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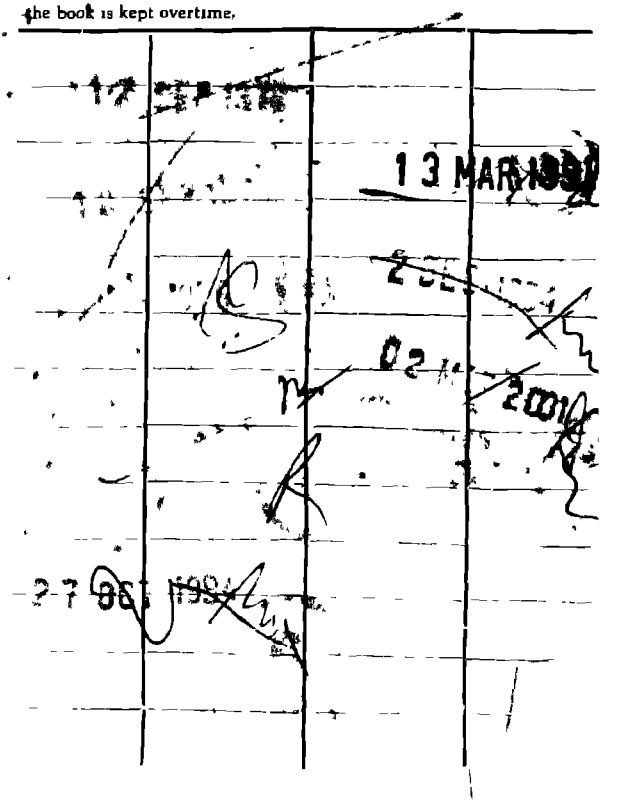
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SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

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VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES — Volume II, 1932

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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VEDIC VARIANTS

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

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Volume II

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PREFACE

This second volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS deals primarily with Phonetics, included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rime words It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important

The general plan and objects of the VEDIC VARIANTS have been described in the Preface to Volume I, The Verb (Philadelphia, 1930), which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's In this volume my own share is larger Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists

Cordial thanks are again due to the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA and to the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series

Dr Murray B Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on Noun Inflection With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon Dr Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb) Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the 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 INTRODUCTORY

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time Thus, beginning with RV, the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in

pra vācam (9 35 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV 9 12 6a, 35 4a,
'Soma sends forth speech (substance)' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf *RVRep* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift

§2 More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA,
'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth' For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittirīyaka the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra* + *añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV) The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcah* is negligible, TA must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'

§3 We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions These

secondary readings have their own right to exist, they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense Thus

ud usriyāh sṛjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB ,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together' (The TB comm seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools *utsacata udgatatvena sambaddhān karoti prasārayatīty arthah*) The TB reading is inappropriate, but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac* Note, in passing, that the TB reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate sacā* Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate* Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds Cf Winternitz in his edition of ApMB , Introduction, xv ff , and xxx

§4 Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology Concretely speaking If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛn°*) RV SV

Here the RV has an obvious Prakritism which the SV 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛn°* This does not mean that the SV knows more Sanskrit than the RV , the RV itself knows the stem *durhṛn-* (1 84 16, 7 59 8) It is, however, a purely phonetic variation On the other hand, in the variant

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ *°kaṣya* or *°kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ ,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Bohtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *samkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ* Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections

§5 Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6 We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grabh* and *grah*

§7 Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*, and *ch*) The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon)

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized The tendency of the Taittirīya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i* The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *d* and *l*, or *dh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage)

§9 With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

ś and *s*, a much smaller number between *ś* and *ṣ*, and a very small number between *s* and *ṣ* The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants Between *s* and *h* occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest

§10 Next, a section on insertion or omission of consonants first of nasals and *anusvāra*, cases which show a marked tendency to harmonize with a shift in quantity of the preceding vowel Then of *y*, very numerous but mostly morphological (e g words identical in meaning but containing or lacking suffixal *y*) But there are groups of phonetic interest, such as that concerning *y* between vowels as sandhi-consonant or 'hiatus-tilger', and *y* after palatals, or after two consonants Presence or absence of *r* does not display much interest, but that of *v* includes some cases of *v* initial before vowels, partly as 'hiatus-tilger' after a vowel Cases of presence or absence of *h* and *s* mostly concern initial *s* before stops, and initial *h* before vowels (a sort of psilosis), those of *visarga* point to the light pronunciation of that sound as word-final

§11 The consonantal variants are concluded with sections on single and double consonants, on assimilation of consonants (with suggestions of Prakritism), and on simplification of consonant groups

§12 The treatment of the vowels begins with the variations in quantity of simple vowels Most important and numerous are those between *a* and *ā*, especially the rhythmic lengthening of final *a* Much light is thrown on the meaning of this phenomenon, our conclusions can hardly be stated in a few words and can best be deduced from the section itself The variants between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are in general parallel to those between *a* and *ā*, but much less numerous The numerous shifts in quality between *a*, *i*, and *u* vowels are mostly morphological or lexical in character On the other hand those between vocalic liquids and *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are largely Prakritic, and of great interest, most numerous are those between *r* and *a* The variations between diphthongs and simple vowels, and between long and short diphthongs, while mainly morphological (varying grades of ablaut, and presence or absence of the vriddhi of secondary derivation), harbor also some phonetic or dialectic differences

§13. The variations between *r* and *ar* or *ār*, more rarely *r* and *ir*(*īr*) or *ur*(*ūr*), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts The phenomena of '*samprasārana*' show that the variations of *va*(*vā*) with *u* vowels, of *ya*(*yā*) with *i* vowels, and of *ra*(*rā*) with *r* are mainly morphological or lexical, on the other hand variations of *ri*(*rī*)

and *ru*(*rū*) with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*

§14 Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis), the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h* Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*)

§15 Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds We take up first metathesis of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining), then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplology and dittology

§16 Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson

§17 A class of *rime-words* also throws light on the methods of text tradition On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably

§18 Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind, they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back

§19 The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section

PRAKRITIC INFLUENCES

§20 We have at this point reframed from preliminary illustrations in the set rubrics which have established themselves under our hands There is, however, one kind of interchange which runs as a red thread thru Vedic tradition, and which is so important that it should receive special treatment and emphasis We refer to shifts which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech, by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects (Cf especially Wackernagel I, p XVIII, with references there quoted, and for a brief preliminary outline of our materials, Edgerton in *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 25 ff) The large mass of variants of this kind, clearly pointing to extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language, seems to us one of the most important results of this volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS The principle, to be sure, is not new But it has never before been illustrated so extensively, and the special character of the illustrations, namely the occurrence of double forms of the variants, with and without Prakritic phonetics, makes them especially valuable and interesting Moreover, some of the rubrics here included are, we believe, now presented for the first time in Vedic phonology We find, all in all, the most definite proof of phonetic changes not only in the direction of Prakritism, but also (no less interesting) in the reverse direction, 'hyper-Sanskritism,' which latter indicates a rather definite consciousness, on the part of the handlers of the texts, of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects

§21 Taking up such variations in the order of their occurrence in our book, we find at the very outset a large number of variations between surds and sonants, some of which seem to defy lexical explanation, and to be capable of interpretation only as quasi-Prakritic phonetic variants (See Chapter II, especially §§47–9, 53, 59, 66, 69) Thus

pikah (KSA *pigah*) *kṣvirīkā nīlaśīrṣnī te 'ryamne* (KSA *'ryamnah*) TS KSA No form but *pika* is known outside of this KSA passage

citrā etagvā (TB *edagvā*) *anumādyāsah* RV MS TB A pure Prakritism in TB , the comm does not explain the form Cf the next, in which MS seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this

diśām devy (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS MS All mss and p p of MS agree on *tevy*, if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laletic (nursery) word for 'mother' But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism Cf *mātṛk* (for *mādṛk*) TA 1 5 1, and §66

khajāpo 'jopakāśınīh ApMB *bajābojopakāśınī* HG Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure

§22 The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism, we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76–7)

mā nah kaścit prakhān (ApŚ *praghān*) KS ApŚ

svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) *rtvnye* (RV † *rtvye*) *nādhamānām* (ApMB *nātha°*, MG *bādha°*) RV ApMB MG

§23 Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is, but see Wackernagel I p 252f , who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel Cf Ascoli, *KZ* 17 258ff

asamheyam [perhaps for *asamkhyeyam?*] *parābhavan* JB *asambhavyam parā°* AV See §121

grdhrah śıtikakṣī vārdhrānasas te dıvyāh (KSA *vārhīnasas te 'dityāh*) TS KSA So the single ms of KSA , v Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī°*, the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms reading See §122

kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ *kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam ṛṣa°*) *rocate* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ The adjective *kakuhá* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV , where *kakubha* is not known See §120

§24 Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154–61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings, the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG

sahasrıyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS *°rīyo jyotatām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

ava jyām iva dhanvanah AV Vait ApMB *ava dyām iva dhanvınah* HG

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below, §163

avatasya (SV *avatasya*) *vısarjane* RV SV We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avata*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore

§26 The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf Wackernagel I §135) Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *tˢ*, *ps* (§§183–6), in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following

achalābhiḥ (KSA *acharā°*, MS *atsarā°* in p p, in s p *matsarā°*, VS *ṛkṣalā°*) *kapiñjalān* VS TS MS KSA The same word appears as *ṛcharā* in AV 10 9 23 Either MS. or VS (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *kṣ* (§§190-1) Tho the Tait form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ has a corruption of it

idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (ŚŚ *prakhyā°*) TB TA ŚŚ ApŚ

§28 There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192–3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically Cf Wackernagel I §§188b 140b In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival

sauyāmim (ŚG *sauyāmim*, with both sc *tarpayāmi*) AG ŚG —Cf AV 19 34 2a, *jāgṛtsyas tripañcāśih* (mss , wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*, or *yā gṛtsyas*, see Whitney's note to Transl , and our §192

§29 The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf Wackernagel I p 197, it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5) That between *b* and *v* (§§206–19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not, cf Wackernagel I p 183f

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *pṛthivi mā ni bādhathāh* (TA *vi bādhithāh*) RV AV TA

yatra bānāh (VS *vānāh*) *sampatanti* RV SV VS TS AG Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV in this word, it is not known which is original

§30 The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf Wackernagel I p 225f) A few examples out of many may be quoted here, for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274–9

vi srutayo (AŚ *visrutayo*, ŚŚ *viśru°*) *yathā pathah* SV AŚ ŚŚ And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow'!) Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary The contrary is the case in the next

śukeṣu me (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ

§31 Much less numerous are the variations between *s* and *ṣ*, yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288–90)

nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS *aṛśat*) VS VSK ĪśāU The proper form is *arṣat*, VS comm. *ṛśa gatau*

§32 There are very few variations between *s* and *ṣ* (§294)
ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS *sasp*i°) VS TS MS KS
Thought of the word *sasya* doubtless influenced TS , and cf *śaṣpa* for the other form (a kind of haplology in each case), see §278

§33. The later confusion between *kh* and *ṣ* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense, cf Wackernagel I p 136) finds surprisingly little representation here, in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295)
kaṣotkāya svāhā TA TAA *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU

§34 There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *kh*, which must be similar in character, see §296 below

§35. Under presence or absence of nasals and *anusvāra* occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *sīha* for *sinha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf §300)
pūṣne 'ghṛṇaye svāhā TA *pūṣna āghṛṇaye* (em , mss *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā* MŚ *āghṛṇi* is regular

§36 Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (§§338–44) To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse, but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff)
vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŠB The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*

§37 In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pāli* §§5, 6 Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393–8), tho again complicated by other considerations
agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS ŠB TB (See §396) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to

§38 There are also (§§406–16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants, this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid
abhinne khilye (TB *khille*) *nidadhāti devayum* RV AV TB This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant, TB can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khalye* (comm *khalībhūte*)

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629–45) The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛn°*) RV SV The SV restores Sanskritic vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV

tejo yaśasvi sthaviram samiddham (ŚG *samṛddham*) ŚG PG ApMB HG Here ŚG alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v l *samiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?)

puramdaro gotrabhid (MS °*bhṛd*, TB *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuh* VS MS KS TB A hyper-Sanskritism in MS, see §636

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣtri°*, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŠB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

samvatsara ṛtubhih samvidānah (KS °*bhiś cāklpānah*, ApŚ °*bhiś cākupānah*) MS KS ApŚ

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*, and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e g Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants Besides *tvaṣṭṛmantas* (*tvaṣṭri°*) etc , §39, we may quote from §§666–84

tṛṣucyavaso (MS *triṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneh* RV MS The adverb *tṛṣu* is the only possible form here, the variant of MS is purely phonetic

bhṛmim (TB *bhrumim*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛnata* RV TB The mss of TB seem to be unanimous on *bhrumim*, an otherwise unknown form

pruṣvā aśrubhih VS MS *aśrubhih pruṣvām* (TS *pṛṣ°*) TS KSA The form *pṛṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait texts, it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703–12, 728–32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic Among the clearest phonetic variants are

avārāya kevartam VS *pāryāya kaivartam* TB The usual form is *kai°*

sukurīrā svaupaśā VS TS KS ŠB *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS Several mss of MS and its p p read *svaupaśā*

§42 The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744–9, e g

namaḥ kaṅkālāya ca kṣayaṇāya (MS *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS *kṣeṇa* is otherwise unknown

to-to (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§43 The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751–65)

tan naḥ parṣad (MS *pariṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS MS Cf Wackernagel I p 57

CHAPTER II SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44 These are treated in the following order *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh* (For *g* and *kh* see §82, *t* and *dh*, §97f , *p* and *bh*, §§112–14) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original

k and *g*

§45 We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate, both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools

athāham anukāmınī (MŚ °*gāmınī*) TS ApŚ MŚ How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV 1 34 5cd, *yathā mām kamıny aso yathā man nāpaga asah* Yet MŚ (all mss) is no doubt secondary

gṛnatā nah ʂnṣṭaye AV *kṛnutam nah sıṣṭım* (MS KS °*tam*) VS TS MS KS 'Sing for us unto well-being', 'make well being for us ' The meter of AV is easier, but the *āprī* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54, Keith, *HOS* 18 clxi) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be The word *gṛnatā* is preceded by *gṛnata* (other forms of *gṛn*° in the other Samhitās), this suggests that *gṛnatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered

mıtrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS °*hnā*) *cıkıtnū* (MS *cıkıttam*, KS *jıgatnū*, AŚ *cıkıtvam*) TS MS KS AŚ *cıkıtnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent', tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jıgatnū* of KS ('swift') are both reasonable See RV 7 65 1, where *jıgatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuna (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2 50)

namaḥ kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ MS KS *namo gṛtsebhyo gṛtsapatibhyaś* VS TS See §185

tato na vicikitsaḥ (VSK ĪśāU *vijugupsate*) VS VSK ĪśāU *na tato vijugupsate* KU *na tadā vicikitsaḥ* ŚB BṛhU 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate The Kānva recension of BṛhU has *jugupsate* Cf AV 13 2 15b

dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyaḥ MS *yad vādāsyan samjagārā janebhyaḥ* TB *adatsan vā samjagara janebhyaḥ* TA Cf *dāsyann adāsyann uta sam gṛnāmi* (TA and AVPpp *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV TA *adāsyann agna uta sam gṛnāmi* AV In all these passages *sam-gṛ* seems to mean 'devour, eat', tho doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV 6 71 3 and 6 119 1) If 'devour' is right, *sam-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning

§46 We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*

ukhām (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŠ *aganma*) KŠ ApŚ MŠ 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading, see VV I p 211

urvīm gavyām pariṣadam no akran AV *ūrvam gavyam pariṣadanto agman* RV KS The original RV, 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV, 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney)

vadhūr jajāna (AV *jigāya*, MS KS *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŠG *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV VS TS MS KS ApMB ŠG See Whitney on AV 3 10 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagat*, the European guesses are scarcely better ŠG tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand

imam logam (TA *lokam*) *nidadhan mo aham riṣam* RV AV TA 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury' TA *lokam* (after *imam*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here The comm in fact interprets it as *loṣṭam* (= *logam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate dṛśyata iti loko loṣṭaḥ*!) Some mss and the comm of AV read like TA, however

pary āgāram (AŚ *ākāram*) *punah-punah* AV AŚ ŚŚ Only *āgāram* makes sense, something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form' The preceding (in AV, preceding but one) pāda is *yadi* (*yadīm, lelim*) *hanat katham hanat*

indrāpāsya phalıgam ApMB *indrāyayāsya śepham alīkam* HG The correct reading is certainly *phalıgam*

mano jagāma dūrakam (PB *dūragāh*) RV PB The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*, *dūragāh* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next pāda, *tan ma āvartayā punah* This, according to the PB comm, who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāh* does not fit at all)

rājānah satyam kṛnvānāh (AV *gṛhnānāh*, but Ppp *kṛnvāno*) RV AV Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better

tasya rathagṛtsas (MS °*kṛtsnaś*, KS °*kṛtsaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānīgrāmanyau* (TS *senānī*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB The word *ratha*° is a proper name, 'chariot-clever', °*kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to °*kṛtsna*, which does not fit

abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (AV * *v āpīnām* mss, R-Wh *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc, ApMB and one ms of HG *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG ApMB °*pāvā*) AV (bis) HG ApMB *bhavā kṛṣṭīnām* (AV *gṛ*°, but Ppp *kṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG See Whitney on AV 19 24 5, Roth, ZDMG 48 110 The word must mean 'people', 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it)

prānān samkrośaih MS *samkrosān prānaih* (VS °*krośaih prānān*) VS TS *samghoṣān* (ms °*goṣān*) *prānaih* KSA Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA (*ṣ* for *ś*, loss of *r*) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools

nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam Vait *nikīrya tubhyam madhye* ApŚ *nigīrya tubhyam madhvah* MŚ *nigīrya sarvā ādhīh* KŚ The passages are unintelligible, *kir*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *ni*, which points, perhaps, to *nigīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvah* in MŚ)

tena samhanu kṛnmasi AV *tena sann anugṛhnāsi* HG The meaning of AV is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note) The individually irreproachable words of HG mouth over an uncomprehended text Cf §386

arepasah sacetasah (etc) *svasare manyumattamāś* (SV ApŚ °*mantaś*) *cite goh* (SV *citā goh*, ApŚ *cidākoh*) SV AV ApŚ MŚ *cidākoh*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem **cidāku*, is corrupt

śakma yat te goh MS KS *sagme* (TS *samyat*) *te goh* VS TS ŚB 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS KS , perhaps correctly and originally In VS ŚB *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma* But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*) It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam* VS comm , followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goh gauh* (very simple!) BR read in TS *sampátte* with one ms (p p *samyát, te*), but the comm , followed by Weber, ISt 13 107, takes *samyát* as = *samyak* So also Keith ('to match thy cow') BR regard *sampátte* as = *sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel', they render 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst' They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*

rudra yat te krayī (VS KS *kriyi*, VSK *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS MS ŚB *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible The reading *giri-* is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat

idam aham sarpānām dandaśūkānām grīvā upa grathnāmi (MŚ mss *kṛtsnāmi*, Knauer conjectures *kṛntami*) TS ApŚ MŚ 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents ' But *kṛtsnāmi* is not *kṛntami*, and the MŚ may have merely a corruption of TS , in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumān enam* etc , §48

Cf also *jāgṛtsyas tripañcāśīh* etc , §192

§48 In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions

invakā (MS °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS KS This name for the constellation Mṛgaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR (V 1144) only once more (TB 1 5 1 1) The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga, gā*

sā prasūr (ŠG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŠG HG ApMB *dhenukā* is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milch cow' In *dhenugā* there may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow', but the form is essentially Prakritic

āśuh kāṣṭhām vāsaran (read °*ram* with comm , Ppp , Whitney, and Bloomfield) AV 2 14 5b All mss *gāṣṭhām*, *kā*° is emendation Ppp also (ms) *gā*° (em Barret, JAOS 30 193, *kā*°), comm *glāṣṭhām*

pikah (KSA *pigah*) *kṣviṅkā nīlasīrṣnī te 'ryamne* (KSA °*mnah*) TS KSA The word is always *pika*, except here

sṛkāhastā (TS KS *sṛkāvanto*, MS *sṛgavanto*, one ms *sṛka*°) *niśaṅginah* VS TS MS KS The stem concerned is always *sṛka* 'spear', except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation, perhaps based on these readings

namah sṛkāyibhyo (TS *sṛkāvibhyo*, MS *sṛgāyibhyo*) *jighānsadbhyah* VS TS MS KS See preceding

vīnāganakino (ŠB °*gino*) *devair imam yajamānam samgāyata* ŠB ApŚ Also *vīnāganakinah pūrvaih saha sukṛdbhī rājabhir imam yajamānam samgāyata* ApŚ *vīnāganagināh purānair imam yajamānam rājabhih sādhukṛdbhih samgāyata* ŠB Cf further KŚ 20 3 2 Altho the compound *vīnā*° does not occur outside these passages, its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it seems that it must contain *-ganaka*, with suffixal *ka* Perhaps the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm on ŠB and KŚ , both of which implausibly understand *vīnā-gana* as meaning 'a quantity of [various kinds of] lutes'), cf Conc under *gāyatam*

puñjikasthalā (KS † *puñjiga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŠB *kratu*°) *cāpsarasau* VS TS MS KS ŠB This name of an Apsaras appears in later literature, always with *k*

pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnattī RV *pumān enad vayaty ud gṛnattī* AV See Whitney's note on AV 10 7 43 *gṛnattī* is doubtless a mere corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie', which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt* More or less the reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *idam aham* etc

§49 In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*, the words are almost or quite ἅπαξ λεγόμενα

vīryam kuhābhyām (KSA *gu*°) TS KSA A part of the horse's body For *ku*° the TS comm says, *hastayor madhyasamdhī* (cf *viṣu-kuh*) The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda' Neither is recorded lexically

pratikramanam kuṣṭhābhyām (KS *gu°*) TS KSA *ākramaṇam ku°* MS Both otherwise unknown, like the preceding they designate a part of the horse's body Bhāskara, *hastāparārdhamani*, Keith, 'the two centres of the loins' Cf *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc

agne kahya MS KS MŚ (*agne*) *gahya* TS Neither in lexs , and neither interpretable Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking of *gāhya*)

salilah salilgah sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣānā vyantu svāhā MS KS *lekah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā viyantu* TS ApŚ All isolated and uninterpretable

grāmyamañjīradāsakau ApŚ *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MŚ *vyāghram mañgīradāsa gauh* Vait In Vait read *mañgīradāsagau*, or possibly with Caland, °*dāsakau* Two proper names, Mañgīra or Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dāś°), are involved

namo vah kirikebhyo (MS MŚ *namo girikebhyo*) *devānām hṛdayebhyah* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya, either epithet remains doubtful, tho *girika*, of course, suggests 'mountain-born' like *giriśa* etc The possibility of different lexical interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably purely phonetic

uruka urukasya (ApŚ *uruga urugasya*) *te vācā vayam sam bhaktena gamemahi* (MS °*mahy agne gṛhapate*) MS ApŚ Neither form is in the lexs , *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland) Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?

vi te bhinadmi takarīm (KS °*rim*, AVPpp [Roth] *tagarim*, AV *mekanam*) AV TS KS ApŚ There is no evidence as to the meaning of *takarī* (°*ri*, *tag°*) except the context and the variant *mekanam*, and none whatever as to its derivation or original form

c and *j*

§50 Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both directions (Pischel, §202) This of itself makes difficult the appraisal of their phonetic aspect in the variants Moreover all variations produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority of one or the other text We are unable to discover anything like a concerted movement, either from *c* to *j* or vice versa But on the whole we have the impression that the main current is from *c* to *j*, and that it is Prakritic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aj* from *ud-ac*)

§51 Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam* Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning Their interchange begins in the RV itself

pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati RV (both)

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior, see *RVRep* 410 In the next following cases *vācam* is also original

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK *vācaspatir vācam* (VS * † 9 1, ŚB * † 5 1 1 16 *vājam*) *nah svadatu* VS KS ŚB SMB *vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti* (MS °*tu*) *nah* (TB *te*, Poona ed *nah*) TS MS KS TB The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary

pavitravantah pari vācam (TA *vājam*) *āsate* RV TA N The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig)

premam vājam vājasāte avantu AV *premām vācam viśvām avantu viśve* TS MS KS In all texts the preceding pāda reads *marutām manve adhi no* (AV *me*) *bruvantu* The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV 3 14 1, 5 29, 3, 10 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests AV is a banal recast

vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam VS ŚB *vājam asmin ni dhehi devāyuvam* MS *tapojām vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam* TA In MS a specious lectio facilior, *tapojām* in TA, as well as the *viprānām devayā vācas* of RV 5 76 1, prove that the other texts are right

§52 In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS MŚ *sā samnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam* (MG *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this),' or the like *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam* In MŚ *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātṛ binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti pratiprasthātā yoktrena patnīm samnahyati*), *vācam* is simple but secondary

indram vājam vi mucyadhvam TS KS TB *indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam* MS MŚ The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajījapata*, cf *ajījapatendram vājam* VS ŚB As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required, *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched Cf *vājajic* and *vājajityāyai* in Conc

asredhanta itana vājam acha RV *adroghāvitā vācam acha* AV The

poor meter and general corruption of AV (in which RV 3 14 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible, see Whitney's note Tho *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV is original at all points

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *ojasā*,

sam eta viśvā (AV † *viśve*) *vacasā* (SV *ojasā*) *patim divah* AV SV —Ppp evidently means to read *ojasā*, its text, as quoted by Roth, has *viśvā oham ā* This supports SV, tho the otherwise corrupt Śaunakīya text makes as good sense as its rivals 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer)' See, however, above under *vācam asme* §51

§53 There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schopfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj* This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire' Thus in RV 1 95 7 *uc chukram atkam ajate sīmasmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved Stud* 2 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment' Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*

avīraghnīr ud ajantv (ApMB *acantv*) *āpah* AV ApMB 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons', cf *vyukṣat krūram ud acantv āpah* ApMB 1 1 7 Weber, *Ind St* 5 198, and Whitney on AV 14 1 39 go the length of emending *ajantv* to *acantv*, which is doubtful practice (cf §3) But probably the mantra was first composed with *acantv*, despite RV 1 95 7 above

samudrād udajanī vah (ApŚ *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS ApŚ Here MS is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'

§54 There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary, it seems that they divide the honors of originality

canişthad (SV *ja°*) *agne aṅgirah* RV SV Little can be done with the anomalous *canişthad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 74 11), less with *janişthad*, tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough

sāvitro 'si canodhāh (MS *janadhāyāh*) VS MS ŠB Cf *tutho 'si janadhāyāh* (PB *°yah*) MS KS PB MŚ *stuto 'si janadhāh* TB ApŚ 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher)' The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*, there is no other criterion, both are reasonable enough

§55 In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA See §2

devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS *devāvyam*) *pṛnacmi* (so MS by emendation, mss mostly *pṛnaymi*[1] ApŚ *pṛnajmi*) *yajñasyāyuṣe* MS KS ApŚ MŚ *pṛnajmi* (all mss of ApŚ) is supported by Dhātup and by *anavapṛgna* RV 1 152 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p 117 and doubtfully by Whitney (*Roots*) under *pṛc* See however Scheftelowitz, *IF* 33 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 1 33 (root **parzg*) But the matter is uncertain, the forms with *g*, *j* may be based on root *pṛc*, and due to proportional analogy with other 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain forms (e g , *bhanakti bhagna bhanajmi* = *pṛnakti pṛgna pṛnajmi*) —In this connexion also

upa mā jakṣur (!) *upa mā manīṣā* KŚ 13 2 19, where *jakṣur* is either misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*

§56. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the reduplication of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns, see §45

mitrāvarunā saradāhnām (MS °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikitvam*) TS MS KS AŚ

tato na vicikitsati (*vijugupsate*), etc

dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah, etc

§57 The remaining cases are miscellaneous

somah sutah pūyate ajyamānah (SV *suta ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV SV Here the original form of root *aj* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV by *ṛc*, 'praise', a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency

tve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve (AV **pṛcanti bhūri*) RV AV (both) SV TS AA ApŚ MŚ 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind' The combination *api aprāk* once more AV 10 4 26, and nowhere else For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 281

agne vyacasva (RV MS *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS 'O Agni, make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth' AV has a contaminated lectio facilior, cf RV 10 111 2 *mahānti cit sam vivyācā rajānsi*, and the converse, RV 8 12 24, *na yam vivikto rodasī*, or 10 112 4, *yasya mahimānam ime mahī rodasī nāvivikṭām*

divas (SV *divah*) *pṛṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV † *rohanti tejasā*) RV SV With metathesis of *c*(*j*) and *t*

ud usriyāh sṛjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB See §3

anāhanasyam vasanam carişnu (ApMB HG *ja*°, PG *jariṣnuh*) ŚG PG ApMB HG As an epithet of a garment, *jariṣnu* would mean possibly 'much worn' or the like, as an epithet of the subject,

aham (PG), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age' To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG) *ja°* seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŠG *carişnu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend')

jāmim (KS † *camı*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŠ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB ApŠ MŠ *mā jāmim moşīr amuyā śayānām* AV —The KS reading (of a single ms) should certainly be corrected to *jāmim*

gharmas triśug vi rājati (ŠŠ *rocate*) VS ŠB ŠŠ Hardly belongs here, *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*

yuktās tisro vimṛjah (comm *vibhṛjah*) *sūryasya* PB *yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŠ *vivṛtah sūryah save* [or, *savah*]) TS ApŠ MŠ In PB the comm has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhṛjah* 'dividers' (of the sun) But there is little more sense in *vipṛcah*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun), it seems to be applied collectively to *pṛthivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc* It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR take it Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces', Caland and Henry, *Agniştoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *sruştih sabharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB The AV reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP 's mss (and his oral reciters) and the comm *śnuştih* for *śru°* Whitney adopts *snu°*, which Ppp also intends with its *sunıştas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 207) See §865

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhyā*, p p *vaktṛbhyah*) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŠ ApMB The original is obscure enough, but MS is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible Note its loss of final *h* (§384)

t and *d*

§58 We have found practically no variants here, the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (*VV* I p 217)

visvāvasum namasā gīrbhir īde (ApMB *ītte*) RV ApMB

t and *d*

§59 Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable

citrā etagvā (TB *eda°*) *anumādyāsah* RV MS TB The comm on TB

ignores the word The etymology of *etagva* (*AJP* 17 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change

pārāvataghnīm (TB °*daghnīm*) *avase suvṛktibhiḥ* RV MS KS TB N *pārāvataghnīm* (sc *sarasvatīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance' TB comm has a labored and worthless explanation If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *avadaghnīm*, root *dagh*, something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank')

sa īm pāhi ya ṛjīṣī tarutrah (VaradapU *tarudrah*) RV AB GB TB NṛpU VaradapU Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah*, as if 'tree-cleaving'

ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam (MŚ *sūdam*!) *akran* TB ApŚ MŚ The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by

ima udvāśīkārina (MŚ *imā uddhāsicārina*!) *ime durbhūtam* (MŚ °*dam*) *akran* TB ApŚ MŚ Cf prec

agotām anapatyatām (vulgate with most mss *anapadyatām*) AV 4 17 6b Some mss and the comm read *anapatyatām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām* Cf RV 3 54 18 *yuyota no anapatyāni paśumān astu gātuh*

yadā rākhātyau vadatah ApŚ *yadā rāghatī varadah* Vait *yad adyārādhyam vadantah* MŚ See §§70, 272a Vait is thoroly Prakritic

§60 In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*

vayam hi vām purutamāso (AV °*dam*°) *asvinā* AV AŚ ŚŚ Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *kāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *aśvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV 7 73 1 (*purudansā purutamā*) ? Roth, *ZDMG* 48 107, and Whitney on AV 7 73 1, consider the AV form, 'having many houses', corrupt

mā me hārdi tviṣā (MŚ *hārdim dviṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ A replica of RV 8 79 8c *mā no hārdi* etc , *dviṣā* is lect fac

sato vah pitaro deṣma VS *sado* etc ApŚ SMB GG In VS 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you ' The others with lect fac , 'a seat, O Fathers' etc , this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *gṛha* in the preceding pāda *gṛhān nah pitaro datta* Cf the next

mukham sad asya śira it satena (TB *sadena*) VS MS KS TB The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS p p and VS comm), TB comm apparently reads *sam asya* VS comm takes *satena* from a stem

sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, *'chāndasah'* TB *sadena*, taken by its comm to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya* Cf prec

śivā rutasya (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and v l of MS *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS See §084

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV *upa vadāvate*) RV SV VS In SV a form of *upa-vad*, in the others, of *upa-av* SV is uninterpretable, its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāvah*

svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (SV *udāsaran*) RV SV In SV a form of *ud-ā-sṛ* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *uta+asaran*

ya ātṛnatty (VıDh *āvṛnoty*, SamhitopB *ātṛnoty*) *avıtathena* (VāDh *avıdathena*) *karnau* SamhitopB VāDh VıDh N *avıdathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt

yathāpah pravatā yantı TA TU Kauś *yathā yantı prapadah* SMB The latter is secondary, Jorgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen' In his note he suggests *pratıpadah*, which is not enticing in view of the variant

agne tān vettha yadı te jātavedah HG ApMB *tvam vettha yatı te jātavedah* RV VS *yadı*, 'if', is lect fac

ā vatso jagatā (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadaıh*) *saha* AV AG PG ApMB HG MG *jagadaıh* (comm 'guards', *anugaı rakṣakaıh*) is certainly poor and secondary The comm however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows

īśānam jagadaıh saha PG *īśāno jagatas patıh* AV TS KS ApMB The context is different, the two pādas are hardly variants of each other PG comm *jagadaıh*, *anucaraıh* Cf prec

hıtvā na ūrjam pra patāt patıṣṭhah (AV *prapadāt pathıṣṭhah*) RV AV MG In RV, 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying' AV, doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV version)

vanā vanantı dhṛṣatā (MŚ mss °*dā*, one, *dṛṣadā*) *ruyantah* RV TS JB ŚB MŚ The corruption of MŚ mss is due to thought of *dṛṣad*, 'mill-stone' RV 8 49 (Vāl 1) 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage

amocı (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyaı* (AV *avadyāt*) AV TB ApMB *avartı* 'distress' seems likely to be original

ā sutrāvne (MS KS *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛṇānah* AV MS KS *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatim gṛṇānāh* TS See §355

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older, they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older

§61 In the next group we find different division of the words, but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf §65)

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB Either reading is interpretable, in VS TB *madhu°* goes with *pathā*, in MS with the object of *ābharan* We judge that the former is probably original, cf RV 10 24 6 *madhuman me parāyanam madhumat punar āyanam*

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*) AG ApMB MG *yena bhūriś carā divam* PG The original form is that of ApMB MG, of which AG is a corruption PG changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p 235), this is connected with the further change that introduces *divam*

tvam no devatātaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV —Ppp reads *devatātaye*, indicating that AV (Ś) is secondary It makes, however, a sort of crude sense 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving'

arepasah sacetasah cite goh (*citā goh, cidākoh*), see §47 Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-k*)

jīvann eva prati tat te (so Jorgensen for SMB, v 1 *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB † *jīvann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ The latter is corrupt

§62 The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables

ahā neta (GB *netar a-*, ŚŚ *ahād eta*) *sann avicetanāni* AV AB GB ŚŚ *ahā ned asann apurogavāni* (so divide) JB —This is followed by

jajñā (JB Caland, *yajñā*) *neta sann apurogavāsah* (JB Caland, *avicetanāsah*) AV AB GB JB *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsah* ŚŚ Gaastra reads GB as *yajñā netar asann apuro°*, and so in the prec, read in GB *netar asann* Weber, *Ind St* 9 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV etc The true form of the two pādas is *ahā ned asann av°*, *yajñā ned asann apuro°*, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader' So

Caland, *ZDMG* 72 24f , who quotes JB as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives AV and ŚŚ are hopeless, but GB (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older

pari doṣād udarpithah KŚ *parīloṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ Preceded in KŚ by *yo me 'dya payaso rasah*, in ApŚ by *yan me 'tra payasah* It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*, sc my] fault') from KŚ , and reads *udarpitah* We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ to accord with it, *parīloṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect fac , is clearly what ApŚ intended

godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardah (TB *atardat*) RV AV MS TB The antique and rare *adardah* (3d sing imperf intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hito*, v l *huto*) *'si* (MŚ † *bhava*) TS MŚ The latter is simply a lect fac

sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāh KS AA *ami sapta rājāno ya utābhiṣiktāh* TB The TB stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*

yāś ca (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*, PG *devīs*) *antān* (AV *antān*, PG *tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (PG SMB *tatantha*) AV PG SMB ApMB *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (so em , mss *tatantha*) MG The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi) Roth, *ZDMG* 48 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for *'dadanta* In PG , however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha* The comm on PG (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license Cf VV I p 139f

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS *yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS KS Of course RV is original, but *vitatah* is found also in the AV version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā*

vidad yadī (MS † *yadi*, TB ApŚ *yatī*) *saramā rugnam* (MS † *saramārunam*) *adreh* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ The original *yadī* (*yadi*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem pple *yatī* (TB comm

gachantī) suggested by the final *ī* of *yadī*, and supported by RV 5 45 7 *yatī saramā* Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler, cf RV 10 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3 31 6, the stanza here concerned Caland in his Translation of ApŚ unwisely abandons *yatī* for *yadī*

yad vo devā atipādayāni (AŚ °*tayāni*) TB AŚ ApŚ *ati-pad* and *ati-pat* are synonyms, 'transgress' TB comm *akaranam anyathākaranam cātipatīh* There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other)

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adridyutat* (VSK *ati dyutat*) *savīmani* AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N The VSK reading, if authentic, is secondary See VV I p 128

śvetāya vaidārvāya (PG °*darvyāya*, ApMB HG °*darvāya*, MG *vaitahavyāya*) AG ŚG PG ApMB HG MG The epithet *vaitahavya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding

§64 In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school

duras ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV *turas cid visvam arnavat tapasvān* AV † Whitney translates AV 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all' Since Ppp agrees with RV, it is clear that AVŚ is secondary But *turas* is lexically defensible

tvam rājāsi pradivah (VS VSK *pratipat*) *sutānām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS N *pratipat* is hardly intelligible, Mahīdhara takes *pratipat sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight'

harinasya raghuṣyadah (ApŚ °*ṣyatah*, two mss °*ṣyadah*) AV ApŚ Caland adopts the AV reading, if ApŚ really intended °*tah*, it simulates a pres pple form from a denominative **raghuṣya-*

agne (Poona ed *agre*, but comm *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v l °*yan*, not in Poona ed) TB *agre vikṣu pradīdayat* RV Comm on TB, groggily *pratīdayat, pratyekam eva prāptam āsīt* (as if *prati, id, ayat*!)

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61)

satyā tā dharmanas patī ApŚ *satyād ā dharmanas* (ŚŚ and mss of MŚ

°*nā*) *patī* (Vait MŚ *pari*, ŚŚ omits) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ Caland in his Transl of Vait understands *satyādā* as one word (nom dual), which may be right He also adopts this reading in ApŚ, which is surely wrong in principle Tho secondary, ApŚ is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ Followed by *gandharvah kāmyam vacah* ŚŚ has a lect fac which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitousness (*tat*, twice)

balim ichanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tasya*, v l *vidurasya*) *preşyāh* (MahānU AG *preşthāh*) TAA MahānU AG The AG attempts to rationalize the obscure *vitudasya* (said by TAA comm to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a ἅπ λεγ which it does not understand

§66 The remarkable case of *tevī* for *devī* deserves special emphasis, it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf §21

dišām devy (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghrtacī* TS MS AŚ

In the pāda *mātrk kva cana vidyate*, TA 1 5 1d, the comm (does not read *mādrk*, as Conc states, but) interprets *mātrk* by *mādrk*, which seems the only possibility

§67 A few other special cases with problems of their own

pitvo (VS MS *pidvo*, KSA *bidvo*) *nyanīkuh kakkatas* (MS *kakuthas*, TS KSA *kasas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA °*yāh*) VS TS MS KSA None of the forms *pitvo* etc occurs elsewhere Some animal is meant, remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*

mayamdam (MS MŚ *mayanitam*) *chandah* VS TS KS MS ŚB MŚ An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter Mahīdhara, *sukham dadāti*, Keith, 'delight-giving' This is probably right *mayamda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m* See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21 50ff, Wackernagel 2 1, pp 204ff

parişītah kveşyasi ApMB *parişīdah kleşyasi* HG *parimīdhah kva gamişyasi* PG The true reading is that of PG, with *dh* and neither *t* nor *d* See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst') Comm on ApMB gets fairly close in general sense *chāndasam dirghatvam*, *parişitah paribaddhah*

[*suşadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ The AV mss read exactly as ŚŚ, except that they read *gavom* and *pra şudasi* The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation]

§68 In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV KS *devn*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV °*nā purastāt*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ

adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhīh RV AV SV AA MŚ *ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS

iti cid dhi (AV **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam* RV AV (both)

gṛhā nah santu sarvadā (P G *sarvatah*) ApŚ PG HG

dhātar āyantu sarvadā (TA TU *sarvatah svāhā*) TA TU Kauś *samavayantu sarvatah* SMB

tato na (KU *na tato*, ŚB BṛhU *na tadā*) *vicikitsati* (VSK IśāU KU *vijugupsate*) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU IśāU KU See §45 *tato* is certainly older

pari krośatu sarvatah (HG *sarvadā*) HG ApMB

p and *b*

§69 Here occur only a few stray variants

phalgūr (KSA °*gur*) *lohitornī balakṣī* (VS *pal*°, KSA *balakṣīs*, em by ed to °*kṣī*) *tāh* †*sārasvatyah* VS TS KSA MS *balakṣa*, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here The change to *pal*°, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with *palita*, VS comm simply says that *pal*° means *bal*°

avātiratam bṛsayasya (TB *prathayasya*) *seṣah* RV, TB Bṛsaya, name of a demon TB comm takes its form also as the name of a demon, it is clearly a corruption of the RV form

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB *bajābojopakāsinī* HG The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible

pitvo (*pidvo*, *bidvo*) , see §67

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable of *bh* (in *bibharti* etc) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in *piparti* etc), they are gathered in §112

kh and *gh*

§70 Here again are only a few stray variants

mā nah kaś cit prakhān (ApŚ *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahi* KS ApŚ 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured ' Probably KS is original, *pra-khān* BR (Nachtrage to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen' *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*, tho problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning Prakritic influence is likely

saghāsi jagatīchandāh TS *sakhāsi* (ŚŚ adds *patvā*) *jagacchandāh* ŚŚ MŚ Cf *sakhāsi gāyatram chandah* MŚ (Bloomfield, *JAOS* 16

3ff) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated fact , it is clear that *saghā* (stem *saghan*, comm 'vulture') is original, preceded in TS ŠŠ by *śyeno 'si gāyatrachandāh*, and *suparno 'si triṣṭupchandāh* (ŠŠ inserting *patvā* both times)

yadā rāghaṭī varadah (ApŠ *rākhāṭyau vadatah*) Vait ApŠ *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantah* MŠ The form *rā*[a] appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible BaudhŠ 16 23 reads *rākhandyau* (?), and one ms of ApŠ *rākhāndau*

th and *dh*

§71 Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence

§72 In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV , with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV *dh* Yet the AV , relatively late and popular, surprizingly favors *adha* (*adhā*) The RV in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*

§73 We begin with cases in which RV shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*), included is also one case of RV *viśvadhā*, SV *viśvathā*

vi bhānum viśvadhātanat (SV *viśvathā*[a]) RV SV

adhā jivrī (AV *atha jivrir*, mss *jirvir*, ApMB *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB

adhā (SV *athā*) *no viśvacarṣane* RV SV

adhā (SV *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi vo made* RV SV

adhā (SV *athā*) *te sumnam īmahe* RV AV SV TS

adhā (TS MS *athā*) *te syāma varuna priyāsah* RV TS MS KS

adhā (TS MS *athā*) *śatakratvo yūyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

rudrasya maryā adhā (SV *athā*) *svaśvāh* RV SV

§74 Next, cases in which RV (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*) The latter occurs most frequently in AV (of course

secondary, cf the similar preference of AV for the archaic *kṛno-* as against *karo-*, VV I p 116ff), once in SV (*ūrdhvadhā* for RV ° *thā*), once or twice in other texts

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV °*dhā bhuvat*) RV (10) SV

athā (AV *adhā*) *nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS °*tana*) RV (10) AV VS MS KS N *athāsmabhyam śam* etc TS

athā (AV *adhā*) *pitṝn suvidatrān upehi* (AV TA *apīhi*, TS † *apīta*) RV (10) AV TS TA Add to VV I §370

athā (AV *adhā*) *mano †vasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV *kṛnuṣva*) RV (1) AV Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV is secondary as shown by the meter

athā (AV *adhā*, MS KS *tato*) *no vardhayā rayim* (RV JB *girah*) RV (3) VS TS AV MS KS JB ŚB TB JābU

athā (AV *adhah*, comm *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*, Barret, *JAOS* 40 161) *sapatnī yā mama* RV (10) AV ApMB *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV

atho (AV *adhā*) *vayam bhagavantah syāma* RV (1) AV KŚ ApŚ N

athā (AV *adhā*, comm *atha*) *vayam ādityā vrate tava* RV (1) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N *athādityā vrate vayam tava* ArS SMB

athā (KS *adhā*) *somasya prayatī yuvabhyām* (KS *yuvā°*, v l *yuva°*) RV (1) TS KS N

athā (MS *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthah* RV (2) TS MS

§75 Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th*

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu* MS

adhā jīvema saradām śatāni AV *atho jīva saradah satam* VSK And others, see Conc under *asau jīva*

adhā (HG *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no gṛhān* AV HG

adhā (MS MŚ *athā*) *poṣasya poṣena* VS MS KS MŚ

adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gṛhe VS *atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhah* TS

