad evam mahyam bhadrah samnatayah sam namantu* TS KSA † 5 20 The latter seems to have an associative instr 'As Agni with the earth made obeisance' But the mantra is obscure rīgmarole, for a different interpretation see Keith on TS Other parallel formulas in the same context

yat kusīdam apratitām (MS MŚ 1A °*tām*, 1A Poona ed °*tātam* with v 1 °*tām*, SMB *apradattam*) *maycha* (1S *mayi*) TS MŚ TA MŚ SMB 'The loan which has not been paid back by me' In TS *mayi* perhaps 'the unpaid loan which (rests) upon me'

mayā gāvo gopatīna sacadhvam AV *mayi gāvah santu gopatau* AŚ *mayi tūṣṭhantu gopatau* MŚ Different verbs For the loc with *santu* cf §671

mahān mahitve tastabhānah (KS *mahitvā samstambhe*) KS TB ApŚ 'Great, taking thy stand on greatness' 'great with greatness on firm foundation'

śruṣṭi (SV °*te*) *jātāsa indavah svarindah* RV SV *śruṣṭi* is taken as instr of an *i*-stem, 'quickly', Benfey understands *śruṣṭe* as loc of an *a*-stem, 'der Satzung gemäss'

svaha yajñam manasu (KS °*si*) TS MS KS ApŚ Others with gen, see §570 Different verbs understood, in TS *ā rabhe*, in KS *visrje*

§608 The change seems to be due to case attraction in the following *vaśvānarasya tejasa* (MŚ °*si*) TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *śiras tapasya uhitam* The preceding *tapasī* has influenced MŚ

7 Phrase inflection

§609 What we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts

vaśvānarasya danṣṭrayoh (and *danṣṭrabhyām*) AV The form with loc is followed by *agner apī dadhāmī tam*, of these two pādas an unmetrical recast seems to be found in *vaśvānarasya nam danṣṭrayor apī dadhāmī* AV

devī devebhīr yajate (and °*ta*) *yajatraih* RV *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV AV MS

yal te pavitrām arcīṣi (AŚ °ṣā) RV VS MS KS TB AŚ LŚ VHDh
 In all but AŚ followed by *agne vitatam antar ā* In AŚ followed
 by *kalāṣeṣu dhāvati*, which is probably meant to be part of the
 same formula, in that case AŚ does not intend a pratika of the
 RV. verse

8 Transfer of epithet

§610 We have noted only one instance of this, and in it the original
 form is an independent word, which is attracted in a secondary text
 into a form which is an epithet of the adjoining word—
adṛīhathāh śarkarābhīs trunṣapī (MŚ *trūbhṛṣṭbhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ
 ‘Thou hast made thyself firm with pebbles over heaven’ ‘firm
 with three-pointed pebbles’

9 Textually doubtful or corrupt

§611 The few remaining variants are textually doubtful or corrupt
tvīṣm indre na (MS s p *indrena*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Mere ritual
 jargon, it does not matter what is read, but MS p p agrees with
 the others Cf VV 2 §826

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakudī* (TS TB Poona ed *kakubhi*,
 TB Conc *kakubhīh*, MS *kakubbhīh*) *śiśryānāh* (AV TB *śrayasva*)
 AV TS MS TB Comm on TB *kakubhīr uttamāṅge* (intending
kakubhy ut?) One ms of MS *kakudbhī* Probably MS like the
 rest intends a loc, the strange-looking form *kakubhī* would easily
 suggest an instr pl to a thoughtless copyist Cf VV 2 §400
 ‘Resting (rest thou) on the summit, on the head of royalty’

samudre na (and *samudrena*) *sindhavo yādamānāh* RV Read *samudre*
na both times, VV 2 §526

na mānseṣu na snāvāsu ApMB *neva mānse na pīvasi* AV *nawa mān-*
sena pīvari PG The last simulates a voc sg fem *pīvari* This
 initial corruption brings in its train *mānsena*, dependent on the
 following participle *āyatam* But the reading hardly deserves con-
 sideration

[*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ *tanūs tanvā (tanuvā) me saha* (AV *sahed antāh*)
 AV (mss) TS TAA Vait PG The vulgate emends AV to *tanūs*
tanvām me bhaved antah, but tho the end of the pāda is obscure and
 doubtless corrupt, we must surely keep the instrumental *tanvā* with
 the other texts]

CHAPTER XXV

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

A *Dative and ablative*

§612 Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases. They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical. But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives.

sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme (AV * MS *asmat*) RV AV (bis) VS TS MS KS. Followed by *ārāc cid dveṣah sanutar yuyotu* (RV * *yuyota*) 'May Indra, well-saving, keep very far away from (for) us all hatred'. This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous *asme* in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and *asmat* is unmistakably ablative.

ud uttamam mumugdhi nah (MŚ *mat*) RV KS TB MŚ 'Loose the upmost (bond) for (from) us (me)'. But here *nah* may (with the comms. on both RV and TB) be considered genitive.

idam aham senāyā abhūvaryai (MŚ **yā*) *mukham apohāmi* TB ApŚ MŚ 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army'. But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland, note, further, that the ending *-yai* may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III).

yāsyā apaśavyā (etc.) *tanūs tām asyā apajahi* ŚG SMB *yāsyai tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG *yāsyai tām nāśaya* HG. For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first *asyās* or *asyai* is clearly genitive. The second *asyā* occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for *asyās* rather than *asyai*. It may be meant as ablative ('from her'), but also as genitive ('that [form] of hers'), or even dative (§§151 2). Similarly the second *asyai* of PG may be meant for any one of the three cases.

Only HG has an unmistakable ablative, *ito* Since this cannot be said to prove the intention of the other texts, their interpretation remains obscure

§613 There remain only a couple of miscellaneous cases in which real differences of interpretation seem involved

īṣṭāpūrtam kṛnutād āvir asmai KS *īṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutāvīr asmai* AV
īṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvīr (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvīr*, TS TB MŚ *kṛnutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ The original 'make clear his *īṣṭāpūrta* for him' The abl of MŚ (all mss) is rather surprising, perhaps 'the *īṣṭāpūrta* (that proceeded) from him'? (abl of source!)

yadī varunasyāsi rājño varunāt tvā rājño 'dhikrīnāmi Kauś yadī vāruny asi varunāt tvā nīkrīnāmi (Rvidh *varunāya tvā parikrīnāmi aham*) ApG Rvidh *yady asi vārunī varunāya tvā rājñe parikrīnāmi* GG And similarly with *yadī somasyāsi* (*saumy asi, yady asi saumī*) etc In a pregnancy rite 'If thou art Varuna's (Soma's), from King V (S) I ransom thee' or 'for King ' The ablative seems more natural, possibly it was changed to a dative to avoid what might be felt as an implication of hostility to Varuna and Soma Some of the texts have other similar formulas

B Dative and genitive

§614 The intimate relations between these cases are well known, but our variants make them appear even closer than has commonly been assumed, for the Vedic language at any rate Later Sanskrit allows the genitive to absorb all the functions of the dative, except perhaps that of purpose, see e.g. Speyer VSS §§71 f Our variants show at least one case (§627) where a gen seems to replace a dative even in an expression of purpose (cf Speyer, fine print at the end of §72), and they suggest that in other functions originally pertaining to the dative it is older and commoner than has been supposed At the same time there are not wanting instances of the reverse, dative forms where we should expect genitives (cf *tat puruṣāya vidmahe* etc, §634) The Prakrit languages, as is well known, have merged the two cases pretty completely, genitive forms as a rule taking over all the functions of the dative except that of purpose, but occasionally, especially in personal pronouns, old dative forms survive, usually with genitive functions, see Pischel *Gr d Pkt Spr* §361, and under the pronominal inflections

§615 A special complication is the recognized use in Brāhmana texts of the dative ending *ai* of feminine nouns in genitive function, and the

less recognized reverse of this. Undoubtedly the confusion between the endings *ai* and *ās* in feminine nouns goes far beyond anything that is found between other genitive and dative forms, so that we have felt constrained to agree with Wackernagel that some special factor must have been at work in them, this special factor may reasonably be found in the sandhi conditions of final *ai* and *ās*. Accordingly we have inclined to group variations between these endings as formal rather than syntactic variants, in §§137 ff. rather than here. Yet since not only *ai* forms as genitives, but also *ās* forms in dative use are found, and since some other variants between the two cases are precisely similar to some of these, it is impossible to separate them wholly. To some extent surely the same syntactic confusion is concerned in that formal interchange, and §§137 ff. must be considered together with the sections which follow here.

1 With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like

§616 We begin with a group of variants in which both dative and genitive are standard from early times, so that the variation is easy and constant at all periods. Cf. Speyer VSS §§46, 71

juṣṭo vācas-pataye (MS °*patih*, KB ŠŠ °*pateh*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS

KB JB GR AŠ ŠŠ Vait KŠ 'Pleasing to V'

juṣṭo vāro (GB AŠ Vait KŠ *vāce*) *bhūyāsam* TS MS KB GB JB AŠ ŠŠ Vait KŠ ApŠ MŠ (2 3 6 18)

juṣṭam devebhya (TS *devānām*) *idam astu haviyam* VS TS MS KS ŠB MŠ

janāya juṣṭo adīrhe (SV °*hah*) RV SV. See the context, quoted under *vīty arsa canīṣṭhaya* (SV *panīṣṭaye*), §567. SV probably takes the dat. with the verb *vīty*, rather than with *juṣṭo*.

priyam sarvasya pa-yatah AV. *sarvasmai ca vipasyate* AV (the latter preceded by *priyam nā kṛnu*) Delbruck AIS p. 146 says he knows no certain case of *priya* with dat. A whole series occurs in AV 19 32 8.

agner juhvāsi suhūr (KS *supūr*, VSK TS TB *subhūr*) *devebhya* (TS TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS KS TB ŠB ŠŠ 'Thou art Agni's tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods' *śivas tokāya tanvo* (KS † *tanve*) *na ehi* (KS MŠ † *edhi*, v. 1 *ehi*) KS MŠ Kauś. śam *tokāya tanve* (SMB *tanvāi*) *syonah* TS TB ApŠ SMB PG.

tasyās (MS *tasyai*) *tvam harasā tapan* VS † 12 16c, TS MS KS. Followed by *jātavedah śivo bhava*. 'Glowing with warmth, be gracious

to her (the *ukhā*), Jātavedas' So VS comm and Griffith, Keith on TS takes *tasyās* as possessive with *harasā* If this be correct for TS it would be equally possible for all the others, and *tasya* would be a gen in *ai* (Chapter III) But (§141) MS does not favor these gens in *ai*

2 With nouns of uniting

§617 Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting *samveśanas* (RV AV ^{°ne}) *tanuwa* (SV KS MŚ *tanve*, RV *tanvas*, AV *tanvā*) *cāruṛ edhī* RV AV SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV AV 'uniting to thy body'

3 Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618 Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive So especially in YV dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed, thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman' *aryamno* (KSA ^{°ne}) *lopāśah* TS KSA

puruṣamṛgas candramasah (TS KSA ^{°se}) VS TS MS KSA

eny ahnah (TS KSA *ahne*) VS TS MS KSA

kṛpṛaśyenāya (TS KSA ^{°nasya}) *vartikā* VS TS MS KSA

vasūnām (MS *vasubhyah*) *kapīñjalah* VS TS MS KSA

samudrāya (TS KSA *sindhoh*) *śiśumārah* (KSA † *śiśū*[°], TS *śinsu*[°]) VS TS MS KSA

somāya (KSA *somāya rājñe*, TS *somasya rājñah*) *kulungah* (MS *kulañgah*) VS TS MS KSA

hṃavato (VS MS ^{°te}) *hastī* (TA *hastinam*) VS TS MS KSA TA

nīlamgoh (MS ^{°gave}) *kṛmah* (TS *kṛmah*) VS TS MS KSA

pikah (KSA *pigah*) *kṣvīṇkā nīlaśṛṅnī te ryamne* (KSA ^{°nah}) TS KSA

ulo halikṣno (TS *ūlo halī*[°]) *vṛṣadansas te dhātṛe* (TS KSA *dhātuh*) VS TS MS KSA

viśvebhyo devebhyah pṛṣatān (MS also ^{°tah}) VS MS (bis) *viśveṣām devānām pṛṣatah* VS

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh pītṛnām somavatām, and *babhravo dhūmrānīkāśāh pītṛnām barhiṣadām* VS *pītṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāsān*, and *pītṛbhyah somavadbhyo babhrūn dhūmrānūkāsān* ApŚ

agnaye tvā TS TB MŚ *īdam agneh* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

agnīṣomābhyām (tvā) TS TB *īdam agnīṣomayoh* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

[*pīvo* (VS MS *pīvo*) *nyañkuh kakkaṭas* (MS *kakuthas*, TS *kaṣas*) *te*

'numatyai VS TS MS *br̥vo nyañkuh kaśas te 'numatyāh KSA*
So Conc, but KSA actually reads 'numatyā followed by a° and
may just as well stand for 'numatyai, there is no p p]

§619. Similarly with a copulaic verb and a nominal form containing
the root *dā* 'give' (or *dhā* used as its equivalent, cf VV 2 §§100 ff)
devebhyo (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS *bhāgadā*) *asat* VS TS MS KS †
'Be he a giver of portions to the gods'

asmabhyam su maghavan bodhī godāh RV VSK asmākam su maghavan
bodhī godāh (and *gopāh*) RV

§620 The exact force of the gen in the following is less clear, but we
are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections

medobhyah svāhā VS medasah svāhā VS VSK MS TB The dat is
simple and regular, but occurs in a different context, there is no
real variant in the passages containing the gen With it the VS
comm supplies *devān* as object of the verb *yaj* (the formula begins
hotā yakṣad agnīm (VS *indram*) *svāhājyasya svāhā* etc) 'let the
hotar worship (the gods) of marrow with hail' So with the other
parallel gens (there are no datives in the passage) But TB comm
supplies a copula, paraphrasing *svāhatur astu*, and this seems
more likely to be approximately right

§621 Less jejune and formulaic, but not very different in psychology,
are the following, in which a dative of interest (or a dative which may
be felt as an indirect object, or even, when the verb is one of motion
[see the first case], of goal) varies with an adnominal (possessive or
objective) genitive

vṛṣṇe (KS *vṛṣṇo*) *codasva suṣṭutim RV TS MS KS Pāda 2 is tasmai*
(KS *kasmai*) *nūnam abhidyave KS* is anomalous both in using
the interrogative stem *kasmai* (which seems due to the initial of
the following stanza, *kam u svīd aśya senayā*) and in detaching
vṛṣṇe from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree Its
gen *vṛṣṇo* is felt as dependent on *suṣṭutim* 'Inspire fair praise to
(for, KS of) the bull'

imam ū (MS *u*) *ṣu tvaṁ asmākam* (TA ApŚ *ṣu tvaṁ asmabhyam*) RV
SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ Followed by *sanīm gāyatrām navīānsam*
(*navīyānsam*), *agne* (*agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (*voca*) 'Proclaim this
new song of ours (for us)'

tasya guptaye dāpatī sam krayethām AV tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpatī
samrabhethām TA 'For protection of it' 'for it, for the family (?)'
Comm on TA refuses to connect *tasmai* directly with *gotrāya*,
probably rightly

vr̥ṣā vr̥ṣne (SV *vr̥ṣnah*) *pari pavtre akṣāh* RV SV Preceded by *ṣa sya te madhumān indra somah* 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve), O Indra'

var̥śvānaro aṅgirasām (AV 'āṅir', AŚ *aṅgīrobhyah*) [*stomam uktham ca cāk[pat]*, with *varr*] AV AŚ ŚŚ

indrasya tvā bhāgam somenā tanacmī (VSK *tanakmī*) VS VSK KS ŚB *indrāya tvā bhāgam somenātanacmī* MS MŚ *somena tvātanacmīn-drāya dadhī* TS TB ApŚ 'As Indra's portion' 'as portion (curds) for Indra'

§622 The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift, but since they concern the fem endings *ai* and *ās*, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff)

patim surāyā (TB *surāya*, VS *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB 'A remedy for (of, i.e. against) *surā*' VS comm takes the instr as associative, it seems that dat or gen is required, but either of them would be satisfactory

utlānāyā (TS 'yā) *hṛdayam yad vikastam* (TS *vikāṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *sam te vāyur mātariṣvā dadhātu* 'heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine'

so syai (MG 'syāh) *prajāṁ muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG SMB † PG ApMB HG MG 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring)'

athāsya (TS TB MS 'syā) *madhyam edhatām* (with *varr*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA

§623 The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character

pra sunvānasyāndhasah (SV PB *sunvānāyāndh*) RV SV PB Followed by *maro na vr̥ta (vaṣṭa) tad vacah* 'Let him accept this song of the pressed-out herb (for, on behalf of, the presser of the herb)' In RV *sunvāna* is generally active in sense, e.g. 8.31.16, this is the only passage in which Grassmann assigns passive force to it. Hence the change in SV, which makes it active

gharmam br̥nanti prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ ŚŚ *br̥nanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'For the first drinker' 'of the first drink'

asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp *mānaveṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst' 'unobstructedly

in the midst of men (Ppp among men, in [their] midst) ' Differing from Whitney, we take *asambādham* as a neuter adverb (§404)
indrāya bhāgam pari tvā naryām AV indrasya bhāgah surte dadhatana
 ApŚ The gen is apparently felt as possessive with *bhāgah*, §393
devo devānām pavitram asī TS MS KS devo devebhyah pavaśva VS ŚB
 As in prec, the gen is possessive
*rāyas pošam (KS tvaṣṭah pošaya) vi śyatu (RV MS TB * śyatām, AV*
*MS * KS śya) nābhīm asme (AV asya) RV AV VS TS MS (bis)*
 KS TB (bis) ApŚ 'Let him release (release thou, etc) [our seminal fluid, *turīpam*] as offspring for us (of it) ' Ppp has *asme*, and Whitney calls *asya* 'senseless', but this is too harsh It refers to *turīpam* and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV

§624 In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal *tubhyam*, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f), indeed, even in epic Sanskrit *mahyam* and *tubhyam* seem to be used as gens (Speyer VSS §46 note) *tīre tubhyam asau (HG tubhyam gange) PG HG tīrenāsau tava ApMB*

Simply 'on thy bank' seems to be the only possible meaning

§625 Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal *me*, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive Naturally *me* is here interpreted as dative of interest, yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens *pitṛnam* etc in any other sense Oldenberg on HG frankly does so, and Buhler's rendering of BDh, 'mayst thou never fail to the (manes of our) fathers,' is hardly more than an evasion of the problem (dragging in a possessive genitive by a very forced ellipsis) In later Sanskrit the gen replaces the dat in just such uses (Speyer VSS §72), and we have little doubt that the unmistakably gen forms of the variant, at least (and perhaps even *me*?), must be so interpreted

akṣitam asī mā pitṛnām (ApMB marṣām, HG BDh also pitāmahanām, prapitāmahanām) kṣeṣṭhā amutrāmuṣmanī loka ApMB HG BDh
akṣitir asī mā me kṣeṣṭhā VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ akṣito 'sy akṣityai
tvā mā me kṣeṣṭhā TS GB Vait MŚ

§626 Similarly in the next, the dative depends on *prati-bhar* 'bring (as a gift)', and if the gen is textually sound it must be an early case

of the absorption of this dat function by the gen, as in classical Sanskrit. The SV reads the form *narah* at the end of a stanza, and the next stanza begins with *ā*, but it would probably be over-bold to suggest that it originally read *nara* for *nare*, with sandhi between the stanzas, and that this was later misinterpreted as *narah*. The SV comm glosses with *narāya*

apaścāddaghvane (SV *apaścāda*°) *nare* (SV *narah*) RV SV TB ApŚ

4 Dative of purpose

§627 As has been noted above (§614), the dative of purpose is not usually replaced by the genitive even in later Sanskrit, and when we find it varying with the genitive in the Veda, we can usually see a difference of psychology, as is to be expected. Yet in one case, at least, we find it hard to avoid the feeling that the gen is the exact equivalent of the dative of purpose. This concerns a series of formulas beginning with *śavitā tvā savānām* (*prasavānām*) *śvatām*, and continuing with parallel formulas in which *śvatām* or the like is understood. The dependent nouns (*savānām* etc.) are all genitives in most texts, but in three of the formulas some texts have datives. The dative of purpose is what we should expect in all, and the commentators are hard put to it to explain the gens, Mahidhara on VS supplies *ādhipatyē*, similarly Eggeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc. Keith makes the gens partitive 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e.g. *rudrah paśūnām*, 'Rudra of cattle!'). PG reconstructs the initial formula thus *agnir bhūtānām adhipatiḥ sa māvatu*, which makes the gens simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty. We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gens as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose.

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS ŚB *vāce*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

rudrah paśūnām (VS ŚB *pasubhyah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB PG

indro jyēṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyāṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyāṣṭhyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG

§628 The other cases involving dative of purpose are few and miscellaneous. In the first the gen is the object of a verb of ruling; the variant is precisely parallel to those between dative of purpose and accusative of direct object (§§70, 420), except that here the verb requires a genitive object.

kṣayantam rādhaso (TS °se, KS *śavase*) *mahah* (TS KS *mahe*) RV SV

VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Ruling over (unto) great bounty'

§629 The next two involve the well-known construction of a dative of purpose with a dependent genitive or a second dative, on which see Delbruck *AIS* §§103 and (with infinitives) 54

rāye (ApS *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā (dānāya samūdhīmahi)* SV ApS 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches)'

dvas (MS *dve*) *tvā jyotiṣe* TS MS A verb like 'I place' is understood 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light'

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriya (also *triṣṭubhe jagatyā anuṣṭubhe*) *chandase 'bhūbhūve svāhā* KS *arīṣṭyā avyathya samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriya chandase 'bhūbhūve* (ApS *gāyatriā abhūbhūtya*) *svāhā* KS ApS *samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriya* (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyā*, TS ApS *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatya anuṣṭubhaḥ pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS ApS om) *'bhūbhūṭaye* (with varr) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApS On the meaning see Caland's note on ApS 14 19 1 'For the gāyatri (etc) meter, for conquest' 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the gāyatri (etc)'

§630 The next is not very different, here the dat or gen depends not on another dat but on an acc

vidā rāye (AA *rāyah*) *suviryam* RVKh (Scheftelowitz p 135, vs 4a) AA Mahānāmnyah 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth' But *rāyah* may also be acc pl, 'wealth (and) hero-abundance', the variant would then belong with §486

§631 In the next it is possible to find the influence of formal case attraction

akūpārasya dāvane (SV *nah*) RV SV N Here *dāvane* is an infinitive, 'unto giving, that thou mayst give' SV attracts it to the case of *akūpārasya*, making it a noun of agent (as often in cpds of the type *aśva-dāvan*) 'inexhaustible giver'

5 Dative and genitive with verbs

§632. The confusion between these two cases appears in a few variants in which one case is regularly construed in dependence on a particular verb, and is replaced by the other in one variant form Cf Delbruck §110, Speyer VSS §72

§633 Thus, in two pādas of one verse, the root *radh* 'be subject to', which regularly takes the dative, has the genitive in secondary texts *dviṣantam* (AV *sapatnān*) *mahyam* (TB ApS *mama*) *randhayan* RV AV TB ApS *dviṣantā ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *dviṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MS (Add to VV 1 §§79, 238, 349) Followed by

mo aham (AV *mā cāham*, MŚ *mā tv aham*) *dvīṣate* (TB ApŚ °to, MŚ °tām) *radham* RV AV TB ApŚ MŚ The verb *radh* is otherwise recorded only with the dat, for which the gen is here clearly a substitute TB comm interprets *mama* as possessive gen, 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel *dvīṣato*, which obviously cannot be taken so, TB comm takes *dvīṣato* as abl, *dm° sakāśān mo radham mama hinsām prāpnuvān*, which is absurd

§634 Conversely, the roots *vid* and *dhī*, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive In the case of *vid*, perhaps the nearly homonymous root *vidh*, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows It is noteworthy that in the same context TA and MahānU present parallel formulas with the regular genitive

taṭ puruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi MS KS TA MahānU Immediately preceded in MahānU by *taṭ puruṣasya vidmahe, sahas-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*, in TA by *puruṣasya vidma, sahas-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*

6 Phrase inflection

§635 In a couple of instances we find what we have called phrase inflection (§§21-2), that is the use of formulas in different contexts requiring different construction of the nouns in question

punānāya prabhūvaso RV SV *punānasya prabhūvasoḥ* RV
varuna mitra dāśuṣah (and °ṣe) RV (both) Sāyana and Grassmann take *dāśuṣah* as gen sg, Ludwig as acc pl

7 Miscellaneous

§636 The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories

pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasah RV *pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase* ArS *sūryo devo* (KS * *divo*, so read both times, once ed reads *devo*, but there is a v l *divo*, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmana passage of the other) *diviṣadbhyo dhātā kṣatrāya* (KS † *kṣatrasya*) *vāyuh prajābhyah* (KS *prajānām*) [*bṛhaspatī tvā prajāpataye juhōtu*] TS KS (bis) In KS understand *diviṣadbhyo* with each genitive 'Let Sūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātār for (those) of royal power' etc In the secondary TS the datives are attracted to the case and construction of *prajāpataye* 'Let Dhātār offer thee for royal power' etc

mayi dohah padyāyā virājah (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG *mayi*

padyāyaḥ virājo dohaḥ ŚŚ ŚG PG *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB 'In me [may] the milk of Padyā Virāj (see Ohlenberg *SBE* 29 p 97, note on ŚG 3 7 5) [dwell],' most texts ApMB reconstructs the formula 'Shine forth for my foot-water' or the like Used in a foot-washing rite Note that *padyāyaḥ* is clearly felt as genitive, but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to *padyāya* in ApMB

8 Errors

§637 There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable

tuje janā (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS *tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ *balam*, conjecture of Hillebrandt) *sahah* AA ŚŚ Both forms and meanings of the words are wholly obscure

devasya (ŚB * *devebhyas*) *tvā savituh prasave* 'svinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām ā dade VS TS MS KS KSA ŚB (both) 1B TA Kauś The dat form occurs at ŚB 14 2 1 6 which quotes VS 38 1 incorrectly, VS has *devasya* Note further that the latter part of the formula in ŚB omits the word *adityaḥ* before *rāsnāsi*, tho it is found not only in VS 38 1 but in the same phrase almost immediately following, ŚB 14 2 1 8 = VS 38 3 Eggeling seems right in assuming that ŚB has a mere misquotation of its source, VS, rather than a real variant based on contamination with such phrases as *devebhyas tvā* (see Conc under these words)

[*athā* (AV *adhā*) *mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV *kṛnuṣva*) RV AV Conc *vasudeyasya* for RV]

[*niškā etc yajamānasya loke* (KS † *yajamānasya santu*) AV KS Conc *yajamānāya* for KS]

C Dative and locative

1 After verbs

§638 The extent of the interplay between dative and locative in adverbial constructions has hardly received the emphasis it deserves That both cases are used to express the goal of motion and of actions of various kinds is indeed well known (cf Delbruck, *ATS* §§80, 96, Speyer, *VSS* §§76, second part, 81b), and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated Without claiming

precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used

The roots *dhā* and *dā*

§639 In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots *dā* and *dhā*, and pointed out that while both are freely used with *dhā* 'place', the simple root *dā* 'give' is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used) In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, *dā* and *dhā* are often genuine synonyms Moreover the dative and locative after *dhā* are hardly distinguishable in meaning Such a phrase as *yaśo mayi dhehī* PB Vait SMB is equivalent to *yaśo me dhehī* (TA *dhāh*) TA ŚŚ, whether we prefer to translate 'put splendor in me' or 'assign splendor to me' And so with the following variants after *dhā*

varco dhā yajñāvāhase (VS ŚB °*si*) RV VS MS KS AB TB ŚB
dhehī asmabhyam (ApŚ *asmāsu*) *dravinam jātavedah* ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ
dhattād asmabhyam dravineha (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca*)
bhadram TS MS ApŚ

asmīn (TB *asmā*) *indra mahī varcāsi dhehī* AV TB
āyur yajñāya (MS *yajñe*) *dhattam* MS TB ApŚ
āyur yajñapataye dhattam TB ApŚ *āyur yajñapatau* (sc *dhattam*) MS
sudevam indre aśvinā (MS *indrāyaśvina*) VS MS TB The verb *dadhur* follows

athā nah (AV *adhā nah*, TS *athāsmabhyam*, RV * *tad asme*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (RV * MS °*tana*) RV (bis) AV VS TS MS KS N
 But *asme* may be dative

§640 While the preceding instances show *dhā* alone, in the next we find, beside *dha* with both dative and locative, forms of *dā* (or rarely other expressions of giving) with dative (not locative, VV 2 §101)

ūrjam mayi dhehī VS VSK MS KS PB ŚB LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me dhehī* (TS * *dhattam*) VSK TS (both) KS GB TB Vait KŚ
ūrjam me dehi (VSK TS *yacha*) VSK TS PB LŚ

śrotam mayi dhehī TS KSA † *śrotam me dhattam* (AV MŚ *dāh*) AV TB ApŚ MŚ

cakṣur mayi dhehī TS *cakṣur me dhehī* (VS ŚB *dehi*, AV MS *dāh*) AV VS MS KS KSA ŚB

āyur mayi dhehī VS TS ŚB *āyur me dhehī* VSK TS KS KSA MS

JB TB ApŚ *āyur me dhattam* TB ApŚ . *āyur me yacha* (ApŚ *
yachata) MS KS ApŚ (bis) MŚ *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ
 PG *āyur me dāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ
tejo mayi dhehi AV VS TS KS ŚB TB LŚ ŚŚ ApMB *tejo me*
yacha (TA *dhāh*, AŚ *dehi* and *dāh*) TS MS KS TA AŚ (bis)
 ApŚ MŚ
rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (AV °ṣi) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS
 ŚŚ *rāyas poṣam yajamāne dadhātu* AŚ
varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *varco mayi dhehi* VS TS
 PB ŚB TB ApŚ *varco me dhehi* (TA *dhāh*) VSK MS KS JB
 TA ApŚ *varco me dehi* (MS MŚ *dāh*) VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ
 PG *varco me yacha* MS KS ApŚ MŚ

§641 In other cases the *dhā* form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with *dā*, or occasionally with other expressions of giving

svas te dadāmi MG *svas* (*suvas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* ŚB BṛhU PG HG

Also with *bhūs* and *bhuvas* for *svas*, and with *bhūr* *bhuvah* *svas saho mayi dhehi* (AV *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS TB Also with *balam* for *saho*, and cf next

ojo mayi dhehi VS TB *ojo me dāh* AV VS TB
payo me dāh (ApŚ *mayi dhehi*) MS ApŚ
prajāṁ asmāsu dhehi VS *prajāṁ me dāh* (KS ApŚ MŚ *yacha*) VS
 TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ
indro balam balapatir balam asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu (TB *yajñe yaja-*
mānāya dadātu) *svāhā* ŚB TB KŚ Likewise with *sarasvatī puṣtam*,
savitā rāṣṭram, *pūṣā bhagam* (*visām*), *bṛhaspatir brahma*, *varunah*
samrāt, *somo rājā*, *mitrah kṣatram*, *agnir annādo*, *tvaṣṭā rūpānām*
(paśūnām)

§642 The compound *ā-dhā* has the same two constructions
bhīyasam ā dhehi śatruṣu (SV *śatrave*) RV SV
rāṣṭrāny asmā ā dhehi (MS *asmin dhehi*) MS KS TB ApŚ
tāsām tvā jarasa ādadhāmi TB HG ApMB *tāsu tvāntar jarasy ā*
dadhāmi AV (Ppp has *jarasa*)

Other expressings of placing and giving

§643 Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhātām* (intending
 'tān) *dadhātu* TB 'May he support thee well supported unto
 (establish us well established in) rule'

yasmin (Kauś *yasmai*) *bhūtam ca bhavyam ca* Kauś HG ApMB The following verb is *pratiṣṭhita* ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś, *brūh* in HG and *saṁāhūh* ('based, established') in ApMB

§644 Other verbs of giving and the like, including some compounds of *dā*, are used with both cases

taṁ devebhyah paridādāmi ApŚ *taṁ deveṣu paridādāmi vidvān* AŚ MŚ
'I give him over to the gods'

astṛto nāmāham asmi sa ātmānam nṛ dadhe dyāvāprthivībhyām gopīthāya (KS *sa idam dyāvāprthivyor ātmānam paridade tayoh śraye tayoh parākrame*) AV KS The verbs *nṛ-dhā* and *pari-dā* are both used with both cases Here the dat is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat of purpose, the loc by the locs with the two other verbs

ihāsmāsu (MS *ihāsmabhyam*, TB * *ihā mahyam*) *nṛ yachataṁ* RVKh AV MS KS TB (bis)

sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām (ŚŚ *prajāya*) VS ŚŚ 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring'

ta āyazanta dravinam (MS KS † °nā) *saṁ asmai* (MS *asmīn*) RV VS TS MS KS 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him But MS v 1 *asmai*

rarānas tmanā devebhyah (VS † TS † KS † *deveṣu*) AV VS TS MS KS In AV the dat depends on the following *svadayatu*, but in the YV texts it as well as the loc must depend on *rarānas* (the pāda division is here different from AV, see Whitney's note on AV)

saṁ padam magham īrayiṣiṇe na kāmam (AA *rayiṣaṁ na somah*) SV AA '(Grant) prosperity to him who seeks wealth' Keith understands *rayiṣaṁ* as loc with copula understood, the sense being the same as in SV Perhaps a verb like *dhā* could as well be understood

Verbs of uniting

§645 Verbs of uniting may take dative or locative as well as instrumental (§59)

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś *muñcatam*) AV Kauś *dviṣadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG *pāpam*) SMB HG ApMB '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy'

apriye (AV * *dviṣate*, RV *āptye*) *saṁ nayāmasi* RV AV (bis)

yad dha krānā vivasvati (SV °te) RV SV Followed by *nābhā samdāy* (SV °ya) *navyasī* (SV °se) Apparently both dat and loc depend on *saṁ-dā* 'unite', cf Ludwig 4 p 193 and Oldenberg ad loc

Verbs of bringing and the like

§646 In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion

devebhyo (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV ApŚ Different contexts

The variant is included here because the governing word, *havyavāhanah*, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °*te*) *kāme asmīn* (AV *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV.

AV TS KS 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire'

yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made RV AŚ - *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vvak-ṣase* SV The governing verb is *vrñīmahe* 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thee to the sacrifice) Cf §489

yad vo devāsa āgure (MS °*ri*) TS MS Followed by *havāmahe* 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing, cf prece

Verbs of saying

§647 It is well known that either dat or loc (as well as acc) may be used of the person spoken to Whether we should render the locs in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question

devebhyo mā suktam brūtāt (ŚB with ūha, voceh) VS ŚB *deveṣu nah sukrto* (VSK *mā suktam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ *brūyāt*) VSK

TS KS PB MŚ *suktam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS

pra mā (TS ApŚ *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS °*dhān*, ApŚ °*dhām*, KS *dhavirdā* [read °*dām*?]) *devatāsu* (KS °*tābhyaḥ*) TS MS KS ApŚ

Miscellaneous verbs

§648 The root *sthā* in the sense of 'serve, obey' governs not only the dative (Delbruck *ATS* p 143) but also the locative

gyauṣṭhye srauṣṭhye ca gāthīnāh ŚŚ *dhṛtyau srauṣṭhyāya gāthīnāh* AB

Preceded by *devarātāya tasthīre*

devā devebhyo (MS *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS °*riyanto*) *asthuh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§649 The verb *jāgr* 'watch (over)' also takes either case
yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ *evam asyām sūtkāyām, saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG *evam asyau suputrikāyau jāgrata* HG

§650 The verb *ku* 'pour, offer' takes either case, according as the offering is thought of as 'poured in' or 'offered to'

rudra yat te krayī (*kravi, kravi, giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS MS ŚB *tasmīn*) *hutam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB

320 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

pr̥thuvyām (KS °vyā) *amṛtam juhomī* AŚ KS ApŚ

§651. The root *ci* 'pile up, build'

sahasrākṣa (VS MS ŚB °kṣo) *medhāya* (TS KS *medha ā*) *cīyamānah*
VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'Piled up at (for) the sacrifice' Cf
VV 2 §342

§652 With the root *grah* 'take' both dative and especially locative may be felt as cases of goal

mayi (ApMB *mahyam*) *grhnāmi tvām aham* VS ApMB 'I take thee (the oblation) to (for) myself'

§653 With the root *jan* 'produce' the psychology of the two cases is more distinct. The variation in the first instance may be primarily phonetic, cf VV 2 §342

vaśvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV TS VS MS KS
PB ŚB

ajjano amṛta martyeṣv ā (SV *martyāya kam*) RV SV 'Thou hast produced among men (for man)'

2 With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like

§654 That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning 'pleasing' or the like is recognized by Delbruck *AIS* §79

supṛito manuṣo viśi (SV *viśe*) RV SV

prīyam mā brahmanī (ApMB °ne) *kuru* ApMB HG Parallel *pādas* have locs in both texts. But there is no need to read *brāhmane* or *brahmanī* in ApMB (cf Winternitz p xxiv), since the dative is equally sound

uta śūdra utārye AV *śūdrāya cāryāya ca* AV VS Both preceded by *prīyam mā kṛnu*

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.
dhīrā deveṣu (KS * *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV °yau, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV
VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB

sūyavasānī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA °ye, TS MS KS *yasasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA In RV *manuṣe* is dative, like *manave*, the others (including TA *manuṣe*) have locatives

3 Miscellaneous

§655 The remaining variants are miscellaneous

mayi dohah padyāya virājah (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG MG HG
mayi padyāya virājo dohah ŚŚ ŚG PG *mama padyāya vi rāja*
ApMB See §636

daśame māsi sūlavē RV RVKh AV ŚB BṛhU ApMB MG *daśa-māsyāya sūlavai* (ApMB °ve) HG ApMB 'In the tenth month' 'tenth-monthly' (adj)

pūṣṇe śarase (MS † *sarasi*, p p °sah) *svāhā* MS TA ApŚ *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS ŚB KŚ 'Hail to Pūṣan, to the skin of milk (MS apparently 'to P in the skin of milk')'

saṁ yujyāva (TS *babhūva*) *saṁbhya ā* RV TS *saṁ sanuyāva varīṣv ā* KS *saṁbhyah* is dat of purpose (not abl, as Grassmann takes it), cf Oldenberg *Noten* on 1 17 2 and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* s v ā On the meaning of KS, 'in the waters', see von Schröder's note

ve rāye (*rayayai*) *ramasva sahase dyumnāyorje* (VS ŚB †*dyumna ūrje*) '*patyāya* (see VV 2 p 429) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ 'For splendor, for might' 'for might in splendor'

tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā (KS *sakmann*) *ojīsthāya* MS KS *tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann* (VS ŚB *śakvana*) *ojīsthāya* VS VSK ŚB (see Conc under *āpataye tvā parīpataye*) *sakmane śakvarāya śakmanā ojīsthāya tvā grhnāmi* MŚ *sakmann ojīsthāya tvā grhnāmi* TS *sakmann ojīsthāya* TS GB *śakmana ojīsthāya tvā* Vait The original (TS KS VSK) has loc of noun, 'in strength', the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjectives, 'for the strong'

prthivyām agnaye samanaman sa ārdhnot AV *prthivyai sam anamat* TS TB

asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* (Ppp °veṣu) AV Ppp Kauś See §623

vāce svāhā VS etc *svāhā vāce* GB AG *vāci svāhā* TS In the latter the context is different and *vāci* depends on the following verb *dhāh*, not on *svāhā*

[*uttānāyay sayānāyay* ŚŚ *uttānāyām sayānāyām* AV RWh by em, but mss *uttamānāye sayānāyay*, intending the ŚŚ reading]

CHAPTER XXVI

ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

A *Ablative and genitive*

Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656 The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent. The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive.

tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgachatu MS KS ApŚ *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām*
 AŚ 'From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me' 'may its blessing aid and increase me'

yasya (KS *yato*) *deva dadhīṣe pūrvapeyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 'Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god'

tato no dehi jīvase RV TB TA *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV SV Kauś
 'From (of) it give to us that we may live'

mā parā seci mat payah (ŚŚ LŚ ŚG *no dhanam*, ApŚ * *nah svam*, ApMB * *me dhanam*) ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ ŚG ApMB (bis)
 PG HG MG 'Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc.) be poured away' The ApMB reference with *mat payah* should be 2 9 14d

agnir etu prathamo devatābhyah SMB *agnir aitu prathamo devatānām*
 AG ŚG HG ApMB 'First from among (of) the gods'

apāsman (KS *apāsya*) *nairṛtān pāsān* KS ApŚ 'Away from him (KS literally, away his) bonds of destruction'

§657 Once after the preposition *pari* (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen dual forms occur in one form of the variant. They can only be taken in ablative sense. The variant is instructive for the confusion of the two cases, which is helped by the fact that in the singular the two have identical forms in most paradigms (in the context adjoining the variant *pāda* occur such forms as *gīreh*, *svasuh* etc.)

pari sarvebhyo jñātubhyah HG ApMB *pari pitroś ca bhrātōś ca* PG

Followed in PG by *sakhyebhyo vsrjāmy aham*

§558 Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative The contexts are different

bhīṣagbhyo bhīṣaktarāḥ AV *bhīṣajām subhīṣaktamāḥ* AV

Case attraction

§559 Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction
tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad antoh (AŚ † MŚ *ā mamantoh*) TS AŚ MŚ
Both mean 'until my return', in TS (doubtless the original) we find *mad* by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf Delbruck *AIS* pp 90, 431 and our §86) See Oertel 92

tvam nṛnām nṛpate (KS *tvam nṛbhyo nṛmano*) jāyase śuciḥ RV VS TS MS KS TAA N Preceded by *tvam vanebhyas tvam oṣadhībhyah* 'Thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS 'and from men, O thou mindful of men')' KS has *nṛbhyo* by attraction to the case and construction of *vanebhyas oṣadhībhyah*

B Ablative and locative

1 Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660 The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative, as in

karkandhu jāyāne madhu sārāgham mukhāt (MS *mukhe*) VS MS KS TB
'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth'

§661 Here there is little practical difference Likewise, even when no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in
tāḥ (VS ŚB *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prsthāt* (TS KS *prṣṭhe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *nāvaś caranti* (*nāvo vyanti*)

'The ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull'
Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read *pra* ('forth'), but also in MS which does not

§662 Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the ablative in such a variant as

yadā mahā samvaranād (KS *°ne*) *vy asthāt* RV SV VS. TS MS KS KB ŚB 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclosure' (*mahā* in KS must be nom sg, in the others it may be this or abl sg, Oldenberg decides for the latter)

§663 These examples will suggest that the psychology of the two

cases generally differs more or less, tho the extent and practical importance of the difference varies greatly, being no doubt least when used with expressions of source or separation or protection For even with a verb of protecting the threatening danger from which protection is desired may be put in the locative, as denoting the state in which the person finds or fears to find himself

eyā tvā pātu nūrter upasthāt (TA *nūrtyā upasthe*, AV *prapathe purastāt*)

RV AV TA 'Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction'

§664 The following additional examples occur, we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least

śvām prajābhyo 'hinsantam (KS † *ahins°*) *prthwyāḥ sadhashthād* (TS MS KS °*sthe*) *agnim* (TS 'gnim) *purīṣyam aṅgirasvat khanāmah* (TS KS † °*nu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni' In the same context

devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām prthvyāḥ sadhashthād (TS MS °*sthe*) *agnim* (TS † 'gnim) VS TS MS KS ŚB Add to VV 2 §910 Cf prec

apām yo madhyato (KS *madhye*) *rasas tam aham asmā grhnāmi* KS TB 'I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters'

vibhrāyamānah sarīrasya (MS *sulhasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA 'Shining in (from) the midst of the waters'

dīvah (MŚ *dīvi*) *śūlpam avalatam* TB ApŚ MŚ

tam te (TS *idam te tad*) *vi śyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life'

bāhucyuto (VS ŚB *grāvacyuto*) *dhiṣanāyā* (VS TS ŚB *dhiṣanayor*) *upasthāt* (KS °*sthe*) RV VS TS KS GB ŚB Vait MŚ Preceded by *yas te drapsa skandati yas te anśuh* Here it seems that KS must intend a fundamentally different meaning 'The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS on) the lap of the bowl (two bowls)'

agnih prātahsavane (MS MŚ °*nāt*) *pātu asmān* AV TS MS KS KS ApŚ Perhaps MS asks for protection 'from (hostile) somapressings', cf MS 4 7 7 102 5 ff, the brāhmana dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savanas of the Asuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies

ā mā sucarite (MŚ °*tād*) *bhaja* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Pre-

ceded by *pāhi māgne duścariāt* (VS ŚB *pari māgne duścariāt bādhasva*) No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding *duścariāt* is responsible for the ablative in MŚ Yet it can be defended in a way 'Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds'

2 With prepositions

§665 Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions *adhi* and *antar* Both cases are found with them, but in different senses, and in the first variant *adhi* with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without *adhi*
tām te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG *ā* (HG om) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* HG ApMB 'In (from within) thy heart'

tasyāḥ (TB *tasyām*) *samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti* RV AV TB ŚŚ N 'From (in) her the seas flow forth'

yam āsvinā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ † *namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ Followed by *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* Cf Bloomfield *JAOS* 15 144 ff on the Namuci story Some verb, doubtless a form of *su*, is understood 'which (soma) the Āsvins (pressed out) from (in) the Āsura Namuci' The word *dadhi* in ŚŚ certainly contains a corruption of *adhi*

ye devā deveṣu (MS KS *devebhyo*) *adhi devatvam āyan* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods)' The abl with *adhi* seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen

samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi (RV * *°pah*) RV (bis) SV In different contexts Cf also *samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (SV *°pe*) *manūṣmanah* RV SV *ya usriyā apyā* (SV *api yā*) *antar asmanah* (SV *°ni*) RV SV 'The cows from within (SV the cows within) the rock'

§666 On the other hand, *ā* with the ablative may mean 'up to' and so may interchange with the loc (and the acc) of goal with no difference of meaning

āsya yajñasyodṛcah VS ŚB *svasti mā sanī vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svāhā* AV *svasti mā sampārasyāsyā yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ See §523

3 In adverbial forms

§667 Adverbially used ablatives have a tendency to pale out, so that no distinctly ablatival function remains They then become interchangeable with locative adverbs or locative phrases

āre (TS *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS °*na*) *uta pūruṣagghnam* (TS °*ne*) RV TS

Both mean simply 'far off', not 'from afar'

yās te rudra purastāt (AG *pūruṣayām dīś*) *senās tābhya eṣa bahis tābhyaś te namah* (AG *senās tābhya enat*) AG PG Here there may be in the abl a suggestion of 'from the east', but it is hard to be sure of it

4 Case attraction

§668 The following (cf also *ā mā sucarite* etc , §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction

āre asman (MS NīlarU *asmin*) *ni dheḥ tam* VS TS MS KS NīlarU

One ms and p p of MS read *asman* (*asmat*) If *asmin* is sound it must be attracted to the case of *āre* 'in this distant (place)' instead of 'far from us'

5 Phrase inflection

§669 Phrase inflection is found in the following

(*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* AV (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ samkasukāc ca yat* AV Both times Ppp reads *agnih samkasukāś ca yah* Caland KZ 34 456 f considers both AV pādas 'phrase-inflections' of what Ppp (substantially) reads See §§433, 450

tṛtīyasyā uto divah ApMB *tṛtīyasyām uto divi* AV HG Wholly different contexts

aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomnah RV AV ApMB *aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni* AV

In the first passage the abls depend on *vi vṛhām*, the second is followed by *yas* (sc *yakṣmas*) *te parvan-parvani*

6 Miscellaneous

§670 A few miscellaneous cases remain

mā te vyoma samdṛśah AV *mā te vyoma samdṛśi* (LŚ † *samdaśa* [iti]) AA TA AŚ LŚ MG 'May we not be separated from sight of thee' 'may there be no *vyoman* (lacuna? TA comm *chidram*) in thy sight' In LŚ a form of *samdṛś* (either °*śah* or °*se* would be possible) must be intended If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV), this should be added to VV 2 §631

varṣīyo (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yaṇe yaṇāpatim dhāh* TS VS ŚB *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yaṇam yaṇāpatau dhāh* MS KS Addressed to atmosphere 'Being more extended, establish the sacrificer in a more extended sacrifice' 'being more extended than the more extended, establish sacrifice in the sacrificer' The latter is doubt-

less original, the former a lect fac, with a kind of 'transfer of epithet'
 [ardhamāsyam prasūtāt putrāvatah JB (bis) Both passages have the abl, see Oertel, JAOS 19 (2d half), pp 112, 115]

C Genitive and locative

1 Locative of position adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen) Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw, in the first mentioned cases the gen seems clearly possessive

mayy akīr (Ppp KS mamāsīr) astu mayi (Ppp KS † mama) devahūtīh
 RV AV Ppp TS KS 'May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)'

asmākam (TS asmasu) santu asīṣah VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

yad devanam (VS deveṣu) tryāyusaṃ VS VSK ŚG SMB ApMB HG
 MG Preceded even in VS by tryāyusaṃ jamadagneh, kaśyapasya tryāyusaṃ (with slight variations in order) VS is isolated and so may be suspected of being secondary Were it original we might think of case attraction to the preceding gens in the others

tve rayah VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ tava rayah MS MŚ tava-tava rāyah
 MS KS MŚ to-to (TS ApŚ to-te) rayah VS TS ŚB ApŚ

yat pṛthivyam (MahānU °vya) rajah svam TA MahānU 'What *rajas* is in (of) the earth'

yā te patighnī tanūh HG yā te patighnī tanūr PG yā te patighny ŚG yāsyām patighnī tanūh ApMB 'What husband-slaying body (form) is thine (in her)'

dīrgham yac cakṣur adīter anantam AŚ yad akus cakṣur adītav anantam
 PB JB (See Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases* §48 24R.)

mā tvam harṣīh śrutam mayi PG śrutam me mā pra hāsīh RVKh

dhruvadhi poṣya (PG poṣye) mayi RVKh ŚG PG ApMB mameyam
 astu poṣyā AV 'Be steadfast in (with, be) me' 'let this woman be mine, prosperous'

vihāya rogam tanvah svāyāh (TA tanvam svāyām) AV TA 'Abandoning disease of (in) their own body'

anvātansīt tvayi (MS °tānsus tava) tantum etam VS TS MS KS ŚB
 'He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine)'

aḥam praḥd ājanayam pṛthivyām (MG °vyāh, ApMB *piṭnām*) RV ApMB MG 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers)' *akah su* (TA *sa*) *lokam sukṛtam pṛthivyāh* (VS ŚB °vyām) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth' The gen may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive *yasyā āśas* (KS *imās*) *tanvo vītapṛsthāh* AV KS *yasyā bahvyas* (RVKh VS *yasyām imā bahvyas*, TB *yasyai bahvīs*) *tanvo* (*tanuvo*) *vītapṛsthāh* RVKh VS MS TB 'Whose (in whom) are smooth-backed forms'

asamānīm grheṣu nah AV *gṛhanam asamartyai* TS See §486 *patyau* (ApMB *patyur*) *me śloka uttamah* RV ApMB 'My supreme renown rests in my husband (is my husband's)'

sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṛṣuh AV *sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS *mānā*, v 1 *manā*, SMB Jorgensen *manav*) *acarkṛṣuh* (varr, VV 1 §136) KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG Preceded by *madhuna samyutam yavam* 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the Sarasvatī (river)', AV The form *sarasvatya* has been interpreted in all sorts of ways, as gen 'with honey of Sarasvatī' (TB comm, Stenzler, Caland), as instr (in spite of the sandhi, Oldenberg *SBE* 29 338), as abl (Jorgensen on SMB), and as dat (VV 1 §136) We now think gen or abl most likely

tāsu (sc *dikṣu*) *tvāntar jarasy ādadhāmī* AV *tāsam* (sc *dīśām*) *tvā jarasa ādadhāmī* TB HG ApMB 'I establish thee in old age within them (unto their old age, i.e. unto as long life as the directions possess, so rightly TB comm)'

§672 Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following cases, in which the loc is parallel with another loc, on which the gen depends in the other form of the variant (cf §85)

asyā (MG † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG °nyam) AV MG (the latter also has a v 1 *nāryām*) *asyām nāryām gavīnyam* RVKh ApMB 'In this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' 'in this woman, in her canal' Assuming that the gen is original, we may see case-attraction in the loc

sūṣam na madhye nābhyām (MS °yāh) VS MS TB 'In the middle, (viz) in the navel' 'in the middle of the navel' As prec

ye 'do (MS *amī*, KS *vādo*, VS ŚB *vāmī*, NīlarU *cāmī*) *rocane dvah* (NīlarU *dvi*) RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB NīlarU As prec The phrase *rocane dvah* is standard from RV on, clearly case-assimilation in NīlarU

prṣṭhe prthivyā (AV *nābhā prthivyām*) *nihito dandiyutāt* AV VS TS MS
KS SB As prec, Ppp is reported by Whitney to read *prthivyāh*,
which is standard after *nābhā* (see Conc under this initial)

§673 To these we may append a case in which the loc noun which
governs the possessive gen is omitted in the variant form, thus com-
pelling the use of loc instead of gen

visvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS GB Vait *viśloka viśvadāvyē*
tvā samjuhomī svāhā MŚ 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner
of all (in the burner of all)'

§674 Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen
depends on an adverb (*madhyato*) which, while abl in form, is essentially
loc in meaning, Ppp uses a loc of the noun instead of the gen
asambūdham badhyato (read *ma*) *mānavānām* (Ppp *veṣu*) AV Ppp

Kauś See §623 'In the midst of men 'in the midst, among
men'

§675 The gen after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless
to be felt as objective in character

syāma sumnasyādhrigo (SV *sunne te adhrigo*) RV SV Preceded by
ni nedīṣṭhatamā iṣah 'Let us be nearest to 'he draught, to (in)
thy grace'

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it, tam in mahe vṛnate nānyani tvat RV
tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam it, tvām mahe vṛnate (TB ApŚ add
naro) *nānyani tvat* SV KS TB ApŚ 'Him they choose alike at
the small oblation and at the large' 'thee they choose alike for
(equal to, equally capable of? Caland 'als gleichen für') the small'
etc For the gen with words of likeness cf Speyer VSS §70c

§676 Definitely objective is the genitive in the following cases, with
nouns or adjectives containing verbal force, in which the two forms are
practical equivalents

ahh śayuta upapṛk prthivyāh (TB *vyām*) RV MS TB N
nanāndarī samrājñī bhava RV SMB ApMB *nanānduh samrājñy edhī*
AV 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law' In the same verse
samrājñī śvasrūvām (*svasrūvām*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB *samrājñy uta*
śvasrūvāh AV

prācyām diśi (AV *prācyā diśas*) *tvam indrāsī rājā* AV TS MS KS In
the same verse

utodīcyām vṛtrahan vṛtrahāsi TS MS KS *utodīcyā diśo vṛtrahan chatruho*
'si AV

2 After the preposition *antar*

§677 Delbruck AIS p 445 f ignores the construction of *antar* with
the gen, which is however indubitable, cf §142 In the following

330 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

variant gen and loc with *antar* interchange Tho another loc follows, the gen cannot depend upon it
ukhāyāh (TS °*yai*, MS KS °*yām*) *sadane sve* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*

3 Adverbial uses

§678 In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time On the gen of time see especially Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 79 6

dive-diva (AV *dwo-dwa*) *ā suvā bhūrī paśvah* AV KS TB AŚ ŚŚ
dive-dive is certainly loc in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §295, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, *TAPA* 62 [1931] 20)

madhu naktam utoṣasah (KS °*sā*, TS TA °*si*) RV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś See §584

aktor vyūṣṭau paritakmyāyāh (and °*yām*) RV (both) Uncertain, see *RVRep* on 5 30 13 and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg *RVNoten*

§679 The following variant is also obscure and dubious We are inclined to feel that both *parīnasah* and °*si* are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately 'with plenty' or 'plentifully' Despite Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc we incline to separate the word from *kasya* But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive Ludwig's interpretation makes it adnominal gen with *dhryo*, which is perhaps also possible

kasya nūnam parīnasah (SV °*si*) RV SV Followed by *dhryo jṛnvasī dampate* (SV *satpate*)

4 Dependent on verbs

§680 Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501)

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*īm nadīm*)
 Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tava (SV *tve*) *viśve sajoṣasah* RV SV Followed by *devāsah pītīm āśata*
 Here *pītīm āśata* 'obtained a drink' may be regarded as a periphrasis for 'drank', and it seems to us that the gen and loc are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant, so Ludwig construes *tava*, while Grassmann takes it as possessive, 'thy drink', and Benfey takes *tve* as dependent on *sajoṣasah* Wackernagel 3 p 462 quotes *tve* here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form

§681 The gen in the following, with root *rā*, seems also to be partitive, it may be influenced by the gen in the following clause
yā sarasvatī veśābhagānī tasyā no (ApŚ *viśobhagīnā tasyām me*) *rāsva*
tasyās te bhaktvāno bhūyāśma KS ApŚ 'Grant us (me) [a share]
 of (in) her'

§682 With the verb *adhi-* 'think on' the gen (or acc) is regular
 In the following variant MG has a loc, perhaps influenced by thought
 of the literal, etymological meaning 'go upon' (*adhi* + loc) It should
 also be noted that the following pāda (*yeṣu saumanasam mahat* in MG)
 has a loc which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some
 influence

yeṣām (MG *yeṣu*) *adhyaeti pravasan* AV VS ApŚ LŚ ŚG HG MG

5 Transfer of epithet

§683 Transfer of epithet (§§14-6) is found in the following
śucīh śukre ahany ojaśīnā (MS *ahann ojaśīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojaśye*,
 AŚ 'ahany ojaśīnām') TS MS KS AŚ See §447
svasty apsu vṛjane svarvatī (MG † *vrajaṇe svarvatāh*) RV AB MG 'In
 the bright place' 'in the path of the bright one' The original has
 an epithet of *vṛjane*, which MG changes to an independent form
 Some MG mss point to the RV reading

6 Miscellaneous

§684 The rest are unclassifiable
ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadiṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīnām*
 AV Too obscure to make any interpretation of *nadīnām* worth
 giving, see VV 2 §833
samsr̥ṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu MS *samsr̥ṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena*
 RV AV SV VS TS KA See §607
agnā u (ŚB also *agner*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu vaughak* ŚB (both)
 AŚ Ritualistic rigmarole, various case-forms of *agni* are used in
 mechanical modulations of the formula
asūrte (MS KS °tā, KapS °tāh) *sūrte rajasi nṣatle* (MS *nṣattā*, KS
na sattā) RV VS MS KS KapS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne*
 TS The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of
 RV 10 123 1, which contains *rajaso vimāne*
mā no (mā) *hīṁsīj janitā yah prthivyāh* (KapS °yām) RV VS VSK
 TS MS KS KapS ŚB ApŚ Raghu Vira emends to °yāh (cf
 Oertel 19), but the loc can be construed with the following pāda

CHAPTER XXVII

SINGULAR AND PLURAL

1 *Generalizing singular and plural*

§685 Among the variations between singular and plural (see §§112-7 for a summary), the great majority concern the use of a generic singular, in variation with a plural which may be specific, referring to particular individuals of the class, or may itself be general, including them all. As a rule there is little real difference of meaning between the two forms. The singular tends to think of the class as a whole, the plural of the individuals which compose it. Sometimes the singular seems to be a distinct collective, but more often it merely indicates the genus, without centering the attention upon the individuals which compose it. For instance, as in military language today, 'the enemy' may mean the whole hostile army. Likewise 'the sacrifice', as an institution or type, varies with 'sacrifices' as individual acts (but usually not conceived specifically, rather all 'sacrifices' in general). And so one may say equally well 'good deed', generically, or 'good deeds', 'food' or 'foods', 'praise' or 'praises', 'heroism' or 'heroisms' (that is, deeds of heroism), and so forth.

§686. In some of the cases which we shall feel obliged to list under this heading, it is very possible that the singular may have been felt specifically, of a single definite individual. So notably with the word *agni* 'fire' (§691). At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires). Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740). It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular, and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary.

Āmredita compounds

§687 Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun: the use of repeated

(*āmredita*) compounds They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus Once a plural *āmredita* varies with a singular modified by the word *viśva* 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent In another case a singular *āmredita* varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like *viśva*, can only mean substantially the same thing

viśo-viśah pravṛṣwāṇsam īmahe AV *viśvasyām viśi pravivṛśvānsam*

(KS † *pravivṛśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS

ruho ruropa (TB *roham-roham*) *rohita ā ruropa* AV TB

§688 We now proceed to give the lists containing a presumably generalizing singular in variation with a plural, arranging them under semantic categories, beginning with

§689 (1) *Words connected with the ritual* Among ritual words we find first the 'sacrifice' itself (*yajña*) and its more specific designations (*havya*, *havis*, etc.)

asmān rāya uta yajñāh (KS † *yajñah*) *sacantām* TS KS ApŚ *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS

yajñam yad yajñavāhasah AV *yajñair vā* (TB *vo*) *yajñavāhasah* RV TS TB

tvaṣṭā rūpāni (AŚ *rūpena*) *samanaktu yajñair* (AŚ *yajñam*) ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ

bodhāmasi tva haryasva yajñair (MŚ *yajñe*) RV SV MŚ See §602 *yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made* RV AŚ *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vivakṣase* SV

brahma yajñah (MS *yajñāh*) *prthwīm dhārayanti* AV MS

devabhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havya*) *vahatu prayānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB Vait MŚ Kauś MG

havya marṣeṣu raniyati RV *havyam martāsa vidhate* SV

jatavedah prati havyā qrbhāya AV SMB *jātavedo havir idam juṣasva* AŚ ApŚ MŚ HG

agnir havir (AV VS TS MS *havyam*) *śamitā sūdayati* (AV *svadayati*) RV AV VS TS MS KS *agnir havyāni sūṣvadat* RV *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV

alandro havyā (SV *havyam*) *vahasī haviṣkṛte* RV SV

yajñair juhote haviṣā yajuṣā (TB *juhote yajuṣā havirbhūh*) AV TB *yajñair vidhema namasā havirbhūh* RV AV TS MS KS

purā satyād (TB *disṭād*) *āhutim hanuḥ asya* (TB *āhutir asya hanu*) AV TB

ya āhutim (JUB °tīr) *atyamanyanta devāh* AV JUB *tās te gachanti āhutim* (KS °tīr) *ghṛtasya* TS KS

334 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

pīlara āyusmantas te svadhayāyusmantah (PG *svadhābhīr āyus*⁹) TS PG

§690 The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (*stoma*, *prasasti*, *arka*, *uktha*, *brahman*, *matr*, *sūkta*, *yajus*, *sāman*) Here also may be placed the variants involving the words *dhī*, *veda*, *chandas*, and several others that have to do with meter

taved u stomam (SV *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV AV SV

stomena pratr bhūṣatī RV *stomebhīr bhūṣatī pratr* SV

apām uta prasastīṣu (RV † *prasastaye*, AV VSK *°tibhīh*) RV AV VS

VSK TS MS KS ŚB

tava prasastayo mahīh (SV *°śastaye mahe*) RV SV

yam mutram na prasastībhīh (SV *°taye*) RV SV

ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam AV *tam arkair abhyarcanti vatsam* TB

agnir ukthēna vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir uktheṣu anhasu* AV

vocat brahmānu (SV *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV SV See §269

sam brahmanā (AV *°nam*) *devakṛtam* (RV AV *devahutam*) *yad asti*

RV AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See §587

idam brahma pīpṛhi saubhagāya MS *ima brahma pīpṛhi saubhagāya*

VS KS ŚB (Eggeling wrongly considered *brāhma* a vocative)

ato matr (SV *matim*) *janayata svadhābhīh* RV SV

imā (TS *imām*) *rudrāya tavase kapardīne, kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe*

matīh (TS *matim*) RV VS TS MS KS

sūkta (KS *sūktam*) *brūhi* VS MS KS TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ṛksāmābhyām samtarāno yajurbhīh (TS *°bhyām yajusa samtarantah*) VS

TS KS ŚB MŚ

prastotah sāma gāya MS ApŚ *prastotah samanu gāya* MS TA KŚ

ApŚ (MS p p *sāma*)

udgātah sāmānu (MŚ 2 5 4 25, 4 4 11 *sama*) *gaya* GB MŚ (MŚ

4 2 10 has *sāmānu*, but v 1 *sāma*)

tatvāya savitā dhīyah (VS *dhīyam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

vedasya (MG *vedānam*) *nudhīpo bhūyāsam* AG PG MG

chandānsi (KS *chando*) *gacha svahā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

chandasā (MS *chandobhīr*) *hansah śuciṣat* VS MS KS TB

gāyatrām chando anu samrabhadhvam MS *gayatrim chandānsy anu*

samrabhantam KS ApŚ

dvīpadā yā catuṣpadā (VS *yās catuṣpadāh*), *tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS

yās ca ṣaṭpadāh), *vichandā yā* (VS *yās*) *ca sachandāh* (TS KSA

sachandā yā ca vichandāh) VS TS MS KSA Supply *rc* or *rcah*

avasyavātā bṛhatī nu śakvarīh (MS KS *bṛhatī na śakvarī*, AŚ *bṛhatī*

tu śakvarī) TS MS KS AŚ Followed by

imam yajñam avatu (TS *avantu*) *yā* (TS AŚ *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS *°cīh*) TS

MS KS AŚ *dīśām devy* (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS MS AŚ

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)
sūreh (AV MS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV
 VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

§691 The sacrificial fire See above, §686 It is often impossible to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the singular, or 'fire(s)' in general

te asmā (KS 'smā) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS v 1 'yo) *dravinam* (KS 'nāni)
dattvā MS KS ApŚ

agnar me hotā sa mopahvyatām ŚB *agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS
 ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait The last no doubt refers definitely to the three sacred fires

agnaye svīṣṭakṛte svāhā TB TAA etc *agnibhyah svīṣṭakṛdbhyah svāhā*
 KŚ The latter refers to the three fires

agnim (ApŚ *agnin*) *samādhehi* MS MŚ ApŚ

ihava san tatra sato vo agnayah TB ApŚ *ihava san* (MŚ *sans*, so also TB Poona ed) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB AŚ MŚ

raudrenānikena pāhi māgne (VS Vait *pāta māgnayah*) VS TS MS KS
 ŚŚ Vait 18 8 Followed by

pīṣṭa māgnayah (KS *pīṣṭhi māgne*) VS KS Vait

ye agnayo apsu antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye āsman AV *yo apsu antar agnur yo vṛtre, yah puruṣe yo āsman* MS KS ApŚ Ppp also intends the latter reading

§692 Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual

ukhyam (AV *ukhyān*) *hasteṣu bibhratah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
samudham (Kauś HG 'dha) *ā dhehi* ŚB ŚG Kauś SMB PG GG HG
asāv etat te vāsah GG *etat vah pitaro vasah* (VS *vāsa ādhatta*) VS
 VSK AŚ SMB *etani vah pitaro vasānsi* ApŚ HG The 'clothing'
 is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the
 Pitrs

ā me graho bhavatu (KSA *grahā bhavantu*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA
bṛhaspatisulasya graham grhnāmi (KS *graham rādhyaśam*, VS VSK
 ŚB *grahān rādhyaśam*, MS *graham rādhyaśam*) VS VSK TS MS
 KS ŚB

nir āhāvān (KS 'vam) *kṛnotana* RV TS KS Followed or preceded by
sam varatrū (KS 'trān, 1 e 'trām) *dadhatana*, same texts

śṛṇvantv āpo dhiṣanās ca devīh (MS * *dhiṣana ca devī*) VS TS MS (bis)
 KS ŚB In MS both passages show both readings in the mss,
 von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages
upāstāvah kalaśah (MŚ 'vāh kalaśāh) *somo agnīh* (MŚ *somadhānāh*)
 TS MŚ ApŚ

śṛkṣvānam gharmam abhi vāvasūnā RV AV N *trīn gharmān abhi vāva-*

bānā AV Tho the passages are obscure, there is little doubt that *gharma* is a ritualistic word, probably the pot in which the milk is heated (so Oldenberg *RVNoten*), or perhaps the hot milk itself (Bloomfield *SBE* 42 590 is doubtful which is meant)

[*ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB *kalāśir*, MG *kalāśam*) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann wa*, MG *arayam*) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG But see §412]

§693. The drink soma and associated concepts As for *agnī* (§691), it is difficult to distinguish the drink from the god who is the drunk *ukthaśa yaja somānām* (AA * KŚ * ApŚ * MŚ * *somasya*) AA (bis) KŚ (bis) ApŚ (ter) MŚ (ter) *om ukthaśa yaja somasya* AA *somasyyāgne* (ŚŚ * *somānām agne*) *vīri* AB GB AŚ ŚŚ (bis) Vait ApŚ *suta indrāya vāyave*, *somo arṣati viṣnave* RV *sutā indrāya vāyave*, *somā arṣanti* (SV **tu*) *viṣnave* RV SV The *pāda sutā indrāya vāyave* appears in PB as a *pratīka*, and again in RV followed by *somaso dadhyāśirah*

te (RV **sa*) *visvā dāśuṣe vasu*, *somā* (RV **somo*) *divyānā pāṛthivā* RV (bis) SV The *trca* containing the plural is surrounded by *trcas* referring to *soma* in the sing It may be suspected (cf *RVRep* on 9 36 4) that the plurals accompany a plurality in the ritual *indra piba sutānām* RV *imam indra sutam piba* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

ya ājagma (N **muh*) *savane mā* (read in AV *savanemā*, TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāḥ* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

made susipram (SV *madeṣu sipram*) *andhasah* RV SV See VV 2 §839 [*pavamāna* (SV **nā*, misprint) *vidhharmanī* RV SV]

§694 Other materials offered, including ghee, *medas*, *masara*, *idā*, *purodasa*

tvām agne pradīva āhutam ghṛtena (RV *ghṛtaiḥ*) RV TB ApŚ

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (A^v *ghṛtā cit*) AV VS TS MS

ād id ghṛtena prthivī vy udyate (AV † *prthvivīm vy ūduh*) RV AV MS KS N *ād id prthivī ghṛtaiḥ vy udyate* TS *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī vy undhī* (KS *vyundan*) RV KS

ghṛtam (SV *ghṛtā*) *vasanah pari yasi nirṇijam* RV SV

srucājyānī juhvatāḥ AV *srucājyena juhvatāḥ* TB Poona ed (Conc with Bibl Ind ed corruptly *srucanyena juhvatā*)

viśvebhya devebhya (MŚ **bhyah*) *usrānām chāgānam meṣānām* (MŚ *ch^o m^o usr^o*) *vapānam medasām anubrūhi* (MŚ *medaso 'nubrūhi*) ApŚ MŚ Also with *preṣya* for *anubrūhi*

candravapayor medasām anubrūhi (and *preṣya*) ApŚ *hayasya chāgasyos-rasya candravapānām medaso* 'nubrūhi (and °*sah preṣya*) MŚ
medasah (VSK *medasa*) *svāhā* VS VSK MS TB *medobhyah svāhā* VS
asthi majjānam māsaśah (MS *māsānam*) VS MS KS TB
sajūr agnir vaṣvānara idābhīh TS *sajūr vaṣvānara idayā* (VSK *īlayā*)
 VS VSK MS KS ŚB

īṣam no mitrāvarunā kartanedām AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pinvatedāh* SV
avīrḍhat purodāśena (VSK °*vrḍhata purolāśena*) VS VSK *avīrḍhanta*
purodāśah (°*lāśah*) VS VSK KS *avīrḍhetām purodāśena* (AŚ
 °*dāśah*) MS AŚ

agnim adya hotāram purodāsam (°*sām*) *grhnann* (*badhnann*, etc.)
 VS VSK MS KS TB Six items, see Coue

§696 Priestly personages and the *yajamāna*

somaś ca yo brāhmanān (TA °*nam*) *ānvesa* RV AV TA

brāhmanah (MS *brāhmanāh*) *sāntih* MS TA

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*, Ppp *brahmāno*) *vasunītha* (*vasunītur*,
 °*dhūtam*, °*dhūte*) *yajñāh* (*agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

gīrbhūr viprāh pramatim ichamānah (TB °*viprāh* *ichamānāh*) RV MS
 KS TB (bis) AŚ *dhūbhūr viprāh pramatim ichamānāh* RV MS

sa indra stomavāhasām (SV °*hasa*) *iha vrudhi* RV SV

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne (and, *upasattāro grhānām sāle*) AV (both),
mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne VS TS MS KS

praitu hotus camasah pra brahmanah prodgātṛnām (ApŚ MŚ *prodgātuh*,
 ApŚ also *ūha*, *prodgātṛnām*) *pia yajamānasya* (ApŚ *adda pra sada-*
syasya) ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnir dāvīnām (ŚB KŚ *ha dāvīnām*) *visām puraetāyam* (MŚ °*yam*
sunvan) *yajamāno manusyānām* ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *agnir dāvīnām*
visām puraeteme sunvanto yajamāna manusyānām MŚ

muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim anhasah svāhā KS *muñcemam*
anhasah TS TB *muñcemān amūn anhasah svāhā* AV

śravase no maghonah (SV *maghonām*) RV SV

tena yantu yajamānāh svasti MS *tenantu yajamānāh svasti* (KS °*ApŚ*
svastyā) TS KS (ter) ApŚ On this plural see VV 1 p 258

nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhūh RV *nayantām gīrbhūr vanā dhīyam*
dhūh SV See §399