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS †°*nān*, TS, twice †°*nān*, once °*nān*) *indro me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

athā jīvah (KS *adhā vişitah*) *pitum addhi pramuktah* (so divide) TS MS KS *athaitam pitum addhi prasūtah* VS ŚB

adhāsyā madhyam edhatām KSA *athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS LŚ *athāsyai* (TS MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŠŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŠŚ Vait LŚ

indro marudbhir ṛtuthā (TS ApMB °*dhā*) *kṛnotu* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ ApMB

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB ApŚ *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS TB ApŚ See §157

§76 Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, *ZDMG* 40 678ff , cf Wackernagel I p 123)

svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) *ṛtvye* (RV † *ṛtvye*) *nādhamānām* (ApMB *nātha*°, but many mss *nādha*°, MG *bādha*°) RV ApMB MG

§77 For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older

avakro 'vithuro (ApŚ *'vidh*°, Kauś adds *'ham*) *bhūyāsam* AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*, *avidhuro* is clearly secondary

maṣām nu gād aparo artham (TB ApŚ ApMB *ardham*) *etam* RV AV VS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB *mā no nu gād aparo ardham etam* TA ApŚ 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part) *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms, cf RV 1 164 17

ābhūr (VS TS *ābhur*, NīlarU *sivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS °*dhiḥ*, NīlarU °*tiḥ*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU Comm on VS 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda Hindu lexicons quote *niṣaṅgathi* as meaning 'embracing' etc , the other forms are ἅπ λεγ Probably °*dhi* is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °*ti* is a mere corruption

parīdam vāso adhiṭhāḥ (HG *adhidhāḥ*, ApMB *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV HG ApMB The original (AV) form is 2 sing aor mid of *dhā*, the personal ending *-thāḥ* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāḥ*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhi* See VV I p 39

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāṅktraḥ* (KSA *pāṅktaḥ*, but all mss of both TS and KSA *pāmtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA † *ma*°) *te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṝ*°) TS KSA We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else Said to mean 'flying fox'

indrāvathuh (VSK °*dhuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*tam*) *kāvyair* (TB ApŚ *karmanā*) *daṅsanābhih* RV AV VS VSK MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ The subject is the Aśvins, so that VSK is hardly interpretable See VV I p 282

apa snehitīr (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA See §110

§78. In the rest *dh* seems to be the original

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ † *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś The original (AŚ ŚG) 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra' This SMB converts into the unbelievable 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra' At least the comm takes it thus, seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing mid of *mṛ* (one ms reads *mṛdhā*), *riṣāma* of Kauś confirms *mṛdh* as original The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*tam mā mṛdhah*), which see in §98 On Kauś 's reading see §344

madhavyau stokāv (MS °*kā*, AV *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV *yān*) *rarādha* AV TS MS Several mss and the comm on AV read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends

adhorāma (HG *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG † *ulumbarah*) ApMB HG *adho*° = *adhas* is obviously correct, HG mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q v in Conc

dīrghām anu prasitim (KS *samṛtim*) *āyuṣe dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŚB TB *dīrghām anu prasṛtim samspṛśethām* MS An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ṣe dhām* °*śethām*)

ph and *bh*

§79 The instances are few and all concern questionable forms

phalāya, and, *phallāya* KhG *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā* SMB GG The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight, their meanings are unknown The form with single *l* and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is Prakritic for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form *bhallākṣa* which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind St* 2 88)

kanātkābhām (AŚ *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB AŚ See §151

yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā (ApŚ °*balyā*, v l °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*) *tasyām me rāsva* TB ApŚ See §114

CHAPTER III ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80 The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended, but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame, and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent, yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th* —The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff

k and *kh*

§81 Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms

gohya †upagohyo marūko (PG *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG SMB Cf *grhyo* etc Names or forms of Agni The mss vary The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect fac The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings

kaṣotkāya (MahānU *khakholkāya*) *svāhā* TA TAA MahānU The MahānU form recurs in the Purānas, it is interpreted as *kha-kha-ulka* (!), 'sky-meteor', i e the sun The other form is ἄπ λεγ , and the comm 's explanation is not worth quoting

g and *kh*

§82 Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached The form *sukha* is later both times

sugam (VS MS ŚB *sukham*) *meṣāya meṣyai* (RV *meṣye*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

sugam (VS MS *sukham*) *ca me śayanam ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

g (*k*) and *gh*

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt, cf *yena mahānaghnyā jaghanam* AV Kauś , where apparently all mss of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc and by Whitney

yajñasya ghoṣad asi TS TB ApŚ *goṣad asi* MS KS MŚ TS comm 'wealth', Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801

tāsām īśāno bhagavah (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS The words are virtual synonyms

apūpakṛd aṣṭake ŚG *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*, same context, one must be a phonetic corruption of the other 'O cake-making A ', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'

c and *ch*

§84 Two variants, one an onomatopoetic word

cec-cec chunaka sṛja PG *chad apehi* ApMB Cf the English 'skat'

karnābhyām (PG *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB *cu°*) *adhi* RV AV ApMB PG A v 1 of AV with its comm *cubukād*, one ms of ApMB *cabukād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit

j and *jh*

§85 A single variant

apām naptre jaṣah (KSA *jhaṣah*) TS KSA *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV), but *jhaṣa* is regular in the later language The word is of non-Aryan origin

t and *th*

§86 These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣt* and *ṣth*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets In nearly every instance the *th* form is proper, or at least more usual Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation

kuṣthayā (MS *kuṣṭayā*) *te krīnāni* MS ApŚ Regular is *kuṣthā*, designation of a measure, *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically

nadībhyah pauñjiṣtham (TB °*tam*) VS TB Also

namah puñjiṣthebhyo (TS °*tebhyo*) *niṣādebhyaś ca vo namah* TS KS

namo niṣādebhyah puñjiṣṭhebhyaś (MS °*ṭebhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS MS The word *puñj*° or *pauñj*° 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*tha*, but there is no little fluctuation Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies

vaniṣṭum (AB TB AŚ MŚ °*thum*) *asya mā rāviṣta* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ † 5 17 9, MŚ The regular form is *vaniṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation Knauer (on MŚ) would emend MS to °*thum*

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve (VS °*ṣṭhīve*) *brhadrathamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS † *kalpantām*) VS MS (Add to VV I §357) The proper form is *ūrv-aṣṭhīva* the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhī-vant*, 'knee'

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona edd °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari no vrnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭad* (p p *vā*, *aṣṭāt*) *dhavniṣā vārnah* (read [*a-*] *varnah*?) MS As a missile (*heti*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb' The MS is entirely corrupt The Poona ed of both TB and TA makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*

anupūrvam yatamānā yati ṣṭha (AV *stha*, TA *yatiṣta*) RV AV TA *yatiṣta* could only be an aorist, but as it retains a double accent (*yáti-ṣta*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yatamānā*) for *yáti ṣṭha*, 'as many as ye be '

rdhag ayā (TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag utāsamiṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*ṣta*) VS TS MS KS ŚB N *dhruvam aya* (AV *ayo*) *dhruvam utāsamiṣṭhāh* (AV *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV AV Here both forms are correct, there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p 241) On the corrupt reading of AV see §234 Cf next

āṣṭa (MS *āṣṭhah*, KS ms † *āṣṭāh*, em v Schr *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* TS MS KS PG See VV I p 238, and cf prec

vīty arṣa vaniṣṭhayā (SV *paniṣṭaye*) RV SV If the SV reading is tenable at all (*paniṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *ti*, whereas RV (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*

[*nir aṣthavnṣam asmṛtam* GB Vait ApŚ Quoted in Conc with *aṣṭavṛṣam* from GB and Vait But the Vait reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p 119, and Gaastra reads *aṣṭhavṛṣam* in GB without report of variant Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭavṛṣam* never existed The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhīv* 'spit' (cf *ṣṭhutvā*, ApŚ)]

§87 In the preceding *ṣth* is the proper or at least the usual spelling We now come to the cases where *ṣt* seems proper Both are dubious,

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the p p of MS

ṣaṣṭim (ŚŚ *ṣaṣthim*) *sahasrā navatim ca kaurama* AV AŚ ŚŚ The combination *ṣaṣṭim sahasrā* is very common, see e g Conc thereunder ŚŚ, if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*

mā no agnim (p p *agnih*) *nirṛtir mā na āṣṭān* (p p *āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā* TA See VV I p 93 The forms are doubtful, read *āṣṭām*?

§88 The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ṣ* Nothing is known about the word *kakutha* or *kakkaṭa* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal

pitvo (*pidvo, bidvo*) *kakkatas* (*kakuthas*) , see §67

t and *th*

§89 These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged, there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf VV I, especially §§14ff , 116) Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*, and VV I, especially §§20f , 292ff , 326ff , has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc , where this slight phonetic difference is concerned

§90 We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite) They have been listed in VV I p 23f In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older, in the last five, at least, the *th* form

āpura stā ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ Add to VV I l c

tam sma jānīta (VSK °*tha*) *parame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ *jānīta smainam* (TS MŚ *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV TS MŚ *etam jānātha* (TB *jānītāt*, KS *jānīta*) *pa° vy°* VS KS TB

ŚB Note especially that VSK *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *jānīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*

śivā no bhavata (ApŚ °*tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ

śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °*tha*, MG °*ntu*) *yajñiyāsah* RV TA MG

aśvā bhavata (AV TS KS °*tha*) *vājinah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *devā bhavata vā*° RV

tena krīdantīś (ŚG *krīl*°) *carata* (ŚG °*tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV TS ŚG PG VaDh *vaśān anu* in AV is due to infection from RV 1 82 3, 10 142 7

devebhyo bhavata (TB °*tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV AV VS MS KS TB N

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB *dattāsma*°) *dravinneha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

ye 'tra pitarah bhūyāstha AV ŚŚ *ya etasmin loke bhūyāsta* TS TB A primary ending on a precative form is absurd, yet all mss of AV and ŚŚ seem to agree on °*tha*, see Whitney on AV 18 4 86

arālāg udabhartsata (AV mss °*tha*) AV ŚŚ The AV reading, augmented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has no standing

aulaba (HG °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG °*ta*) ApMB HG Several mss of ApMB read °*ta*, in such trash as this it makes little difference what is read

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ See note in Stenzler's translation of PG 1 16 22

indrena yujā (TB *sayujā*) *pra mṛnīta* (TB °*tha* [Bibl Ind *pranītha*]) *śatrūn* AV TB Add to VV I §16

payasvatīh krnuthāpa (TS °*tāpa*) *osadhīh śivāh* (TS omits *śivāh*) AV TS Followed by

ūrjam ca tatra sumatim ca pinvata (TS °*tha*) AV TS (Add to VV I §18) The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both, yet both are inconsistent Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza, even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutah sinīathā madhu*), where the relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative, see VV I pp 78f) Contrariwise, the AV comm reads *pinvatha* for °*ta*, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*

yad āmayati nis krtha (TS MS KS *krta*) RV VS TS MS KS *krtha*, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists like *krdhi*, is the older reading, *krta* lect fac

yūyam (MS *divo*) *vṛṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS °*tā*) *purīṣiṇaḥ* RV TS MS KS —MS, which borrows *divo vṛṣṭim* from e g RV 2 27 15b, is secondary also as regards °*tā*

ud īrayathā (MS MŚ °*tā*, AV KS °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV AV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ

§91 *About equally often second and third duals containing th and t* interchange (listed VV I pp 24f) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89) We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older, in the majority there is little to choose between them

citrébhir abhrair upa tiṣṭhatho (MS °*to*) *ravam* RV † MS Followed by

dyām varṣayatho (MS °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV MS See VV I p 241

yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °*tho*, AV *visatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV KS † °*thaḥ*) AV TS MS KS Followed by

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS † °*tuḥ*), same texts See VV I p 228 The unanimity of AV and KS, partly supported by MS, perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original, we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS 4 7 15 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthaḥ (MŚ † °*taḥ*), and, in same passage,

vīram janayiṣyathaḥ (MŚ °*taḥ*),

te mat prātaḥ prajanayiṣyethe (MŚ °*te*),

te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathaḥ (MŚ °*taḥ*) TB ApŚ MŚ See VV I p 236

ghṛtena (Kauś *vapayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām* (VS TS ApŚ *prornvāthām*, MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś ApŚ MŚ also see Conc under *svarge* (°*gena, suvarge*) *loke* (*-na*) *prornuvāthām* etc (only MS °*tām*, VS VSK TS KSA [†*samprornuvāthām*] ŚB TB Vait °*thām*)

yā rājānam (MS KS °*nā*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS

juṣetām (and, °*thām*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV (both) Add to VV I §21

kāmam duhātām iha śakvarībhiḥ AV *rāṣṭram duhāthām iha revatībhiḥ* TB See VV I pp 25, 224

purā gṛdhrād araruṣaḥ pibātaḥ (TS °*thaḥ*) RV MS TB Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original

sam (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hataḥ* (ApMB *hathaḥ*) RV ApMB See VV I p 24

hato (SV TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV TB *apratī*) RV SV AV TB followed by

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsāṁ satpatī* RV SV , and,

hato (SV *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣaḥ* RV SV See VV I pp 222, 232

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thām*) MS KS † TB ApŚ And, in the same stanza

dhiṁ (KS *dhve*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS † °*thām*), same texts *abhūthām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse See VV I p 235

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other verbal endings containing *t* and *th*, or, in the last case, a verbal ending with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*

abhiramyatām (MŚ °*thām*[1]) MŚ ŚG YDh BṛhPDh The MŚ form, if correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly anomalous, see VV I §22

yās ca (*yā*) *devīr* (*devyo, devīs*) *antān* (*antān, tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (*tatantha*), etc , see §63

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryas ca* VS ŚB *aya(ḥ)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *uditā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS The old loc sing in °*tā* is shifted in VS ŚB to a second person dual verb, *udithaḥ*

§93 In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscurities

asunītāya (TA °*thāya*) *vodhave* AV TA The AV comm reads °*thāya*, which is clearly original, °*tāya* is infected by *asunīti*, cf Whitney on AV 18 2 56

punar brahmāṇo (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, KS * °*dhītam*, 38 12b† °*nītha*, MS °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB All forms are rare and dubious KapS (v Schr on KS 8 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °*tim* (so also v l of KS)

nirṛtho (MS °*to*) *yaś ca niṣvanaḥ* (AV *niṣvarah*) AV MS TA *nirṛto* in MS is a secondary blend of *nirṛtha* (old) and *nirṛti* (common)

svasti nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛteṣu*, but v l as RV) *yoniṣu* RV AB MG Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG , if the reading is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding

ābhur (MS KS *ābhūr*, NīlarU *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS °*dhiḥ*, NīlarU °*tiḥ*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU The last has a corruption, see §77

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA Comm on TS , *pākaśīlam* KSA corrupt, see Keith on TS 7 5 20 1

stuto 'si janadhāh TB ApŚ (LŚ pratīka, *stutah*) *tutho 'si janadhāyāh*

(PB °*yah*) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ Is *stuto* lect fac for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

samiddho agnir vṛṣanāratir (AV °*nā rathī*, ŚŚ °*nā rayir*) *divah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ From RV 3 3 6, 4 15 2, 8 75 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading

garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām RV Conc would read *cáratām* (gen pl of *cárant*), but *caráthām* (gen pl of *carátha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*)