§696 The *dakṣinā*

yat pūrtam yās ca dakṣināh VS ŚB *yad dattam yā ca dakṣinā* TS
dakṣinābhyah (KSA *dakṣināyay*) *svāhā* TS KSA

rg vasā bhadrathamtare garbhah pravisavido jarāyū yajño vatso dakṣinā
 (ApŚ *dakṣināh*) *pīyūśah* KS ApŚ

yajñas ca dakṣinā ca (ApMB °*nās ca dakṣine*) ŚG ApMB

§697 (2) Divine personages

yad devā devam ayajanta viśve RV *yad devā devān haviṣāyajanta* AV

Different contexts, no specific god seems to be meant in RV
ādityam (RV VS TS MS ŚB *ādityān*) *viṣnum sūryam* RV AV SV
 VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

nama ādityāya diviṣṣite lokasṛte (MU °*smṛte*) KSA MU *nama ādi-
 tebhyaś ca viśvebhyaś ca devebhyo diviṣṣidbhyo lokakṣidbhyaḥ* ChU
vi parjanyaṃ (TS °*yāh*) *sṛjantī* (MS KS *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjātām*) *rodasī*
anu RV TS MS KS

dikṣāpālāya vanatam (TB °*pālebhyo 'vanatam*) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ
āmanasya devā (MS °*va*) *yā* (MS *yāh*, KS *yās*) *strīyah* TS MS KS
āmanasya devā (MS °*va*) *ye putrāḥ* (KS *putrāsah*) MS KS
āmanasya devā (MS MŚ °*va*) *ye sajātāḥ* TS MS KS MŚ 'The
 god(s) of affection' seem to be nonce-gods, whose number of course
 is also invented for the occasion

vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*layo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS
 TA Kauś

anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām (KS *dikṣāpatayo manyadhvam*)
anu (ŚB * °*patir amanstānu*) *tapas tapaspatih* (KS °*patayah*) VS
 TS KS ŚB GB Vait *anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām*
anu dikṣām dikṣāpatir añjasa MS *upa mā dikṣāyām dikṣapatayo*
hvayadhvam MS

nīṣaṅgīne (HG °*gṛbhyaḥ*) *svāhā* ApMB HG *nīṣaṅgīn* = Rudra, the
 plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts

nīṣaṅgīna upa sprṣata HG *nīṣaṅgīnn upa sprṣa* ApMB

ārtavo 'dhiṣatir āsīt TS *ārtavā adhiṣataya āsan* VS ŚB *ṛtavo 'dhiṣa-
 taya āsan* MS KS Perhaps better to be placed with §709

vasūnām pavitrām asī TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ *vasoḥ pavitrām asī*
 VS KS ŚB KS

vasavaś cātīṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV *vasus cetīṣṭho vasudhātamas ca*
 VS TS MS KS The latter is original, Ppp agrees with it (JAOS
 42 108)

indrāghoṣas (MS KS °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastat pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah
 pu° pāntu*, MS *tvā purastad vasubhiḥ pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
indrāghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhalam TA The meaning of
indrāghoṣa and the corresponding terms in the next two variants
 is uncertain, some sort of nonce-deity, or strained epithet of a deity
 The commentators suggest the gods that are appropriate to the
 directions named (Agni, Yama, Varuna respectively)

manojavās tvā pṛthbhīr (KS *pitāro*) *dakṣīnataḥ patu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS

KS ŚB *putaras tvā manojavā dakṣīnataḥ pāntu* MS *manojavaso vah pūrbhīr dakṣīnata upadadhatām* TA
pracetās tvā rudraih paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS *pracetā vo rudraih paścād upadadhatām* TA
dhīṣanās tvā devīr visvadevyāvatih (MS *dhīṣana tvā devī visvadevyavati*)
prthivyāḥ sadhasthe aṅgirasvad (TS 'āṅgī') *abhīndhatām* (MS **abhīnddhām*, **abhīndhātām*) *ukhe* VS TS MS (bis) KS ŚB Cf VV 1 p 255
varūtrīḥ tvā (KS 'trīs tvā, TS 'trayo janayas tvā) *devīr visvadevyāvatih*
 VS TS KS ŚB *†varutṛī* (and *varū*) *tvā devī visvadevyavati* MS (bis) Cf prec
revatī predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS KS *revatī yajamāne priyam dhā a viśa* VS † ŚB † *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhānisata* TS ApŚ The singular, according to ŚB, is Vāc The plural is variously interpreted of different semi-deified entities
[ādakām khādena TS † KSA No variant The word is explained by TS comm as *bhākṣayitṛi devata*, as if 'eater']

§698 (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like
pra no yacha bhuvās (AV *visam*) *pate* AV TS *pra no yacha* (KS *rāsva*) *visās pate* RV MS KS
svastidā visās (AV MahānU *visam*) *patih* RV AV ŚB AdB TB TA TAA MahānU ApŚ VHDh
janam ca mitro yatati bruvanah RV *mitro janān yātayati bruvānah* (TS ApŚ **prajanān*, TB ApŚ **janān kalpayati prajānan*) RV TS KS TB AŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ N
janāya vrkṣabarhiṣe RV *janaso vrkṣabarhiṣah* RV
yakṣma yanti janād (AV ApMB *janān*) *anu* RV AV ApMB
bhūmīr iti tvābhīpramanvate janah (TS *tvā janū viduh*) AV TS *yam tvā jano bhūmīr iti pramandate* VS MS KS ŚB
yah samgrāmān (TS MS 'mam) *nayati* (KS *jayati*) *am yudhe vaśi* (TS MS *sam vaśi yudhe*, KS *sam vaśi yudhā*) AV TS KS MS
samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsraṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu* MS
trāyatām (AV *trāyantām*) *mārutām ganah* (AV *ganah*) RV AV
aśasthā vrjanam (SV *vrjana*) *raksamanah* RV SV
grāmam sajānayo gachanti ApMB † *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG
vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutṛa RV VS ŚB *vidmā te sadma vibhṛtam purutṛā* TS MS KS ApMB

- sugā vo devāh sadanā* (N *sadanam*, KŚ Kauś °*nāni*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KS Kauś *santu*) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *sugā vo devāh sadanedam astu* KS *svagā vo devāh sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ
- ta āvavrtran sadanād ṛtasya* (TS *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS † *sadanāni rātvī*) RV AV TS MS KS (both) N
- yeṣām* (RVKh *teṣām*) *apsu sadas* (TS ApMB °*dah*) *kṛtam* RVKh VS TS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *ye apsu ṣadānsi* (KS °*psu sadānsi*) *cakrīre* MS KS
- apām sadhīṣi sīda* TS *apām tva sadhīṣi* (MS † *sadhīṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB
- sadhastheṣu* (RV * *sadhasthe va*) *maho divah* RV (bis) SV
- etam sadhastha* (AV KS °*stha*) *pari te* (AV KS *vo*) *dadāmi* AV VS TS KS ŚB MŚ *sadhastha* = *loka*
- tābhīr vahānam suktam u lokam* (TA *vahemam suktam yatra lokah*) RV AV TA *vahāsi mā* (KS † *vahānsi sū*) *suktam yatra lokāh* (KS † *lokah*) KS TB ApŚ
- jātavedo vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasvanam*) *suktam yatra lokah* (TA *lokāh*) TA ŚŚ *jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayasy*?) *enam suktam yatra lokah* JB
- śundhantām lokah pitṛśadanah* TS ApŚ *śundhantam* (AV *śumbhantām*) *lokāh pitṛśadanah* AV VS MS KS ŚB MŚ
- vi jhīṣva lokam kṛnu* (TA *jhīṣva lokam kṛdhi*) AV TA
- te brahmalokeṣu* (TA °*loke tu*) *parāntakale* TA MahānU MundU KaivU
- viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanani* RV *vidvān arodhanam divah* RV KS
- yasminn idam visvam bhuvanam adhi sṛitam* TS *yasmīn visvāni bhuvanāni* (MS *visvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasthuh* RV VS MS
- andarīkṣasya dhartrīm vṣṭambhanīm dīsam adhipatnīm bhuvanānām* (MS *dīśām bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS MS KS ŚB *vṣṭambhanī dīśām adhipatnī bhuvanānam* TS
- tvaṣṭedam visvam bhuvanam jajana* VS TS KSA *tvaṣṭemā visva bhuvanā jajāna* MS
- sa idam visvam* (TS TB *sa visvā bhuvo*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV TS TB *sa visvā bhuva ābhavah* RV AV
- sa visvam* (AV *visva*) *pratī cakṛpat* (AV °*pe*) AV AŚ ŚŚ
- na tam vidatha ya imā* (TS KS *idam*) *jajana* RV VS TS MS KS N
- ima* = *bhuvanani*, *idam* = *visvam*, or the like
- bhūtasya* (PB *bhūtanam*) *jātaḥ patir eka asī* RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS KSA PB ŚB N

lena (TS *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AB *rohān rurukur*) *medhyāsah* AV
VS TS MS KS ŚB *roha* = *svarga*

svargam arvanto jayema Vait *svargān* (AŚ text, *svagān*!) *arvanto jayata*
(AŚ *jayatah*) SV AŚ ŚŚ *svargān* (text *svagān*) *arvato jayati* AŚ
abhīmam (TS MŚ † °mām, MS MŚ v 1 °mān) *mahinā* (VS °mā,
delete MŚ v 1 in Conc) *dwam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ
MŚ

sa vājī rocanā (SV *rocanam*) *divah* RV SV

ye aprathethām amitā yojanāni (ArS *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV ArS

vidānā asya yojanam (SV °nā) RV SV

tredhā n dadhe padam (AV MS *pada*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS
ŚB N The adverb *tredhā* probably suggested the change to the
plural

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padani*) *yopayanto* RV AV TA MG

parācīm (RV °cīr) *anu samvatam* (RV °tah) RV AV

ūrvān (SV *ūrvam*) *dayanta gonām* RV SV VS

adhvana skabhñāta (VS *skabhñuvantah*) VS TS *vajam ajino jaya-*
tādhvānam (KS °dhvanas) *skabhñuvanto yojanā mimanāh* MS KS
(The MS passage is entered in the Conc also under *aadhvanam*
etc.) *vājino vajajito 'dhvana* (VSK *vajino vajam jayatadhvana*)
skabhñuvanto yojanā mimanāh kāstham gachata VS VSK ŚB

āgatya vajy adhvānam (TS ApŚ *adhvanah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
MŚ

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me 'smīn pathi devayāne bhūyāt
VS *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi bhūyāt*
PB *adhvano adhvapatir asi svasti no 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi stāt*
(read *syāt*) ŚŚ

tirah purū cid arnavam jaganvān (SV *arnavān jagamyāh*) RV AV SV
ghṛtasya kulyām anu TS MS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya kulya upa* VS VSK
kṣetrasya (VS TS KS *kṣetrānām*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

samā bhavantūdvaro (TS °vatā) *nīpādah* TV TS KS

antān prthivyā divah TB ApŚ *tad antāt prthivyā adhi* MŚ

vavṛān anantān (AV *vavram ananlam*) *ava sa padīsta* RV AV

[*atrā* (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA °nāt) *te minotu* (AV *krnotu*) RV
AV † TA See §496]

hradāś ca pundarikāni RV *hrado vā pundarikavān* AV 'Ponds (and)
lotus-pools' 'a pond full of lotuses'

eṣa te janate rājā MS KS MŚ *eṣa vo janatā rājā* ApŚ This formula,
used in the rāsasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate
name of the tribe substituted for the collective *janata* In ApŚ

the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type *esa vah pañcālā rājā*, and it is possible (as Keith suggests on TS 1 8 10 2 n 6) that their plurals have produced the plural *janatāh* of this formula

§699 (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men), and first, plants

antarikṣāya tvā vanaspataye (KS °*patibhyah*) KS MŚ

vanaspatayā ulūkān MS *vanaspatibhya ulūkān* VS

vanaspataye (sc *namah*) ŚG *vanaspatibhyah* (sc *namah*) MG MDh

vanaspataye svāhā Kauś *vanaspatibhyah svāhā* VS TS MS KS KSA TB ApŚ

addhī tṛṇam aghnye vīśvadānīm RV AV KŚ ApŚ N *attu tṛṇān* SMB GG, and cf the other references in the Conc under this last quotation, all of which have the plural

anśum (AV *anśūn*) *babhastī* (ApŚ *gabhasti*) *haritebhīr āsabhīh* AV KS ApŚ

dūrvā rohanu puṣpinīh (AV *rohatu puṣpinī*) RV AV Some mss of AV, followed by comm and SPP, read as RV, and Ppp likewise, as reported by Whitney

śatamūlā śatāñkurā TA MahānU *śatamūlāh śatāñkurāh* MahānU

The pādas refer to the *dūrvā*-plant, singular or plural

avakām (MS KSA *avakān*, but MS p p *avakām*) *dantamūlāh* VS MS KSA ŚB

aghadviṣṭā devajūtā, vīruc chapathayopanī AV *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtā, vidu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ Tho ApŚ is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows Caland translates as tho singular, evidently using the AV readings in part

adhā (athā) satakratavo (°*kratavo*, °*krato*) *yūyam*, see §229a Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing *amba* in pāda a, to this MS KapŚ assimilate the adjective

§700 Animals Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals The word *prajā* is placed in §702 below

jagatām (MS KS *jagatas*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

a vatso jagatā (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadarīh*) *saha* AV AG PG HG MG

ApMB PG's *jagada* (cf VV 2 §60) is said to mean 'attendant, companion', then 'the calf with its companions'

gaur āsvah puruṣah paśuh AV TA *gām āsvam puruṣam jagat* (AV

- paśum*, RVKh *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh AV TA MahānU.
ApMB HG *gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ
tvayā gām asvam puruṣam (HG *gā aśvān puruṣān*) *śanema* AV HG
ghṛtenāktau paśūns (VSK TS KS ApŚ *paśum*) *trāyethām* VS VSK.
TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
paśūn (TS *paśum*) *na gopā vryah pariṣmā* RV TS KSA
oṣadhībhyah paśave no (KS MŚ ApŚ *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS MŚ
ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ
askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ *askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA ApŚ
yad amuṣṇitam avasam panum gāh (TB *goh*) RV TB See §505
upahūtā gāvah saharṣabhāh ŚB *upahūtā dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ †
saharṣabhā) TS TB AŚ ŚŚ
nṛbhīr yatah kṛnute nirṇyam gāh (SV *gām*) RV SV *gāh (gām)* = milk
vatsam jātam na dhenavah (SV *mātarah*, AV *jātam wāghnyā*) RV AV
SV
payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB ApŚ *aghnyāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ
payo aghnyāsu payo vatsēsu MŚ
mārutām prṣatīr (VSK *prṣatīm*) *gacha* VS VSK ŚB
andhākīn (TS °he, KSA °heh) *sthūlagudayā* (MS *sthūrag*°, TS KSA
sthūragudā) VS † TS MS † KSA
rabbhīyasa (MS TB Poona ed °bhīyānsam) *va kṛtvī karad evam devo*
vanaspatir juṣatām havih VS MS KS TB The Hotī is to 'make
stronger' a number of sacrificial animals
tatratam (VS KS °tān) *prastutyevopastutyevopāvasrakṣat* VS MS KS
TB In the same passage as the preceding
babhravah saumyāh VS MS ApŚ *babhrūh saumyah* VS TS KSA
viśvebhyo devebhyah prṣatān (MS * °tah) VS MS (bis) *viśveṣām devā-*
nām prṣatah VS
ākhuḥ sṛjayā śayāndakas te matrāh (KSA ms *śayāndakās te matryāh*)
TS KSA *śārgah sṛjayah śayāndakas te matrāh* VS MS Von
Schroeder emends KSA to the TS reading—with doubtful justice
kapota (MS °tā) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṭyay* (TS KSA *nairṭāh*) VS TS
MS KSA The p p of MS reads *kapotāh*, but despite this it is
probably only MS's peculiar sandhi for *kapōtah ulūkah*
§701 Human beings General words, such as *puruṣa*, *martya*, as
well as the word *mṛta* in one variant, also one variant involving a desig-
nation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (*svapant*)-
mā hīnsīh puruṣam jagat VS TS MS KS SvetU *mā hīnsīt puruṣān*
mama NīlarU
ajīyano amṛta martyeṣv ā (SV *martyāya kam*) RV SV

niveśayann amṛtam marīyam (TB *amṛtān marīyānś*) *ca* RV VS TS
MS TB

jīvām ṛtebhyaḥ (read *mṛtebhyaḥ*) *parinūyamānām* AV *mṛtāya jīvām*
parinūyamānān TA

śunam kīnāśā abhi (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāso abhy etu*) *vāhaḥ* (AV
TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

yā svapantam bodhayati (HG *svapatsu jāgati*) ApMB HG See §548

§702 Words denoting family relationships, including *sakhī*, and *prajā*
in its various meanings

suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ (VS *prajābhī*, ?misprint for **bhīḥ*, VSK *prajāyā*,
ŚŚ *prajābhīḥ*) *syām* (VSK ŚŚ *bhūyāsam*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ
ŚŚ *suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ syāma* (VSK *prajāyā bhūyāsam*) VS
VSK ŚB

dive pṛthivyai sam ca prajāyai (SV *prajābhyaḥ*) RV SV

dhātā prajāyā (AŚ *prajānām*) *uta rāya īše* TS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG ApMB

prajā (Vait *prajāṁ*) *jīva* TS KS PB Vait

prajābhyaḥ svāhā TS KSA TB *prajāyai svāhā* TB

prajāḥ (AG PG *prajāni*) *pra janayāvahai* JUB AG PG *prajāṁ ā*
janayāvahai AV

prajāḥ (KapS *prajāṁ*) *pīpartī bahudhā* (RV VS *pūpoṣa purudha*) 11
rājati RV SV ArS VS MS KS KapS ApS Oertel 12

prajāpatir janayati prajā imah AV *prajāṁ dadatu* (KS *pīpartu*) *pari-*
vatsaro nah MS Ks ApS *prajāpatī ramayatu prajā iha* KS ā
nah (AV *vām*) *prajāṁ janayatu prajāpatih* RV AV MS KS ApS
MŚ AG SMB ApMB

prajāpatih prajāyā samraranah AV VS MS JB ŚŚ MŚ *prajāpatih*
prajāyā (Ppp Vait Kauś *prajābhīḥ*) *samvidanah* Ppp TS KS
PB TB TA MahānU NrpU Vait ApS Kauś

garbham (ŚŚ *garbhān*) *dhattam svastaye* TB ŚŚ

sa nah piteva sūnave (AV KS **putrebhyaḥ*) RV AV VS TS MS KS
(ter) ŚB The contexts are different

putram pautram (ApMB HG *putrān pautrān*) *abhitarpayantih* AV
Kauś ApMB HG

piteva putram (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG *iha*) *rakṣatad imam* (VS
ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś *piteva putram*
jarase mā emam (Ppp KS HG ApMB *naṇemam*) Ppp MS KS
HG ApMB

vīram (VSK *vīrān*) *vidēya tava devī* (TS KS TA om) *samdrśi* VS
VSK TS Ks ŚB TA

vīram dhatta (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ *vīram no dattu*) *pitarah* AŚ ApS

MŚ *vīrān nah pīlaro dhatta* ViDh - *vīrān me pīlaro* (also *tātāmahā* and *pratātāmahā*) datta Kauś
tatra paśyema pīlarau ca putrān (TA *pīlaram ca putram*) AV TA
svadhā pītāmahāya (Kauś °*mahebhyaḥ*) AŚ MŚ Kauś In the same
 texts with the same variation in number *svadhā pitre* (*pitrbhyaḥ*),
 and *svadhā prapītāmahāya* (°*mahebhyaḥ*)
prapītāmahān bibharṭi pinvamānah (TA † °*maham bibharat pinvamāne*)
 AV TA
syonam patye (AV *patibhyaḥ*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu tvam*) RV AV
 SMB ApMB MG N
samrājñī svaśure bhava RV ŚG SMB ApMB *samrājñy edhī svaśureṣu*
 AV
o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām RV AV *ā tva sakhāyah sakhya vavṛtyuh*
 SV
pratīkṣante svasuro devaras ca AV *pratīkṣantam †svasūro devarās ca*
 ApMB Change of gender also (§782) As to *devaras* (°*rās*), both
 are plural, one from stem *devr*, one from *devara* (correction Whitney's
 note)

§703 (5) Words meaning 'enemy', 'demon', 'evil', 'sin' (for the Hindu point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloomfield *Atharvaveda*, p 83), 'disease', and the like It is often difficult to distinguish between 'enemy' and 'demon', as in the case of the words *arati* and *rakṣas*

ayam satrūn (KapS *satrum*) *jayatu* VS VSk TS MS KS KapS
 ŚB TA AŚ Oertel 76
bhūyasam ā dhehī satruṣu (SV *satrave*) RV SV
tādītānā (TB Poona ed *tadīkna*) *satrum* (TB *satrum*) *na kila vivitse* (TB
vivitse, Poona ed *vivitse*) RV TB
divisantas tapyantām bahu MŚ *divisan me bahu socatu* TB ApŚ
divisatām pātu anhasah RV *duritat pātu anhasah* AV The reported
 reading of Ppp is *divisatas patu tibhyaḥ*
yavaya (v 1 °*yā*) *dveṣo asmat* MS *yāvayasmad dveṣam* (v 1 °*ah*) KS
yāvayāsmad dveṣah (TA *agha dveṣānsi*) VS TS ŚB TA Kauś
divisantam (AV *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV AV *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV AV
 TB ApŚ *divisanś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *divisanto radhyantām*
mahyam MŚ
mā cāham divisate radham AV *ma tv aham divisatām radham* MŚ *mo*
aham divisate (TB ApŚ °*to*) *radham* RV TB ApŚ
avaham bādha upabhyta sapatnān (KS *divisantam*) KS TB ApŚ

ye no dṛṣṇanty anu tām rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ

yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravaśva (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ

prayutam dveṣah VS *prayutā dveṣāṁsi* MS KS ApŚ MŚ The VS comm 'hostility is removed' This may be the interpretation of the plural also, or both singular and plural may mean 'the enemy (is) are destroyed'

mākīm brahmadvīṣo (SB °ṣam) *vanah* RV AV SV

turyāma dasyūn tanūbhīh RV *sāhyāma dasyum tanūbhīh* SV (Benfey's text has *dasyūm* Is this a misprint for *dasyum*? B translates by a singular)

(*yo nah suptān jāgrato vābhidāsād*) *tām pratiṇo nirdaḥa jātavedah* AV
(*agne yo no anṛi śapati yaś ca dūre*) *tam pratyāñcam sam daha jātavedah* ApŚ

mā tvā pariparino (TS *pariparī*) *vidan* (TS † *vidat*, KS *tvā pariparino vidan mā paripanthinah*, MS *tvā pariparino mā paripanthinah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

tvam tām agne menyāmenin kṛnu svāhā AV *tam agne menyāmenim kṛnu* TB *taṃagne tvam menyāmum amenim kṛnu* TB Preceded in all three passages by a relative clause with *yo abhidāsati* (AV *abhidāsāt*) and various methods of attack in the instrumental

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

pra śakṣati pratimānam prthivyāh AV *pra śakṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV AV N

amī ye vuvratā (MS °tāh, KS °tās) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV MS KS
asau yo vimanā janah RVKh

bhattāram bhañgurāvatah (VSK °tām) VSK TS *hantāram bhañgurāvātām* (AV °tāh) RV AV VS MS KS The precise nuance of meaning denoted by *bhañgurāvat* is uncertain, 'treacherous' and 'destructive' have been suggested

śaphārujam (AV °rujo) *yena paśyasi yātudhānam* (AV °nān) RV AV
utārebhānān ṛṣtibhir yātudhānān AV *ālebhānād ṛṣtibhir yātudhānāt* RV
See §495

yātudhānam kimīdinam AV *yātudhānān kimīdinah* AV

amūn kṛtyākṛto jahṛ AV *ava kṛtyākṛtam jahṛ* (Ppp *prati kṛtyākṛto daha*) AV Ppp

nī duryona dvṛnaṇ mṛdhravūcah (and °vūcam) RV (both)

yarayārātīh (MS Kauś °tim, MS p p and KS *yāvayārātīm*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB Kauś

sahasvārātīh (MS KS °tim) *sahasva prtanāyatah* (TS *sahasvārātīyatah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

sugārhapatyō vidahann arātīh (AV *vilapann arātīm*) AV TB ApŚ
alakṣmīr (RVKh Scheft °mīn, 1 e °mīm) *nāśayāmy aham* RVKh TAA

Comm on TAA interprets by *alakṣmīm*

saṃjānānau vijahatām arātīh TB ApŚ *āprīnānau vijahatā arātīm* MS
 KS

pratyusṭam rakṣah pratyusṭā arātayah (MS KS *pratyusṭārātīh*) VS TS
 MS KS JB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ Kauś

hantī rakṣo bādhatē pary arātīh (SB °tīm) RV SV

nīrdagdhā arātayah TS TB ApŚ *nīrdagdhārātīh* MS KS

parāpūtā (VSK *pratīpūtā*) *arātayah* VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ
parāpūtārātīh MS KS

avadhūtā arātayah (MS KS *avadhūtārātīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
 ApŚ

sahasva no abhīmātīm AV *sahasva me arātīh* VS

ni mitrayur arātīn atārīt MS KS *vi mitra evaur arātīm atārīt* TS TB

Different words

śīṣīle śrīge rakṣase (AV *rakṣobhyo*) *vinīkṣe* (KS °nakṣe) RV AV TS
 KS N

īdam aham rakṣasām (VSK TS MS KS MŚ °so) *grīvā apī kṛntāmi*
 VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

srjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV *srjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han*
 RV N

tam ito nāśayāmasi RV AV MG *tān ito nāśayāmasi* AV Both *tam*
 and *tān* refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes

apām napāt prātirakṣann asuryam (MS °kṣad *asuryān*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB *asuryam* is usually translated 'the demons' power' Is
 it not rather collective 'the demon(s)', with MS 's variant referring
 to the individual demons?

apa protha (AV *sedha*) *duṇḍubhe duchunā* (AV *duchunām*, TS *duchu-*
nān, p p °nān) *itah* RV AV VS TS MS KSA *duchunā*, 'mis-

fortune', is perhaps personified as a demon
apasarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA *apsa-*
rasām anudattānṛnāni MS (p p *anu*, *dattāni*, *ṛnāni*)

enānsi cakṛmā vayam AV VS MS KS TB *enaś cakṛmā vayam* TS
 KS TB

cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam AB *cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā* KS TA

yai kuśīdam apratīlām (*apratīlām*, *apradattām*) *mayi* (*mayeha*) TS MS

TA MŚ SMB *yāni apāmityāny apratīlāny* (°tītāny) *asmī* TB

ApŚ *apāmityam apratīlām yad asmī* AV

īdam aham tam valagam (MS KS *tān valagān*) *ut kīrāmi* (VSK TS

MS KS ApŚ *ud vapāmi*) *yam (yān)* VS VSK TS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ
atrwad vah kṛimayo (Ppp *atrwat tvā kṛme*) *hanmī* AV Ppp *atrinā tvā*
kṛme hanmī TA ApŚ *hataḥ te atrinā kṛimih* (GG *kṛmih*) SMB
 GG
lā no amīvām (TB *amīvā*) *apabādhamānau* MS TB
apāmīvām (TB ApŚ *apāmīvā*) *apa rakṣānsi sedha* RV MS KS TB
 ApŚ
apa snehitūr (SV *snihutim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adadhrāh*, KS † *nṛmanām*
adadhrām) RV AV SV KS The meaning of the word *snehit*
 or *snihati* is uncertain, it appears clear, however, that it must be
 something dreaded
ava devānām yaja hedō agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV
 KS MŚ *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ
tasmin pāsān pratimuñcāma etān MS KS *yam dṛṣmas tasmin prati*
muñcāmi pāsam TS ApŚ
aditih pāsam (MS KS *pāsān*) *pra mumoktv etam* (MS KS *etān*) TS
 MS KS ApŚ
druhaḥ pāsān (TS KS *pāsam*) *prah sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣta* (AV *prati*
muñcatām vah) RV AV TS MS KS
ayasmayam vīrtā (KS *viśṭā*) *bandham etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB
ayasmayān vīrtā bandhapāsān AV
[indrānamitram nah paścāt (VSK °*tram paścān me*) AV VSK KS
 The sole ms of KS reads °*mitrān*, and so Conc, but v Schroeder
 is obviously right in emending to °*tram*]

§704 (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as 'aid', 'sustenance', 'food', 'wealth', 'bounty', etc

śatam bhavāsy ūtibhik (SV VS * *ulaye*) RV AV SV 2 34c VS (b1s,
 add in Conc 27 41c with *ūlaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ
maghavañ (°*van*) *chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhik* (SV PB TB TA ApŚ
ūlaye) TV AV SV PB TA MahānU ApŚ
vanemā te abhiṣṭibhik (SV °*laye*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ
śadā pāhy abhiṣṭibhik (°*laye*) RV (both)
vyaciṣṭham annai (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam dṛśānam* (TS † KS
vidānam) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
annanām (MS *annasya*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS
śatam kumbhān asīñcatam surūyāh (and *madhūnām*) RV (both)
īvam no mītrāvaruṇā kartanēdām AA *ūrjā mītro varuṇah pīrvatedāh* SV
teṣām īṣṭūni sam īṣṭā madanti RV VS TS MS N *sam no mahāni sam*
īṣo mahantām KS

- rāyo* (AV *rayim*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV *dadhātu me*) RV AV
rāyo (AV *rayim*) *dānāya codaya* RV SV AV Grassmann considers
rāyó genitive singular, Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative
 plural, and the AV reading, tho its verse shows some corruption,
 bears out his view
- te asmā* (KS 'smā) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS v 1 *agnayo*) *dravnam* (KS °nānā)
dattvā MS KS ApŚ
dhattād asmabhyam dravineha (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravnam yac ca*)
bhadram TS MS ApŚ
- tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravineha bhakṣīya* TS *tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya*
dravnehāgameh VS *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravnehāga-*
myāt MS *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya dravnam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravine-*
hāgamyūh, ApŚ *dravnehāgameh*) TS KS ApŚ *tasya yajñā-*
sycṣasya vṛṣṭasya dravnam māgachatu KS (for the reading see
 VV 1 §104u) The first TS passage has the plural, and MS may
 possibly have a plural, see §346
- ta ā yajanta dravnam* (MS KS † *dravinā*) *saṁ asmar* (MS *asmīn*) RV
 VS TS MS KS
- datto asmabhyam* (KS *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB *dattāśma*°)
dravineha bhadram AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravnam yac*
ca bhadram MS
- aḥam dadhāmī dravnam* (AV *dravinā*) *haviṣmate* RV AV
dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā (SV *dhanam*) RV AV SV
yo devakāmo na dhanā (AV * *dhanam*) *runaddhi* RV AV (bis)
maho ye dhanam (MS KS *dhanā*, TS *ratnam*) *saṁtheṣu jabhrire* RV
 VS TS MS KS ŚB
- dadhad ratnam* (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣam putrbhya* (AŚ ŚŚ *dakṣaputrbhya*)
āyuni (AV *āyūnṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ
- pra rādhasū codayāte* (SV *rādhānsū codayate*) *mahītvānā* RV SV
somo rādhasām (TS °sā) TS MS KS
- pūyā sanīnām* (TS ApŚ *sanyā*) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ
dyumnā sudata manhaya SV *dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya* RV
ayam (AŚ * *aḥam*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ * *jayāmī*)
vājasātāu VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ (bis)
- śṛiyam ca lakṣmīm ca puṣṭim* (TAA * *śṛis ca lakṣmīs ca puṣṭis*) *ca kīrtim*
cāñṛnyatām brahmanyam bahuputrātām TAA (bis) *śṛis ca puṣṭis*
cāñṛnyam brahmanyam bahuputrinām MahānU
- tayāham śāntyā sarvasāntyā mahyam dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntim karomī*
 TA *tābhīh śāntībīh sarvasāntībīh samayāmy aḥam* AV *twayā-*
ham śāntyā sarvasāntyā mahyam dvipade ca catuṣpade ca śāntim
karomī MS

350 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

svāhāgnīm na bheṣajam (MS °jash) VS MS TB
svāhā vanaṣpatīm priyam pātho na bheṣajam (MS °jash) VS MS TB
hiranyena varcāññi (KSA *varcah*) KS KSA
atāś ca viśvā (MundU † *sarvā*) oṣadhayo *rasāś* (MundU MahānU † *rasāś*, MahānU v 1 *rasāś*) ca TAA MahānU MundU
dīvo dhārā (KS °rām) *asaścata* TS MS KS
ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ AV *ānando modāḥ pramodāḥ* TB *modāḥ pramoda ānandāḥ* TB
sugebhīr (AV *sugena*) *durgam atītām* RV AV SMB ApMB
atho ariṣṭatātaye RV AV PB *atho ariṣṭatātībhiḥ* RV AV
marmānu te varmanā (TS *varmabhiḥ*) *chādayāmi* RV AV SV VS TS
vibhūm kāmam (VS *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśīya* (VS KS TB *aśnavar*) VS MS KS TB
anv aśvair anu sarvena (TB ApŚ *sarvair u*) *puṣṭarh* VS TB ApŚ In VS *sarvena* is paraphrased by the comm *anyenāpi kāmena* In TB ApŚ we may have merely the plural of this, or *sarvair* may agree with *puṣṭarh* (so TB comm and Caland) In the latter case this is an instance of number attraction
pūṣṭā svāhākārāḥ (TA *svagākārena*, KS ApŚ *svagākārāḥ*) MS KS TA ApŚ
ubhā hi hastā vasunā prnasva VS TS ŚB *hastau prnasva bahubhīr vasavyarh* AV TS MS KS
ūrjam puṣṭam vasu āveṣayantī AV *viśvā rūpāni vasūny āveṣayantī* TS *sam patnī patyā sukrteṣu* (TB ApŚ *sukrtena*) *gachātām* MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ This and the following variants are not quite at home under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere
tad anu preta sukrātām u lokam VS ŚB *tam anu prehi sukratasya lokam* TS KS Cf prec, tho *sukrt* and *sukrta* are distinct words, the phrases in which they appear with *loka* are equivalent
tābhyaṃ (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukrātām u lokam* (Kauś *pathy-āśma sukratasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Cf prec
chandobhīr yajñārḥ sukrātām kṛtena AV *brahmanā guptah* (ApMB *samprīcānas*) *sukrtā kṛtena* HG ApMB Here *sukrt* 'righteous man' is personal in both forms of the variant, which strictly speaking does not belong here, cf the preceding three, and see §580

§706 (7) Words meaning act of heroism, power, rulership, majesty, fame, ordinance, and the like

pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuh*, *viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryena* (AV *vīryāni*, TB ApŚ *vīryāya*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU

- ita indras tīṣṭhan vīryam akṛnod devatābhīḥ samārabhya* MS *ita indro akṛnod vīryāni* TS TB *ita indro vīryam akṛnot* VS KS ŚB
haviṣā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB
svāhā somam indriyam (MS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS TB
rudrasya gānapatyān (VS ŚB °*yam*, KS °*ye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB In MS probably acc pl, tho in TS abl sg, see
 §§495, 526
ghṛtaviṭi savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyaiḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ
 Phonetic in character, as are also the following, VV 2 §706
mitrāvārunā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ (AŚ °*tye*) TS KS MS AŚ
svē dakṣe (VS MS KS ŚB *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB ApŚ
asme rāstrāni dhārāya (KS *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS KS *asmīn rāṣṭram*
adhiśraya TS
sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhātām* (read
 °*lān*) *dadhātu* TB
taḍ asyāma tava rudra pranītau (RV † KS °*nītiṣu*) RV TS KS
ut parjanasya dhāmabhīḥ (MS *dhāmānā*, TS TA ApMB *śuśmena*, KS
 vr̥ṣṭyā, PG dr̥ṣṭyā) VSK TS MS KS TA AŚ PG ApMB
ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyusṭhiḥ AV *katī dhāmāni katī ye vivāsāḥ* MS
 See §269
etāvān (ArS ChU *tāvān*) *asya mahīmā* RV VS TA ArS ChU *tāvanto*
asya mahīmānāḥ AV
abhi śravobhīḥ pṛthivīm RV *uta śravasā* (MS *śravasā ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS
 TS MS TA
vyānāśiḥ (SV °*śi*) *pavase soma dharmabhīḥ* (SV *dharmānā*) RV SV
dyām (AV *dvan*) *ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dharmanā* (AV *dharmābhīḥ*)
 RV AV TA
ā jāgrvir vipra ṛtā (SV *ṛtam*, PB † *kṛtam*, misprint for *ṛtam*?) *maṭinām*
 RV SV PB
ṛtam (RV *ṛtā*) *vadanto anṛtam rapema* RV AV
putre putrāso apy avivalanṇ ṛtam (AV *ṛtām*) RV AV
vratam rakṣanti viśvāḥ AV *vratā dadante agneḥ* VS TS MS KS
vratā rakṣante viśvāḥ RV
mama vasesu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi AV *mama vrata te hṛdayam* (AG
 ŚG *vrata hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG
 SMB PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG
kṣatram (TA ApŚ *kṣatrāni*) *dhārāya* VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ
brahma (MS *asme brahmāni*) *dhārāya* VS MS ŚB
naras lokasya tanayasya sātāu (and *sātiṣu*) RV (both)

352 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

vāmī te samdṛṣi vīśvam reto MS KS *vīśvasya te vīśvāvato vīśvā*
retānsi TS

nīcād uccā svadhayābhī pra tasthau Ppp TS KS *nīcar uccarh svadhā*
abhī pra tasthau AV But the interpretation of *svadhā(h)* is doubtful, both as to its meaning and its form, see §474

§706 (8) Words denoting various abstract concepts
aty acittim aty arātim agne (MS KS *ati nirṛtim adya*) VS † TS † MS
KS *aty acittir ati dviśah* AV
amīśām cittam pratilobhayantī (AV *cittāni pratimohayantī*) RV AV SV
VS N

mama cittam anu cillebhir eta AV *mama cittam cittenānvehi* HG
brāhmaṇena vācam (KS *vācah*) TS KS KSA
[*vācā mendriyenāviśa* (KS *vācām indr°*) TS KS MŚ But see §589]
bṛhaspatir vācām (VS ŚB °ce) VS TS MS KS ŚB
śile ca (v 1 *śileṣu*) *yac ca pāpakam* SMB (The Conc records the text
as reading *śileṣu*)

bhīyo (AV *bhīyam*) *dadhānā hṛdayesu satravah* RV AV
sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti samgiram (AV °rah) RV AV SV
indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaisṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaisṭhyāya*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB PG
pitā virājām ṛgabho rayinām TB *vatso virājo vṛṣabho matinām* AV
namas (KS NilarU *namānsi*) *ta āyudhāya* VS MS KS NilarU MŚ
BṛhPDh

deva savitas tvam dīkṣāyā (KS *dīkṣānām*) *dīkṣāpatir asī* MS KS
ud rathānām jayatām yantu ghoṣāh (TS *jayatām etu ghoṣah*) RV SV
VS TS *ud vīrānām jayatām etu ghoṣah* AV
śrīyo (AV TB *śrīyam*, Ppp *śrīyo*) *vasānaś carati svarocih* (TB °cāh)
RV AV Ppp VS KS TB

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV AV *ariṣṭaso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV
sam ākūtir (RVKh Scheftelowitz °tim, Conc with Aufrecht °tir) *namā-*
masi (RVKh Scheft *manamasi*, MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS
samānī va ākūtih RV AV TB AG *samānā vā* (KS *va*) *ākūtāni* MS
KS MG

sampaśyan pañktir (AV *pañtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānah* RV AV The meaning
of the whole verse is obscure, we suspect meter-names, in which
case this would belong in §690 above

akṣitś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS *kuyavam* (MS v 1 *kū²*) *ca me* 'kṣitś
(VS 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS MS KS

§707 (9) Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or
psycho-physical entities

- suṣadā yonau svadhā vāḥ* (TS TB *yonum svadhā*) VS TS ŚB TB *sudhān yonān suṣadām prthivīm* (ms °vī) KS See §550
- sam vah sṛjāmi hṛdayāni* (KS °yam, MŚ °yāni vah) KS TB ApŚ MŚ *mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi AV mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu HG*
- prati prāneṣu* (SMB *prāne*) *prati tiṣṭhāmi puṣṭe* (SMB *puṣṭau*, MS *tiṣṭhāmy ātman*) VS MS KS ŚB TB SMB HG
- prānam* (MS *prānān*, p p *prānam*) *na vīryam naśi* VS MS TB *prānā* (MahānU *prāno*) *vā āpah TA MahānU* All Jacob's mss but one *prānā(h)*
- tvaṣṭā rūpāni* (AŚ *rūpena*) *samanaktu yajñāni* (AŚ *yajñam*) ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ
- tvaṣṭur aham devayajyayā paśūnām rūpān puṣeyam* (MŚ *dev° sarvāni rūpāni paśūnām puṣeyam*) TS MŚ
- nakṣatrāni rūpena* (TS KSA *pratirūpena*, MS *rūpani*) VS TS MS KSA
- mānsāya* (VS *mānsebhyaḥ*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA
- na māneṣu na snāvasu* ApMB *neva mānse na pīvasi AV naiva mān-sena pīvasi PG* The reading of PG is clearly a corruption of AV , see §611
- śam te parebhya gātrebhyaḥ, śam astv avarēbhyaḥ* VS TS KSA *śam me* (Ppp *te*) *parasmai gātrāya, śam astv avarāya me* (Ppp *parāya te*) AV Ppp
- nīśīrya* (MS *praśīrya*) *salyānām mukhā* (MS KS † *mukham*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU *mukha* is used figuratively 'the point(s) of the arrows'
- śiprāḥ sīrṣan hīranyayīḥ RV śiprāḥ sīrśasu vitatā hīranyayīḥ RV* See RVRep on 5 54 11
- valmīkān klomnā* (VS *klomabhīḥ*) VS TS MS KSA
- maricīr vipruḍbhīḥ* (MS °pruṣā) VS MS

§708 Also the word *tanū*

- kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi* VS ŚB *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS °pāya) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS
- tena cinvānas tanvo* (TS *tanuvo*, MS *tanvam*) nī śīda VS TS MS KS ŚB
- tan nas trāyatām tanvāḥ sarvato* (ApŚ *tan no vīśvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV
- yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV °vah) *kalpayasva* (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV AV VS

yat kim ca (KS *cū*) *tanvo* (TS *tanvām*) *rapah* RV VS TS MS KS
ghṛtena tvam tanvam (TS *tanvo*) *vardhayasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ
 MŚ N The 'body' or 'bodies' belong to a plurality of persons,
 hence the secondary plural in TS instead of the generalizing sing

§709 (10) Seasonal and meteorological

aha (AV * *ahar*) *mamāno aktubhīh* TV AV (bis) ArS N
sūro ahnām pratarīta uṣasām divah AV *somo ahnah* (SV *ahnām*) *pratarī-*
toṣaso (SV * *sām*) *divah* RV SV
sajūr abdo (MS * *abdā*) *āyavobhīh* (TS ApŚ 'yāvabhīh, MS * MŚ *āya-*
vabhīh, MS * KS *āyavobhīh*) VS TS MS * KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ—
 MS 3 4 4 reads *abdo āyavobhīr*, error or misprint for *abdā āya*^a or
abdo aya^a

samvatsarena savita no ahnām (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ Case- and
 number-attraction, see §585 Similar are the two following
trvṛn no viṣṭhayā (KS *trvṛd viṣṭhaya*) *stomo ahnām* (MS *ahna*) TS
 MS KS AŚ

mitrāvaruṇā saradaahnām (MS * *hna*) *cikītnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*,
 AŚ *cikītvam*) TS MS KS AŚ

śaradbhyah (ŚG *sarade*) *svāha* TS KṛA ŚG

ṛtūṣ ca me vṛatam ca me TS *vṛatam ca ma ṛtavaṣ ca me* VS
samā (VS KS *samās*) *ca mā* (VS KS *ma*) *indras ca me* VS MS KS
samā (VS TS *samāṣ*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS KS has v l *samās*
uṣasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat TB ApŚ (TB Poona ed reads as
 ApŚ, so read) *uṣām-uṣām śreyasīm dhehy asmar* AV

hiranyavarṇam (RV *hiranyarūpam*) *usaso vyuṣtau* RV MS KS MŚ
hiranyarupā uṣaṣo viroke VS ŚB *hiranyavarṇav uṣasām viroke* TS
 TB

rathā asvāsa uṣaso vyuṣtau (and *vyuṣṭiṣu*) RV (both) 'At the first
 light(s) of dawn'

jyotiṣam na prakāśate RVKh *na jyotiṣi cakasaṭi* Suparn

vāta (MS *vālah*, KS *vātas*) *spṛtah* VS MS KS ŚB *vātā spṛtāh* TS
māsaṣ (TS *māsām*) *caturthah* TS KSA Gens

mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV *mahī no vata iha vāntu bhūmau* AV
abhīpato vṛṣṭyā (RV *vṛṣṭibhīṣ*) *tarpayantam* RV AV TS KS

dūṣikābhīr hrādunim (KSA † *hrad*^a) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīh* VS
 MS 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes'

aśrubhīh pṛṣvām (KSA *pruṣvām*) TS KSA *pruṣvā aśrubhīh* VS MS
 'Hoar-frost (we gratify) with tears'

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)

sūreh (AV MS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU In KS, 'as the sun on its path', TS ŚvetU have 'successive suns', i.e. the sun day by day
sa śukrebhāh śukvabhī (TS *śukrena śukvanā*) *revad asme* (TS MS *agnih*)
 RV TS MS

§710 (11) Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual

vi te muñcāmi raśanām AV *vi te muñcāmi rasanām* (TS °nā) *vi raśmīn*
 TS MS KS MŚ MG

ā raśmīn (RV *raśmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB *svaśvah*) RV VS ŚB TB

rathe akṣeṣu vṛṣabhasya (KS TB *akṣeṣu vṛṣ*°) *vaje* AV KS TB *ratheṣu akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājah* ViDh

āntrānu sthālīr (KS TB *sthālī*) *madhu pinvamānāh* (KS TB *pinva-māna*) VS MS KS TB

jāmī bruvata āyudham (SV °dhā) RV AV SV The reference is to Indra's weapons

yah puruṣe yo aśmanī MS KS ApŚ *ye puruṣe ye asmasu* AV (Ppp as the others)

ā tvā parīsrutah (MG *parīsrutah*, PG ApMB *parīsrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °bhāh) AG PG MG ApMB Cf *pūrnani parīsrutah kumbhan* ŚB, in an entirely different context

§711 (12) In a number of interesting cases of variation between singular and plural, the plural is of the type known as plurale tantum. E.g. *grīvā* is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural. So also *grha* is the plural 'the apartments of the house', *vāra* in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sieve', *śmaśru* in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard'. In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on *a priori* grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the plurale tantum rather than vice versa. The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural. In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here, e.g. those involving *lokāh*, *rakṣānsī*, etc. See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class.

anāgā devāh śakuno grheṣu (AV *grham nah*) RV AV Ppp MG

indrasya gr̥ho 'sṛ AV TB TA *indrasya gr̥hā vasumanto* ApMB
 PG *indrasya gr̥hāh śvā* ŚG
mā te gr̥he (SMB *gr̥heṣu*) *nīkī ghōṣa utthāt* SMB ApMB HG
gr̥vāyām (KS *gr̥vāsu*) *baddho apīkakṣa āsana* (MS *apīpakṣa āsan*) RV
 VS TS MS KS ŚB N
pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhavad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV *ūrdhavadhā
 bhvat*) RV SV
avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV * *vāraih*) *pari priyah* RV SV (bis)
avyo vāre (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyam* RV SV
vārān (SV *vāram*) *yat pūto atyeṣy avyān* (SV *avyam*) RV SV
astam (SV *astā*) *rājeva satpatih* RV SV The plural of *asta* is unusual
 if not isolated, it is likely to be due to thought of the use of *gr̥ha* in
 the plural
apo (*udno*) *dattodadham bhanta* (*dehy udadham bhundhi*), see §502 Here
 TS KS have the sing stem *udan*, the others the plurale tantum
ap (acc pl)

§712. (13) Adjectives and pronouns, without clearly expressed noun
 Here we include cases of substantially equivalent singular and plural
 forms of pronouns and adjectives, referring to entities not clearly
 expressed in the context Psychologically they belong with the pre-
 ceding sections dealing with nouns Thus in the first variant *soma*,
 singular or plural, is referred to (cf §693) Since the *tr̥ca* containing
 the plural passage is surrounded by *tr̥cas* with singular, it is possible
 that some ritualistic plurality is concerned in the change of number
 (cf *RVRep* on 9 36 4, and *te[sa] vīśvā* etc., §693), yet the mere change
 in number is, in the light of the numerous other changes of the same
 sort adduced here, not enough to prove it
śumbhamānā (RV * *°na*) *rtāyubhah* RV (both) SV *mṛjyamānā* (and
°no) *gabhasayoh* RV SV (both in each)

§713 So in the next, the 2d person pronouns are addressed to the
 sacrificial fire or fires, the sing to the āhavanīya alone, the plural per-
 haps to the three sacred fires (but cf our remarks §686)

ned eṣa yuṣmad (TS TB *tvad*) *apacelayātai* TS MS TB MŚ *eṣa net
 tvad apacelayātai* VS KS ŚB But MS MŚ use singular pronouns,
 with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza

§714 Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of
 entities

aiho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam aṣi*) *nīṣkṛtiḥ* (TS *samk°*,
 MS *samkṛtiḥ*, KS *nīṣkṛtiḥ*) RV VS TS MS KS Addressed to
 plants, or a plant, plurals occur in the rest of the stanza

asmadrātā (TS *asmaddātrā*, MS ŚŚ *add madhumatīr*, KS *madhumatī*)
devatrā gachata (KS *gacha*, TS *adds madhumatīh*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ Addressed to *dakṣiṇā*, sg or pl (cf §696), see
 VV 1 p 256

mā vo rīṣat (Kauś *te rīṣan*) *khanitā, yasmai cāham khanāmi vah* (Kauś
ca tvā khanāmasi) RV VS TS Kauś *yasmai ca tvā khanāmy*
aham VS To plant(s)

jyotiṣā tvā (TB * ApŚ *vo*) *varīśvānarenopatiṣthe* TB (both) AŚ ApŚ
 To the fire

taṃ vo (MS *te*) *grhnāmy* (MS *grbhnāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TA To one or perhaps all five of the cups (*graha*)

devatābhyas tvā devavītaye grhnāmi KS *devavītaye* (MS *“vītyai*) *tvā*
 (KS *vo*) *grhnāmi* TS VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ To the oblation
adityās tvopasthe sādāyāmi TS MS TB ApŚ MŚ *adityā va upasthe*
sādāyāmi MS MŚ To the oblation

āchettā te (TB ApŚ * *vo*) *mā rīṣam* (*rīṣat*, *mārṣam*) TS MS KS TB
 ApŚ (both) MŚ

§715 Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular
 if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker
 is thinking of the individuals which compose it, cf §836 Thus

yuvam tān (SV *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV SV Reference is to
senā 'army', but AV thinks of the individual men who make it up
 To be sure the AV comm reads *tām*, and Whitney would emend
 to this, but it seems to us unnecessary

§716 The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring
 to a plurale tantum, conceived as a single entity Thus

samudrasya vo 'kṣityā (VS ŚB *tvā'kṣityā*) *un naye* (VS ŚB *nayāmi*) VS
 TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In the same ritual context, referring
 to water (*āpah*), hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj school
 uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing

§717 So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially *anya* and *sarva*,
 may be used in either number without essential difference (cf also the
 indefinite neuter, §727)

anyāns (TS AŚ *anyam*) *te asmat tapantu hetayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 AŚ

anyam asman (MS *anyāns te asman*, KS *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh*
 VS TS MS KS If *anye* is sound, it can be nothing but a Prak-
 ritic acc pl, cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Spr* 425, 433 (and for
 nouns, 367a)

sarvam taṃ bhasmasū (TS ŚB *masmasū*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tān*

mṛṣmṛṣā (KS TA *maṣmaṣā*) *kuru* MS † KS TA *sarvān nī maṣma-
ṣākaram* AV

ya *tvā kruddhāḥ pracakruḥ* AV *ya* *tvā* (KS *te*) *kruddhāḥ parovapa*
(KS *ms* °*vāpa*) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ 'If angry ones have
thrown thee out' 'if I in anger have (KS *ms* if an angry one has)
thrown thee out' The other texts state bluntly what AV puts
diplomatically, using the indefinite third person so as not to admit
in words the sin which it really implies It is the speaker, never-
theless, who is conceived as the doer of the act, even in AV Cf
VV 1 §315

§718 Other cases show pronouns or adjectives referring to the per-
son or persons, not definitely expressed, on whose behalf the rite is being
performed

pātānam prāñcam VS ŚB *pāta prāñcam* (KS *prāñcaḥ*) MS KS
ApŚ MŚ

pāta mā tīryañcam TS TB *pātānam tīryañcam* VS ŚB *pāta tīryañ-
cam* (KS *tīraścaḥ*) MS KS

pāta (*pāta mā, pātānam*) *prāñcam* (KS *prāñcaḥ*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

pātānvañcam (KS °*nūcaḥ*) MS KS *anvañcam mā pāta* TS TB

utālabdhām (AV *utārabdhān*) *spṛnuḥ jātavedaḥ* RV AV

yasyāḡham asmī purohitāḥ VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *yeṣām asmī puro-
hitāḥ* AV

pīveva putram (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhī* (ŚG *iha*) *raṅṣatād imam* (VS
ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś *pīveva putram*
jarase ma emam (Ppp KS HG ApMB *nayemam*) Ppp MS KS
HG ApMB

§719 (14) This brings us to the use of pronouns, singular or plural,
referring in a more or less vague and general way to the priests and
their associates In VV 1 §290 we have discussed this type of number
variant in the verb In so far as nominative pronouns in varying
numbers accompany singular and plural verbs, there will appear some
duplication between the following lists and those quoted in VV 1, but
for the most part the materials are different, tho related psychologically
They must be regarded as complementing each other, and must be
considered together As we saw 1 c, different persons may be used,
as well as different numbers Hence we find, here also, cases in which
pronouns of different person as well as number are used We quote a
few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf §9)

§720 First and second persons

sa tvā rāstrāya subhṛtam bībhartu (Ppp *pīpartu*) AV Ppp *sa no rāstreṣu sudhātām* (read °tām) *dadhātu* TB

ā tvā (TB *na*) *svo viśatām* (TB *aśnutām*) *varnah* AV TB

§721 First and third persons Here we find a number of variations between the forms *asmai* 'for him' and *asme* 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704. The shift between *e* and *ai* is very easy. Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading. See also §738 for some formally similar cases.

asmai (TB *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūmī vāmam* AV † TB

asme (AV *asmai*) *dhātva vasavo vasūm* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

asme (AV *asmai*) *dhārayatam* (MŚ °tām) *rayam* RV AV MŚ Different contexts

asme (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann iṣṣin* RV KBU AG PG N

asmai (MS *asme*) *rāstrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS MS AŚ

supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmai*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS

savitṛ prasaṁvitrā indrenāsme (VSK °smai) VS VSK

asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (KS *rāṣṭram adhisraya*) MS KS *asme kṣatrāni dhāraye annu dyūm* RV TS MS KS *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne* AV Different contexts

asme (AŚ *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspatī* RV TS MS KS AŚ Doubtless misprint in AŚ

yachā nah śarma saprathah (°thāh) RV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N *yachūsmai sarma saprathāh* AV TS

ud enam uttaram (°rām, §814) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait

ApŚ MŚ Kauś *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ In same verse *prajāyā ca bahum* (ApŚ *bahūn*) *kṛdhi* AV VS MS KS ApŚ

First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722 The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates. Little need be said of them, they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers. Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff, which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms. Their number is, however, remarkable and impressive.

§723 As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number

is more or less inconsistent with the context The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary We shall list these inconsistent variants first

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ *vikobhaginā tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāno bhūyāśma* KS ApŚ Note 1st plural verb

mayīdam indra indriyam dadhātu VS ŚB ŚŚ *asmāsv indra indriyam dadhātu* TS MS KS MŚ *mayīndra indriyam dadhātu* TS TA

TAA AG The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS ŚB ŚŚ

bhavalam nah samanasau VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś BDh *avalam mā samanasau samaukasau* TB Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB

sūryo mā (MS *nas*) *tebhyo raksatu* TS MS KS Also with *vāyur* and *agnir* instead of *sūryo* (Delete reference to KS under *agnir nas* in Conc) The following pāda has 1st plural in all

devi vāy yat te vāco (*yad vāco*) *madhumat* (*madhumattamam*, **tamam juṣṭatamam*) *tasmin mā* (KB ŚŚ *no adya*) *dhāh* (*dhāt*) TS KB GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ A 1st sg verb precedes in all

vāyo no (MS KS *me*) *adya prasvāti dānam* VS MS KS 1st sg pronoun in the same verse in VS

vīhi haviyam prayalam āhutam me (ŚŚ *nah*) AŚ ŚŚ Both have plural elsewhere in the verse

śrnotu nitro aryamā bhago nah (KS *me*) RV VS KS N 1st sing verb in the verse even in RV

śraddhe śrad dhāpayeha nah (TB *mā*) RV TB 1st plural verb in both, here TB is secondarily inconsistent

cittasya (TB SMB *yajñasya*) *mātā* (SMB *mātaram*) *suhavā no* (TB SMB *me*) *astu* AV TB The AV has *me* in the next pāda

vaiśvānarah pawayān nah pavitraih TA *vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu* AV The rest of the verse has 1 sg in both Ppp intends to read with TA (Whitney on AV 6 119 3)

ā mā ghoṣo gachati vān masām (TS KS *vān na āsām*, MS *var nv āsam*, p p *vāk, nu, āsām*) AV TS MS KS Note that TS KS are inconsistent within the same pāda!

tvaṣṭā me (SV *no*) *dawayam vacah* AV SV Kaus Plural follows in both *ayam te asmy upa mehy* (AV *na ehy*) *arvān* RV AV Ppp In the same verse

manyō vajrīn abhi mām (AV *abhi nā*, Ppp *upa na*) *ā vavrtsva*, same texts The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing with *manyu*!), RV is the only really consistent text

mām dhehī TS TB TA *asmān dhehī* KSA The latter is emended by von Schroeder to *mām*, because the next mantra has *mayī*. In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable

ā no (VS *mā*) *jane śravayatam yuvānā* RV VS TS MS KS TB Preceded by two pādas with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular

paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitu (ŚS SMB *amṛtam ma ā gāt*) AV ŚS SMB The two latter texts combine this with a pāda containing a plural

pātām no (ApŚ *mā*) *dyāvāprthivī upasthe* RV MS KS ApŚ Preceded by a plural in all

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehī (AV *baladāvā na ehī*) RV AV Singulars in the rest of the verse in AV

visve devāso adhī vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS And others, §154 RV is inconsistent, having sing pronouns in the rest of the vs., all later texts restore consistency

dyaus ca nah (KS TB *tvā*, AV *ma idam*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* (AV °*sau*) RV AV KS TB See §488 Plur pronoun follows in AV

rāyo (AV *rayīm*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV *dadhātu me*) RV AV Plural precedes in AV

idam aham tam valagam (tān valagān) yam (yān) me (VSK TS KS *nah*) VS VSK TS MS KS SB Note *aham* in all

marutām manve adhī no (AV *me*) *bruvantu* AV TS MS KS A plural follows in AV

ādityā rudrā upariṣprśo nah (KS °*śam mā*) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariṣprśam mā* RV VS TS Plurals in the context, only the secondary AV is consistent

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau visvavedāh* TS KS PG All have singulars in the rest of the verse

amitrān no vi vidhyatām AV *mamāmitrān vi vidhyata* (and °*tu*) AV (both) In different contexts, the sings are inconsistent with their surroundings

apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ † *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *anāmayaīdhī mā riṣāma indo* Kauś

§724 The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context The long list follows

agne dakṣaḥ punīhī nah (TB *mā*) RV TB

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me VS *adhvanām adhvapate* (ŚS *adhvano adhipatir asī svasti me* (ŚS *no*) PB ŚS

pāvamānīh (°*nyah*) *pūnantu nah* (RVKh TB *mā*, MG *tvā*, YDh *te*) SV RVKh TB MG YDh

upa mā (ŚB ŚŚ *mām*) *br̥hat saha dvā hvayatām* ŚB TB ŚŚ (also with *rathamtarām saha pr̥thivyā*, and *vāmadēvyam sahāntarikṣeṇa*) *upās-mān idā hvayatām* AŚ

pari nah (and *mā*) *pāhi viśvatah* AV (both) Different contexts
tasya na iṣṭasya pr̥tasya dravinehāgameh VS *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravinehāgameyāt* MS *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya* TS KS
 ApŚ *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya eviṣṭasya dravinam māgachatu* (cf VV 1 §104u) KS

yo nah (AV *mā*) *kadā cid abhidāsati druhā* (AV *druhuḥ*) RV AV
devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save* VS VSK ŚB
mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhīh RV *mā me hārdi tvīṣā* (MŚ *hārdim dvīṣā*)
vadhīh TS MŚ

varnam pavitram (MG *purānam*) *punatī ma* (ŚG *na*) *āgāt* ŚG SMB
 PG MG *śarma varūtham* (HG *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt*
 ApMB HG

āyantu nah pitarah somyāsah VS *ā me yantu* VīDh (pratika of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS)

śivah sagmo bhavāsi nah TB ApŚ *tvā ca me śagmā caudhi* TB ApŚ
yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS † *nah*) *pitābhūt* (VSK *pitāsa*) VS VSK
 TS MS ŚB

asme te rāyah MS KS *asme rāyah* VSK TS ApŚ *me rāyah* VS KS
 ŚB KS On *mē* (loc.) see Wackernagel 3 p 462

imam stomam juṣasva nah (and *me*) RV (both)

imam (HG *etam*) *yajñam pitaro me* (HG *no*) *juṣantām* AV HG

imam no (MS KS *me*) *deva savitah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

imān me (ApŚ *no*) *mitrāvarunau* (ApŚ °*nā*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG
ud uttamam mumugdhi nah (MŚ *mat*) RV KS TB MŚ

ihāsmāsu (MS *ihāsmabhyam*, TB * *iha mahyam*) *ni yachalam* RVKh
 AV MS KS TB (bis)

ṛtena nah (ApŚ *mā*) *pāhi* MS ApŚ

upa mā (Vait *no*) *rājan sukṛte hvayasva* TB Vait

ūrdhvo nah pāhy anhaso ni ketunā RV MS KS AB KB TB *ūrdhvo mā pāhy anhasah* VS ŚB

ṛtāvarī yajñiye mā (AV *nah*) *punītām* AV MS TB

evā me astu dhānyam Ppp TAA *evāsmākedam dhānyam* AV

ghṛtena no (MS KS *mā*) *ghṛtapvah* (TS °*puvah*) *punantu* RV AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB

cakṣur no (KS *me*) *dhehi cakṣuṣe* RV MS KS MG

lato no (KS *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (VS † KS * °*āva*) VS TS MS KS (both)
 ApŚ MŚ

tan ma (TA *na*) *indro varuno brhaspatih* TA MahānU BDh
tan ma ācakṣva (ŚŚ *nah prabrūhi*) *nārada* AB ŚŚ
dyaur me (AV *nah*) *pitā janitā nabhir atra* RV AV N
nadasya nāde pari pātu me (AV *no*) *manah* RV AV
ye māmākāh pitarah ViDh *ye 'smākam pitarah teṣām barhir asi* AV
idam brahma juṣasva nah (TAA MG and TA v 1 *me*) TA TAA MG
 MahānU
pūṣā bhagam (AŚ *bhagam pūṣa*) *savitā me* (TB AŚ *no*) *dadātu* ŚB TB
 AŚ ŚŚ KŚ PG
prajāṃ me dāh VS TS MS ŚB TA *prajāṃ me yacha* KS ApŚ MŚ
prajāṃ asmāsu dhehi VS
varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *varco mayi dhehi* VS TS PB
 ŚB TB ApŚ *varco me dāh* MS MŚ *varco me dhehi* VS TS ŚB
 ŚŚ PG *varco me dhehi* (TA *dhāh*) VSK MS KS JB TA ApŚ
varco me yacha MS KS ApŚ MŚ
prajāṃ me narya pāhi MS KS ApŚ MŚ MG *prajāṃ no narya pāhi*
 ApŚ
prajāṃ me naryājūgupah (ApŚ MŚ v 1 °jūgupah) MS KS ApŚ MŚ
prajāṃ no naryājūgupah ApŚ
pasūn me śansya pāhi MS ApŚ MŚ *pasūn nah sansya pāhi* ApŚ
pasūn me sansyājūgupah (ApŚ °jūgupah) MS ApŚ MŚ *pasūn nah*
śansyājūgupah ApŚ
annam me (ApŚ * *no*) *budhya* (ApŚ *budhnya*) *pāhi, tan me* (ApŚ * *no*)
gopāyasmākam punar āgamāt MS ApŚ (bis)
annam me (ApŚ * *no*) *budhyajūgupas* (ApŚ *budhnya*°) *tan me* (ApŚ *
nah) *punar dhehi* MS ApŚ (bis)
tam me (ApŚ * *no*) *gopayāsmakam punar āgamāt* MS ApŚ (bis) MŚ
 Also with *tan* for *tām*, but not in MŚ
tam me (ApŚ * *nah*) *punar dhehi* KS MS ApŚ (bis) MŚ Also with
tām for *tam*, but not in KS or MŚ
brahma tena punihi nah (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punī-*
mahe) RV VS MS KS TB LŚ
mā parā seci no dhanam (ApŚ *nah svam*, ApMB *me dhanam*) ŚŚ LŚ
 ApŚ ŚG ApMB
mā vayam āyuṣā varcasā ca MS *māham āyuṣā* (KS adds *varcasā*
virādhīṣi) TS KS
yah potā sa punatu nah (VS MS KS ApŚ *mā*) RV VS MS KS ApŚ
yah pūtah sa punatu mā TB (so Cone, but Poona ed reads *potā*)
yena tvam deva (ŚŚ *om deva*) *veda devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam*
 (ŚŚ *tenasmabhyam*) *vedo bhuyah* (VSK *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhi*) VS
 VSK ŚB ŚŚ

yo nah kaś cābhyaghāyati AV *yo mā kaś cābhīdāsati* AG PG MG
yo no anī śapati tam etena jeṣam MŚ *yo me 'nī dūre 'rātīyati tam*
eṣena jeṣam TS

yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā TB *yo 'smānś cakṣuṣā manasā cuttyākūtyā*
ca AV

yo 'smān dveṣti yam ca vāyam dviṣma idam asya grīvā apī kṛnāmi TS
idam aham yo me (KS *nas*) *samāno yo samāno 'rātīyati tasya grīvā*
apī kṛnāmi MS KS *idam enam adharam karomi yo nah samāno*
yo 'samāno 'rātīyati TS

tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat AV *tan nas trāyatām tanvā sar-*
vato (ApŚ *tan no vśvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ

vśve no (KS *mā*) *devā avasā gamantu* (RV * VS * MS KS ApŚ *gamann*
iha) RV (both) VS (both) TS MS KS ApŚ

varṣvānaro adabdhās (AV *no adabdhās*, TA *me 'dabdhās*, MS ApŚ
'dabdhās) *tanūpāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB The pre-
 ceding pādas, which show much variation in their enumeration of
 protectors, show the following number variants

punah prānah punar ātmā ma (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūtam*, TA
punar ākūtam ma) *āgāt* (VS ŚB *āgan*) VS VSK MS ŚB TB TA
 ApŚ HG *punah prānah punar ātmā na astu* (MG *punar ākūtir*
astu) AV MG And the following

punar manah punar āyur (SMB *ātmā*) *mā* (MS *nā*, ApŚ om the word)
āgāt (VS ŚB *āgan*) VS VSK MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB The
 texts are consistent thruout in their use of singular or plural

śāntir no astu MS *kāntir me astu śāntih* TA *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS
śvā tvam mahyam edhi HG *śvā na iḥadhi* AV

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat VīDh MDh BṛhPDh AuśDh *śraddhā me*
mā vyāgāt ApŚ

sarvam svīṣtam suhutam karotu (AG HG † *karotu me*) ApŚ AG ApG
 HG *svīṣtam suhutam karotu svāhā* (BṛhUK † *karotu nah svāhā*)
 ŚB BṛhU BṛhUK

sarvān mac chapathān adhi AV *asmat su sapathān adhi* ApŚ

sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā (HG *nah*) *prīyāh* ApMB HG Followed by
abhi rakṣantu mā (HG *sravantu nah*) *prīyāh* ApMB HG

sahasva no abhimātīm AV *sahasva me arātīh* VS

sā nas samantam anu parīhi bhadrayā ApMB *sā mā* (MG *nah*) *saman-*
tam abhi pary ehi bhadre MG SMB

sā nah (KS *mā*) *suprācī supratīcy edhi* (VSK MS KS *supratīcī bhava*,
 TS *supratīcī sam bhava*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

surāṣṭrā iha māvata (MS *no 'vata*) TS MS KS

suhavā nā ehi saha rāyaspoṣeṇa MS *suhavā mehi saha prajayā saha rāyaspoṣeṇa* KS

sa mām pātu KS *so 'smān pātu* TS

deva varuna devayajanam no dehi svāhā (ApŚ *°yajanam me dehi*) PB ApŚ Cf *deva savitar devayajanam me dehi devayajyāyati* AB

agnir mā tasmād enasah AV VS TS MS KS TB TA AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś SMB *agnir nas tasmād enasah* MS KS MŚ

evāsmān (KS *evā mām*, AV *tenāsmān*) *indro varuno bṛhaspatih* AV MS KS *lena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih* TS ŚŚ

mā mā (SMB *no*) *hinsīṣ(a)* VS PB AŚ ŚŚ SMB Vait

mā no (VS VSK ŚB *mā*) *hinsīj janitā yah prthivyāh* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ *°āni*) AV † KS MŚ *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāna* TB ApŚ *mā no hinsīd dhinsito dadhāmi* (some mss *om dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi* AŚ

yajatrā muñcateha nah (TB *mā*) AV TB

yad bhadram tan na (TB TA ApŚ *ma*) *ā suva* RV VS TB TA ApŚ Kauś MahānU

yo no (AV *mā*) *divā dīpsati yaś ca naktam* RV AV

vājo nah (MS *me*, KS *mā*) *sapta pradīśah* VS TS MS KS In the same verse

vājo no (MS KS *mā*) *vīśvair devair* VS TS MS KS

vaiśvānaro raśmibhir mā (AV *nah*) *punātu* AV MS TB

śam ca no mayas ca nah AV Kauś *śam ca me mayas ca me* VS TS MS KS

ubhe ca no (ŚB *cainam*, ŚŚ *cainam* [*na iti vā*]) *dyāvāprthivī anhasah pātām* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ŚB also has the reading *ubhe ca mā* etc., which it rejects, since *mā* would refer to the hotar, whereas the *yajamāna* should be indicated. The difference between 1st and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic theorizing. However, MS, TB, AŚ, a school contested by ŚŚ, and the Kāṇva recension of ŚB read *no*, making no difficulty about including the officiating priests in the benediction.

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah TB *ṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS TA

oṣadhībhyah paśave no (KS MŚ ApŚ *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS MŚ ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

kalpatām me yogakṣemah AB *yogakṣemo nah kalpatām* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB

grhān nah pitaro datta VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ SMB GG *vīram me* (MŚ *no*) *datta pitarah* AŚ MŚ *vīrān nah* (Kauś *me*) *pitaro dhatta* (Kauś *datta*) Kauś V1Dh

gopoṣam ca me (MŚ AŚ *gopoṣam ca no*, TB † ApŚ *gopoṣam no*) *vīrapoṣam ca yacha* (AV MŚ *dhehi*) AV TB 3 7 2 7 AŚ ApŚ MŚ *tāsām te sarvāsām vayam* (and °*sām aham*) AV (both)

tusya bhājayateha nah RV AV SV VS TS MS KS TA ApMB *tasyāgne bhājayeha mā* TB

tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānas ca ApMB *vardhiṣimahi ca vayam ā ca pyāṣimahi* (MS MŚ ApŚ † *pyāyṣimahi ca*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG

tan no (MahānU *me*) *varuno rājā* TA MahānU

tan me (VS *no*) *astu tryāyuṣam* VS VSK ApMB HG MG

tan (GB *etan*) *no gopāya* MS KS GB ApŚ *tan me gopāya* (Kauś *gopāyasva*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś

tarpayata me (ŚŚ *nah*) *pitṛn* VS ŚŚ ApŚ SMB BDh

tasya no (TS *me*) *rāsva* TS MS KS ApŚ

tasmāi no (AV *mā*) *devāh paridatteha* (KS MŚ °*dhatta*, PG °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ † *mhe*) AV TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh

tābhīr no (MS *tebhīr mā*) *devah savitā punātu* MS ApŚ *tābhiḥ tvā devah savitā punātu* ApMB

agnir nah (VSK *mā*) *pātu duritād avadyāt* VS VSK ŚB

agnir nas (TA *mā*) *tasmād indraś ca* MS TA

agne jātān pra nudā nah (AV *me*) *sapatnān* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

agne 'bhīāvartinn *abhi mā nī vartasva* (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS *abhi no nīvartasva*, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

adhā cid indra me (SV *nah*) *sacā* RV AV SV

anamitram no adharāt (VSK † *me adharāk*, KS *no adharāk*) AV VSK KS In the same verse

indrānamitram (KS mś °*trān*, see §703 end) *nah pascāt* (VSK °*tram pascār me*) AV VSK KS

abhayam mitrāvarunāv iḥāstu nah (AG °*varunā mahyam astu*) AV AG

abhi prehi dakṣināto bhavā me (AV *nah*) RV AV

abhiṣṭīr (HG *abhiṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG *ca no grhe*) RVKh HG *abhiṣṭīr yā ca no grhe* ApMB

arvācīnam vasuvīdam bhagam nah (AV *me*) RV AV Ppp VS TB ApMB

mām (AV *asmān*) *punīhi* (MS *punāhi*) *viśvatah* (AV *cakṣase*) RV AV VS MS KS

aḥar no atyapīparat SMB MahānU *aḥar mātṛ apīparah* AV
ādūyās tasmān no (TB *mā*) *yūyam* AV TB
ā no (VS ŚB *mā*) *goṣu vīśatu auśadhīṣu* (MS *ośadhīṣu*, VS KS ŚB *a*
tanūṣu) VS TS MS KS ŚB
āśīr na (TS KS KŚ *ma*, MS *nā*) *ūrjam uta sauprajāstvam* (TS MS
 KS KŚ *supra*°) AV TS MS KS KŚ
abhayam vo (ŚŚ * *te*) *'bhayam no astu* (AB AŚ *me 'stu*) AB AŚ ŚŚ
 (both) *abhayam no astu* MS KS ŚŚ ŚG *abhayam me astu* (AB †
'stu) AB ApŚ
āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah sundhayanṭu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*,
 TS ApŚ *sundhantu*) RV AV VS TS KS MS ŚB AŚ ApŚ
āganta pīlarah pīlmān aham yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsani *suprajaso mayā yūyam*
bhūyāsta TS *āganta pīlarah soṃyāsas teṣām vah pīalivittā ariṣṭāh*
syāma supīlaro vāyam yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsma *suprajaso yūyam asmā-*
bhīr bhūyāsta MŚ
pūṣā nā ādhāt suktasya loke MS *pūṣā mādāt* (AV *mā dhāt*) *suktasya*
loke AV TS KS

bandhur me (AV *no*) *mātā prthivī mahīyam* RV AV N
bodhā me (TS *no*) *asya vacaso yavīṣṭha* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
deveṣu nah suktā (VSK *deveṣu mā suktām*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ
brūyāt) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā suktām brūtāt* (ŚB
 with *ūha*, *vocch* for *brūtāt*) VS ŚB *suktām mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS
pra mā (TS ApŚ *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS °*dhān*, ApŚ °*dhām*, KS
dhavīrḍā) *devatāsu* (KS °*tābhyah*) TS MS KS ApŚ

§726 Of essentially the same sort are a few variants in which adjectives agreeing with the subjects of 1st person verbs vary between singular and plural

edhamānah (Kauś °*nāh*) *svagrhe* (Kauś *sve grhe*) ŚB BrhU Kauś
edhamāna sve vase ApMB
jīvā (TB ApŚ *jīvo*) *jīvantīr upa vah sadema* (TB ApŚ *sadeyam*) AV
 KS TB ApŚ MŚ
devā dhanena dhanam icchamānāh HG *dhanena devā dhanam icchamānah*
 AV ApMB The verbs *carāma*, °*mi* occur in the preceding
āyusmān jaradaṣṭīr yathāsūni AV *āyusmanto jarām upagachema devāh*
 (KS *jīvāh*) KS ApŚ
gātrānām te gātrabhājo bhūyāsma (KS *gātrabhāj bhūyāsani*) TS KS
tvaṣṭrīmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭ(u)*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭi*°, and so TA Poona ed
 with v 1 *tvaṣṭi*°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ Cf §849
ihava santah prati tad yātayāmah (AV *prati dadma enat*) AV TB ApŚ

ihava san niravadaye tat TS On this variant see Whitney's notes to AV 6 117 1 and 2

§726 And a couple of others of the same sort in which there is inconsistency with the context

yatkāmās te juhūmas tan no astu RV AV VS TS KS ŚB ŚB TB
TAA SMB ApMB N *yatkāma idam juhomi tan me samṛdhyatām*
TB The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural
yac cāham eno vidvāns cakāra yac cāvidvāns VS ŚŚ *yac cāham eno*
vidvānsas cāvidvānsas carnaś cakṛma MahēnU The comment
to the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying
akārṣam with *aham*

2 The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf §807) a tinge of generalization, and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives), which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders (On neuter adverbs see §734)

krṣṭapacyāś (TS KS 'yam) *ca me 'krṣṭapacyāś* (TS KS 'yam) *ca me*
VS TS MS KS Preceded by *ośadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*
'(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation'
'that which ripens' etc

ekaśapham asṛjyata MS *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛjyanta* VS TS KS ŚB
In MS ('the whole-hoofed [kind of cattle]') followed by a parallel
formula, *kṣudrāḥ paśavo 'sṛjyanta*

āsyaḥ brāhmanāḥ snapanūr (ApMB 'nam) *harantu* AV ApMB 'Let
the brahmans bring her bathing-water' With *snapanūr* see *āpah*
Cf next

āpah pādyāḥ ApŚ *pādyam* (Kauś —not HG —*pādyam bhoh*) Kauś
HG '(Water) for the feet' Cf prec

hotṛśadanam haritam hīranyayam AV *hotṛśadanā haritāḥ suvarnāḥ* TB
ApŚ With the latter supply *darbhāḥ* '(grass) for the hotar to
sit on, yellow, golden' AV feels *hotṛśadanam*, which means the
same thing, as a neuter abstract 'a seat for the hotar' etc Cf
darbhāḥ stṛṇīta haritāḥ suparnāḥ (KS † *suvarnāḥ*) KS MŚ

samṛddhikaranam tava (HG 'karanān mama) PG HG Preceded by
imānīl lājān ā vapāmy agnau (HG *vapāmi*, om *agnau*), followed by
tubhyam (PG *mama tubhyam ca*) *samvananam* 'I cast these ker-
nels as increase-makers (a making of increase) a harmonizing'
tṛmpantu hotrā madhvo yāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ (VSK *yat sṛṣṭam*) VS VSK ŚB
Followed by

yāh supṛitāh suhutā yat svāhā VS ŚB *yat subhṛtam yat svāhā* VSK In VS ŚB 'Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice' etc In VSK *yat* etc might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb 'let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered' etc But the change was surely suggested by *suhutā yat svāhā* of VS, in which *yat* is a conjunction, 'when well offered with *svāhā*' Most likely, therefore, *yat* is to be taken thus all three times in VSK and the neuters are indefinite 'let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made' etc

durāś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV AV *turāś cid viśvam ṛarnavat tapasvān* AV The AV is corrupt, but *viśvam* seems clearly an indefinite neuter

prajā vikṛvan (ApŚ *vikurvan*, MS *prajāh kṛvan*) *janayan virūpāh* (KS 'pam) MS KS ApŚ *virūpam* indefinite neuter in KS (probably original), in the others *prajāh* is understood with it *taḥ* (RV *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The RV *tā* refers back to *dārūni*, the other texts substitute the indefinite sing *tad*, with the same reference, possibly, but see §737 In different context, *taṁ ju^o ya^o* RV

salakṣmā (MS KS 'ma) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB 'pam) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS The pāda originally (in RV AV) occurs in the Yama-Yamī hymn, the fem adjectives apply to Yamī The YV texts apply it to a wholly different context, by 'phrase-inflection' (§848) Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV text use the indefinite neuter singular 'that what is manifold may become of one sort' (In VS ŚB only this can be intended, as *viṣurūpam* shows, *salakṣmā* is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final *a*, VV 2 §§459-60, the comm interprets as neuter) In TS the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc pl 'that ye, manifold, may become of one sort'

§728 So the indefinite *sarvam* 'everything' varies with *sarvān* 'all (men)', but the variant *sarvāñ*, nom sg, 'heading everywhither', is likely to be more original than either

amāsi (SMB *amā hy asi*, ŚG *amo si*) *sarvāñ* (AŚ *sarvān*, SMB *sarvam*) *asi* (SMB *anu*) *praviṣṭah* AŚ ŚG SMB Kauś

§729 Also *tad* and *tāni*, neuter sg and pl, both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also *yasmāḥ jātam [jātā]* etc, §810)

yas tad veda (AV * VS *tān veda*, RV AV * TA * N *tā vjānāt*) *sa pituḥ*
(VS MahānU *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *ptasat* RV AV (bis) VS TA
(bis) MahānU N

§730 In substantive use, a pronoun introducing a predicate noun commonly agrees with that noun in number and gender, but may also be neuter singular without regard to the number and gender of the predicate, as in German ('das bin ich, das sind die besten Leute' etc.), cf. §§776, 812 So

tad (VS *tā*) *apah sa* (VSK *tal*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS VSK TA MahānU
Note that TA MahānU are inconsistent, having the neuter in one of the two phrases, but agreement in gender (and number) in the other VS and VSK are (in different ways) consistent

3 Plural of *visva* with singular noun (?)

§731 Twice the text of TS presents the form *visve*, apparently nom pl, where other texts have *visvo* (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS) with a singular (*martah*), both are parts of the same stanza. The TS version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls *visve* 'senseless'. Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait reading moreover ApŚ has the same. Either it is a Māgadism, intended as nom sg (cf. Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Spr* §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject. Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS may have so intended, it would be an illogical blend of *visvo martah* 'every man' with *visve martah* 'all men'—The same *visve* apparently with a sing noun occurs a third time in TS, *atha visve arapā cdhati grhah*, §457, q v *visvo* (TS ApŚ *visve*) *devasya netuh* RV VS TS MS KS AB KB ŚB

AS ApŚ MŚ MG (delete KSA in Conc)

visvo (TS *visve*) *raya vjudyati* (TS ^{se}) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

Other shifts of sing and pl with no essential change of meaning

§732 With this we conclude the subject of the generalizing singular and plural. There are however a few other variants in which, for one reason or another, singular and plural may interchange with virtually no difference of essential meaning. We shall take them up before proceeding to the cases of real and important change of meaning.

4 Elliptic plural

§733 First, an elliptic plural may vary with the singular of one member of the group

matrah (SV *matrás*) *pānty adruha* RV SV Preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*, in SV *aryamā* is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural *matrás*, which means Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman, cf §§746-7

5 Adverbs

§734 Adverbial forms, singular and plural, and equivalent in meaning, may vary, or a neuter singular adverb may vary with a plural adjective without essential difference of meaning

nīcād uccā svadhayābhī pra tasthau Ppp TS KS *nīcāv uccāh svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV

trīni padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhārya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*)

AV VS TA MahānU Both *guhā* and *guhāsu* are quasi-adverbial *agnaye vo juṣṭān prokṣāmy amuṣma vo juṣṭān* MS MS *agnaye vo juṣṭam prokṣāmi* TS TB ApŚ *juṣṭān* agrees with *vo* = offerings of food, *juṣṭam* is doubtless an adverb 'agreeably to Agni' (otherwise Keith)

bhūyaś ca śaradah śatat VS MG *bhūyaśih* (mss. °sī) *śaradah śatāt* AV *sa no nedīṣṭha havanāni joṣate* (MS *havana juṣoṣa*) TS MS *sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and *havanani joṣat*) KS *nedīṣṭham* adverb in KS

6 Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group

§735 An adjective or participle may variously agree with all the members of a coordinate group of nouns (plural), or with only one, the nearest. In the latter case, however, we may assume that its application to the others is not really excluded. Cf Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2 *King* Thanks, Rosencrantz, and gentle Guildenstern *Queen* Thanks, Guildenstern, and gentle Rosencrantz—The same variation in verb forms, agreeing either with a plurality of subjects or with the nearest one alone, was noted in VV 1 §§353ff

candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāh (KS TB Poona ed. and comm. °nā)

VS KS TB *śukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* MS (p p °nāh)

The sing. agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, the plural with S and the Āsvins. On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf VV 2 §381

tvayā viṣṇuh (MS *viṣṇus tvayā*) *prajāyā samvarānāh* (VS KS ŚB °nāh)

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ ApMB The verb, in the following *pāda*, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS, which has the mantra three times with plural pple, the verb

is twice singular in the edition (but with v 1 plural in one case)
See VV 1 p 262 under *yajamānāya dravinam dadhāta* (°tu) Probably the plural should be read all three times

(*idā sarasvatī mahī*) *bhāratī grnānā* AV MS (*idā sarasvatī bhāratī mahī grnānā* (KS *mahīr grnānāh*) VS TS KS *idā sarasvatī bhāratī mahīh* (TB *mahī*) VS TB In the last formula (in which the Poona ed of TB separates *mahī* from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB comm interprets *mahī* as a plural (*mahatyah*), going with all the nouns (!)

Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning

§736 The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of 'meaning' in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned, we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups First, 'transfer of epithet' the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number Second, 'phrase inflection' the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other; the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved, in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term 'transfer of epithet') seems to have been influential

7 Transfer of epithet

§737 We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases, see §14 for a general statement Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number, these will not be repeated here The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural

indrena devaīh saratham turebhīh (AV *turena*) RV AV Tho the contexts of the mantra are different, the epithet *tura* is transferred within its pāda from *devaīh* to *indrena*

īśvā rūpāni sambhṛtā (JB °tam) SV JB ŚB LŚ Preceded by *gāya-*

tram traṣṭubham jagat, JB makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda

taḥ (RV *tā*) *juṣasva yavīṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *yad agne kām kām cid, ā te dārūni dadhmaṣi* (with slight variants) RV refers *tā* to *dārūni*, the others with *taḥ* refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by *yad*

niṣkrūtaḥ sa (TS *niṣkrūto 'yam*, KS MŚ *niṣkrūtās te*) *yajñyam bhāgam etu* (KS MŚ *bhāgam yantu*) AV TS KS MŚ Singular refers to *pasupati*, plural to the cattle themselves

ā yat tṛpaṇ maruto vāvaśānāḥ (MS °*nah*) RV TS MS KS Preceded by *priyā vo nāma huve tūrānām* The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of *tṛpat*, Ludwig makes the plural refer to this! The verse however is very troublesome, see Oldenberg

īdāno (KS °*nā*) *vahnur* (KS °*nam*) *namaṣā* AV VS VSK TS MS KS The latter makes the epithet agree with *sruco* in the next pāda, see §399

uruvyacasā dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV The YV texts make *uru°* agree with *dvāras*, AV has a false verse division and makes it agree with *dhāmnā*

anādhr̥ṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ (KS † °*nah*, mss *vamānah*) VS MS KS ŚB *anubhr̥ṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS Pischel *VSt* 2 213 has made it probable that the original had *vasānah*, epithet of Varuna in the following pāda In VS MS it is transferred to *āpah* in the preceding, the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift

mayobhuvo vṛṣṭayaḥ santv asme RV KS *mayobhūr vāto vsvakṛṣṭayaḥ santv asme* TA In the latter the adjective is made to agree with *vāto*, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA

dhanur hastād ādadāno (TA °*nā*) *mṛtasya* RV AV TA AG 'Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man' With Oldenberg on RV 10 18 9 we understand *tvam* in the following half verse (*atraya tvam iha vāyam suvīrah [suśevāh]*) of the dead man, TA comm understands it of the widow and makes *ādadānā* fem sg agreeing with it, we take the pple as *ādadānāḥ* nom pl masc going with *vāyam*, cf Oldenberg's remarks, the sg doubtless refers to the son of the deceased

tābhṛṣ tvābhṛṣṇācāmī MG *tena tvām abhṛṣṇācāmī* YDh Preceded by *sahasrākṣam śatadhāram ṛṣibhiḥ pāvanam kṛtam*, and followed by

pāvamānīh pñnantu tvā (with minor variants) YDh has adopted for *tena* the number and gender of *pāvanam*, instead of *pāvamānīh*

§738 In the following, the variant word is in one form of the variant an independent form rather than, strictly speaking, an 'epithet' of another word (§15)

asme (ApŚ *asmar*) *karmāne jātah* MS ApŚ 'Born for us for the rite (for this rite)' Cf VV 2 §704, and above §721

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS ApŚ *brad asmar naro vacase dadhātana* VS Keith and Caland assume *asmar* as intended, cf prec But *asme* might at a pinch be interpreted as 'ethical dative' 'O gods, regard the wonder which we tell' The change is really phonetic in character, however

kṣutpipāsāmālā jyeṣṭhāh (TAA °*malam jyeṣṭhām*) RVKh TAA Scheftelowitz reads *jyeṣṭhām*, which is doubtless the correct reading (= Misfortune, eldest sister of Lakṣmī), if *jyeṣṭhāh* be kept it can be construed as an adjective, with the following *alakṣmīr* (for which Scheft adopts the monstrous *alakṣmīn*) If °*malā* can stand it is doubtless a fem acc pl, epithet of *alakṣmīr* ('stained by hunger and thirst'), the alternative would be to take it as Vedic n pl (for °*malāni*), °*malam* would be an independent coordinate noun, 'the stain of hunger and thirst'

8 Phrase inflection

§739 This has also been met above, under variations in the cases, cf §§21-2 It is essentially a matter of adaptation of old material to a new context

adharācīh parā suva VS MS KS (sc *yātudhānyah*) *adharāñcam parā suva* AV (sc *takmānam*)

viprā viprasya brhato vipascitah RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU *vipro viprasya sahaso vipascit* AV The latter refers, in a new context, to a goat (*aja*)

viśvāhā dhattam anapasphurantīm RV VS ŚB ApŚ *viśvāhā santu anapasphurantīh* AV TA 'Ever not shrinking from being milked', of a cow or cows, in different contexts

trīr varān urnīṣva Kauś *varam urnīṣva* ApMB HG Not true variants *sarāh* (RV VS *sirāh*) *patatrīnī(h) sthāna* (KS *stha*) RV VS TS MS KS *sarā patatrīnī bhūtvā* AV Reference is to a plant or plants, in different contexts

indro vah (AV *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV AV SV VS TS Different contexts

- trir ā divo vdathe patyamānah* (°nāh) RV (both)
yalamānā (°no) *raśmabhāh sūryasya* RV (both)
ratnam devasya savitur vyānah (°nāh) RV (both)
rakṣohano (VS ŠB °hano vo) *valagahanah prokṣāmī vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ *
 °vam) VS VSK TS ŠB ApŚ (bis) In ApŚ 11 12 5, where
vaiṣṇavān is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS and
 the rest, the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes' In 12 2 15 the
 skin (*carma*) for the soma-passing is addressed in a different con-
 text, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing *vaiṣṇavam*
 being appropriate Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two
 adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of
 the formula, perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring
 to any 'demon-slaying' entities
rāyas poṣe yaṣṭāpatim ābhajanṭih (TS * °ti) VS TS (both) MS KS ŠB
rodena kṛvatīr (*kṛnvaty*, *kṛnvanto*) agham AV (ter)
saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV AV SV N *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣih* (MS
avhṛutāh) AV MS
kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŠB °ti) VS TS KSA ŠB TB ApŚ
ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu ApŚ MŚ *kas te yunakti* MG Also
 with forms of *in-muc*, to different ritual entities
adabdhena tvā (KS * ApŚ * *vas*) *caḥsuṣāvapaśyāmi* VS KS ŠB ŚŚ
 ApŚ *adabdhena tvā* (ApŚ * *vas*) *caḥsuṣāvekṣe* TS MS ApŚ MŚ
 MG (delete KS reference in Conc)
sumṛdīkān abhiṣṭaye RV TS MS *sumṛdīkāṃ abhiṣṭaye* RV VS BSK
 TS MS KS ŠB
tasya vayanī sumatau yaṣṭīryasya RV AV VS TS MS KS TB
teṣām vayanī sumatau yaṣṭīryānām RV AV VS TS KS MŚ SMB
 PG N Several different contexts
yathāham asya vīrasya RV ApMB *yathāham eṣāmi bhūtānām* (AV
vīrānām) RV AV The sing is said by a woman of her husband,
 RV *bhūtānām* by a king of his subjects, and so AV *vīrānām*, but
 apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of
vīrasya in the different RV context
evā trināmān ahṛīyamānah (TS °nāh) AV TS
ghṛtapruṣā manasā (TB *madhunā*) *havyam undan* (VS *manasā moda-*
mānāh) RV VS MS KS TB Several different contexts
anhoś cid asmā urucakṛr adbhutah RV *anhoś cid urucakrayah* RV
anhoś cid urucakrayo 'nehasah RV
ado giribhyo adhe yat pradhāvasi TB *ado yad avadhāvati* AV *amī ye*
ke sarasyakā avadhāvati HG ApMB

376 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

- asmabhyam gātuvsttamāh* (RV * °mah) RV (bis) SV As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different
- īśānam vāryānām* RV AV SV TS MS KS JB *īśānā vāryānām* RV AV MS TB TA
- tāns te paridādāmy aham* ApŚ *tām te paridādāmy aham* (TA *paridādāmi*) TA ApŚ
- ya* (AV * *ye antarikṣa*) *ośadhīṣu paśuṣv apsv antah* (KS *paśuṣv āviveśa*) AV (bis) KS
- bhākṣīya te* (and *vo*) '*vaso dawyasya* RV (both) Sing Indra, pl the Maruts
- bhūtyai tvā* (Kauś *vah*) KS TA ApŚ Kauś Hardly true variants
- tān* (TS * *tam*) *rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan* (TS * *dabhat*) VS TS (bis) MS KS ŚB
- mayi vah kāmadarhanam bhūyāt* (ŚŚ om *bhūyāt*) VS ŚB ŚŚ *mayi te kāmadarhanam bhūyāt* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
- āyātu* (TB * *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣānah* (TB * °nāh) VS MS KS TB (both)
- subhūlāya tvā* (ŚŚ *vah*, HG adds *paridādāmi*) ApŚ ŚŚ HG Hardly true variants
- anehasas tvotayah* RV *anehaso va ūtayah* RV
- ayam vo garbha rtvayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayam te yonir rtvayah* RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB AŚ MŚ ApŚ JābU Different contexts and probably not true variants
- mayi vo* (TS * *te*) *rūyah srayantām* TS (both) MS KS LŚ
- indraghoṣas* (KS MS °śās) *tvā vasubhih purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah pu*° *pātu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhih pātu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
- indraghoṣa vo vasubhih purastād upadadhatām* TA This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA (with plural acc pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg) to the altar The settings are wholly different, obviously TA has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under *manoḥavās* and *pracetās* The other two are
- tvaṣṭā tvā rūpair upariṣṭāt pātu* KS ApŚ *tvaṣṭā vo rūpair upariṣṭād upadadhatām* TA And
- visvakarmā tvādityair uttaratah* (MS KS *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB *visvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA
- devas tvā savitā punātū* (MŚ GG KhG *savitotpunātū*) *achidrena* TS MS KS MŚ GG KhG *devo vah savitā punātū achidrena* MS KS

upahūta (LŚ. °tā) *upahavam te* (LŚ vo) 'śīya TS MS KS ŚŚ LŚ
akṣans tām VS KS TB *aghat tam* VS *aghasām tam* MS TB 3 6
 15 1 The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but
 related contexts

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi AV *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG ŚG
vrate hṛdayam te) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB-
 PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG The AV addresses
 the subjects of a king, the others the guru's śiṣya at the upanayana
rakṣānsi tayā (and *tūbhīr*) *daha jātavedah Kauś* (both)

vrām vahanto (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahanti*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānāh* AŚ ApŚ
 AG ŚG ApMB MG *vrām vahantah sumanasyamānāh* HG In
 different contexts, MG refers to the bride But the adaptation
 of the formula in MG is imperfect, we fail to see how Knauer can
 defend the correctness of his text as he does

ayakṣmāya tvā samṣṛjāmi prajābhyaḥ VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah*
prajāyā samṣṛjāmi KS TB ApŚ Different contexts

9 Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740 Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where
 there is no formal 'transfer of epithet', the ritual entity designated by
 the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other
 individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one
 or vice versa For example *ṛtena* (MG *ṛteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB MG
sthūnāv, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī roha vansa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG HG
 ApMB MG, 'mount, O pole, upon the post(s)' or the like The
 dual form of ApMB HG can have no standing and is best regarded as
 a phonetic corruption (*v* for *m*, VV 2 §237) The verse is used in
 mounting the ridge-pole of the house on the middle post (and others),
 either singular or plural makes sense, but not dual The plural of MG
 may be defended, tho KG 11 3 has *sthūnām*, Ppp is quoted by Roth
 as *sthunā dhi*

Other instances

mahad adya bharatasya (and *bharatānām*) ŚB (both) *mahākarma bhara-*
tasya AB The singular refers to Bharata Dauḥṣanti, the plural
 to the Bharata family

atharvane svāhā ŚB *atharvabhyaḥ* (sc *svāhā*) BDh Hardly to be con-
 sidered variants The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva
 Veda, the singular the ṛṣi Atharvan

ādityāś ca me sūvitraś ca me TS *ādityāś ca mā indraś ca me* MS Same
 context, sc in both 'prosper by the sacrifice' In TS *grahah* is
 understood 'the cup for Āditya (or Aditi)', in MS 'the Ādityas'

brāhmanas tvā nāthakāma upadhāvāmi (ApMB "kāmah prapadye) SMB
PG ApMB HG *brāhmano vo nāthakāma upadhāvāmi* SMB
Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods,
plural to them all collectively

abhayam vo (ŚŚ * *te*) 'bhayam no astu (AB AŚ me 'stu) AB AŚ ŚŚ
(both) The formula with *te* is repeated at each of the three
altars, and then with *vo* referring to all three as in the other texts
idam tam (and *tān*) *atī srjāmi tam* (and *tān*) *mābhy avanakṣi* AV (both)

Both in the same htany, addressed to various ritual entities
eṣa vo deva savitah somah TS ApŚ *deva savitar eṣa te somah* VS MS
KS ŚB MŚ Followed by *mā tvā* (TS *vo*) *dabhan* (TS *dabhat*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB The plural pronoun refers to the gods
including Savitar

mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratikṣe (with variants) VSK TS KS KB TB
AŚ ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ AG *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā prekṣe*
(*cakṣuṣānuvīkṣe*) MS AŚ MŚ Reference to various ritual entities,
in same context

utemāh paśya TS *utemam paśya* MS MŚ In the same context, but
with different reference, in TS to waters, in MS MŚ to *yajña*
devasya tvā (MS *vah*) *savituh prasave samvapāmi* VS MS TB ŚB
(Delete reference to MS under *devasya tvā* in Conc) Singular
refers to rice, plural to rice and water

anīśitasī sapatnakṣit VS *anīśito 'sī sapatnakṣit* VS ŚB *anīśitah* (KS
ApŚ add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīh* MS KS ApŚ Used in the same
ritual context of various implements, one or several (*sruc*, *sruva*)
rakṣohanam tvā valagahanam avasīñcāmi (and *avastīñcāmi*) *vaiṣṇavam* MS
MŚ *rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasīñcāmi* (and *'vastīñcāmi*) *vaiṣṇavān*
KS *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastīñcāmi vaiṣṇavān*
VS VSK TS ŚB Four holes are referred to, MS MŚ address
them one by one

yā (ApMB HG *yām*) *āharaj jamadagnih* PG ApMB HG In the
same context, singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers

pratnam ni pāti kavyam RV †*pratnāni* (Conc *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyaḥ*
KS See §403

10 Form assimilation

§741 Among the remaining, miscellaneous variants between singular
and plural, some seem to involve external form attraction—that is, the
shift is due to the influence of some other form in the vicinity, altho
the variant cannot be classified as showing 'transfer of epithet' Thus

trih sapta mātuh paramāni vīdan RV *trih sapta paramam nāma jānan* ArS Preceded in both by *te manvata prathamam nāma dhenoh* 'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow)' The change to singular in ArS is due to the preceding singulars

abha priyā (SV *priyam*) *dvas padam* RV SV It is obvious that SV has assimilated the adjective to *padam* This is a lect fac, the sense requires such a construction The RV *priyā* must be taken with Lanman *NInfl* 349 and Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc as acc pl neut, sc *padāni* 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven' Cf RV 9 12 8

vāto vā (VSK *va vo*) *mano vā* VS VSK ŚB *vayur vā tvā manur vā tvā* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ N The pronoun *tvā* refers to the horse mentioned in pāda c (*asvam* in all), *vo* of VSK can scarcely have any other reference, the plural may be due to thought of the 'horses' mentioned in the preceding verse

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvan* RV AV See §487

11 Change of words or meanings of a word

§742 In the rest different words are used, or else the same word in different meanings, requiring different numbers

urjasvatī rājasvaś (TS *rajasūyaya*, MS KS *rājasuyaś*) *citānah* VS TS MS KS ŚB '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise unto king-creation)' In this *rajasū* or *sūya* as adjective varies with the commoner abstract noun *rajasuya* Cf next

svāhā rajasūyah MS MŚ *svāha rajasūyāya citanah* TS *svāha rajasvah* VS ŚB Cf preceding, which comes shortly before this in the texts

drapsas caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (RV *caskanda prathamam anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Here the two meanings of the stem *dw* are concerned RV 'thruout the earliest days', the others 'thru earth and heaven'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmās (TA *brahma*) *ca* AV TA Whatever *brahmās* of AV may mean, which is uncertain, TA has a different word and means the personalized Brahman

indrasya hṛdy (AV *hṛdīm*) *aviśan manīṣibhiḥ* (AV *manīṣaya*) RV AV SV 'By the wise (priests)' 'by wisdom'

jaghāna vṛtram yatir na SV AŚ ŚŚ *vṛtram yo jaghana yatir na* AV Obscure, cf Whitney on AV 2 5 3

380 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

prāvanebhūh (MS KS *pravanena*) *sajoṣasah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
Uncertain, see VV 2 §491

yo agnaye dadāṣa havyadātibhūh (SV °*laye*) RV SV See §567

mutrah satyānām (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS PG Abstract
noun adjective

12 Doubtful or erroneous

§743 Doubtful or erroneous variants

trayastrinśat tantavo ye vi tatnure (MS *yam vitanvate*, KS AŚ *yān vitanvate*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ The singular makes no sense, tho MS p p also reads *yam*, it seems as if *yān* must be intended Perhaps it is to be connected with the peculiar sandhi of final *ān* before vowels (in MS this appears as *am*), cf von Schroeder I p xxix
[*pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* AV KS (bis) Add KS 30 10, for which Conc has *pari tvā*]
[*arkam* (TS *bṛhad arkam*) *yūñjānāh svar* (*suvar*) *ābharann idam* TS MS KS Conc *yūñjānah* for TS]

CHAPTER XXVIII

DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

1 Elliptic dual, and devatā-dvandvas

§744 The most interesting group of variants between the dual and other numbers is that which concerns the elliptic dual and double-duals, known to the Hindus as *devatā-dvandvas*. These double dual forms denoting a pair of entities have been explained by Edgerton (KZ 43 110 ff, 44 23 ff) as an outgrowth of the Indo-European elliptic dual, in which a pair is denoted by the dual form of one member alone, an idiom which is still very much alive in the Veda. The first step in the development was the addition to the elliptic dual of the singular of the second member of the pair (*mitrā* [= Mitra and Varuna], followed by *varunaś ca*). We then have an illogical association of a dual and a singular form, referring together to only two entities. There is evidence for the view (Edgerton, l. c.) that this illogical association existed in Indo-European. In most languages, however, it was supplanted by an association of two singulars, so also to a large extent in Sanskrit. In Indo-Iranian, however, the assimilation of the two forms may work the other way, the complementary singular being replaced by a dual, so that the result is a double dual, e.g. *mitrā-varunau*.

§745 The variants illustrate these rather complicated processes at various points. To begin with, an elliptic dual may vary with the singular of the prior member of the pair. The meaning is then of course different, the singular can scarcely have been felt as including the unexpressed member.

añghrinā viṣṇo mā tvāva (KS *viṣṇū mā vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava* *kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ. In most texts including KS the pair Agni and Viṣṇu are addressed (in KS by the elliptic dual *viṣṇū*), while VS ŚB address Viṣṇu alone *kṣāman* (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānuṇā* (MS KS *ketunā*) RV VS TS MS KS. See §547. The original *kṣāman* = 'on the earth', KS has an elliptic dual, 'the two earths' = heaven and earth. More commonly *dyāvā* 'the two heavens' is used in this sense.

tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA *pītarām ca putram*) AV TA The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA by the singular 'father'

§746 Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual, yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain

dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī (ApŚ °vīm) SV ApŚ

§747 More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undoubtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular, a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulars *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryaś ca* VS ŚB There is no reason to emend the ŚB reading with Eggeling and the Conc, *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuna

§748 More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words

viṣṇum agnī varunam pūrvahūtīh AV *viṣṇvā agnī varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tīm) VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

agnīm indram vṛtrahanā huve 'ham (MS °hanam huvema) AV MS *agnī indrā vṛtrahanā huve vām* TB The double dual *indrā agnī* occurs twice in RV, and the compound *indrāgnī* (often pronounced as four syllables) is common Note the singular adjective in MS, cf §757

§749 It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars

ā mitrāvarunā bhagam RV *ā mitre varune bhage* SV

indrāsūrā janayan visvakarmā TB *indrāh sūrah prathamō visvakarmā* AŚ

śatam indrāgnī (AV * *śatam ta indro agnīh*) *śavitā bṛhaspatīh* RV AV (both) N Note that AV is metrically bad

īsam no mitrāvarunā kartanēdām AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pinvatedāh* SV

ayaś śando marka upavīra ulūkhalah ApMB † *śandāmarkā* (HG *śando marka*) *upavīrah* PG HG The ed of PG prints *śandā markā* as separate words

namo diva namah pṛthivyai AV VSK TS MS GB TA AŚ LŚ ApŚ *namo dyāvōpṛthivībhyām* VS ŚB ŚŚ ŚG

§760 The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom-acc dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph

r̥ṣī bodhapratibodhau AV *r̥ṣir bodhah prabodhah* ApMB *bodhaś ca tvā* (KS MG *mā*) *pratibodhaś* (MG *prati*?) *ca* AV KS † MG ApMB

Note sing *r̥ṣir* in ApMB, see §757

śākvaram ravatam sāmā KS *śākvararavate sāmānī* VS TS MS KS
Again cf §757

mayī dakṣo mayī kratuh VS MS TB ŚB TA ŚŚ *mayī dakṣakratū* ApŚ AG HG

vairūpam ca varājam cāparau AB . *vairūpavarāje anūcī* LŚ

sarma varūtham (HG *sarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB HG But for the separate accents, *sarma-varūtham* of ApMB might be considered a singular dvandva, cf next §

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena travstubhyā (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vantanyā* MS KS

bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vantanyā TS

bṛhac ca te rathamtarām ca pūrvau pādau bhavatām AB *bṛhadrathamtare te pūrvau pādau* LŚ

§751 Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives). We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas

kṣutpīpāsābhyām (TAA °*āya*) *svāhā* SMB TAA GG

īṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir (*kṛnavāthāvir*, *kṛnatād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*)

VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ *īṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnatāvir asmai* AV

īṣṭāpūrtam kṛnatād āvir asmai KS

dakṣakratū (MS ed † °*lu*, v 1 °*lū*) *te matrāvārunah pātu* MS ApŚ

jīmūtān hṛdayaupāsābhyām (VS °*ena*, VSK °*s(na)*) VS VSK TS MS

KSA The p p of TS divides *hṛdaya-aupasa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahidhara takes the cpd as a tatpuruṣa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva

2 Collective singular varies with dual

§752 Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA *pītarām ca putram*) AV TA The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA by the singular 'father'

§746 Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual, yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain

dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī (ApŚ °vīm) SV ApŚ

§747 More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undoubtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular, a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulars *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udithah suryaś ca* VS ŚB There is no reason to emend the ŚB reading with Eggeling and the Conc, *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuna

§748 More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words

vṣṇum agan varunam pūrvahūtīh AV *vṣṇū agan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tim) VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

agnim indram vṛtrahana huve 'ham (MS °hanam *huvema*) AV MS *agnī indrā vṛtrahana huve vam* TB The double dual *indrā agnī* occurs twice in RV, and the compound *indragnī* (often pronounced as four syllables) is common Note the singular adjective in MS, cf §757

§749. It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars

ā mitrāvarunā bhagam RV *ā mitre varune bhage* SV

indrāsūra janayan viśvakarma TB *indrāh sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ

satam indrāgnī (AV * *satam ta indro agnīh*) *savitā bṛhaspatīh* RV AV (both) N Note that AV is metrically bad

iṣam no mitrāvarunā kartanedam AA *ūrja mitro varunah pinvatedah* SV

ayaś śando marka upavīra ulūkhalah ApMB † *sandāmarkā* (HG *śando markā*) *upavīrah* PG HG The ed of PG prints *śanda markā* as separate words

namo dwe namah pṛthivyai AV VSK TS MS GB TA AŚ I,Ś ApŚ *namo dyāvapṛthivībhyām* VS ŚB ŚŚ ŚG

§750 The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom-acc dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph

ṛṣī bodhapratibodhau AV *ṛṣir bodhah prabodhah* ApMB *bodhaś ca tvā* (KS MG *mā*) *pratibodhas* (MG *prati*?) *ca* AV KS † MG ApMB

Note sing *ṛṣir* in ApMB, see §757

sakvaram rawalam samā KS *śakvararawate sāmānī* VS TS MS KS

Again cf §757

mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh VS MS TB ŚB TA ŚŚ *mayi dakṣakratū* ApŚ AG HG

vairūpam ca vairūpam cāparau AB *vairūpavairāje anūcī* LŚ

śarma varūtham (HG *sarmavarūthc*) *punatī na agat* ApMB HG But for the separate accents, *śarma-varūtham* of ApMB might be considered a singular dvandva, cf next §

bṛhatā tva rathamtarena trīṣṭubhyā (KS *triṣṭubha*) *vantanya* MS KS

bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena trīṣṭubho vantanyā TS

bṛhac ca te rathamtaram ca purvau padau bhavatam AB *bṛhadratham-tare te pūrvau padau* LŚ

§751 Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives). We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas

kṣutpīpāsābhyām (TAA °*śaya*) *svaha* SMB TAA GG

īṣṭāpūrte kṛnavathāvir (*kṛnavathavir*, *kṛnutad avir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*)

VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ *īṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutavir asmai* AV

īṣṭāpūrtam kṛnutad avir asmai KS

dakṣakratū (MS ed † °*tū*, v 1 °*tū*) *te matravavarunah pātu* MS ApŚ

jīmūtān hṛdayaupāśābhyam (VS °*śena*, VSK °*śena*) VS VSK TS MS

KSA The p p of TS divides *hṛdaya-aupaśa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahīdhara takes the cpd as a tatpuruṣa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva

2 Collective singular varies with dual

§752 Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

nostrils) dual Such variants occur especially with parts of the body, but also with other entities We shall mention first a case which is particularly interesting as presenting a neuter singular collective instead of a fem dual This reminds us of the use of the neuter singular in dyandva compounds, mentioned in the last paragraph, and so far as we know neither this nor any similar form has been noticed heretofore *viśākhe nakṣatram* TS . *viśākham nakṣatram* MS KS † So von Schroeder reads in KS with two mss, one ms *viśākhā*, which must be fem and may be understood as either sing or plu Only one ms of MS has *viśākhe* The constellation is made up of either two or four stars, and its name occurs in sing, dual, and plural, but is otherwise recorded only in the fem gender, cf §798

§753 The other words recorded here keep the same gender in sing and dual

apānena nāṣike (MS °*kām*) VS MS

asyā (MG † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG °*yām*) AB MG *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh ApMB The word *gavīnī* (and *gavīnikā*, AV) is regularly dual, it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen

ānandam nandathunā (KSA °*thubhyām*) TS KSA *nandathu* is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context The dual of KS suggests perhaps 'testicles', 'penis' would be more natural and may be intended in TS (comm *guhyaendriyam*) A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these

aṣṭrām tūdam pratīnāhā (ApŚ *tālam pratīnāham*) MS ApŚ Refers to some unknown part of the plow Caland adopts the MS reading for ApŚ, but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing

punarvasur (TS °*sū*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS Usually dual

3 Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754 Like the singular (*ante*), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body, usually both are comprehensible Thus the word *jambha* or *jambhya* means either 'tooth' or 'jaw' (originally 'crusher, grinder'), in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual

jambhābhyām (VS TS °*bhyas*, KS °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (°*raṇ*, °*rān*) *uta*
VS TS MS KS

javam jañghābhīh (VS °*bhyām*) VS TS MS KSA The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper, VS must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only

girīn plāśūbhīh (MS °*śbhyām*) VS TS MS KSA The stem *plāś-* is usually sg or plu, its meaning is quite unknown and the guesses of the comms are not worth quoting

4 Other entities conceived as dual or plural

§755 Besides parts of the body, other entities may be thought of as dual or plural groups. Thus the constellation *phalgunī* is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural

phalgunīr (TS °*nī*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS

phalgunīṣu (ApG °*nūbhyām*) *vy uhyate* (ApG °*ūh*°) AV Kauś ApG

marutah sadohavīrdhānāh (TA °*dhānābhyām*) MS TA *aditih sadohāvīrdhānābhyām* KS The *hāvīrdhāna* itself is referred to as either sg or dual (cf TS 3 1 3 1), combined with the sg *sadas*, the compound is either dual or plural

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV *vi yo rajāṅsy amumīla sukratuh* RV The 'spaces' (*rajas*) are either two or three (or even more) in number

5 Generalizing dual (for sing) and plural

§756 In one group we find dual and plural forms varying in essentially the same way as the 'generalizing singular and plural' forms treated above, §§685 ff. Here, instead of the singular, we find the dual because the 'single' entity happens to be a pair, otherwise the psychological relation between the two variants, and the motivation of the change, is exactly the same. The dual may be a single uncompounded word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound, in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning

ud eṣām bāhū (MS MŚ *bāhūn*) *atīram* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible, but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity

apochatu (AV °*ntu*) *mūhunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV AV The *kimīdins* are apt to go in pairs (§764), the RV dual here is the

substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means *any* pair of demons, or all of them

ahorātrayoh samdhūbhyo jatūh VS *ahnah samdhūbhyām jatūh* MS
Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'

ahorātrās (KS TA °trān) *te kalpanām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Day-and-night' 'days and nights'
śam ahobhyah (TS *ahobhyām*) VS TS ŚB KŚ Here the relation is not quite the same, TS has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night', the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights That *ahan* may mean this is proved e.g. by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day

utkūlanīkūlebhyaś trīṣṭhinam VS *utkūlanīkūlābhyām trīṣṭhinam* TB
Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puruṣamedha
The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities

6 Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757 An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair, of the like variation between singular and plural, §735 Some cases of this sort will be found in §750 Also

yasya dyaur urvī pṛthivī ca mahī AV *yena dyaur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛdhā* (TS *dṛdhe*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS Here the original makes *dṛdhā* apply only to *pṛthivī*, TS applies it to *dyaus* also

§758 Similarly an adjective or epithet may vary between dual, applying to a dual entity, and plural, including some other entity
vīpīpānā (VS °nāh) *sarasvatī* VS MS The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī

(*āyuskrd āyuspatnī svadhāvantau*) *gopā me śtam ātmasadau me śtam* AV (*āyus tad āyupatnī* [read *āyuskrd āyupatnī?*] *svadhāvo*) *gopā nah śtha rakṣitārāh* KS (*āyukrd āyuhpatnī svadhā vo*) *goptryo me śtha ātmasado me śtha* ApŚ Explained VV 1 §357

§758a Once a sing., doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet
savitur bhāu śtho devajanānām vidharanīh (KapS °nī) KS KapS (Oertel 137) Two blades of grass are addressed, KapS surely intends a dual, 'two supporters', KS, 'a support' The stem *vidharanī* is not recorded in the lexicons

§759 Two dual epithets of an adjoining dual noun may vary with two singulars, each then applying to one of the pair

ugrampaśye ugrajtau tad adya AV *ugrampaśyā* (MS text *ugrampaśyāc*, VV 2 §405) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TA *dārepaśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* TB Followed by *apsarasāṃ*, the epithets agree with this word (AV), or apply to the two individuals denoted by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case)

§760 Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form, is allowed to agree with a singular noun (!), in the other form of the variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular The variant strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible

anuvatsarinām svastim āśāste TB ApŚ *anuvatsariyodvatsariye svastim āśāste* MŚ 'He desires well-being lasting for an anuvatsara' 'I desire well-being lasting for an anuvatsara and for an udvatsara'

§761 Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the dual in MŚ is the dual character of the adjective compound rather than its reference to two entities The context deals, however, with the *śukra* and *manthin* drafts of soma, and it may be that MŚ thinks of the word as applying to two oblations only (tho the neuter gender makes it impossible to supply *śukramanthinau* [grahau] with it, and in fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts, which are not, of course, offered by the *camasādhvaryus*)

madhyatahkārīnām camasādhvaryavo vaṣat[ṛktānuvaṣat[ṛktān (MŚ °te) *juhuta*, ApŚ MŚ 'offer the (MŚ two?) oblations (in ApŚ *somān* is apparently understood) accompanied by *vaṣat* and by the secondary *vaṣat*'

7 Transfer of epithet

§762. As with cases of transfer of epithet between singular and plural (§737), we shall list here only variants which do not involve change of case, these latter being treated above under case variations Variations between singular and dual are

te asya yojane dvye (KS *dvyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS The sing of KS agrees with *yonur* in the next pāda

ubhā kavī yuvānā (PG *yuvā*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ PG *mahā kavī yuvānā* MŚ Followed in PG by *yo no dharmah parāpatat*, Stenzler translates *yuvā* with *dharmah* but observes that the text is corrupt, and Oldenberg abandons it

dirghaprayajyum atī yo vanuṣyatī RV TS MS N *dirghaprayajyū haviṣā vrdhānā* MS TB The latter occurs in a modification of

the RV verse (which MS elsewhere repeats without change), with transfer of the epithet to the dual divinity addressed (originally Indra-Varuna, here Mitra-Varuna)
viśvakarmāns tanūpā asī ŚB · *viśvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah ŚŚ*
 Explained VV 1 §351
indrasya vām (TB te) vīryakṛto VS VSK ŚB TB See §521
aśvinendram na jāgrvi (TB °vī) VS MS TB Comm on VS takes *jāgrvi* as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR and VV 2 §525) In TB it is made to agree with *aśvinā*
 §763 Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are
navena pūrvam dayamānāḥ syāma (VS TB dayamāne) VS MS KS †
 19 13 TB (both) The plural agrees with the subject, the dual with *devī* to whom the passage is addressed
sa viśvācīr (KS °cī) abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh (KS °cī) RV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB The original probably applies to sacrificial ladles, tho no noun is mentioned, cf ŚB 9 2 3 17 KS attracts the adjectives into agreement with *rodasī* For the phonetic aspects of the change see VV 2 §357

8 Phrase inflection

§764 Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due to adaptation of old material to a new context Sometimes all three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms Thus
sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB † °padā babhūva) ApMB HG
sakhā (PG sakhe) saptapadī (ApMB PG °dā) bhava AG ŚG
KauŚ ApMB PG SMB MG sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma TB
ApŚ See VV 1 p 274
yātudhānam kimīdinam AV yātudhānān kimīdinah AV yātudhānā
kimīdinā RV Different contexts Fiends are otherwise known to go in pairs (*mithunā* precedes in RV), cf *apochatu* etc., §756
tā no mṛdāta īdr̥se RV SV VS VSK TS KS te no mṛdantv īdr̥se AV
sa no mṛdātīdr̥se RV AV TS MS KS ApMB N

§765 Variations between dual and singular
*gr̥nāns (RV * SV * °no) jamadagnīnā RV (both) SV (both) AŚ ŚŚ*
 AG ŚG

tanvāno (TB °ne) yajñam puruṣeśasam dhīyā RV TB The latter lifts the pāda from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to *dyāvapṛthivī*

*yajñasyāyuh pratiran (KS * †2 7, MŚ pratirantau) MS KS (both) MŚ*
 Two wholly different contexts in KS, MS agrees with one, MŚ with the other

viśvair devair pitṛbhiḥ samvidānah RV TS *viśvair devair yaṣṭīyāḥ samvidānau* (TS KSA °nah) TS KSA TB AŚ In TS KS two different verses, one adopted from RV, in TB AŚ this single pāda is used in a wholly different context

devī devebhīr yajatā (and °te) *yajatraiḥ* RV (both) · *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV AV MS

tasyām (ApŚ *layor*) *devā adhīsamvasantah* TS TB ApŚ *tasyām devaḥ samvasanto mahitvā* AV *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhīsamviśantah* MS Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ

jyotiṣe tvā VS TS MS KS ŚB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ *jyotiṣe vām* KS ApŚ Different contexts, dual only in one passage of KS ApŚ Also *tejase tvā* (vām), *cakṣuṣe tvā* (vām), *varcase tvā* (vām), and *prajābhyaḥ tvā* (°bhyo vām), sings in various texts, duals only KS ApŚ

āsāsānā medhapatibhyām (MS KS °pataye) *medham* MS KS AB KB TB AŚ ŚŚ The ūhas *medhapataye* and °*patibhyah* are prescribed in the sequel in AB, see Schwab, *Tieropfer*, 102 Really this involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764

bhadrā te pūṣann (TA * *bhadrā vām pūṣanāu*) *ṛa rātir astu* RV SV TS MS KS TA (both) N Here a whole stanza is adapted to a different context in TA The sing is addressed to Pūṣan, or according to the TA comm to *saṃvatsara*, the dual, to *dyāvapṛthivī* The next two occur in the same verse

śukram vām anyad rajatam (Poona ed *yaj*°, v 1 *raj*°) *vām anyat* TA *śukram te anyad yajatam te anyat* RV SV TS MS KS AB KB TA AŚ Svīdh N And

viśvā hi māyā avasī svadhāvah (SV °van, TA * *avathah svadhāvantaḥ*) RV SV TS MS KS TA (both) N See prec

devas tvā (ApŚ *devo vām*) *savitā madhvānaktu* VS TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ

viśvet tū te (RV * *vām*) *savaneṣu pravācyā* RV (both)

stomebhīr havanaśrutam (and °tā) RV (both)

dīrgham vām (and *ta*) *āyuk savitā kṛnotu* AV (both) In different parts of the marriage ceremony, sing is the wife, dual husband and wife Might perhaps be called a *vikāra* and placed in §769

patī (RV * *patīm*) *turasya rādhasah* RV (both) KS

rājantam adhvarānām RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *rājantāḥ adhvarānām* RV

sāmṛāṇyāyā sukratuh (RV * °tū) RV (both) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *arvūñcā vām* (and *arvūñcam tvā*) *saptayo 'dhvaraśṛiyah* RV (both) See

RVRep on 1 47 8, which calls the sing an ūha of the dual, it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas

āyur vām (AV MG **āyus te*) *śaradaḥ satam* AV MG (both)

anu (MS *nu*, read *anu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jīhvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS
KS KB ŚŚ *prati te jīhvā ghṛtam uc caranyet* (MS KS **yāt*, VS
ŚB **yāt svāhā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *prati vām jīhvā ghṛtam uc*
(AV * TS * *†ā*) *caranyat* (AV **yāt*, TS **yēt*) AV (bis) TS (bis)
MS KS KB AS ŚŚ

catuḥśikkhandā yuvatīḥ supetāḥ (KS *supatnī*) KS TB ApŚ *catuḥśikkhande yuvatī kanīne* ApŚ In the latter a largely new verse is constructed for a different context See next

ghṛtapratikā (ApŚ * *°ke*) *bhuvanasya madhye* TB ApŚ (both) Follows the prec

dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me (AV * ApMB *vām*) AV (ter) JB Kauś ApMB
tāv imā upa sarpatāḥ SV JB *emām anu sarpatā* MS It seems that MS has adapted the SV original to a different ritual context The interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS is obscure, see ApŚ 4 10 4, with Caland's translation, which deals with the same ritual With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual, *imām* of MS would seem to refer to *idā*

nīlaloṭitam bhavati RV AV *nīlaloṭite bhavataḥ* ApMB Whitney says that ApMB speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away were two (or better, made of two parts) Perhaps the variant did originate in that way, but ApG uses the mantra in referring not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding rites

mā tvā vrkṣaḥ (TA *vrkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA **†ām*, and *bādhetḥām*) AV TA (bis) According to Kauś 82 32 the AV verse is used in burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree TA uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in constructing the funeral pyre, the 'two pieces of wood' refer to the *paridhis* (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre, the verse is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and west pair

vidhṛtir asī TA ŚŚ *vidhṛtī sthah* MS

§766 Phrase inflection, variations between dual and plural

indravantā (TB **tau*) *haviṣ idam juṣethām* TB ŚŚ *indravanto haviṣ idam juṣantām* TB ApŚ

yahvī rāsya mātārā RV *yahvīr rāsya mātārāh* RV
uruvyacasō dhāmnā patyamānāh VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner*
dhāmnā patyamāne AV
puruṣe 'dhu samāhātāh (and °te) AV Both in the same verse; the dual
 goes with *amṛtam ca mṛtyus ca*, the plural with *nādyah*
asme vo (vām) astu sumatīś canīṣṭhā RV (both)
agner vo 'pannagṛhasya (TS * TB ApŚ * vām *apanna*°) *sadasī sādāyōmī*
 VS TS (both) MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ (both) MŚ
ayam śraīṣṭhye dadhātu nah (PG *nau*) ŚG PG The dual refers to the
 householder and his wife, the plural, in a different context, is
 generalizing or 'editorial'
ṛtvānā (°vāno) jane-jane RV (both)
sam u vām (vo) yajñam mahayam (°yan) namobhīh RV (both)
saha nah sādhuṣṭyā ŚB LŚ KŚ *sahanau nau suṣṭam saha duṣṭam*
Kauś suṣṭam nau saha Kauś
sam vām (AV MS * KS * vo) *manānsī sam vratā* AV VS TS MS
 (both) KS (both) ŚB

9 Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767 The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with a change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different. Included are some ritual ūhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting. It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group, we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual ūhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding — When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff., and when, without such transfer, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff.

§768 Variations of all three numbers

tasya te dattām yasya (and *yayoh*) *prāno 'sī svāhā* TS *tasya te dadātu yeṣām prāno 'sī svāhā* TS *tasya te dadātu yasya prāno 'sī svāhā* TS
 Modulations in the same passage. For *yasya* after *dattām*, *yayoh* is to be expected, perhaps a mere error?
tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda VS TS etc *dhruvāh sīda* VS
 ŚB TA *dhruve sīdatam* VS *dhruvāh sīdata* TS Also *tena brahmanā* etc., see Conc

āgneyah kṛṣṇagrīvāh VS TS KSA . *āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau* TS KSA
kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāḷe (MS *lalāḷe*) *purasīāt* VS MS *kṛṣṇagrīvā*
āgneyāh VS MS ApŚ All in lists of animals at the *aśvamedha*
 TS KS have sg and dual in adjoining formulas Probably the
 plural is a substitute for the dual, but this may itself be a mere
 ūha of the sing

yānu gharṃe kapālāni TS. MS KS KŚ MŚ In MŚ two ūhas *yad*
gharṃe, and *ye gharṃe*

agnim adya hotāram avṛṇātāyam yajamānah MS (and the next five
 items in Conc) *agnim adya hotāram* (*avṛṇātām imau yajamānau*,
 and *avṛṇateme yajamānāh*) ŚŚ See Conc

agnaye prahrīyamānāyānubṛūhi ŚB KŚ MŚ *agnibhyām prahrīya-*
mānābhyām anubṛūhi KŚ *agnibhyah prahrīyamānebhyo* 'nubṛūhi
 ŚB

asāv (asā) anu mā tanu (LŚ *tanuḥ jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ
amū anu mā tanutam, and *amī anu mā tanuta* MŚ Ūhas

punah kṛṇvāns tvā pitarāṃ yuvānam TS *punah kṛṇvāntah pitaro yuvā-*
nah MS *punah kṛṇvānā* (KS *kṛṇvāntā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS KS †
 ŚB We cannot interpret this passage It seems that the dual,
 as in VS KS, is probably original, Mahīdhara takes *kṛṇvānā* as
 plural, for 'nāh' Even such violence helps little

§769 Dual and singular

samjagmāno (KS 'nā, MS TB ApŚ MŚ 'nau) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*)
prthivyā VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Same context, but in VS
 ŚB the formula is repeated, once each with the *śukra* and *manthim*
grahas, while in the others it goes with both together See §576
 In VS MS KS immediately followed by

śukrah sukraśociṣā VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *śukrau sukraśociṣau* MS
 As preceding, but here KS follows with a separate formula *manthī*
manthiśociṣā, while TB ApŚ do not connect this immediately with
 the preceding

kṛṇvātām tāv adhvarā jālavedasau MŚ *kṛṇotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB 'rā)
jālavedāh VS MS KS TB AŚ *so adhvarā* (AB 'dhvarā karatī)
jālavedāh AB ŚB See VV 1 p 263, under *ayād agnir*, also next
yakṣat svam mahimānam VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ *yakṣatah svau*
mahimānau MŚ In same context as prec, *mahiman* pertains to
 the subject and varies in number with it

prānāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB *prānāpānābhyām*
me varcodasau pavetḥām MŚ See VV 1 §368

tasyai (tābhyām, in 11 2 27 read tasmāi) namo yatamasyaṃ diśīlah

AV (all three) All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon, practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §765

veṣāya vām (TS TB ApŚ *tvā*) VS † 1 6, TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Kauś Sing used by TS addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS in addressing both together Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications

te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye TS *tā* (VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyar* RV VS MS KS ŚB N In a Viṣṇu hymn, the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣṇu alone in the sing The secondary change to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural

aśmeva tvam sthūrā (MG ApMB * HG * †1 4 1 *sthūro*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB (bis) HG (bis) MG *aśmeva yuvām sthūrau bhavatam* MG Sing fem refers to the wife, dual to wife and husband, in the same context The masc sing is used in a different context

varunasya skambhasarjanam (KS °ny) *asī* TS MS KS MahānU MŚ *varunasya skambhasarjanī sthah* VS ŚB Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS 18 27

eṣā te agne samvit tayā (MŚ *tayā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ ApŚ ŚG ApMB HG *ete vām agnī samidhau tābhyām vardhethām cā ca pyāyethām* KŚ (an ūha quoted in KŚ comm) *āyusḥkṛd āyuspatnī svadhāvantaḥ* AV *āyusḥ tad āyupatnī* (ms °nh) *svadhāvah* KS *āyukṛd āyupatnī svadhā vah* ApŚ The reference seems to be to the sacred fires, so at least in ApŚ, obscure in the others AV continues with dual forms, KS ApŚ with plurals, see *gopā me stam* (*gopā nah stha, goptryo me stha*), §758

ā mātārā sthāpayase jīgatnū RV AV *āsthāpayata mātaram jīgatnum* AV In RV the 'two mothers' (parents?) are heaven and earth In AV *mātaram* possibly refers to Indra's mother, suggested by Indra's heroic deeds in the following pāda, cf RV 8 45 4, 77 1

grāvacyuto dhiṣṇanayor upasthāt VS ŚB *bāhucyuto dhiṣṇanāyā* (TS *dhiṣṇanayor*) *upasthāt* (KS °sthe) RV TS KS GB Vait MŚ See Hillebrandt, *VMyth* 2 1, p 426 ff According to H *dhiṣṇanā* originally means 'earth' (dual in RV only 'heaven and earth'), then the *vedī* identified with the earth If so, VS TS have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense, the comm makes it refer to the 'pressing planks'

viṣnor manasā pūte sthah (Kauś * *pūtam asi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś (both) GG KhG Refers to two 'purifiers' of *kuśa* grass, or once in Kauś to a single one

ṣaṣṭiś cādhvaryū (ApŚ °yo, AŚ † °yor) *navatis ca pāśāh* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Spoken by the hotar as he touches the adhvaryu and the agnidh, in the dual form both are addressed Since the agnidh belongs to the class of adhvaryu priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic The AŚ probably has a misprint (§369)

upasrjan (ŚG *upa srjam*) *dharunam māt্রে dharuno mātaram* (LŚ MŚ *māt্রে mātaram dharuno*, ApŚ *māt্রে mātārā dharuno*) *dhayan* VS ŚB JB LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG *upasrjan* (AŚ *upasrjam*) *dharunam mātaram dharuno dhayan* AB AŚ The 'dam' is earth Caland suggests that the dual *mātārā* may mean 'heaven and earth', this may be the intention but it seems inappropriate Obscure

§770 Variants between dual and plural

samprca (°cah, °cas) *stha* VS VSK KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *samprcau sthah* VS ŚB Also, in same passage

viprca (°cah, °cas) *stha*, and *viprcau sthah*, same texts See VV 1 p 259 *etā asadan suktasya loke* TS TB *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etāv asadatām* (pratikas) ApŚ

srucāh sammrddhi ŚB KŚ MŚ *srucāu sammrddhi* MŚ *srucā ca srucāś ca sammrddhi* ApŚ

ā mā gantām (VSK *gantam*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK † *yuvam*) VS VSK 10 3 12c, TS KS ŚB *ā mā ganta pitaro visvarūpāh* MS It is not clear who are meant by the 'parents' or 'fathers' For the added *ca* after a double dual see Macdonell *Ved Gr* p 156 Add to VV 1 §§337, 352

mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha AV *madhavyau stokāv* (MS *stokā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS MS Why TS MS should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us Followed by

sam nas tābhyaṁ (AV *tebhīh*) *srjatu viśvakarmā* AV TS MS The interpretation depends on that of the preceding

svasāro mātariḥbhvarīr (AV text °*śvarīr*, read doubtless as RV) *ariprāh* RV AV *svasārau mātariḥbhvarī* (text em °*śvarī*, read with mss and Whitney °*bhvarī*) *aripre* AV Part of a mystic verse, it is not clear who the 'sisters', dual or plural, are Ludwig suggests 'heaven and earth' and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, *ā mātārā sthāpayase jigatnū*, cf §769 But this would involve the rash assumption that AV is more original than RV

dawyā (AV Ppp *dawā*) *hotārāv ūrdhvam* (VS °*rā ūr*°, KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS °*rā ūrdhvam imam*, AV °*ra ūrdhvam*, Ppp °*ra* [but intending °*rā* since dual verb follows] *imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV Ppp VS TS MS KS 18 17a

§771 In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724, while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker

yathāyatham nau (KS *no*) *vratapate* (KS °*pā*) *vratāni* (TS MS *vratānōr vratāni*, KS *vratnām vratāni*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The dual includes Agni (*vratapati*) and the *yajamāna*, KS's plural either refers 'editorially' to the *yajamāna* alone or to his associates. From the phonetic standpoint this and several others in this paragraph belong in VV 2 §732

tan (AV *tatra*) *nau samskr̥tam* AV VS 4 34, KS *tan nah samskr̥tam* TS MS The dual is taken to refer to the sacrificer and the offering addressed (perhaps better to him and his wife?), the plural refers to him and his associates, or perhaps really to him alone

sā no (AV *nau*) *nābhīḥ paramam jāmi tan nau* RV AV The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse. The dual of AV is doubtless secondary (cf Oldenberg on RV 10 10 4), it refers to Yama and Yamī, and is doubtless assimilated to the following *nau*, which has the same reference

punsām bahūnām mātara syāma (MG °*rau syāva*) ApMB MG Addressed to the wife by the husband, the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'

ṛṣabhā janayanti nah (ApMB °*yantu nau*, HG °*yantu nah*) ApMB (bis) HG *puruṣā janayanti nah* ŚG Spoken by the husband, as in prec. ApMB has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context

asthūr no (*no*, KS *nau*, MŚ † *nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* (VSK adds *satam himāḥ*), *tiḡmena naṣ tṛjaṣā* (TS *no brahmanā*, KS *nau brahmanā*) *saṁ sīśūdhī* RV VSK TS MS KS TB MŚ The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs', the plural is 'editorial'. Note the inconsistency of MŚ

§772 Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest)

īdawāsmān (RVKh Muller, followed by Scheft, *īdawa vām*) *anu vastām vratena* (RVKh as before *ghṛtena*) RVKh AV *īdāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena* ApŚ MŚ

10 Form assimilation

§773 In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way, the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation, in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation. Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of *vāyu* are found in the HG form of the following. With cunning inanity, HG makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts Oldenberg fails to understand HG, not having in mind the MS parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending *vāyo* to *vāyuh*, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns

ete te vāyo (HG *vāyavah*) MS HG *ēṣa te vāyo* MS MŚ HG *etau te vāyū* HG *vāyav eṣa* (and *ete, etau*) *te vāyo* ApŚ 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG also O Vāyus, dual and plural)' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun *te* is always singular, even in HG

§774 Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are *vṛṣanam* (MS °*nā*) *āndābhyām* VS MS In the *aśvamedha* 'I gratify the bull (the two bulls) with his testicles' The bull or bulls are imaginary, transcendental beings, and there is no reason for the duality except the duality of *āndābhyām*. So with the next two, which occur in the same context

karnābhyām śrotam (MS *śrotre*) VS MS See prec
vidyutam kanānakābhyām (MS KSA *kanāni*°) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS Cf prec two

śrotam (AV *śrotre*) *te cakre āstām* RV AV The AV makes *śrotra* dual because of the predicate *cakre*, 'thy two wheels'

yena striyam (PG *śriyam*, ŚŚ *striyāv*) *akṛnutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *akurutam*) ŚŚ PG SMB GG 'By which ye two (Aśvins) made woman (two women)' ŚŚ's variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Aśvins

§775 In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality

putrah pitarāv (AV °*ram*) *avṛṇita pūṣā* RV AV In both texts the reference is to the Aśvins, the singular of AV is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, tho phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237)

duhāthām gharṁadughe va dhenū AV (in Conc preceded by *vāmam*, which belongs to the preceding *pāda*) *samduhāthām gharṁadugheva dhenuh* TB The dual entity heaven and earth is compared to a milch cow, or in AV to two cows, the assimilation in this case is natural enough, and is doubtless the original form.

§776 A special case of this form-assimilation is constituted by the variation in the form of substantive pronouns, which may be either neut singular (indefinite) without reference to the number and gender of the predicate noun, or on the other hand may agree in gender and number with the predicate, the latter is the more common usage in the Veda, and is found in the original (RV) form of the following variant, while secondary texts use a neuter singular (cf §§730, 812)

mukham kim asya (VS *asyāsīt*) *kau* (AV VS *kim*) *bāhū, kā* (TA *kāv*, AV VS *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA *†pādāv*) *ucyele* RV AV VS TA

§777 Form assimilation between dual and plural occurs in the variant *sā no* (*nau*) *nābhīh* etc., §771, and in the following

śeṣe vaneṣu mātroh (SV *mātrṣu*) RV SV 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers' Dual in RV because reference is to the two *aranis*, plural in SV by attraction to *vaneṣu*

vājīno vājajīto vājam VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ *vājīnau vājajītau vājam*

MS KS MŚ See the several entries in Conc Two associated formulas, in KS (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf KS 14 7 206 22 f) The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other, both are dual in MS, both plural in VS TS

11 Corruptions and errors

§778 The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors
devī dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed) The plural is equally familiar But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait, and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it The form *dvāro* may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for *dvārau* (VV 2 §732)

saha nau vratapate (TS MS add *vratīnor*, KS text *vratapā vratīnām*) *vratān* VS TS MS KS ŚB The plural of KS is inexplicable, in view of the dual *nau*, the best ms in fact omits *vratīnām*, and so KS should probably be read, *vratīnām* probably crept in in the

398 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

- inferior mas of KS from the mantra *agne vratapā punar vratapā
vratīnām vratāni*, which shortly precedes
- tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā* RV. ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā
śivena* AV The original refers *mandasānā* (dual) to the Aśvins,
to whom AV also refers in the sequel Apparently *sā*, nom sg
fem, is due to a stupid misunderstanding of the endings -ā, no
feminine entity can be concerned here
- apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnāni* (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām
anu dattānṛnāni* MS Phonetic corruption in MS, VV 2 p 122,
1 p 282
- [*śākhābhyah svāhā* VS TS MS KSA Conc quotes *śākhābhyām* for
VS TS]
- [*śrotrāya me varcodā varcase* (MŚ *me varcodāh*) *pavasva* VS VSK ŚB
MŚ *śrotrāya (me varcodau varcase pavethām)* TS Conc Similarly
under *aṅgebhyo me* See VV 1 §372a]

CHAPTER XXIX

GENDER

1 Male and female persons and animals

§779 We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118–25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other. They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate, sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none. Thus, first, male and female animals

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya (KS *meṣyā*) *vapāyā* VS KS. It is likely that KS uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī. So in the next two

ayāt sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS KS

yatra sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS KS

ṛṣabhāya (MS *vrṣṇ*) *gavayī* VS MS *ṛṣabhāya rājñe gavayah* TS KSA
yad dharino (TS KSA TB °nī) *yavam atti* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB
ŚŚ. Possibly gender-attraction from *śūdrā*, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse

anāśur aśvo 'yāmī (ŚŚ and AV *mss aśvāyāmī*) AV † ŚŚ † *svāśur aśvah suyāmī* (ŚŚ *asvā yāmī*) AV ŚŚ

ākhuh śṛjayā śayāndakas te maṭrāh (KSA *ms śayāndakās te maṭryāh*)
TS KSA *śārgah śṛyayah śayāndakas te maṭrāh* VS MS. Name of an unknown animal, male or female. The ed of MS follows the p p, the other mss have *śṛjayā*

ajo (TS *ajā*) *hy agner ajaniṣṭa lokāt* (TS *garbhāt*) AV VS TS MS KS
ŚB

§780 Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to *ajo* or *ajā*

so (TS *sā vā*) *apaśyaj janitāram agre*,

tena (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra* (*agram*) *āyan*,

tena (TS *tayā*) *rohān āyann upa* (AV *rohān ruruḥur*) *medhyāśah*, all in the same texts

§781 Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female

ślpā vaiśvadevyah (MS °vīh) VS MS *ślpās trayo vaiśvadevāh* TS
KSA 'The (three) varicolored (animals) are for the Viśvadevas'
The animals are male in TS KSA, female in VS MS

§782 Names of human or superhuman beings, varyingly male and female

ślāyāṅganīkārīm (TB °ram) VS TB 'An ointment-maker' (female VS, male TB)

piśūcebhyaś bīdalakārīm (TB °ram) VS TB

yātudhānebhyaś kaṇṭakakārām (VS *kaṇṭakīkārīm*) VS TB Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for 'thorn', which is fem in the compound 'female thorn-worker', masc in the other

pra devāh (AV *devīh*) *protā sūnṛtā* RV AV TS MS Possibly gender-attraction to *sūnṛtā* in AV

kātyāyanāya (MahānU °yanyai) *vidmahe* TA MahānU Epithets of Śiva or his consort

ākṛayāyā ayogūm VS *ākramāyāyogūm* (Poona ed *ākṛayāyā*°) TB A nonce-deity, *ākṛaya* or °yā

yamāya (TB *yamyai*) *ṇamasūm* VS TB

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devarāś ca AV *pratīkṣantām* †*śvaśruvo devarāś ca* ApMB

2 Variation of nouns in grammatical gender

§783 We come now to variants involving shift of grammatical gender in nouns. This shift may be signalized by a change in the form of the noun itself, as when a masculine or neuter *a* stem varies with an otherwise identical feminine *ā* or *ī* stem of like meaning, or when an *n* stem appears now with a nominative in *ā* (masc), now with one in *a* (neut). It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders, this is true for instance of many case-forms of the *i* and *u* declensions and of the diphthongal stems. We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word. In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context.

Masculine and feminine

§784 We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least

historically secondary. Thus the word *yonī* is always masc in RV, and the fem is rare in the older language, its origin may be connected with the word's meaning, 'womb', which suggests fem gender. Among the variants, MS and KS, the oldest YV texts, show only masc gender, with one exception (the first) in MS

sapta yonīr (KS *yonīnr*) *ā pṛasva* (°vā) *ghṛtena* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

svam (TS † only *svām*, thrice) *yonim rhāsadaḥ* VS TS MS KS
svām (MS KS *svam*) *yonim gacha* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *svayonim gacha* MG (with v 1 *svam yonim*, which Conc suggests reading because of the MS reading)

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*, for *svam*?) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

dhrwam (TS *dhrwām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ *mā mā* (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim āvisantau* (KS *āvisāthah*) MS KS *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim āvisantī* (KS TB ApŚ *āvisan*) VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *mānam hinsīṣam svām yonim āvisantau* AB

ebhyo (Kauś *ābhyo*) *yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ* VS MS KS AŚ Kauś *yasyai* (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hranyayī* VS VSK ŚB *atho yonir hranyayī* TS *yonir yas te hranyayah* KS

§785 Next the stem *rayi* or *rai*. Wackernagel 3 p 216 notes that the word is regularly masc in RV and suggests that the fem is due to influence of *pusti* or the like

sa no dadātu tam (AV *tām*) *rayim* AV AA ŚŚ
athāsmabhyam sahavīram (AV VSK MS KS °vīram) *rayim dāḥ* AV VS VSK TS MS KS HG Wackernagel I c mentions *rayim sahavīram* and *saravīram* (see next) among the RV phrases in which AV keeps masc gender, otherwise the word is regularly fem in AV. But note that this pāda, as a whole, is not Rigvedic *rayim ca nah saravīram* (TS † °rām) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV TS MS *sa no rayim saravīram ni yachatu svāhā* (VSK *om svāhā*) VS VSK ŚB *somo rayim sahavīram ni yansat* KS Cf RV 10 15 11d, and see prec

§786 The stem *div* (*dyu*) is regularly masc in the early language, later fem, see Wackernagel 3 p 221

abhīmam (TS MS † °mām, MS MŚ v 1 °mām) *mahinā* (VS °mā, delete MŚ v 1 in Conc) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§787. The word *kalāśa* is regularly masc, in the following ApMB. seems to show a fem form *kalāśīr*, but this may be a phonetic corruption for *kalāśair*, cf §412 and VV 2 §701

ā dadhnaḥ kalāśair (ApMB °śīr, MG °śam) *aguḥ* (*ayān*, etc) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG

§788 We come now to words in which fem gender appears to be regular or at least historically original

yā (MS *ya*) *īṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NilarU ApMB The word *īṣu* is regularly fem in the older language (always in RV)

Here the masc pronoun may have been due to the series of masc *ye*'s in the preceding and following formulas

avakām (MS KSA *avakān*, but MS p p *avakām*) *dantamūlāḥ* VS MS KSA ŚB

vy amīwās (TB °vāś) *cātayasvā viṣūcīḥ* RV TB Both edd of TB *amīwāś*, and comm likewise *amīwān rogān*, finding no difficulty in making *viṣūcīḥ* agree No masc is otherwise recorded, and in view of the fem adjective *viṣūcīḥ* we may assume an ancient corruption *pravayāhnāhar jinva* VS *pravāyāhne 'har jinva* MS *pravāsi* TS KS Vait (*prāvo 'sy akmānsi* GB Gastra, corrupt) The masc is otherwise unknown, but MS p p gives *pravāya*

[*ṛtena* (MG *ṛteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG See §740]

§789 In the rest we find no criterion to determine clearly the original gender In some cases both seem equally regular, one is a $\tilde{a}\pi$ ley *emām parīrutah kumbhaḥ* AV *enam parīrutah kumbhyā* ŚG Other GS texts preserve *kumbhaḥ* which seems to be original in this formula

dadhī mantham (ŚŚ *manthām*) *parīrutam* (ŚŚ *parīrutam*) AV ŚŚ *agner akṣnaḥ kanīnakam* (VSK °kām, TS MS KS °nikām) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

vṛtrasyāsi kanīnakah (MS MŚ MG °nikā) VS MS ŚB MŚ MG *mitrasyaṣi kanīnikā* KS *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °nakāsi) VSK TS ApŚ

śimāḥ (VS *śimāḥ*) *kṛnavantu* (VS * *śamyantu*) *śimyantah* (VS *śamyantīḥ*) VS (bis) TS KSA † An unknown word, cf VV 2 §§278, 572

Masculine and neuter

§790 Among the masc-neut variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun Special attention will be called to these

§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine. Thus, first, the word *asu* as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.). Even Benfey's Glossary to SV gives the gender as masc. Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV, and here it is obviously neuter, the VSK reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility. We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation.

asum (SV *asu*) *rinann apah* RV SV

vyānaś (KS *apānaś*) *ca me 'sus* (VSK *'su*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS *kṛnotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB *'rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB AŚ *kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ *so adhvarā* (AB *'dhvarā karati*) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB. Nowhere has *adhvara* been recorded as neuter, but this case is well attested and certain. VS comm. interprets *adhvarān*, TB comm. considers the form a loc.¹

grīṣmo dakṣinah pakṣah (MS *dakṣinam pakṣam*) MS TB TA. Followed in MS by *varṣā uttaram* (sc. *pakṣam*). MS unmistakably makes *pakṣa* neuter. Neither BR. nor pw. record such a usage; Monier Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is not cited.