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work

atho (MU *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanti* TA TU MU

tato (AV ArS *tathā*) *viṣvañ vyakrāmat* (AV *tathā vyakrāmad viṣvañ*) RV AV ArS VS TA

atho rājann (AV *uta rājñām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV TB

atho pitā (MS *utāyam pitā*) *mahatām gargarānām* AV TS MS KS

§95 As regards lexical interchange of *t* and *th*, RV 8 13 27 *harī indra pratadvasū abhi svara* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu*, Sāyana, *vistīrnadhana*), or *pratata-vasu* But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu* The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc the two bay steeds, as subject Cf the doubtful *kṛtád-vasū* (*kṛta-tad-vasū* with haplology?) in RV 8 31 9, see however Wackernagel, 2 1 pp 64, 319, Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions

tābhyām (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukṛtām u lokam* (Kauś *pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Dhātup has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *panthan* Possibly Kauś intends *pathyā(h) sma* In VV I p 110 we have treated its form as a precative It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*

hitvā na ūrjam pra patāt patiṣṭhah (AV *padāt pathiṣṭhah*) RV AV MG See §60

samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava*°, MS °*bhāgāh*, KS Kauś °*bhāgās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *tavisā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś *tavisā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *bṛhantah*

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG

vıyantu) *vayah* TS MS KS (bis) TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo 'ktam rıhānāh* VS ŚB KŚ *aktam rıhānāh*, 'licking the fat', is certainly original, the KS *artham* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption Indeed von Schroeder on KS 31 11 suggests emending *artham* to *aktam* On MS see §152

atho mātātho pıtā TA *hatā mātā hatah pıtā* SMB *hato hatamātā krımıh* AV See §386

atho ye kṣullakā ıva AV *hatah krımīnām kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh* TA See ibid

sarve rādhyāh stha (ŚŚ °*yās tu*) *putrāh* AB ŚŚ

gṛho hıranyayo mıtah (AŚ *gṛ*° *mı*° *hı*°) AV KS AŚ Here all AV mss and comm read *mıthah*, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption, RWh read *mıtah* with Ppp and KS AŚ

parītoṣāt tad arpıtha ApŚ *parı doṣād ud arpıthah* KŚ Read in both *udarpıtah*, see §63

upa yajñam asthıta (AV comm *astṛta*, MŚ *astu no*) *vaiśıadevī* RVKh AV ApŚ MŚ

t and *dh*

§97 Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vṛdh* and *vṛt*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous, but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt It happens that the *vṛt* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true

bhīma ā vāvṛdhe (SV *vāvṛte*) *śavah* RV SV

madantı devīr amṛtā ṛtāvṛdhah (Vait °*vṛtah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ Caland on Vait 13 20 assumes that °*vṛtah* (all mss) is an error

abhı rāṣṭrāya vartaya (AV *vardhaya*) RV AV The AV is certainly poor, and Ppp has *vartaya*, see Whitney on 1 29 1 Cf next two

yenendro abhivāvṛte (AV °*vṛdhe*) RV AV In same verse as prec , same conditions Cf also next

abhı somo avīvṛtat (AV °*vṛdhat*) RV AV In next verse to the prec two, same conditions

nıvarto yo ny avīvṛdhah (ApMB °*vṛtat*) HG ApMB Oldenberg adopts °*vṛtat* for HG

pumānsam vardhatām († text is right, despite Conc) *mayı* ŚG *pumān samvartatām mayı* PG *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me', 'let a male be in me' or the like ŚG has a 3 dual active verb See §840

Note further the exchange between the old (RV) adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh*

and *dhṛtavrata* (not concerning root *vṛt*) in *āvitte* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* (*dhṛtavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665

§98 The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG Synonyms

sa mā mṛta (MG *vṛtat*) AG ApMB MG cf *tam mā mṛdhah* ŚG 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him', and §78, *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra*, etc The MG has a mere corruption, see §225

ābhur (*ābhūr*, *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgadhiḥ* (°*thiḥ*, °*tiḥ*), see §77

vi te (PG *tau te*, HG *vidhe*) *krodham nayāmasi* PG HG ApMB Kirste suggests emending HG to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation, *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA Comm on AV, followed by SPP in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap Whitney, p xcii

śriyai (MG *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *vedhavai*) ApMB MG For the MG Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc *vettavai*

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ †*adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *adhi* is very inferior in sense

d and *dh*

§99 This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text, cf e g, Whitney on AV 11 1 23 (*ansadhrī* °*drī*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā* These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing

Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100 They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following *āyurdā asi* ŚŚ *āyurdhā asi* TS JB AŚ

āyurdā (MS KS °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ PG
cakṣurdā (KS °*dhā*) *asi* VS KS ŚB
varcodā asi VS ŠB ŠŠ *varcodhā asi* AV TS MS KS JB TB ApŚ MŚ
varcodā (MS °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ PG —All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*cakṣur*, *varco*) *me* (*mayi*) *dehi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent

§101 There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal *dā* does not govern the locative of the person but only the dative The root *dha*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative We have noted among the variants only two cases of *dā* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected
†*okhām dadhātu* (MS *dadātu*) *hastayoh* VS TS MS KS ŚB This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoh* being really epexegetic, but also and chiefly because the MS reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here Cf *mā no andhe* , §105
mayi puṣṭim †*puṣṭipatir* (AV *puṣṭam pusta*°) *dadhātu* (AG †*dadatu*) AV MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG is evidently an error
[*mayi rucam dhah* (KS †*dhehi*) MS KS Conc *dehi* for KS]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dah*, MS , recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ , and in the same text (TS) all three possibilities in a formula like *ayur me dehi* TS 1 5 5 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1 6 6 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7 5 19 2 (but, N B , no **āyur mayi dehi*)

§103 In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another, not infrequently they may very well have originated independently
rayim me dāh (AV *dhehi*) AV MS
ojo dehi KS *ojo dhatta* TS KŚ *ojo mayi dhehi* VS TB *ojo me dah* (*svaha*) AV VS ŚB
balam dehi KS *balam dhatta* TS MŚ *balam mayi dhehi* (AV *me dah svāhā*) AV VS TB
saho mayi dhehi (AV *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS TB

prānam dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ See Conc in the vicinity of these

vācam dhehi (MS *me dāh*) MS TA

annam me dehi (PB * *dhehi*) PB (both) LŚ Kauś , cf note on Kauś 136 4

āyur dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ MŚ *āyur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ *āyur mayi dhehi* VS TS ŚB *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS TB ApŚ *āyur me dhattam* TB ApŚ

śrotram dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *śrotram mayi* (KSA †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS KSA *śrotram me dāh* AV MŚ

cakṣur dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *cakṣur me dhehi* (KS KSA *dehi*) VS KS KSA ŚB *cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS *cakṣur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV MS

tejo mayi (AŚ *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ *dehi*) AV VS TS KS ŚB TB AŚ LŚ ŚG ApMB *tejo me dhāh* (AŚ *dāh svāhā*) TA AŚ

varco mayi dhehi VS TS PB ŚB ApŚ *varco me dāh* (TA *dhāh*) MS MŚ TA *varco me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *varco me dhehi* VSK MS KS JB ApŚ *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ

vīram dhatta (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ °*no datta*) *pitarah* AŚ ApŚ MŚ *vīrān nah pitaro dhatta* VlDh *vīrān me pitaro* (*tatāmahā, prata-tāmahā*) *datta* Kauś

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS VSK MS KS PB ŚB LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB LŚ *dehi*) VSK TS KS PB GB TB Vait LŚ KŚ *hṛdispṛk kratuspṛg varcodāh* (MS °*dhā asi*) MS AŚ

§104 Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority

aśvibhyām pradhāpaya (TA °*dāpaya*) MS TA

apām oṣadhīnām garbham dhāh (MŚ *garbham me dāh*) TS MŚ

adhi dātre vocah VS TS ŚB *adhi dhātre vocah* MS KS

cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāh TS *varcodhā varivodhāh* MS *varcodā varivodāh* (TA *varivodā dravinodāh*) VS TS KS ŚB TA

bhūs (also, *bhuvas*, and *svas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* (MG *te dadāmi*) ŚB BṛhU PG HG MG *bhūr bhuvah svah sarvam tvayi dadhāmi* (MG *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG MG

anādhṛṣṭāh sīdata sahaujaso (TS MS KS *sīdatorjasvatīr*) *mahi kṣatram* (*varcah*) *kṣatriyāya dadhatīh* (KS *dadatīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

iyam vah sā satyā samdhābhūd (MS *samvāg abhūd*) *yām indrena samadhadhvam* (MS °*dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā samvāg abhūd*

yām indrena samadadhvam KS *yām indrena samdhām samadhatthāh* (comm and some mss *samadhattāh*) AV Where the noun *samdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*, note that in MS KS it is replaced by *samvāg*, but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p 128)

astṛto nāmāham ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyām gopīthāya (KS *dyāvapṛthivyor ātmānam pari dade*) AV KS

devīr āpo apām napād devebhyo devatra dhatta (VS ŠB *datta*, KS *dāta*) VS TS KS ŠB *tam devebhyah śukrapebhyo dāta* MS

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuh smane smānam dehy asmai MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °*pate*) *puṣṭiś asmai punar dhehi* (AŚ *dhehi* or *dehi svāhā*) AŚ ApŚ For *smane smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21 324

agnir annādo 'nnapatir mayi dadhātu (TB *yajamānāya dadātu*) ŠB TB KŚ Similarly nine other formulas with other gods

[*udgātar devayajanam me dehi* ṢB ApŚ (Conc *dhehi* for ApŚ)]

§105 The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence, only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original

rayim devī dadhātu me AV *rāyo devī dadatu nah* RV

purumedhaś (SV °*dhāś*) *cit takave naram dāt* (SV *dhāt*) RV SV

dakṣam dadhāsi (KS *dadāsi*, v l *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV MS KS TB ApŚ

asmabhyam dattām (AV *dhattam*, but comm *dattām*) *varunaś ca manyuh* RV AV —Ppp also *dattam*

vasudeyāya (KS °*dheyaya*) *vidhate vibhāti* RV KS In RV *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*

tato no dehi jīvase RV TB TA *tasya no dhehi jivase* AV SV Kauś

tisro dadhur (KS *dadur*) *devatāh samraranāh* VS † (so for Conc RV) 19 81b, MS KS TB The majority are probably original

somāya rajñe paridhātavā (HG °*dā*°) *u* AV HG ApMB As Kirste remarks, HG is secondary or corrupt, the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt MŚ (properly emended by Knauer to *adhāt*, cf §101) *mā sv* (Poona ed *mo ṣv*) *asmāns tamasy antarādhāh* TA *mo ṣvatvam asmāntarādhāt* MS † (corrupt)

pratyādāyāpara iṣvā AV 10 1 27, read *pratyādhāyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations

dhātā dadhātu (TS ApŚ ApMB *dadātu*) *no rayım* AV TS MS † KS ApŚ ApMB Kauś See §106, first two variants

dhātā dadhātu (ApŚ *dadātu*) *sumanasyamānah* AV MS KS ApŚ

ındrena ma ındrıyam dattam ojah AV *asmın nara ındrıyam dhattam ojah* TS Comm on AV and Ppp *dhattam*

āyur no dehı jīvase ŚG *āyuṣ te* (AV *āyur no*) *vıśvato dadhat* AV TS TA ApŚ AŚ HG BDh Cf *rayım no dehı* §106

rāyas poṣam cıkıtuṣe (AV °*ṣī*, AŚ *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

ıṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehı (Vait *dattvā*, AV *duhrām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait

lokam asmaı yaıamānāya dehı (MU *dhehı*) TS KSA MU

tvaṣṭā rūpānı dadhatī (ŚB KŚ *dadatī*) *sarasvatī* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ *dadatī* is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda

asme dhehı (SV *dehı*) *jātavedo mahı śravah* RV SV VS TS MS KS

kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *savarnām adadur* (AV *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV AV N The AV is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney)

devebhyo (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS °*dhā*) *asat* VS TS MS KS †

pra no (MS KS *mā*) *brūtād bhāgadhān* (ApŚ °*dhām*, MS °*dām*, KS *dhavırdā*) *devatāsu* (KS °*tābhyah*) TS MS KS ApŚ

§106 In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting

dhātā dadātu (AV *dadhātu*) *dāśuṣe* AV AŚ ŚŚ AG ŚG N See next

dhātā vıśvā vāryā dadhātu AV *dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe vasūnı* TS MS ApMB In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

rayım no dehı jīvase ŚŚ *rayım no dhehı yajñıyam* MS Cf *āyur no dehı jīvase*, §105

medhām agnır dadātu me (SMB *dadhātu te*) SMB ApMB , cf *medhām ta ındro dadātu* HG , *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh Scheftelowitz *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh VS

tasmaı mā devāh parıdhatteha sarve AV *tasmaı no devāh parıdatteha* (KS MŚ °*dhatta*, PG °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ † *vısve*) TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh Comm on AV also °*datteha*, called by Whitney a better reading, of this we are less sure

tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (AŚ *dāh*) AV AŚ

jīvann eva prati tat te dadhāmi (SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB † *jīvann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ

udno (AV ed *ūdhno*, but mss *utno* etc , Whitney transl reads *udno*) *divyasya no dhātah* (TS KS *dehi*) AV TS MS KS Comm on AV *dhāta*, explaining by *dhehi* (!)

mahi varcah kṣatriyāya dadhatīh (KS *dadatīh*, TS *vanvānāh*) TS MS KS

§107 Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss , certifies to the ease with which they could be confused We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form, in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh* This (originally **dhabh*) produces both *dhipś* and *dipś*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (*dabh*), is the usual form

nindād yo asmān dipsāc (VS ŚB *dhipsāc*) *ca* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah MS *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA Here *dhipś* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf §§180, 45)

yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah RV *yam te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayah* RV The second version is inferior in sense and meter, see RVRep on 8 5 7a and 8 49 5c

sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣtram AV *sā rāṣtram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV Roots *du* and *dhū*

rajani (AV ed em *rajjuni*) *granther dānam* (AŚ *dhānām*) AV AŚ Vait The emendation *rajjuni* is very pat, the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajani*, is nonsense

adhi kṣami (SV *asmin kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyānah* (SV °*rām dīdyānah*) RV AV SV See Whitney on AV 18 1 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 20 SV has an obvious lect fac infected by ideas such as RV 5 64 5, *sudītibhih sve kṣaye vrdhase*, or RV 5 23 4, *eṣu kṣayeṣu dīdihi* Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānah*)

yad banhiṣtham nātividhe (TB °*vide*) *sudānū* RV MS KS TB AŚ Both readings make a sort of sense, TB comm *nātyantam labhyam* But the compound *ati-vid* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons However, one ms of MS has °*vide*

ındra dartā (SV *dhartā*) *purām asi* RV SV AV The foolish antonym of SV is disproved by RV 1 130 10, 3 45 2, 6 20 3

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS TS MS KS ŠB AŠ ŠŠ KŠ LŠ ApŠ MŠ MG So also mss on AV 7 83 2, emended by RWh to *dāmno-dāmno* Whitney, Transl , keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp has *dh-* But Keith on TS , 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible At any rate there is no variant In the preceding verse also the AV mss have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh to *dāmāni*, the variant KS 3 8, AŠ 3 6 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna ıha muñcatu*]

§108 A little less close to each other are the roots *vıd* and *vṛdh*, which exchange several times, the 'Prakritic' exchange of *ṛ* and *ı* also comes in here In the first two variants *vıd* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear

mā no vıdad (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjınā* (KS TB ApŠ *vṛjanā*) *dveşyā* †*yā* AV KS TB ApŠ Cf Conc under *mā no vıdad* (*vıdan*)

hotrāvıdah (RV °*vıda*, TB °*vṛdha*) *stomataştāso arkaıh* RV AV MS TB On *hotrāvıd* cf RV 5 8 3, *hotrāvṛdh* is not recorded

ındrartubhır brahmanā vāvṛdhānah TB ApŠ *ındra ṛbhubhır brahmanā samvıdānah* ŠŠ

§109 Remoter lexical variants are the following

śyenasyeva dhrajato (MS KS *dravato*) *aṅkasam pari* RV VS TS MS KS ŠB *dravatah* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena*, cf RV 1 165 2

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB ApŠ MŠ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŠ MŠ *śrutkarnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŠ

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*, TS ApŠ *śundhantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB AŠ ApŠ *sūd°* is evidently secondary Note that in AV 20 136 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on mss readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index)

tam tvā bhrātarah suvṛdho (HG *suhṛdo*, AV *suvṛdhā*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG *suvṛdhā vardh°*, 'growing with good growth', is original In HG there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātarah* ('brothers, friends')

spardhante dhıyah (TS KSA *dıvah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *vıśah* RV SV TS KSA In RV , 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS KSA , into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed) ' So at least the TS comm , followed by Keith, this however implies emendation of the accent of *dīvah* to *diváh* (ignored by them) If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of 'conflicting prayers' (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff , or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25 1ff) The whole verse is obscure

§110 The rest are obscure if not corrupt

apa snehitīr (KS ms *snihati*, em v Schroeder, SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh* [so divide], KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA —KapS reads *snehitī tṛmanām athamdrī* In RV 'He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies ' Cf 1 74 2 Benfey takes *adhad* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāh* as 'riches ' The TA comm understands *snuhi* as *bhūmau prasrāvaya* (root *snu*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravanaśīlam* (v l *atho°*, as if *atha = adhas+drā*!) Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV ?