[*gātum yaṇṇāya gātum* (TA once *gātu gātu*) *yaṇṇapataye* RVKh TS MS ŚB TB TA (both) N. But TA Poona ed. has only *gātum*, which is doubtless the true reading.]

§792. In several cases a masc. noun is made anomalously neuter, apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun. *nikāyaś* (MS KS *'yam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. In this and the next it is quite likely that the original form of the variant *pāda* had the variant word in neuter gender, by assimilation to *chandah*, and that the regular masc. form is actually secondary.

samudram (VS ŚB *'raś*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. *vivadhāś chandah* VS TS ŚB. *vīvadhām* (KS *'dhaś*) *chandah* MS KS. *yaṇṇas* (TA *yaṇṇam*) *tapah* TA MahānU. Poona ed. of TA has *v l yaṇṇas*, and so the comm. reads in both edd.

§793. Next words which are regularly or originally, neuter there are several cases of *hārdi*.

indrasya hārdy (AV *hārdim*) *āviśan manīṣibhiḥ* (AV *manīṣayaḥ*) RV AV SV.

mano me hārdi (VSK *hārd*) *yacha* VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ. *mano hārdim yacha* MS MŚ. Once (out of three occurrences) the MS p p reads *hārdi*.

mā me hārdi tvīṣā (MŚ *hārdim dvīṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MS. *mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhīh* RV. Three miss. of MŚ *hārdi*.

avakrandena tālu (TS KSA *tālum*) VS TS MS KSA Regularly neuter, occasionally masc, but BR cite no Vedic instance
vatso jarāyu (KS *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣah* AV TS MS KS *jarāyu* is regularly neuter, the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc or fem KS may be thus interpreted, or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter *us*-stems, cf the next
 [*svam* (JB TA *punar*) *jarāyu* (TA °*yur*, Poona ed text °*yu*, but note seems to indicate that all mss read °*yur*) *gaur va* AV KS JB TA ApŚ Here the word is accusative, consequently if *jarāyur* be read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter *us*-stem]
yāni kṣetrāni yā vanā AV *yāni dhanvāni ye vanā* (read *vanāh* with two mss) ApMB *vana*, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc in BR, from the Rāmāyana

[*catvāri śrīgā trayo asya pādāḥ* RV VS MS KS GB TA MahānU ApŚ N Conc quotes *śrīgās* for GB, but Gaastra reads *śrīgā* with all mss, and obviously this is the only possible reading]

§794 In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage

dhartram (TS °*ras*) *catuṣtomah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter *dhartra* in TS
vyomā (TS *vyoma*) *saptadasah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ The regular neut gender of *vyoman* is found only in TS Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was *vyomā*, masc by assimilation to *saptadasah* (*stomah*)

ayam sahasramānavo (so read) *vidharma* (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ to the subject *ayam*
nāku 'si bradhnaḥ (MŚ *bradhno 'si*) *pratiṣṭhā samkramanam* (ApŚ °*nah*, MŚ °*kramanatalam*) KS ApŚ MŚ No masc *samkramana* is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective, but it seems likely that ApŚ assimilates either to the gender of *nāko* and *bradhnaḥ*, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise

§795 We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, tho textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV *sānw āruhah*) RV SV Both genders in RV

yeṣu saumanaso bahuh (MG *saumanasam mahat*) AV VS ApŚ LŚ ŚG MG *eti saumanaso bahuh* HG As an abstract the word would be expected to be neuter, but the masc is otherwise known (e.g. AV 3 30 7) and is clearly primary in this variant

adityā uṣnīṣam asī MS TA ApŚ MŚ *indrānyā uṣnīṣah* VS ŚB Both genders are familiar, probably the neut is primary here
akṣitś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS *kuyavam* (MS v 1 *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣitś* (VS '*kṣitam*) *ca me* VS MS KS The word *yava* is masc, and is followed by *kūyava* in TS This stem seems to occur only here except that RV has *kuyava* as a demoniac name or epithet (here of course masc) Most likely the majority of texts have the original gender (neut)

[*prajananah* (MahānU °*nam*) TA MahānU So Conr, but both edd of TA read *prajanah*, MahānU has vv ll *prajanah* and *prajananah* Either *prajanah* or *prajananam* must be read, both would be regular]

§796 We may mention here a few cases concerning the masc and neut stems *brahman*, which are properly different words distinguished by shift of accent, in unaccented texts their oblique cases are indistinguishable See VV 2 §460 for some of these and other somewhat similar cases considered from the phonetic aspect (*a ā*)

yam (MahānU *yad*) *antah samudre kavayo vayanī* (MahānU *vadantī*)

TA MahānU Referring to *brāhman* or *brahman*, even in TA other neuter pronouns occur in the context

ṛtasya brahma prathamota jayñe TB *bhūtānām brahmā prathamō ha* (mss °*mota*) *jayñe* AV

tan no brahmā (TAA °*ma*) *pracodayāt* MS TAA (not TA °) MahānU *brahma* (ApŚ °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā ṛtasya* PB ApŚ *brahmadevī prathamajā ṛtasya* JB 2 258 (Caland, PB transl 21 3 7 note)

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS MS TB AŚ ŚŚ *brahmā devakṛtopahūtā* ŚB The context is the same and refers to the cow, in ŚB only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the cow, the pple being made fem and the stem *brahman* personal (quasi-fem °) 'she, god-created, has been invoked as *Brahmā*' VV 2 §460 is incorrect

Feminine and neuter

§797 Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to assimilation to adjoining words We begin with words which are usually or originally fem

varṣāś cākṣuṣyah VS ŚB *varṣāni cākṣuṣāni* TS MS KS The rainy season is meant, the gender is usually fem, but occasionally neut, doubtless because *varṣa* 'rain' is neut in the early language, and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut gender

ājyam uktham avyathāya (TS *avyathayat*, KS *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS *notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Instead of *avyathā*, which is to be expected, KS uses an otherwise unknown *avyatha* 'firmness' (probably neut, less likely masc) The same with *pravgam uktham*, *marutvatīyam* u°, *niṣkevalyam* u°, *varśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc
§798 Due to assimilation to an adjoining word

niṣīyam (KS °yā) *nakṣatram* MS KS This rare name for the constellation *svāti* occurs as *niṣīyā* in TB (see BR s v) We assume that KS has the 'proper' form and that MS assimilates to *nakṣatram*, as in the next

viśākham (TS °khe, KS v l °khā) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS See §752

§799 The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group
tābhīr yāsi dūtyām (MS °yam) *sūryasya* RV MS *yābhīr yāsi dūtyām sūryasya* TB See Pischel VSt 1 22 The regular form is *dūtya*, but in this variant, of course, the fem is older

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV AV *ariṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV [*idam tava prasarpnam* (JB °nā) RV JB †3 169c Oertel and Caland emend JB to °nam, as the gender of *idam* seems to require]

[*ihī tistro 'ti rocanāh* TB ApŚ *etu tistro 'ti rocanā* AV So Conc There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by *y-*, AV p p to be sure reads *rocanā*, as if neut, which is the regular gender of the word, but the fem adjective *tistro* proves that *rocanāh* fem must have been understood]

§800 Due to assimilation

viśo yantrē (KS *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātum* KS TB ApŚ The word is in apposition with *devī* (dual fem), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS, *yantrē* is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem **yantrā* as well as from neut *yantra*

prthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā TS *udapurā nāmāsy annena viṣṭā* MS KS A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS is rather to be expected (*pura* neut), it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS KS (probably original)

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable, mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains *svastī* or °*tīh*, in which both genders are known

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS °*tih*) AV TS The loss of final visarga is an easy phonetic change (VV 2 §381), and *svastih* occurs just before, even in AV On the other hand TS may have *svastih* by assimilation to this preceding form

kṛyāmbv atra rohatu RV *kṛyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA *jāyatām*) AV TA The word is known only here

asyopasadyām mā chaitsīt ŚB BṛhU *asyopasadye mā riṣāma* ŚG † 3 7 3c, Kauś *upasadī upasadya*, probably 'worship', neither known elsewhere

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi VS ŚB : *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °*pāya*, p p °*pāyāh*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS TA (pratīka, °*pāyā* [iti], ApŚ MŚ) Stems *paraspa* °*pā*, as abstracts ('protection') both recorded only here See §152 In the same passages

prānasya tvā paraspāyai (MS °*pāya*, v l °*pāyāś*, p p °*pāyāh*) *caḥṣuṣas* MS TA (pratīka ApŚ) And

divas tvā paraspāyāh (MS °*pāya*) *anlarikṣasya* MS TA (pratīka ApŚ)

§802 Apparently due to assimilation

varunasya skambhanam (KS °*ny*) *aśi* TS KS MahānU ApŚ Nonce-word, either gender is formally good, KS doubtless assimilates to the gender of *śamyā* 'yoke-pin', which is addressed So in the next, in the same context

varunasya skambhasarjanam (KS °*ny*) *aśi* TS MS KS MahānU MŚ *varunasya skambhasarjanā sthah* VS ŚB On the dual see §769

3 Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'

§803 An interesting little group of cases concerns words which refer to feminine entities and appear in one variant in distinctively feminine forms, while the other variant shows forms that are masculine or at least not distinctively feminine, they may be called 'common gender' forms Thus the acc pl of the 2d personal pronoun is, of course, regularly *yuṣmān* without regard to gender But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form *yuṣmās* is twice used in VS (followed by ŚB) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p 468)

yuṣmān (VS ŚB *yuṣmā*) *indro 'vr̥ṇīta vr̥tratūrye* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

śvam āyantam abhy atra yuṣmān (VS ŚB *yuṣmāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§804 Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotrāśānsin* is once feminized when it is made to refer to *āpah*, fem, in a ritual passage *āpo me hotrāśānsinah* (AG °*śnyah*) §B ApŚ AG

§805 In the preceding the masculine ('common') form is regular, the feminine unusual and analogical. In a couple of other cases the feminine form is regular. Thus stems in the agent suffix *tar* regularly have feminines in *trī* (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p. 202), but in one variant the 'common gender' form is used with a feminine noun

adbhir viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ ApMB *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG. The latter doubtless feels *bhartṛbhiḥ* as an appositional noun 'the waters, bearers of all'

§806 Yet more anomalously, MS once uses the masculine form *adhīpati* instead of the fem *adhīpatnī* referring to Aditi. The formula occurs in a list of similar ones with different god-names, mostly masc, so that *adhīpati* is properly found in most of them, this doubtless helps to determine the use of the common gender form in MS. But all the other texts have the 'proper' fem

adītīr adhīpatnī (MS °*patīr*) *āsīt* VS TS MS KS §B

4 The indefinite neuter

§807 A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word 'thing' or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction. Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc or fem form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to. The masc or fem form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case, such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff and will not be repeated here, they belong, of course, equally in this group.—We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal ('such and such a one'), the former impersonal ('such and such a thing'). Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf §§730, 776)—Hirt, *IGGr* 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist

§808 Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows.

indrasya (also *viṣṇor*) *dhruvo* 'sṛ (TS ApŚ *dhruvam asṛ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ A knot (*granthi*, m) is addressed, hence masc in most texts 'Thou art Indra's (Viṣṇu's) firm one (firm thing, Keith 'fixed point', Caland 'Festes')'

brahmavani tvā kṣatравani rāyaspoṣavanī paryūhāmī VS ŚB *brahmavanīm tvā kṣatравanīm* (TS KS add *rāyaspoṣavanīm*) *paryūhāmī* TS MS KS MŚ *tvā* refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, *audumbarī* (sc *sthūnā*), and is fem (cf TS 6 2 10 3, and KŚ 8 5 31) In VS ŚB it is made neuter 'thee, a brahman-winning thing' etc Mahidhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for '*vanīm* with loss of ending, referring to Pān 7 1 39

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV ApMB '*upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV The RV original has a neuter indefinite, 'with that which is stronger, a stronger thing', but really means a plant just like AV, which makes the adjective agree in gender with *oṣadhi*

ya (*yas*, *yah*) *stṛinām jīvabhōjanah* VS TS KSA ŚŚ *yat stṛinām jīvabhōjanam* Vait The 'antecedent' is *añjim*, 'the slippery one', referring to the male member, it is masc even in Vait which follows with these indefinite neuters, 'the thing that is'

agnir ekākṣarena (MS KS '*kṣarayā*) *prānam* (MS TS KS *vācam*) *udajayat* (VS ŚB add *tam ujjēṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. And so *aśvinau dvyakṣarena* ('*kṣarayā*), *viṣṇus tryakṣarena* etc, 17 items in same passage With the fems doubtless *vācā* is to be supplied 'with monosyllabic (etc) utterance' The accent (*ék*²) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, 'with one syllable') Mahidhara supplies *chandavā* with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite 'with the monosyllabic (thing)'

indrasya vajro sṛ vātraghnaḥ TS MS KS TB MŚ ApMB *indrasya vātraghnam asṛ* VS ŚB Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vāj school, VS ŚB may understand *dhanus*, yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite ('thing relating to the Vṛtra-slayer, victorious')

§809 Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc or fem

tad aśvinā paridhattam svasti TS *tam aśvinā paridhattam svasti* (MŚ *svastaye*) KS MŚ The masc refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference

sam tam (KS ApŚ *tat*) *sñcatu rādhase* (KS ApŚ °sā) RV KS Vait ApŚ *tam* refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *anśu*), this is repeated in KS once with the indefinite neuter *tat*. Another KS passage adapts the formula to a different context, where *tat* refers to *chudram*, this is repeated in ApŚ

yām āśām emi kevali sā me astu AV - *yad ichāmi manasā sakāmah* TB
Followed by

videyam enām manasī praviṣām (TB *enad dhrdaye nviṣ(am)*) AV TB
The definite 'what desire I go to' of AV is replaced by 'what (thing) I desire' in TB, hence neut for fem in the following pāda
pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti RV *pumān enad vacyati udgrnatti* AV

'This' in RV refers to *yajña* in the preceding. In AV no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and *enad* is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort

yam āśrā (VS *yad āśīrā*) *dampati vāmam aśnutah* VS TS In VS, 'what good thing', in TS gender influenced by the following *putra*, which is the specific boon obtained

yad indro apibac chaciḥh VS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *yam asyendro apibān śaciḥh* MS Preceded by *yad atra sisām* (riptom) *rasmah sutasya*. The relative is made masc in MS in reference to *sutasya* (m) which immediately precedes. Followed by

aham (AB AŚ *idam*) *tad* (MS *tam*) *asya manasā śvena* (MS * *ghṛtena*), same texts

deva savitar etam (LŚ *etat*) *te yajñam prāhur* ŚŚ LŚ *etam te deva savitar yajñam prāhur* VS ŚB The context of LŚ refers to *samīdh* (fem), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing')

ya etad (TA MahānU *enam*, MahānU v 1 *etad*) *vidur* (SB BṛhU *ye tad vidur*) *amṛtās te bhavanī* ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU KU ŚvetU 'Those who know this (him, TA comm *paramātmān*)'

tad (MŚ *tam*) *aham manase prabravīmi* VSK TB ApŚ KŚ MŚ Vait 'I proclaim this (truth, MŚ him, referring to Savitar)'

kam (KapS *ma kim*) *svīd garbham prathamam dadhra* (KapS °*ur*) *āpah* RV VS TS MS KS KapS Raghu Vira *em to kam*, wrongly, Oertel 18 In RV etc *kam* is adjectival to *garbham*, in KapS substantival, 'what (thing)'. On *dadhrur* see Edgerton, *Language* 10 243f

tad anu preta sukrām u lokam VS ŚB *tam anu prehi sukrāsya lokam* TS KS It seems that *tam* must go with *lokam*, there is then no expressed object of the verb in TS KS. The VS has a lect *fac*, *tad* is the object and *tad* refers back to *yad* of the preceding

eṣa (MahānU *etat*) *te kāmā* TAA MahānU *kāmaritat* *te* AV etc The TAA comm supplies *āgyabhāgah*, that on MahānU *haviḥ*, but the latter with *etat* is surely indefinite The formula *kāmaritat te* occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here In the same passage

eṣa (MahānU *etat*) *te manyo* TAA MahānU

§810 In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one' 'nothing'

ahir jaghāna (PG *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* AG PG HG ApMB MG 'The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing)'

ṛtam nātyeti kim (GG *kaś*) *cana* TB ApŚ MŚ GG

māmīṣām (TS TB ApŚ *maṣām*) *kam canoc chiṣah* RV SV VS TS

TB ApŚ *māmīṣām moci kaś cana* AV *maṣām uccheṣi kim cana* AV

nakir (SV *na ki*) *indra tvad uttarah* (SV *ram*) RV SV AŚ ŚŚ Followed by

na jyāyān (SV *jyāyo*) *astir vtrahan* RV SV And

nakir (SV *na ki*) *evā* (SV *evam*) *yathā tvam* RV SV Wackernagel 3 p 562 considers (*na*) *ki* (found only in SV) a mere corruption To us it seems clear that it is a deliberate variant, a neuter to RV's masc, formed on the analogy of the endless neut nom - acc of *i* stem nouns See also §820 where both *nakir* and RV *nakis* are adverbial

yasmāj jātām na purā kim canāwa VS *yasmāj jātā na paro anyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *astir* JB ŚŚ *yasmād anyo na paro astir jātah* PB *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait *yasmān na jātah paro anyo astir* (śś) VS TB KŚ ApŚ MahānU NrpU *yasmāt param nāparam astir kim cit* TA MahānU N *tasmād dhānyan na parah kim canāsa* RV TB *yasmāj jātā na parā nāwa kim canāsa* TA Only the forms *jātā na parā* of TA need explanation The comm takes them as fem sg, supplying *prajā* But more likely they are Vedic neuter plurals (indefinite)

§811 But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing', sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first

gopāyamānam (KS *nas*) *ca mā rakṣamānam* (KS *naś*) *ca gopāyetām* (*yatām*) KS PG MG 'The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect' Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (masc or fem) in all texts except

for this formula in PG MG Parallels in AV 8 1 13 Why PG MG provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear

avasphūrjan (MS KS °jad) *hetih* (TS *prahetih*, MS KS *dhetih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder' The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects The following one has *vidyut*, perhaps MS KS have adapted the form of *ava*° in an external, mechanical way to the ending (-t) of this word But *vidyut* is regularly fem (exceptionally neut according to pw, without quoting any occurrence)

brhad (ŚB *mahaḍ*) *dha tashau bhuvaneṣv antah* RV ŚB AA *brhan ha tashau rajaso vimānah* (JB *vimānava*) AV JB Both 'the great one', masc or neut

śukro brhan dakṣinayā (TB *brhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pīpartu* AV TB The comm on TB understands by *brhad* the *sāman* of that name That on AV takes *śukro brhan* as Sūrya, Whitney, Soma

[*yan* (ŚŚ *yam*) *nah pitā samjānīte* AB ŚŚ Indefinite in both AB 'what (i.e. the situation which) our father approves' ŚŚ might be interpreted 'whom (whatever person, really thinking of Śunaḥ-śepa) our father approves' But the ŚŚ comm reads *yan*, clearly understanding *yad* (gloss *yan no 'smākam pitā samjānīte tasmīnn ādeṣe vayan tīṣṭhāmahe*) It seems that *yam* is only a bad writing for *yan*]

Substantive pronouns in equational sentences

§812 In introducing equational sentences, pronouns may be in the indefinite neuter singular without regard to the gender or number of the noun referred to, or they may agree in gender and number with the latter Cf §§730, 776, where other examples are quoted, and §826

kā (TS TB *kim*) *svid āsīt pīṣṣpīlā*,

kā (TS TB *kim*) *svid āsīt pīṣāṅgilā*,

kā (TS TB ApŚ *kim*) *svid āsīt pūrvacūtīh*, all VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB, the last in ApŚ

kah (VS *kim*) *svid prthivyai varṣyān* (VS °yah) VS AŚ ŚŚ The answer expected is 'Indra', hence masc *kah* in most texts

5 Adverbial forms

§813 Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs, it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which

makes it the favorite form of adverbs. When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun, altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs. Among the variants we find distinctively fem as well as neut adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs.

§814 We begin with the rare instances of fem adverbs varying with masc adjectives

ud enam uttaram (VS TS KS ŚB °rām) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ
divaś cid antād upamām (TA † *upa mām*, RV *antān upamūn*) *udānaḥ* RV AV SV TA Whitney adopts the v l *upa mām* for AV Benfey takes *upamām* as an adverb. See §495

§815 Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives

agne yāhu suvidatrebhir arvān (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvān*) RV AV MS TB N
yuktvā (so Poona ed of TB for *yuktā* Conc) *harī vṛṣanā yāhy arvān* (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvān*, KS ms *arvāḥ*, ed *arvāk*) RV MS KS TB *prān* (VS TB *prāñk*, MS *prāk*, p p *prāñ*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK MS ŚB TB ApŚ
pratyah (p p *pratyāñ*) *somo atisrutah* MS *pratyāñ* (VS TS MS † ŚB * TB *pratyāñk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS * †10 31b, MS *atisrutah*) AV † (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ

etat tvā deva savitar vṛnate ŚB *deva savitar etam tvā vṛnate* AŚ ŚŚ N

tam u tvam (SV *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV SV Preceded by *yad dha tyam māyīnam mṛgam* SV's *tyan* can only be construed as an adverb. It is due in some part to the preceding *tyam*.

tam idam (ApMB *imam*) *vi vṛhūmi te* RV AV ApMB 'I here (now) pluck it out for thee' *idam* is an adverb, ApMB makes it into a pronoun agreeing with *tam*.

svastī nah pūrnāmukhah pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB HG See §404

ava tara (TS *avattaram*, MS p p *avattaram*, AV *avattaro*) *nadīṣv ā* (AV *nadīnām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaram* is apparently an adverb. See §404

tad āsata ṛṣayah sapta sākam AV *tasyāṣata ṛṣayah* (TS TAA °*āsate harayah*) *sapta tīre* TS ŚB BrhU TAA *tad* seems to be adverbial

akṣinendram na jāgrvi (TB °vī) VS MS TB See §762

tam tvā pra vīśāmi sarvaguh saha yan me 'sti tena AV *tam* (KS †
tat) *tvendragraha prapadye* (ApŚ *pravīśāni*) *saguh saha yan me*
'sti (astī) tena KS ApŚ *tat* in KS adverbial

viśvak patantu didyavah RV *viśvañico asmac charavah patantu* AV
dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV SV VS
 TS MS KS *śuci* may be an adverb, but cf VV 2 §381

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhayai* (MS °yī) TS MS TA Per-
 haps bad writing (*tan* for *tam*)

tan (JB *tam*) *mā punsi kartary erayadhvam* JB KBU As prec
somah prathamō vivide RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jayā prathamam*
 AV 'Soma was the first to marry thee' 'thou wast Soma's wife
 first'

ye 'do (MS *amī*, KS *vādo*, VS ŚB *vāmī*) *rocane divah* RVKh VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApMB *ye camī rocane divi* NīlarU *adas* adverb,
 'there'

§816 A special group under this heading may be formed of the
 variants involving the pronominal neuter *yad*, used as a conjunction,
 in variation with masculine forms of the same pronoun
arundhatim ye (ApMB *yad*) *dhruvatam ha manyuh* ApMB HG '(The
 ṛṣis) who have led ' 'since (the ṛṣis) have led '
toke vā goṣu tanaye yad (and *yam*) *apsu* RV (both)
nava yat puro navatim ca sadyah RV AV *nava yo navatim purah* RV
 AV SV

pūro yat (MŚ *yah*) *sann aparo bhavāsi* ApŚ MŚ

pra ye (SV *yad*) *gāvo na bhūrnayah* RV SV

yad (MŚ *ya*) *āgachāt pathibhir devayānaih* VS TS KS ŚB TB MŚ

ya (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad*) *ṛte* (PB † *yakṣate*) *cīd abhiṛiṣah* RV AV
 SV TB TA KŚ MŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB GG

yena tvābadhnat (KŚ *mā*, TS ApMB *yam* *abadhnata*, MŚ MG *yay*
jagrantha) *savitā suśevah* (AV °vāh, TS ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ MG
satyadharmā) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (bis) MG

viśvakarmā vīmanā ād vihāyāh (KS *vīmana yo vīyomā*, MS *vīmame yo*
vihāyāh, TS *manasā yad vihāyāh*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ N

yad (SV *yo*) *devasya śavasā prārīnāh* RV SV

yad agne kavyavahana TS TB ApŚ *yo agnih kravyavāhanah* (VS KS
kavya) RV VS KS AŚ

yad (LŚ *yam*) *devāso lalāmagum* AV VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ

anu yam visve madanti (AV * *anu yad enam madanti* †*viśva*) *īmāh* RV
 AV (both) SV VS AA ApŚ MŚ N

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB ApŚ *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajra-hasta* (TB °*tah*) RV VS ŚB TB

vr̥prā ṭgātham gāyata yaj juṣṣati (AA °*sat*) AA ŚŚ *vr̥prāya ṭgātham gāyata yam juṣṣate* SV

§817 Feminine adjectives varying with neuter adverbs The first case involves the conjunction *yad*, as in the last paragraph
andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA °*tāsi*) AV TA 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness'

yajñasya juhvām avidānia guhyām (MG *guhyam*) RV TS MS KS
'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice'

viśvair devair anumatā (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhīh* AV VS TS MS KS
SB TA The original fem adjective applies to *sītā* 'furrow' In TA it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc (§849) In KS the connexion is the same, and the neut must be taken as an adverb

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG *vicaranty apatuvratā* ŚG MDh *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ See §404

asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* AV Kauś See §623

achidram tvāchidreṇa juṣṭam (KS °*tām*, v 1 °*tani*) *grhnāmi* MS KS
ApŚ The fems refer to *surā* Caland on ApŚ would read *juṣṭam* (adverb) in KS, and since the best ms reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right But *juṣṭam* as fem adjective would be equally construable

§818 And once a fem noun, in the dative (quasi-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu sobhāyai* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly' See §487

§819 Neuter adjective varying with fem adverb

upamam (SV °*mām*) *devatātaye* RV SV *upamam* goes with *śavah* preceding, *upamām* must be an adverb

§820 In the rest both variant forms seem to be adverbial The only clear case of masc-neut variation here concerns the R̥gvedic *nakṣ*, formally a nom sing masc, but sometimes used adverbially, twice in the same verse SV replaces it by *na ki*, on which see §810 above
nakṣ (SV Svīdh *na ki*) *devā minṁmasi* (SV Svīdh *inī*°) RV SV Svīdh *nakṣ* (SV *na ky*) *ā yopayāmasi* RV SV

§821 Once, also, SV substitutes *nakṣ* for RV (*nū*) *cū*
nū cū (SV *nakṣ*) *sa dābhyate janah* RV SV

§822 We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc - neut variation with the forms *kam kim*, altho of course *kam* cannot be, historically, an acc sg masc of the stem *ka*
prajāyati kam (AV *kim*) *amṛtam nāvṛṇā* RV AV

§823 As to fem -neut variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs *prataram* and *°ram* (once *samtaram °ram*)
pra tāry agne prataram na āyuh RV MS KS ApŚ *prātāry agne prataram na āyuh* TS

jīvatave prataram (SV SMB *°rām*) *sādhayā dhīyah* RV SV SMB
indremam prataram (VS TS ŚB *°rām*) *kṛdhi (naya)* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

drāghīya ayuh prataram (TA † *°rām*, MG *pratiram*) *dadhanāh* (AV **te dadhām*) RV AV (ter) TA AG MG *ayur dadhānāh prataram navīyah* AV

sāmṛājyaya prataram (ApŚ *°ram*) *dadhanah* RV KS ApŚ MŚ
adhi kṣamī prataram dīdhyanaḥ RV AV *asmīn kṣaye prataram dīdyanah* SV

pra tam (RV * *no*) *naya prataram* (TS ApMB *°rām*) *vasiḥ acha* RV (bis) VS TS MS KS ApMB

samśutam ut samtaram (VS TS KS *°rām*) *sam sisadhi* AV VS TS MS KS

§824 Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both variant forms are parts of the pple of a compound verb and are perhaps hardly to be classified here, cf VV 2 §505

svamkṛto 'sī KS *svāmkrto sī* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

6 Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825 Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the plurality of the nouns, or else they may be masc if the series includes both masc and fem nouns

tas (ApMB *te*) *tū vadhu prajāvatīm* AV ApMB Preceded by *yā ośadhayo yā nadyo yāni kṣetranī ya vana* (ApMB *yanī dhanvāni ye vanah*, so read) In AV *tās* follows the gender of the fems of the first pāda, in ApMB *te* follows that of the nearest noun, *vanah* (on which see §793), or is masc as including both masc and fem (see next)

rohīt kundṛnācī golattikā tū apsarasām (VS *te 'psarasām*) VS TS MS KSA Since *rohīt* is regularly fem, the fem pronoun is expected (with only fem nouns) The masc of VS is apparently due to

taking *rohit* as masc (so VS comm), with a series including masc and fem nouns, a masc pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, *Gram* p 500)

7 Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun

§826 When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantive pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf §812)

namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta uttarah pakṣah LŚ *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttarah pakṣah* AA *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta uttarah pakṣah* ŚŚ *bṛhat* means the *sāman* of that name. Similarly *namas te rathamtarāya (rātham°)*, and *namas te vāmade-vyāya (rājanāya)*, see Conc

(*yady vrkṣād abhyapaptat phalam tad*) *yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva* AV (*yady vrkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*) *yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva* HG (*yady vrkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva* ApMB The neuter *tad* of ApMB HG refers back to *phalam* and keeps its gender, despite the masc predicate *vāyur*. The masc *sa* of AV is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho *apām stokah* of the preceding verse may also have been influential

strīyah satīs tān (TA *tā*) *u me punsa āhuh* RV AV TA N 'Those that are women, they declared to me to be men' The original makes the pronoun agree in gender with the predicate, TA changes it to agree with the antecedent

§827 Somewhat similarly, an adjective epithet in the following variant agrees in gender either with the subject (Agn, so most texts), or with an adjoining noun—predicate of a different clause this time, but one which immediately precedes and is closely associated in TA, the text which makes this agreement

samprīyah paśubhir bhava (TB ApŚ *bhuvat*, KS *°yah paśubhih*) MS KS TB ApŚ *samprīyam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA Subject is Agn in all, the formula *purīṣam asī* precedes in TA and KS, and follows in MS

8 Compound nouns

§828 On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751. Peculiar is the case of the dual stem *ahorātra*, for the masc or neut gender of compounds in *-rātra*, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p 40. Note that there is nothing in

the context of the following variant to disprove that *-rātrās* and *-rātre* may be fem (which gender the word has at least in VS 14 30)

ahorātrās (KS TA °*trāni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB

§829 Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadhāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuvrīhi, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies. Thus

ayakṣmayā (KS °*mena*) *pari bhuja* VS TS MS KS NīlarU. Preceded in all by *yā te hetir mīdhuxṣama*, *haste babhūva te dhanuh*, *tayās-mān vīsvatas tvam* (with slight variants). Since Kṣ has fem *tayā* (referring to *hetir*) in pāda c, like the rest, the neut *ayakṣmena* of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadhāraya, 'with non-disease' *pīvoannān* (VS °*nā*, MS °*nam*, p p °*nān*) *rayivrdhah sumedhāh* RV VS MS AB TB AŚ ApŚ. All texts but VS intend *pīvoannān*, a bahuvrīhi, 'he seeks men with rich food'. Mahidhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS in the same way, calmly stating that the final *n* of the acc masc is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadhāraya, acc pl neut 'he seeks rich foods'. *tatrāpi dahre* (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam vīśokah* (TA Poona ed °*kam*, v l °*kah*) TA MahānU *vīśokah* 'freedom from grief', coordinate with *gaganam*, which is modified by *vīśokam* 'free from grief'.

9 Nom agentis (masc) nom actionis (fem or neut)

§830 Occasionally the same (or virtually the same) word is used either as a noun of agent (masc) or a noun of action (neut or fem according to formation)

eṣa vas tadvivācanah ŚŚ *eṣa vah sadvivācanam* AB. Comm on AB paraphrases by *adhyāpanam* and supplies *karṣyaḥ*. Better, 'he (shall be) to you instruction in what is right' ŚŚ, 'instructor in that'.

sā (MS *yā*) *prathamā samskṛtir vīśvavārā* (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB *sa prathamah samskṛtir vīśvakarmā* TS TB ApŚ. The latter make a noun of agent out of *samskṛti*.

10 Substitution of one noun for another

§831 Sometimes the change of gender in an epithet is due to the substitution of one noun for another, altho the context is in general the same. Thus, as between masc and fem

avasṛṣṭā (TB ApŚ 'tah) *parā pata* RV AV SV VS TS TB Vait ApŚ
AG Followed by

śaravye brahmasamśite (TS 'tā) RV AV SV VS TS *śaro brahmasam-*
śitah TB ApŚ For *śaravyā* TB ApŚ substitute the synonym
śara

ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman RV KS ('surrounding it they pene-
trated into the prison-cave of the kine') *urvīm gavyām pariśadam*
no akran AV (a far-reaching Verballhornung, Whitney, 'they have
made for us a wide conclave rich in kine')

gureh pravartamānakah RV *gīrer avacarantikā* AV Preceded by *kuṣ-*
umbhakas tad abravīt RV, *karnū svāvīt tad abravīt* AV The fem
gender of *śvāvīdh* is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the
dictionaries

§832 As between masc and neut

yam (AV TS ApŚ *yat*) *te devī nṛṛtīr ā bahandha*,
pāśam (AV TS *dāma*) *grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS ŚB *avicṛtyam*, AV *avi-*
mokyam yat),

tam te (AV *tat te*, TS *idam te tad*) *vi śyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS KS
nu madhye, AV *āyuṣe varcase balāya*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB,
and the first in ApŚ MŚ Here the two synonyms are *pāśa* masc
and *dāman* neut

§833 As between fem and neut

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG
yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya MG The latter has a
far-reaching reconstruction, *idam* agrees with *strīpautram*

§834 These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets
apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough More dubious are some
cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes
its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one
form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all A
simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the
late RV hymn 6 75 speaks of the bow as 'father of many daughters'
(arrows?), *bahvīnām* fem, for which MS substitutes 'of many sons',
bahvīnām masc (no one would want many daughters!)

bahvīnām (MS *bahvīnām*) *pūtā bahur asya putrah* RV VS TS MS
KSA ApŚ

§835 In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are
in one or both cases often uncertain Masculine and feminine

tvam uttamāsy ośadhe RV VS *uttamo asy ośadhīnām* AV The AV
6 15 1a repeats RV 10 97 23 with change of gender, apparently
referring to an unnamed plant with masc name (according to the
comm. *palāśu*, but Kauś uses barley)

[*atī dhanveva tān ihi* RV AV SV VS *dadhanveva tā ihi* TA *ndhanveva tān imi* TA The TA repeats the verse in the same context, once recording *tā(s)*, fem, which seems to us to make no possible sense. We believe that it has merely lost final *i* by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added.] *tāsām vīśīnānām* (KS *vīśīnyānām*) MS KS *teṣām vīśiprayānām* (VS ŚB *°nām vo 'ham*) VS TS ŚB Preceded in same verse by *yās* (TS *yeṣām*) *tisrah paramajāh* (MS *prathamajāh*) Reference is to soma-cups (*graha*), and we do not understand the fem, yet note *tisrah* even in TS (The TS comm supplies *praktayah*) Keith ignores the point. Perhaps a fem synonym of *graha*, such as *āsuti*, is understood.

jīvam (ApMB *jīvām* *rudanti vi mayante* (AV *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV *°ram*) RV AV ApMB In an obscure stanza used in the wedding rite, see Bloomfield *AJP* 21 411 ff, Oldenberg *Noten* on 10 40 10. The fem of ApMB surely means the bride, it is still problematic who is meant by *jīvam*.

enām (ŚG *enam*) *kumāras tarunah* AV ŚG, and *enām parīśrutah kumbhah* AV *enam parīśrutah kumbhyā* ŚG The fems refer either to the house (*śālā*) or to the chief post (*sthūnā*), the masc apparently to the latter under its name *sthūnārāja* *utemam paśya* MS MŚ *utemāh pasya* TS See §740.

asyai (TS *asmai*) *saṁ datta vīryam* (TS *bheṣajam*) RV VS TS *asyai* refers to an herb, into which all herbs are to put their healing power, of course for the benefit of the *yajamāna*, to whom TS refers directly with *asmai*.

śvebhīr (AV VSK TS * *śvābhīr*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (Vṛdhe) RV AV VS VSK TS (both) MS KS TB The masc agrees with *pāyubhīh* in the preceding in some texts, in others some such masc (or neut ?) word has to be supplied, or else it is an indefinite, quasi-adverbial neuter. With the fem the AV comm supplies *ūtībhīh*, it might however be considered adverbial.

anu manyatām anumanyamānah (TS *°mānā*) AV TS And *tasya* (TS *tasyai*) *vayam hedaṁ māpi bhūma* AV TS These two *pādas* occur in a hymn addressed to Anumati, to whom the fems refer, the masc forms of AV are well attested but we can explain them no better than Whitney (see his note).

vīśvā (MS *vy*) *amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS *°ṣebhyah*, MS *°ṣānām*) AV MS KS See §573.

saṁ eta tvīśve vacasā (SV *vīśvā ojasā*) *patim dvah* AV SV By *vīśve*

AV undoubtedly means 'all men' Benfey suggests either that *viśvā(h)* is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case masc, or else that *stutayah* is to be supplied with it Ppp is reported by Roth as reading *viśvā*

[*anābho mṛda dhūrta* (MS *dhūrte*, v 1 °ta) MS MŚ · (*quārbhava mṛda*) *dhūrta* (KS °te) *namas te astu* ('stu) KS ApŚ Knauer on MŚ would read *dhūrta* also in MS Rudra is addressed and no voc fem seems possible, if a voc form is concerned it can only be *dhūrta* But *dhūrte* occurs in KS, KapS (4 6 45 1, see Oertel 101), and in two mss and p p of MS The persistence of the form suggests that *dhūrta* is a lect fac Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun *te*, or some sort of noun form, dat sg or loc sg]

[*mūnasya patnī śaranā syonā* AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG. Followed by

[*devī devebhīr nimitāsy agre* AV *devo devebhīr vimitāsy agre* HG The fems *vimitā* and *syonā* are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG, Oldenberg adopts the AV readings]

§836 A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem) to a collective noun such as *senā* 'army', or (in the masc) to the individuals which compose the collectivity Cf §715

indra āsām (AV MS KS *eṣām*) *netā bṛhaspatih* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS The fem pronoun refers to *senāh* 'armies', in the context, the masc to the men who compose them
yuvam tām (SV *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV SV As in prec, here *senā* sing

āmūr aja pratyāvarlayemāh RV VS TS MS KSA *prāmūn jayābhūme jayanu* AV The original *amūr* probably refers to armies (Geldner) Whitney takes the AV form as *amūn*, referring to the individual enemies, but p p *amūm* (comm *śatrusenām*)

nama āvyādhumībhyo vividhyantībhyas (KS *vividhyadbhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding *senā* plu, the masc of KS to the individual members

§837 Masculine and neuter

māleva putram bibhṛtāpsv enat (MS *bibhṛtā sv enat*, TS KS *bibhṛtā sv enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The neut refers to the ashes put into water (mentioned in the context), the masc apparently to Agni, the fire here carried in a pan

vardhamāno (TS °*nam*) *māhān* (TS MS *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS °*ram*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB The half-verse accompanying this one in
 VS 11 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (*puṣkara* or *puṣkaraparna*,
 both neut.) on which is laid a lump of clay representing Agni.
 Our pāda is followed by *divo mātṛayā varinā* (*varimnā*) *prathasva*.
 Mahidhara on VS thinks that *vardhamāno* still refers to the lotus
 leaf, with 'Vedic' change of gender. With Griffith we must rather
 understand Agni, in the form of the lump of clay, as addressed.
 In VS 13 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of
 the āhavanīya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in
 the 2d half verse. TS uses neuters, referring to the lotus leaf as
 in the other half verse.

ya enad veda sa id enad (AV *enam*) *arhatī* RVKh AV The neut. refers
 to *hiraṇyam*, the masc. apparently to an unexpressed *manī* or some
 masc. name of a jewel (Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 669).

svasty uttarān (MS MŚ °*ran*, TS ApŚ °*rāny*) *asiya* TS MS KS ApŚ
 MŚ Used in the shaving ceremony, the neut. we take to refer to
śmaśrūni, with Caland and Henry (otherwise comm. and Keith).
 The masc. pl. (intended also in MS MŚ) may refer to *keśān*, it is
 hardly necessary to emend as Schroeder suggests.

devaśrūr imān (sc. *keśān*) *pravape* MS MŚ *devaśrūr etāni* (sc.
śmaśrūni) *pravape* TS HG As prec.

[*viso* (SV *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Fol-
 lowed by *s-*, doubtless phonetic corruption in TB, cf. VV 2 §381.]
 [*samśīlam kṣatram jṣṇu* (Ppp MS KS TA *kṣatram me jṣṇu*, AV
kṣatram ajaram astu jṣṇuh) AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
jṣṇuh can only be a blunder, VV 2 §381.]

§338 Feminine and neuter

gāthayati pariṣkṛtam (AV °*tā*) RV AV See Oldenberg, *Notes* on
 10 85 6. Apparently the neut. refers to Sūryā's garment (*vāsah*).
 AV makes the fem. refer to Sūryā.

haviṣ (*havih*) *kṛvantah parvatsarinam* (MG °*riyam*, HG † SMB †
 °*rīnām*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG Both Kirste and Jorgensen
 confess inability to interpret the fem., and we can do no better.
 But its occurrence in two texts, of different schools, is very strange.
 [*ya ābābhūva* (PB *āvā*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*!) VS PB JB ŚŚ
 Vait. *viśvāh* is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381),
 the comm. has *viśvāni*.]

§339 Masculine, feminine, and neuter

ūrnamradasam (*ūrṇā*?) *tvā stṛṇāmi* (KS *ūrnamradah prathasva*, Kauś

ūrnamradam prathasva) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *devebhyaḥ*
VS TS KS ŚB TB Kauś ApŚ Masc in TS TB ApŚ (applying to *prastara*), fem in VS ŚB (to *vedṛ*), neut in KS Kauś (to *barhiṣ*?)

11 Transfer of epithet

§840 The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context. These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case, these will not be repeated here. Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms

ulāno (KS °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS °*nm*) *namasū* AV VS VSK TS MS KS

See §399

aṅgāny ahrutā yasya (TS and vikāra of ŚB *yasyai*) VS TS KS ŚB

Followed by *tam mātṛā* (KS *tam devās*, TS and vikāra of ŚB *tām devaḥ*) *sam aṅgamam* (KS *acikṣan*) The masc (original) makes the pronouns refer to the embryo (*garbha*) of the cow, the vikāra of ŚB contemplates the possibility that the embryo will be female (and belongs with §782) TS, on the other hand, contains a genuine and obvious 'transfer of epithet', making the pronouns refer to the cow herself (who, to be sure, is referred to in the stanza only by second person pronouns)

taḍ agnir anumanyatām ayam (PG *iyam svāhā*) PG HG The simpler, and presumably original, reading is *ayam*, referring to Agni, *iyam* is difficult, Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion, Oldenberg renders by 'N N', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom), the comm on PG makes *iyam* agree with *svāhā* as n pr, 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort)'

dvāro devūr anv ayya viśve (MS KS *viśvāḥ*) AV VS TS MS KS The masc *viśve* is a coordinate subject, along with *dvāro*, in MS KS it becomes an epithet of the latter

tām tvam svadhām tair sahopa jīva ApMB *tam svadhām akṣitam tarḥ sahopajīvāsau* HG Most likely HG is original 'upon that (wave, *ūrmi*, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these' ApMB makes the pronoun agree with *svadhām*

kasmā (KS *tasmā*) *deva vaṣad astu tubhyam* VS VSK MS KS ŚB *tasmā ca dev vaṣad* TS The voc masc refers to Prajāpati (or

'Ka'), the fem of TS to Pṛthivī (denoted by *uttānāyāi* in the preceding)

garbham sravantam agadam akah (AŚ *akarma*) TS AŚ ApŚ . *garbham sravantīm agadām akarma* ApŚ *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ MŚ The masc forms go with *garbha*, the fems with *ukhā* (which is clearly understood even when not expressed) *apāsya ye śsindh pāsāh* KS ApŚ *apāsyaś satvanah pāsān* Kauś The fem refers to Nirṛti, preceding, the masc apparently to the yajamāna

indrena dattam prayatam (TS *dattām prayatām*) *marudbhīh* TS MS KS Preceded by *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* (MS *nābhīm*) The masc pples agree with the last word, the fems with *dhārām*

mā hinsīṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB 'Let them not injure the procession as it proceeds' 'let them not injure the procession and her (the bride) that is being carried off'

§841 In some of the above the 'epithet' is in one form more or less independent, in a couple of others it is quite distinctly so, that is not really an 'epithet' of another word at all (cf §15)

pratyāñ ud eṣi mānuṣān (AV * °ṣih) RV AV (both) ArS N Preceded by *pratyāñ devānām viśah* The RV *mānuṣān* = 'humans, men', in AV sc *viśah*

mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣbhīh arcinah (TB *taviṣebhīh ūrmibhīh*) RV TB The orig *taviṣbhīh* is apparently a noun, 'with might', TB feels that a form of the adjective *taviṣa* is required, and supplies *ūrmibhīh*, perhaps recollecting RV 6 61 2

§842 Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter *anāptā yā* (AV *ye*) *vah prathamā* (AV p p °māh) AV KS ApŚ See §552, end

eṣa vasūni pibdnā (SV °nah) RV SV The adj is transferred from *vasūni* to *eṣa* (= Soma)

śambhu mayobhu (TB TA *śambhūr mayobhūr*) *no hrde* RV SV TB TA Kauś N Preceded by *vāta āvātu bheṣajam*, the adjectives go with *bheṣajam*, or with *vātaḥ*

asmin have puruhūtah purukṣuh (AV TS °kṣu) RV AV Ppp TS KS Preceded by *urvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat* (*yachatu*) Transfer from *mahiṣah* to *śarma*

kakubham (*kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (*rūpam ṛṣ*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB In VSK *bṛhan* goes with *śomah* following

codad rādha upastutaś (ArS °*ta*m) *cā* arvāk RV AV ArS MS TB

The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to *rādhas*
tad ayam (MG *idam*) *rājā varuno* 'numanyatām AG SMB PG ApMB
 HG MG In MG *idam* (with *tad*) replaces *ayam* (with *rājā*
varuno)

vīduharās tapa ugro (AV *ugram*) *mayobhūh* RV AV °

matsvā sukīpra (SV °*prī*n) *harīvas tad* (SV *ta*m) *īmahe* RV SV. 'We
 wish that' 'we pray to [thee] here'

yenā samatsu sāsahah (SV °*hi*h, MŚ °*hi*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ The
 original *sāsahah* is a verb form, in SV it becomes an adjective
 epithet of the subject 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in
 battles' In MŚ this adjective is made to go with the preceding
manas

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāni*
 (PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svarākṣānah*, most mss *svarārakṣānah*)
svāhā (MG omits) AG PG MG In MG the first word is
 attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (*bhūtam bhavi-*
ṣyad uta bhadrām astu me), in the others it goes with the 1st person
 subject

dhṛṣṇam (AV °*no*, but Whitney translates °*nam*, AA *dādṛṣṇam*)
dhṛṣṭam (AV °*ta*h, but Whitney translates °*ta*m) *śavah* AV AA
 ŚŚ † The masc forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the sub-
 ject of the preceding pāda, instead of to *śavah* The passage is
 very troublesome

§843 In the next (cf §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an
 independent word, *amṛto* modifies *panthā(h)*, but MS uses *amṛtam* as
 an independent noun, 'nectar'

prānasya panthā amṛto (MS °*ta*m) *grahābhyām* VS MS KS TB

§844 Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter
upasthāsānām mutravat astu ojah TS MS AŚ *upasthāsā mutravatidam*
ojah KS In KS *mutra*° agrees with *āsā*, in the others with *ojah*
tebhīr mā (ApŚ *tābhīr no*, ApMB *tābhīṣ tvā*) *devah savitā punātu* MS.
 ApŚ ApMB Preceded by *śatam pavitrā vitatā hy* (MS *vitatāny*)
āsu (sc *apsu*) The pronoun refers to *pavitrā* in MS, in the others
 to *āsu* (*apsu*)

§845 The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original
 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15), but the reconstruction
 of the secondary ApMB is very sweeping It means 'shine thou for
 my foot-water (*padya*, neut.)' In the original, *padyā* is used as an
 epithet of the noun Virāj

mayi dohah padyāya virājah (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG *mayi
padyāya virājo dohah* ŚG ŚŚ PG *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB

12 Phrase inflection

§846 In many cases variation in gender accompanies and signalizes the adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes several *pādas*, or even an entire verse, is thus readapted. For example, the Rigveda itself contains a verse which is used twice, once in a woman's charm against feminine rivals, and once in a man's charm for dominion and victory. The two verses are practically identical thruout, but the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other. Hence the variants

asapatnā (RV also °*nah*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB ,
followed immediately in both RV and ApMB by

asapatnah sapatnahā RV AV *asapatnā sapatnaghñi* RV ApMB

§847 Such a variation may properly be called a *vikāra* in the technical sense. Many of the variants here included are nothing but technical *vikāras* or *ūhas*, often they appear in the same passage, modulated according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV in a single hymn applies the epithets once to *mitrāvarunau*, masc, and once to (*dyauh* and) *prthivī*, fem

jarāmṛtyum kṛnūtām samvidānau (and °*ne*) AV (both)

§848 We find the following variants of this sort, first some in which all three genders appear

vānaspatyo 'si PB ApŚ MŚ AG *vānaspatyam asi* KS *vānaspatyāsi*
MS ApŚ MŚ

jāgataṁ asi MS TA ApŚ *jāgatāsi* MS *jāgato 'si* MS MŚ Also
gāyatram asi, gāyatro 'si, gāyatro asi, trāṣṭubho 'si, °bham asi

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*) *bhavāti*
(MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viṣurūpā yat salakṣ-*
māno bhavatha TS. See §727

§849 Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted, occur

trpto 'ham MS KS MŚ *trplāham* (v 1 *trpto 'ham*) MŚ. In the last the words are spoken by the *patnī*, it is a simple *ūha* of the other, recollection of which is responsible for the v 1 with masc
tās te (TS MŚ *te nah*) *kṛnvantu bheṣajam* RV AV TS MŚ PG. Different contexts, perhaps not true variants

agnim kulāyam abhīsamvasāntih (ApŚ °*vasānāh*) MS ApŚ *agnim
grhapatim abhīsamvasānāh* TB ApŚ. The entire verse is repeated, with subjects respectively *prajāh* and *paśuvah*.

aido me bhagavo 'janisṭhā maitrāvarunah MS *aidī me bhagavatī aja-*
niṣṭhā maitrāvarunī MS Ūhas, followed by the respective direc-
 tions. *iti pumānsam jātām abhimantrayeta*, and *iti striyam jātām*
abhi° In the same passages the next four

cutrā cutram (and *cutrām*) *asūt* MS ,
cutrās cutrā (and *°rān*) *asuvan* MŚ ,
punyā punyam (MS * *punyām*) *asūt* MS MŚ ,
punyāh punyā (and *°yān*) *asuvan* MŚ

jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛnvatī (and *kṛnvan*) RV (both) To Uṣas
 and Savitar respectively

tām (KS * *tām*) *agne hedah pari te vṛnaktu* VS TS MS KS (both) ŚB
 To Agni and *māyā*, in adjoining stanzas in KS , the others also
 have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of *tām* KS
 has allowed one stanza to influence the other

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) AV MS
 KS *tasya te vayam bhūyasthabhūjo bhūyāsma* ApŚ *tasyās te bhak-*
ṣvānah syāma (MS KS ApŚ †* *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*, AŚ *bhāgam*
asūmahī) MS KS TB ApŚ (bis) AŚ Different contexts

tāns te paridādāmy aham ApŚ *tām te paridādāmy aham* (TA *°dadāmi*)
 TA ApŚ

trir ā divo vidathe patyamānah (and *°mānāh*) RV (both)

tvastṛmantas (MS MŚ *tvastṛi°*, ApŚ *tvastṛu°*) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ *tvastṛimatī* (TS ApŚ *tvastṛi°*, so also TA Poona ed with
 v 1 *tvastṛi°*) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ The fem subject is the
 patnī, see §725

pari tmanā viśurūpo jigāsi (and *°rūpā jigāti*) RV (both)

visvair devair anumatā (KS TA *°tam*) *marudbhīh* AV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TA Different context in TA , on KS see §817

indrāya somam suṣutam bharantah (and *°tīh*) RV (both)

asmeva tvam sthūrā (Ppp MG ApMB * HG † * [1 4 1b] *sthūro*) *bhava*
 Ppp (for AV *aśmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB
 HG MG The fem to the bride, the masc in different context
 to a boy

pari dhatta dhatta no varcasemam AV *pari dhatta dhatta vīśasainām*
 (HG ApMB *°nam*) SMB HG ApMB As prec

śatāyusaṁ (SMB *°ṣīm*) *kṛnuta dūrgham āyuh* SMB ApMB HG As prec
āyusmatīdam pari dhatsva vāsaḥ AV SMB PG MG *āyusmann idam*
 MG *āyusmān idam* ApMB HG As prec

upahūto 'yam yajamānah () TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *upa-*
hūteyam yajamānā TB The whole of the second passage in TB
 is a *vikāra* of the other It contains the next six

- divye dhāmann* ("many) *upahūtah* (TB * "hūṭa) TS MS TB *
ultarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtah (TB * "iā) TS ŚB TB
tasminn upahūtah (TB * "iā) MS TB AŚ ŚŚ
upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarane (haviḥk") MS AŚ ŚŚ - *bhūyasi haviṣkarana*
upahūtah (TB * "iā) TS † 2 6 7 5, TB (bis) ŚB
viśvasya priyasyopahūtasypahūtah (and "iā) TB (both)
viśvam asya (TB * *asyāh*) *priyam upahūtam* TS TB (both)
vṛṣāsi vṛṣṇyāvan (Kauś "vatī) AV † Kauś † Different contexts, tho
 both in rites for virile power, AV addresses the man concerned,
 Kauś the magic herb
vṛām vahanāto (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahanāti*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānāh* AŚ ApŚ
 AG ŚG ApMB MG *vṛām vahanāh sumanasyamānāh* HG See
 §739
iśānam vāryānām RV AV SV TS MS KS JB *iśānā* (sc *āpah*)
vāryānām RV AV MS TB TA
mayi puṣṭim (AV *puṣṭam*) *†puṣṭipati* (AV *puṣṭa*) *dadhātu* (AG
†dadātu) AV MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB *mayi*
puṣṭim puṣṭipatnī dadhātu KS The latter in a different context
yatamānā (and "no) *raśmibhūh sūryasya* RV (both)
rākāyā aham devayajyayā prajāvān (and "vatī) *bhūyāsam* ApŚ (both)
 Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining
 passages In the same the following
snīvālyā aham devayajyayā paśumān ("matī) *bhūyāsam*, and
kuhūā aham devayajyayā puṣṭimān pasumān (*puṣṭimatī pasumatī*) *bhū*"
rodena kṛvatīr ("vaty, "vanto) *agham* AV (ter)
vṛṣūcīm (and *vṛṣvañcam*) *vi vṛhāmasi* AV (both)
śvāh śagmo bhavāsi nah TB ApŚ *śvā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB ApŚ
samvatsarasya śaṣṭhah (TS * KS * *śaṣṭhi*) TS KSA Both in a series
 of formulas, with the masculines different parts (*avayava*, m) of
 the shoulder are offered, with the fems various ribs (*vañkrī*)
vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, v 1 *cāryo*, HG *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi*
(bhṛjāsi, bhajā sa) jīvan AV SMB HG ApMB See §334
sa cakārārasam (and *sā cakarhārasam*) *viṣam* AV (both)
sa jīva śaradaḥ śātam ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG
 MG N Mbh *sā jīva śaradaś śātam* ApMB An ūha
samjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV AV SV N *samjagmānā abibhyuṣṭh* (MS
avikrutāh) AV MS
sa (and *sā*) *no viśvā atī divyah* RV (both)
sā (HG *sa*) *mām ā viśatād iha* (MG *viśatām iha*) ApMB HG MG,
 and RVKh Scheftelowitz 10 151 3d

sa (and sā) no *dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ *suvīram*) TB ApŚ MŚ (both in all texts) Ūhas, in same passages

sumṛḍikān abhūṣṭaye RV TS MS *sumṛḍikām abhi°* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

yasmād bhūta (bhūto) *niṣīdasi* MŚ (both)

yantrā rāḥ TS KSA TB *yantrī rāḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

And, in same passages

yantrāṣi yamanah VS TS KS KSA ŚB TB *yantry aṣi yamanī* (TS *yamutrī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

sa (AV *sā*) *nah sarma trivārūtham vi yansat* (AV *ni yachāt*) RV AV MS KS TB ApŚ

ūrdhvām enām (VS * ŚB * LŚ * *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (*chrāpaya*) VS * TS MS KSA ŚB * TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ * ApŚ In same passages the next

athāsyar (TS MS TB °*syā*, KSA *adhāsyā*, VS * LŚ * *athāsyā*) *madhyam edhatām* (*edhatu*, *ejatu*, *ejati*) VS * TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ *

ut tṣṭha (VS ŚB KŚ *utthāya*) *bṛhati* (TA *bṛhan*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA MŚ Followed by

ūrdhvā (TA °*vas*, VS ŚB *ud u*) *tṣṭha dhrwā* (TA °*vas*) *tvam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

yamena tvam yanyā samvidānā (TA * °*nah*) VS TS † MS KS † ŚB TA (bis) The fem of all but TA applies to Nirṛti In the two TA passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed, the form should according to the sense be masc both times Yet once TA reads *samvidānottamam* (combining with *uttamam*, first word of the next pāda), for which the comm says *samvidānā samvidāna aikamatyam prāptah* Here we must either understand *samvidānah* with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts

amṛtā martyebhyah RV *amṛtam martyābhyah* TB ApŚ

soruh satī na nivartate TA *uruh san na nivartate* TA Ūhas, in adjoining passages

anīśītāṣi sapatnakṣit VS *anīśītāh* (KS ApŚ add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīh* MS KS ApŚ *anīśīto 'sī sapatnakṣit* VS ŚB

bhavaṭi bhikṣām dehi Kauś *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS *yusmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV The next is in the same passage

uttham śreyo manyamānedam āgamam AV *idam śreyo manyamāno vā āgām* MS

ugrāś ca bhīmaś ca VS MS MŚ *ugrāś ca bhīmāś ca* TA
apadyamānah prthivyām TA ApŚ *apadyamānā †prthivī* TS ApŚ
avyathamānā prthivyām (MS v 1 °vī) VS MS KS ŚB
adharācīh (AV *adharāñcam*) *parā suva* AV VS MS KS
āsāsānā (TS * ApŚ * MŚ * °nah) *saumanasam* (TS * ApŚ * *suṁtryam*)
 AV TS * KS TB Vait ApŚ * MŚ * ApMB
edhamānah (Kauś °nah, ApMB °na) *svagrhe* (Kauś *sve grhe*, ApMB
sve vaśe) ŚB BrhU Kauś ApMB *edhamānā sve grhe* (HG *vaśe*)
 ApMB HG On the m (sg or pl) see §725 The fem is used in
 a different context
niveśanī samgamani vasūnām TS *niveśanah samgamano vasūnām* AV
 VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *rāyo budhnaḥ samgamano vasū-*
nām RV
adītur achinnapatrā priyā (and *achinnapatrah priyo*) *devānām* KS
 (both) Ūhas, in same passage
etā u tyāh praty adṛśran purastāt RV *etā u tye praty adṛśran* RV
sā (AB *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (and the like) KS AB JUB ŚB BrhU
 AG ŚG PG ApMB MG The fem (original) refers to the bride,
 the masc to the purohita, whose relation to his king is paralleled
 to that of wife to husband In the same passages
amo 'ham asmi sā (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB etc *amūham asmi sā*
tvam TB ApŚ ApMB HG
svāsasthaḥ (TS °sthā) *tanuvā samvīśasva* TS TB ApŚ
asmin goṣṭhe karīṣinīh (Kauś °nah, MS *purīṣinīh*) AV MS Kauś
 Originally referring to cows, used in Kauś in a new context, refer-
 ring to *grhāh*

§860 Phrase inflection, masculine and neuter

tasmin ma etat suhutam astu prāśūtram GB Vait *tasmin ma eṣa suhuto*
'stv odanah Kauś As in §846, an entire verse is here adapted to
 different contexts Followed by
tan (Kauś *sa*) *mā mā hinsīt parame vyoman* GB Vait Kauś
anādhr̥ṣṭāsa (ŚŚ °jāny) *ojasā* RV ŚŚ
bārhaspatyam asī MŚ *bārhaspatyo 'sī* PB
vāji tvā ApŚ MŚ *vājīnam tvā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
ado yad avadhāvati AV *ado* (adverb) *gīrbhyo adhi yat* (conjunction)
pradhāvasi TB *asau yo 'vasarpati* VS TS MS KS *amī ye ke*
sarasyakā avadhāvati HG ApMB Diff contexts, hardly variants
amṛtam asī VS TS MS etc *amṛto 'sī* SMB Hardly variants
ghṛtād ulliptam madhumat suvarnam (AV *madhunā samaktam*) RVKh
 AV *ghṛtād ullupto madhumān payasvān* AV In this and the

next two (same stanza) we have adaptation of almost an entire verse, the masc words refer to an amulet of *darbha*-grass, the neuters to a 'triple' amulet called *trivṛt*, neut
bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutāś cyāvayṣṇuh AV *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam pārayṣṇu* AV *dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayṣṇu* RVKh See prec and next
bhūdat (AV * *nudan*, RVKh *ṛnak*, 10 128 10) *sapatnān adharānś ca kṛnval* (AV * *kṛnvan*), same (see prec)
akṣitam asī mā pūṇām ApMB HG BDh *akṣito 'sy akṣityar tvā mā* TS GB Vait MŚ Cf *akṣitar asī ma* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ *taj* (RV *tā*, see §727) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *tam juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV
tad asman pātu vṣvatah AV *so asmān pātu sarvatah* AV *so asmān sarvatah pātu* AV
tat te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcase balāya AV *tam te badhnami jarase svastaye* AV *tam te badhnāmy ayuṣe* (and *āyuṣe varcase*) AV
tena (and *tais*) *tvam garbhāni bhava* HG (both) *tena* is masc (*garbha*), *tais* neut (*vīryāni*)
viṣūcīnan (VSK °*na*) *vyasyatām* (VSK °*tāt*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Diff context in VSK
satyam (RV °*yaś*) *citraśravastamam* (RV °*mah*) RV TS KS
§851 Phrase inflection, feminine and neuter
sam asya (Kaus *asyar*) *tanvā* (*tanuva*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ Kaus
na vi jānamī (AB *jananti*) *yatarat* (AV °*ru*) *parastat* AV AB IB *viṣṭhatah* (AV °*ta*) *prthwīm anu* RV AV VS AB TB SMB
taya (and *tena*) *sapatnān pari vṛndhī ye mama* AV (both) Modulations, in the same hymn
prthwyā adhy udbhṛtam (and °*ta*) AV (both)
subhagamkaranī mama AV *subhāgamkaranam mama* SMB †

§852. The following variants hardly belong here but may be added as an appendix because superficially they look like gender variants. In reality they are variations between (relatively) primary nouns and derivatives thereof. In the first two, *gāyatrī* is the name of the meter, while *gāyatra* is the adjective derived from it, meaning 'of the *gāyatrī* (meter)' In the third, *gayatra* is the name of the *sāman* so called (fundamentally, of course, the neuter of the adjective just mentioned), while *gāyatrī* may either be felt as adjectival ('the wheel, *vartanī*, of the *gāyatra-sāman* [of the *gāyatrī*?]'), or as an appositional noun ('the *gāyatrī* [meter] as wheel')

432 VEDIC VARIANTS III NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

valsam gāyatrīm anu tā ihāguh AV *gāyatram valsam anu tās ta āguh* TB
gāyatram chando anu samrabhadhvam MS *gāyatrīm chandānsy anu*
samrabhantām KS ApŚ (Add to VV 1 §337) The latter means
 'the *gāyatrī* (and the other) meters'
pāvamānasya (TS KS *pāvamānena*) *tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS °*tryā*)
vantanyā TS MS KS See §586
pāvamānyah (ŚG °*nāh*) AG ŚG Sc *lrpyantu* 'The *pāvamāni* hymns
 the (r̥sis) of the p hymns'

INDEXES

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Note —The detailed Table of Contents makes it unnecessary to furnish to this volume an extensive index of subjects or of words. We have tried to include in this and the next index all entries which are likely to be really useful to users of the book, but no others. It is our belief that all subjects and words treated in the book which are not here listed can easily be located, either from the Table of Contents, or from the index of mantras, which is complete. References in all the indexes are to sections.

- Adverbs, 43-6, 67-9, 83, 96, 106-9, 113,
122 (*see these sections for other refer-
ences*)
- Articular relative, *see* Relative
- Assimilation (Attraction), of Case-
forms, 17-20, 85, 323, 335-6, 347-9,
359, 363, 365, 367, 394-9, 424, 444,
453, 473, 549, 557, 564, 569, 576,
585-6, 659, 668, of other forms
(number or gender), 17-20, 118, 741,
773-7, 783, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796,
798, 800, 802
- Attraction, *see* Assimilation
- Case attraction, *see* Assimilation
- Compound nouns bahuvrīhis and
karmadhārayas, 58, 124, 413, 470,
829, dvandvas, 115, 124, 744-51,
āmreditas, 687
- Dedicatory expressions, 126 (*q v for
other references*)
- Form assimilation or attraction, *see*
Assimilation
- Infinitives, dative, 183, 238, 424, 631,
ablative, 659
- Kāthaka Samhitā use of *au* and *ā* in
dual, 131f, *ai* and *ās* as gen (dat),
141, 151
- Maitrāyaṇīya school *ai* and *ās* as gen
(dat), 141, 151
- Meter, 153-8, 161-7, 169-71, 258, 272,
274-8, 292-3, 301-3, 306, 309, 311-4
- Phrase inflection, 21-2, 329, 332, 346,
355, 364, 384-8, 427, 434, 452, 475,
518, 555, 566, 609, 635, 669, 739,
764-6, 846-51
- Pronouns, substantive, 113, 121, 123,
730, 776, 812, 826
- Relative, articular, 20, 338, 394-7, 426,
433
- Rigveda and its school use of *au* and
ā in dual, 128ff
- Taittiriya school *ai* and *as* as gen
(dat), 141, 151, forms of *i*, *ī* stems,
175a, 188-9, 198-9, of *u*, *u* stems,
230, of *r* stems, 252-3
- Transfer of epithet, 14-6, 340, 350-1,
357, 360, 368, 370, 400-3, 415-7,
428-30, 435-6, 446-8, 454-6, 476-7,
489-92, 497-9, 520-2, 552-4, 567,
590-1, 610, 683, 737-8, 762-3, 840-5
- Vājasaneyin school *ai* and *ās* as dat
(gen), 141, 151
- Vājasaneyin school (Kānva) *ai* and
ās as dat (gen), 141

INDEX OF WORDS AND STEMS

See note to Index to Subjects

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>akṣī-, 189
 anye, <i>acc pl</i> (?), 717
 ami, <i>nom dual</i>, 320
 arīr, 177
 asrīvi-, °vi-, 199
 āśīrdāyā, 174
 āṣṭri, 211
 oṣadhi-, °dhi-, 191-3
 takari-, °ri-, 190
 tanvam (<i>loc</i>), 249
 tubhya, 315
 tubhyam (<i>gen</i>), 624
 te (<i>acc</i> ?), 483 (tvaṣṭrmantas), 511
 (ā te agna)
 tve, 316
 dive, 295, 678
 dyaus (<i>gen</i>), 290
 na ki, nakis, 810, 820-1
 nāvayā, 289
 pati-, 219
 patni, 202</p> | <p>parvatī-, °ti, 200
 pavā, pavayā, 174
 bhūmī-, 180
 mahinām, 215
 me (<i>acc</i> ?), 488 (sa tvā)
 yuvabhyām, 317
 yuṣmān (<i>gen</i> ?), 318
 yuṣmās, 803
 rātri-, 194-7, 206
 lakṣmī, 208
 varutri-, varū°, 198
 viśve, <i>nom sg</i> (?), 731
 āri-, 199, 208-9
 āronī-, 185, 189
 śvani-, °ni-, 199
 śvāvidh, <i>fem</i>, 831
 sumnayā, 246
 sūri, 178
 skambhani-, °ni-, 201
 svāveśā, °śayā, 174, 415</p> |
|--|--|

INDEX OF MANTRAS

References are to sections

- aśśum (aśśūn) gabhasī (babhasī) harī-
tebhīr āsabhī, 699
- aśsau grīvās ca śronyau (śronī), 185
- aśhoś cid asmā urucakrīr abdhutah,
739
- aśhoś cid urucakrayah ("yo 'neha-
sah), 739
- akāś su (sa) lokam sukṛtam pṛthi-
vyāh ("vyām), 671
- akūpārasya dāvane ("nah), 631
- aktor vyusṭau paritakmyāyāh ("yām),
678
- akṣaṇs tān, 739
- akṣatam ariṣṭam ilādam, 393
- akṣatam aśy ariṣṭam ilānam gopāya-
nam, 393
- akṣaram brahma sammitam, 326, 526
- akṣare brahmasammitē, 326, 526
- akṣitāś aśy mā , 625, 850
- akṣitir aśy , 625, 850
- akṣitūś ca me kūyavās ca me, 706, 795
- akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā , 625,
850
- akṣyoś (akṣnoś) cakṣuh, 281
- akṣidrah prajā abhivipaśya, 402
- aganma mahā (maho) namaś yaviṣ-
ṭham, 416
- aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh (pra-
taram na āyuh), 381
- agna āyasya vyantu vauphak, 341
- agnaya upāhvayadhvam, 339, 691
- agnaye 'nhome 'stākāpālāh (puro-
dāśam etc), 376
- agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rāthamtarā-
yāṣṭākāpālāh (etc), 376
- agnaye tvā, 618
- agnaye prahriyamānāyānubhūhī, 769
- agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśākāpālāh,
376
- agnaye vo juṣṭam (juṣṭān) prokṣāmi
, 734
- agnaye samidham āhārṣam (ahā°), 30,
358
- agnaye svāhā, 126, 485
- agnaye sviṣṭākṛte svāhā, 691
- agnā u vasuvane , 684
- agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam, 745
- agnih prātaḥsavane ("savanāt) pātv
asmān, 664
- agnim ratham na vedyam, 348, 387
- agnim śukrena śociṣā, 387
- agnim sa ṛ hatu yo maitasyai ("syā)
diśo 'bhīdāsatī, 149
- agnim sa diśām devam devatānām
ṛ hatu yo maitasyai , 149
- agnim samādhichī, 691
- agnim sudīpate chardih, 393
- agnim sruco adhvarṣu prayatsu, 399
- agnim svāhā, 126, 485
- agnim hotāram iha (upa) tam huve, 393
- agnim kulāyam abhisamviśantīh
("vasānāh), 849
- agnim gr̥hapatim abhisamvasānāh, 849
- agnim jyotir nīcāyā, 509
- agnināgnih samvadatām, 326
- agnināyasya vyantu vauphak, 341
- agninā tapo 'nv abhavat (ā°), 390
- agninetrehhyo devabhyaḥ purasād-
bhyaḥ svāhā, 426
- (om) agnim tarpayāmi, 39, 126, 373
- agnibhyaḥ prahriyamānēbhyo 'nub-
rūhī, 768
- agnibhyaḥ sviṣṭākṛdbhyaḥ svāhā, 691
- agnibhyām prahriyamānābhyām anub-
rūhī, 768
- agnim agnau svāhā, 485
- agnim adya hotāram avṛnitāyam
yajamānāh purodīśam ("dāśān)
, 694, 768
- agnim adya hotāram (avṛnitām imau
yajamānau , avṛnateme yaja-
mānāh), 694, 768

agnim ājyasya vetu vaujhaḥ, 341
 agnim indram vṛtrahanā huve 'ham
 ('hanam huvema), 748
 agnim ide pūrvacittim (pūrvacittau)
 namobhīh, 554
 agnim bharantam (bharantā) asma-
 yum, 402
 agnir annādo 'nnapatir mayi dad-
 hītu (yajamānāya dadātu) svāhā,
 641
 agnir ājyasya vetu vaujhaḥ, 341
 agnir āyusmān tena tvāyusāyus-
 mantam karomi (tasyāyam āyusā-
 yusmān astv asau), 588
 agnir ukthena vāhasā, 601, 690
 agnir uktheṣv anhasu, 601, 690
 agnir ekākṣarayā vācam udajayat, 808
 agnir ekākṣarena prānam (vācam)
 udajayat, 808
 agnir etu prathamō devatābhyah, 90,
 656
 agnir aitu prathamō devatānām, 90,
 656
 agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām
 adāt, 310
 agnir janitā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadatu
 svāhā, 310
 agnir jyotir jyotir agnih, 457
 agnir devesu pra vora, 337
 agnir daivīnam (ha daiv°) viśām
 puraetāyām ('yam sunvan) yaja-
 māno manuyānām, 695
 agnir daivīnam viśām puraeteme sun-
 vanto yajamānā manuyānām, 695
 agnir nah (mā) patu durtād avadyāt,
 724
 agnir nas tasmād indraś ca, 724
 agnir nas tasmād enasah, 724
 agnir nas tebhyo rakṣatu, 723
 agnir manyum pratinudan purastāt,
 343
 agnir mā tasmād indraś ca, 724
 agnir mā tasmād enasah, 724
 agnir mā tebhyo rakṣatu, 723
 agnir mā pātu, see agnir nah
 agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām, 339,
 691
 agnir yaśfedam namaḥ, 330

agnir vṛtrāṇi jañghanat (a° vṛtreti),
 167
 agnir ha daivīnam, see agnir daivī-
 nām
 agnir haviḥ (havyam) śamitā sūda-
 yāti (svadayatu), 689
 agnir havyāni śivadat, 163, 689
 agnir havyā suśūdati, 163, 689
 agnir hotā vetv (vettv) agnir (agner)
 hotram, 326, 447
 agnir hotāśvinādhvaryū (śvināv
 adhvaryū), 136
 agnir hotopa tam huve, 393
 agnir śukrena śociṣi, 397
 agnis tad dhotā kratuvid vijānan
 (janūnām), 449
 agniṣ tad viśvam ('vād) ā prnāti ('tu)
 vidvān, 402
 agniṣ tām (tām, tām) lokāt pra nudāty
 ('tv, nudatv) asmāt, 326
 agniṣ tām asmāt pra nunottu lokāt,
 326
 agnis tigmena śociśā, 329
 agnis tṛpyatu, 39, 126, 373
 agnih samkusikāś ca yuh, 433, 450, 669
 agnih sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā,
 232, 336
 agnih suditaye chardih, 393
 agnih sruco adhvaṣu prayakṣu, 399
 agnih sviṣṭakṛd yajñasya, 445
 agni indrā vṛtrahanā huve vām, 748
 agnin samādhehi, 691
 agni ratho na vedyah, 348, 387
 agniṣomayor aham devayajayā rak-
 ṣusmān (vṛtrahā) bhūyāsam, 36, 445
 agniṣomābhyām chāgasya vapūyāi
 medaso 'nubūhi, 142
 agniṣomābhyām (tvā), 618
 agniṣomau vṛtrahanau tayor (vṛtra-
 haṇāv agniṣomayor) aham deva-
 yajayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam, 36, 445
 agne agninā samvadasva, 326
 agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva, 339,
 691
 agne gṛhapate sugṛhapatir aham tvayā
 (with varr) gṛhapatinā ('patyā)
 bhūyāsam, 219
 agne gṛtenābūta ('taḥ), 337

- agne jātān pra nudā naḥ (me) sapat-
nān, 724
- agne tān asmatī pra nudasva lokāt, 326
- agne tigmena śociṣā, 329
- agne tvam yonim āsida sādhyā, 784
- agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti (°ti,
°śrito) divas (divah) pṛthivyoh, 220
- agne dakṣaiḥ puniḥi nah (mā), 112,
724
- agne 'dabdhāyo pāhi prasityai
(°tyāh) pāhi durīṣṭyai (°ṣṭyāh) pāhi
duradmanyai (°nyāh), 150
- agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva
(ikṣva), 510, 703
- agne deveṣu pra vocah, 337
- agnāḥ (agne) patnivan (vākpātni,
patnīvāḥ), 265
- agne prāyaścite (prāyaścittir asi) ,
339
- agne balada saha ojah kramamānāya
me dā abhiśastikṛte 'nabhiśaste-
nyāyāsyai janatāyāi (°syā janatā-
yāh) , 146
- agne 'bhīyāvartinn abhi mā ni var-
tasva (māvartasva, na ā vartasva,
no nivartasva, na ā vavṛtsva), 724
- agne manyum pratnudan pareṣām,
333
- agne yan me tanvā ūnam (yan ma
ūnam tanvas) tan ma ā pṛna, 239
- agne yaṣṭar idam namah, 330
- agner akṣvann uśijo amṛtyave, 420,
445
- agner akṣnah kaninakam (°kām,
°nikām), 789
- agner agne puro agnir (agne) bhaveha,
335
- agne ratham na vedyam, 348
- agner anuvratā bhūtā, 53, 57, 506
- agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavah, 420,
445
- agner aham sviṣṭakṛto , 445
- agner jīhvām abhi (jīhvābhi, jīhva-
yābhi) grṇitam (grṇata), 174, 473
- agner jīhvāsi suhūr (supūr, subhūr)
devebhyaḥ (devānām), 616
- agner jyotir nicāyāya, 509
- agner vasuvane , 684
- agner vām apannagṛhasya (vo 'pan-
nagṛhasya) sadasi sādāyāmi, 766
- agne vākpātni , see agnāḥ (under
agne) patnivan
- agne viśvāni duritā tarema, 163
- agne vihi, 326
- agne vaiśvānara (°rah) śvāhā, 340
- agneś cāsi brahmacārīn mama ca, 334
- agneṣ tvā mātrayā jāgatyā vartanyā
jivūtva, 142, 238, 586
- agne sadakṣah satanur (°nūr) hi
bhūtā, 232, 336
- agne samidham āhāṣam, 30, 358
- agne samrād iṣe rāye (rayai) rama-
sya , 288
- agnes tvā mātrayā jagatya (°tyā)
vartanyā jivūtave, 142, 238, 586
- agne svam (svām) yonim ā sida sūd-
hyā (sādhyā), 784
- agneh samkasukā ca yat, 433, 450,
669
- agneh sviṣṭakṛto 'ham , 445
- agne hotāram avṛnimahiha, 349
- agnāḥ patnivan (etc) , see agne
- agnau jyotir jyotir agnau, 457
- agnau vā tvā gārhapatyē 'bhiceruh, 458
- agnau samkasuke ca yat, 433, 450, 669
- agra imam yajñam nayatāgre yajñā-
patim dhātva, 530
- agra imam adya yajñam nayatāgre
yajñapatim , 530
- agram yajñam nayatāgram yajñapā-
tim, 530
- agram vṛkṣasya rohatah, 529
- agrenir asi svāveśa unnitnām, 252
- agre vṛkṣasya kṛdatah, 529
- aghat tam, 730
- aghadviṣṭā devajātā, 699
- aghaṣṭām tam, 739
- aghāya bhūma harivah parādai (°dai),
565
- aghāsu hanyante gāvah, 107, 596
- aghorah prajā abhivipaśya, 402
- añkāṅkam (añkāñ añkum, añkāñkam)
chandaḥ, 136
- añkau nyañkāñ (añkā nyankū, añkū
nyañkāñ) abhito ratham yau (ye),
134

aṅgabhedam aṅgaḥvaram, 387
 aṅgabhedo aṅgaḥvaro, 387
 aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomnah, 669
 aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni ('sthini) ca me, 281
 aṅgāny ahrutā yasya ('syai), 840
 aṅgāny ātman bhīṣajā tad aśvinā, 59, 104, 462, 536, 605
 aṅgā parūṇṣi tava vardhayanti, 164, 311
 aṅgirasō dhīṇyair agnibhiḥ, 172
 aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñeyebhiḥ, 170
 aṅgirobhir yajñiyair ā gahiḥ, 170
 aṅgulayah śakvarayo diśāś ca me yajñena kalpanām, 202
 aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni, 669
 aṅgebhyo me varcodāḥ pavasva, 778
 aṅgebhyo (me varcodau varcase pave-thām), 778
 aṅgair ātmānam bhīṣajā tad aśvinā, 59, 104, 462, 536, 605
 aṅgoṣinam avāśasanta vānīḥ, 522
 aṅgrinā viśno ('ṣnū) mā tvāva (vāmava) kramiṣam, 745
 acittibhiś cakrmāś kac cid āgah, 417
 acitti yat (acittiyā cet) tava dharmā yuyopima, 216
 achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīḥ, 403, 467
 achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (ghṛtācit), 403, 467, 694
 achidram śarma yachata, 350, 402
 achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuh, 164
 achidrām tvāchidrena juṣṭam (juṣṭām) gr̥hnāmi, 517
 achidrām pārayiṣnum ('ṣnūm), 297
 achidrāḥ śarma yachata, 350, 402
 achidrośijah kavayah padāni ('ānu) takṣiṣvat ('iṣuh), 164
 achinnapatrāḥ ('trah) prajā anuvik-ṣasva, 402
 ajanti vahnim sadanāny aha, 540
 ajasram tvām (tvā) sabhāpālāḥ, 308
 ajā hy agner ajaniṣṭa garbhāt, 779
 ajijano amṛta martyeṣv ā (martyāyakaṁ), 653, 701
 ajijapatendram vājam, 488
 ajo bhāgas ('bhāgas) tapasā ('śas) tam tapasva, 587

ajo hy agner ajaniṣṭa śokāt, 779
 ata inoṣi karvarā purūṇi, 164
 ata invata karvarāni bhūri, 164
 atandro havyā (havyam) vahasī haviṣkrte, 689
 ataś ca viśvā (sarvā) ośadhayo rasāś ('śas) ca, 704
 atas tvā rayim abhi (rayir abhy ayat), 393
 atas tvā viṣnuh pātu, 308
 atikrāmanto duritā padāni (duritāni viśvā), 161
 atichandasam chanda indriyam, 399
 atichandā indriyam (atichandāś chanda indriyam) brhat, 399
 atī didyūn (divas) pāhi, 291
 atī dyūn pāhi, 291
 atī dhanveva tān ibi, 835
 atī viśvāni duritā tarema ('tāni par-ṣan, etc.), 163
 atō devī prathamānā prthag yat, 336
 ato matir ('tim) janayata svadhābhīḥ, 690
 attu tṛnāni, 699
 aty acittim aty arātim agne (atī nirṛtim adya), 706
 aty acittir atī dviṣah, 706
 atrā yamah sādānā ('nāt) tō minotu, 496, 698
 atrāsata ṛṣayah sapta śākam, 519
 atrinā tvā krime hanmi, 703
 atrivad vah krimayo ('vat tvā krime) hanmi, 703
 atha jiviri (jivir) vidatham ā vadāsi, 178
 atharvane svāhā, 740
 atharvabhyah (svāhā), 740
 atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ, 699
 atha viśve arapā edhate gr̥hah, 457, 731
 athā jivri vidatham ā vadāsi, 178
 athā tvam aśi samkr̥tiḥ, 714
 athā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta ('tana), 313, 318a, 639
 athā mano vasudcyaḥ kr̥ṣva, 637
 athā yūyam stha samkr̥tiḥ, 714
 athā śatakratvo ('to) yūyam, 229a, 699
 athā somasya prayati yuvabhyām, 317

- athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dad-
 hāta, 313, 318a, 639
 athāsmabhyam sahavīrām ("vīram)
 rayīm dāh, 785
 athāśya madhyam ejatu, 849
 athāśyai ("syā) madhyam edhatām
 (elc), 622, 849
 athemam enam pra hinutāt pitrnr
 upa, 481
 atheme anya upare vicakṣaṇam ("ṇe),
 553
 athem enam pra hīnutāt pitrbhyah,
 481
 athaitān aṣṭau virūpān (athaitān arū-
 pebhya) ālabhate, 489
 athaite dhīṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthā-
 nam kalpantām ihaiva svāhā 155
 athainam jarimā nayet, 431
 athaisām bhinnakah kumbhah, 380
 atho ariṣṭatātaye, 558, 704
 atho ariṣṭatātubhih, 558, 704
 atho jīva śaradah śatam, 515
 atho tvam asi niṣkr̥tiḥ, 714
 atho bhinadmi tam kumbham, 390
 atho yatheme dhīṣṇyāso agnayo
 yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva,
 155
 atho yūyam stha niṣkr̥tiḥ, 714
 atho yonir hiranyai, 784
 atho rājann uttamam mānavānām, 367
 adabdhena tvā cakṣuṣā , 739
 adabdhena vaś cakṣuṣā , 739
 aditaye svāhā, 182
 aditih keśān vapatu, 326
 aditih pāśam ("śān) pra mumoktv
 etam (etān), 703
 aditīm sa yo maitasyai ("syā) dīśo
 'bhīdāsati, 149
 aditir achinnapatrā priyā (achinna-
 patrah priyo) devānām , 849
 aditir adhipatir ("patny) āsit, 806
 aditih śmaśru vapatu, 326
 aditis sadohavir dhānābhyaṁ, 755
 adite keśān (keśāśmaśru) vapa, 326
 adityā uṇīṣam asi, 795
 adityāh ("tyai) pañcamī, 143
 adityāh ("tyai) pājasyam, 141, 143
 adityā ("tyai) dvādaśī, 143
 adityā ("tyai) bhasat, 143
 adityā ("tyai, "ter) bhāgo 'sī, 147, 184
 adityā ("tyai) rāśnāsi, 147
 adityā va upasthe sādāyāmi, 714
 adityās tvopasthe sādāyāmi, 714
 adityāh ("tyai) sada āsīda, 147
 adityāh sadane sīda, 147
 adityai , see adityā(h)
 adityai viṣṇupatnyai carum ("ruh),
 376
 adityai svāhā, 182
 adurmañgalih ("li) patilokam ā viśa
 (viśemam), 206
 adṛghathāh śarkarābhīs trivīṣṭapī
 (tribhṛṣṭibhih), 610
 ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi,
 739, 850
 ado devī ("vī) prathamānā prthag
 yat, 336
 ado māgachatu (ma āga), 478
 ado yad avadhāvati, 739, 850
 ado yad devī prathamānā purastāt, 336
 addhi tṛṇam aghnye viśavadānim, 699
 addhi viśvasya bhartṛibhih 805
 addhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛibhih, 805
 addhyah sambhūtah prthivyai rasāc
 ca, 150, 437
 addhyah sambhṛtah prthivyai ("vyā)
 rasāc ca (rasah), 150, 437
 adharācīh parā suva, 739, 849
 adharāñcam parā suva, 739, 849
 adhā cid indra me (nālī) sacā, 724
 adhā jivri vidatham ā vadathah, 178
 adhā jivema śaradam śatāni, 515
 adhā nah śam yor arapo dadhata,
 313, 318a, 639
 adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛnuṣva, 637
 adbāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi,
 535
 adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gr̥he, 457
 adhā śatakratavo ("tavo, "to) yūyam,
 229a, 699
 adhā somasya prayati yuvābhyām
 (yuva), 317
 adhāśyā madhyam edhatām, 622, 849
 adhi kṣami prataram didhyānah, 823
 adhi kṣami viṣurūpam (kṣamā viśva")
 yad asti (asya, āsta), 69, 107, 598

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (dhṛṣṇum ojasā), 470
 adhvana skabhñita (skabhnuvantah), 698
 adhvanām adhvpate pra mā tira svasti me 'amin pathi devayāne bhūyāt, 339, 698, 724
 adhvanām adhvpate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanah (śreṣṭhasyādhvanah, śraṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah) pāram aśīya, 446
 adhvanām adhvpate svasti me 'dyāmin devayāne pathi bhūyāt, 339, 698, 724
 adhvano adhipatir aśi svasti no 'dyāmin devayāne pathi stāt (syāt), 339, 698, 724
 adhvarakṛtam ('kṛd) devehhyah, 393
 adhvanam skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāh, 698
 anadvāns tapyate vahan (talpate vahān), 256
 anadvān gaur vayo dadhuh, 399
 anadvāham gām vayo dadhat, 399
 anamitram na uttarāt, 498
 anamitram no (mc) adharāt (adharāk), 498, 724
 anamitram udak kṛdhi, 498
 anamivāh pradiśah santu mahyam, 309
 anāgasam brahmanā ('ne) tvā kṛnomi (karomi), 558
 anāgaso yajamānasya vīrān ('rān), 393
 anāgā devāh śakuno grheṣu (grham nah), 527, 711
 anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh ('nah), 737
 anādhṛṣṭāny ojasā, 850
 anādhṛṣṭāsa ojasā, 850
 anāptā ye (yā) vah prathamā(h), 842
 anābho mṛda dhūrte ('ta), 835
 anāmayaidhi mā riśāma indo, 723
 anāsur aśvo 'yāmī (aśvāy'), 779
 anāhanasyam vasanam carisṇu (jarisṇu, jarisṇuh), 402
 anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānāh, 737
 anīśitāsi sapatnakṣit, 740, 849
 anīśitāh ('tāh eṭha) sapatnakṣayanīh, 740, 849

anīśito 'si sapatnakṣit, 740, 849
 anuttas carṣanīdhṛtiḥ, 402, 415
 anuttā carṣanīdhṛtā, 402, 415
 anu dyāvāpṛthivī supraṇītiḥ ('te), 340
 anu ma idam vṛatam vṛatapātir manyatām anu dikṣām dikṣāpatir aṣṭasā, 697
 anumataye svāhā, 182
 anumatyai caruh ('rum), 376
 anumatyai svāhā, 182
 anu manyatām anumanyamānah ('nā), 835
 anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir ('patayo) manyatām (etr) anu tapas tapasputiḥ ('patayah), 697
 anu yam viśve madanty (anu yad enam madanti viśva) ūmāh, 816
 anuyā rātryā rātrim jinva, 196
 anuvatsarīnām svastim āśāste, 760
 anuvatsariyudvatsariye svastim āśāse, 760
 anu (nu) vām jīhvā ghṛtam ā caranyat, 765
 anuvāya rātryai rātrim jinva, 196
 anuvāsi rātryai tvā rātrim ('trim) jinva, 196
 anuṣṭuk pañktyai, 182
 anuṣṭup chanda indriyam, 399
 anuṣṭup tvā chandasām avatu (chandasāvatu), 583
 anuṣṭup pañktyai ('ktaye), 182
 anuṣṭubham chanda indriyam, 399
 anu sūrya uśaso anu rāśmīn, 449
 anu sūryasya purutrā ca rāśmīn, 449
 anṛkṣarā ṛjavah santu panthāh ('thānah), 283
 anehasas tvotayah ('so va ūtayah), 739
 antarā dyāvāpṛthivī apah suvah, 541
 antarā dyāvāpṛthivyor apasyuh, 541
 antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām, 451
 antarikṣam viṣnur , see antarikṣe
 antarikṣam aśi janmanopabhṛn nāma priyā devānām priyena nāmnā, 471
 antarikṣam ūtmā (asum), 381
 antarikṣasya tvā sānāv avagūhāmī ('kṣasya sānūpeṣa), 528

- antarīkṣasya dhartrīm viṣṭambhantrīm
 diśām bhuvanasyādhipatnīm (diśām
 adhipatnīm bhuvanānām), 381, 698
 antarīkṣāya tvā vanaspataye ('tib-
 byah), 699
 antarīkṣāyarsayas tvā varinā pra-
 thantu, 273
 antarīkṣena saha vājūnvan ('vān), 329
 antarīkṣe ('kṣam) viṣnur vyakransta
 traṣṭubhena chandasā, 527
 antar dadha ṛtubhih, 410
 antar dadhe parvatāih, 410
 antar mahyā prthivyā, 410
 antarihitā ṛṣayah, 410
 antarihitā prthivī mahi me, 410
 antarihitā ma ṛtavaḥ, 410
 antān prthivyā divah, 495, 698
 andhāhīn ('āhe, 'āheh) sthūlagudayā
 (sthūra-, 'gudā), 414, 508, 700
 andhena yat (yā) tamasā prāvṛtāsīt
 ('tāsi), 817
 annapate 'nnasya (an-) no dehi, 326
 annam me (no) budhya (budhnyā)
 pāhi tan me (no), 724
 annam me (no) budhyājugupas
 (budhnyā-) tan me (nah) punar dehi,
 724
 annasyānnapatih prādāt, 326
 annādā ('dī) cānnapatni ca, 296
 annānam (annasya) pataye namah,
 704
 anya ū su yamy (anyam ū su tvam
 yamy) anya u tvām 398
 anyataenyo ('enir) maitryah ('trih),
 213
 anyad āhur (evāhur) avidyāyāh
 ('dyayā), 570
 anyad evāhur vidyāyāh ('dyayā), 570
 anyam (anyāns) te asmat tapantu
 hetayah, 717
 anyam asman (anyāns te asman, anye
 'sman) nivapantu tāh, 717
 anvāncam mā pāta, 718
 anv āsvair anu sarvena (sarvair u)
 puṣṭaiḥ, 704
 anvātānsīt tvayī ('tānsus tava) tan-
 tum etam, 671
 anvītir asi dive tvā divam jinva, 559
 anvityā divā (dive) divam jinva, 559
 apa cakrā avṛtsata, 164
 apa cakrāṇi vartaya, 164
 apadyamānah prthivyām, 370, 849
 apadyamānā prthivī, 370, 849
 apa druhā ('hus) tanvaṁ gūhamānā,
 417
 apanuttau ('ttā) śandāmarkau (śandā-)
 saha tena yam dvīṣmah (śahāmūnā),
 134
 apa protha dundubhe duchunā ('nān)
 itah, 703
 apamityam apratittam yad asmi, 703
 apaścāddaghvānnasya (apaścāddaghvā-
 nnam) bhuyāsam, 506
 apaścāddaghvane (apaścāda-) nare
 ('rah), 626
 apa sedha dundubhe duchunām itah,
 703
 apa snehitīr (snehitim) nṛminā
 ('nām) adhatta (etc.), 406, 703
 apahato 'raruh prthivyā adevayaja-
 nah, 150, 380, 435
 apahato 'raruh prthivyai, 150, 380
 apahato 'raruh prthivyai devayaja-
 nyai, 150, 380, 435
 apām yonih prathamajā ṛtasya, 440
 apām yo madhyato (madhye) rasas
 , 79, 664
 apām sakhā prathamajā ṛtavī, 440
 apām sadhiṣi sīda, 698
 apām stoko abhyapaptar chivena
 (chivāya, 'paptad rasena), 558
 apātam āsvinā gharman, 327
 apānās ca me 'suś ca me, 791
 apānena nāsike ('kām), 116, 753
 apām tvā bhasman ('mani) sadayāmi,
 276
 apam tvā sadhiṣi (sadhrīsu) sādudayāmi,
 698
 apām napāt pratiraksann asurum
 (pratiraksad asuryam), 703
 apām na yanty ūrmayah, 519
 apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra, 488,
 723
 apāmivām ('vā) apa rakānsi sedha, 703
 apām uta praśastiṣu ('stibhih,
 'staye), 67, 100, 558, 601, 690

apām patir̥ vṛṣabham oṣadhinām, 387
 apām patir̥ [vṛṣabha] oṣadhinām, 387
 apāraram adevayajanam prthivyaḥ
 devayajanāḥ (adevayajano) jahī,
 150, 380, 437
 apāraram prthivyā adevayajanam
 ("rum adevayajanam prthivyāḥ),
 150, 380
 apāraram prthivyai devayajanād bad-
 hyāsam, 150, 380
 apālām indra ("dras) triṣ pūtvī (etc.),
 333
 apāman (apāśya) nairṛtān pāsān, 656
 apāśya ye sināḥ pāsāḥ, 396, 840
 apāśyāḥ satvanah pāsān, 396, 840
 apī jāyeta so "smākam (apī nah sa
 kule bhūyāt), 314
 apo adyān acāriṣam, 261
 apochatu ("chantu) mīthunā yā (ye)
 kimidinā ("nah), 374, 756
 apo dattodadhim bhintā, 502, 711
 apo devā (devir) madhumatir̥
 agr̥bhan ("nām, agr̥bhan), 402
 apo dehy udadam bhindī, 502, 711
 apo nayanta ūrmayah, 519
 apo mahi vṛayati cakṣase tamah, 402,
 561
 apo mahi vṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah, 402,
 561
 apo yūṣnā (yūṣena), 287
 apriyah prati muficatām, 457
 apriye prati mufica tat, 74, 457, 645
 apriye prati muficatam, 74, 457, 645
 apriye sam nayāmasi, 645
 aproṣivān gr̥hapatir̥ ("te) mahān asī,
 334
 apsarāśām anudattānṛnāni, 449, 703, 778
 apsarāśāv anu dattām ṛnam nah
 (ṛnāni), 449, 703, 778
 apsu te rājan varuna, 363
 apsu dhūto (dhautam) nr̥bhīḥ sutah
 ("tam), 398
 abhayam vo 'bhayam no astu (me
 'stu), 724, 740
 abhayam te 'bhayam no astu, 724, 740
 abhayam no astu, 724
 abhayam mitrāvarunāv ihāstu nah
 ("varunā mahyam astu), 129, 724

abhayam me astu ('stu), 724
 abhikhyā bhāṣā br̥hatā śuśukvanīḥ, 416
 abhi te 'dhām sahamānām, 476
 abhi tvādhām sahiyāsā, 476, 488, 808
 abhi tvām indra nonumah, 306
 abhi tvā śūra nonumah, 306
 abhi priyā ("yam) divas padam, 741
 abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā me (nah),
 724
 abhibhuve ("bhve, "bhave) svāhā, 233
 abhi yonim ayohatam ("te), 552
 abhi yo mahinā divam, 411
 abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 164
 abhirakṣantu mā priyāḥ, 724
 abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 164
 abhi śravobhiḥ prthivīm, 572, 705
 abhiṣṭir̥ yā ca no gr̥he, 724
 abhiṣṭir̥ ("ṣṭir) yā ca me dhruvā (ca
 no gr̥he), 177, 724
 abhi savanāni (savanā) pāhi, 168
 abhi stomā (stomair) anūṣata, 411
 abhi sravantu nah priyāḥ, 724
 abhipato vṛṣṭyā (vṛṣṭibhis) tarpayan-
 tam, 709
 abhimam ("mām, "mān) mahinā ("mā)
 divam (divah), 411, 698, 786
 abhūn mama (nu nah) sumatau viśva-
 vedāḥ, 332, 723
 abhūma yajñiyāḥ śuddhāḥ, 158
 abhyeti, see abhyaiti
 abhy enam bhūma ūrnūhi (bhūmi
 vṛṇu), 180
 abhyaiti (abhyeti na) ojasā spardha-
 mānā, 312
 amanmahī mahata (mahad) ṛtasya
 nāma, 520
 amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (ma)
 indra, 488, 723
 amāi sarvāḥ (sarvān) asī praviṣṭah,
 406, 728
 amā hy asī sarvam anu praviṣṭah, 406,
 728
 amitrān no vi vidhyatām, 723
 amī anu mā tanuta, 768
 amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati, 739,
 850
 amī ye vivratā(h) sthāna (stha), 703
 amī ye subhage divi, 320

amīśāṁ cittam pratilobhayanti (cit-
tāni pratilobhayanti), 706
amukthā yakṣmād duritād avadyāt,
150
amuṣya tvā prāṇaṁ sādāyāmi, 552
amuṣya tvā prāṇe sādāyāmi, 552
amū anu mā tanutam, 768
amūn kṛtyākṛto jahī, 703
amū ye divi subhage, 320
amūham asmi sā tvam, 849
amṛtaṁ nihitam guhā, 438
amṛtam asi, 550
amṛtam martyābhyah, 388, 849
amṛtasya nidhir hitah, 438
amṛtā martyebhyah, 388, 849
amṛto 'si, 850
amaīśāṁ cittam prabudhāṁ ('dha) vi
neśat (naśyatu), 590
amoci yakṣmād duritād avartyai, 150
amo 'si sarvāṁ asi praviśah, 406, 728
amo 'ham asmi sā (sa) tvam, 849
ambā ca bulā ca nitatni ca , 200
ambā dulā nitatnur , 200
ayam yajño bhuvanasya (viśvasya
bhu") nbbhih, 392
ayam vājam ('jān) jayatu vājasāttau,
704
ayam vai tvām ajanayad , 40, 350,
432
ayam vo garbha ṛtviyah, 739
ayam śatrum ('trūn) jayatu , 703
ayam śraīṣṭhye dadhātu nah (nau), 766
ayam sahasram ānava drśah kavīnām
matir jyotir vidharma ('mā), 420,
455, 794
ayam sahasram ā no drśe kavīnām
matir jyotir vidharmani, 420, 455
ayam somo vṛṇo aśvasya retah, 392
ayam hi tvā svadhitis tetijānah, 306
ayakṣmayā pari bhuja, 829
ayakṣmāya tvā samṣṛjāmi prajābhyah,
491, 560, 739
ayakṣmā vah prajāyā samṣṛjāmi, 491,
560, 739
ayakṣmena pari bhuja, 829
ayam ca brahmanaspatih, 428
ayam te asmy upa mehy (na ehy)
arvāṁ, 723

ayam te yonir ṛtviyah, 739
ayam devo vanaspatih, 402
ayam no nabhasas patih, 329, 588
ayam no nabhasā purah, 588
ayam paścād ('cā) vidadvasuḥ, 69, 83,
575
ayam paścād ('cā) viśvavyacāḥ, 575
ayaś śaṇḍo marka upavira ulūkhalah,
749
ayasā manasā dhṛtah, 259, 416
ayasā havyam ūhiṣe, 259, 416
ayasthūnam ('nāv) uditā ('tau) sūry-
asya, 221, 402, 449
ayasamayam vicṛtā (viśṛtā) bandham
etaṁ, 703
ayasamayān vicṛtā bandhapāśān, 703
ayūt sarasvatyā meśasya (meṣyā)
haviṣah priyā dhāmāni, 779
ayā no yajñam vahasi, 416
ayā pavā pavaśvainā vasūni, 174
ayāś cagne 'sy anabhiśastiś ('stīś) ca,
177
ayā san manasā hitah, 416
ayā san havyam ūhiṣe, 402, 416
ayāś manasā (vayasā) kṛtah, 259, 416
ayāḥ san (ayāsyam) havyam ūhiṣe
(manasā kṛtah, kṛtah), 402, 416
ayā somah ('ma) sukṛtyayā, 328
ararur dyām mā paptat, 294, 326
ararus te divam mā skān 294, 326
ararus te dyām mā paptat, 294, 326
araro divam mā paptah, 294, 326
arāyo asmān abhiduchunāyate, 312
arūvā yo no abhi duchunāyate, 312
ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu (me
'ṅgāni), 168
ariṣṭāni me sarvātmanābhrīṣah, 168
ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi
(kṛnomi), 378
ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu, 378
ariṣṭā viśvāny aṅgāni, 168
ariṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema 706, 799
ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāśma, 589
ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvirāḥ, 589
ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāśam, 378
ariṣṭyā avyathyai gāyatryā abhi-
hūtyai (gāyatryai chandase 'bhi-
bhuve) svāhā, 233, 629

arundhatīm ye (yad) dhruvatām ha
ninyuh, 816
arepasah sacetasah (etc.) svasare man-
yumattamās ('mantaś) cite (citā)
goḥ, 454
arkam yujñānāḥ svar ābharann idam,
743
arjunyoh pary uhyate, 596
ardhamāsaiś ca māsaiś ca, 410
ardhamāsyam prasutāt pitryāvataḥ
(^{'ti}), 496, 670
aryamne (^{'no}) lopāsah, 126, 618
arvāk tvā parebhyo 'vidam (pareb-
hyah, parair avidam) paro 'vareb-
hyah ('varaiḥ, 'varebhyo 'vidam),
574
arvāg devā asya visarjanena (^{'janāya}),
563
arvāgvasuḥ, 342
arvāgvaso svasti te pāram aśīya, 342
arvācīnam vasuvidam bhagam nah
(me), 724
arvācīm tvā saptayo 'dhvaraśīyah,
765
arvācīnā vām saptayo 'dhvaraśīyah,
765
alakṣmī (^{'mīr}) me naśyatu (^{'ta}), 208
alakṣmīr (^{'mīn}) nāśayāmy aham, 703
avakām (^{'kān}) dantamūlaih, 699, 788
ava kṛtyākṛtam jahī, 703
avakrandena tālu (^{'lum}), 793
avatam mū samanasau samaṅkasau,
723
ava tara nadiṣv ā, 404, 684, 815
avatād vyathitam, 499
avatām tvām (tvā) dyāvāpṛthivī, 308
avatān mā nāthitam (^{'tāt}), 499
avatān mū vyathitam (^{'tāt}), 499
avattaram nadiṣv ā (^{'ro nadīnām}),
404, 684, 815
ava devānām yaja hedo agne (yajē
hidyāni, yajē hedyāni), 510, 703
ava devān yajē hedyān, 510
ava dronāni ghṛtavānti sīda (<sup>'vanti
roha</sup>), 264
avadhūtā arātayah (avadhūtārātih),
703
ava priyā (^{'yān}) adhūṣata, 401

ava bādhe pṛtanyataḥ (^{'tā}), 476
avavyayanḥ asitam deva vasma (vas-
vah), 351
avaś ca yah paraḥ srucā (srucāḥ, paro
divah), 574
avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda, 326
avasānam me 'vasānapatir vindat, 326
avasṛṣṭā (^{'ṣṭah}) parā pata, 831
avasphūrjad dhetih, 811
avasphūrjan hetih (prahetih), 811
avasyur (^{'yūr}) aśi duvasvān, 227
avasyuvātā bhṛatī (^{'tīr}) na (nu, tu)
śakvari (^{'rīh}), 690
avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān,
402
avāham bādha upabhṛtā sapatnān
(dviṣantam), 703
avidvānsaś cakṛmā kac canāgah, 417
avimuktacakra (^{'krā}) āśīran, 340, 454
aviragho (^{'ghni}) viratarah (^{'tamah},
viravataḥ) suvirān (suśevān), 402
avīrḍhat (^{'dhata}) purodāśena, 694
avīrḍhanta purodāśaih, 694
avīrḍdhetām purodāśena (^{'śaih}), 694
avo devasya sāmān, 222
avyathamānā pṛthivyām (^{'vī}), 370,
849
avyo (avyam) vāram vi dhāvati, 85,
509
avyo (avyā) vāre (^{'raiḥ}) pari priyah
(^{'yam}), 184, 387, 597, 711
avyo (avyā) vārebhiḥ pavate madin-
tamah, 184
avyo (avyā) vārebhir arṣatī (avyata),
184
avyo (avyā) vāre mahiyate, 184
avyo vāreṣv (avyā vārebhir) asmayuh,
184, 597
avyo (avyā) vāraiḥ paripūtah, 154
avrato (^{'tam}) hinoti na sprśad rayim
(^{'yih}), 375
āśastihā vṛjanam (^{'nā}) rakṣamānah,
698
āsmānam tanvam kṛdhi, 378
āsmā bhavatu naś (te) tanūh, 378, 849
āsmā bhava paraśur bhava, 378
āmeva tvam sthīrā (^{'ro}) bhava, 769,
849

aśmeva yuvām sthīrau bhavataṃ, 769
 aśrubhiḥ prṣvām (pruṣ), 709
 aśvānām sadhastuti (°tiḥ), 413
 aśvinā gharṃam pātām (pābatam), 327
 aśvinā tvā pra vahatām rathena, 131
 aśvinādhvaryū, 136
 aśvinā pābatam (°tām) madhu (sutam), 327
 aśvinā bhīṣajāvataḥ (°tam, °ta), 327
 aśvināv adhvaryū, 136
 aśvināv eha gachataṃ (°tām), 327
 aśvinendram na jāgrvi (°vi), 762, 815
 aśvinau tvā pra vahatām rathena, 131
 aśvinau dvyakṣarena (°kṣarayā), 808
 aśvibhyām dugdham bhīṣajā saras-vatyā (°ti), 216
 aśve na citre aruṣi, 332
 aśveva citraruṣi, 332
 aśtabhyah (°yah śatebhyah) svāhā, 300
 aśtasthūno daśapakṣah, 388
 aśtāpakṣām daśapakṣām, 388
 aśtābhyah (°yah śatebhyah) svāhā, 300
 aśtau ca śatāni [samvatsarasya] muhūrtaṃ yān vadanti, 166
 aśtau śatā yān mitam tad vadanti, 166
 aśtrām tādam pratīnāhā (tālam pratīnāham), 753
 asapatnah kilābbhuvam, 846
 asapatnaḥ sapatnahā, 846
 asapatnāḥ pradīśo me bhavantu, 309
 asapatnā kilābbhuvam (°bhavam), 846
 asapatnā sapatnagñi, 846
 asamātim grheṣu nah, 486, 671
 asambādham badhyato mānavānām (°veṣu), 404, 623, 655, 674, 817
 asambādḥ yā madhyato mānavēbhyah, 404, 623, 655, 817
 asamrṣto jāyase mātroh (°trvoh) śuciḥ, 254
 aśāv (asā) anu mā tanu, 768
 aśāv etat te vāsah, 692
 asum (asu) rinann apah, 791
 aśūyantyaī cānumatyai ca svāhā, 182
 aśūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne, 454, 684
 aśūrte (°tā, °tāh) sūrte rajasi niṣatte (°tā, na sātā), 454, 684

aso yathā no 'vitā vrdhe ca (vrdhaś cit), 420
 asau yo 'vasarpati, 850
 asau yo vimanā janah, 703
 askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā, 700
 askannemā vīśvā bhūtām, 183
 askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāh, 700
 astam rājeva satpatih, 711
 astā rājeva satpatih, 711
 astāvya agnir narām (nrām) suśevah, 252
 astito nāmāham dyāvāpṛthivībhyām (°vyor), 644
 asthabhyah (astubhyah) svāhā, 281
 asthi majjānam māsaraiḥ (°ram), 459, 694
 asthūri nau (no, no, nau) gārhapatyāni, 771
 asmat su śapathān adhi, 724
 asmaddātṛ devatrā gachata madhumatiḥ, 714
 asmadrātā (°tā madhumatir, °ti) devatrā gachata (gacha), 714
 asmahyam su maghavan bodhi godāh, 619
 asmahyam gātuvittamāh (°mah), 739
 asmahyam dyāvāpṛthivī śakvaribhiḥ, 327
 asmahyam indav indrayuh (indriyam), 16, 403
 asmā indra mahi varcāṅsi dhehi, 639
 asmān (°mān) u devā avata haveṣu (bhareṣv ā), 155
 asmākam santv āśiṣah, 91, 671
 asmākam su maghavan bodhi godah (gopāh), 619
 asmākam kṛṇmo harivo medinam tvā, 378
 asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī, 378
 asmākena vṛjanenā jayema, 706, 799
 asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si, 40, 432
 asmād vai tvam ajāyathā, 40, 380, 432
 asmān u, see asmān u
 asmān aity abhy ojaś spardhamānā, 312
 asmān devāso 'vatā haveṣu, 155
 asmān dhehi, 723

- asmān punthi cakṣase, 724
asmān rāya uta yajñāḥ ("ñah) sacan-
tām, 112, 689
asmān sīte payasābhyāvavṛteva, 312
asmāsu santv āśīṣah, 91, 671
asmāsv indra indriyam dadhātu, 723
asmīn kṣaye pratarām didyānah, 823
asmīn goṣṭhe karīṣiṇi ("ṇah, puriṣi-
ni), 849
asmīnn indra mahi varcāśi dhehi, 639
asmīn brahmanv (brahmann) as-
mīn karmay (karmann) , 276
asmīn yajñe yajamānāya sūrim, 488,
537
asmīn yajñe suhavām ("vā) johavīmī,
401
asmīn rāṣṭram adhi śraya, 705
asmīn have puruhūtah purukṣuh
("kṣu), 842
asme indrābhiṣpati, 721
asme karmāne jātah, 738
asme kṣatrāni dhāraye anu dyūn, 721
asme kṣatrāya varcāse balāya, 566
asme te rāyah, 724
asme devāso vapuṣe cikiteata, 738
asme dyāvāpṛthivi bhūni vāmam, 721
asme dhatta vasavo vasūni, 721
asme dhārayatam ("tām) rayim, 721
asme prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin, 721
asme brahmāni dhāraya, 705
asme rāyah, 724
asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (rāṣṭram adhi-
śraya), 705, 721
asme rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam,
721
asme vām (vo) astu sumatis canīṣṭhā,
766
asmai indrābhiṣpati, 721
asmai karmāne jātah, 738
asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne, 721
asmai dyāvāpṛthivi bhūni vāmam, 721
asmai dhatta vasavo vasūni, 721
asmai dhārayatam rayim, 721
asmai prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin, 721
asmai rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam,
721
asmai sam datta bheṣajam, 835
asya kurmo (kulmo) harivo medinam
(ved") tvā, 378
asya prāṇād apānati ("tah), 447
asya rātau sutam piba, 519, 554
asyā janatāyāḥ śraīṣṭhyāya svāhā, 146
asyā ("yām) nāryā ("yām) gavīnyoh
("yām), 85, 672, 753
asyai janatāyai śraīṣṭhyāya, 146
asyai sam datta viryam, 835
asyopasadyām mā chaiteṣt, 801
asyopasadye nā rīṣāma, 801
asrivayas ("viś, "viś) chandah, 109
aham vājam jayāmi vājāśtau, 704
aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah, 314,
654, 849
aham tad asya manasā śivena, 469, 509
aham tam asya manasā ghr̥tena (śi-
vena), 469, 809
aham dadhāmi dravinam ("nā) haviṣ-
mate, 704
aham prajā ajanayam pṛthivyām
("vyāḥ, pitṛnām), 671
ahar no atyapiparat, 724
ahar mātya apīparah, 724
ahā (ahar) mīmāno aktubhih, 709
ahir jaghāna kim (kam) cana, 121, 810
ahir dadarśa kam cana, 121, 810
ahih śayata upapṛk pṛthivyāḥ ("vyām),
91, 876
ahorātrayor vṛtṣyā , 442
ahorātrayoh samdhībhyo jatūh, 756
ahorātrābhyām sam snaktv aryamā, 560
ahorātrās ca samdhijāḥ, 410
ahorātrās ("trāni) te kalpantām, 750,
828
ahorātre ūrvasṭ[h]ive , 442
ahorātre te (me) kalpetām, 756, 828
ahorātrās ca samdhībhih ("trāih su-
samdhībhih), 410
ahnah samdhībhyām jatūh, 756
ahnām ketur uṣasām ety (eṣy) agram
(agre), 530
ahno rūpe (rūpeṇa) sūryasya rāsmiṣu
("mībhih), 601
ahruto maho dharunāya devān ("vah),
402
ākūtīm devīm subhagām (manasah)
puro dadhe, 179
ākūtīm ("tam) agnim prayujam svāhā,
485
ākūtīm devīm manasā prapadye, 179

- ākūtyai prayuje'gnaye (agnaye) svāhā, 485
- ākrayāyā ayogūm (ākrayāyayogūm, ākram?), 782
- ākhuḥ kaśo mānthalas te pitṛnām, 252
- ākhum te rudra paśum karomī, 375
- ākhus te paśuh (te rudra paśuh), 378
- ākhuḥ śṛjaya śayandakas te maitrāḥ (śayāndakās te maitryāḥ), 700, 779
- āgatya vājy adhvanam (adhvanah), 698
- āganta pitarah aham yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsam suprajaso mayā yūyam bhūyāsta (vayam yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsama suprajaso yūyam asmābhīr bhūyāsta), 724
- āganma mitrāvārunā varenyā ('yam, varena), 350
- āgnir agra ('am) uśasām āgocī, 530
- āgneyah kṛṣṇagrīvah, 768
- āgne yāhi suvidatrebhīr arvāñ ('vāk), 404, 815
- āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau, 768
- ā gharne ('mam) siñca paya usriyāyāh, 103, 535
- ā gharma agnimṛtayannasādi ('dit), 399
- ā gharma agnir amṛto na sādī, 399
- āghnanāḥ pāninorae, 105, 545
- āngūṣānām avāvañanta vāñih, 522
- āchettā te (vo) mā riṣam (riṣat, mār-sam), 714
- ājarasāya sam anaktv aryamā, 560
- ā jāgṛvir vipra ṛtā (ṛtam) matīnām, 705
- ājyam uktham avyathūyai ('ya, 'thayat) stabhnātu ('dam), 420, 797
- āndā śusnasya bhedatī, 163
- ātir vāhaso darvidā te vāyave, 178, 424
- ā tīṣṭha mitrāvārdhana ('nah), 27, 323, 334
- āti vāhaso darvidā te vāyavyāh, 178, 424
- ā te agna idhīmahi, 511
- ā te prānam suvāmasi, 382
- ā te vācam āsyā ('ām) dade, 553
- ātmann ('many) evānupaśyati, 278
- ātmassado ('dau) me stha (atam), 758
- ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (ātmanātmānam) me mā hiñsih, 354
- ā tvāgna idhīmahi, 511
- ā tvā pariśṛitah ('śṛtah, 'srutah) kumbhah ('bhāh), 412, 710
- ā tvā sakhyāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh, 389, 702
- ā tvā svo viśatām varnah, 720
- ā tvā hiranmayah kumbhah, 412
- ādakam ('kān, 'kām) khādena, 697
- ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair ('śīr, 'śam) aguh (etc.), 412, 692, 787
- ād it pṛthivī gṛhṭair vy udyate, 380, 694
- ādityam viṣnum sūryam, 697
- āditya prāyaścīte tvam devānām prayaścītiḥ asi, 339
- ādityās ca me sāvitrās ca me, 740
- ādityas te vasubhīr ādadhātu, 412
- ādityān viṣnum sūryam, 697
- ādityā rudrā upariśṛṇo nah ('apṛśam mā), 402, 511, 723
- ādityās ca mā indrās ca me, 740
- ādityās tasmān no (mā) yūyam, 724
- ādityās tvā prahṇantu jāgatena chandasā, 431
- ādityebhyas tvā pravṛhāmi jāgatena chandasā, 431
- ādityas te vasubhīr ā dadhātu, 412
- ād id gṛhṭena pṛthivī vy udyate ('vim vy ūduh), 380, 694
- ād im āśvam na hetārah ('ram), 402
- ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (bhuvanāḥ vipaśyan), 165
- ā dhattām ('tam) puṣkaraśarajau ('jā), 131
- ā nah prajāṃ janayatu prajāpatiḥ, 702
- ānandam nandathuna ('thubhyām), 753
- ānandā modāḥ pramudah, 704
- ānando modah pramodah, 704
- ā na svo āśnutām varnah, 720
- ānuṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ , 385
- ānuṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ , 585
- ānuṣṭubhena chandasā diśo 'nu vikrame, 527
- ānuṣṭubhena chandasā mitrāvārunābhīyām , 585
- ā no goṣu viśatv ausadbīvu (oṣ°, ā tanūṣu), 724
- ā no jane śravayatam yuvāñ, 723
- ā no viśvāsu bavyah ('yam), 374
- āntrāñi sthālir ('lī) madhu pinvamānāḥ ('nā), 710

Āpa undantu jivase (varcasā, varcase),
557

Āpah pādyaḥ, 727

Āpah prajāpatir yajño (prajāpatēḥ
prajā) yajñasya bhṛṣajam (asī), 442

Āpataye tvā tanūnapitre śākvarāya
śakvana (°tre śakmane śākvarāya
śakmann) oṣiṭhāya, 655

Ā pavasva madintama, 329

Āpas tat sarvam jivalāḥ, 493

Āpas tvā tasmā jivalāḥ, 493

Āpāma manasā, 419

Āpir no bodhi sadhamādyo (°dye)
vṛdhe, 456

Āpo adyānv acāriṣam, 261

Āpo asmān (mā) mātaraḥ śundhayantu
(etc.), 724

Āpo devīḥ prathamajā rtena (rtasya),
65, 580

Āpo devīḥ svadantu (sad°) svāttam cit
sad devabhaviḥ, 327

Āpo mā , see āpo asmān

Āpo me hotrāśamsinah (°nyah), 804

Āptam manah, 419

Āptye sam nayāmasi, 645

Āprindānu vijahatā arātīm, 703

Ābhur (ābhūr) asya niṣaṅgadhīḥ
(°thih), 232

Ābhūṣantas te (tvā) sumatau navāyām,
494

Ābhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ, 784

Āmanasya devā (°va) yā striyah ,
697

Āmanasya devā (°va) ye putrāḥ (°āso)
, 159, 697

Āmanasya devā (°va) ye sajātāḥ ,
697

Ā manasyām hrdayād adhi, 665

Ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ, 327, 770

Ā mā gantām (°tam) pitarā mātara ca
(yuvam), 327, 770

Ā mā goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu, 724

Ā mā ghoṣo gachati vān māsām (vān na
āsām, vār nv āsām), 723

Ā mā jane śravayatam yuvānā, 723

Ā mātara sthāpayase jaganū, 709

Ā mā roha mahate saubhāṣāya, 305

Ā mā sucarite (°tād) bhaja, 664, 665

Ā mā somo amṛtatvena (°tvāya) ga-
myāt, 558

Ā mitrāvarunā bhagam, 526, 749

Ā mitre varuṇe bhage, 526, 749

Āmum naya namasā rātahavyam, 402

Āmūr aja pratyāvartayemāḥ, 836

Ā me grabo bhavaty (grabā bhavantv)

ā puroruk, 692

ā me yantu, 724

Ā yat tṛpan maruto vāśānāḥ (°naḥ),
737

Āyantu nah pitarah somyāśaḥ, 724

Ā yāta pitarah somyāśah (°yāḥ), 154

Āyātu yajñam upa no juṣāṇaḥ, 739

Āyātu varadā devī, 326

Ā yā dyam (divam) bhāsy ā prthivīm
orv (urv) antarīkṣam, 294

Āyantu yajñam upa no juṣāṇāḥ, 739

Āyāhi viraje devī, 326

Ā yāhi sūra haribhyām (harīha, harī
iha), 353

ā yāhima indavah, 421

ā yāhy ayam indave, 421

Āyuh kīrtim yaśo balam , 387

Āyuh kīrtir varco yaśo balam, 357

Āyukṛd āyuhpatnī svadhā vah, 769

Āyur na yam namasā rātahavyāḥ, 402

Āyur dadhānāḥ prataram navīyah, 823

Āyurda agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ (haviṣā
vṛdhānaḥ), 588

Āyur brhat tad āśīya tan māvatu (mām
avatu), 304

Āyur mayī dhehi, 640

Āyur me dāḥ (dehi, dhattam, dhehi),
640

Āyur me yucha (yachata), 640

Āyur yajñapataye dhattam (yajñapa-
tau), 639

Āyur yajñāya (yajñe) dhattam, 639

Āyur vām śaradāḥ śatam, 765

Āyusṛd āyuspatnī svadhāvantau (āyus
ṣad āyupatnīḥ svadhāvah), 769

Āyusṣe śaradāḥ śatam, 765

Āyusmatīdam pari dhatsva vāśaḥ, 22,
334, 549

Āyusmatyē (°tya) rco mā gūta (māpa-
gāyā, mā satsi) tanupāt (°pāḥ) sāma-
naḥ (rco mā chaitsi), 210

- āyusmantam karota mā ("tu mām,
 kṛnōta mā, karotu me), 305
 āyusmanto jaram upagachema devāḥ
 (jivāḥ), 725
 āyusmann idam pari dhatsva vāsah, 22,
 334, 849
 āyusmāḥ jaradaṣṭir yathāśāni, 725
 āyusmān idam pari dhatsva vāsah, 22,
 334, 849
 āranyān ("yā) grāmyāś ca ye, 397
 ā raśmīn ("mim) deva yamase (yuvase)
 svaśvān ("vah), 402, 710
 ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne, 83, 108,
 430, 667
 āruroha tve sacā (tvayy apī), 316
 āre asman (asmin) nī dhehi tam, 668
 āre te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnām, 83,
 108, 430, 667
 āre śatrum ("rūn) kṛnuhi sarvavīram
 ("rah), 401
 ā roha nām mahate saubhagāya, 305
 ārohātmatmānam (ārohātmanātmā-
 nam) achā, 419
 ārtava adhipataya āsan, 697
 ārtavo 'dhipatir āsit, 697
 ālebhānād ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānāt, 495, 703
 ā vatso jagatā (jāyatām, jagadaiḥ),
 saha, 700
 āvartanam nivartanam, 550
 āvartane vivartane, 550
 ā vām prajām janayatu prajāpatih, 702
 āvir bhuvad ("vann) arunir yaśasā
 goḥ (gāvah), 448
 ā vivesāparajitām ("tā), 406
 ā śāsānah suvīryam (saumanasam), 849
 āśāsānā medhapatibhyām ("taye) med-
 ham, 765
 āśāsānā saumanasam, 849
 āśir na (ma, nā) ūrjam uta sauprajāst-
 vam (supra"), 724
 āśīrdāyā dāmpatī vāmam āśnutām, 174
 āṣṭryām ("rī) padam kṛnute agnidhāne,
 211
 āsanyān mā mantrāt pāhi (pāhi purā)
 kasyāś cid abhiśastyāḥ ("yai svāhā),
 150
 āsthāpayata mātaram jagatnum, 769
 āsmāt sadhastād oror antarikṣāt, 494
 āsya yajñasyodraḥ, 494, 666
 āsya brāhmaṇāḥ śnapanir ("nam)
 harantu, 727
 ā haryato arjune ("no) atke avyata, 454
 idāyāś ("āḥ) padam ghṛtavac carācaram
 ("vat sarīṣpam), 142
 idāyā śṛptam ghṛtavac carācaram, 142
 idā sarasvatī bhārati mahīḥ ("hī), 735
 idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena, 772
 ide rante viśruti ("te), 180
 idaivāsmaḥ (idaiva vām) anu vastām
 vratena (ghṛtena), 772
 ita indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akṛnod ,
 705
 ita indro akṛnod vīryāni ("dro vīryam
 akṛnot), 705
 ito mukṣīya mā pateḥ, 219
 ittham śreyo manyamānedam āgamam,
 849
 ithā hi soma in made ("dah), 453
 idam śreyo manyamāno vā āgām, 849
 idam havir maghavā vetv indrah, 286
 idam tad asya manasā śivena, 469, 809
 idam tam (tān) atī ṣṭjūmi tam (tān)
 mābhy avanikī, 740
 idam tava prasarpanam ("nā), 799
 idam te tad vi śyāmy āyuso na mad-
 hyāt, 664, 832
 idam devo vanaspatih, 402
 idam agniśomayohi, 618
 idam agneh, 618
 idam aham yo me (nas) samāno ,
 724
 idam aham rakṣasām ("so) grīvā apī
 kṛntāmi, 703
 idam aham rakṣo bhī (rakṣobhīḥ)
 sam ūhāmi (dahāmi), 459
 idam aham senūyā abhītvarīyā ("yā'
 mukham apohāmi, 612
 idam aham tam (tān) valagam ("gān)
 yam (yān) me (nah) , 703, 723
 idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya
 prāne sādāyāmi, 552
 idam enam adharam karomi yo nah
 samāno yo 'samāno rāṭiyati, 724
 idam brahma juṣasva nah (me), 724
 idam brahma pipṛhi saubhagāya, 690
 idāhna id āharam aśīya, 565

indav (indum) indrāya pītaye, 346
indav (indum) indrāya matsaram, 346
indra śaśm (eṣām) netā bṛhaspatih, 836
indrarṣabhā dravine (°pam) no dad-
hātu, 534
indrah karmasu no vatu, 326, 348, 390
indrah kṛtvā maruto yad vaśāma, 337
indram vājam vi mucyadhvam, 488
indram śaviṣṭha satpatim, 349
indram sa pṇatu yo maitasyai (°yā)
diśo 'bhidāseti, 149
indram sakhāyo (°yam) anu sam rah-
badhvam (vyayadhvam), 350
indram sa diśām yo maitasyai diśo
'bhidāseti, 149
indram samatsu bhūṣata, 374
indram soma (°mo) mādayan daivam
janam, 329
indram somasya pītaye, 346, 387
indra karmasu no vata, 326, 348
indra kratvā maruto yad vaśāma, 337
indraghoṣas (°ṣās) tvā vasubhih (vasa-
vah) purastāt pātu (pāntu), 412, 697,
739
indraghoṣā vo vasubhih purastād upa-
dadhatām, 412, 697, 739
indraghoṣas tvā purastād vasubhih
pāntu, 412, 697, 739
indram karmasv avatu (ūvatam, °ta),
348, 390
indra jaṭharam navyo (°yam) na, 402
indram juṣānā vṛṇanam (janayo) na
patnīh, 402
indra (°ram) dhenum sudughām anyām
iṣam, 343
indra piba sūtānām, 501, 693
indravantā (°to, °tau) havir idam juṣe-
thām (juṣantām), 134, 766
indra vājam jaya, 326
indra viśvābhīr ūtibhih, 329
indra śaviṣṭha satpate, 349
indra (°rah) śrutasya mahato mahāni,
342
indra suteṣu someṣu, 326
indra somasya pītaye, 342, 346
indra stomena pañcadaśena madhyam
(pañcadaśenaujah), 326
indrasya grhā (°hāh śiva) vasmanto
varūthinas tēn aham , 711

indrasya grho si tam tvā pra padye
, 711
indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upāvaha-
rāmī, 521, 762
indrasya tvā bhāgam somenā tanacmī,
621
indrasya dhruvo 'si (dhruvam asi),
121, 808
indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (nu
prā vocam vīryāni), 162
indrasya bhāgaḥ suvite dadhātana, 393,
623
indrasya vajro si vārtraghnah, 808
indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhyu-
pāvaharāmī (vām bāhū vīryakṛtā
upā°), 521, 762
indrasya vāyum (°yoh) sakhyāya vard-
hayan (kartave), 519
indrasya vārtraghnam asi, 808
indrasya vocam pra kṛtāni vīryā, 162
indrasya hārdy (°dum) āviśan manī-
ṣibhih (°cayā), 742, 793
indra svadhām anu hi no bahhūtha, 337
indrah samatsu bhūṣatu, 374
indrah suteṣu someṣu, 326
indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarma,
115, 749
indrah somasya pītaye (°ye vṛṣyate),
332, 387
indrah stomena pañcadaśena mad-
hyam, 326
indrah svadhām anu hi no bahhūtha,
337
indrāgnibhyam chāgasya vapāyā meda-
sah (vapām medah) pre-ya, 502
indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā (°yai)
medaso nubrūhi, 142
indrāgnibhyām chāgasya havīh (havi-
ṣah) preṣya, 502
indrāgnibhyām purodāśasya preṣya
(purodāśam), 502
indrāgni dyāvāpṛthivī āpa oṣadhīh
(°dhayah), 193
indrānyā ugnīṣah, 795
indrānyai (°yāh) ṣaṣṭhi, 143
indrānyai (°yāh, °yās) sannahanam,
147
indrādhīpatih (°tyaiḥ) pīpṛtād ato nah,
417

- indrānamitram ("trān) nah paścāt
("tram paścān me), 703, 724
- indrāya tvā bṛhadvate vayasvata uk-
tāyuvē ("vam, ukthāvyam), 489
- indrāya tvā bhāgam somenātānācū,
621
- indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi, 393,
623
- indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam, 488
- indrāya somam suṣutam bharantah
("tiḥ), 849
- indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā, 115, 749
- indrena dattam prayatam (dattām
prayatām) marudbhīh, 840
- indrena devāh (devān), 390
- indrena devīr ("vair) virudhah samvi-
dānāh, 416
- indrena devaiḥ saratham turebbīh
(turena), 737
- indrena sayujō ("jā) vāyam, 416
- indremam prataram ("rām) kṛdhi
(naya), 823
- indro jyēsthānām (jyaisṭhyānām, "jhy-
āya), 627, 706
- indro balam balapatir mayi dad-
hātu (yajamānāya dadātu), 641
- indro me (vah) sarma yachatu, 739
- indro vājam ajayit, 426
- indro viśvam virājati, 503
- indro viśvasya rājati, 503
- indro viśvābhīr ūtibhīh, 329
- imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau,
488, 537
- imam yajñam avantu no ghṛtācīh
(avatu yā ghṛtācī, avatu no ghṛtācī),
690
- imam yajñam āśvinobhā bṛhaspatih,
329
- imam yajñam pitaro me juṣantām, 724
- imam yajñam bṛhaspate śvinobhā, 329
- imam rātam sutam pibā, 519, 554
- imam stomam juṣasva me (nah), 724
- imam no deva savitāh, 724
- imam adhvanam yam agāma dūrāt
("ram), 498
- imam amum āmuṣyāyanam amuṣyāh
putram amuṣyai viśv āvagamayata,
145
- imam amuṣya (imam amum amuṣya)
putram amuṣyai ("yāh) putram aśyai
viśe, 145
- imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me
(kṣatriyānām), 515
- imam indra sutam pibā, 501, 693
- imam ū (u) ṣu tvam asmākam (ṣu tyam
asmabhyam), 621
- imam mā hīnsīr ekaśapham (dvipādām)
paśum (paśūnām), 84, 515
- imam me deva savitāh, 724
- imām rudrāya tavase kapardine, 690
- imām khamamy ośadhīm ("dhīm), 192
- imān me (no) mitrāvarunau ("nā), 134,
724
- imā prānāpānau, 135
- imā brahma pipihī saubhagāya, 690
- imā rudrāya tavase kapardine, 690
- ime catvāro rajāyo vimānāh ("ne), 551
- ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam
iha kalpatām, 155
- imau te pakṣūv ("ṣā) ajarau patatrinau
("nah), 447
- imau prānāpānau, 135
- iyam vedih parō antah prthivyāh, 32,
392
- iyam gauṣ taya te krināni, 33, 418
- iyam te yajñiyā tanuh ("nuh), 232
- iyam te rān mitrāya ("ro) yantāsi ya-
manah, 428
- iyam te śukra tanūr idam, 232
- iyam teṣām avayā durīṣṭyai, 431
- iyam dig aditir yo matasyai ("yā)
diśo bhīdīsatī, 149
- iyam duruktāt ("tam) paribūdhamānā,
49, 80, 493
- iyam ośadhe ("dhi) trāyamānā, 342
- iyartī dhumam aruṣam ("ṣo) bhāriḥhrat,
401
- irām vahantah sumanasyamānāh, 263,
739, 849
- irām vahanto ("ti, vahato) ghṛtam
ukṣamānāh, 263, 739, 849
- iśa ekapadi, 361
- iśam no mitrāvarunā kartanedām, 694,
704, 749
- iśe tvā sumāṅgalī prajavatī susīme,
361

iṣe rāye (rayyai) ramasva sabase dyumnāyorje patyāya (dyumna ūrje apatyāya, dyumnāyorjapatyāya), 288, 655

iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnūtāvīr ("tam kṛnūtād āvir) asmai, 613, 751

iṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir (kṛnavath", kṛnūtād āvir) asmai (asmāt), 613, 751

iṣṭo agnir āhutaḥ pīpartu (svāhākṛtaḥ pīpartu), 329

iha kṛmo (kurmo, kul") harivo medinam (ved") tvā, 378

iha tvā goparīnasā ("sam), 476

iha priyam prajāyā (prajāyai) te sam ṛdhyatām, 558

iha mahyaṁ nī yachataṁ, 644, 724

iḥsmāṣu ("smabhyam) nī yachataṁ, 644, 724

ihi tiro "ti rocanāḥ, 799

ihaiva kṣemya edhi mā prahāṣīr ("ain), 304

ihaiva tiṣṭha nimitā (nitarā), 382

ihaiva dhruvām nī minomi śālām, 344, 382

ihaiva dhruvā (sthūne) prati tiṣṭha śāle (dhruvā), 344, 382

ihaiva santah prati tad yātayāmāḥ, 725

ihaiva santah prati dadma enat, 725

ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayah, 691

ihaiva san (saṁs) tatra santam tvāgne, 691

ihaiva san niravadaye tat, 725

idāno (idānā) vahmīr ("nim) namasā, 399, 737, 840

idṛṣvā hi mahe ("hi) vṛṣan, 490

idenyakraṭūr aham, 402

iśānam vāryānām, 739, 849

iśānam jagadaiḥ saha, 387

iśānā vāryānām, 739, 849

iśāno jagatas pathi, 387

iśāyai ("yā) manyum rājānam, 152

iṣamāna ("nā) upasprśah, 407

uktheśā yaja somānām ("masya), 693

ukṣā gaur na vayo dadhuh, 399

ukṣānam gām na vayo dadhat, 399

ukṣā bhīharti bhuvanāni ("śā mimeti bhuvaneṣu) vājayuh, 528

ukṣā samudro ("re) aruṇah (aruṣah) suparnah, 456

ukhāṁ aravanīm agadām aganma (akarma), 840

ukhāṁ ("khā) svasāram adhī vedim asthāt, 399

ukhāyāḥ ("yai, "yām) sadane sve, 142, 677

ukhyaṁ ("yān) hasteṣu bhīhrataḥ, 692

ukhyasya ketum prathamam juṣṣānu ("nā), 134

ugrapaśyā (ugram paśyāc) ca rāṣ-ṭrabhṛc ca tāni, 759

ugrapaśye ugrajitau tad adya, 759

ugraś ca bhīmāś ca, 849

ugrā ca bhīmā ca, 849

uta na enā pavayā pavasva, 174

uta rājānām uttamam mānavānām, 367

uta vām uśaso budhi ("dhi), 458

uta śūdra utārye, 77, 654

uta śravasā ("sa ā) prthivīm, 572, 705

utārebhānāḥ ṛṣtibhir yātudhānān, 495, 703

utālabddham (utārabdhān) spruṇhi jāta-vedah, 718

utūla parimīdho si, 357

utemam ("māh) paśya, 740, 835

uto te vṛṣanā (haritau) harī, 131

utoditā ("tau) maghavan sūryasya, 221

utodicyām ("yā diśo) vṛtrahan vṛtrahāsi ("hañ chatruho si), 676

utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam (utkūla-vikūlābhyām tristhinam), 756

uttamaḥ nākam (uttame nāke) adhī rohayemam ("yainam, rohemam), 226

uttamo aśy ośadhīnām, 84, 367, 535

uttarasām devayajyāyām upahūtah ("tā), 849

uttānaparne subhage ("nām subhagām), 346

uttānāyām ("yai) śayānāyām ("yai), 655

uttānāyā ("yai) hrdayam yad vikastam (vīṣtam), 622

ut tiṣṭha (utthāya) brhatī ("han) bhava, 849

ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ ("mnā, śuṣ-mena, vṛṣṭyā, drṣṭyā), 705

- ut sakthyā ('yor) ava gudañ (grdam,
om ava) dhehi, 535
utso deva ('vo) hiraṇyayaḥ, 336
udagrābhasya namayan vadhasnaih
(°num), 474
udapurā nāmāsy annena viṣṭā, 800
ud asthām amṛtān anu, 401
ud asthāmāmṛtā vayan (abhūma), 401
ud asmān uttarān naya, 721, 814
ud asya śuśmāḍ bhānur nārta (bhānor
nāvyaḥ), 435
udādāya prthivīm jivādānum (jiradā-
nuh, °num), 406
udici dik (diśām), [], 427, 438
udici dik somo 'dhipatī svajo rakṣi-
tāsanir iṣavah, 427
udicyām diśy āpa (udicyā diśāpā, 'yā
diśāpa, 'yā diśā sahāpa) oṣadhayo
, 604
udicyai tvā diśe somāyādhipataye ava-
jāya rakṣitre 'śanya iṣumatyai, 427
ud Irṣvātah pativatī ('ti) hy eṣā, 342
ud u tiṣṭha dhruvā tvam, 849
ud uttamam mumugdhī nah (mat), 612,
724
ud enam uttaram ('rām) naya, 721, 814
ud eṣām bāhū ('hūn) atiram, 756
udgātaḥ sāmāni (sāma) gāya, 690
udgrābbham ('bhaś) ca nigṛābbham
(°bhaś) ca, 389
ud divam (dyām) stabhāna, 294
uddhriyamāna ud dhara pāpmano mā
(mām), 305
udno dattodadhīm bhintta (dehy udad-
him bhindhi), 502, 711
udyan bhṛājabhṛṣṭibhir ('tir) indro
marudbhīr , 416
ud rathānām jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ
(°tām etu ghoṣāḥ), 706
ud vīrāṇām jayatām etu ghoṣāḥ, 706
un nambhaya prthivīm, 344
upa ṛsabhasya retasī (yad retah), 550
upa jman upa vetase, 526
upa te 'dhām sahamānām (sahiyasīm),
476, 488, 808
upa tvā kāmā imahe saṣṛjmahe, 550
upa tvā kāmān mahah saṣṛjmahe, 550
upa devān prāgur uśijo vahnita-
mān ('gur vahnaya uśijaḥ), 187
upa dyām upa vetasam, 526
upa no rājan sukṛte hvayaśva, 724
upa pra yāhi (yāta) divyāni dhāma
(°man), 271
upa preta marutah viśpatinābhy
amum rājānam, 219
upa brahmāni savanāni vṛtrahā ('han),
330
upamam ('mām) devatātaye, 810
upa mām sakṣā bhakṣo hvayatām, 305
upa mā dīkṣāyām dīkṣāpatayo hvaya-
dhvam, 697
upa mā (mām) dhenuh saharṣabhā hva-
yatām, 305
upa mām divyāni sapta hotāro hvayan-
tām, 305
upa mā (mām) hr̥bat saha divā hvaya-
tām, 305, 724
upa mā bhakṣah sakṣā hvayatām, 305
upa mā (mām) ratnamtaram saha
prthivyā hvayatām, 305, 724
upa mā rājan sukṛte hvayaśva, 724
upa mā (mām) vāmadevyam sahānta-
rikṣena hvayatām, 305, 724
upa mā (mām) sapta hotṛā hvayantām,
305
uparsabhasya retasī, 550
upa vām jhīvā ghṛtam ācaranyat, 765
upaśrito ('śrutī) divaḥ prthivyoh, *see*
agne tvam sūktavāg
upaśṛjan ('jam) dharunam mātaram
dharuno dhayan, 769
upaśṛjan (upa ṛjam) dharunam mātṛe
dharuno nūtaram ('tṛe mātaram
dharuno, 'tṛe mātārā dharuno) dha-
yan, 769
upa stuhi (snuhi) tam nṛmnām (nṛma-
nām) athadrām, 406
upasthāvarābhyo dāśam ('ribhyo lai-
[n]dam), 296
upasthāśānām mitravad astv ojah, 449,
844
upasthāśā mitravatīdam ojah, 449, 844
upasthe te devy adite gṇim, 331
upa snuhi, *see* upa stuhi, 406

- upahūta (°tā) upahavam te (vo) 'śīya, 739
 upahūtā gāvah (dhenuh) saharṣabbhāh (°bhā, saharṣ°), 700
 upahūteyam yajamānā, 849
 upahūto bhūyasya haviṣkarane, 849
 upahūto 'yam yajamānāh (), 849
 upāstāvah kalaśah (°vāh kalaśāh) somo agnih (somadhānāh), 692
 upāmān idā hvayatām saha , 724
 upedam upaparcanam, 329
 upendra tava vīrye (°yam), 550
 uphehopaparcana, 329
 upo devān prāgūr vahnīr (°naya) uśījah, 187
 ubhā kavī yuvānā (yuvā), 762
 ubhā rājānā (°nau) svadhayā madanta (°tau), 131
 ubhāv indrā (°ro) udithah sūryaś ca, 115, 449, 747
 ubhā hi hastā vasuṇā prṇasva, 132, 704
 ubhe ca no (mā, rainam, rainam [na iti vā]) dyāvāprthivī , 724
 ubhobhayāvinn upa dhehī danṣṭrā (°rau), 131
 ubhau tām indra vjtrahan, 715, 836
 urah paṭaurāv āghnānāh, 105, 545
 urukṣayāh saganā mānuṣasah (°ṣeṣu), 455
 urudraso vīśvarūpa induh, 401
 uruvyacasā dhāmnā (uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā) patyamānāh (°ne), 416, 737, 766
 uruh san na nivartate, 849
 uro antarikṣa (uror antarikṣāt) sajūr devena vētana, 362
 urv antarikṣam vihi, 402
 urvaśī ca pūrvacittīś cāpsarasau (°sā), 135
 urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran, 831
 urvy antarikṣam vihi, 402
 ulena pariśito 'si, 357
 u lokam u dve upa jānim īyatuh, 402
 ulo halikṣno vṛṣadaśās te dhātve (°tuh), 618
 uśasa śreyasī-śreyasīr (uśasah śreya-sīh-śreyasīr) dadhat, 709
 uśām-uśām śreyasīm dhehy asmai, 709
 uśāśnaktāgnā (°gna, uśāśnaktī āgna) ājyasya vitām, 136
 uśo dadṛkṣe na punar yatīva, 326
 uśnik (uśnīham, °hā) chanda indriyam, 399
 uśnena vāya (°yav) udakenehī (°naidhī, vāyur udakenet), 326
 ūrjam puṣṭam vaśv āveśayanti, 704
 ūrjam mayī dhehī, 640
 ūrjam me dhehī (dhattam, dhehī, ya-cha), 640
 ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (°sūyāya, °sūyās) citānāh, 492, 742
 ūrjasvatīr ośadhīr ā riṣantām (vīś°), 298
 ūrjā mitro varunah pīnvatedāh, 694, 704, 749
 ūrjo bhūgam prthivyū yīty (vim ety, °vīm etv) āprnan, 509
 ūrjo mā pāhy odr̥cam, 81, 494
 ūrnamradasam (urnā°) tvā stṛnāmi (ūrnamradah prathasva, °dam pra-thasva) svasastham (stham) dīvebhyah, 382, 839
 ūrnamradā yuvatīr (°dāh prthivī) dakṣināvate (°tī), 429
 ūrdhvam imam adhvaram divī , 401
 ūrdhvam enam , see ūrdhvām enām
 ūrdhvayā dīśā (d°saha) yajñah , 604
 ūrdhvā (°vas) tīṣṭha dhr̥uva (°vas) tvam, 849
 ūrdhvā dik (dīśām), [], 427, 438
 ūrdhvām enām (°vam enam) uc chr̥aya-tāt (etr), 849
 ūrdhvāyām dīśī yajñah , 604
 ūrdhvāyai tva dīśe bṛhaspataye , 427
 ūrdhvo adhvaram divī , 401
 ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (dhvara āsthāt, dhvare sthāh, adhware sthāt), 457
 ūrdhvo adhvaro divispr̥k, 401
 ūrdhvo nah (mā) pāhy añhaso (°sah), 494, 724
 ūrdhvo mā pāhy odr̥cam, 81, 494
 ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman, 831
 ūrvān (°vam) dayanta gonām, 698
 ūrvy antarikṣam vihi, 402

ūlena parimīdho 'si, 367
 ūlo halikṣo vṛṣadaśās te dhātuh, 618
 ūvadhyaṃ vātam ('tāt) sabvam tad
 ārāt, 495
 ūgā dadṛṣe na punar yatīva, 326
 ṛksāmābhyām yajuṣā samtarantah
 ('bhyām samtaranto yajurbhih), 690
 ṛg vaṣā daksinā ('nāh) piyūṣah, 696
 ṛ ā yāmi maruto brahmanaspatim ('te),
 28, 343
 ṛjīśi śavasas pate ('tīh), 336
 ṛnak sapatnān adharāś ca kṛvat, 850
 ṛtam vadanto anṛtam rapema, 705
 ṛtam nātyeti kim (kaś) ana, 810
 ṛtaye stenahṛdayam, 182
 ṛtavo 'dhipataya āsan, 697
 ṛtasya garbhah (dhāman, 'ma) pra-
 thamā vyūṣuṣi, 457
 ṛtasya tvā vyomane ('mne grhnamī),
 272
 ṛtasya dhāmano amṛtasya yoneh, 497
 ṛtasya padam ('de) kavayo ni pānti,
 555
 ṛtasya brahma prathamota jajñe, 796
 ṛtasya yonā mahiśa aheṣata, 221
 ṛtasya yonim mahiśasya dhārām, 497
 ṛtasya yonau mahiśa agrbhnan (ahin-
 van), 221
 ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah, 724
 ṛtā vadanto anṛtam rapema, 705
 ṛtāvāri vajrīye ma (uah) punitām, 724
 ṛtāvānā ('no) jane-jane, 766
 ṛtubhis tvārtavah (ṛtubhyas tvārta-
 vebhyah), 566
 ṛtur janitri tasyā apas (apasas) pari,
 519
 ṛtuś ca me vratam ca me, 709
 ṛtūn prṣṭibhih (prṣṭi'), 188
 ṛtena nah (mā) pāhi, 724
 ṛtena (ṛte va) sthūnām ('nav, 'nā)
 adhī roha vanśa ('śah), 337, 603, 740,
 788
 ṛtyai stenahṛdayam, 182
 ṛbhukṣanam ṛbhūm (ṛbhūm ṛbhukṣano)
 rayim, 350
 ṛsabhā janayanti ('tu) nau (nah), 771
 ṛsabhāya gavayī ('ya rājne gavayah),
 779