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣiyema* Vait Comm on TB *adham id, anantaram eva*, but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā sadam = adhā adham*, note that the TB comm assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, 'always' Cf VV I p 195

upākṛtam śaśamānam yad asthāt (MŚ *sadhasthāt*, v l *sad asthāt*) AV TS KS MŚ If *sadhasthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtam* 'fetched from home' or the like

vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (MŚ mss *dhṛṣadā* and *dṛṣadā*) *rujantah* RV TS JB ŚB MŚ See §60

ud vanśam iva yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh

adhā niṣitah pitum addhi prasūtah KS *adomadam annam addhi pramuktah* AV And others, §870 *adomadam* is obscure, we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun)

[*tayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh VS *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB And others, §325 Scheftelowitz prints *°mādhyeṣu* in RVKh , but his ms *°mādyeṣu*]

p and *ph*

§111 Only in the synonymous roots *guṣp* and *gulph* Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *guṣp*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph, gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*), see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV* 338, top, where *guṣṭitam* ŚB 3 2 2 20 is a misprint of that text

mano yad asya guṣpitam (ApŚ *gulphitam*) MS ApŚ

yad asya guṣpitam (ApŚ *gulphitam*) *hṛdi* MS ApŚ

viṣūne vi sya guṣpitam (some mss and comm *gulphitam*) AV

p and *bh*

§112 These sounds vary chiefly in nine-words of nearly synonymous meanings most commonly the roots *pṛ* and *bhṛ*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support' In AV 3 5 4c, *tam priyāsam bahu rocamānah*, we must read *bhriyāsam* with Whitney

manas tanūṣu bibhratah (TB * ApŚ * LŚ *pipratah*) RV VS TB LŚ ApŚ Kauś Both readings in TB ApŚ

utem (ŚŚ *uto*) *āśu mānam piparti* (ŚŚ *bibharti*) AV AB GB ŚŚ One ms of ŚŚ *pipartı*, which should perhaps be read even in that text

tam pipṛhi daśamāsyo 'ntar udare ŚG *tam mata dasa māso bibhartu* ApMB HG

ºa tvā rāṣtrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV 13 1 1d, Ppp according to Roth *pipartu* for *bi*°, which must be secondary if Ppp has *subhṛtam* as indicated by Roth's silence This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV 11 5 (1d, 2e, 4d)

sa ācāryam tapasā piparti (Ppp *bibharti*),

sarvan sa devans tapasa piparti (Ppp *bibharti*), and

śramena lokāns tapasā piparti (Ppp *bibharti*), all AV and Ppp

§113 There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times, see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12 414ff

samyopayanto duritāni viśvā RV MG *samlobhayanto durita padāni* AV

ayupitā (ApŚ *alubhitā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to Vol 2) *yonih* MS ApŚ MŚ

§114 Finally two miscellaneous cases

agner jihvāsi suhūr (VSK TS TB *subhūr*, KS *supūr*) *devebhyah* (TS TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS KS TB ŚB ŚŚ *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jihvā* best

yā sarasvatī vaisambhalyā (ApŚ °*balyā*, vv ll °*phalyā*, °*bhalyā*) TB ApŚ The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown TB comm has a fatuous explanation

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115 That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e g by Wackernagel 1 §218 Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*, and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*) Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l c , p 252) is cheerfully neglected The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions The popular texts, AV and most of the Gṛhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent, they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS and KS RV and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS , MS , ŚB and ApMB —and the RV sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole But really the one stable factor is inconsistency

bh and *h*

§116 We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance First, *grah* and *grabh*

gṛbhnāmi (AV HG *gṛhnāmi*) *te saubhagatvāya* (ApMB HG *suprajāstvāya*) *hastam* RV AV AG ŚG SMB PG HG ApMB MG

jagṛhmā (RV *jagṛbhmā*, TB *jagṛbhnā*) *te dakṣiṇam indra hastam* RV SV MS TB Svidh In VV I p 252 we have suggested that the form *jagṛbhnā* (comm *vayam gṛhītavantaḥ*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive [In the ms of this section Bloomfield wrote 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *n* after the labial aspirate' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form, *jagṛbhmā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV is stupidly altered to *-nā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *gṛbh-nā-ti* —F E]

na hy asyā (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhnāmi* RV ApMB *nahi te nāma jagrāha* AV

hiraṇyapāvāḥ paśum āsu (SV *apsu*) *gṛbhnate* (AV † *gṛh°*) RV AV SV

savitā (AG ApMB HG MG *°tā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (AV SMB MG *°hīt*) AV AG ŚG SMB ApMB HG MG *devas te savitā hastam gṛhnātu* AV

idam rādhaḥ prati gṛbhnīhy (JB *gṛhnīhy*) *aṅgirah* AV GB JB ŚŚ

bhagas te hastam agrabhīt (AV *°hīt*) AV ŚG ApMB

agniṣ te hastam agrabhīt (SMB °*hīt*) SMB ApMB HG

aryamā (ApMB °*mā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (SMB °*hīt*) ŠG SMB ApMB

oṣadhayah prati gṛbhnīta (TS KS *gṛhnītāgnim etam*, MS MŠ *gṛbhnītāgnim etam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB MŠ

nākam gṛbhnānāh (TS KS *gṛh*°) *sukṛtasya loke* VS TS MS KS ŠB

agne brahma gṛbhnīṣva (MS MŠ *gṛhnīṣva*, KS *gṛhīṣva*) VS MS KS ŠB MŠ

apo devīr (VS ŠB *devā*) *madhumatīr agṛhnan* (MS KS *agṛbhnām*, VS ŠB *agṛbhnan*) VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŠ

āpo devīh pratigṛbhnīta (TS KS ApŠ † °*gṛhnīta*) *bhasmanat* VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŠ MŠ

devo vah savitā hiranyapānih prati (MS MŠ °*pānir upa*) *gṛhnātu*(VS ŠB *pratigṛbhnātv* , VSK °*vah savitā pratigṛhnātu*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB TB ApŠ MŠ

adiṭis te (VS MS ŠB °*tiṣ te*) *bilam gṛhnātu* (VS MS ŠB *gṛbh*°) VS TS MS KS ŠB TA ApŠ

tam vo gṛhnāmy (MS *tam te gṛbhnāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS ŠB TA

prati gṛhnāmi (MS TB † AŠ *gṛbh*°) *mahate vīryāya* (MS KS *mahata indriyāya*) MS KS TB AŠ —TB Poona ed text and comm *gṛbh*°

yasya yonim patireto gṛbhāya (HG *prati reto gṛhāna*) ŠG HG *vy asya yonim prati reto gṛhāna* ApMB

§117 The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots *bhṛ* and *hṛ*, without other motive than the close similarity in sound The first two variants in §118 belong also here

parāpuro nipuro ye bharanti (MŠ *har*°) AV VS ŠB AŠ ŠŠ ApŠ MŠ SMB

rātrīm-rātrīm (VS ŠB * *ahar-ahar*, AV TS *rātrim-rātrim*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV VS TS MS KS ŠB (both) *ahar-ahar balim it te harantah* AV

śarma varmedam ā bhara ApMB *śarma varmatad ā hara* AV

viṣnuh sambhriyamānah VS *viṣnur upāvahriyamānah* TS

prānāpānābhyām balam āharanti (ApMB *ābhar*°) SMB ApMB (Other forms, see Conc)

§118 Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita* (*-dhita*) and *-bhṛta* (*-hṛta*, cf preceding) Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyms Cf also *-dhita -bhṛta*, §175

hiranye 'smin samāhitāh (HG *samābhṛtāh*) RVKh HG ApMB Scheftelowitz reads °*hṛtāh* in RVKh

devīr devaih samāhṛtāh (TB °*bhṛtāh*) SV TB *devair devīh samāhitāh* RVKh But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °*hṛtāh* for RVKh , if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat VS *gan° nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU And others, §855

sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam TS TB *sūryāñ* (p p °*yāt*) *sukram samābhṛtam* MS *sūrye santam* (KS TA *śukram*) *samāhitam* (KS TA °*bhṛtam*) VS KS ŚB TA

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ *prahitam*, MŚ *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ

§119 Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu* All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable, one does about as well as another

agner jihvāsi suhūr (*subhūr, supūr*) *devebhyah* (*devānām*), see §114

ekayā ca dasabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ According to Roth Ppp has *cā bhūte*, evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original Vāyu is addressed

ā tvā subhava (AB AŚ *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

samudram na suhavam (AV *subhuvas*, TB Poona ed *suhuvam*) *tasthivānsam* AV TB ApŚ *mahişam nah subhvam tasthivānsam* MS — AVPpp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35 46, reads *subhuvas* The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB comm (*sukhenāhvātum śakyam*)

suhutakṛtah stha AŚ *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ *subhūtakṛtah subhūtam nah kṛnuta* ŚŚ

§120 In two cases—besides the *grah grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*

kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ *kakuham*) *rūpam vrşabhasya* (KS *rūpam rş°*) *rocate brhat* (VSK *brhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB (pratīkas, ApŚ MŚ) —*kakuha* occurs already in RV , which does not know *kakubha* Cf §23

apām gambhan sīda VS ŚB KŚ *apām gambhīram gacha* KS ApŚ *apām tvā gahman sādayāmi* MS MŚ

§121 Miscellaneous cases

brāhmanebhyo hy anujñātā (TA *'bhyanu°*) TA MahānU *hi (a)bhi asambhavyam* (JB *asamheyam*, perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*) *parābhavan* AV JB

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yavişţha* (MS KS *devahitam yavişţhya*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

nābhimṛśe (MS KS *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †'vatā haveṣu* AV

dh and *h*

§122 Here we find only a few variants They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhi hi*, participle *hita dhita*), partly on lexical changes

nīnh (MS *nīnṣ*) *pāhi śṛnudhī* (SV °*hī*) *giraḥ* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB Cf Wackernagel I p 253

uṣnena vāya (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakeneḥi* (SMB GG °*naidhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG *ihi edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary

upasthe soma āhitah (ApMB *ādhitah*) RV AV ApMB MG Note archaism in ApMB

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh (TS *ānṛhuh*, MS *ānaśuh*) AV TS MS Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *ānṛhuh* under *arh* The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *ānṛdhuh*, see Whitney's note on AV 2 35 1 and Keith on TS 3 2 8 3

gṛdhrah śitikakṣī vārdhrānasas te divyāh (KSA ms *vārhīnasas te 'dityāh*) TS KSA Von Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°, questionably, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23

harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV Three mss of AV *dhṛṣitāso*, Ppp ms *ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35 59f , reads *dhṛṣatā* The form *hṛṣit*° is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa*°

usrāv (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK MŚ °*vāhau*, KS °*bādhā*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ

gh and *h*

§123 We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*

arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh* Kauś *arhanīyā āpah* ApG See §321, end *arh* = *argh*

aṅghārir (ŚŚ *anhārir*, all mss) *asi bambhārih* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ LŚ The word is obscure, but ŚŚ looks like a phonetic reduction

somam te krīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam †vīryāvantam abhimātiṣāham

(KS *vīryāvantam bahvargham śobhamānam*) TS KS *somavikrayiṇ somam te krīṇāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu śobhamānam* MS *tam ghed agnir vṛdhāvati* RV TS *tam hed agnir vidhāvati* MS Particles *gha* and *ha*

vīram hi (read *avīraghnī*?) *vīravatah suśevā* MG *avīraghno* (ApMB † °*nī*) *vīravatah* (ŚG *vīratarah*, HG °*tamah*) *suvīrān* (HG *suśevān*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

kh and *h*

§124 Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog With this cf *asambhavyam* (JB *asamheyam*) *parābhavan* AV JB , where *asamheyam* may be for *asamkhyeyam*, see §121

khanvalhā3i khaimakhā3i madhye taduri AV *haimahā3 haimahā3* KŚ Cf *haimahā3 idam madhv* ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

CHAPTER IV INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

1 Gutturals and palatals

§125 Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants Especially VSK affects forms like *tanakmi* for *tanacmi*, *yunagmi* for *yunajmi* (§§127, 131), etc It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical But since VSK also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity Wackernagel, I §§119ff , especially 121ff , deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds

k and *c*

§126 The variants are not numerous They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cit*

samānam ceto abhisamvnśadhvam (TB *keto abhisamrabhadhvam*) AV TB

ā no agne sucetunā (TB ApŚ *suketunā*) RV SV MS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

The *s*-stem *ketas* is ἅπ λεγ , and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetas* and *keta*, both of which are historically regular TB comm *sahavāsasthānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keta* (perhaps from *ci*, 'pile', rather than *cit*) The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root Cf Wackernagel I p 146, and further Oldenberg on RV 5 66 4, Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* , s v *ketunā* Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary

śokāt (TS *socāt*) *pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari* VS TS MS KS ŚB *śocāt* is ἅπ λεγ and analogical

kanīkhunad iva sāpayan TB *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ *c-* is again analogical, for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p 147

yatraitān (VS ApMB *°nān*) *vettha nihitān parāke* (SMB *parācah*) VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB HG MG *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāk-a-*

nū cit (SV *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV *cit* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*, but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred

atho adhivikartanam (ApMB *°cartanam*) RV AV ApMB Here the two roots are unrelated *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie' In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p 145) The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off', the secondary, 'untying'

ima udvāsīkārina TB ApŚ *imā uddhāsicārina* MŚ See §59 The MŚ reading is secondary and poor, it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kṛ*

§127 In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK , see §125

indrasya (MS MŚ *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgam somena tanacmi* (VSK *tanakmi*, MS MŚ *somenātanacmi*) VS VSK KS ŚB *somena tvā tanacmīndrāya dadhi* TS TB ApŚ

g and *c*

§128 An isolated case concerning unrelated words, the majority reading with *c* is presumably original