ṛsabhena gāh, 390
 ṛsabbo gaur vayo dadhuh, 399
 ṛṣayah (ṛpyantu), 373
 ṛṣayas tvā varipā (varimṣā) pra-
 thantu, 273
 ṛṣibhih sambhṛtam rasam ('to rasah),
 387
 ṛṣir bodhah prabodhah, 750
 (om) ṛṣins tarpayāmi, 373
 ṛṣi bodhapratibodhau, 750
 eka eva rudro (eko hi rudro, eko rudro)
 na dvitīyaya tasthe (tasthuh etc.,
 rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyah), 431
 ekapadi ('im) dvipadi ('im) tripadi
 ('im), 374
 ekapādam dvipādam tripādam, 374
 ekam iṣe (iṣa), 561
 ekaviṇśa ṛbhavah stutam ('tāh), 402
 ekaśapham aṣṭṛjata ('phāh paśavo
 'ṣṛjyanta), 727
 eko rudro (hi rudro), sic eka eva
 rudro
 eny ahnāh (ahne), 618
 eta u tye praty adṛśan, 849
 etam yajñam pitaro no juṣantām, 724
 etam sadhastha ('thāh) pari te (vo)
 dadāmi, 698
 etat te kāmā, 809
 etat te tata ('tasau) ye ca tvām anu
 (tvānu), 307
 etat te tatāmaha svadhā ye ca tvām
 anu, 307
 etat te pitāmaha prapitāmaha (pitā-
 maha, 'hāsau) ye ca tvām anu
 (vvanu), 307
 etat te pratatāmaha svadhā ye ca tvām
 anu, 307
 etat te prapitāmahāsau ('pitāmaha) ye
 ca tvām anu (tvānu), 307
 etat te manyo, 809
 etat te rudrāvasam tena (etena rudrā-
 vasena) paro mūjavato tīhi, 418
 etat tvā deva savitar, 815
 etad vah pitaro vāsah ('sa ādhatta), 692
 etam te deva savitar, 809
 etam tvam prajānaya, 513
 etan no gopāya, 724
 eta pitārah somyāsah, 154

etasya tvam prajānaya, 513
 etā asadan sukṛtasya loke, 770
 etā u tyāh praty adṛśan purastāt, 849
 etā (etāni) te aghnye ('niye, 'ghnye)
 nāmāni, 168
 etāni vah pitaro vāsānsi, 692
 etāvatī mahinā (mahimnā) sam bab-
 hūva, 273
 etāv asadatām, 770
 etāvān asya mahimā, 705
 eti saumanaso bahuh, 795
 etu tisro 'ti rocanā, 799
 ete te vāyo (vāyavah), 773
 etena rudrāvasena, see etat te rud-
 rāvasam
 ete nānuvasaṣṭkṛtāh, 407
 ete pūtā vipaścitah, 155
 ete vām agni samidhau tābhyām vard-
 hethām, 769
 etau te vāyū, 773
 ed u madhvo ('dhor) madintaram, 244
 edhamānah ('nāh, 'na, 'nā) sve (sva-)
 gr̥be (vāṣe), 725, 849
 enam kumāras tarunah, 835
 enam pariserutah kumbhā, 412, 789, 835
 enaś (enānsi) cakrmā vayam, 703
 enaś cakrvān mahi baddha eṣām, 439
 enāhnedam abar aśīya svāhā, 505
 eno mahar cakrvān baddha eṣa, 439
 endrasya jaṭhare ('ram) vīśa, 526
 ebhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāh, 784
 enam panthām arukṣāma, 283
 emām kumāras tarunah, 835
 emām anu sarpatā, 765
 emām pariserutah kumbhah, 412, 789,
 835
 evam garbham dadhāmi te sau (dad-
 hātu te, dadhāmi te), 379
 evam tam garbham ā dhehi, 379, 403
 evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva, 379,
 403
 evam asyām sūtikāyām, 649
 evam asyai suputrāyai jāgrata, 649
 evam aham (mām) āyuṣā (mām med-
 hayā), 380
 evam mām brahmacārinah, 305
 evam mā śridhātārah, 305
 evam mā sakhyo brahmacārinah, 305

evā te dhṛiyatām garbhah, 379
 evā trināmān ahr̥ṣiyamāṇah ('nāh),
 739
 evā tvam daśamānya, 329
 evā dadhāmi te garbham, 379
 evā mā brahmacārinah, 305
 evā mām, see evāmām
 evā me astu dhānyam, 724
 evāyam daśamānyah, 329
 evāsmākedam dhānyam, 724
 evāmām (evā mām) indro varuno
 brhaspatih, 312, 724
 evā hindra ('ram), 352
 eṣa te kāmā, 809
 eṣa te janata rājā, 698
 eṣa te manyo, 809
 eṣa te vāyo, 773
 eṣa net tvad apacetayātai, 713
 eṣa vasūni pibdanā ('nah), 842
 eṣa vas tadvivācanah (vah sadvivāca-
 nam), 830
 eṣa vo janatā rājā, 698
 eṣa vo deva savitah somah, 740
 eṣā te agne samit tayā (tayā tvam)
 vardhaava cā ca pyāyasa, 769
 eṣā te śukra tanūr etad, 232
 eṣā tvā pātu nirṛter upasthāt (nirṛtyā
 upasthe, prapathe purastāt), 184, 663
 aidi ('do) me bhagavatī ajanisthā
 (bhagavo 'jan') maitrāvāruni ('nah),
 849
 o cit sakhyām sakhyā vavṛtyām, 389,
 702
 ojas balāya tvedyache vṛṣane śuśmā-
 yāyuṣe varcase (vṛṣane śuśmāya), 72
 ojasvantam mām āyusmantam varcas-
 vantam (mām sahasvantam), 378
 ojasvān aham (ojasvy aham, oṣṭho
 'ham) manuyesu bhūyāsam, 373
 oṣṭhas carṣanīśahām ('hān), 516
 oṣṭyo rudras tad asti, 342
 oṣo na jūtir ('tim) ṛṣabho (vṛṣ) na
 bhāmam, 389
 oṣo mayi dhehi (me dāh), 641
 om ukthasā yaju somasya, 693
 orv antarikṣam, 494
 oṣadhayah prati gr̥bhñita (gr̥bhñitāg-
 nim elam, gr̥bhñitāgnim etam), 193

- oṣadhayah prati modadhvam [enam]
 ("dhvam agnim etam), 193
 oṣadhayah prācucyavuh, 193
 oṣadhibhyah (namah), 192
 oṣadhīh prati modadhvam, 193
 oṣadhīh prācucyavuh, 193
 oṣadhīhhyah (namah), 192
 oṣadhibhyah paśave no (paśubhyo me)
 janāya (dhanāya), 700, 724
 oṣadhīr uta vīrudhah, 488
 oṣadhyā vaiṣṇave stbah, 212, 296
 kam svid garbham prathamam dadhra
 āpah, 809
 kakup ("kuc) chanda ihendriyam, 399
 kakubham (kakuham) rūpam vṛṣabhā-
 sya (rūpam ṛṣ") rocate brhat (brhan),
 842
 kakubham chanda ihendriyam, 399
 kakṣivāntam ya auśijah ("jam), 397
 katī dhāmāni katī ye vivāsāh, 269, 705
 kanyakumārī ("rī, "ryai) dhīmahi, 361,
 431
 kapota ("tā) ulūkah śāsas te nirṛtyai
 (nairṛtāh), 126, 424, 700
 karkandhu jagūe madhu sārāgham
 mukhāt (mukhe), 78 98, 660
 karṇābhyām śrotram ("re), 774
 kalpatām me yogakṣemah, 724
 kalpantām āpa oṣadhayah ("dhīh),
 192
 kavi devau pracetasau ("sā), 135
 kavīn prchāmī vidmane (vidvano) na
 vidvān, 487, 741
 kas tam indra tvāvāsum ("so), 350
 kas te yunakti, 488, 739
 kas te vi muñcati, 488, 739
 kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu ("ti,
 tvā vi muñcatu), 488, 739
 kas tvā vi muñcati sa tvā vi muñcati
 ("tu), 488, 739
 kasmai deva vasad astu tubhyam, 840
 kasya nūnam parīnasah ("si), 679
 kah svid prthivyaī varṣyān, 812
 kā (kāv, kim) ūrū pādā ("dāv) ucyete,
 776
 kṛtyāyanāya ("nyai) vidmahe, 782
 kāmam ("mah, "mas) samudram ā viśa
 (viveśa, viśat), 399
 kāma kāmam (kāmam-kāmam) ma (mā)
 āvartaya, 352
 kāmāya tvā gṛhṇāmi (prati gṛh"), 67,
 558
 kāmēna kṛtāh ("ta) śrava icchamānāh,
 336
 kāmēna tvā prati gṛhṇāmi, 67, 558
 kāmēna mā (me) kāma āgan (āgāt), 48,
 71, 478
 kāmaitat te, 809
 kām्यāsi (kāmye), 339
 kārsir (kārsy) asi, 178
 kālēna (kāle na, kālō ha) bhūtam bha-
 vyam ca, 419
 kāv ūrū , see kā ūrū
 kā (kim) svid āsit pilippilā (piśaṅgilā,
 pūrvacitūh), 812
 kim svid prthivyaī varṣyāh, 812
 kimi svid antah puruṣa ā viveśa, 526
 kim svid āsit , see kā svid
 kim svid garbham prathamam dadhrur
 āpah, 809
 kim ūrū , see kā ūrū
 kiyaṁbv atra rohatu, 801
 kuvayam ca me kṣitīś ("tam) ca me,
 706, 795
 kuhvā aham devayajyayā puṣṭimān
 paśumān (puṣṭimatī paśumatī) bhū-
 yāsam, 849
 kuhvai ("ve) trayo runātāh, 237
 kṛnuta dhūmam vṛṣanah sakhāyah, 350
 kṛnutam puṣkarasrajā, 131
 kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau, 769,
 791
 kṛnuta dhūmam vṛṣanam sakhāyah, 350
 kṛnotu se adhvarān ("rā) jātavedāh,
 769, 791
 kṛtāni kartvāni ca (kṛtāni yā ca kartvā),
 163
 kṛtān nah pāby anhasah (enasah), 724
 kṛte yonau (kṛto yonir) vapateha bījam
 (vijam), 37, 450
 kṛtyākṛtam ("to) valaginam ("nah), 518
 kṛṣṭapacyāś ("yam) ca me kṛṣṭapacyāś
 ("yam) ca me, 113, 727
 kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (lalāṭe) pur-
 astāt, 768
 kṛṣṇagrīvā āgneyāh, 768

- ketah saketah suketas (k° suk° sak°) te
na āditya ājyam (haviṣo) juṣāṇā
(āditya juṣāṇā aśya haviṣo) viyantu
(viantu), 501
- ketum kṛvāne (ketumatī) ajare bhūri-
retasā ('sau), 133
- keṣv antah puruṣa ā viveṣa, 526
- ko aśyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭih, 269,
705
- ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu, 488, 739
- ko vo vi muficatu, 458, 739
- kośa iva pūrṇo vasunā, 387
- kośam na pūrṇam vasunā nyrṣtam, 387
- kyāmbūr atra rohātu (jāyatām), 801
- kratum rihanti madhunābhy (madhvā-
bhy) atjate, 243
- kratum dadhikrā ('rām) anu samtavit-
vat (samsanisyadat), 406
- kratvā varistham vara āmurim uta, 179,
557
- kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta, 179,
557
- krānū sindhūnām kalaśān avivaśat, 419
- kṣatram dhārāya, 705
- kṣatram agne suyamam astu tubhyam,
411
- kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas
tanvam pāhu, 152, 708, 801
- kṣatrāni dhārāya, 705
- kṣatrenāgne suyamam astu tubhyam,
411
- kṣayadvira ('rāya) sumnam asme te
astu, 30, 359
- kṣayadvirāya pra bharūmahe matih
(°im), 690
- kṣayantam rādhaso mahah (rādhaso
mahe, śuvase mahe), 70, 628
- kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (devo atidur-
itāty) agnih, 165
- kṣāman ('mā) ruruca uśaso na bhūnunā
(ketunā), 547, 745
- kṣapraśyenāya ('nasya) vartikā, 618
- kṣirena pūrṇā ('nān) udakena dadhñā,
21, 385
- kṣutpipāsābhyām ('āśya) svāhā, 115,
751
- kṣutpipāsāmalā ('lam) jyeṣṭhāh
(°ṣṭhām), 738
- kṣetrasya ('rānām) pataye namaḥ, 698
- kṣetriyāt tvā nirṭyā jāmiśasāt, 150
- kṣetriyai tvā nirṭyā tvā, 150
- khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh, 207
- ganān ('nā) me nā vi titṛṣah ('sat,
tṛṣan, vy aritṛṣah), 380, 419, 459, 513
- ganair mā mā vi titṛṣata, 419, 459, 513
- gandharvo dhāma paramaḥ guhā yat
(dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat, nāma
nihitam guhāsu), 599
- gamad indram ('ro) vṛṣā sutah ('tam),
389
- gambhītrebhih ('raih) pathibhih pūrve-
bhih ('vinebhih, °vyaiḥ, pūryanaiḥ),
169
- garbha iva (ivet) subhṛto (sudhito)
garbhiniḥbhih ('nīsu), 607
- garbham yonyām aśvināśyām, 130
- garbham sravantam ('tim) agadam
(°dām) akah (akarma), 840
- garbham te aśvinau devau (aśvinobhā,
aśvināv ulhau), 130
- garbham dhattam svastaye, 702
- garbham aśvatary asahāsau ('taryā
iva), 449
- garbhah samjāyase punah, 457
- garbhān dhattam svastaye, 702
- garbhe safi (san, sam°) jayase punah,
457
- garbho jarāyuh pratidhuk pīyūṣah,
793
- garbho yas te jajñiyah, 447
- gavā te krināni, 33, 418
- gahanam ('ne) yad inakṣat, 453
- gā aśvān puruṣān paśun, 388, 700
- gātum ('tu) yajñāya gātum ('tu) yaj-
ñapataye, 791
- gātrānām te gātrabhājo ('bhāg) bhū-
yāma ('yāsam), 725
- gāthayanti pariṣṭṭam ('tā), 838
- gām aśvam puruṣam jagat (paśum,
aśvān puruṣān aham), 388, 700
- gāyatram vatsam anu tās ta āguh, 852
- gāyatram chando anu samrabhadhvam,
690, 852
- gāyatram aśi, 848
- gāyatrasya chandaso gneh, 585
- gāyatrī ('rīm) chanda indriyam, 399

gāyatrī (°trī) chandasām mātā (°tāh), 326
 gāyatrīm chandāṅsy anu samrabhan-
 tām, 690, 852
 gāyatrī trīṣṭub jagatī virāt, 399
 gāyatrī tvā chandasām avatu (°sā-
 vatu), 583
 gāyatrīm trīṣṭubham jagatīm anuṣṭu-
 bham (°tīm virājam), 399
 gāyatrena chandasāgninā (chandasā
 chandasāgneś) , 585
 gāyatrena chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi
 krame, 527
 gāyatro 'sī (gāyatro asī), 548
 gāyatro 'yā (°yā) gāyatram, 150
 gāṛhapatyah (°yāt) prajāyā (°jāyān)
 vasuvittamah, 437
 girah śumbhanty atrayah, 474
 girah somah (gira stomān) pavamāno
 manīśah, 403
 girin plāśibhih (°bhīyām), 754
 gireh pravartamānakah (rer avaca-
 rantikā), 332
 giro vardhanty atrayah, 474
 girbhīr viprah (°rīh) pramatim icha-
 mānah (°nāh), 695
 girbhīh śumbhanty atrayah, 474
 gṛnānā (°no) jamadagninā, 765
 gṛhṇām asamartyai, 486, 671
 gṛhṇ nah pitaro datta, 724
 gopā nah stha rakṣitārāh (gopā me
 stam), 758
 gopāyamānam (°nās) ca mā rakṣamā-
 nam (°nās) ca , 811
 gopāya mā (mām) śevadhīś te (°dhīś te,
 śreyase te) ham asmi, 305
 gopīthūya vo nārātaye, 182
 goposam ca me (no, °sam no) virapo-
 sam ca yacha (dhehi), 724
 goptryo me stha, 758
 gomad ū su nāsatyā (nāsatyā [a°]), 135
 gaur āsvah puruṣah paśuh, 388, 700
 gaurīr (gaur in, gaurī) mimāya salilāni
 takṣatī, 206
 grāmam (°mān) sajanayo (°jātayo)
 guchanti (yanti), 698
 grāvacyuto dhīṣaṇayor upasthāt, 664,
 769

grāvāvādīd (grāvā vaded) abhi soma-
 syānśum (°śunā), 488
 grīvāyām (°vāsu) baddho apīkakṣa
 āsanī (apīpakṣa āsan), 275, 711
 grīṣma ṛtuh (ṛtūnām), 438
 grīṣmena tvartunā (°nām) haviṣā dīkṣa-
 yāmi, 84, 581
 grīṣmo dakṣiṇah (°nam) pakṣah (°ṣam),
 791
 gṛhamam śocantah (°ta, °tam) prava-
 neṣu (praṇaveṣu) bībhṛataḥ, 402
 gṛhamam śrinantu (°ti) prathamāya
 (°māya) dhāsyave (°śeh), 623
 gṛhamam apātam āsvinā , 327
 gṛhṭam vasānah pari yāsi nirṇijam,
 694
 gṛhṭam vasāno gṛhṭaprṣṭho agne, 329
 gṛhṭam duhanādītūr (°hānām aditīm)
 janāya, 387
 gṛhṭapratikā (°ke) bhuvanasya mad-
 hye, 765
 gṛhṭapratiko gṛhṭaprṣṭho agne (°nih),
 329
 gṛhṭapruṣā manasā (madhunā) havyam
 undan (manasā modamānāh), 739
 gṛhṭavatīm adhvaryo (°yoh) srucam
 asyasya, 363
 gṛhṭavatī savitar (°tur) ādhupatyē
 (°yāh), 31, 363, 602, 705
 gṛhṭasya kulyā upa, 698
 gṛhṭasya kulyām anu , 698
 gṛhṭasya dhārām mahīasya yonim, 492
 gṛhṭasya vibhṛāṣṭīm anu vaṣṭi śociṣā
 (anu śukraśociṣah), 591
 gṛhṭasyagne tanvā sam bhava, 474, 588
 gṛhṭācī stho dhuryau pātām, 212
 gṛhṭācy asī juhūr (dhruvā) nāmnā
 (°ma), 471
 gṛhṭācy asy upabhṛn nāmnā (°ma), 44,
 471
 gṛhṭācyau stho yajamānasya dhuryau
 pātām, 212
 gṛhṭād ulluptam (°to) madhumat suv-
 arnam (°mān payasvān, madhunā
 samaktam), 550
 gṛhṭā vasānah pari yāsi nirṇijam 694
 gṛhṭāhavana (°nam) idyah (°yam), 387
 gṛhṭāhavano gṛhṭaprṣṭho agniḥ, 329

ghṛtena tvam tanvaṁ ('nuvo) vard-
bayaśva, 474, 588, 708
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām
(^oṇvāthām, ^oṇvātām), 327
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī vy undhī (un-
dan), 694
ghṛtena no (mā) ghṛtapvah ('puvah)
punantu, 724
ghṛtenāktau paśūṇs ('śum) trāyethām,
700
ghṛtenārkam abhy arcanti vatsam, 47,
465, 690
ghnatā (ghnanto) vṛtrāny aprati, 416
cakṣma yac ca duṣkṛtam ('ma yāni
duṣkṛtā), 703
cakṣur akṣṇoh, 281
cakṣur ā dhattam akṣyoh (akṣṇoh), 281
cakṣur no (me) dhehi cakṣuḥ, 724
cakṣur mayi dhehi (me dāh, me dehi,
me dhehi), 640
cakṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam,
444
cakṣuś cit sūrye sacā, 474, 550
cakṣuḥ eṣām manasaś ca samdhau, 444
cakṣuṣah ('ṣā) pitā manasā hi dhīrah,
585
cakṣuṣā sūryam dr̥ge, 474, 550
cakṣuḥ tvā (vām), 765
caturakṣau pathirakṣi (pathiṣadī)
nṛcakṣasau ('sā), 131
catuṣśikhaṇḍā ('de) yuvatīh ('ti)
supeśāh ('patnī, kanīne), 765
catuṣṭomo ('mam) abhavad (adadhād)
yā turyā, 378
catuṣpadām ('pāda) uta yo (ca, ye)
dvipadām ('pādah), 445
catuṣtrīṇśat tantavo ye vi tatnīre, 380
catvāri śrīgā ('gās) trayo aśya pādāh,
793
candravapayor medasām anu brūhi
(^osām preṣya), 694
candrena jyotiṣ amṛtam dadhānāh
(^onā), 114, 735
candrair ('dro) yāti sabhām upa, 417
camī mā , see jāmin mā
caratya ananuvratā, 404, 517
caritāṇs te suṇdhāmī, 380
cāṣeṇa kīkidivīnā ('vyā), 218

cittaye ('tityai) svāhā, 182
cittasya mātā suhavā no astu, 18, 399,
723
citrabhānum ('nū) rodasī antar urvī,
397
citrā citram ('rām) asūt, citrās citrā
(^orān) usuvan, 849
codad rādha upastutaś ('tam) cid
arvāk, 402, 842
chandasā haṇsah śuciṣat, 690
chandasvatī (chandaḥpakṣe) uṣasā
(^osau) pepisāne, 133
chandāṇsi ('do) gacha svāhā, 690
chandobhir yajñāih sukṛtām kṛtena,
580, 704
chandobhir haṇsah śuciṣat, 690
jagatām ('tas) pataye namah, 700
jagatī ('tim) chanda indriyam
(ihendr'), 399
jagatī tvā chandasām avatu (chanda-
sāvatu), 583
jagatyainam ('ty enam) vikṣv ā veśa-
yāmah ('yāni, 'yanī), 29, 354
jaghāna vṛtram yatir na, 742
yajñānam ('nah) sapta mātarah
(^otr̥bhīh), 390, 419
janam ca mitro yatati bruvānāh, 698
janāya juṣṭo adruhe ('hah), 616
janāya ('nāso) vṛktabarhiṣe ('sah), 427,
698
jambhābhyaṁ (jambhyais, 'bhyebhīs)
taskarān ('rān) uta, 171, 754
jayanta upaspr̥ṣatu, 326
jayantam tvānu devā madantu (tvām
anu madantu devāh), 306
jayantīnām maruto yantv agram ('re,
yantu madhye), 530
jayantopa spr̥ṣa, 326
jaradaṣṭim kṛnomi tvā ('tir bhavi-
ṣyasi), 378
jarāmṛtyum kṛṇutām samvidānau
(^one), 847
javam jañghābhyaṁ ('bhīh), 754
jāgatam aśi (jāgatāsi, jāgato 'si), 848
jāgatasya chandaso 'gneh ('tēna chan-
dasā chandasāgneh) , 585
jāgatena chandasā divam anu vi krame,
527

- jāgatena chandasā savitrā , 585
 jāgrviś ca mārundhatī cottarād ("ratu)
 gopāyatām, 173
 jātavedah prati havyā grbhāya, 689
 jātavedo nayā hy (nayāsy) enam ("do
 vahemam, "do vahasvainam) sukr-
 tām yatra lokah ("kāh), 698
 jātavedo havir idam juṣasava, 689
 jāmi bruvata āyudham ("dhā), 710
 jānim itvā mā vivitsi lokān, 496
 jānim rtvā māva patsi lokāt, 496
 jānim (cām) mā hinsir amuyā (anu
 yā) śayānā ("nām), 401
 jīmūtān hrdayaupasābhyām ("śena,
 "sena), 751
 jivam rudanti vi mayante (nayanaty)
 adhware ("ram), 528, 835
 jivam devebhya uttarām strnāmi, 402
 jivām rudanti vi mayante adhware,
 528, 835
 jivā jivantir upa vah sadema, 725
 jivātave pratarām ("ram) sādhyā
 dhiyah, 823
 jivām rtebhya (mr̥t) pariniyamānām,
 701
 jivo jivantir upa vah sadeyam, 725
 juṣtam devānām ("vebhya) idam astu
 bavyam, 616
 juṣtam devānām ("vebhīr) uta mānu-
 sām ("sebhīh), 65, 88, 579
 juṣto vācaspataye ("tiḥ, "teh, "tyuh),
 219, 428, 448, 616
 juṣto vāco ("ce) bhūyāsam, 77, 616
 juhūr asi ghr̥tācī ("ci nāmā), 471
 juhūr, upabhr̥d, dhruvāsi ghr̥tācī
 nāmā, 471
 juhomi te dharunam madhvo agram,
 402
 jaitram indra (jaitrāyano) ratham ā
 tiṣṭha govit ("vidam) 401
 jyestham yo vtrahā gr̥ne, 397
 jyesthasya dharmam dyukṣor ("sya vū
 dharmam) kṣor) anike, 277
 jyesthāya ("tho) yad apracetāh, 431
 jyestho yo vtrahā gr̥ne, 397
 jyaiṣṭhye śraīṣṭhye ca gāthināh, 648
 jyok ca paśyāti ("śai, "ati) sūryam
 ("ah), 389
 jyotirjāryū rajaso vimāne ("naḥ), 455
 jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛvati
 ("van), 849
 jyotiṣam na prakāśate, 709
 jyotiṣā tvā (vo) vaiśvānarepatisṭhe,
 714
 jyotiṣe tvā (vām), 765
 jyotiṣmatī ("tiḥ) prati muñcate
 nabhah, 402
 ta āyajanta dravinam ("nā) sam asmai
 ("min), 644, 704
 ta āvavṛtran sadanād r̥tasya ("nāni
 kṛtvā, "nāni rātvī), 495, 698
 ta ā vahanti kavayah purastāt, 416
 ta (ta u) evādhīpataya āsan, 441
 tam rakṣadhvam mā vo jābhat, 739
 tam vartanir ("nir) anu vāvṛta ekam
 it puru (eka it), 389
 tam vo gr̥hnām: uttamam, 714
 tam svadhām akṣitam taiḥ sahopa-
 jivāsau, 840
 tam hi svarājam vṛsabham tam ojase
 ("sā), 558
 tam kravyādām aśtīsamam, 20, 396
 tat jānatir abhy anūṣata vrāh, 402
 taj (tam) juṣasva yaviṣṭhya, 727, 737,
 850
 tato no dehi jivase, 656
 tato no mitrāvarunāv avīṣtam, 571
 tato no (mā) vṛṣṭyāva ("vata), 724
 tato mā yajīṣasyāśir āgachatu, 78, 90,
 656
 tato rātry ("rir) ajāyata, 195
 tato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu ("ni) viśvā,
 164
 tato virād ajāyata, 173
 tat te badhnāmy (vi śyāmy) āyuse
 varcase balāya, 832, 850
 tat tvam bibhr̥hi punar ā mad aitoḥ
 (ā mamaitoḥ), 86, 659
 tat tvendragraha , see tam tvendra-
 graha
 tat punidhvam yavā mama, 311
 tat puruṣāya ("śasya) vidmahe, 614, 634
 tatra nau samskṛtam, 771
 tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrām (pita-
 ram ca putram), 702, 745
 tatra yamah sādānā te kṛnotu, 496, 699

- tatrāpi dahre (°ram) gaganam viśokah
 (°kam), 454, 829
 tatrahātās trīni śatāni śāṅkavah, 164
 tatraitam (°tān) prastutyevopastu-
 tyevopāvasrakṣat, 700
 tatvāya savitā dhiyah (°yam), 690
 tad agnir anumanyatām ayam (iyam
 avāhā), 840
 tad anu preta sukr̥tām u lokam, 704,
 809
 tad antūt prthivyā adhi, 495, 698
 tad ayam rājā varuno 'numanyatām,
 402, 842
 tad aśyāma tava rudra pranītau
 (°tīṣu), 705
 tad aśvinā pari dhattam svasti, 480, 809
 tad astabhñā uto divam (uta dyām),
 292
 tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam, 309
 tad asmān pātu viśvatah, 850
 tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana,
 313, 318a, 639
 tad aham manase prabravīmi, 809
 tad āpah sa (āpas tat) prajāpatih, 113,
 730
 tad āsata ṛṣayah sapta sākam, 519, 815
 tad āharanti kavayāḥ purastāt, 416
 tad idam rājā varuno numanyatām,
 402, 842
 tad viprāso vipanyavah (°yuvah), 229
 tanāḥ kṛnavanto arvate, 488
 tanūnapre śakmane śākvarīya śak-
 manā oṃṣṭhāyā, 655
 tanūnapre śākvarīya śakmann (śak-
 vana) oṃṣṭhāyā, 655
 tanūr me tanvā saha, 611
 tanūs tanvā (°nuvā) me saha, 611
 tanūs tanvām me bhaved antah, 611
 tantuḥ tatam peśasā samvayantī, 465
 tam te gr̥bhñāmy uttamam, 714
 tap te gr̥bhñāmi yajūyāḥ ketubhih
 saha, 486
 tam te badhnāmi jarase svastaye, 850
 tam te badhnāmy āyuse , 850
 tam te vi syāmy āyuso na madhyāt (nu
 madhye), 664, 832
 tam te harāmi brahmanā, 486
 tam tvā girah suṣṭutayo vājayanti, 411
 tam tvā pra viśāmi , 815
 tam tvābhīh suṣṭutibhir vājayantah,
 411
 tam tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā (°dho,
 suhṛdo) vardhamānam, 413
 tam tvā harāmi brahmanā, 486
 tam (tat) tvendragraha prapadye (pra-
 viśāni) , 815
 tam devās sam acik|pan, 419, 840
 tam devebhyah (°veṣu) paridādāmi
 (°mī vidvān), 72, 644
 tan na indro varuno br̥haspatih, 724
 tan nah prabrūhi nārada, 724
 tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (tan
 no viśvato) mahat, 708, 724
 tan nah samskr̥tam, 771
 tan no astu try°, see tan me astu try°
 tan no gopāya, 724
 tan no danti (°tiḥ) pracodayāt, 214
 tan no brahmā (°ma) pracodayāt, 796
 tan no varuno rājā, 724
 tan nau samvyananam kṛtam, 419
 tan nau samskr̥tam, 771
 tan ma ācakṣva nārada, 724
 tan ma (mā) āpyāyatām punah, 488
 tan ma indro varuno br̥haspatih, 724
 tan mā devā avantu śobhāyī, 45, 487,
 815, 818
 tan mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam, 815
 tan mū mā hinsīt parama vyoman, 850
 tan māvatu (mām avatu), 404
 tan māvit (mām āvit), 304
 tan mṛtyunā (°yur) nirṛtīh (°tyā) sam-
 vidānā (°nah), 412
 tan me (no) astu tryāyucam, 724
 tan me gopāya (°yasva), 724
 tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato
 br̥hat, 708, 724
 tan me varuno rājā, 724
 tan me śīya, 501
 tanvāno (°ne) yajūam purupeśasam
 dhiyā, 765
 tapasā devā devatām agra āyan, 46, 106,
 530
 tapūṣy (°pobhir) agne juhvā patam-
 gūn, 459
 tam aktratam (°tuh) paśyati vītaśokah,
 401

- tam agne menyāmenim kṛnu, 703
 tam agne bedaḥ pari te vṛnakṭu, 849
 tam anu preḥi sukṛtasya lokam, 704, 809
 tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam, 47, 465, 690
 tam ardhamaśam (°syam) prasutān (°tāt) pitryāvataḥ (om tam), see ardhamaśyam, 496
 tam aśvinā paridhattam svastaye (°sti), 480, 809
 tam aham manase prabravīmi, 809
 tam ātman (°ni) pari grhṇīmahe vayam (°nīmasiḥa), 277
 tam ito nāśayāmasi, 703
 tam idam vi vṛhāmi te, 815
 tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samūnam it, 675
 tam indram abhi gāyata, 484
 tam in mahe vṛnate nānyam tvat, 675
 tam imam vi vṛhāmi te, 815
 tam u tvam māyayāvadhīh, 449, 815
 tam u śtuhi yo antah sindhau (°hy antahsindhūm), 20, 32, 394
 tam panthānam (panthām) jayemūnamitram, 283
 tam pratyaham samdaha jātavedah, 703
 tam pratyaham arcīṣā vidhya marman (°mani), 275
 tam mātṛā sam ajīgamam, 840
 tam mā devā avantu śobhāyai, 45, 487, 815, 818
 tam mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam, 815
 tam mā sam sṛja varcaśi, 303
 tayagne tvam menyāmum aminum kṛnu, 703
 tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvāh (°vā) sīda, 768
 tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvāh (°ve) sīdata (°tam), 768
 tayā devā devatām agra āyan, 46, 106, 530, 780
 tayā devāḥ sutam ā babbhūvuh, 419, 550
 tayā mām indra sam sṛja (mā sam sṛjāmasi), 303
 tayū roham āyann upa medhyāsah, 695, 780
 taj īvahante kavayāḥ purastāt, 416
 tayā sapatnān pari vṛdhī ye mama, 851
 tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca svāhā, 724
 tayāham śāntyā sarvaśāntyā mahyam dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntim karomi, 704
 taylor devā adhīsamvasantah, 412, 765
 tari mandrāsu prayaksu, 458
 tarpayata me (nah) pitṛn, 724
 tava-tava rāyah, 311, 671
 tava tyan māyayāvadhīh, 449, 815
 tava praśastayo mahīh (°taye mahe), 421, 690
 tava rāyah, 311, 671
 tava viśve sajoṣasah, 680
 tava śravānsy upamānv ukthyā (ya), 340
 tava syām (svānva) śarman (°mans) trivarutha udhāt (°bhau), 311, 454
 taved u stomani (maś) ciketa, 474, 690
 tasmā indrāya gāyata, 444
 tasmā indrāya sutam ā (°ya haviṣḥ, °ya havir ū, °jāndhaso) juhota (°homi), 47, 51, 65, 126, 466, 502, 582
 tasmā u brahmanas patih, 428
 tasmā etam bhārata tadvaśāya (°vaśo dadih), 34, 425
 tasmād dhānyan na parah kim canāsa, 810
 tasmād virād ajāyatu, 173
 tasmān upahūti (°tā), 849
 tasmān pāśān pratimucitāma etān, 703
 tasmān ma etat suhutam astu prāśītam, 850
 tasmān ma csa suhuto 'stv odanah, 850
 tasmān sākam trīsatā na śaṅkavah, 164
 tasmai gotrāyeha jayīpatī samrabhe-thām, 621
 tasmai ca devī vaśad astu tubhyam, 840
 tasmai te dyāvīpṛthivī revatībhīh, 327
 tasmai tvam stana pra pyāya, 344
 tasmai deva vaśad astu tubhyam, 840
 tasmai devā smṛtāh (°tam) sam vya yantām (°tu), 15, 403
 tasmai namo yatamasyām dīśītah, 709

tasmai no (mā) devāḥ paridatteha
(°dhatte, °dhatteha) sarve (viśve),
724

tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (brahmā)
ca, 742

tasmai rudrāya namo astu (°tv agnaye,
°tv adya, °tu devāḥ, °tu devāya), 360

tasmai stanam prapyāyasva, 344

tasya guptaye dampatī sam śrayethām,
621

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravineha
bhakṣīya, 346, 382, 704

tasya tṛpātām ahāhāhuhū svāhā, 94,
579

tasya te datīām yasya (yayoh, dadatu
yeṣām, dadātu yasya) prāno si svāhā,
117, 768

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (°vāno
bhūyāma), 849

tasya te bhakṣīya, 501

tasya te vayam bhūyīṣṭhabhājo bhū-
yāma, 849

tasya te śīya, 501

tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya dravinehā-
gameh, 326, 346, 704, 724

tasya no dhehi jīvasa, 656

tasya no rāsa (), 724

tasya pūṣṭ prasave (°vam) yāti vidvān
(devah), 527

tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvāh (°ravo
nāma), 229

tasya bhājayateha nah, 724

tasya mū yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dra-
vinehāgamyāt, 326, 704, 724

tasya māśīr avatu vardhatam, 78, 90,
656

tasya mṛtyuś (°yoś, °yau) aratī rūja-
sūyam, 449, 457

tasya me rāsa, 724

tasya meṣṭasya vītasya dravinam ā
gamyāt (°nehāgamyāḥ, °nehāgameh),
326, 382, 704, 724

tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravi-
nam mṛgachatu, 326, 382, 704, 724

tasya vavam sumatai yajñīyasya, 739

tasya vayam hedaśi māpi bhūma, 835

tasyām samudrā adhivikṣaranti, 665

tasyām suparqāḥ adhi yau niviṣṭau, 129

tasyām suparqāḥ vṛṣarqā ni śedatuḥ, 129
tasyāgne bhājayeha mā, 724

tasyām devā adhisamvasantah, 412, 765
tasyām devaiḥ samvasanto mahitvā,
412, 765

tasyā vān mātṛyā, 145

tasyāsata ṛṣayah (°te harayah) sapta
tīre, 519, 515

tasyās te devi haviṣā , *see* *tasyai*

tasyās te devīṣṭake, , 152

tasyās te devy adita (°tir) upasthe,
331

tasyās te bhakṣivānah syāma (bhakti-
vāno bhūyāma, bhāgam aśmah),
849

tasyās tvam harasā tapan, 616

tasyāḥ samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti, 665
tasyai (°yās) te devi haviṣā vidhema,
152

tasyai te devīṣṭake , 152

tasyai tvam harasā tapan, 616

tasyai namo yatumasyām diśitah, 789

tasyai vayam hedaśi māpi bhūma, 835

tasyai vān mātṛyā (°ti), 145

tā āpah sa prajāpateh, 113, 730

tāḥ parvatasya vṛṣabhasya pṛṣṭhe
(°thāt), 79, 661

tāḥ prācyā (°yah, °eīr) ujjigāhire
(°hīre, samjigāhire), 213

tām viśvair devair (°śve devā) rṭubhiḥ
samvidānah (°nāḥ), 412

tām savitah satyaśavām sucitrām, 363

tām savitur varenyasya citrām, 363

tāns te paridādāmy aham, 739, 849

tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata kṣāḥ, 402

tā juṣasva yaviṣṭhya, 727, 737, 850

tā te dhāmāny uśmaśi gamadhyai, 183,
402, 769

tādītā (°knū) śatrum (°rūn) na kilā
vivitse (°vatse), 703

tān ito nāśayāmasi, 703

tāni māmi avantu, 304

tā no amīvām (°vā) apabādhamānau,
703

tā no muñcatam āgasah, 132

tā no mṛdāta idṛśe, 764

tām te paridādāmy aham (°dāmi), 739,
849

tām te vācam śasya ādatte (śadade)
 hrdaya ādadhe, 553, 665
 tām tvam svadhām tais sahopa jīva,
 840
 tām devaḥ sam ajīgamam, 419, 840
 tām (tān) nah punar dehi, 724
 tām nah pūṣaṁ chivatamām erayasva,
 342, 393
 tām (tān) no (me) gopāyāsmākam
 punar āgamāt, 724
 tān prático nirdaha jātavedah, 703
 tān me punar dehi, 724
 tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dābhan, 739
 tān sma mānuvasaṅkṛtāḥ, 407
 tābhīr ā vartayā punah, 569
 tābhīr no devaḥ savitā punātu, 724, 844
 tābhīr yāsi dūtyām (yam) sūryasya,
 799
 tābhīr vahanaṁ sukrām u lokam
 (vahemaṁ sukrām yatra lokāḥ), 396
 698
 tābhīḥ śāntībhīḥ sarvaśāntībhīḥ śama-
 yūmy aham, 704
 tābhīḥ tvā devaḥ savitā punātu, 724,
 844
 tābhīḥ tvābhīḥśiśāmi, 306, 737
 tābhīḥ samrahdhamaṁ inv avindan (°dho
 avidat) śad urvīḥ, 369
 tābhya enā ni vartaya, 569
 tābhyas tvā vartayāmasi, 569
 tābhyām namo yatamasyām diśitah,
 769
 tābhyām (t° vayam) patema sukrām u
 lokam (pathyāsmā sukrasya lokam),
 704
 tām agne hedah pari te vṛnaktu, 849
 tā mandasānā manuso durona ā, 778
 tām pūṣaṁ (van) chivatamām era-
 yasva, 342, 393
 tām me gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt,
 724
 tām me punar dehi, 724
 tāvanto asya mahimānah, 705
 tā vām vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai,
 183, 402, 769
 tā vām gīrbhīr vipanyavah (°yuvah),
 229
 tāvān asya mahimā, 705

tāv imā upa sarpatah, 765
 tāsām viśiśānām (°śnyānām), 835
 tāsām te sarvāsām vayam (°sām aham),
 724
 tāsām tvā jarasa ādadhūmi, 642, 671
 tāsu tvāntar jarasy ā dādhūmi, 642, 671
 tās te kṛnvantu bhagaḥ, 849
 tās te gachantv āhutim (°tīr) ghṛtasya,
 689
 tās tvā jarase sam vyayantu, 558
 tās tvā devīr (°vyo) jarase (°sā) sam
 vyayantu (°yasva), 213, 558
 tās tvā vadhu prajāvatīm, 825
 tigmēna nas tejasa (no brahmanā, nau
 brahmanā) sain śiśādhu, 771
 tīrah purū cid arnavam (°vān) jagan-
 vān (jagamyāḥ), 608
 tīraś (tītāni) (°tā) vasavo jighānsati,
 167
 tīras tamānsi darśataḥ (°tam), 387
 tīrah satyāni maruto jighānsāt, 167
 tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāṣt
 (°tam mā pra hāṣh), 512
 tiro me yajña āyur mā prahāṣh, 512
 tiro rajāṁsy asptāḥ (°tam, asptāḥ),
 387
 tilvilāstām irāvatīm, tilvilā sthājirā-
 vatī, tilvalā sthūrāvatī, tilvilā syād
 irāvatī, 406
 tiṣṭhantam aya gūhati (tiṣṭhann evāya
 gūhasi), 390
 tiṣṭhā ratham (°the) adhī tam (yam,
 yad) vajrahasta (°tah), 38, 338, 526,
 816
 tisraś ca rājabandhavīḥ (°vaiḥ), 459
 tisrah śilpā vaśā vaśvadevyah, 213
 tisro rohinīr (rauhinyo) vaśā maitri-
 yah (°tryah), 213
 tisro rohinīs (°nyas) tryavyas tā vasū-
 nām, 213
 tīrenāsau (tīrena yamune) tava, 598,
 624
 tīre tubhyam asau (°bhyam gaṅge),
 598, 624
 tuje janā (°ne) vanam svah, 637
 tujo yujo vanam (balaṁ) sahaḥ, 837
 tubhyam sūtāsah somāḥ (°bhyam so-
 māḥ sūtā ime), 155

tubhyam ca samvananam, 315
 tubhyam āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vane
 hitāḥ, 309
 turāś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān, 403,
 727
 turyavād gaur (°vāham gām) vayo
 dadhuh (°dhat), 399
 turyāma dasyūn tanūbhīh, 703
 tuvidyumna yaśasvataḥ (°tā), 475
 tṛtiyaśyā (°yām) ito divaḥ (°vi), 669
 tṛtiye dhāmāny abhy (°mann adhy)
 airayanta, 278
 tṛptā (°tām) juhur mātulasyeva yośā,
 407
 tṛptā mā (mām) tarpayata (°yantu),
 305
 tṛptāham (tṛpto ham), 849
 tṛmpantu hotrā madhvo yāḥ (yat)
 eviṣṭāḥ (°tām), 727
 te asmā agnaye (°yo) dravinam dattvā,
 429, 691, 704
 te asya yoṣaṇe divye (°yah), 762
 tejase tvā (vām), 765
 tejo mayi dhehi, 640
 tejo me dāḥ svāhā (dehi, dhāḥ), 640
 tejo me yacha, 640
 te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye, 183,
 402, 769
 te tvā vadhu prajāvatīm, 825
 te devāso (devā) yaññam (havir) imam
 (idam) juṣadhvam (°śantām), 157
 te nah kṛnavantu bheṣajam, 849
 te nah pāntv asmin brahmany as-
 min karmāny asyām , 276
 tena grhṇāmi tvām aham (°mi te has-
 tam), 306
 tena cinvānas tanvo (°nuvo, °vam) ni
 śīda, 708
 tena ta āyuse vapāmī, 558
 tena tṛpyatam aśvabau, 94, 579
 tena te vapāmī brahmanā (°my āyuse,
 °my aśv āyusā varcasā), 558
 tena tvam garbhini bhava, 850
 tena tvām abhiśiñcāmi, 306, 737
 tena tvāham pratigrhṇāmi tvām aham,
 306
 tena devā devatām agra (°ram) āyan,
 46, 106, 530, 790

tena no mitrāvaruṇāv (°nā) aviṣṭam,
 571
 tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih, 312,
 724
 tena brahmanā tena chandasā
 dhruvāḥ (°vā) śidata (śīda), 768
 tena brahmāno vapatedam asya
 (adya), 327
 tena brāhmano vapatu, 327
 tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti, 217, 695
 tena roham āyann upa (rohān ruruhur)
 medhyāsah, 698, 780
 tena samvanināu svake, 419
 tena sapatnān pari vṛdhi ye mama, 851
 tenā no yaññam pipṛhi viśvavāre, 417
 tenāsmān indro varuno bṛhaspatih, 312,
 724
 tenāsmāi yajamānāyuru (yaññapataya
 uru) rāye (°yā) kṛdhi, 558
 tenāsyāyuse vapa, 558
 tenāham adya manasā sutasya, 469
 tenaitu yajamānāḥ svasti (°tyā), 217,
 695
 te no mṛdantv idṛśe, 764
 te pūlāso vipaścitah, 155
 te brahmalokeṣu (°ke tu) parāntakāle,
 698
 tehhir no adya savitota viṣṇuh, 60, 80,
 312, 573
 tehhir mā devah savitā punātu, 724, 844
 tebbhiś chidram apidadhmo yad atra,
 583
 tebbhiś tvam putram janaya, 171
 tebbhiḥ svarād asunitim etām, 399, 563
 tebbhyah svarād asunitir no adya (°tim
 etām), 399, 563
 tebhyo asmān varunah soma indrah,
 60, 80, 312, 573
 tebhyo na indrah savitota viṣṇuh, 60,
 80, 312, 573
 te mām avantu, 304
 te māvata te mā jinvata, 304
 te māvātām (māvantu), 304
 te me mā vitṛṣan, 380
 te virājam abhisamyantu sarve, 299
 te viśvā dāśuse vasu, 693, 712
 teśām vayam sumatau yaññiyānām,
 739

- teṣām viśipriyānām (°nām vo ham), 835
- teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (sam dadhmo akṣāni), 281
- teṣām chidram pratī dadhmo yad atra, 583
- teṣām chinnaṁ sam etad (sam imam, praty etad) dadhāmi, 583
- teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam, 698
- teṣām ādhipatyam āsit, 441
- teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti, 412, 704
- te samrājāṁ abhisamyantu sarve, 299
- te 'smā āgnaye dravināni dattvā, 429, 691, 704
- tais tvam garbhini bhava, 171, 850
- tais tvam putram (°rām) vindasva, 171
- toke vā goṣu tanaye yad (yam) apsu, 816
- to-to (to te) rāyah, 311, 671
- tau no muñcatam anhasah (āgasah), 132
- tau māvatām, 304
- tmanā kṛnvanto arvataḥ 488
- trayastrinśat tantavo ye (yam, yān) vitatnre (vitanvate), 380, 743
- trayastrinśe mṛtām stutam (mṛtā stutāḥ), 402
- trayo gharṁā (°maso) anu reta āguh (retasāguh, jyotisāguh), 157, 467
- trāyatām (°ntām) marutām ganah (°nah), 698
- trīśad dhāma (°mā, trīśaddhāmā) vi rājati, 270
- trinave marutah (°ta) stutāḥ (°lam), 402
- tripadā yā ca śaṭpadā (yāś ca śaṭpadāḥ), 690
- tripād ūrdhva ud ait puruṣah, 58, 413
- tribhiḥ padbhir dyām arohat, 58, 413
- triyavir gaur vayo dadhuh, 399
- trir ā divo vidathe patyamānah (°nāḥ), 739, 849
- trivatsam gām (°ao gaur) vayo dadhat (°dhuh), 399
- trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt, 438
- trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt, 438
- trivṛt no viṣṭhayā (°vṛd viṣṭhayā) stomo ahnām (°nā), 585, 709
- triṣṭup chanda indriyam (ihendriyam), 399
- triṣṭup tvā chandasām avatu (°sāvatu), 583
- triṣṭubham chanda ihendriyam (indriyam), 399
- trih sapta paramam nāma jānan, 741
- trih sapta mātuh paramāni vindan, 741
- trini padāni (°dā) nihitā guhāya (°āsu), 167, 599, 734
- trin gharṁān abhi vāvaśānā, 692
- trin varān vṛṇiṣva, 739
- trin samudrān samasṛpat svargān (°guh), 402
- tredhā ni dadhe padam (°dā), 695
- traiṣṭubham asi, 348
- traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ (°bhena chandasā chand usāgneḥ), 585
- traiṣṭubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame, 527
- traiṣṭubhena chandasendrena, 585
- traiṣṭubho si, 548
- triyavir gaur vayo dadhuh (triyavim gām vayo dadhat), 399
- tvam yajneṣv idyuh, 380
- tvam rāya ubhayaśo janānam, 393
- tvam samudram (°rah) prathamam (°me) vi dhārayah (vidharman), 402, 454
- tvam tān āgne menyamenīn kṛnu svahā, 703
- tvam nṛnām nṛpate (nṛbhyo nṛmaṇo) jāyase śuciḥ, 659
- tvam no nabhasas pate, 329
- tvam uttamāśy oṣadhe, 54, 367, 835
- tvayā gām (gā) āśvam (°vān) puruṣam (°ān) sanema, 700
- tvayā bhūṣanti vedhasah, 603
- tvayā vayam samghatam-samghātani jeṣma, 105, 546
- tvayāham śāntiā sarvasāntiā mahy am dvipade ca catuspade ra śāntim karomi, 704
- tvaṣṭah poṣāya viṣya nābhim asme, 326, 486, 623
- tvaṣṭar devebhiḥ sahasāma indra, 169, 336
- tvaṣṭa tvā rūpāir upariṣṭāt pātu, 739

tvastā devasāḥ sahamāna indrah, 169, 336

tvastā no daivyam vacah, 723

tvastā paśūnām mithunānām rūpakṛd rūpapatih, rūpenāsmim yajñe yajamañāya paśūn dadātu svāhā, 641

tvastā me daivyam vacah, 723

tvastā rūpānām rūpakṛd rūpapatī rūpena paśūn asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu svāhā, 641

tvastā rūpānām vikartā tasyāham devayajayā viśvarūpam priyam puṣeyam, 641

tvastā rūpāni ("pena) samanaktu yajñasā ("ñam), 59, 461, 689, 707

tvastā viṣṇuḥ prajayā samraranāḥ ("nāh), 735

tvastā vo rūpāir upariṣṭād upadadhātām, 739

tvastīmatī, see tvastīrī

tvastūr aham devayajayā paśūnām rūpam ("yā sarvāni rūpāni paśūnām) puṣeyam, 707

tvastūr varutrīm varunasya nābhīm, 198

tvastīmantas (tvastīrī, tvastūr) tvā sapema, 483, 725, 849

tvastēdam viśvam bhuvanam jajāna, 698

tvastēmā vīvā bhuvanā jajāna, 698

tvastīmatī (tvastīrī) te sapeya, 483, 725, 849

tvām yajñeṣu idate, 350

tvām rāya ubhayāso janānām, 308

tvā bhūtāny upaparyāvantante, 308

tvām agne pradiva āhutam ghr̥tena ("taih), 694

tvā manasānārtena, 308

tvām arbhasya havisāḥ samānam it, 675

tvām bhūtāny upaparyāvantant, 308

tvām maho vṛnate (vṛnate nara) nānyam tvat, 675

tvāim indre na ("rena) bheṣajam, 611

tve ā bhūṣanti vedhasah, 603

tve rāyah, 671

tve viśve sajoṣasah, 680

dakṣakratū ("tu) te mātṛāvārunah pātu, 751

dakṣāya dakṣavṛdhe ("dham), 489

dakṣinayā dīśā ("śā saha, "nasyām dīśi, "nāyām dīśi) māsāḥ pitaro mārjayanātām, 299, 604

dakṣinā dik (dīśām), [], 427, 438

dakṣinābhyaḥ ("nāyai) svāhā, 696

dakṣināyai tvā dīśa indrīyādhipataye tīrāścīrījaye rakṣitre yamāyeṣumate, 427

datto asmahyam (dattvāyāśma, dattāyāśma, dattāśma) dravineha bhādam, 313, 396, 704

dadhatha no dravinam vac ca bhādam, 313, 396, 704

dadhad ratnam ("nā) dakṣam pītṛbhya (dakṣapītṛbhya) āyuni (āyūṣi), 538, 704

dadhad ratnā ("nāni) dāśuṣe vāryāni (dāśuṣe, vi dāśuṣe), 163

dadhanvān ("vā, "vān) yo naryo apasv antar ā, 267

dadhanveva tā ihi, 835

dadhī mantham ("thām) pariśrutam ("srutam), 789

dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā ("nau), 131

dame-dame kustutir ("tyā, "tīr, "ti) vīm iyāna (vāvṛdhānā, "nau), 132, 216, 413, 474

daśamāsyāya (daśame māsī) sūtavai ("ve), 298, 655

dā agne ("neh, dāgneh) prajayā saha, 366

dātā vasūnām puruhūto arhan, 87, 507

dātā vasūni vidadhe tanūpāḥ 87, 507

dādhr̥ṣṇām dhṛṣṭam śavah, 842

dāma grīvāṣv avicartayam (avimokayam yat), 832

dikṣu viṣṇur vyakraṇstānuṣṭubheṣa chandasā, 527

dighbyah śrotam, 126, 485

dityavād ("vāham) gaur (gām) vayo dadbuh ("dhat), 399

didhī deva devayuh ("yum), 401

divah, see divas

- divam viṣṇur vyakraṇṣṭa jāgatena
chandasā, 527
- divam samudram ād bhūmim, 293
- divam skabbhāna, 294
- divam gacha, 294
- divam ca gacha prthivim ca dharma-
bhīh, 292, 705
- divam te dhūmo gachatu, 294
- divam drūha, 294
- divam agrena mā lekhih (hīnāh), 294
- divam agreṇāspṛkṣah (°nāprāt, °nās-
prkṣat), 294
- divam agreṇottabbhāna, 294
- divam antarikṣam ād bhūmim, 293
- divas cid antād upamām (°tān upamān)
udānat, 495, 814
- divaḥ śilpam avatatam, 664
- diva (°vas, °vah) skambhanir (°nir,
°ny) asi, 201
- divas tvā jyotiṣe, 629
- divas tvā paraśpāyāh (°ya), antarik-
ṣasya tanvas (°uvās) pāhi, 152, 801
- divas (°vah) prṣṭham (°the) bhanda-
mānah (mand°), 527
- divaḥ sāmūpeṣa, 528
- divi jyotir ajaram (uttamam) ārabhe-
tām (°thām), 295
- divi viṣṇur vyakraṇṣṭa jāgatena chan-
dasā, 527
- divi śilpam avatatam, 664
- dive jyotir uttamam ārabhethām, 295
- dive tvā jyotiṣe, 629
- dive-diva ā suvā bhūri paśvah, 678
- dive prthivyai śam ca prajāyai (°jāb-
hyah), 702
- divo jyote (°tir) vivasva āditya ,
265, 326
- divo-diva ā suvā bhūri paśvah, 678
- divo dhārā (°rām) asaścata, 704
- divo nu mām (mā) brhato antarikṣāt,
305
- divo mātrayā varipā (°mnā) prathasva,
273
- divyam suparṇam vāyasam (payasam,
vayasā, vayasam) brhantam, 474
- divye dhāmān (°many) upahūtaḥ
(°tā), 278, 849
- diśaḥ śrotram, 126, 485
- diśām devy (tevy) avatu no ghṛtāci, 690
- diśo viśvā anu prabhuh, 837
- diśo viṣṇur vyakraṇṣṭānuṣṭubhena
chandasā, 527
- dikṣayedam (dikṣāyedaṁ) havir āga-
chatam naḥ, 565
- dikṣāpālāya vanatam (°lebhyo °vana-
tam) hi śakrā, 697
- dikṣe (°sen) mā mā hāsīh (°sit satapā,
hīnāh), 327
- didāyānīdhmo (°mām) ghṛtanirṇig
asnu, 405
- dirgham yac cakṣur aditer anantam,
392, 671
- dirgham vām (ta) āyuh savita kṛnotu,
765
- dirghaprayajyum atī yo vanuṣyati, 762
- dirghaprayajyū havīṣā vṛdhānā, 762
- dirgham āyuh kṛn tu me (vām), 765
- duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh, 403,
727
- duritat pātva anhasah, 704
- duritāni yāni kani ca cakṛma (duritā
yāni cakṛma), 162
- duḥśaṇsain (°so) martyam (°yo) ripum
(°puh), 487
- duhāthām gharṇadughe iva dhenū, 775
- durepaśyā (ca raṣṭrabhīr ca tāni, 759
- dūrehetih patatī vajinivan 214
- dūrehetir indriyāvan (°javān) patatī
(°rih), 214
- dūrvā rohanu (°hatu) puṣpīnīh (°ni),
699
- dūṣkābhīr hrādunim (hrad°), 709
- drūha (°hasva) prthivīm (°vām) 550
- drśa ca bhāsā brhataḥ suśikmanā, 416,
564
- drśe ca bhāsā brhataḥ suśikmanīh (va-
bhīh), 416, 564
- deva indro na majmanā, 402
- devam savitāram abhimātīśāham, 399
- devajūte vivasvann āditya , 265,
326
- devajūte sahasvatī, 329, 346
- devatābhyaḥ tvā devavitaye grhṇāmi,
182, 714

devatrā yantam avase sakhāyah
(°yam), 402

deva devebhyo havih (°yah sutah), 329

devam trātāram abhimātīśāham, 399

devayuvam (devā°) viśvavārām (°re),
352

deva varuna devayajanam no (me)
dehi , 724

deva viśna urv adyāsmīn yajñe (viśnav
urv adyemam yajñam) yajamānā-
yādhī (°ānu) , 527, 549

devavitaye (°tyai) tvā (vo) gṛhnāmi,
182, 714

devaśrut (°rūs) tvam deva gharma ,
228

devaśrud (°rūr) imān (etāni) pravape,
228, 837

deva savitar etam (etat) te , 809

deva savitar etam tvā vṛnate gnm
, 815

deva savitar etam tvā (tvām) vṛnate
bṛhaspatim , 308

deva savitar eṣa te somah, 740

deva savitar devayajanam me dehi
devayajyāyai, 724

deva savitas tvam dikṣāyā (°ṣānām)
dikṣāpatir asi, 706

devas tvā savitā punātī (°totpunātī)
achidrena , 739

devas tvā savitā madhvīnaktu, 765

devasya te (tvā) savituh prasave
hastam gṛhnāmy asau, 511

devasya tvā (vah) savituh prasave
hastābhyām samvapāmi, 740

devasya tvā savituh prasave saras-
vatyā vīcā yantur yantrena bṛhas-
patim sāmṛājyāyabhiśiñcāmi (yan-
trenemam bṛhaspates sāmṛājye-
nābhiśiñcāmi), 143, 585

devasya tvā savituh prasave sar-
asvatyāi (°yā) bhaṣajyena , 143

devasya tvā savituh prasave sar-
asvatyāi vāco yantur yantrenāgneḥ
(°nes tvā) sāmṛājyenābhiśiñcāmi, 143,
585

devasya tvā savituh prasave °śvinor
būhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām ā
dade, 637

devasya tvā savituh prasave pṛthi-
vyāḥ sadhasthe (°thād) , 664

devasya vah , see prec but five

devasya savituh savam (°ve), 527

devasyāham (°sya vayam) savituh
save , 724

devah savitābhimātīśābah, 399

devā akṛnvann uśio amartyave, 420,
448

devā avo varenyam, 28, 343

devā ājyapā juṣṇā agna (indra) ājy-
asya vyanu, 340, 391

devān ac hā na majmanā, 402

devān avo varenyam, 28, 343

devān ājyapān svāhāgnim hotṛāj ju-
ṣṇā agna ājasya vyanu, 391

devān (°vā) janam agan yajñah, 345

devā devam avardhatām, 134

devā devebhyo (°vesu) adhvaryanto
(°riyanto) astuh, 648

devā deveṣu śrayantām (°yadhvam),
327

devā dhanena dhanam icchamānāḥ, 725

devānām vakṣi priyam ā sadhastham
(°sthāt), 496

devānām sumne bṛhate (°mno mahate)
rañāya, 455

devānām tvā pitṛnām (°rñām) anumato
bhartum śakyaḥ, 252

devānām patnīnām aham devayajyayā
, 445

devānām patnir agnir gṛhapatir ,
445

devānām patnir (°nyo, °nayo) diśah
(viśah), 202, 213

devānām bhāgadā asat, 72, 89, 619

devān janam agan yajñah, 345

devān punyajanān pitṛn, 488

devā barhiḥ āsata, 157

devāyuvam , see deva°

devāv āśvinau madhukaśayādyemam
yajñam (°dyāsmīn yajñe) , 549

devāso dadhire purah, 154

devāso barhiḥ āsadan, 157

devās tvā dadhire purah, 154

devi vāg yat tasmīn mā (no adya)
dhāh (dhāt), 723

devī devebhir nimitāsy agre, 835

devi devebhīr yajate ('tā) yajatraih
(deveṣu yajatā yajatra), 355, 609, 765
devī dvārau mā mā sam tāptam, 778
devīm nāvam svaritrām anāgasam,
402
devīr devīr ('vair) abhi mā nivartadh-
vam, 353
devīr dvāro mā mā sam tāptam, 778
devīr vamrīr asya bhuvanasya (bhū-
tasya) prathamajā rāvarīh, 213
devebhyaḥ tvā savituh prasave , 637
devebhyo jīvanta uttaram bharema,
402
devebhyo bhāgadhā ('dā) asat, 72, 89,
619
devebhyo mā sukr̥tam brūtāt (voceh),
73, 105, 647, 724
devebhyo havyam vahatu prajānan,
689
devebhyo havyavād asi, 329, 339
devebhyo havyavāhana ('nah), 71, 329,
339, 646
devebhyo havyā vahatu prajānan, 689
deveṣu nah sukr̥to ('ṣu mā sukr̥tam)
brūtāt ('ta, brūtāt), 73, 105, 647, 724
deveṣu havyavāhanah, 71, 329, 646
devair uk̥tā (nyuptā, nuttā) vyasarpo
mahitvam ('tvā), 469
devo devānām pavitram asi, 623
devo devebhīr vimitāsy agre, 835
devo devebhyah pavasva, 623
devo devebhyah sutah, 329
devo narāśanso 'gnau ('gnā) vasuvane
, 221
devo vah savitā punātṛ achidrena pavi-
trena, 739
devo vām savitā madhvānaktu, 765
devau devam avardhatām, 134
devau devam avardhatām yajñe
yajamānāyāsuvasva ('te 'nv adye-
mam yajñam yajamānāyaidhi), 549
devyo vamryo ('riyo) bhūtasya ,
213
daivā hotāra ūrdhvam adhvaram nah,
770
daivīm nāvam svaritrām anāgasam
(°sah), 402
daive vede ca gāthīnām ('nāh), 443

daivya hotārāgnā ('gna, hotārā agna)
ājyasya vītām, 136
daivya hotārāv ('rā) ūrdhvam (hotā-
rordhvam) , 136, 770
dogdhri ('rīm) dbenuh ('num), 387
dyām stabhāna, 294
dyām gacha, 294
dyām ca gacha prthivīm ca dharmanā,
292, 705
dyām te dhūmo gachatu, 294
dyām agreṇāsprkṣah ('ṣat), 294
dyām antarīkṣam ād bhūmim, 293
dyām mā lekhih, 294
dyāvāprthivī uro (urv) antarīkṣa
(°sam), 250, 333 336
dyāvā hotrāya prthivī ('vīm), 115, 746
dyutānas tvā mārūto minotu mitrāva-
runau ('naylor) , 443
dyumattamā supratikasya ('kah) sū-
noh (sasūnuh), 444
dyumad vibhātī bharatebhyah śuciḥ
(°ci), 404, 815
dyumantam ('tah) samidhimahi 402
dyumnām vṛnita pusyase (vareta
pusyatu), 550
dyumnām sudatra manhaya, 704
dyumnā suksatra manhaya, 704
dyumne vareta pusyatu, 550
dyaus asi janmanā juhūr nāma , 471
dyaus iva bhūmnā prthiviva (bhūmīr
iva) varimnā, 273
dyaus nah (me) pitā janitā nābhīr atra,
724
dyaus mahnāsi bhūmīr bhūnā ('mnā),
273
dyaus ca nah (tvā, ma idaṁ) prthivī ca
pracetāsā ('sau), 131, 488, 723
dyaus te (tvā) dadātu prthivī ('vi tvā)
pratiṣṭhātū, 489
drapsas askanda prthivīm (pratha-
mām) anu dyām (dyūn), 742
drapsas te dyūm (divam) mā śkan
(skān), 294
drāghīya āyuh prataram ('rām, °tiram)
, 823
drunā sadhasatham aśnuṣe (śasadat), 597
druhaḥ pāsān (°sam) prati sa (°ū) ,
703

droṇe sadhastham aśnuṣe (śasadat), 597
dvābhyām iṣṭaye viśātyā ('ti) ca, 216
dvāro devīr anv aśya viśve ('vāḥ), 840
dvīpāc catuṣpad (dvīpāc catuṣpād)
arjuni (asmākam), 257
dvīpadam ('dā) chanda indriyam
(ihendr'), 399
dvīpadā yā catuṣpadā (yāś catuṣpadāḥ),
690
dvīpāc , see dvīpāc
dvīpāc chanda ihendriyam, 399
dviṣāś ca mahyam radhyatu, 380, 633,
703
dviṣatām pātv anhasaḥ, 703
dviṣate sam nayāmasi, 645
dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmī pāśam
(pāpam), 74, 645
dviṣantam mahvam (mama) randha-
yan, 380, 633, 703
dviṣantas tapyantām bahu, 703
dviṣanto radhyantām mahyam, 380,
633, 703
dviṣan me bahu śocatu, 703
dvīpe rājño varunasya, 363
dhattam rayim sahavīram (daśav')
vacasyave, 489
dhattād asmabhyam dravineha (asmāsu
dravinam yac ca) bhādrām, 396, 639,
704
dhanamjayam ('yo) rane-rane, 387
dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu,
850
dhanur hastād ādadāno ('nā) mṛtasya,
737
dhanena devā dhanam icchamānah, 725
dhartram ('raś) catuṣtomah, 794
dharṣā ('ṣān) mānuṣaḥ ('śam, 'ṣān), 403
dhātā dhātṛnām ('tṛnām) bhuvanasya
yas patih, 252
dhātā prajāyā ('jānām) uta rāya īśe, 702
dhānāsomān manthina indra ('rah)
śukrāt, 342
dhāmne ('myai) tvā, 279
dhiyā martah ('tasya) śāśamate (śama-
tah), 449
dhiṣanās ('nā) tvā devīr ('vī) viśva-
devyāvatiḥ ('vyavati) , 697
dhiṣaṇe vidū ('dvī, vīte) satī , 297

dhiṇām antah sabardughah, 402, 519
dhībhir viprāḥ pramatim icchamānāḥ,
695
dhīrā indrāya (deveṣu) sumnayā ('yasu,
sūmnayā), 246, 654
dhūmrān ('rā) vasantāyālabhate (vas-
antāya), 376
dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pitṛnām soma-
vatām, 618
dhūrta ('te) namas te astu ('stu), 835
dhṛtyai śraṣṭhyāya gāthīnāḥ, 048
dhṛṣṇo ('ṇam) dhṛṣtam ('tah) śavah,
842
dhṛṣnave dhiyate dhanā ('nam), 704
dhenām antah sabardughām, 402, 519
dhenum gām ('nur gaur) na vayo dad-
hat ('dhub), 399
dhehy asmabhyam ('māsu) dravinam
, 630
dhruvam yonim ā sīda sādhyā
('dhyā), 754
dhruvam aṅgam priyam yat tanūs te,
311
dhruvām yonim āsīda sādhyā, 754
dhruvā dig viṣṇur adhipathī , 427
dhruvāyai tvā dīśe viṣṇave 'dhipataye
, 427
dhruvāśah ('vā ha) parvatā ime, 154
dhruvaidhī poṣyā ('ye) mayī, 334, 454,
671
dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantau
(abhisam'), 402
dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye sam
caranti, 402
na karmaṇā ('ma) lipyate pāpakena
(nare), 409
na ki indra tvad uttaram, 810
na ki devā imāsi, 820
nakir aśya pra minanti vratāni, 162
nakir ā yopayāmasi, 820
nakir indra tvad uttarah, 810
nakir evā yathā tvam, 810
nakir devā minīmasi, 820
nakir ṣa dabhyate janah, 821
na ky ā yopayāmasi, 820
na ky evam yathā tvam, 810
nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yauṣam, 437

nakṣatrāṇām mā saṁkīṣāś ca pratīk-
śaś cāvataṁ, 437
nakṣatrāṇi rūpeṣa (°paih, pratirū-
peṣa), 707
na jyāyān (°yo) asti vṛtrahan, 810
na jyotiṁśi cakṣati, 709
na tam vidātha ya imā (idam) jajāna,
698
na tat prāpnoti nirṛtam (°tiḥ) parācaih
(parastāt), 389
na te tanūm tanvā sam papṛcyām, 236
nadasya nāde pari pātu me (no) manah,
724
na dhvasmānas tanvi (°nuvi) repa ā
dhuh, 245
nanāndari samrājñi bhava, 102, 676
nanānduh samrājñy edhi, 102, 676
na parā jṛkṣe katarāś canainoh (°na-
yoh), 319
nama ādityāya (°tyebhyaś) divi-
kṣite (°kṣidbhyo) lokasṛpte (°sṛpte,
lokaṁśidbhyah), 697
nama ōyādhiniḥbhyo vīvidhyantibhyaś
(°dhyadbhyaś) ca vo namah, 836
namah kṛtanāyatayā (°tāya, kṛtasam-
vitāya, kṛtanavitāya) dhāvate, 563
namah śvanibhyo (°nibhyo) mrgayub-
hyaś ca vo namah, 199
namas ta āyudhāya, 706
namas te astu bhagavah (°van), 265
namas te astu sīsara (°ro), 337
namas te brhate yat ta uttarato yat ta
uttarah pakṣah (yas ta uttarah pak-
ṣah, yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta utta-
rah pakṣah), 826
namas te bhagavann astu, 265
namas te rathamtarāya yat te dakṣi-
nato yat te dakṣinah pakṣah (yas te
dakṣino bāhur yas te dakṣinah pak-
ṣah), 826
namas te rājanāya yas ta ātmā, 826
namas ta rāthamtarāya yas te dakṣi-
nah pakṣah, 826
namas te vāmadevyāya yat ta ātmā yat
te madhyam (yat te madhyam yas
ta ātmā), 826
namasyāmas tvedyam (°dya) jātave-
dah, 28, 348

namah senābhyah senānibhyaś (°nib-
hyaś) ca vo namah, 199
namāṁśi ta āyudhāya, 706
na māṇseṣu na snāvasu, 611, 707
na mā (mām) brūyā vīryavatī tathā
syām, 305
namo dive namah pṛthivyai, 749
namo dyāvāpṛthivibhyām, 749
namo mrgayubhyah śvanibhyaś ca vo
namah, 199
namo vah pitaro ghorāya (°ya many-
ave, °ro yad ghoram tasmai), 426
namo vah pitaro jīvāya (°ro yaj jivam
tasmai), 426
namo viśvakarmane sa u pātṛ asmān,
358
nayanam girbhur vanā dhīyam dhāh,
399, 695
nayanato garbham vanām dhīyam dhuh,
399, 695
na yonā (°nāv, °nir) usāśānaktā (°tāg-
neh), 455
naras tokasya tanayasya sātāu (°tāsu),
705
narāśānsena nagnahum (°huh), 406
narāśānsa agniḥ (°ne), 324, 333
nava yat puro navatim ca sadyah, 816
nava yo navatim purah, 816
na vā u te tanvā tanvam (te tanūm
tanvā) sam papṛcyām, 236
na vā ojiyo rudra tvaḥ asti, 342
na vi janami (°nanti) yataist (°rā)
parastāt, 851
navena pūrvam dayamūnāh syāma
(dayamāne), 763
na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (°syābhyācā-
rena, °syābhyācāre, śvetasā abhy-
gāre), 446, 601
na hi te agne tanvah (°vai, °uvai), 144
nahy asyā (°yai) nāma gṛhñāmi, 145
nāko si bradhnah (°no 'si) pratiṣṭhā
samkramanah (°nam, °natamam),
794
nābhā pṛthivyaṁ nihito daviḍyutāt,
672
nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne (°nam,
°no) agnau (°nim), 111, 393, 450, 748
nābhā samidāyi (°va) navyaśi (°ae), 429

nābhi prāpnoti (ⁿuyur) nṛtīm parā-
cah (parastāt), 389
nāma tṛṭiyam adhi rocane (ⁿam)
divah, 539
nāma svadhāvan (^vat) guhyam (ava-
ryam) bibharṣi, 350
nārī (^ry) asi, 200
nārīs (^ryas) te patnayo (ⁿyo) loma,
202, 213
nāśām āmitro vyathir ā dadharṣati, 509
nikāyāś (^yam) chandah, 792
nicerur asi nicumpunah (nicāñkuṇa,
nicuñkunah), 335
ni tad dadhiṣe ^vvaram (^re) param
(^re) ca, 552
nitānas tvā mārutu nīhantu mitrāva-
runau , 443
ni duryoga āvrnāṇ mṛdhravācah
(^cam), 703
nidhanveva tān imi, 835
ni mitrayur aratīn atārīt, 703
nirastā (^tau) śandāmarkau saba tena
yam dvīṣmah (śahāmūnā), 134
nir āhāvān (^vam) kṛnotana, 692
nṛtīm (^rir it) tvāham pari veda viś-
vatah (sarvatah), 32, 393
nṛtyāh (^tyai) pañcamī, 143
nirdugdhā arātayah (^gdhārātīh), 703
niveśanah (ⁿi) saṅgamano (ⁿi) vasū-
nām, 849
niveśayann amṛtam (^tūn) martyam
(^yūnāś) ca, 701
niśīrya śalyānām mukhā (^kham), 707
niṣaṅgina (^ginn) upa sprṣata (^śa), 697
niṣaṅgine (^gibhyah) svāhā, 697
niṣkā ime (hy etc) yajamūnasya brad-
hne (ⁿam), 550
niṣkā ete yajamānasya loke (santu),
550, 637
niṣkevalyam uktham avyathāyai (^ya,
^thayat) stabhnātu (ⁿotu), 420, 797
niṣkrītaḥ sa (^to ^yam, ^tās te) yajñi-
yam bhāgam etu (^gam yantu), 737
niṣṭyam (^tyā) nakṣatram, 798
nicād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau,
113, 474, 575, 705, 734
nicair uccāh svadhā abhi pra tasthau,
113, 474, 575, 705, 734

nīlamgoh (^gave) kṛmīh (kṛmīh), 618
nīlalohitam (^te) bhavati (^tah), 765
nudan sapatnān adharāśāś ca kṛnvan,
850
nu vām jīhvā , see anu vām jīhvā
nū cit sa dabhyate janah, 821
nṛbhir yatah kṛnute nirnījam gāh
(gām), 700
nediya it sṛṇyah (^yā) pakvam eyāt (ā
yavan, āyat), 449, 589
ned eṣa yuṣmad (tvad) apacetayātai,
713
neva mānse na pībasi, 611, 707
nainā āmitro vyathir ā dadharṣati, 509
naiva mānsena pīvari, 611, 707
nyadhur mātṛyām (^rayā) kavayo vay-
odhasah (^sam), 402, 603
ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā (^mān) ayaṇsata
(aransata), 374
ny ūhatbuli purumitṛasya yoṣām
(^ganām), 286
pañktīm (^tiś) chanda ihendriyam
(indr^o), 399
pañktis tvā chandasām avatu (^sā-
vatu), 583
pañktyai (^yā) nidhānavat, 150
pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitṛyāvatah, 496
pañcāvim gūm (^vir gaur) vayo dadhāt
(^dhuh), 399
pañcāvis (^vyas) tīra ādityānām, 213
patim vāco adābhyam, 386
patim surāyā (^yai, ^rayā) bheṣajam,
563, 587, 622
patim turasya rādhāsah, 765
patir yad vadhvo (^vai) vāsasā, 144
patir vāco adābhyah, 386
patir viśvasya bhūmanah, 427
patī turasya rādhāsah, 765
patyur anuvratā bhūtvā, 53, 87, 506
patye viśvasya bhūmanah, 427
patyau (^yur) me śloka uttamah, 671
pathā madhumatā bharan (^mad ābha-
ran), 476
pade-pade pāśīnah santi setavah (^ve),
41, 70, 420
panthānam (^thām) bhrūbhyām, 283
papuh sarasvatyā (^yām, ^tim) nadyāh
(^yām, ^dim), 50, 93, 501, 544, 680

payasā (°sah) śukram amṛtam janī-
tram, 569
payo aghnyāsu payo vatseḡu, 700
payo grheṡu payo aghnyāyām (°ni-
yāsu), 700
payo me dāḡ (mayi dhebi), 641
paramachado vara (°chad avarān) ā
viveśa, 449
paramajyā r̥ciṡamah (°ma), 330
paramam padam ava bhāti (bhāri)
bhūri (°reh), 522
paraśur vedih paraśur nah svasti, 801
parah svapna mukhā krdhi, 378
parācim (°cīr) anu samvatam (°tah),
698
parāpūtā arātayah (°pūtārūtiḡ), 703
parāmṛtāḡ (°tāt) parimucyanti sarve
436
parā yāta pitarah somyāśah (°yāḡ), 154
parāśutpāḡ ṡośucataḡ sṡmhi, 402
parāśutpo alih ṡośucānah, 402
parā svapnamukhāḡ śucaḡ, 378
pari nah pāhi viṡvataḡ, 724
pari tmanā viṡvurūpā (°po) jūḡti (°si),
849
pari tvā rudrasya hetir vṡnaktu, 743
pari dyukṡam (°śah) sanadrayim
(°yih), 401
pari dhatta dhatta no varāseṡam
(°tta vāśasānām, °nam), 849
paridhāsyai (°ye) yasodhāsyai (vaśo
dhāsyē), 193
pari pitroṡ ca bhīrātroṡ ca, 657
pari mā pāhi viśvataḡ, 724
pari vo rudrasya hetir vṡnaktu, 743
pari satyasya (śakhyasya) dharmanā
(°nah), 340, 571
pari sudmeva paśumānti hotā, 264
pari sarvebhyo jātubhyah, 657
pari svayam cinuṡe annam āsyē (āsani),
285
paridam vāy aḡnam (°dam vāḡnam)
dadhe °ham (°nam dhatsvāsu), 406
parimam yajamānam rāyo manuṡyā-
nām, 442, 521
parimam yajamānam manuṡyāḡ saha
rāyas poṡena , 412, 442

parimam rāyas poṡe yajamānam manu-
syāḡ (rāyo manuṡyam), 402, 412, 442,
521
paretana (°ta) pitarah somyāśah
(°yāḡ), 154
paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na astu (°tam
ma ā gāt), 723
paro divā (°vo, °vah) para enā pṛthi-
vyā (°yāḡ), 574
paro devebbir (°bhyo) asurair (°ram)
yad asti (°rair guhā yat), 416, 574
paro yad idhyate divā (°vi), 598
parnum vanaspatē °nu tvā (°patir iva),
364
paraśur vedih paraśur nah svastih, 801
pavamānah (°na) kanikradat, 329
pavamānam v (arṡanam), 387
pavamāna vidharmanī, 693
pavamāna vy āśnuhi, 328
pavamānah (°na) samtanim eḡi kṡṡvan,
334
pavamānā vidharmanī, 693
pavamāno vicarāṡmhi, 387
pavamāno vy āśnavat, 328
pavasva deva iyusak (devāḡyusak), 336
pavitre stho vaḡṡnavayau (°navi), 212,
296
paśum (°śūn) na gopā iryah pariṡmā,
700
paśūn nah śansya pāhi, 724
paśūn nah śansyājūḡpāḡ, 724
paśun mī śansya pāhi 724
paśun me śansyājūḡpāḡ (°jūḡ°), 724
paśhavad gaur (vāham gām) vayo
d udhul (°dhat), 399
pāṡktasya (°tena) chandaso gñih
(°śāḡgnih, °śā bṛhaspatimā) ,
585
pāṡktrah (pāṡktah) kaśo mānthidava-
(man°) te pitṡnām (°ṡgām), 252
pāṡcajanyaṡya bahudhā yam indhate,
520
pātām ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma, 521
pāta tiryāṡcam (tiraścaḡ), 718
pātām no dyāvāpṛthivi upasthe, 723
pāta pratyāṡcam (°ticah), 718
pāta pṛāṡcam (pṛāḡḡ), 718
pāta mā tiryāṡcam (pratyāṡcam), 718

pātam mā dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe, 723
 pātānvañcam ("nūcah), 718
 pātānam tīryañcam (pratyañcam, prāñcam), 718
 pūtho ghr̥tasya guhyasya ("yāni) nāma, 521
 pādo 'syehābhavāt (pādasyehā", "bhavāt) punah, 449
 pādya ("yam bhoh), 727
 pāpāt ("pah) svapnyād ("nād) abhūtyāh ("yai), 150, 435
 pāpebhyas ca pratigraha ("hāt), 434
 pāpmānam te pahanmah, 380
 pāpmānam me pa jahi (me hata), 380
 pāpmā me hatah, 380
 pāvaka ā ("kayā yaś) citayantyā krpā, 416
 pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya, 586, 852
 pāvamānāh (tṛpyantu), 852
 pāvamānīh punantu nah (tvā), 213, 488, 724
 pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya ("tryā), 586, 852
 pāvamānyah (tṛpyantu), 852
 pāvamānyah punantu mā (te), 213, 488, 724
 pāsam gr̥ivāsv avicartyam ("cṛtyam), 832
 pāhi duradmanyai ("yāh), 150
 pāhi durīṣṭyai ("yah), 150
 pāhi prasityai ("yāh), 150
 pikah (pigah) kṣvīṅkā nīlāśīrṇī te ryamni ("nah), 618
 pitara āyusmantas te svadhayāyusmantah (svadhābhīr āyus"), 689
 pitarah pitāmābāh pare 'vare (varebhyah), 428
 pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣinatah pāntu, 412, 697
 pitaro nārāśansāh ("sah), 443
 pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayinām, 706
 pitṛnām, see pitṛ
 pitṛnām nārāśansah, 443
 pitṛbhyah somavadbhyo babhṛn dhūmrānūkāśān, 618
 pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān, 618

pitṛnām ("ṛnām) sadanam aśi, 252
 pitṛnām ("ṛnām) ca manmabhih, 252
 pitṛn hy atra gachāsi, 550
 piteva putram jarase ma emam (naye-mam), 702, 718
 piteva putram ("rān) abhi (iha) rakṣatād imam (imān), 702, 718
 pitre putrāso apy avivatann ṛtam (ṛtāni), 705
 pitvo (pidvo) nyañkuh kakkaṭas (kakukṭhas, kaṭas) te 'numatyai, 618
 pīṛta ("hi) mā (māgnayah, māgne), 601
 pibāt somam mamadad ("mam amadann) enam iṣṭe ("ṭayah), 457
 pibā eutasya matir ("ter) na (iha), 446
 piśācebhyo bīdalakārīm ("ram), 782
 pibaspṛhākam udārathim, 387
 pivoanoñ ("nā, "nam) rayivṛdhah sumedhāh, 829
 pivo vṛkka udārathih, 387
 puṇsah kartur mātary āṣiṣṭa, 569
 puṇsā kartrā mātari mā nīṣiṇa, 569
 puṇsām bahūnām mātara ("rau) syāma (syāva), 771
 puṇse putrāya vettavai (vittaye, kartavai, kartave), 238
 punyā punyam ("yām) asūt, punyāh punyā ("yān) asuvan, 849
 putrah pitarāv ("ram) avṛṇīta pūṣā, 775
 putram ("rān) pautram ("rān) abhitarpayantīh, 702
 punah kṛnvaṇs tva pitarām yuvānam, 768
 punah kṛnvantah pitaro yuvānah, 768
 punah kṛnvanā ("vantā) pitarā yuvānā, 768
 punah prānah punar ātmā na aitu (punar ākūtīr aitu), 724
 punah prānah punar ātmā ma (punar ākūtām, punar ākūtām ma) āgāt (āgan), 724
 punantu manavo (manasā) dhiyā ("yah), 411
 punantu mā (mām) devajanāh, 305
 punantu vasavo dhiyā, 411
 punantu viśvā bhūtāni ("iā mā, viśva āyavah), 165
 punar agnayo dhiṇyāh ("yāśah), 155