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (HG *°bhyācārena*, MG *°bhyācāre*, AG *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*) AG PG ApMB MG

k and *ch*

§128*a* An isolated lexical variant

chavīm (KSA †*kavīn*) *chavyā* TS KSA The latter is doubtless original, assimilation to the next word in TS , resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem

kh and *ch*

§129 Two variants contain forms of *khid* and *chid*, identified by Haug, *ZDMG* 7 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch* See his references §131b, end, and cf Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 23, 32

yatah (MS *yena*) *prajā akhidrā* (MS *achidrā*) *ajāyanta* TS MS KS
akhidrāh (ApŚ *aghorah*) *prajā abhivrpasya* KS ApŚ *achinnapatrāh*
(MS °*trah*) *prajā anuvīkṣasva* VS MS ŚB

g and *j*

§130 The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y* Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack §130c) The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all

§131 To begin with, VSK as we have remarked (and in one case SV) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127) This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mrj* and *srj* with palatal)

mitrāvarunayos tvā praśāstroh praśişā yunajmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS
VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

agnim yunajmi (VSK °*gmi*) *śavasā ghrtena* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
KŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnīşomābhyām juştam ni yunajmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS VSK ŚB

vājinam tvā vājedhyayai (TS *sapatnasāham*, KS *vājin vājayatyāyai*)
sam mārjmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB

vājinīm tva vajedhyāyai (TS *sapatnasahīm*, KS *vājini vājayatyayai*)
sam mārjmi (VSK °*gmi*) VS VSK TS KS Corresponding formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*, see Conc under *vāji tvā*

upa tvā kāmān mahah sasrjmahe RV AV *upa tvā kama īmahe sasrgmahe* SV

§132 Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *srj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*

hinvāno mānuşa yugā (SV *yujā*) RV SV

daivyam mānuşā yugā RV SV VS TS ŚB *viprāso mānuşā yugā* KS
daivam mānuşā yujā MS The SV form of the first variant may be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj* In this case both are phonetically normal, as the RV has a neuter plural of *yuga* (cf Wackernagel I §128a, d) In the second case also MS may have an adverbial instrumental

dıştāya rajjusarjam (TB °*sargam*) VS TB

prajāpate viśvasrj (MS °*srg*, mss mostly *srk*, one *srj*) *jīvadhanyah*
MS TB AŚ † 2 14 12c [also in Conc under *idam no deva pratiharya*

havyam, read AŚ 2 14 12d] ApŚ —The ἅπ λεγ *rajju°* seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB comm *rajjūnām sraṣṭāram*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *sṛj* is carried away with the rest, cf the familiar nomen actionis *sarga* The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary On *sṛj sṛg* see Wackernagel I pp 173f , 329 In the second variant *sṛj* before *j* might stand for *sṛt*, cf below, §142, *brahman tvam asi viśvasṛt* (°*śṛk*)

§133 Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*, cf the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhunad* etc

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jalgulīti* (KSA † mss *jalgalūti*, ed em *jalgalīti*) *dhānikā* TS KSA

§134 The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin

†*prajāyāmasy agratah* HG *pragāyāmasy agratah* PG ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG Verb forms of *pra-gai* and *pra-jan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG , see Kirste's note

sadā yācann aham girā (SV *jyā*) RV SV N Comm on SV reads *girā* with RV Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for **jyām* = **jiyām* Very dubious

apa (AV *ava*) *sveta padā jahi* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah* (most mss *apa*) *svetapad āgahi* (so all mss) MG See §817

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (°*nītir*, °*dhītam*, °*dhīte*) *yajñaih* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB See §93

2 Gutturals and Linguals

§135 A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *d* *tekaś ca sasaramaṭañkas ca* HG *tekas ca sasaramatandas ca* ApMB See §165

3 Gutturals and Dentals

§136 The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious To some extent they concern final consonants, in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character, often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation

k and *t*

§137 We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh*, see Bloomfield, *IF* 4 74ff, Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff Among the variants, RV always has *stabh*, while AV prefers *skabh*

jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat (AV *aska°*) RV AV

mahān mahī astabhāyad (AV KS † *aska°*) *vi jātah* AV TS KS AB AŚ

yam krandasī avasā tastabhāne (AV *avataś caska°*) RV AV VS VSK TS *ya ime dyāvāpṛthivī tastabhāne* MS KS AVPpp (Barret, *JAOS* 35 44f)

vy astabhnā (VS ŚB *aska°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS *aṣṭa°*, TS *askabhnād*, TA *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī viṣnav* (*°na*, *°nur*) *ete* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA

divam skabhāna KS *dyām stabhāna* KS

§138 There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion

stuhi śūram vajrinam apratīkam (TB *apratītam*) MS TB The Bibl Ind ed of TB has *apratīttam*, but comm and Poona ed text correctly, *apratītam*, 'invincible' MS has a mere blunder

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB *prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā* AV See Whitney on AV 10 7 42

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhyā*, p p *vaktṛbhyah!*) *ātṛdah* (MS *°da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB See §57

ugro (HG *ūrdhvo*, MG *agne*) *vitrājann* (MG *°jam*) *apa* (MG *upa-*) *sedha* (AV *vṛtrākṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV ApMB HG MG

§139 Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*), cf §416, to which all these variants also belong

vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena TB *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghṛtena* AV For *vi-unattu* cf RV 1 164 47, 5 83 8, for *sam-anaktu*, RV 10 88 4, 118 4 The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic

devair nyuptā (KS *nuttā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV *°tvam*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ 'Cast forth (KS impelled, AV spoken!) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness)' Ppp reads *mahitvā*, and also *srṣṭā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean

anyām icha patṛṣadam vyaktām (ApMB *vittām*) RV ApMB *yāmam icha patṛṣadam nyaktam* (read *°tām*) AV Here the assimilated form of ApMB (with samprasārana) is clearly secondary

sarvāṅ ɪt tāṅ anu vɪdur vasɪṣṭhāh RV *sarvam uktam anuvɪdur vasɪṣṭhāh* JB A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB

ɪha prasatto (AV *prasakto*, TB *prasapto*) *vɪ cayat kṛtam nah* RV AV MS TB *prasapto* (comm *prakarṣena samāgatah san*, as if from *pra-sṛp* with Prakritic *a* for *ṛ*) has no standing AV, tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached', RV probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later *prasanna*

vɪvɪktyaɪ (TB *vɪvɪtyaɪ*, read with Poona ed *vɪvɪttyaɪ*) *kṣattāram* VS TB *vɪvɪktyaɪ*, 'for discernment', is certainly original TB comm *vɪśeṣa-lābhābhɪmānɪnyaɪ* but the form of root *vɪd* is isolated if *vɪ* be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication

dhātuh katkaṭah (KSA *kakkatah*) TS KS Original form unknown, VS 24 32 has *kakkaṭa*

avɪmuktacakra (v l °*rā*) *āsīran* PG *vɪvṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB

§140 There are also several cases of variation between *kṣ* and *ts*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff These variants indeed really belong in that chapter, they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch* In five out of six cases the writing with *kṣ* (thrice in SV, once in AV, once in MS) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable

vṛṣanam pṛtsu (SV *pṛkṣu*) *sāsahɪm* RV AV SV Here only *pṛtsu*, 'in battles', can be meant, 'in delights' (root *pṛc*) is silly

yat te dɪtsu (SV *dɪkṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV SV The RV has a nom sg neut of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas* SV clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt')

yad dɪtsasɪ (SV *yac chɪkṣasɪ*) *stuvate māvate vasu* RV SV In this case the two forms are practically synonyms, *śɪkṣeyam* and *dɪtseyam* together in RV 8 14 2, a similar passage RV 1 81 2

agnɪm (AV *agnɪh*) *sruco adhvareṣu prayatsu* (AV *prayakṣu*) AV VS TS MS KS Cf *prayaty adhvare*, familiar formula in RV at the ends of pādas (*RVRep* 660) Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayaṭsu* = *prayakṣu* (*pra-yaj*), but the form does not really construe The hymn AV 5 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the p p leaves it undivided), it is, like most of the SV readings with *kṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatsu*

āvitsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid· ā-yuj*

prāsmāṅ ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB *yutsu*) RV TB Here, of course, *kṣ* is original, *yutsu* is suggested by *pṛtanāsu*

§141 There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations

tādītnā (TB † °*knā*) *śatrum* (TB °*ūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB Conc *vivatse*, read *vivitse* with Poona ed text and comm) RV TB *tādīknā* is repeated in the comm (Poona ed), which glosses *tādṛśān*! It seems that it must mean simply *tādītnā*

§142 Finally, a few cases of interchange between *k* and *t* final All concern the ends of pādas Two concern adverbial forms in *-k* from *añc* stems, a third is simply a matter of external sandhi

anamitram no adharāt (KS °*rāk*, VSK *me* †*adharāk*) AV VSK KS Equivalent adverbs, one abl of *adhara*, the other acc neut of *adharāñc* The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād* (°*rāg*) *ā purastāt*

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65

brahman (MahānU *brahman*) *tvam asi viśvasṛt* (MahānU °*sṛk*) TA MahānU There is a v l °*sṛk* in TA, and as the next sentence begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic Possibly, however, *sṛt* may be for *sṛṭ* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *r*, cf Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment of this root in general, §149a, *α* [Delete *brahma tvam asi* etc in Conc]

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarit*) *sravanti sarito na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §830

sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak (TB ApŚ *abhīṣṇāt*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Altho TB comm fatuously glosses by *bhiṣ-ajyatu*, *abhīṣṇāt* (*abhi+iṣṇāmi*) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k t* enters as a factor While *abhiṣṇak* is ἅπ λεγ , the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary

Note also *yaśo bhagaś ca mā riṣat* MG 1 9 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss point to *riṣak* as the true reading, of course it must mean the same as *riṣat* Cf Wackernagel I §260a, *β*, small print, §277a

Cf also AV 1 18 2a *nir aranim savitā sāviṣat padoh*, so the vulgate,

but all mss *sāvişak*, retained by SPP and approved by Whitney, see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant According to Whitney, the comm and Ppp both have *sāvişat* The same form occurs in the VSK version of the following, on the subject of final *k t* see most recently Renou, *Ehrengabe fur Wilhelm Geiger* 163n , Oertel, *ibid* 137, and our §272a, *na me tad* etc , our §145, and *abhişyak* for °*şyat*, PG 3 1 3b (VV I p 242, infra)

tasyām no devah (MS *tasyām devah*) *savitā dharmam* (VS † VSK † TS † ŚB † *dharma*) *sāvişat* (VSK ° *şak*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

The next is an error of the Conc

[*trivŗd yad bhuvanasya rathavŗt* TB ApŚ *trivŗd bhuvanam yad rathavŗk* KS Conc , but read *rathavŗt*, text °*vŗj jīvo*—]

kh and *t*

§143 In the single variant following, PG has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following, Stenzler on PG 2 11 12 translates the AŚ reading See his note there, and his critical note

pari satyasya dharmanā (PG *sakhyasya dharmanah*) AŚ PG

g and *d*

§144 Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation

ā galdā dhamanīnām (ApŚ *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ MŚ N *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga-*?), *galdā* is Rigvedic (8 1 20), but nevertheless obscure Pischel, *VSt* 1 84, and *KZ* 41 183ff , discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ MŚ After him many others, see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 1 20 The following word in ApŚ is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*, see §225 Caland leaves the pāda untranslated

yad annam admi (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (etc , §619) AV TA PrānāgU

na vai gāvo mañgīrasya (KŚ *mandīrasya*) KŚ Vait MŚ Proper names, of unknown etymology

rudras (MŚ *ugras*) *tantŗcaro vŗşā* TB ApŚ MŚ GG KhG

marudbhir ugrā ahŗnīyamānāh AV *marudbhī rudrāh samajānatābhi* TS Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*

āsminn (KS *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ In an obscure ritual verse, MS doubtless a lect fac

§145 In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings), as under *k t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence, it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and °*rāk*, which we met in §142, first variant

ottarād adharād (TB °*rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV MS KS TB

niyudbhir (AV *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ †*muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ [Add to VV I §§25 and 156] Also

prayugbhya (TB *prayud*°) *unmattam* VS TB In the first of these two *viyugbhir* is untenable, because the *niyutah* are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4 140) In the second, *prayugbhyah* of VS is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahīdhara, Griffith, 'for Motives') Comm on TB glosses *prayud*° by *prakarṣena yoddhṛdevebhyah*, as if from *pra-yudh* At TB 3 7 9 1, ApŚ 12 3 2 occurs *prayutah*, which TB comm glosses *prakarṣena somam miśrayantah* (adopted by Bohtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend') This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB reading But PB 1 2 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage, Caland gives up *prayutah*

nṛcakṣāh soma uta suśrug (comm , and Poona ed text, *śuśrug*) *astu* TB *sucakṣāh soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ The latter is not quite certain, the mss record forms which look towards the TB reading But *sasrut* occurs several times in RV TB obviously contains root *śru* (comm *śrotā*), so that apparently *g* = *k* must stand for *d* = *t* It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, *β*, note, 277a See also our §283

mayum (also *gauram, gavayam, meṣam, śarabham*) *te śug ṛchatu* (KS *te kṣut*) VS MS KS ŚB Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi) KS actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant

triśug (AŚ °*śrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS TB TA AŚ °*śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt

yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati MS *yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvasi* TA The subject is *grdhrah* 'vulture', TA is correct, and MS an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g*(*k*) and *d*(*t*) have a share

dadhṛg (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV °*kṣan*) *paryañkhayāte* (TA °*tai*, AV *parīñkhayātai*) RV AV TA Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*

$\tilde{n}$ (for k) and n (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain, it is obvious that MS (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced'

suvāñ nabhrād MS MŚ *svān nabhrād* KS *svāna bhrājāñghāre* VS, TS ŚB *svāna bhrāt* TA

amāsı sarvāñ (AŚ *ꞌarvān*) *ası pravışţah* AŚ Kauś The original is *sarvāñ* (*sarvāñc* 'turned in all directions'), AŚ secondary

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest

grāme vidhuram (HG *vikhuram*) *ıchantī svāhā* HG ApMB Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted

aghadvışţā devajātā AV Kauś *atharvyuşţā devajūtāh* ApŚ The latter is a mere corruption

deva purascara saghyāsam tvā TA ApŚ *devapuraś carasa rdhyāsam tvā* MS The former is original 'may I be able to carry thee' MS has a slipshod substitute

yad aghrıyata (KS °*yathās*) *tad ghrtam* (KS adds *abhavas*) MS KS *yad adhrıyata tad ghrtam abhavat* TS As Keith says, the TS etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmana, but the other is certainly original

4 GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148 Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants They almost all concern k and p, and reveal no new principle For the peculiar Taittirīya treatment (not mentioned in TPr) of the final sound of the stems *anuşţubh* and *trışţubh* as $k(g)$ in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however k before p), and before j, d, and dh, see Weber, *ISt* 13 109, n 2, Keith, *HOS* 18 p xxxvm This applies to TB as well as TS, but apparently not to ApŚ

anuşţup (TB *anuşţuk*) *pañktyaı* (MŚ *pañktaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ

anuşţup (TS *anuşţuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS TS MS KSA

trışţub (TS *trışţug*) *graışmī* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§149 The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird, AV 11 2 25 adds *purīkaya* (comm *pulī*°) It may be noted that most forms contain both p and k somewhere in the word The original form cannot be determined