- punar āgāh punarṇava (punarṇavah, "va), 337
- punar jarāyur ("yu) gaur iva, 793
- punar dravinam aitu mā (mām), 305
- punar brahmāno ("mā) vasuṇītha ("ni-tir, vasudhītam, "te, etc) yajñaiḥ (agne), 340, 349, 401, 695
- punar brāhmanam aitu mā (mām), 305
- punar manah punar āyur (ātmā) ma (nā) āgāt (āgan), 724
- punar mām aitiv (maity, mā praitv) indriyam, 303
- punarvasur ("sū) nakṣatram, 753
- punas te prāna āyati (āyāti, āyātu), 382
- punānasya ("nāya) prabhūvasoh ("so), 364, 635
- punīdhvam ca yavā mama, 311
- pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti, 809
- pumānsam putram janaya, 381
- pumāns te putro nūri, 381
- pumān enad vayaty udgṛnatti, 809
- pumān putro jāyatām (dhīyatām) garbho ("bhr) antah, 457
- purā krūrasya viṣṇo virapāin ("inah), 368
- purānān ("nī) anu venati, 406
- purā diṣṭād āhutir aya hantu, 689
- purā satyād āhutim haniv aya, 689
- purīṣam vasānah sukṛtasya loke ("kam), 526
- purīṣam vasānah svām yonim yathāyatham, 526
- purukṣu tvaṣṭā ("ṭah) suvīryam ("vīram), 326
- purukṣu deva tvaṣṭah, 326
- purudasmō ("mavad) viṣvūrpa (viṣvarūpa) induh, 401
- puruṣamṛgās candramasah ("se), 618
- puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya, 614
- puruṣā janayanti nah, 771
- puruṣe "dhi samāhītaḥ ("te), 766
- purovāta ("to) jinva rāvaṭ ("vat) svāha, 334
- purovāto varṣaḥ jinvar āvṛt svāhā, 334
- puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuḥ , 359
- puṣṭipataye ("te) puṣṭiś , 359
- puṣyema ("yanto) rayim dhīmahe ta (tam) indra, 511
- pūrṇā darvī ("ve) parā pata, 180
- pūrvam devebhyo amṛtasya nābhīḥ ("bhāyi, nāma), 456
- pūrvo yat (yah) sann aparo bhavāsi, 816
- pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā, 126, 414, 508
- pūṣanvān karambhah ("bham), 407
- pūṣā nā ādhāt (mādhāt, mā dhāt) sukṛtasya loke, 724
- pūṣā bhagam savitā me (no) dadātu, 724
- pūṣā bhagam bhagapatir bhagam asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu svāhā, 641
- pūṣā viśām viṣpatir viśam asmin yajamanāya dadātu svāhā, 641
- pūṣā sanīnām (sanyā), 588, 704
- pūṣā svāhākāraḥ (svagāk°, svagākārena), 704
- pūṣne śarase ("si) svāhā, 655
- pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuh, 126, 414, 508
- prchāmi tvā citaye ("yam) devasakha, 487
- prchāmi ("mo) tvā (yatra, viśvasya) bhuvanasya nābhīm ("bhīh), 396
- prthivi mātara mā mā hunsīh ("sir mo aham tvām), 305, 426
- prthivim viṣnur vyākransta gāyatreṇa chandasā, 527
- prthivīm śarīram, 381
- prthivīm bhasmanāpṛṇa (bhasma) svāhā, 419
- prthivī śarīram ("ram asi), 381
- prthivy asi janmanā dhruva nāma , 471
- prthivya adhy udbhītam ("tā), 851
- prthivyām viṣnur vyākransta gāyatreṇa chandasā, 527
- prthivyām agnaye samanaman sa ārdhot, 655
- prthivyām ("vā) amṛtam juhomī , 73, 101, 650
- prthivyā mā pāhi, 150
- prthivyā varmāsi, 147
- prthivyā ("yāh) sambhava, 589
- prthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā, 800
- prthivya mā pāhi, 150
- prthivya varmāsi, 147
- prthivya sam anamat, 655

- pr̥sato ('nto) hemantāya, 376
 pr̥stibhyah (pr̥stibhyas) svāhā, 188
 pr̥sthavād gaur vayo dadhuh, 399
 pr̥sthe pr̥thivyā nihito davidyutat, 672
 pr̥śasvati tantunā samvayanti ('vya-
 yanti), 465
 pauruṣyād ('yena, 'yān na) daivyaṭ
 ('vyena, 'vāt), 570
 praugam uktham avyathāya ('ya,
 'thayat) stabhñātu ('notu), 420, 797
 pra candramās ('mas) tirate ('ti, 'se)
 dirgham āyuh, 326
 pracetā ('tās) vo (tvā) rudraih paścād
 , 412, 697, 739
 prajananah ('nam, prajanaḥ), 795
 prajananam vai pratītiḥ pītṛnām
 ('ṛnām) , 252
 prajāyā ca bahum ('hūn) kṛdhi, 721
 prajāḥ kṛnvan janayan virūpāḥ, 727
 prajāḥ pupuṣa (piparti) , 702
 prajāḥ pra janayāvahai, 702
 prajā ('jām) jinvā, 702
 prajāṃ dadātu parivatsaro nah, 702
 prajāṃ no narya pāhi, 724
 prajāṃ no naryājūgupah, 724
 prajāpatih prajāyā ('jābhuh) samrarā-
 nah (samvidānah), 702
 prajāpatih prathamajāṛtasya, 387
 prajāpatih prathamō yam jigāya, 401
 (om) prajāpatim tarpayāmi, 373
 prajāpatim aham tvayā samakṣam
 ṛdhyāsam, 403
 prajāpatim prathamajām ṛtasya, 387
 prajāpatir aham tvayā sakṣād ṛdhyā-
 sam, 403
 prajāpatir janayati prajā imāḥ, 702
 prajāpatir yam prathamō jigāya, 401
 prajāpatis tanvam me juṣasva, 326
 prajāpatis tṛpyatu, 373
 prajāpatī ramayatu prajā iha, 702
 prajāpate tanvam me juṣasva, 326
 prajāpate na tvad etāny anyah (na hi
 tvat tāny anyah, nahi tvad anya etā),
 165
 prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvam ('vām)
 hutam aai svāhā, 249
 prajāpates tvā ('tes tvā) prāṇenābhi-
 prūṇimi pūṣnah poṣena ('ṣāya) ,
 557
 prajābhyas tvā ('bhyo vām), 765
 prajābhyah svāhā, 702
 prajāṃ samāsu dhehi, 641, 724
 prajāṃ ā janayāvahai, 702
 prajāṃ piparti bahudhā vi rājati, 702
 prajāṃ pipartu parivatsaro nah, 702
 prajāṃ pra janayāvahai, 702
 prajāṃ me dāh, 641, 724
 prajāṃ me narya pāhi, 724
 prajāṃ me naryājūgupah ('jūg'), 724
 prajāṃ me yacha, 641, 724
 prajāyai kam (kim) amṛtam nāvṛṇta,
 822
 prajāyai svāhā, 702
 prajāvatir ('varir) yafaso ('se) viśva-
 rūpāḥ, 420
 prajāvatih sūyavasam ('se) ruśantih
 (riś'), 544
 prajā vikṛvafi ('kurvañ) janayan virū-
 pam ('pāh), 727
 prajāḥ tvānu (tvām anu) prānantu, 307
 prajāḥ sarvās ca rājabāndhavaih
 ('vyah), 459
 pra no hrūṭād bhāgadhān ('dhām)
 devatāsu, 647, 724
 pra no yacha bhuvās (viśām) pate,
 698
 pra tad viṣnu ('nuh, 'nue) stavate vi-
 ryena ('yāni, 'yāya), 474, 486, 558, 705
 pra tad voced amṛtasya ('tam nu, vocē
 amṛtam nu) vidvān, 504
 pra tam naya prataram ('rām) vasyo
 acha, 823
 pra tāry agne prataram na āyuh, 823
 prati kṛtyākṛto dāha, 703
 prati te jihvā gṛhṭam uc caranyet
 ('yat), 765
 prati tvā parvati ('tir, pārvati) vettu,
 200
 pratidhinā pr̥thivyā ('yai) pr̥thivīm
 jinvā, 559
 pratipūtā arūṭayah, 703
 pratiprasthātah paśunchi ('śum upa-
 kalpayasva), 474
 pratiprasthātah paśau ('śum) samva-
 dasva, 105, 543
 pratiprasthātār dadhigharmanānūdehi
 ('gharmāya dadhy upakalpayasva),
 563

- prati prāṇeṣu (°ṇe) prati tiṣṭhāmi
puṣṭe (°tau, "my ātman), 707
- prati vām jīhvā gṛhṭam uc (ā) caranyat
(°yāt, "yet), 765
- pratiṣṭhe stho devate (°tānām, "te
dyāvāprthivi) mām samtāptam, 440
- pratikām me vicakṣaṇam, 342
- pratikṣante (°tām) śvaśuro (°śruvo)
devarāś (°rāś) ca, 702, 782
- praticī dik (dīśām), [], 427, 438
- praticyā dīśā (°śā saha, "cyām dīśi)
grhāḥ paśavo mārjayantām, 604
- praticyai tvā diśe varuṇyādhipataye
, 427
- pra te divo na stanayanti (°ta) śuśmāḥ
(°maih), 411
- pratnam ni (pratnāni) pāti kāvyam
(°yah), 403, 740
- pratyak somo atisrutah, 404, 815
- praty aūgeṣu prati tiṣṭhāmy ātman
(°ni), 275
- pratyāñi ud eṣi mānuṣān (°ṣih), 841
- pratyāñ (°āñk) somo atidrutah (°eru-
tah), 404, 815
- pratyusṭam rakṣah pratyusṭā arātayah
(°ārātih), 703
- praty etā vāmā (sunvan) pratiṣ-
ṭhotopavaktar (°ta) uta , 342
- pra tvā ni pāti kāvyah, 403, 740
- prathamachad avarāñ ā viveśa, 449
- pra devāḥ (°vih) prota sūnṛtā, 782
- pra nabhasva prthivi, 344
- pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasah, 636
- pra no naya pratarāni vasyo acha, 823
- pra no yacha (rāsva) vīśas pate, 698
- pra no rāyā (rāye) parinasā (paniyase),
63, 557
- pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase, 636
- pra parjanyaḥ erjatām rodasī anu, 390,
697
- pra parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prṣṭhāt, 79,
661
- prapitāmāhān (°ham) bibharti (°rat)
pinvamānah (°ne), 457, 702
- pra mē brūtād bhāgadām (dhavirdā)
devatāsu (°tābhyah), 647, 724
- pra yam rāye niniṣasi, 390
- pra yakṣma etu nirṛtim (°tiḥ) parācāih,
390
- pra yad gāvo na bhūrṇayah, 816
- pra yā bhūmim (°mi) pravatvati, 348
- pra yujo (°jā) vāco agriyah, 587
- prayutam (°tā) dveṣah (°śāñsi), 703
- pra ye gāvo na bhūrṇayah, 816
- pra yo jajñe vidvāñ (°vān) asya band-
hum (°dhuh), 401
- pra yo rāye niniṣati, 390
- pra rādhasā (°dhāñsi) rodayāte (°yate)
mahitvanā, 62, 469, 704
- pravaneṇa sajonasah, 742
- pravayāhnāhar (°vāyāhne har) jinvā,
559, 788
- pravāsi, 788
- praśīrya śalyānām mukham, 707
- pra śmaśru (°rubhir) dodhuvad ,
47, 469, 711
- pra sakṣati pratimānam prthivyāḥ, 703
- pra samrājo (°jam¹ asurasya praśastim
(°tam), 510
- pra sāksate pratimānam bhūri, 703
- pra survānasyāndhasah (suvvānā¹
yāndh²), 623
- pra skannāj (°nnam) jāyatām havih,
435
- prastotah sāmā (°māni) gāya, 690
- prasnāpayanta (°ty) ūrmayah (°mi-
nam), 390
- pra haṇśāsas tṛpalam (°lā) manyum
(vagnum) acha, 471
- praharṣanam (°no) madiraśya , 520
- prāktād (°to) apāktād (°to) adharād
udaktāt (°tah), 173
- prāktō apācīm anayam tad enām, 498
- prāk (prāñ prāñk) somo atidrutah, 404,
815
- prācī dik (dīśām), 438
- prācī dig agnir adhipatir , 427
- prācīm avācīm ava yann ariṣṭyai, 498
- prācīś cojjagāhire, 213
- prācyā dīśas (°cyām dīśi) tvam indrasī
rājā, 676
- prācyām dīśi (°cyā dīśā, "śā saha) devā
ṛtviḥ mārjayantām, 604
- prācyai tvā diśe 'gnaye 'dhipataye ,
427
- prāṇam na vīryam naśi, 707
- prānasya tvā paraspāyai (°pāya) cak-
ṣuṣas , 152, 801

- prānasya panthā amṛto (°tara) gra-
hābhyām, 843
- prānāh sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat,
419
- prāpān oa vīryam nāsī, 707
- prāpāpāyay (°nā) uruvyacās tayā
(tvayā) prapadye, 526
- prāpāpānābhyām (prāpāya) me varo-
dassu (°dā varcase) pavethām
(°vasva), 769
- prānā vā āpah, 707
- prānā sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat,
419
- prāpō agniḥ (°gniḥ) paramātmā pañ-
cavāyubhir (vai pañcavāyuh) ,
413
- prāno vā āpaḥ, 707
- prātaryāvabhir (°vāpō) adhware
(°ram), 415, 527
- prātaryujā (°jau) vi bodhaya (mucyr-
thām), 131
- prātāry agne pratarām na āyuh, 823
- prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā,
402
- prāmūṇ jayābhiṃ jayantu, 836
- prāvanebhiḥ sajoṣasah, 742
- prāvo 'sy ahnānsi, 798
- prīyah kavīnām matī (°tiḥ), 417
- prīyam sarvasya paśyataḥ, 616
- prīyam mā brahmanī (°ne) kuru, 101,
654
- prīyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantīh,
164, 311
- prīyāny aṅgāni (°gā) svadhītā (sukṛtā)
parūṇsi (purūni), 165
- prīyā devānām subhagā mekhalcyam,
322, 330
- prīyena dhāmnā (nāmnā, nāma) pri-
yam (°ye) sada śīda (sadasī śīda),
472, 528
- prīye (°yo) devānām parame janitre
(sadhasthe), 454
- prīyo dātūr dakṣīnāyā iha syām, 142
- prīyo devānām dakṣīnāyāi dātūr iha
bhūyāsam, 142
- pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ, 709
- preta marutah svatavasa enā vipatyā-
mam , 219
- pretinā (°tyā) dharmaṇā (°ne) dhar-
mam jinvā, 218, 559
- preto muñcatu mā pateh, 219
- prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhiḥ (pū-
ryānāh), 170
- praitu hotuś camasaḥ prodgāt-
nām (°gātuh) , 695
- plāśir (°śir) vyaktah śatadhāra utsah,
177
- phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva,
826
- phalavatyō (°tir, phalinyo) na oṣadha-
yah pacyantām, 213
- phalgunī (°nir) nakṣatram, 116, 755
- phalgunībhyām (°niṣu) vy ūhyate
(uh°), 596, 755
- phalgūr (°gur) lohitorī balakṣi (pal°
°kṣi) tāh sārasvatyah, 206, 227
- phajābojopakāśinī, 207
- bandhur me (no) mātā prthivī mahi-
yam, 724
- babhravah (°ruh) saumyāh (°yah), 700
- babhravo dhūmrānikāśāḥ pitṛnām bar-
hiṣadām, 618
- barhiś ca vedīś (°dim) ca, 387
- balam mayi dhehi (me dāh svāhā), 641
- bahuprajā nirṛtum (°tir) ā viveśa, 406
- bahubhyah panthām anupaspāśanam
(°nah, anapa°), 387
- bahūnām (°hvīnām) pīlā bahur asya
putrah, 834
- bahvaśvājagavedakam, 459
- bahvīm prajāṃ janayantīm (°tī, °tau)
sarūpām (suratnā, saretasā), 388
- bādhasva (°dhetām) dūre (°ram,
dveṣo) nirṛtum parācam, 531
- bārhaspatyam aśi (°tyo 'si), 850
- bāhucyuto dhīṣanāyā (°nayar) upasthūt
(°the), 664, 769
- bīdvo nyanūkuḥ kaśas te 'numatyah,
618
- bṛhac ca te rathamtaram ca pūrva
pādaū bhavatām, 750
- bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena trāṣṭubhyā
(trāṣṭubhā) vartanyā , 586, 750
- bṛhatī (°tim) chanda indriyam, 399
- bṛhat sāma pratīṣṭhityā antarikṣe
(°sam, °tyai), 535

brhad arkam yuñjānāḥ suvar ābharann
idam, 743
brhad ṛsabham gām vayo dadhat, 399
brhad dha tasthau bbuvaneṣv antah,
811
brhadrathamtarayos tvā atomena triṣ-
ṭubho vartanyā , 586, 750
brhadrathamtare te pūrvau pādaū ,
750
brhad vṛsabham gām vayo dadhat, 399
brhan ha tasthau rajaso vimānah
(^{naiva}), 811
brhaspataye pāñktāya caruh
(^{rum}), 376
brhaspataye mahiṣa (mahī śad) dyu-
man namah, 358
brhaspatim yajñam akṛvata ṛsum, 406
brhaspatim sa dīśām (b^a sa) ṛchatu
yo maitasyai (^{yā}) dīśo , 149
brhaspatir brahma brahmapatir
mayi dadhātu (yajamānāya dadātu)
svāhā, 641
brhaspatir yajñam atanuta ṛṣih, 406
brhaspatir vācām (^{ce}), 627, 706
brhaspatisutasya indo (^{da}, ^{dor})
indriyāvataḥ patnivantam (^{vato})
graham (^{hān}) , 31, 365, 520, 692
brhaspate mahiṣa dyuman (mahīṣāya
dive) namah, 358
brhaspate yāmyām (^{yā}) yuñgdhi (yuñ-
dhi) vācam, 605
bodhaś ca tvā (mā) pratibodhaś (prati^a)
ca, 750
bodhūmasi tvā haryaśva yajñaiḥ (^{ne}),
602, 689
bodhā me (no) asya vacaso yaviṣṭha,
724
brahmacārya asī (asy asau), 334
brahmayješṭhā sambhṛtā vīryūni (^{ṭhā}
vīryā sambhṛtāni), 161
brahmanas tvā paraspāyāḥ (^{ya}, ^{yai})
kṣatrasya , 152, 708, 801
brahmanū guptah sukr̥tā kṛtena, 580,
704
brahmanā sampṛñcānas sukr̥tā kṛtena,
580, 704
brahma tena punīti (^{nātu}, ^{nūmah})
nah (mā), 724

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam, 796
brahma devān (^{vā}) avivṛdhat (^{dhan}),
389
brahma devānām (brahmadevī) pratha-
majā ṛtasya, 796
brahmadviṣaḥ (^{ṣe}) śarāve hantavā u,
423
brahma dhārāya, 705
brahma yajñah (^{nāḥ}) pṛthivīm dhāra-
yanti, 689
brahmavani (^{nim}) tvā kṣatravani
(^{nidh}) paryūhāmi, 808
brahma varma mamāntaram, 378, 449
brahmāṇa (^{nam}) indram vayodhasam,
406
brahmā devakṛtopahūtā, 796
brahmā devānām prathamajā ṛtasya,
796
brahmādhiguptah (brahmābhi^a, brah-
mābhigūrtam) svārā kṣarāni (surak-
ṣitah syām, svarāṛakṣānah) , 842
brahmāham antaram kṛnve (karave),
378, 449
brāhmanah (^{nāḥ}) śāntih, 695
brāhmanas tvā nāthakāma (^{mah}) upa-
dhāvāmi (prapadye), 740
brāhmanena vācam (^{cah}), 390, 706
brāhmano vo nāthakāma upadhāvāmi,
740
bhakṣiya te (vo) 'vaso daivasya,
739
bhaga tva bhagavān astu devāḥ (^{vah}),
340
bhagam pūṣā savitā no dadātu, 724
bhadrām paśyemākṣabhir (^{kṣabhir})
yajatrāḥ, 281
bhadra te (vām) pūṣann (^{ṣanāv}) iha
rātir astu, 765
bhavatam nah samanassau, 723
bhavati (^{vān}) bhikṣām dehi (dadātu),
326, 849
bhārati gr̥nānū, 735
bhāratiḍe sarasavati, 329
bhīnadmi te kuṣumbham, 380
bhīndat sapatnān adharāśāś ca kṛnvat,
850
bhīndhi darbha sapatnānām (^{tnān}
me), 518

bhiyam (°yo) dadhānā hṛdayeṣu śāstravaḥ, 706

bhūyasaṃ ā dhehi śāstruṣu (°rave), 642, 703

bhūṣagbhyo (°śajām) bhūṣaktarāḥ (sub-bhūṣaktamāḥ), 658

bhūṣajendre (°ram) sarasvatī, 535

bhūvas te dadāmi (tvayī dadhāmi), 641

bhūvas tvam indra brahmanā (°no) mahān, 64, 79, 571

bhūtaye namaḥ, 182

bhūtasya (°tānām) jātaḥ patir eka āsit, 698

bhūtānām brahmā prathamō ha jajñe, 796

bhūtāya tvā nārātaye, 182

bhūtyai tvā (vaḥ), 739

bhūtyai namaḥ, 182

bhūmidrāham acyutam pārāyisnu, 850

bhūmidrāho 'cyutāś cyāvayisnuh, 850
bhūmir itī tvābhupramanvate janāḥ
(tvā janā viduh), 698

bhūmir bhūmā dyaus varuṇā, 273

bhūyās ca (bhūyasiḥ) śaradāh śatāt, 734

bhūyasi haviṣkarana upahūtāḥ (°tā), 849

bhūyāsma te sumatau viśvavedāḥ, 332

bhūristhātrām bhūry āveśayantīm
(°tāḥ), 14, 402

bhūr bhuvah svas te dadāmi (svah sarvam tvayī dadhāmi), 641

bhūs te dadāmi (tvayī dadhāmi), 641

bhetṭārām bhāṅgurāvataḥ (°tām), 703

bhrājasvantam mām (bhrājasvān aham, bhrājasvy aham, bhrājiṣṭho 'ham) manuṣyeṣu kuru (bhūyāsam), 378

mañhiṣṭham (°ṭho) vājasātaye, 387

mañhiṣṭham vo (mañhiṣṭhāso) maghōnām, 388

maghavañ (°vañ) chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhīḥ (ñtaye), 558, 704

maghābhīr gāvo grhyante, 107, 596

maghāsu hanyante gāvah, 107, 596

manim (°nih) sahasravīryam (°yah), 387

maninā rūpāni, 218

maṇḍūkāṃ jambhiebhuḥ (°mbhah), 172

maṇḍūky apsu śam bhuvah, 419

maṇḍūkyā su śam gamah (gamaya), 419
maṇyā rūpāni, 218

matvā suśipra (°rin) harivas tad (tam) imahe, 842

mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha, 770

made (°eṣu) suśipram (śipram) andhasah, 693

madhavyau stokāḥ (°kā) apa tau rarādha, 770

madhu tvā madhulā karotu (krnotu, cakāra), 468

madhu naktam utoṣasah (°sā, °ai), 68, 96, 107, 584, 596, 678

madhu me madhulā karah, 488

madhu reto (°dhur ato) mādhavah pātvasmān, 437

madhoh pavanta ūrmayah, 244

madhoh pavasva dhārāyā, 244

madhoh pibatam āsvinā, 244

madhoh pibanti gauryah, 244

madhor ato mādhavah pātvasmān, 437

madho rasam sadhamāde, 244

madhoś cakānās cūrur madāya, 244

madhyatah kārīnām camasādhvaryavo vaṣaṭkṛtānuvaṣaṭkṛtāṃ (°te) juhuta, 761

madhvah pavanta ūrmayah, 244

madhvah pavasva dhārāyā, 244

madhvah pibatam āsvinā, 244

madhvah pibanti gauryah, 244

madhvaś cakānās cūrur madāya, 244

madhvo rasam sadhamāde, 244

manasyām hṛdayād adhi, 665

manojavaso vah pitṛbhīr dakṣināta upadadhatām, 412, 697, 739

manojavās tvā pitṛbhīr (°taro) dakṣinātaḥ pātu (pāntu), 412, 697, 739

mano jyotir (jūtir) juṣatām ājyasya (ājyam, ājyam me), 501

mano me hārdi (hārd) yacha, 793

mano hārdim yacha, 793

mandrā dhanasya sātaye (°yah), 420

manyum (°yur) viśa īdāte mānuṣir yāḥ (°te devayanthi), 406

manyum janasya dūdhyaḥ (°yam), 520

manyunā kṛtam manyuh karoti , 408

- manyur akārṣiṁ manyuh karoti , 408
- manyur viśa , see manyum
- manyu vajrīn abhi (upa) mām (na) ā vavṛtsva, 723
- mama cittam cittenānvehi (°ttam anu cittebhir eta), 708
- mama tubhya ca samvnanam, 315
- mama padyāya vi rāja, 636, 655, 845
- mama vaśegu hrdayāni vah kṛnōmi, 705, 707, 739
- mama vrate te hrdayam (vrate hrdayam te) dadbhāmi (°tu), 705, 707, 739
- mama hrdaye hrdayam te astu, 705, 707, 739
- mamāmitrān vi vidhyats (°tu), 723
- mamāśir , see mayy āśir
- mameyam astu poṣyā, 334, 671
- mayah patibhyo janayah (°ye) pariṣvaje, 422
- mayā gāvo gopatinā sacadhvam, 607
- mayi gāvah santu gopatau, 607
- mayi grhāmi tvām aham, 652
- mayi tiṣṭhantu gopatau, 607
- mayi te kāmādharanam bhūyāt, 739
- mayi te rāyaḥ śrayantām, 739
- mayi dakṣakratū (dakṣo mayi kratuh), 115, 750
- mayi dohah padyāyā virājah (°jah kalpatām), 636, 655, 845
- mayi padyāyā virājo dohah, 636, 655, 845
- mayi puṣṭim (°ṭam) puṣṭipatir (puṣṭa°, puṣṭipatnī) dadhātu (dadātu), 849
- mayi vah kāmādharanam bhūyāt, 739
- mayi vo rāyah śrayantām, 739
- mayidam indra indriyam dadhātu, 723
- mayindra indriyam dadhātu, 723
- mayobhuvo vṛṣṭayah santv asme, 717
- mayobhūr vāto viśvakṛṣṭayah santv asme, 737
- mayy āśir (mamāśir) astu mayi (mama) devahūtiḥ, 102, 671
- maricir viprudbhīh (°pruśā), 707
- marutas trinave stutam, 402
- marutah sadohavirdhānath (°nūbhyām), 755
- marutām prṣatir (°tim) gāha, 700
- marutām prasave (°vena) jaya (°yata), 66, 593, 601
- marutām manve adhī no (me) bruvantu, 723
- marutvatīyam uktham avyathāyāi (°ya, °thayat) stabhnāstu (°notu), 420, 797
- marudbhya enomugbhyām , 376
- martānām (°tāsaś) cid urvaśir akrpran, 440
- marmāni te varmanā (°mabhiś) chādayāmi, 704
- marya iva yuvatibhih (yoṣāḥ) sam arṣati (°se), 467
- maryo na yoṣām abhy eti paścāt (°cā), 575
- mahad adya bharatasva (°tānām), 740
- mahad dha tasthau bhuvaneṣv antah, 511
- mahaś cid yasya midhuṣo yavyā, 447
- mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (paniṣṭama), 446
- mahān avinām anu pūrvyah, 447
- mahāns te mahato mahimā, 446
- mahākarma bharatasya, 740
- mahā kavī yuvānā, 762
- mahādevasya (°vāya) dhīmahi, 634
- mahānāmni (°manyō) revatayah (°tyah), 202, 213
- mahān mahitve (°ivā) tastabhūnah (samstambhe), 607
- mahūm avinām anu pūrvyah, 447
- mahinām payo 'si, see mahinām
- mahiṣam nah subhvam (°bhavas, °bhuvās) tasthivānsam, 234, 402
- mahiṣir (°v) asī, 206
- mahi grānāḥ, 735
- mahi cid yasya midhuṣo yavyā, 447
- mahi devasya midhuṣo 'vayāḥ, 447
- mahinām (°hinām) payo 'si, 215
- mahi no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau, 709
- mahir grānāḥ, 735
- mahi viśpatnī sadane (°nī) ṛtasya, 455
- mahi hy asya midhuṣo yavyā, 447
- mahe cana tvām adrivah (tvādr°), 306
- maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājah (°jā), 447

- maho ye dhanam** ("nā, ratnam) samī-
 theṣu jabhrire, 704
mahyam vātah pavatām ("te) kāme
 asmin (kāmayāsmā), 99, 646
mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam, 70,
 496
mahyam gr̥hnāmi tvām aham, 652
mahyam jyotir abharat sūryas tat, 70,
 496
mahyam dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān,
 309
mahyā indram ("ra) svastaye, 348
mānāsya ("sebhyaḥ) svāhā, 707
mākim brahmadviṣo ("śam) vanah, 703
mā cakrā āvṛtsata, 164
mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne, 695
mā cāham dviṣate radham, 633, 703
mā jāmim moṣṭr amuyā śayānām, 401
mātā mātari mātā, 444
mātā yad vīram dadhanad (jajana)
 dhanisṭhā (janisṭham), 402
mātūr mātari mātā, 444
mā te gr̥he ("heṣu) nīśi ghōṣa utthāt, 711
mā te yuyoma samdr̥śah, 670
mā te riṣan khanitā, 714
mā te riṣann upasattāro agne (gr̥hū-
 pām śāle), 695
māteva putram bibhṛtūpsv enat (bib-
 hṛtā sv enat, "enam), 837
mātevasmā adite ("tiḥ) śarma yacha
 (yānsat), 27, 322, 326
mā te vyoma samdr̥śi (samdaśa [iti]),
 670
mā tvam hārṣih śrutam mayi, 671
mā tv aham dviṣatām radham, 633, 703
mā tvā dabhan, 740
mā tvā dabhan durevāśah kaśokāh
 (durevā yātudhānāh), 155
mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāh, 155
mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito ("cittā, "cit-
 tau) nikārinah, 221
mā tvā pariparinno (paripari) vīdan
 (etc.), 703
mā tvā vṛkṣah ("sau) sam bādhiṣṭa
 ("tām, "dhetthām), 765
māduṣkṛtau vyenāsā ("sau), 131
mānasya patni śaranā syonā, 835
mū nah sapatnah śaranah syonā, 835
mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt,
 312
mā no rakṣo abhi nad yātumāvātām
 ("vat), 440
mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhih, 724, 793
mā no hāsin metthito net tvā jahāma,
 724
mā no hīnsiṣṭa, 724
mā no hīnsiṣṭ janitā yah prthivyāh
 ("yām), 684, 724
mā no hīnsid dhiṁsito [dadhāmi] na tvā
 jahāmi, 724
mā no hṛnitām ("thā) atithir ("thim)
 vasur agnih, 401
māndā vāśāh śundhyūr ("yuvu) ajirāh,
 241
mām dhehi, 723
mā parā aeci no dhanam (nah svam, me
 dhanam, mat payah), 80, 656, 724
mām anuvratā bhava, 53, 87, 506
mā mām mātā prthivi hīnsit, 305, 326
ma mā hāsin ("sir) nāthito net (na) tvā
 jahāmi ("ni), 724
mā mā hīnsiṣṭa, 724
mā mā (mām) hīnsiṣṭam svam (yat
 svam) yonim āviśantau ("śāthah),
 305, 784
mā mā hīnsiṣṭ janitā yah prthivyāh, 724
mā mā hīnsiṣṭ svām (svam) yonim āvi-
 śanti ("śan), 305, 784
māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah, 380, 810
māmīṣām mocī kaś cana, 380, 810
mām evā gnābhīr abhiṣāh, 474
mā me vān nābhīm atigāh, 474
mā me hārdi tvīṣā ("dim dviṣā) vadhih,
 222, 724, 793
mām puniḥi ("nāhi) viśvatah, 724
mā vayam āyusā varcasā ra, 724
mā vo dabhat, 740
mā vo riṣat khanitā, 714
mā samsṛkṣūthām parame vyoman
 ("ni), 275
māsarena pariserutā ("tam, pariṣkṛtā),
 459
māsāś ("sām) caturībah, 709
māsāś cārddhamāsāś ca, 410
mā sv asmān tamasy antarādihāh, 312
māham āyusā , 724

- mā hīṁṣiṣur vahatam uhyamānam
(uhyamānam), 840
- mā hīṁṣiṣ ("ṣiṣ") puruṣam ("ṣān) jagat
(mama), 701
- mitēva sadma paśumānti ("manti) hotā,
264
- mitrah kṣatram kṣatrapatiḥ mayi
(yajamānāya) dadhātu (dadātu) ,
641
- mitrah pānty adruhah, 115, 733
- mitra satyānām pate ("nām adhipate,
satyah), 329, 438
- mitrasya tvā (vāś) cakṣuṣā , 740
- mitrasyāśi kanīṁkā, 789
- mitrah satyānām (satyah), 320, 438, 742
- mitrāvarunayor dhruvenā dharmanā,
443
- mitrāvarunābhyām āgomugbhyām pa-
yaśyā ("yām), 376
- mitrāvarunā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ
("ye), 602, 705
- mitrāvarunā śaradāhñm ("nā) cikittu
(cikittam, jagatnū, cikittvam), 585,
709
- mitrāvarunau dhīṣnyaiḥ ("yebhir ag-
nibhiḥ), 172
- mitrāvarunau dhruvena dharmanā, 443
- mitrāvarunau śronibhyām (śroni"), 189
- mitrāvarunau sa matasyai ("yā)
dīśo , 149
- mitrās pānty adruhah, 115, 733
- mitro janān kalpayati prajānan, 698
- mitro janān yatayati bruvānah (prajā-
nan), 698
- mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma, 709
- mukham kim aśya (aśvāśt) kau (kim)
bāhū, 776
- muñcatu yajñam ("ño) yajñapatim ,
390
- muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim
, 390, 695
- muñcemam aśhasah, 695
- muñcemān amūn aśhasah svāhā, 695
- mūrā ("rair) amūram purām darmā-
nam, 419
- mrgā na bhīmās taviṣibhir ("ṣebhir)
arcināh (ūrmibhiḥ), 841
- mṛjanti vahnim sadaneṣv aha, 540
- mṛjyamānā ("no) gabhastyoh, 712
- mṛtāya jivām parinīyamānām, 701
- mṛtyava ekaśatam parah, 380
- mṛtyur me pāhi, 437
- mṛtyūn ekaśatam suve, 509
- mṛtyūn ekaśatam caye (nude), 380, 509
- mṛtyoh padam ("dāni) , 698
- mṛtyor ekaśatam suve, 509
- mṛtyor ekaśatam caye, 509
- mṛtyor mā pāhi, 437
- mṛtyor mukṣiṣya mā patyuh, 219
- mṛdam barsvaiḥ ("vebbhiḥ), 172
- medasah ("sa, medobhyah) svāhā, 620,
694
- me rāyah, 724
- meṣam viprā abhivārā ("rc), 601
- mainam hīṁṣiṣtam svām yonim āvi-
śantau, 784
- maiśām kam canor chiśah, 380, 810
- maiśām uccheṣi kim cana, 380, 810
- mo aham dvīṣate ("tu) radham, 633, 703
- modah pramoda ānandah, 704
- mo gū na indrātra (indra) pṛtau devaiḥ
("vāh, "va), 29, 55, 353
- mo svatvam asmān tarādāt, 312
- mo sv asmāns tamasy antarādāh, 312
- ya āgachāt pathibhir devayānāiḥ, 816
- ya ājagma ("muh) savane mā ("nedam,
"nam idam, ājagmedam savanam)
juśānāh, 551, 693
- ya ābhabhūva (āvabhūva) bhuvanāni
viśvā ("vāh), 838
- ya āviśto vayassu yo mṛgeṣu, 526
- ya āhutim ("tīr) atyamanyanta devāh,
659
- ya indragñi asanam sakbhāyau, 133
- ya indrena saratham yāti devah, 419,
588
- ya imāh prajā viśvakarmā jajānu, 417
- ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni cākṛpe, 165
- ya iśavo yātudhānānām, 449, 455, 785
- ya im vahanta āśubhiḥ, 40, 408
- ya iśe paśupatiḥ paśūnām, 447
- ya usriyā apyā (api yā) antar aśmanah
("ni), 665
- ya pte cid abhiśiṣah, 816
- ya etad (enam) vidur smṛtās te bha-
vanti, 809

ya enad veda sa id enad (enam) arhati,
837

ya oṣadhīṣu paśuṣv apav antaḥ (°ṣv
āvivēśa), 739

yah kravyāt tam aśīśamam, 20, 396

yah puruṣe yo āśmani, 691, 710

yah pūtaḥ (potā) sa punātu mā (nah),
724

yam hutādam agnim yam u kāmam
āhuḥ, 396

yakṣataḥ (°ṣat) svau (svam) mahimā-
nau (°nam), 769

yakṣate cid abhiśriṣaḥ, 816

yakṣmam śronibhyām (śronī°) bhāsa-
dāt, 189, 498

yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyam bhā-
sadam, 189, 498

yakṣmā yanti janād (°nān) anu, 495,
698

yac ca kimci jagat sarvam (°tyasmin),
457

yac ca cārānanuvratam, 404, 817

yac cāham eno vidvāns cakāra yac cā-
vidvāns , 726

yac cāham eno vidvānsaś cāvidvānsaś
, 726

yachā nah śarma saprathah (°thāh),
257, 721

yachāśmai śarma saprathāh, 257, 721

yajatrā muñcateha nah (mā), 724

yajamānāya jāgrta, 849

yajā no (yajāno) devo (°vān) ajarah
suvirah, 402

yajāṣṭham havyavāhana (°nam), 332,
346, 387

yajāṣṭho havyavāhanah, 332, 387

yaj jagranta savitā satyadharmā, 465,
816

yaj jātam janitavyam ca kevalam, 448

yajñah pratyāṣṭhāt, 326

yajñah praty u śīhāt sumatau matī-
nām, 326

yajñam yad yajñavāhasah, 474, 689

yajñam vidānāḥ sukr̥tasya loke, 526

yajñam linvanty adribhiḥ, 419, 498

yajñam tapah, 792

yajñam dadhānāḥ sukr̥tasya lokam,
526

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ, 326
yajñam āhur bhuvanasya nābhūm, 392

yajñas ca dakṣiṇā (°ṇās) ca (ca dak-
ṣiṇe), 696

yajñas tapah, 792

yajñasya jīhvām avidāma guhyām
(°yam), 817

yajñasya te (tvā) yajñapate sūktoktau
(hāvīrbhiḥ, saha), 483

yajñasya mātā (mātaram) suhavā me
astu, 18, 399, 723

yajñasya hi atha r̥tviṇ (°vīyau), 131

yajñasyāyuh pratiran (°ntau), 765

yajñāya santv adrayah, 419, 488

yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo madc, 480,
646, 689

yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vivakṣase, 480,
646, 689

yajñair juhoti haviṣā yajuṣā (°ti yajuṣā
hāvīrbhiḥ), 689

yajñair vā (vo) yajñavāhasah, 474, 689

yajñair vidhema namaśā hāvīrbhiḥ, 689

yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsida svām
(svam) yonim , 784

yataḥ prajā ākhidrā , 569

yatamāna (°no) rāśmibhiḥ sūryasya,
739, 849

yato deva dadhiṣe pūrvapeyam, 656

yato bhūmim janayan viśvakarmā, 495

yat karmanāty ariricam, 583

yatkāma idam juhomī tan me samr̥-
dhyatām, 726

yatkāmās te juhomas tan no astu, 726

yat kim ca (rit) tanvo (°vām) rapali,
708

yat kusidam apratititam (°tītam, apra-
dattam) mayi (mayeha), 607, 703

yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomī, 275

yat te kruddhah parovapa, 517, 717

yat te devī nīrtīr ābabandha, 832

yat te pavitram arcīṣi (°ṣā), 609

yat te mahe , see yat tvemahe

yat te śikvah parāvadhīt, 517

yat te susīme (°mam) hr̥daye (°yam),
340, 457

yat tvā kruddhah parovapa (°ddhāḥ
pracakruh), 517, 717

yat tvā śikvah parāvadhīt, 517

- yat tvemahe (te mahe) prati tan no
(prati nas taj) juṣasva, 496
- yat pūrtam yāś ca dakṣiṇāḥ, 696
- yat prthivyāṁ (°yā) rajah svam, 671
- yatra gavām nibhā sapta nāma
(nāmā), 270
- yatra devāso (°vā) ajusanta viśve, 157
- yatra bhūmer (°myai) juṣase (vṛnase)
tatra gacha, 143, 182
- yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabbūtha,
342
- yatra-yatra vibhṛto (bibhṛato) jātave-
dāḥ, 342
- yatra sarasvatyā meṣasya (meṣyā)
haviṣah priyā dhāmāni, 779
- yatrādhi sūra udito (°tau) vibhāti
(vyeti), 457
- yatra vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah, 144,
488, 517
- yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ra vāsasah
(tanuvam yatra vāsah), 144, 488, 517
- yatremā viśvā bhuvanādhi tasthuh,
164
- yatrainān (°raitān) vettha nihitān pa-
rāke (parācah), 553
- yatrauṣadhūḥ samagmata, 193
- yat sīnoh sūnum (°nv) ārubat (°hah),
795
- yat subhṛtam yat svāhā, 727
- yat strinām jivabhojanam, 808
- yathāgnih prthivya samanamaḥ evam
mahyam bhadrāḥ samnatayah sam
namantu, 431, 607
- yathā tvam (tvam agne) suśravah suś-
rava (°vā asy evam, °vā devaśv evam)
aham suśravah suśravā (°vā brāhma-
neṣu) bhūyāsam (evam mām suśra-
vah sauśravasam kuru), 378
- yathā prthivyām agnaye samanamann
evā mahyam samnamah sam na-
mantu, 431, 607
- yathā mitrāya varunāya samtamah
(°mam), 397
- yathāmi (°miśām) anyo anyam na jānan
(°nat), 438
- yathāyatham nau tanvau (°vū, tan
nau) jātavedah, 134
- yathāyatham nau (no) vratapate (°pā)
vratāni (vratinor vratāni, vratinām
vratāni), 771
- yathāvaśam tanvam (°vaḥ) kalpayasva
(°yāti), 708
- yathāham asya vīrasya (eṣām bhūtā-
nām, eṣām vīrānām), 739
- yathedam strīpautram aganma rudri-
yāya, 833
- yatheyam strī pautram agham na
rodāt, 833
- yathaiteṣām anyo anyam na jānāt, 438
- yathainam jarase nayāt, 431
- yathaiṣām anyo anyam na jānāt, 438
- yad agne kavjavadhana, 326, 816
- yad adya te ghora āsan juhomī, 278
- yad antarikṣam rajaso vimānam, 457
- yad antarikṣam tad u me (nah) pitā-
bhūt (°tāsa), 724
- yad antah samudre kavayo vadanti,
796
- yad amuṣṇitam avasam panim gāḥ
(goh), 505, 700
- yad asuddhah parājaghāna tad va
etena śundhantām, 472
- yad asya karmāno tyariricam, 583
- yad aham dhanena prapanasā carāmi,
472
- yad ahnāt kurute pāpam, 68, 575
- yad ahnū pāpam akāṣam, 68, 575
- yad āgachāt pathubhir devayānāḥ,
816
- yadā malah samvaranād (°ne) vy
asthāt, 662
- yadārghaṭi varadah (vadū rākhūyau
vadataḥ), 212
- yad āśīrdā dāmpati vāmam aśnucal,
174, 476, 809
- yad āhuś cakṣur aditāv anantam, 392,
671
- yad icchāmi manasā sakāmaḥ, 809
- yad id bhūmim janayan viśvakarmā,
495
- yad indro apibac chaeibhiḥ, 501, 809
- yadī varuṇasyāśi rājño (vāruny aśi)
varunūt tvā rājño 'dhukrīmāmi (tvā
niṣkrīmāmi), 613

yadī vāruny asi varunāya tvā parikrī-
nāmy aham , 613

yadi śrāto ("tam) juhātana, 397

yadi somasyāsi rājñah (saumy asi)
somāt tvā rājño 'dhikrīṇāmi (tvā
niṣkrīṇāmi, somāya tvā parikrīṇāmy
oṣadhūm), 613

yadī vahanty āsavah, 40, 408

yad r̥te cid abhiśrīṣah, 816

yad enaś cakrīvān baddha eṣa, 439

yad oṣadhayah samgachante (samag-
mata), 193

yad gharṃe, 768

yad dattar̥ yā ca dakṣiṇā, 696

yad devasya śvasāś prārīṇāh, 816

yad devā devam ayajanta viśve, 697

yad devā devān haviṣāyajanta, 697

yad devānām ("veṣu) tryāyuṣam, 671

yad devāso lālāmagum, 816

yad dha krānā vivasvatī ("te), 645

yad dharino ("ni) yavam atti, 779

yad bhadrām tan na (ma) ā suva, 724

yad bhūmer hr̥dayam divi candramasi
śritam, 363, 396

yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva, 826

yady aśrūto ("tam) mamattana, 397

yady asi vāruni varunāya tvā rājñe
parikrīṇāmi, 613

yady asi saumī somāya tvā rājñe pari-
krīṇāmi, 613

yad rātriyaūt kurute pāpam, 68, 575

yad rātriya ("ryā) pāpam akūrṣam, 68,
575

yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva, 826

yad vo devāh prapaṇam carāma, 472

yad vo devāsa āgure ("ri), 646

yad vo śuddha ālebbe tañ śundhadh-
vam, 472

yad vo 'śuddhāh ("dhah) parā jaghnur
(jaghānaitad) , 472

yantā rāt, 849

yantāsi yamanah, 849

yam te devī nīrtir ā babandha, 832

yantrī rāt, 849

yantry asi yamanī ("mitri), 849

yam tvām ayam (tvāyam) avadhitis
tr̥jamānah (tetijānah tigmatejāh),
306

yam devāso lālāmagum, 816

yam dviṣmas taamin prati muñcāmi
pāṣam, 703

yam (yan) nah pitā samjānīte, 811

yam nirmanthato aśvinā, 131, 476

yan mayā duṣkṛtaḥ kṛtam, 580

yan mayā manasā vācā, 88, 580

yan me agna ūnam tanvas tan ma (mā)
āprna, 239

yan me kim canā duṣkṛtam, 580

yan me manasā vācā, 88, 580

yan me yamam vaivasvatam, 496

yam adhvānam agāma dūram, 498

yam antah samudre kavayo vayanī,
796

yam abadhnta savitā suketah (suśe-
vah), 465, 816

yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi ("cāv
āsure dadhi), 665

yam asyendro apibāñ śacībhih, 501, 809

yamād aham vaivasvatāt, 496

yamāya yamasūm, 782

yamāya somam ("mah) sunuta (pa-
vate), 382

yam āsīrā dampatī vāmam aśnutah,
174, 476, 809

yamena tvam yamyā samvidānā ("nah),
849

yamena pitṛn (pitarah), 390

yam pāñcājanyam bahavah samind-
bate, 520

yam putrina ākramante viśokāh, 465

yam mitram na praśastibhih ("taye),
558, 690

yamyai ("yās) trayodaśī, 143

yamyai ("yāh) pāñrah ("tor"), 143

yamyai yamasūm, 782

yayāśiṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutah, 174,
476

yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih,
448

yavaya dveṣo asmat, 703

yavayārātīh ("tūm), 703

yavayāmad aghā dveṣāñsi ("mad dve-
ṣah), 703

yavā ("vair) na barhī bhruvī kesarāni,
56, 412

yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan, 441

yavena ('na vā) kṣudham puruhūta
viśvām ('ve), 402
yavenuṣadhi ('dhayah), 390
yaśasā mā dyāvāpṛthivī, 412
yaśasendrābhraspati, 412
yaśo bhagaś ca (bhagasya) mā vidat
(riṣat, 'aya vindatu), 442
yaśo mayi dhehi, 639
yaśo mā dyāvāpṛthivī, 412
yaśo me dhāh (dhehi), 639
yaśo mendrābhraspati, 412
yas tad veda savituh (sa pituh) pitasat,
729
yas tāni veda sa pitus ('tuh) pitāsāt,
164, 729
yas tā vijñāt sa pitus (savituh) pitā-
sāt, 164, 729
yas te deva varuna tam ta etena-
vayaḥ, 472
yas te rājan varuna tam ta etenā-
vayaḥ (etaḥ avayaḥ), 472
ya strinām jivabhojanah, 808
ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye, 449, 457
yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kim canāsa
(jātam na purā canaiva), 729, 810
yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (anyo) asti,
810
yasmāt param nāparam asti kim cit, 810
yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti,
810
yasmād anyo na puro asti jātā, 810
yasmād bhītā ('to) nīdasi, 849
yasmān na jātā paro anyo asti (sti),
810
yasminn idam viśvam bhuvanam adhi-
sritam, 698
yasmīn bhūtan ca bhavyam ca, 643
yasmīn viśvāni bhuvanāni (viśvā bhu-
vanādhi) tasthuh, 167, 698
yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham (khanū-
masi), 714
yasmai cāham khanāmi vah, 714
yasmai bhūtam ca bhavyam ca, 643
yasya jātam janamūnam ca kevalam,
445
yasya deva dadhiṣe pūrvapeyam, 656
yasya dyāvo na vicaranti mānuvā
('ṣam), 402

yasya dyaur urvī pṛthivī ca mahī, 114,
588, 757
yasya vratam ('ta) upatiṣṭhanta apah,
54, 523, 526
yasya vratam ('te) paśavo yanti sarve,
54, 99, 526
yasya śrutarvā bṛhan, 449, 457
yasya samudram rasayā sahaḥuh, 463,
550
yasyā āśā (imā) tanvo vitapṛṣṭhāh,
671
yasyām karmāni kurvate (krnv), 552
yasyām devā abhisamviśantah, 412, 765
yasyā bahvyas tanvo vitapṛṣṭhāh, 148,
213, 671
yasyam imā bahvyas tanvo vitapṛṣṭ-
hāh, 213, 671
yasyā yonir , see yasyai yonir
yasyās ta āsani ghorā juhomi, 278
yasyās te asyāh krūra āsāni juhomi, 278
yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi, 278
yasyās te vajñyo (harito) garbhah, 148,
447
yasyāham aśmī purohitah, 718
yasyendro apibāt chaetbhuh, 501
yasyai te vajñyo garbhah, 148, 447
yasyai bahvis tanuvo vitapṛṣṭhāh, 148,
213, 671
yasyai ('yū) yonir hiranyayī, 148, 447,
784
yah saingrāmān ('mam) nayatī (jay")
sam yudhe vaśī (sam vaśī yudhe,
'yudhā), 563, 698
yah samidhā ya śhutī ('tyā), 216
yah strinām jivabhojanah, 808
yahvī ('vīr) tasya mātari ('rah), 766
yā antarikṣa uta pṛthivīr yāh, 451
yā antarikṣā uta pṛthivīśah ('vīr
yāh), 451
yā ātasthatur bhuvanāni viśvā, 528
yā āharaj jamadagnih, 740
yā īśavo yātudhānānām, 449, 455, 788
yā oṣadhayah prathamajāh, 193
yā oṣadhayah somarājñih, 193
yā oṣadhīh pūrvā jātāh, 193
yā oṣadhīh somarājñih, 193
yā parastād rocane ('nūh) sūryasya,
455

yāns (yāa) te soma prāṇāns tān (tān, tān) juhomi, 406

yā jātā ŋadhayah, 193

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda
(tayā vidhema, tasyai te vidhema) tasyās (yāi) te namaas
, 152, 563

yā tām rātrīm upāmahe, 349

yātudhānam (nā, nān) kumīdinam
(nā, nah), 703, 764

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakīkārīm (kakāram), 782

yā te agne rudriyā tasyās (yāi) te svāhā, 152

yā te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhyaī, 183, 402, 769

yā te patighnī (ny) , 671

yā teṣām avayā durīṣṭih, 431

yā devir antān abhito dadanta, 213

yā devy asīṣṭaka (ke) sā mām
upaśeṣva (mopaśeṣva) , 304

yāni karmāni cakrire, 552

yāni keṭrāni yā (dhanvāni ye) vanā
(vanāh), 793

yāni gharīme kapālāni, 768

yā no dadāti śravānam pitṛnām, 252

yām te cakrur gārhapatyē, 488

yām tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate,
698

yām tvā rātry upāmahe (sate, tri
vajāmahe), 349

yāny apāṃityāny apratītāny (itītāny)
asmi, 703

yā patyete apratītā sahoḥbhīh, 132

yā prathamā samekṣtir yajñe asmin,
830

yābhīr yāsī dūtyām sūryasya, 799

yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau,
131, 476

yām āśām emi kevalī sā me astu, 809

yām āharaj jamadagnih, 740

yām iṣum giriśanta (tam), 352

yā rājānam (nā) saratham yātha
(yāta) ugrā, 402

yā rocane parastāt sūryasya, 455

yāvayārātīm, 703

yāvayāsmad dveṣam (śah), 703

yāv āstathatur bhuvanāni viśvā (na-
sya madhye), 528

yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āstī,
441

yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān , 213

yās ca devir antān , 213

yās ca devis tantūn (devyo antān) ,
213

yās ca bhūmy adharāg yās ca paścā, 180

yā sarasvatī viśobhaginā (veśabbhaginī)
tasyām me (tasyā no) rāsva , 681,
723

yās tisrah prathamajāh (paramajāh),
438, 835

yās te bhūme adharād yās ca paśāt,
180

yās te rātrih (trayah) savitar deva-
jānih, 197

yās te rudra purastāt senās tābhya eṣa
balis tābhyas te namah, 667

yās te rudra purasyām diśi senās tāb-
hya enat, 667

yās te viśas tapasah (sā) sambabbhū-
vuh, 64, 78, 569

yās te soma prāṇāns , see yāns
te

yāsyā apaśavyā tanūs tām asyā apa-
jahī, 148, 612

yāsyā aputryā (riyā) tanūs tām asyā
apajahī, 148, 612

yāsyāh (yāi) patighnī tanūs tām asyā
apajahī (asyai nāsaya svāhā, ito n°),
148, 612

yāsyāh pāpī lakṣmīr yā patighnī yāpu-
trya yāpaśavya tā asyā apahata, 148,
612

yāsyāh pāpī lakṣmīs tām asyā apajahī,
148, 612

yāsyām patighnī tanūh asyai tam
kṛnomi svāhā, 148, 671

yāsyai gṛhaghñī (etc) tanūs tām asyai
nāsaya svāhā, 148, 612

yāsyai ghorā (etc) tanūs tām ito nāsaya
svāhā, 148, 612

yā svapantām bodhayatī (svapatsu jā-
gartī), 548, 701

yāh supritāh suhutā yat svāhā, 727

yuktās tiro vimrjah sūryasya, 380
 yuktā hari vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvāṇ, 815
 yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha, 380, 564
 yuktā hari vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvāṇ ('vāh),
 815
 yunajmi tiro viprcāh sūryasya te
 (vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save, or savah), 380
 yunajmi vāyūm antarikṣeṇa te (tena)
 saha, 380, 564
 yuvam tām indra vṛtrahan, 715, 836
 yuvo ratho adhvaram ('ro) devavītaye,
 399
 yuṣmāṇs ca dāyam ma upetā ('yam
 copetām), 403
 yuṣmākam sakhye aham aham śevā, 314,
 654, 840
 yuṣmān ('mā) indro vṛṇita vṛtratūrye,
 803
 yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata, 112,
 689
 yuṣme ('mām) astu dive-dive, 318
 ye agnayo apsv antar ye vṛtre, 691
 ye antariksa uta ye divi śritāḥ, 155
 ye antariksa oṣadhiṣu paśuṣv apsv an-
 tah, 739
 ye antarikṣe ye ca divi śritāsah, 155
 ye aprathetām amitebhīr ojobhūh, 469
 ye aprathetām amitam abhi yojanam
 (amitā yojanāni), 469, 698
 ye apsu śadāṇsi ('psu sadāṇsi) rakrire,
 698
 ye amī rocane divah, 672, 815
 ye arvāṇ ('vāḥ madhya) uta vā purāṇe
 ('nam), 532
 ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu ('vyām adhi),
 542
 ye keśinah prathamāḥ ('me) satram
 āsata, 299
 ye gharṇe, 768
 ye ca tvām anu (atrānu), 307
 ye catvārah pathayo devayānāḥ, 283
 ye ca devāḥ ('vā) ayajanta, 401
 ye cātra tvānu , 307
 ye cāmī rocane divi, 672, 815
 ye ceme abhito rudrāḥ, 402
 ye cainam (cemām, ceme) rudrā abhi-
 tah, 402

ye jātās tanvas ('van) pari, 494
 ye ta āryāḥ paśavo mṛgā vane hitāḥ,
 309
 ye tad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti, 809
 ye te panthā adho (panthāno 'va)
 divah, 283
 ye te panthāḥ ('thānah) savitāḥ pūr-
 vyāsah, 283
 ye te sarasva ('savann) ūrmayah, 285
 ye tvām atrānu, 307
 ye tvā rātry ('rim) upāsate, 349
 ye devā agninetrāḥ purahsadas (eb-
 hyah svāḥ), 426
 ye devāḥ purahsado 'gninetrā (agni")
 , 426
 ye devā divy ekādaśa stha, 107
 ye devā deveṣv ('vebhyo) adhi devat-
 vam āyan, 665
 ye devānām ṛtvīc yajñīyāsah ('jo ye
 ca yajñīyāḥ), 154
 ye devā manoḥātā (manu") dakṣa-
 pitaras ('tāras) , 253
 ye devāso divy ekādaśa stha, 157
 ye do rocane divah, 672, 815
 yena te te prajāpate, 363
 yena tvam deva veda (tvam veda)
 tena mahyam (tenāsmabhyam) ,
 724
 yena tvābadhnāt savitā suśevah ('vāḥ,
 suketah), 465, 516
 yena devā amṛtam anv avindan, 154
 yena devā ('vāso) asahanta dasyūn,
 157
 yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh, 154
 yena dyaus ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛiḥā
 ('dhe), 114, 588, 757
 yena dhanena prapaṇam carāmi, 472
 yena dhātā (pūṣā) bṛhaspateḥ ('tiḥ),
 444
 yena prajā achidṛā , 509
 yena prajā viśvakarmā jajāna (vjā-
 naḥ), 417
 yena mābadhnāt savitā suśevah, 465,
 816
 yena śriyam akṛnutām (striyam akṛnu-
 tam, striyāv akurutam), 774
 yena kramante putriṇo (ye) viśokāḥ 465

yenākṣā ("śān, "śyāv, yenā kṣām) abhy-
 aśicyanta ("śīcatam, "lām), 380
 yenaṁvṛtaṁ kham ca divam mahīm ("hi)
 ca, 391
 yena samatsu sāśahah ("hih, "hi), 842
 yencendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh,
 419, 588
 yemā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuh, 164
 yenaite prajāpate, 363
 yenaśa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty ("tais tiṣṭhate
 hy) antarātmā, 417
 ye no dviśanty anu tām rabhasva, 703
 ye panthāno bahavo devayānāh, 283
 ye puruṣe ye āśmasu, 691, 710
 ye barhiṣo ("śā) namovṛktim (namauk-
 tim) , 588
 yebhir vācam viśvarūpebhir ("pām)
 avayan (samavyayat), 476
 ye māmākāh pitarah, 724
 ye rātrīm ("rim) anutiṣṭhanti ("atha),
 196
 ye vanaspatinām, 514
 ye vādo (vāmi) rocane divah, 672, 515
 ye vā vanaspatīn anu ("patinām), 514
 yī śām tīraḥ paramajāh, 438, 835
 yeśām adhyeti pravasan, 682
 yeśām apsu sadaś ("dah) kṛtam 698
 yeśām asmī purohitah, 718
 yeśām īśe paśupatiḥ paśūnām, 447
 yeṣu vā yātudhānāh, 449, 455
 yeṣu saumanaso ("sam) bahuh (ma-
 hat), 795
 yeṣv adhyeti pravasan, 682
 ye stha traya ekādaśāh ("śūśah), 158
 ye smākam pitaras teśām barhiṣ asī,
 724
 ye smān abhyaghāyanti, 703
 yo akṣeneva cakriyā ("yau) śacībhīh,
 131
 yo agnaye dadāśa havyaḍatībhīh
 ("taye), 567, 742
 yo agnīḥ kravyavāhanah (kavya"), 326,
 516
 yo agnīṣomāv ajuṣe sakḥyā, 133
 yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānāh, 457
 yo apsv antaḥ agnir yo vṛtre, 601
 yo asmān abhyaghāyati, 703
 yogakṣemo nah kalpatām, 724

yo devakāmo na dhanā ("nam) ruṇad-
 dhi, 704
 yo devasya śvasā prāṇīṇāh, 816
 yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam āhuh, 396
 yo nah kadā cid abhidāsatī druhā, 724
 yo nah kaś cābhyaghāyati, 724
 yonir yas te hiranyayah, 447, 784
 yoner iva pracuto garbhah, 184
 yo no antī śapati tam etena jeṣam, 724
 yo no divā dipsati yaś ca naktam, 724
 yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva, 703
 yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām, 312
 yo no dveṣṭi anu tam ravasva, 703
 yonya iva pracuto garbhah, 184
 yo mā kadā cid abhidāsatī druhuh, 724
 yo mā kaś cābhidāsatī, 724
 yo mā cakṣuśā yo manasā, 724
 yo mā divā dipsati yaś ca naktam, 724
 yo me ntī dūre 'rātīyati tam etena
 jeṣam, 724
 yo maitasyā dīśo , 149
 yo rudro viśvā bhuvanāviveśa, 165
 yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmīh satyadharmā,
 448
 yo smānś cakṣuśā manasā cītyākūtyā
 ca, 724
 yo 'smān dveṣṭi yam ca vayam dvīśma
 idam asya grīvā apī kṛtāmī, 724
 yo smān dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām, 312
 yau te pakṣāv ajaraḥ patatṛinau, 447
 yau patyete apratītau sahoḥbhīh, 132
 yau vīryair vīratamā śvavīṣṭhā, 170
 rakṣānsī tayā (tābhīr) daha jātavedah,
 739
 rakṣāyai tvā nārātyai, 182
 rakṣoghno ("ghno vo) valagaghnah
 prokṣāmī vaiṣṇavān, 262
 rakṣoghno valagaghno vasīṇcāmī
 (vastṛnāmī) vaiṣṇavān, 262, 740
 rakṣohanam tvā valagahanam avasīṇ-
 cāmī (avastṛnāmī, āstṛnāmī) vaiṣṇa-
 vam, 740
 rakṣohano ("no vo) valagahanah prok-
 ṣāmī vaiṣṇavān ("vam), 262, 739
 rakṣohano ("no vo) valagahano 'vas-
 tṛnāmī vaiṣṇavān, 262, 740
 ratnam devasya savitur iyanāh ("nāh),
 739

rathamtaram sāma pratiṣṭhityā anta-
rikṣe ("kṣam, sāma pratiṣṭhityā), 535
rathā aśvāsa uṣaso vyusṣau ("ṣiṣu), 709
rathitamam ("mo) rathinām, 387
rathe akṣeṣv ṛsabhasya ("ṣu vṛṣ") vāje,
710
ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh, 710
rantir asi, 178
rantī ramatiḥ sūnah sūnari, 178
rabhiyasa ("yāhsam) iva kṛtvī , 700
rayim ca nah sarvavīram ("rām) ni
yachatu ("chāt), 785
rayim dānāya codaya, 704
rayim devī dadhātu me, 704, 723
rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam, 489
rayim no dhehi subhage svavīram ("re,
"ryam), 350
rarānas tmanā devebhyah ("veṣu), 644
rasam parisrutā ("to) na rohitam, 587
rakam aham suhavam ("vā) suṣṭuti
huve, 58, 470
rākāya aham devayajayā prajāvān
("vati) bhūvasam, 849
rajanam (tuv) adhvarānām, 765
rātrim-rātrim aprayavam bharantah,
196
ratrim ("rīu) jiva 196
ratrim dhenum ivīyatīm (upāyatim),
196
rātrim pivasā, 196
ratrī stomam na juyuse ("ci), 195, 337,
430
rātrim ratrim aprayāvam bharantah,
196
ratrim dhenum ivīyatim, 196
ratrim pivasā, 196
rātrī stomam na juyusī, 195, 337, 430
rāyas poṣam yajamāne dadhātu, 640
rayas poṣam vi syatām ("tu, sya) nāb-
hum asme (asya), 486, 623
rāyas poṣam cikituṣe ("ṣi) dadhātu
(dadhātu), 430, 640
rāyas poṣā ("śāya) yajamānam viś-
antu, 421
rāyas poṣā ("śāya) yajamānam sacan-
tām ("nasya santu), 421, 519
rīyas poṣena ("ṣe) sam iṣā madema,
100, 603

rāyas poṣe yajñapatim ābhajantiḥ
("ti), 739
rāye agne mahe tvā, 70, 86, 629
rāye jātah sahasa vṛddhah, 558
rāyo agne mahe tvā, 70, 86, 629
rāyo dānāya codaya, 704
rāyo devī dadhātu nah, 704, 723
rāyo budhnaḥ saṃgamano vasūnām,
849
rāṣṭrāny asmā ādhehi (asmīn dhehi),
642
rudrah paśūnām ("śubhyah), 627
rudra ("ram) jalāṣabheṣaja ("jam), 346
rudra yat te krayi (krivi, kravi, giri-
param nūna tasmai ("min) hutam
asi, 650
rudrasya gānapatyān ("jan, "ye) may-
obhūr chi, 495, 526, 705
rudrāh pañcadaśe stutam ("tāh), 402
rudrās tvā praçtasah paścāt pāntu,
412, 697
ruho ruroha rohita ā ruroha, 687
rūpam varnam paśūnām mā nirmṛk-
sam, 495
rūpam indre ("ro) hiranyayam, 453
rupani pinśan bhuvanāni viśvā, 57, 459
rūpid varnam mā nirmṛkṣat, 495
rupair apinśad bhuvanāni viśvā, 57, 459
revaj jātah sahasā vṛddhah, 558
revati predhā yajñapatim āviśa, 550,
697
revati yajamāne priyam dhā īviśa, 550,
697
revatir yajñapatim priyadhāviśata,
550, 697
rodena kṛnavatir ("ti, "vanto) agham,
739, 849
roham-roham rohita āruroha, 687
rohini ("nyas) tryavayo vāre, 213
rohit kundṛnācī golatikā tā apsarasām
(te 'psarasām), 825
raudrenānīkena pāhi māgne (pāta māg-
nayah), 691
lājīñā chācīñ (lājīñ śācīñ) yave gavye
(yaśo mamāñm) , 280
lekah salekah sulekas te na ādītyā
ājyam juṣānā viyantu, 501
lokam u (id) dve upa jāmī iyatuḥ, 402

lokam pitṛṣu vittvā, 550
 vañkrīr aśvasya svadhītih sam eti, 177
 vatsam gāyatrīm anu tā ihāgub, 552
 vatsam jātam na dhenavaḥ (mātarah,
 °tam ivāgñnyā), 700
 vatso jarāyu pratidhuk pīyūṣah, 793
 vatso virājo vṛṣabho matinām, 706
 vanaspatayā ulūkān, 699
 vanaspataye (namah), 699
 vanaspataye svāhā, 699
 vanaspatibhya ulūkān, 699
 vanaspatibhyah (namah), 699
 vanaspatibhyah svāhā, 699
 vanaspatibhyo vānaspatyebhya ,
 488
 vanaspatīn vanaspatyān, 488
 vanema pūrvīr aryo manīṣāh (°ṣā), 469
 vanemā te abhiṣṭibhih (°ṭaye), 558, 704
 vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu, 402
 vandārus te (°ruṣ ṭe, °ruṇ te) tanvam
 (°nuvam) vande agne, 402
 vande dārum vandamāno vivakmī, 402
 vapāvantam (°to) nāgninā tapantah,
 402
 vaptā (°trā, °tar) vapasī (°ti) keśāś-
 māśru (keśān), 326, 334
 vayan rājabbhih (°jasu) prathamā dha-
 nāni, 607
 vayan vām mitrā syāma, 449
 vayan samghātām (°tam-samghātām,
 °te-samghāte) jeyma (jayema, sam-
 jayema), 105, 546
 vayan te rudrā syāma, 449
 vayan nāma pra bravāmā (°ma) ghṛta-
 sya (°tena), 587
 vayānai ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu, 525, 526
 varam vṛnīṣva, 739
 varuṇa mitra dāśuṣah (°ṣe), 635
 varuṇas tvā dhṛtavrato mitrāva-
 runau (°nayor) , 443
 varunasya skambhanam (°ny) asī, 802
 varunasya skambhasarjanam (°ny) asī
 (°janī sthah), 769, 802
 varunah samrāt samrātpatih mayī
 dadhātu (yajamānāya dadātu) ,
 641
 varuṭrīm tvaṣṭur varunasya nābhīm,
 198

varuṭrīr avayan, 198
 varuṭrayas tvāvayan, 198
 varuṭrayo janayas tvā devīr viśvade-
 vyāvatiḥ , 198, 697
 varuṭrīm tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhīm,
 198
 varuṭrī (varu°) tvā devī viśvadevyā-
 vatī , 697
 varuṭrīm tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhīm,
 198
 varuṭrīṣṭvā (°ruṭrīs tvā) devīr viśvade-
 vyāvatiḥ , 198, 697
 varuṭhyam (°ye) varuṇe chandiyam
 vacah, 552
 varenyakratūr (°tur) aham, 402
 varca ā dhehī me tanvam (dhāyī me
 tanūh), 249, 380
 varcase tvā (vām), 765
 varco aśmāsu dhātta (dhehī), 640, 724
 varco dhā yajñavāhase (°si), 639
 varco mayī dhehī, 640, 724
 varco me dāh (dehī, dhāh, dhehī,
 yachā), 640, 724
 varnam pavitram (purāṇam) punatī ma
 (na) āgāt, 724
 vardhamāno (°nam) mahān (°ha) ā ca
 puṣkare (°ram), 453, 837
 vardhā samudram ukthyam (°ya), 350
 vardhiṣṭmahī ca vayan ā ca pyāsisī-
 mahī (pyāyīṣīmahī ca), 724
 varma (°mā) sīvyadhivam bahulā
 prthūni, 270
 varṣā ṛtuh (ṛtūnām), 438
 varṣāni (°ṣās) cūkṣuṣāni (°ṣyah), 797
 varṣābhis tvartunā (°nām) haviṣā dik-
 ṣayāmi, 581
 varṣīyo varṣīyāsī (°so) yajñe (°nam)
 yajñapatim (°tan) dhāh, 537, 670
 varṣo varṣīyāsī yajñe yajñapatim dhāh,
 537, 670
 varṣma (°man) divah, nābhā prthivyāh,
 458
 varṣman kṣetrasya (rāṣṭrasya) kaku-
 bhīh (°bhi, °bbhih, kakudī) śāśrīyā-
 ṇah (śrāyasva), 611
 valmīkān klomnā (°mabhih), 707
 vavṛān anantān (vavram anantam) ava
 sū padīṣṭa, 698

vaśām vevhatam gām (gām na) vayo dadhat, 399
 vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa (°tā) āhutāh, 157
 vaśā vevhad (°had gaur na) vayo dadhuḥ, 399
 vasanta r̥tuḥ (r̥tūnām), 438
 vasantena tvartunā (°nām) haviṣā dikṣayāmi, 54, 581
 vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca, 697
 vasavas trivṛtā stutam (°tāh), 402
 vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśrēam mā, 402, 511, 723
 vasavo rudrā ādityā etā vah pannejanīh, 359
 vasum sūnum sahaso jātavedasam, 521
 vasudāvā vasuapatih (vasupate vasudāvan), 336
 vasubhyah kapīñjalaḥ, 618
 vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo viśvebhyo vo devebhyah pannejanīr gr̥hnāmi, 359
 vasumatā (°tum agne) te chāyām upastheṣam, 521
 vasumadganasya upahūtasypahūto (upahūta upahūtām) bhakṣayāmi, 501
 vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca, 697
 vasuḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā, 447
 vasūnām kapīñjalaḥ, 618
 vasūnām tvādhītena (°nām ādhītau), 601
 vasūnām pavitram aśi, 697
 vasuṇi cārur (cārye, cāryo, cāryo) vi bhajāsi (bhṛjāsi, bhajā sa) jīvan, 334, 549
 vasūni jāte janamāna (jāto janimāny) ojaś, 458
 vasoh kuvid vanāti nah, 244
 vasoh pavitram aśi, 697
 vasor vaso (vaso vasvah) puruṣprah, 244
 vasoh sūnum sahaso jātavedasam, 521
 vasoh sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā, 447
 vasyaṣṭaye (°tyai) tvā, 182
 vasvah kuvid vanāti nah, 244
 vasyi rantih sumanāh, 175
 vaha kāla (°lam) vaha śriyam mābhi vaha, 349

vahāśi sā sukr̥tām yatra lokah, 396, 698
 vahāsi mā sukr̥tām yatra lokah, 396, 698
 vāk patamgāya dhīyate (śīśriye, hūyate), 431
 vāk patamgo aśīśriyat (°gā aśīśrayuḥ), 431
 vān ma āsan (āsyē, āsyan), 285
 vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi, 501, 563
 vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe (huta-sya, hutasyāśnāmy), 501, 563
 vācaspate vidhe nāman, 280
 vācā mendirīyeṇāviśa (vācām indr°), 589, 706
 vāci (°ce) avahā, 655
 vājam vājino jayatādhvānam (°vanas), 698
 vajasya mā prasaviṇa (°vah), 411
 vājasya hi prasaviṇa (°ve), 457
 vāji tvā sapatnasāham sam mārjmi (mārṣti), 850
 vājinaṁ tvā vājino vanayāmah (°nyavanayāmi), 455
 vājinaṁ tvā vājini vājayatyāyā sam mārjmi, 850
 vājinaṁ tvā vājedyāyā (sapatnasāham) sam mārjmi (mārṣmi), 850
 vājino vājajito dhvāna (°no vājam jayatādhvāna) skabhnuvanto, 327, 698, 777
 vājino vājajito vājam sarisyanto bhāgam ava jighrata, 327, 777
 vājino vājajito vājam sarīvāṇso (jigīvāṇso) bhāgam (°ge), 327, 777
 vājinau vājajitau vājam jivā bhāgam (°ge), 327, 777
 vājō nah (me, mā) sapta pradiśah, 519, 724
 vājō no (me) adya prasuvāti dānam, 723
 vājō no (mā) viśvair devaiḥ, 724
 vātām prānam anvasasṛjatāt, 381
 vāta (°tāh, °tas, °tā) spr̥tah (°tāh), 709
 vātena prāpān, 380
 vāto vā (vā vo) manu vā, 741
 vānaspatyāsi (°tyam aśi, °tyo si), 548

vāmam duhāsthām gharmaḍughe iva
dhenū, 775

vāmam prayaty adhvare, 527

vāml (vāmyā) te samdṛśi viśvam reto
dheṣya (dhi-) tava vāmīr (°my) anu
samdṛśi, 207, 705

vāyav ete (°tau, °ṣa) te vāyo, 773

vāyavyam śvetam, 407

vāyavyah śvetah puche, 407

vāyuh pūtah pavitrena, 443

vāyunā prānāh, 390

(om) vāyum tarpayāmi, 373

vāyur na ḍitā ḍitavyair devair anta-
rikṣyair (āntarikṣair) pātu, 576

vāyur na (mā) tebhyo rakṣatu, 721

vāyur vā tvā manur vā tvā, 741

vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divah,
576

vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyām pa-
yah, 424

vāyus tpyatu, 373

vāyoh pūtah pavitrena, 443

vāyo prāyaścitte (°ttr asi) tvam ,
339

vāyosavitṛ āgomugbhvām caruh, 424

vārān (°ram) yat pūto atyeṣy avyan
(°yam), 711

vi kumāram jarāyūnā, 61, 459

vi garbham ca jarāyu ca, 61, 459

vicaranty apativratā, 404, 817

vichandā yās (yā) ca sachandāh, 690

vi jhiṣva (°irva) lokam (°kūn) kṛnu
(kṛdhu), 698

vi te bhīnadmi takarim (°rim, meha-
nam), 190

vi te muñcāmi raśānām (°nā) , 710

vidānā asya yojanam (°nā), 698

vidā rūyah (°ye) sūviryam, 630

viduh prthivīyā divo janitram (°rāt),
495

viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanāni, 698

vided (°der) agnir (°ner, °ne) nabho
, 333, 369, 449

videyam enad dhrdaye niviṣṭam (enām
manasi praviṣṭām), 809

vidmā te dhūma vibhṛtā purutrā, 695

vidmā te sadma vibhṛtam purutrā, 698

vidyutam (°tau) kanīnakābhyām (ka-
nīnu°, kanāna°), 774

vidvān ārodhanam divah, 698

vidhṛtir asi (°ti sthah), 765

vidhes tvam āsmākam nāma (nāmnā),
474

vi parjanyam (°yāh) ṣṛjanti rodasi anu,
390, 697

vipipānā (°nāh) sarasvati, 758

vipreā (°cas, °cah, °cau) stha (sthah),
770

viprasya dhārayā kavīh, 446

viprasya vā yas chaśamāna ukthyam
(°yah), 401

viprah sa dhārayā sutah, 446

viprā (°iāya) gātham gāyata yaj jujo-
-ati (°sat, yam jujoṣate), 360, 816

viprī viprasya brhato vipaścitah, 446,
739

vipro viprasya sahaso vipaścit, 446, 739

vibhave svāhū, 233

vibhum kāmam vy aśīya (aśnavai), 704

vibhur asi pravāhanah, 232

vibhur mātṛā prabhuh pitṛā, 232

vibhuve svāhū, 233

vibhūn kāmān vy aśnavai, 704

vibhūr asi pravāhanah, 232

vibhur mātṛā prabhūh pitṛā, 232

vibhrājananah sarirasya (salil-) mad-
hye (°yāt), 664

vibhuve svāhū, 233

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpah, 402

vi mitra evair arātim atārīt, 703

vi yo mame rajasī sukratītyayā, 413,
755

vi yo rajānsy amimita sukratuh, 413,
755

virūjam (°rāt) chanda ihendriyam
(indr-), 399

vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpam, 402

vilipī yā (°ptya) brhaspate, 445

vivadhas chandah, 792

vivasva (°vann, °vān) ādityaiṣa te
somapithas tena (tasmin) mandasva
(tasmin matsva), 265, 340, 603

vivasvān aditur devajūtis te na ādityā
ājyam juṣānū vīyantu, 326

vivṛtacakrā āśināḥ, 340, 454
 viśantu , see viśvantu
 viśākhāṃ ("khā, "khe) nakṣatram, 752, 798
 viśāṃ kavim viśpatim mānuṣiṇām ("ṣir iṣah), 446
 viśāṃ agnim atithim suprayasam ("jā-sam), 258
 viśo yantre ("ri) nudamāne arātim, 800
 viśo-viśah pravivṛtāṃsam imahe, 526, 687
 viśo viśvā anu prabhuh ("bhu), 837
 vi śloka etu (cti, "kā yanti) pathyeva ("theva) sūreḥ ("riḥ, "rāḥ, "rah), 284, 419, 443, 690, 709
 viśloka viśvadāvye tvā samjuhomī svāhā, 673
 visvakarmans tanūpā asi, 762
 visvakarman namas te pāhy asmān, 358
 viśvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah, 762
 viśvakarmā tvāditayair uttarataḥ ("rāt) pūtu, 173, 739
 viśvakarmā manasā yad viḥyāḥ, 816
 viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upa-dadhatām, 173, 739
 viśvakarmā vimanā ād viḥyāḥ ("nā yo vyomā, vimame yo viḥyāḥ), 816
 visvajanasya chāyā ("yāsi, "yām), 387
 viśvantu ("vam tu, visantu) tvam āhuta-yasā (tvāhuta-yah) , 306
 viśvam anyābhivāvṛdhe (anvābhi vā-vāra, anyām abhivāra), 389
 viśvum astu dravinam vājo ("je) asme ("min), 457
 viśvam asya ("jāḥ) priyam uparīḥitam, 849
 viśvam ā bhāsi rocanaṃ ("na), 351
 viśvarūpā śabalir (śavaly) agniketuh, 206
 viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṃ juhomī, 673
 viśvavidam ("do) vācam aviśvaminvām (aviśvavinnām), 402
 viśvasṛjāḥ prathamē ("māḥ) satram āsata ("te), 299
 viśvasya jagato nīśām (rātri), 387
 viśvasya jantor adhamam cakāra ("mas padīṣṭa), 379

viśvasya te vāmīr anu samdrī
 viśvā retāsā dhiṣṭya, 207, 705
 viśvasya priyasyopahūtasypahī tah ("tā), 849
 viśvasyām viśi pravivṛtāṃsam ("śā-nam) imahe, 526, 687
 viśvasyēśāna ojaś ("śah), 585
 viśvā abhiṣṭiḥ pṛtanā jayati, 177
 viśvā amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣibhiḥ ("ṣebhyah), 474, 573, 587, 835
 viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣir bhīyah, 474, 573
 viśvā āśā dakṣiṇasat ("sāt, "nataḥ, "nadhak), 255
 viśvūḥ pṛtanā abhihūtarām namam ("rah), 402
 viśvādam agnim yam u kāmam āhuh, 396
 viśvā deva pṛtīnā abhi-ya, 326
 viśvā devānām janīmā vivakti, 160, 164, 269, 448
 viśvāni deva vāyunāni vidvān, 329
 viśvāni devo janīmā vivakti, 164, 269, 448
 viśvīni devo vāyunāni vidvān, 329
 viśvāni yo amartyah, 402, 457
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhiceṣṭe ("nā vi-ceṣṭe), 167
 viśvānyo bhuvanū vi-ceṣṭe, 167
 viśvārād asi visvanān ("vasām) nūcetrā-num hanta, 299
 viśvā rūpāni bibhrataḥ ("tam), 388
 viśvā rūpāni vasūny āveśayanti, 704
 viśvā rūpāni sambhṛtā ("tam), 737
 viśvā rūpāny abhiceṣṭe (rūpābhi ce-ṣṭe) 4acibhiḥ, 164
 viśvā vasu ("sūni) dadhire vāyāni, 248
 viśvāś ca deva ("vahi) pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ ("yak), 326
 viśvāś tvām (tvā) prajā upāvarohantu, 308
 viśvāḥ dhātām (santv) anapasphu-rantīm ("tīḥ), 378, 739
 viśvā hi bhūyāḥ pṛtanā abhiṣṭiḥ, 177
 viśvā hi māyā avataḥ svadhāvantaḥ (avasī svadhāvah, "van), 285, 765
 viśvet iā te (vām) savaneṣu pravācyī, 765

- viśve devasya netuh, 731
 viśve devā adīśu nyuptah ("pyamā-
 neṣu), 454
 viśve devā aditih sajoṣāh, 157
 viśve devā anu tiṣṭhantu meha, 154
 viśve devā abhi rakṣantu ("ti) tveha
 (pakvam, paścāt, meha, mām iha),
 154, 303, 327
 viśve devā iha mādayantām (vīrayadh-
 vam), 157
 viśve devā yad ajuṣanta pūrve, 157
 viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam (māda-
 yadhvam, mādayantām), 157
 viśve devāso aditih sajoṣāh, 157
 viśve devāso adhi vocatā nah (me), 154,
 327, 723
 viśve devāh sajoṣasah, 157
 viśve no devā avasā gamantu (gamann
 iha), 724
 viśvebhyo devebhya usrānām me-
 dasām anubrūhi ("sām preṣya), 694
 viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ prṣatān ("tah),
 618, 700
 viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ chāgānām
 medaso 'nubrūhi ("sah preṣya), 694
 viśve mā devā avasāgamann iha, 724
 viśve yasminn amartye, 402, 457
 viśve rāya iśudhyasi, 731
 viśveṣām devānām aham ("sām aham
 devānām) prānāhi ("nānām) sāyu-
 jyam gameyam, 578
 viśveṣām devānām prṣatah, 618, 700
 viśvair devaiḥ pitrbhiḥ ("vair yajñi-
 yaiḥ) samvidānāh ("nau), 765
 viśvair devair anumatā ("tam) marud-
 bhiḥ, 388, 404, 817 849
 viśvo devasya netuh, 731
 viśvo rāya iśudhyati, 731
 viśvurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha, 727,
 848
 viśūkuham iva ("hasya) dhanvanā, 519
 viśūcīm vi vṛhāmasi, 849
 viśūcīnā ("nā) vyasyatām ("tāt), 850
 viṣṭambhani dīśām adhipatni bhuvanā-
 nām, 381, 698
 viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā ("yai) vṛṣṭim jinva,
 559
 viṣṭitāh ("tā) prthivīm anu, 551
 viṣnuḥ prthivyām vyakranata gāya-
 treṇa chandasā, 527
 viṣṇukrānte vasumdhārā ("re), 342
 (om) viṣṇum tarpayāmi, 373
 viṣṇum agan varunam pūrvahūtiḥ, 115,
 399, 457, 748
 viṣnur antarikṣe vyakranata traiṣṭu-
 bhena chandasā, 527
 viṣnur divi vyakranata jāgatenā chan-
 dasā, 527
 viṣṇus tṛpyatu, 373
 viṣṇus tryakṣarena ("kṣarayā), 808
 viṣṇus tvaṣṭā prajayā samrarānah, 735
 viṣṇus tvā (tvām) nayatu, 308
 viṣṇus tvām indriyepa pātu (tvām
 pātu), 308
 viṣṇus tvām unnayatu, 308
 viṣṇu agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau ("tim),
 115, 399, 457, 527, 748
 viṣnor dhrūvo "si ("vam asi), 121, 808
 viṣnor manasā pūte sthah (pūtam asi),
 769
 viṣnoḥ ("noś, "no) śreṣṭhena (śraiṣ-
 ṭhyena) rūpena, 363
 viṣno ("nos, "noh) sthānam asi (sthā-
 māsi, sthāmnah), 35, 433
 viṣvak patantu dīdyavah, 404, 815
 viṣvañcam vi vṛhāmasi, 849
 viṣvañco asmaç charavah patantu, 404,
 815
 vihāya rogam tanvah ("vām) svāyāh
 ("yām), 671
 vīdu chapathajambhanī, 699
 vīdharās tapa ugro ("ram) mayobhūh,
 842
 vītam śamitre ("rū, "tam) śamitā
 ("tam) yajadhyai, 563
 vīty arṣa canisṭhaya (panisṭaye), 567
 vītho ghr̥tasya guhyā juṣānā ("nau), 132
 vīram ("rān) videya tava samdṛśi (tava
 devi s"), 702
 vīram hi vīravatah suśevā, 402
 vīram dhatta (me datta, no datta)
 pitarah, 702, 724
 vīrān nah pitaro dhatta, 702, 724
 vīrān me pitaro (tatāmahā, pratatā-
 mahā) datta, 702, 724

vīrān videya , see vīrañ
 vīruc chapathayopanī, 699
 vīrudhaḥ pārayiṣṭvaḥ (°ṇavaḥ), 229
 vīrudham (°dhām) balavattamām
 (°mah), 515
 vīrebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 170
 vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā (śaci°), 170
 vīvadham (°dhaś) chandah, 792
 vīlu havyam prayatam āhutam me
 (nah), 723
 vīkṣam ivāśanyā (°nina) jahi, 218
 vītram yo jaghāna yatir na, 742
 vītraghna (°nah) stomā upa mām upā-
 guh (mema āguh, mām ihāguh), 303
 vītrasya kaninikāśi (°nakāśi), 789
 vītrasyāśi kaninakah (°nikā), 789
 vīṣanam śuṣmam āyuṣe varcase kiḍhi,
 486
 vīṣanam āndābhyām, 774
 vīṣanaḥ samidhīmahi, 760
 vīṣanā āndābhyām, 774
 vīṣane śuṣmāyāyuṣe varcase, 486
 vīṣabhāya gavayī, 779
 vīṣabhena gāvah (gāh), 390
 vīṣabho gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 399
 vīṣānah samidhīmahi, 760
 vīṣā punāna āyusu (āyūṣi), 550
 vīṣā vanam (°ne) vīṣā madah (°de,
 sutah), 457
 vīṣā vīṣne (°nah) pari pavitre akṣāḥ,
 89, 621
 vīṣāśi vīṣnyāvān (°van, °vati), 849
 vīṣāsy ūrmih, 85, 440
 vīṣormir asi, 85, 440
 vīṣṭim divah pavasva rītim apām
 (apah), 509
 vīṣna ūrmir asi rāṣṭradāḥ, 85, 440
 vīṣnaḥ sutasayaujaś (°sah), 591
 vīṣnināvit (°vayah), 390
 vīṣne (°no) codasva suṣṭutim, 621
 vedam savitrā prasūtam (pr°s°) magho-
 nām (°nā), 591
 veda te bhūmi hrdayam, 363, 396
 vedasya (°dānām) nidhipo bhūyāsam,
 690
 vedim āhuh param antam prthivyāḥ,
 32, 392
 vedim bhūmim kalpayitvā, 380

vedir bhūmim akalpata, 380
 veṣaśriyāi (°ye) tvā, 209
 veṣaśrir (°śrir) asi, 199
 veṣāya vām (tvā), 769
 vairājam sāma pratiṣṭhityai (°yā anta-
 rikṣam, °kṣe), 535
 vairāji (°je) puruṣi, 296
 vairūpam sāma pratiṣṭhityai (°yā anta-
 rikṣam, °kṣe), 535
 vairūpañ ca vairājam cāparau, 750
 vairūpavairāje anūci, 750
 vairūpena sāmānā tac chakeyam 601
 vairūpe sāmānā iha (adhī) tac chakema
 (chakeyam), 601
 vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe avyathāyāi
 (°ya, °thayanti), 420 707
 vaiśvadevīmikṣā, 296
 vaiśvadevy āmikṣā, 296
 vaiśvānarah pavayān nah pavitrāḥ,
 417, 723
 vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu, 417, 723
 vaiśvānaram dvādaśakaḥpālam, 376
 vaiśvānaram ita ā (itāya) jatam agnim,
 653
 vaiśvānarasya tejasī (°si), 604
 vaiśvānarasya danṣṭrayoh (°rābhyām),
 609
 vaiśvānarasyaminam danṣṭrayor api da-
 dhāmī, 609
 vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī (°se) śucih,
 429
 vaiśvānaro āgirasām (°robhyah, āgi-
 rasām), 621
 vaiśvānaro na ūtaye (utyā), 62, 558
 vaiśvānaro no (me) adabdhās (dab°)
 tanūpāh 724
 vaiśvānaro mahimnā (°hinā, hīnām)
 viśvakṛṣṭih (viśvaśambhūh), 273
 vaiśvānaro raśmibhir mā (nah) punātu,
 724
 vocad brahmāni (°meti) ver u tat, 289,
 690
 vyaciṣṭham annai (°nam) rabhasam
 dṛśānam (vidānam), 473, 704
 vy amivāh pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām,
 474, 573, 587, 835
 vy amivās (°vānā) cūṭayasavā viṣūcīh,
 788

vy astabhnā (ask°, ask°, asṭ°, askab-
hnād, asṭ°) rodasiṣ viṣṣav (°na, °nur)
ete, 333

vyāghrenāraṇyān paśūn (°nyāh paśa-
vah), 380

vyānaśih (°śi) pavase soma dharmabhih
(°maṇā), 214, 705

vyānaś ca me 'suś (su) ca me, 791

vyomā (°ma) saptadaśah, 115, 794

vrataṁ rakṣanti viśvāhā, 705

vrataṁ ca ma ṛtavaś ca me, 709

vratā dadante agneḥ, 705

vratānām vratapate (°tayo) vrataṁ
acāriṣam (acārṣam), 697

vratānu (vratā nu) bibhṛad vratapā
adabdhah (adābhyah), 164

vratā rakṣante viśvāhā, 705

vrīhinām medha (°dhah) sumanaśya-
mānah, 336

śam yajurbhyah (°bhih), 570

śam yāh kumbhebhīr ābhṛtāh, 100, 600

śam rātri (°rīh, °rīh) prati dhiyātām,
195, 206

śakmana oṃiṣṭhāya tvā, 655

śakmane śākvarāya śakmanā oṃiṣṭhāya
tvā grhṇāmi, 655

śakman oṃiṣṭhāya [ivā grhṇāmi], 655

śakrāya sunave (°vai) tvā, 238

śakvarīr aṅgulayo dīśaś ca me yajñena
kalpantām, 202

śamgayī (°gavi, °gaye) jiradānū
(jivā°), 296

śam ca no (me) mayaś ca nah (me), 724

śandamarṣā (°do marka) upavirah, 749

śatam kumbhān asiñcatam surayah
(madhūnām), 704

śatam ta indro agniḥ savitā bṛhaspatīh,
749

śatam indrāgni savitā bṛhaspatīh, 749

śatamūtum (°te) śatakṛatum (°to), 346

śatamūlā (°lāh) śatāñkurā (°rāh), 699

śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (°tāny) āsu,
165

śatam bhavāsy ūtibhih (ūtaye), 558,
704

śatāvyaṣam (°śim) kṛnuta dirgham
āyuh, 849

śam te parebhyo gātrebhyah (paras-
mai gātrāya), 707

śam te methī bhavatu śam yugasya
ṛtdma, 178

śam tokāya tanuve (°nvai) syonah, 237,
616

śam no bhavantv āpa (apa) oṣadhayah
(°dhih) śivāh, 193, 261

śaphārujam (°jo) yena paśyasi yātud-
hānam (°nān), 703

śam astu tanve mama, 237

śam astv avarebhyah (°rāya me,
parāya te), 707

śam ahobhyah (°yām), 756

śamibhuh śamyantu tvā, 203

śam u te tanve (°nuve) bhuvat, 237, 311

śam u yāh kumbha ābhṛtāh, 100, 600

śam padam magham rayiṣine (rayiṣani)
na kāmam (somah), 644

śambhu (°bhūr) mayobhu (°bhūr) no
hrde, 842

śambhūr (°bhur) mayobhūr abhi mā
vāhi svāhā, 232

śam methir bhavatu śam yugasya
tardma, 178

śam me parasmai gātrāya, 707

śam v astu tanvai tava, 237, 311

śaradā tvartunā (°nām) haviśā dikṣa-
yāmi, 581

śarad ṛtuh (ṛtūnām), 438

śarade (°dbhyah) svāhā, 709

śarav ye brahmasamśite (°tā), 336, 531

śariram me vicarṣanam (vicarṣana[m]),
342

śaro brahmasamśitah, 336, 831

śardhānsy agne ajarāni (°rasya) dhak-
satah (°śyase), 521

śarman (°maṇs) te syāma trivarūtha
udbhau, 311, 454

śarma yachātha saprathah (°thāh), 257

śarma varūtham (śarmavarūthe) pu-
natī na āgāt, 724, 750

śarmā (°ma) saprathā āvr̥ṇe, 257

śaviṣṭha (°thah) vajrinā ojaśā (ṛjāse),
342

śākvaram ravatam sāma, 750

śākvararavate sāmanī, 750

śākvararavate sāmāṇī pratigṛhītyā an-
tarikṣe (°śāya, °śam), 535
śākhābhyaḥ (°bhyaṁ) svāhā, 778
śāntā nah santv oṣadhīb, 313
śāntir no (me) astu (°tu śāntih), 506,
724
śārgah śrjayah śayāndakas te maitrāḥ,
700, 779
śikṣā sakhibhyo haviṣi (°śā) svadhāvah,
601
śitipāce chityoṣṭhah śitibhrus (°rūs) ta
aindrāvaiṣṇavāḥ, 232
śitibhravo (°ruvo) vasūnām, 234
śīprāḥ śīpran (°śasu vitatā) hiranya-
yih, 707
śīmāḥ (°mām) kṛnavantu śimyantah,
407, 789
śīmābhiḥ (śīmi°) śimyantv tvā, 203
śīrah-śīrah prati sūri vi caṣṭe, 178
śīro devī prati sūrir viraṣṭe 178
śīlpā vaiśvadeviḥ (°vyah), 213, 781
śīlpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ, 781
śivam āyāntam abhy atra yuṣmāḥ
(°mām), 803
śivam prajābhyyo sadhasthād (°the)
, 98, 664
śivam mahyam madhumad astv an-
nam, 309
śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah, 724, 849
śivas tokūya tanvo (°ve) na chi (edhi),
616
śivā asmabhyam oṣadhīb, 313
śivā (a me) śagmā caidhi, 724, 849
śivā tvam mahyam edhi, 724
śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣūma,
322, 330
śivā na ihaidhi, 724
śivā no astv aditer (°tir) upasthe, 444
śivābhur adya pari pāhi no gayam
(vṛdhe), 835
śivā rutasya (rudrasya, °va rtasya)
bheṣajī (°jā), 296
śivā viśvāha (°hā) bheṣajī (°jā), 296
śivena tvā (mā) cakṣuṣā paśyantv āpah
(paśyatāpah), 327
śivena me sam tiṣṭhasva, 605
śivebhur adya pari pāhi no gayam
(vṛdhe), 835

śive me sam tiṣṭhasva, 605
śiṣṭe śrūge rakṣase (°śobhyo) vinikṣe
(°nakṣe), 703
śīrṣpā girau (śīro) vakṣasā vakṣa eja-
yan, 551
śīrṣpā śīro 'psasāpso ardayan, 551
śīlāyāñjanikārim (°ram), 782
śīleṣu (°le ca) yac ca pāpakam, 706
śukram vām (te) anyad rajatam (yaḥ°)
vām (te) anyat, 765
śukram te śukra śukreṇa , 489
śukram te śukreṇa krināmi , 489
śukram te śukreṇa grhṇāmi, 489, 559
śukram tvā śukra ūdhūnomi, 489
śukram tvā śukra śukrāya , 489, 559
śukram tvā śukreṇa krināmi , 489
śukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā
(°nāh), 114, 735
śukrah śukraśociṣā, 412, 769
śukrām (°rā) vayanṭy (vi yantv) asu-
rāya nirṇijam (°je), 402, 487
śukro brhan (°had) dakṣirayā (°nā tvā)
pipartu, 411, 811
śukrau śukraśociṣau, 412, 769
śuciḥ śukre (°ro) ahany (hany, ahann)
oṣasimā (°ne, °nām, oṣasye), 277, 447,
454, 683
śuddha āśīrvān mamattu, 416
śuddhā bhavata (°vanto) yajñiyāḥ
(°yāsah, °vantah śucayah) , 158
śuddhaś caritrah, 380
śuddhair āśīrvān mamattu, 416
śuddho mamaddhi somyah (°ya), 334
śunam kināśā (°śo) abhi (anu) yantu
(abhy etu) vāhniḥ (°hān), 47, 467, 701
śunāsīrv imām vācam juṣethām, 136
śunāsīreha sma me juṣethām, 136
śundhatām (°ntām) lokah (°kāh) pitṛ-
śadanah (°nāh), 698
śundhyur (°vūr) aśi mārjālyah, 227
śubham yātām (°bhe kam) anu rathā
avṛtsata, 479
śubham gamiṣṭhau (°thā) suyamebhur
aśvaih (āśubhiḥ), 134
śumbhantām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ, 698
śumbhamāna (°nā) rāyubhiḥ, 712
śuṣṇasyāndām bhedatī, 163
śūdrāya cīryāya ca, 77, 654

śūṣaṁ na madhye nābhyaṁ (°yāḥ), 672
 śṛṇotu mitro aryamā bhago naḥ (me),
 723

śṛṇvanti (°tu) viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ
 (amṛtāsa etat), 449

śṛṇvantv āpo dhīṣṇāś (°ṇā) ca devīḥ
 (°vi), 692

śṛtam havīḥ śamitāśh (°tāḥ, havīḥh
 śamitah), 342

śese vaneṣu mātroh (°trṣu), 777

śociṣeṣam vicakṣana (°nam), 349

śrad asmai nro vacase dadhātana, 735

śradbhā ca no mā vyagamāt, 724

śradbhā me mā vyāgāt, 724

śradhe śrad dhēpayeha naḥ (mā), 112,
 723

śravase no maghonah (°nām), 695

śravo devasya sānasim (°ai), 222

śrātās ta indra somā vātāpayo (°per,
 °pe) havanaśrutah, 340, 447

śriyam vasānāś carati svarociḥ (°cāḥ),
 706

śriyam ca lakṣmīm ca puṣṭim ca ,
 390, 704

śriye (°yai) putrāya vedhavaī (vettai-
 vai), 209

śriyo vasānāś carati svarociḥ, 706

śrī (śrīr) me bhajata (°tu), 208

śrīś ca puṣṭīś cāṇṇyam , 390, 704

śrīś ca lakṣmīś ca puṣṭīś ca , 390, 704

śrutakakṣo aram (°śāram) gave, 326

śrutam me mā pra hāstī, 871

śruṣṭi (°te) jātāsa indavah svarvidah,
 607

śronibhyām (°nibhyām) svāhā, 159

śrotram te cakre āstām, 774

śrotram mayi dhehi, 640

śrotram me dāh (dhattam), 640

śrotrāya me varcodā varcase (me var-
 codāḥ) pavaśva, 778

śrotrāya [me varcodau varcase pave-
 thām], 778

śrotre te cakre āstām, 774

ṣaṣṭīś cādhvaryū (°yo, °yor) navatīś ca
 pāśāḥ, 369, 769

sa idam viśvam abhavat sa ābhavat,
 698

sa indra stomavāhasām (°sa) iha śru-
 dhi, 695

sa imām devo aryamā (adhvarah), 312

sa im (I) mandrā suprayasah (°drāsu
 pra°, °drā suprayasā stariman), 458

sam yujyāva sanibhya ā, 655

samyopayanto duritāni viśvā, 161

sam revatīr jagatiḥ (°tibhiḥ , °bhīr
), 412

samlabhayanto duritā padāni, 161

sam vatsa iva mātṛbhiḥ, 353

samvatsarasya pratimām (°mā), 395

samvatsarasya ṣaṣṭhaḥ (°ṣṭi), 349

samvatsarena savitā no ahnām (ahnā),
 555, 709

sam varatrā (°rām, °rān) dadhātana,
 692

sam vasāthām (°sethām) svarvidā
 (°dau), 134

samvasānam (°no) vivasvataḥ (°tā),
 88, 386, 578

sam vah ṣṛjāni hrdayāni (°yam, °yāni
 vah), 707

sam vājebhiḥ (°jaih) puruścandrar
 abhidyubhiḥ, 169

sam vām manāsi sam vratā, 766

samveśanas tanuvai (°nve) cārur edhi,
 74, 237, 455, 560, 578, 617

samveśane tanvaś (°vā) cārur edhi, 59,
 74, 455, 560, 578, 617

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryābhibhave
 , 233

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatrayai (etc)
 °bhibhuv svāhā, 233, 629

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatrayai (°riyāś,
 etc) °bhibhūtaye (°tyai, °bhṛ-
 tyai) svāhā, 182, 629

sam vo manāsi sam vratā, 766

samśitam kṣatram jṣnu (jṣnuh),
 837

samśitam cit samtaram (°rām) sam
 śiśādhi, 823

sam sanuyāva variṣv ā, 655

samsarpa (°pan) trīn samudrān svargān
 (°gānī lokān), 402

sam sūribhir maghavan (harivah, hari-
 van) sam svastyā (°ti), 217, 265

samsr̥ṣṭāṣu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu, 454, 548, 607, 684, 698
 samasr̥ṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena, 454, 548, 607, 684, 698
 sambhūtāi viśvarūpā (°pī, °pīh), 206, 296
 sakṛd yat tvā (te) manasā garbha (°bham) āśayat, 406, 519
 sakhā devī subhagā mekhaleyam, 322, 330
 sakhāyaḥ saptaṭpadā abhūma, 764
 sakhāyau saptaṭpadāv abhūva (°dā bah-hūva), 764
 sakhā sakhāyam ajaro jarimne, 336
 sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti samgiram (°rah), 706
 sakhā saptaṭpadī (°dā) bhava, 296, 334, 764
 sakhe sakhāyam ajaro jarimne, 336
 sakhe saptaṭpadā bhava, 296, 334, 764
 sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ, 493
 sakhyāt te mā yoṣam, 493
 sakhyān me mā yoṣāḥ, 493
 sam gr̥bhāya purū (°ru) śatā, 248
 sa cakārārasam viṣam, 849
 sa cittāni (cittā) mohayatu pareṣām, 167
 sachandā yā ca vichandāḥ, 690
 saṣṭātānām madhyamasthā cdhi (madhyameṣṭhāḥ, madhyameṣṭheyāya, madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni), 420
 sa jāyamanāḥ parame vyomani (°man), 275
 sa jīva śaradaḥ śatam, 849
 sajur agnir vaiśvānara idābhīh, 694
 sajur abdo (abdā) ayavobhīh (etc.), 709
 sajur devebhīr avaraiḥ paraiś ca, 171
 sajur devaiḥ (°vebhyah) prātaryāvabhīh (°vabhyah), 563
 sajur devaiḥ (°vebhyah) sāyamyāvabhīh (°vabhyah), 563
 sajur vaiśvānara idayā (īlayā), 694
 sajoṣā indra (°rah) sagano marudbhīh, 323, 336
 sajoṣā devair avaraiḥ paraiś ca, 171

samjagmānā abibhyuṣāḥ (avīhrutāḥ), 416, 739, 849
 samjagmāno abibhyuṣā, 416, 739, 849
 samjagmāno divah kavīh (divā kave), 335
 samjagmāno (°nā, °nau) divā (°va ā) prthivya (°yā [ā°]), 59, 134, 576, 769
 samjānānau vijahatām arāṭīh, 703
 samjñānaḥ nah (na) svebhyah (svebhīh, svaiḥ), 169, 560
 samjñānam arāvebhyah (°nebhīh, °naiḥ), 169, 560
 satā nī yonā (°nau) kalāṣeṣu śīdati, 221
 satyam citrāśravastamam, 850
 satyadharmāṇam (°no) adhvaṇe (°ram), 346, 527
 satyadharmānā parame vyomani (°man), 275
 satyam pūrvar (°vebhīr) ṛṣibhīh, 171
 satyāś citrāśravastamam, 850
 satyasya dharmanas pati (°te, satyasya dharmanā), 340
 satyā eṣām (etiā) āśīṣah (°ṣas) santu kāmāḥ (°maiḥ, °mat, santu sarvāḥ, samnamantām), 412, 437, 572
 satyā tā (°tyād ā) dharmanas pati (pari, dharmanā), 437, 588
 satrācyā maghavā (°vānt) somapltaye, 266
 sa tvam no nabhasas pati (tīh), 329
 sa tvam asy amo ham, 849
 sa tvā rakṣatu sarvataḥ, 488
 sa tvā r̥ṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu (pi-partu), 643, 705, 720
 sa dādāhara prthivīm dyām utemām (°vīm uta dyām, °vīm divam ca, °vīm antarikṣam divani ca), 292
 sadā pāhy abhīṣṭaye (°bībhīh), 558, 704
 sadasthe vā (°theṣu) maho divah, 698
 sa nah pāvako dravinam (°ne) dadhātu, 534
 sa nah piteva sūnave (putrebhyah), 702
 sa nah pito madhumān ā viścha (vi-veśa), 333
 sa nah prthu (°thuh) śravāyyam, 402

sa nah śarma trivarūtham vi yaṇasat, 849
 sa nah sindhum iva nāvayā (nāvā), 289
 sa no aryamā devah, 312
 sa no dadātu tam (tām) rayim, 785
 sa no dohatām suviryam ("ram), 849
 sa no nediṣṭham havanāny āgamat ("ni joṣat), 162, 734
 sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni ("nā) joṣate (juṣa), 162, 734
 sa no mayobhūḥ pito āviśasva (pitav āv", pitav āviśha, pitur āviśa), 333
 sa no mṛdātīdrśe, 764
 sa no rakṣatu sarvataḥ, 488
 sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu, 785
 sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhātām dadhātu, 643, 706, 720
 sa no viśvā atī dviṣaḥ, 849
 sam tam aiścatu rādhase, 11, 121, 556, 809
 sam takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ (cakrīṇaḥ), 406
 sam tat aiścatu rādhase, 11, 121, 556, 809
 sam tvā nahyāmi payasausadhīnām ("my apa oṣadhibhīḥ, "my adbhīr oṣ"), 460, 588
 samduhātām gharmaḍugheva dhenuh, 775
 sam devānām sumatyā ("tau) yajñīyānām, 59, 805
 sam devī ("vi) devyorvaśyā paśyasva ("vaśyākhyata), 326
 samdhātā samdhim ("dhir) maghavā purūvasuḥ (puro", puru"), 403
 samdhināntarikṣeṇāntarikṣam ("kṣā-yāntarikṣam) jinvā, 559
 sam nas tābhyaṁ (tebhīḥ) sṛjatu viśvakarmā, 770
 sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām, 412, 704
 sapatnāḥ pradīso me bhavantu, 309
 sapatnān mahyam randhayan, 380, 633, 703
 sapatnīr abhībhubhīrī ("rīḥ), 207
 sa pavasva madintama, 329
 saputrikāyām jāgratha, 649
 sa punāno madintamaḥ, 329

saptarṣayas tapase ("sā) ye niṣeduh, 558
 sapta ca mānuṣīr imāḥ, 459
 sapta ca vārunīr ("nair) imāḥ, 459
 sapta yonīr (yonīr) ā prṇasva ("vā) ghr̥tēna, 784
 sa praty ud (pratyañī) aid dharaṇam ("ṇo) madhvo agram, 402
 sa prathamah samkṛtir viśvakarmā, 830
 sa budhnyād ("nād) āṣṭa januṣo bhī ("śābhī) agram, 576
 sa bhadram akar yo nah somam ("ma-sya) pāyayisyati, 501
 sam arīr (arīr) vidām ("dah), 177
 sam aryamā sam bhago no niniyāt, 419
 sam asya (asyai) tanvā ("nuvā) bhava, 851
 sam ākūtīr ("tir, "tim) namāmasi (anansata, manāmasi), 706
 samā ca mā indraś ca me, 709
 samā chandah, 709
 samānam yonim anu samcarantam ("li, carete), 388
 samānam ajnam (ayman) pary eti ("mā pari yāti) jāgrviḥ, 406
 samānā ("ni) vā (va) ākūtāni ("tiḥ), 706
 samā bhavantūdvato ("tā) nīpādāḥ, 412, 698
 sa mām ā viśatīd iha, 849
 sa mā mā hīṣīt parame vyoman, 850
 sa mām pātu, 724
 samārabhyordhvo adhvaro diviṣṛśam, 401
 samāś ca ma indraś ca me, 709
 samāś chandah, 709
 sam it tam rāyā ("yah) sṛjati svadhāvān ("dhābhīḥ), 588
 samiddho agna āhuta (agnīr āhutaḥ), 329
 samiddho mā (mām) sam ardhaya, 305
 samidbhyah (samidbah) preṣya, 488
 samidha ("dham) ā dhehi, 692
 samidhyamānah prathamānu dharmā (prathamā nu dharmah), 403
 sam indrena viśvebhīr devebhīr aṅk-tām, 419
 sam indro viśvadevebhīr aṅktām, 419
 sam i vateam na mātībhīḥ, 383

samudram yasya rasayā sahāhuh, 463, 550
 samudram gandharveṣṭhām patma-
 neṭitā (patmann iditā), 597
 samudram chandah, 792
 samudram na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayah,
 234, 402
 samudram na suhavam (°huvam, sub-
 huvas) tasthivāṇsam, 234, 402
 samudras chandah, 792
 samudrasya tvākṣityā (vo 'kṣityā) un
 nayāmi (naye), 716
 samudrasyādhi viṣṭapī (°pah), 665
 samudrasyādhi viṣṭapī (°pe) manīṣi-
 nah, 665
 samudrā (°rān) nadyo veśantāh (°tān),
 391
 samudrāya śisumārah, 618
 samudrena (°re na) sindhavo yādamā-
 nāh, 611
 samudre yasya rasām id āhuh, 463,
 550
 sam u vām (vo) yajñam mahayam
 (°yan) namobhīh, 766
 samrddhikaranam tava (°nām mama),
 727
 sam eta viśvā (°ve) varasā (oṣasā) pa-
 tim divah, 835
 sa me rakṣatu sarvataḥ, 488
 sam oṣadhayo rasana, 193
 sam oṣadhībhir oṣadhīh, 193
 sam patnī patyā sukṛteṣu (°tena) ga-
 chatām, 605, 704
 sampāṣyan pañktir (pañtim) upatiṣ-
 ṭhāmānah, 706
 sampreca (°cas, °cah, °cau) stha (sthah)
 sam mā bhadrēna prākṭa (°tam), 770
 sampriyah paśubhir bhava (bhuvat,
 paśubhīh), 827
 sampriyam prajayā paśubhir bhuvat,
 827
 sam babhūva sanibhya ā, 655
 sam brahmanā (°nām) devakṛtam (°hi-
 tam) yad asti, 687, 690
 sam bhagena sam aryanmā, 419
 sam māgne varasā sṛja, 303
 sam mām āyuṣā varasā (°sū prajayā)
 sṛja, 303

sam mā sṛjāmy adbhīr (apa) oṣadhīb-
 hīh, 59, 460
 samyag āyur yajñam (°ño) yajñapatau
 dadhātu (dhāh), 399
 samrājñi śvaśure bhava, 702
 samrājñi śvaśrām (°ruvām) bhava,
 676
 samrājñy uta śvaśrāvāh, 676
 samrājñy edhi śvaśureṣu, 702
 samrād asi kṛśānuh (°no), 334
 sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām
 (°yai), 644
 sarasvatīdā mahi, 329
 sarasvatī puṣṭih (°tim) puṣṭipatnī
 (°tīh) yajamānāya dadātu (mayi
 dadhātu), 641
 sarasvatī vayati peśo antaram (°rah),
 401
 sarasvatī (°tīh) svapasah sadantu
 (°tām), 207
 sarasvate nu (°ty anu) manyasva, 204
 sarasvaty asunod indriyāy (°yena), 70,
 558
 sarasvatyā (°yām) adhi manāv (mānū,
 manāv, vanāva), 671
 sarasvatyā (°yai) nīpaksatīh, 143
 sarasvatyā (°yūh) supīpalah, 587
 sarasvatyās tvā vīryena yaśase nnū-
 dyāyābhi, 143
 sarasvatyai bhāṣajyena vīryāyannū-
 dyāyābhi, 143
 sarah (°rā) patatrinīh (°nī) sthāna
 (stha, bhūtva), 739
 sa rāye sa puramdhyām (°yā) 67, 603
 sarūpī varṣā ehi, 334
 sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahī, 334
 sarvam avīṣṭam suhutam karotu (°tu
 me), 724
 sarvam tad astu te ghṛtam (me śivam),
 309
 sarvam tam bhasmasā (masmasā) kuru,
 717
 sarvam punatha me yavāh, 311
 sarvasamā ca vipaśyate, 616
 sarvāns tān mṛṣamṛā (maṣmaṣā) kuru,
 717
 sarvā devānām janimāni vidvān, 134,
 269

sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram, 717
 sarvān mac chapathān adhi, 724
 sarvās ca rājabāndhaviḥ ('vaiḥ, 'vyah), 459
 sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā (nah) priyāḥ, 724
 salakṣmā ('ma) yad viṣurūpā ('pam) bhavāti (babbhūva), 727, 848
 salilah saligah sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣānā yantu , 501
 sa vāji rocanā ('nam) divah, 698
 savātarau na tejasā ('si), 477
 savitah prasavānām adhipate, 329
 savitā tvā savānām (prasavānām) suvatām, 627
 savitā devo bhumātiṣābah, 399
 savitā prasavānām ('nām adhipatiḥ sa māvatu), 329
 savitā rāṣṭram mayi dadhātu (yajamānāya dadātu) , 641
 savitur bāhū etho devajanānām vidharaniḥ ('ṇi), 758a
 savitrā prasavitrā indrenāame ('mai) , 721
 savitrā prasūtā tanūm ('nvam) , 236
 sa virājam ('jā) pary eti (etu, pari yāti) prajānan, 469
 sa viśvam ('vā) prati cākṣpat ('pe), 698
 sa viśvācīr ('ci) abhi caṣṭe ghrīācīḥ ('ci), 763
 sa viśvā dāśuṣe vasu, 693, 712
 sa viśvā bhuvā ābhavah (bhuvō abhavat sa ābhavat), 698
 sa śukrebhiḥ śikvabhī (śukrena śikvanā) revad asme (agniḥ), 709
 sa eutrāmā evavān indro asme (asmat), 75, 80, 612
 sa supraṇite ('ti) nṛtamah svarād asi, 371
 sa sūra ā (sūrye) janayāu jyotir indram ('rah), 390
 saha kṣatreṇa varcaśā balena, 566
 saha dharmam cara ('māś caryatām), 380
 saha nah sādhuḥkrtyā, 766
 saha nau vratapate ('te vratimor, vratapū vratinām) vratāni, 778

sahamānā ('nāḥ, 'no) sahasvatī ('ti, 'tim, sarasvatī), 329, 346
 sahasradhāra utso akṣīyamāṇah, 387
 sahasradhāram śatadhāram uttam akṣitam, 387
 sahasradhāram akṣitam, 387
 sahasradhārā ('rāḥ) payasā mahi ('him) gauḥ (gām), 387
 sahasradhāram mahiṣo bhagāya, 387
 sahasradhāro akṣitah, 387
 sahasrapoṣam subhage ('gā) rarāṇā, 329
 sahasrasā ('sām) medhasātāv ('tā) iva tmanā ('sātā samasyavah), 388
 sahasrākṣa medha ā (medhāya) ciyamānah, 101, 336, 651
 sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi, 634
 sahasrākṣāya midhuṣe (vājine), 560
 sahasrākṣāyamartya, 332, 427
 sahasrākṣena vājina, 566
 sahasrākṣo amartyah, 332, 427
 sahasrākṣo medhāya ciyamānah, 101, 336, 651
 sahasrūpoṣam subhage rarāṇā, 329
 sahasrina upa no māhi vājān (no yantu vājāḥ), 382
 sahasrothi ('te) śatāmagbah ('gha), 329
 sahasva no abhumātim (me arāthi), 703, 724
 sahasvārāthi ('tim) sahasva prtanāyataḥ (sahasvārāthiyataḥ), 703
 sa hi purū (puru) cid ojaś virukmatī, 247
 sa hi viśvāti ('vāni) pāthivā, 163
 sahaiva nau sukr̥tam saha duṣkr̥tam, 766
 saḥbhau caratām dharmam, 380
 saho mayi dhehi (me dāh) , 641
 sē cakarthārasam viṣam, 849
 sē jīva śaradaś śatam, 649
 sātā ('tau) vājasya kīravah, 221
 sē tubhyam adite mahi ('he), 204
 sē tvam asy amo 'ham (aham, amūham, āpy amo 'ham), 849
 sē nah pūṣā śivatamām eraya, 342, 393
 sē nah śarma trivarūtham ni yachāt, 849

- sā nas samantam anu parīhi (abhi pary
ehi) bhadrāyā (°re), 356, 724
sā naḥ sīte payasābhyāṣavṛtsva, 312
sā naḥ supṛāci supratīci edhi (°ci
bhava, °ci sam bhava), 724
sā no asmin suta ābabbhūva, 419, 550
sā no dadātu śṛavanam pitṛnām
(°tṛnām), 252
sā no dohatām suvīryam (°ram), 849
sā no nābhīḥ paramam jāmi tan nau,
771 777
sā no bhūmih pūrvapeye (°yam) dad-
hātu, 534
sā no yajñam pipṛhi viśvavāre, 417
sā no viśvā atī diviśah, 849
sā nau nābhīḥ paramam jāmi tan nau,
771, 777
sā paprathe pṛthivī pāṛthivāni (°vāya),
45, 479
sā prathamā samakṣitṛ viśvavārā, 830
sā mandasānā manasā śivena, 778
sā mām ā viśatād iha (°tām ihaiva),
849
sā mā śāntir edhi, 506, 724
sā mā samantam abhiparyehi bhadre,
356, 724
sā mā supṛāci supratīci bhava, 724
sā me dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān
(°śva sarvān bhūtīkāmān), 309
sāmṛājyāya prataram (°rām) dadhānah,
823
sāmṛājyāya sukratuh (°tū), 765
sā vā apaśyaj janitāram agre, 780
sāvitrīm bho (°rīm me bhavān) anu
brūhi (bravītu), 326
sā śamtāti (°tā, śantāci) mayas karad
apa eridhah, 402, 550
sāhyāma dasyum tanūbhīh, 703
sinhr (°hy) asī , 206
sidhram adya divisprśah (°śam), 388
sinivālyā aham devayajyayā paśumān
(°matī) bhūyāsam, 849
sindhutas pary ābhṛtah (°tam), 387
sindhūm (°dhur) na nāvā duritāti paśi,
407
sindhur avabhṛtham avaprayan (ava-
bhṛthāyodyatah), 479
sindhoh śiśūmārāh (śiśūm°), 618
simāh kṛṇvantu (śamyantu) śamyant-
tiḥ, 789
sīdan yonā (°nau) vaneśv ā, 221
sīrāh patatṛiṇī sthāna, 739
sukalpam agne tat tava (tvayā), 583
sukṛtam nau saha, 766
sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt, 647, 724
sukham (sugam) meṣāya meṣya (°ye),
209
sugam panthānam āruṣam, 283
sugārhapatyō vidahann arātiḥ (vita-
pann arātim), 703
sugā vo devāh sadanā (°nam) akarma
(kṛnomi, sadanāni santu, sadanedam
astu), 164, 378, 898
sugṛhapatir mayā (°tis tvam) grha-
patinā (°tyā) bhūyāh, 219
sugebhīr (°gena) durgam atitām, 704
sucakṣā aham akṣībhīyām (akṣī°) bhū-
yāsam, 189
sujyotiṛ jyotiṣā (°śām) svāhā, 583
suta (°tā) indrāya vāyave, 693
sutam (°tah) somam (°mo) diviṣṭisu,
387
sutāsa (°tesv) indra girvanah, 452
sutrūmendre (°ram) saraśvatī, 535
sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (°tārā), 253
sudughendre (°ram) saraśvatī, 526
sudughe mātārā (°rau) mahī, 134
sudevam indre āśvinā (indrāyāśvinā),
639
sudhin yonin susadām pṛthivīm (°vī)
svāhā, 550, 707
suparno avyathir (°thi) bharat, 214
supippala oṣadhīh kartanāsme (kartam
asmai, °asme), 721
suprajāh prajābhī syām (°jaya bhūva-
sam) suvīro vīraih suposaḥ poṣaiḥ
(prajābhīr bhūyāsam suposaḥ poṣaiḥ
suvīro vīraih), 702
suprajāh prajābhīh syāma suvīrā vīraiḥ
supoṣāh poṣaiḥ (prajāyā bhūyāsam
suvīro vīraih supoṣaḥ poṣaiḥ), 702
suprāvyē (°yā) yajamānāya sunvate,
429
suprīto manuṣo viśi (°śe), 101, 654
subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunnka, 336
subhagamkarani mama, 851

subhage kāmṇāvāsini, 350
 subhadrikām kāmṇāvāsiniṃ, 350
 subhāgamkaranam mama, 851
 subhūtāya tvā (vah), 739
 subhūr asi (nāmāsi) śreṣṭho raśmīr
 (raśminām), 64, 439
 subhūḥ svayambhūḥ prathamah
 (°mam), 43, 404
 sumanīḥ suhiranyavān (°vah), 342
 sumatim satyadharmāṇāḥ (satyarādha-
 sah, °sam, viśvarādhasah, vājini-
 vatah), 516
 sumanmā vasvī rantī sūnari, 178
 sumṛdīkah svavān (°vā) yātv arvāṇ,
 267
 sumṛdīkāḥ (°kām) abhiṣṭāye, 739, 849
 sumṛdīkā sarasvatī (°ti), 342
 sumnahūr (°hur) yajña (yajño devān)
 ā ca vakṣat, 232
 sumnāyuvah (°yavas) sumnyāya sum-
 nam (°nyam) dhātā, 229
 surayā (°rāyā) mōtrāj janayanti (°ta)
 retah, 569
 surayā (°rāyā) somah suta āsuto ma-
 dhāya, 569
 surāṣṭrā iha māyata (no 'vata), 724
 suvān nabhrād āṅghāre bambhāre star
 ahasta kṛśāno, 341
 suvirāḥ prajāḥ prajānayan parihi, 402
 suvirinah sṛja-sṛja, 336
 suvīro virān prajānayan pariḥy ,
 402
 suśadā yonau (°nim) svāhā 550, 707
 suśamiddham (°dho) varenyam (°yah),
 387
 suśvānam (°no) devavitāye, 387
 susamiddham (°dho) varenyam (°yah),
 387
 susambhṛtā (°te) tvā sam bharāmi, 59,
 560
 suhavā nā chi saha rāyaspoṣena, 724
 suhavā mehi saha prajāyā , 724
 sūktam (°tā) brūhi, 690
 sūnum (°nuh) satyasya yuvānam, 394
 sūyavasād bhagavati (°ti) hi bhūyūh,
 334
 sūyavasiniṃ manave (manuṣe, mānuṣe)
 daśasyā (°ye, yaśasye), 417, 654

sūr asi suvanasya retah (°tā iṣṭakā
 svargo lokah), 455
 sūr asi svar asiṣṭakā svarge loke, 455
 sūro abhām prataritā uṣasām divah, 709
 sūryam cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā
 (°ṣur gamayātāt vātam prāṇam an-
 vasṛjatāt), 381
 sūryam cāmum rīśādasam (cāmū rīśā-
 dasah), 402
 (om) sūryam tarpayāmi, 373
 sūryam te cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā,
 381
 sūrya prāyaścitte (°tīr asi) tvam ,
 339
 sūryas cakṣur vātah prānam, 381
 sūryas tṛpyatu, 373
 sūryas te cakṣuh , 381
 sūryas tvā (tvā raśmibhūḥ) purastāt
 abhiśastyai (°yāh), 150
 sūryasya marīciḥ, 406
 sūryasvaikā carati niṣkṛteṣu (°tāni),
 524, 527
 sūryāgni dyāvāprthivī uro antariksāpa
 oadhuyah, 193
 sūryāyā ūdho dityā (adi°, ūdhar aditer,
 ūdho aditer) upasthe, 184, 282
 sūryena dyām (divam), 294
 sūryo devo (divo) diviśadbhyo dhātā
 k-atrāya (°rasya) vayuh prajābhayah
 (prajānām), 636
 sūryo naṣ (mā) tebhyo rakṣatu, 723
 sūryo marīcam ādatte, 406
 sūryo me cakṣur vātah prāno , 381
 suryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (dyaur) upas-
 the, 290
 sṛkvanam gharman abhi vāvśānā, 692
 sṛj id dhārā ava yad dānavān han, 703
 sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han, 703
 sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada
 āsīda (priyena nāma priye sadasī
 sīda), 472, 528
 so adhvarā (°dhvarā karati) jātavedhā,
 769, 791
 so apaśyay janitāram agre, 780
 so asmān pātu sarvataḥ (°mān sarvataḥ
 pātu), 850
 somah kalaśe śatayāmnā (°manā) pa-
 thā, 272

- somah prathamō vivide, 404, 449, 815
 somah rājānam oṣadhiṣv apsu, 374
 somam sa matasyai ("yā) diśo ,
 149
 somam āhur vṛṣṇo āśvāya rctah, 392
 somam pibātam madyam dhṛtvratā
 ("tau), 131
 somam piba vṛtrahā śūra ("hañ chūra)
 vidvān, 323, 335
 somaś ca yo brāhmanān ("nam) āviveśa,
 695
 somasya jāyū prathamam, 404, 449, 815
 somasya rājñah kulumgah, 618
 somasya śusmah surayā ("rāyām) su-
 tasya, 601
 somasyāgne vihi, 693
 somasyāham devayajayā reto dhi-
 ṣiya (dheṣ"), 445
 somā arṣanti ("tu) viṣṇave, 693
 somā divyāni pāṛthivā, 693
 somānam ("nām) svaranam, 509
 somānām agne vihi, 693
 somāya kulūṅgah (kulañ"), 618
 somāya rājñe kulūṅgah, 618
 somena tvātanacmIndrāya dadhi, 621
 somo arṣati viṣṇave, 693
 somo ahnah ("nām) pratārītoṣaso
 ("sām) divah, 709
 somo divyāni pāṛthivā, 693
 somo no rājīvatū mānuṣiḥ prajā nivis-
 tacakrīṣau ("kra asnu), 454
 somo rayim sahavīram ni jañsat, 755
 somo rājā rājapati mayi dadhātu
 (yajamānāya dadātu) , 641
 somo rājauśadhiṣv apsu, 374
 somo rādhasām ("sā), 585, 704
 somo rudrair ("rebhir) abhi rakṣatu
 tmanā, 160
 somo retodhās tasyāham devayajayā
 suretodhā reto dhiṣiyā, 445
 soruh satī na nivartate, 849
 so 'smān devo aryamā, 312
 so 'smān pātu, 724
 so 'syai ("syāh) prajāṃ muñratu mṛtyu-
 pāśāt, 622
 so 'ham vājam saneyam (sanāmy) agne
 ("neh), 363
 skannemā viśvā bhuvanā, 163
 stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ, 458
 stotūra ("tṛbhya) indra girvanah, 427
 stomatrayastrinśe (stomas trayas-
 trinśe) bhuvanasya patni ("ni), 342
 stomena ("mebhir) prati bhūṣati (bh"
 pr"), 690
 stomebhir viśvacarṣanīm ("re), 346
 stomebhir havanasrutam ("tā), 346,
 765
 stome saptadaśe stutam ("tāh), 402
 stomair vardhanty atrayaḥ, 474
 stomo yajñāś ca ("ñasya) rādhyo havi-
 ṣmatā ("tah), 449, 591
 striyah satis tām (tā) u me punsa āhuḥ,
 826
 spardhanle dhīyah (divah) sūrye na
 (sūre na, sūryena) viśah, 606
 sphātyai tvā nārūtyai, 182
 syāma te sumatīv api, 311
 syāma sumatau tava, 311
 syāma sumnasyādhrigo (sumne te adh-
 rigo), 675
 syonam annam madhuman me kṛnomi,
 309
 syonam patye ("tubhya) vahatum kṛnu-
 sva (kṛnu tvam), 702
 srucāh samṃpṛddhi, 770
 srucājyāni ("yua) juhvatah (srucā-
 nyena juhvata), 466, 694
 srucīva gṛhṭam camviva (camū iva)
 somah, 245
 srucāu samṃpṛddhi, 770
 srucām ca srucāś ca samṃpṛddhi, 770
 svahpatir yadī vṛdhe, 397
 svam yonim gachh svāhā, 784
 svam yonim ihācadah, 784
 svagūn , s c svargān
 svagū vo devāḥ sadanam akarma (sada-
 nām santu), 164, 378, 698
 svamkrto 'si, 824
 svam jarāyu gaur iva, 793
 svadhā pitāmahāya ("hebhyah), 702
 svadhā pitre (pitṛbhyah), 702
 svadhā prapitāmahāya ("hebhyah), 702
 svapnah svapnādhikarane (svapna
 svapnādhikarane, "dhi"), 342, 601
 svayambhūr asī śreṣṭho raśmih , 84,
 439

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat, 236, 240, 604

svayonim gacha svāhā, 784

svargam (°gām, svargāh) arvanto (arvato) jayema (jayata, jayatah, °ti), 350, 401, 698

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dbehi, 72, 103, 482, 533

svargāh, see *prec* but *one*

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām, 601
suvargeyāya (svar°) śaktyai (°yā), 182, 557

svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu, 457

svarge loke prornuvāthām (°nvāthām, °nuvāthām), 601

suvarge loke yajamānam hi dbehi (°hi māh), 72, 103, 482, 533

suvarge (svarge) loke samprornuvāthām (°nuvāthām), 601

svargyāya śaktyā (°taye), 182, 557

svar devā (devāh) aganma (agāma), 340, 349, 401

svarpatim yad im vṛdhe, 397

svasē devī (°vānām) subhagā mekhalayam, 322, 330

svasāro mātaribhvarī arīprāh, 770

svasārau mātariśvarī (°bhvarī) arīpre, 770

svastidā viśas (°śām) putih, 698

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu, 266

svasti nah pūṛṇamukhah (°kham) parīkrāmatu (krāmantu), 404, 815

svasti no maghavā karotu, 266

svasti no maghavā dhātṛ indrah, 266

svasti mā sum vahāsyaya yajñasyodṛci svāhā, 523, 526, 666

svasti mā sampārāya (°yāya yajñasyodṛcam), 523, 526, 666

svas te dadāmi, 641

svasty apsu vṛjane (vraj°) svarvati (°tah), 693

svasty uttarāh (°rañ, °rāny) aśīya, 837

svas (suvas) tvayī dadhāmi, 641

svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata, 236, 240

svām yonim gacha svāhā, 784

svām yonim ihāsadah, 784

svāmkrto 'si, 824

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (baladāhvā na ehi), 723

svāttam sad dhavir āpo devih svadantu, 327

svāttarū cit sadevañ havyam āpo devih svadatainam, 327

svāna bhrājānghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno, 341

svāna bhrāt, ānghārīr bambhārīh, hastah suhastah, kṛśānur viśvāvasuh, 341

svān nabhrād ānghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno, 341

svā yat tanū tanvam airayata, 236, 240, 604

svāyām yat tanvām (°nuvām) tanūm airayata, 236, 240, 604

svāyām tanū (°nūh) ṛtvīce (°vye), 240, 249a

svāyudhah sotṛbhīh pūyate vṛṣā (°bhīh soma sūyase), 328

svāveśayā (°śā) tanvā samviśasva, 174, 415

svāveśo sy agreḡa netṛnām (°ṛnām), 252

svāśur aśvah (°vā) suyāmī (yāmī), 779

svāśasthas (°thā) tanuvā samviśasva, 849

svāhākṛtibhyah (°tibhyah) preṣya, 188

svāhāgnim na bheṣajam (°jah), 459, 704

svāhāgnim, 128, 485

svāhā devā (°vāh) ājyapāh (°pān), 126, 377

svāhā pūṣne śarase, 655

svāhā prajāpataye (°tim), 485

svāhā marudbhīh (°bhyah), 559

svāhā yajñam manasah (°sā, °si, yajñamanasah), 570, 607

svāhā rājasūyah (°yāya citānāh, rājasvah), 492, 742

svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam (°jah), 459, 704

svāhā vāce, 655

svāhā viśvān devān (viśvebhyo devebhyah), 485

- svāhā sarasvatīm (°tyai), 485
 svāhā somam indriyam (°yaiḥ), 459, 705
 svaṣṭam suhutam karotu svāhā (°tu nah svāhā), 724
 sve dakṣe (svair dakṣair) dakṣapiteha śīda, 62, 100, 603, 705
 svo (suvo) ruhāpā adhi nākam (°ka) uttamam (°me), 526
 hatas te atinā krimih (krīm°), 703
 hato me pāpmā, 380
 hanubhyām (hanū°) stenān bhagavah, 230
 hanūbhyām (hanu°) svāhā, 230
 hantāram bhaṅgurāvātām (°tah), 703
 hanti rakṣo bādhatē pary arātīh (°tum), 703
 hayasya chāgasyosrasya candravapānām medasah preṣya (°so nubrūhi), 694
 haṣamānāso dhṛitā (°ṣatā) marutvah, 156, 265, 417
 haṣamānā hrūtāso marutvan, 156, 265, 417
 havanaśrun no rudreha bodhi, 228
 haviṣā yajña (°ṇam) indriyam (°yaiḥ), 19, 473, 549, 705
 haviṣ (°vih) kṛvantah parivatsarinam (°nām, °riyam), 838
 havyah (°yam) pārāvatebhyah, 407
 havyam martāsa indhate, 457, 689
 havyā marteṣu ranyati, 457, 689
 havyāyāsmai vodhave (°vai) jātavedah, 238
 hastagrābhasya didhīso (da°) tavedam (tvam etat), 449
 hastacyuti (°tam) janayantu (°yata) praśastam, 477
 hastāya (°tena) vajrah prati dhāyi darśatah, 562
 hastau pṛasva babubhir vasavyaiḥ, 132, 704
 hastyaśvāvataraī rathaiḥ (hastyaśvādīgave ratham), 459
 hāvanaśrūr no rudreha bodhi, 228
 hiva (°vā) me gātrā (°rāni) harivah, 166
 humavate (°to) hastī (°tinam), 126, 376, 618
 hiranyapakṣah śakunih, 329
 hiranyaparna śakune, 329
 hiranyapānir amamita sukratuh kṛpā (°pāt) svah (suvah), 572
 hiranyayālī (°yā) śucayo dhārāpūtāh, 402
 hiranyarūpam (°pā) uṣaso vyuṣṭau (viroke), 402, 709
 hiranyavarnam uṣaso vyuṣṭau, 402, 709
 hiranyavarnah śakunah, 329
 hiranyavarnāv uṣasām viroke, 402, 709
 hiranyavarṇā (°ne) subhagā (°ge), 329
 hiranyābhīṣum (°śur) aśvinā, 387
 hiranyena varcānsi (°rah), 704
 hutādām agnim yam u kāmam ābuh, 396
 hr̥tsu kratum varunam (°no) vikṣv (apsv, dikṣv) agnim, 399
 hemantaśisīrābhīyām tvartunā (°nām) haviṣā dikṣayāmi, 581
 hemantaśisīrāv (°rā) ṛtū (ṛtūnām), 418
 hotaś cikītvō (°vann) avṛnimahīha, 265, 349
 hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm (°ti), 398
 hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm macyasya (°śyā), 779
 hotā yakṣad aśvinā (°nau) chūgaasya, 134
 hotā yakṣad aśvinau (°nā) sarasvatīm, 134
 hotṛśadanam haritam hiranyayam, 727
 hotṛśadanā haritāh suvarnāh, 727
 hotṛābhir agne (°nir) manuṣṣah svadhvarah, 329
 hrādās ca (°do vā) pundarikākpi (°kavān), 698
 hrādunibhyah (°nibh°) svāhā, 188
 hrādunir duṣkākābhīh, 709