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA †*kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA

kulīkā devajāmibhyah VS *devānām patnībhyah pulīkāh* MS

§150 Very varied also are the forms of the following words It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *nicumpuna* in RV decides It may be onomatopoetic

avabhṛtha nicumpuna (TS TB ApŚ *nicaṅkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nicuṅkuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ ApŚ N

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicaṅkuna*, MS KS *nicuṅkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ In same passage as preceding, nom changed to voc in TS TB by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula

§151 Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following, lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them

kanātkābhām (AŚ *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB AŚ Note the dental *n* in AŚ, despite preceding *r* Comm on TB, desperately, *kanakavad bhāsamānāin rūpavatīm kanyām* Both forms are hopeless

bajābojopakāśinī HG *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB Again both are hopeless

kūtanānām (VS ŚB *kukūnanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā patmann ā dhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB *kotanāsu* (sc *te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi*) TS An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoetic, epithet of waters

śam tc (AV * *śam u*, TA *śam u te*, KS MŚ *śam nah*) *santv anūpyāh* (TA *anūkyāh*) AV KS TA MŚ *anūkyāh* might be considered a purely phonetic variant, it should be remembered that Tait texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148) The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāh*, from *anūpa*, so comm, *anūpadeśe bhavā anūkyā āpah* Formally, however, *anūkya* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping'?), and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB *lājān āvapantikā* ŚG PG MG *agnau lājān āvapantī* SMB HG *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait preference for gutturals, cf the prec and §148

vanakrakṣam (SV °*prakṣam*) *udaprutam* RV SV 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood' The onomatopoetic root *krakṣ* also in *krakṣamāna*, *avakrakṣin* SV °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm , followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'

aṁsum (AV *aṁśūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ *gabh*°) *haritebhir āsabhiḥ* AV KS ApŚ The ApŚ stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh*° is uninterpretable Caland gives up the verse

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS *apipakṣa āsan*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Original is *apikakṣe*, a certain part of the body MS (p p *api- pakṣah*) may have been influenced by thought of *pakṣa* (cf Keith on TS 1 7 8 3)

viṣvalopa viṣvadāvasya tvāsaṁ juhomi TS GB Vait *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā saṁjuhomi svāhā* MŚ *viśloka* is perhaps a sort of lect fac , but *viṣvalopa* is itself not clear, cf Keith on TS 3 3 8 2

§152 The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate, that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV *apiṇann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ

yad adya dugdham pṛthivīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ In MŚ , as in AB AŚ , the parallel following pāda contains *asṛpad*, in TB ApŚ , *asarad*

iha prasatto (AV *prasakto*, TB *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtam nah* RV AV MS TB See §139

krānā (SV *prānā*) *sisur mahīnām* RV SV And

krānā (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat* (RV *avīvasat*) RV SV AV The SV is really inexplicable, AV attempts to rationalize it Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 279 On the much discussed *krānā* see last *RVRep* 136

devair nyuptā (KS *nuttā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*tvam*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

ahtam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (*viyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS* TB MŚ GG KhG And others, see §96 The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small' It is hard to apply this meaning here, perhaps adverbially, 'daintily'

asmin goṣṭhe karīṣinīh (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣinīh*) AV MS Kauś The riming synonyms *karīṣa* and *purīṣa*, cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 16 409ff Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś

kriyanta (TB *priyā ta* [so divide]) *ā barhih* (TB Conc °*his*, Poona ed °*hih*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB Preceded by *imā brahma brahma-*

vāhaḥ (TB † °*ha*) 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB , are pleasing to thee), sit upon the barhis '

[*pra so agne tavotibhiḥ*] *suvīrābhis tiratе* (SV TS *taratı*) *vāyabharmabhiḥ* (SV TS °*karmabhiḥ*) RV SV TS KS

sugandhim (AV *subandhum*) *patıvedanam* AV VS ŚB ApŚ *sugandhim puṣṭivardhanam* (KS *rayıpoṣanam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA Vaıt, LŚ N The AV changes *sugandhim* by adaptation to the meaning of *patı-vedanam* (*patı* suggests *bandhu*)

§163. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pṛ* and *gṛ* (*gır*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *yaj* are closely associated These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants The roots *yaj* and *gṛ* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise), and *abhi-gṛ* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *yaj* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat *grātus*), see e g RV 1 15 3, 3 6 10, 10 15 6 On the other hand *yaj* and *pṛ* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*), see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhtlingk* 115ff , Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408ff In the third variant *abhıpūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣtam* which recalls *iṣṭāpūrta* In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gṛ* is secondary In the second, KS seems to give the best sense, but may be a lectio facilior The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance

indro yajvane pṛnate (AV *gṛ*°) *ca śikṣatı* (AV °*te*) RV AV TB

suiṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛnāhi (PG *pṛnīhi*, KS *tad gṛnīhi*) KS TB ApŚ PG HG

iṣṭam vītam (AV *pūrtam*) *abhigūrtam* (AV °*pūrtam*) *vaṣaṭkṛtam* RV AV VS TS MS KSA [Delete in Conc reference to AV under *iṣtam vītam*]

§163*a* The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf §§182–6)

somasya drapsam (AV *bhakṣam*) *avṛnīta pūṣā* (AV *sakrah*) AV TS MS KS Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit, it is hard to see any reason for preference

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS °*nam*) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV VS †TS †MS KS ŚB †

5 PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*, the combinations *dy* and *jy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *t* before *ī* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156

c and *t*

§155 Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar*

yajñasyāyur anu sam carati (AŚ *tarantu*) TS AŚ Cf *yajñayur anusamcarān* TB ApŚ

na tad (AV *nainam*) *rakṣāṅsi na piśācāś carati* (VS °*cās taranti*, AV °*cāh sahante*) RVKh AV VS But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh as VS

achinnam tantum anu sam tarema (TA *carema*) AV TA Comm on AV *car*°

śamyāh prataratām (Vait °*tā*) *iva* (MŚ *pracaratām iha*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§156 The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt, the first two have interesting phonetic aspects

sā śamtāti (SV °*tā*, TB ApŚ °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ The TB ApŚ reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in *-ācī*, fem to *-āñc* (like *prācī*), so, perhaps, the comm understood it (*anirṣṭaśamanaprāpikā satī*) But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel Cf next

arcisātrino nudatam pratīcah AV *arcisā śatrūn dahatam pratītya* AG Here in the secondary AG we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding

satyaujasā TS MS KS *sacetasau* AV See §305 Here we suspect that AV is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*

agre (TB *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya cetatah* (RV *śocatah*) RV KS TB

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

jagdhā vitṛṣṭir (HG *vicaṣṭir*) HG ApMB And others, see §634 Oldenberg on HG assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'

dvo vābhiṣthām anu yo vicaṣte MŚ *devānām viṣthām* (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supeśasā*) AV AG PG HG ApMB MG —AVPpp reads *varcayatā* (*varcas*)

vācam (RV AV *vātam*) *viṣnum sarasvatīm* RV AV VS TS MS ŚB *viṣnum vācam sarasvatīm* KS *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*, note that KS places it next to that word AV comm also has *vācam*

śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (TB *vicar°*) RV TB The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato* Comm regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar*! (*viśeṣena tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*)

yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya PB *yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *vivṛtah sūryah save*, or *savah*) TS ApŚ MŚ Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf next See §57

j and *t*

§157 Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants, the phonetic aspects are faint

sabali prajānām śacisṭhā vratam (ApŚ *śavisṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary

tato yajñas tāyate visvadānīm KS MŚ *tato yajño jāyate visvadānih* TB ApŚ *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf e g RV 7 10 2, 9 102 7, 10 90 15 It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss but one of MŚ as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect fac *jāyate*

devā no yajñam rtuthā (TB ApŚ *rjudhā*) *nayantu* VS TB ApŚ *yajñam rtuthā* is supported by RV 1 170 5, 8 44 8, but in RV 2 3 7 the two points of view blend in *rju yakṣatah yajantāv rtuthā* They are in fact nearly synonymous

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (etc , §853) *sam patatrais* (KS *yajatrais*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

c and *d*

§158 Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*, in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding *vacas*

somāya vaca udyatam (SV *ucyate*) RV SV

girā-girā ca dakṣase (KS *cakṣase*) RV SV VS MS KS PB ApŚ

sadā (MS *śacyā*) *pasyanti sūrayah* RV SV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB NṛpU and other Up One ms of KS has *sadyā*!

ajaiṣmādyāsanāma ca (AV *°sanāmādya*) RV AV *ca* and *adya*

j and *d*

§159 Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *jy* in the roots *dyut*, *jyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a) It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *jyām* and *jman* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence

sahasrıyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS °*rīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

ava jyām iva dhanvanah SV Vait Kauś ApMB *ava dyām iva dhanvinah* HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29

upa jmann upa vetase VS TS MS KS ŚB *upa dyām upa vetasam* AV Vait Kauś The absurd AV. reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, see Whitney's note

pavamānah so adya nah RV VS *pav*° *svarjanah* (*suvar*°) MS KS TB ApŚ HG BDh In a secondary lect fac , *dy* becomes *j*

imam (MS *imam ca*, VS TS ŚŚ *ya imam*) *yajñam svadhayā* (KS AŚ °*yā ca*, MS *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ *yajante*, ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

davyāya dhartre joştre (MS *dhātre deştre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Note the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary

uccairvājı prtanāşāt (HG °*sāham*, ApMB °*vādi prtanājı*) RVKh HG ApMB If ApMB is correct (v l °*vājı* is recorded) it is a hyper-Sanskritic absurdity, no form of root *vad* can be concerned here

pratı şma (AV *sma*) *rakşaso daha* (AV *jahi*) RV AV

ichanto 'paridākrtān ApMB *īpsantah parijākrtān* HG See critical notes on HG 2 3 7 Both forms seem uninterpretable Oldenberg on HG , 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently understanding °*jāgrtān*

erum tundānā (TS *perum tuñjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV TS Roots *tuj* and *tud* are practically synonyms See Whitney on AV 6 22 3, Keith on TS 3 1 11 8, and cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 1 45 4 The AV comm reads *tuñjānā*

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih MS *mā nah param adharam* (MŚ †*adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naih* (MŚ *naih*) TA MŚ See §836

j and *dh*

§160. Only lexical variants

mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanişthā (MS *jajanaj janişţham*) RV VS MS KS TB Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS to suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janiṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son' Cf the following similar variant

oṣadhībhyaḥ paśubhyo me dhanāya (TS *paśave no janāya*) TS KS ApŚ † MŚ

athāsya madhyam ejatu VS LŚ *athāsyai* (TS MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA

y and *d*

§161 This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense) The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *y* and *d* on the one hand, and between *y* and *y* (below, §§192f) on the other

sūyavasinī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA ° *sye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

diśo (TB *yaśo*) *yajñasya dakṣināḥ* (TB °*nām*) TB AŚ Note that *d* is followed by *i*

6 PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162 Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS *kakuc*) *chandaḥ*, where the TS reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178

tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmi TS *paramena paśunā krīyase* (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB Corruption in TS , see Keith Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning

vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā (SV *paniṣṭhaye*) RV SV See §86

vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomughbhyām caruḥ* (MS *payaḥ*) TS MS KSA

7 LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163 In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145–7) There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid §148a, cf especially §133, note), and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid §156a) In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence Namely dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §§218–25), some dialects show the reverse tendency Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224) The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies We include also the nasals *n* and *ṇ*, except when *n* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945–54)

§164 We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit Here first we have three cases of *avaṭa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely

avatasya (SV *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV SV

iṣkṛtāhāvam avatam RV *niṣkṛtāhāvam avaṭam* TS ApŚ

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV SV VS

§165 Next, some demonic names in the Gṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable, it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously

tekaś ca sasaramataṅkaś ca HG *tekaś ca sasaramatandas ca* ApMB

manthākako (HG *mandākako*) *ha vah pitā* HG ApMB

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS KapS may be due to the preceding *r*

aṛdamṛdā yavyudhah KS *aṛlabṛdā* (MS °*mṛdā*, KapS *ṛlamṛdā*) *āyuryudhah* (TS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS See §241

Cf also *aṛar* (MS *vahad*, v l *vahad*, p p *vahat*) *dwābhir* (MS *dwyābhir*) *ūṭibhih* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ See §§272, 272a

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *pan*, *paṇ*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf Pischal, *Ved St* 1 199ff For attempts to explain *pan* as going back to an IE root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note

sā me satyāśīr devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatarā panyāt panyatarā (KS *panyāt panyatarā*) MS KS ApŚ Cf Durga on N 6 8 (Roth's Erlauterungen 76 foot)

§166 These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization

The curious form *padbhıs* which varies twice with *padbhıs* has been explained in this way, this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr plural Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing Cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 11 350ff , *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff , Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63 300ff , Pischel, *Ved St* 1 228ff

uro vā padbhır (Kauś *padbhır*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB °*ta*, but Jorgensen °*te*) TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kauś SMB

padbhıś (ApŚ *padbhiś*) *caturbhır akramīt* AV ApŚ One ms at AV 3 7 3 also *padbhıs*, but Ppp *pad*°

§167 In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *vah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual, see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS has *dutya-vāṭ* and *turya-vāt* in the same passage where *paştha-vāt* occurs This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*

paşthavād (TS °*vād*) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

paşthavāṭ (TS °*vāc*) *ca me paştauhī ca me* (MS omits *me*, twice) VS TS MS KS

§168 Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ş*, in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepıdhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG *vepıdhvam* is an *iş*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present

purovāta (KS °*to*) *jınva rāvat* (KS *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS KS *purovāto varşañ jınvar āvṛt svāhā* TS ApŚ And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapatı* etc , all in TS 2 4 7 2, MS 2 4 7, KS 11 9, all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaṭ* etc in the same forms *A natural assumption would be that the lingual ṭ in MS is due to* an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS (which divides badly, *jınvar-āvṛt* for *jınva-rāvṛt*), the dental *t* of KS might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r* But cf §632 The words are mere interjections and any form would pass

vikırida (VS °*dra*, KS °*da*) *vilohita* VS TS KS *vyakṛda vilohita* MS Obscure epithets of Rudra, cf TB *atı-kriṭa* The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS and MS The dental of TS may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation

§169 Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions First, the ritualistic root *īd* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms Twice the SV substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *īd* 'revere'

agnim īdita (SV *indhita*) *martyah* RV SV

yam sīm (SV *sam*) *id anya īdate* (SV *indhate*) RV SV

The same *īd* figures along with the similar *vīd* (and adjective *vīdu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies

tigmam anīkam vidutam sahasvat AV *tigmam āyudham vīdutam* (KS °*dham īdutam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS In AV *vidutam* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *vīdutam*, certainly KS *īdutam* is equally secondary

dhiṣane vīdū (VS VSK *vīdvī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *īdite*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omit) *vīdayethām* (MS MŚ *īdethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *vīdū* or *vīdvī* 'firm', *vīte* 'pleasant', *īdite* 'revered' KS is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness KapS has *īdite īdayethām*

§170 The rest are sporadic

pari no hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK °*yāt*) RV VSK *pari no hedo varunasya vṛjyāh* RV *hetī* and *hedas* are quasi-synonyms See the list of very similar formulas, *RVRep* 573

divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ †*niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ See §156

yajñam (KS *yajñiyā*) *yajñam prati devayadbhyah* (KS † ŚŚ † °*yadbhyah*) VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ The stem *deva-yaj* (in sandhi °*yad*) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary

sarasvatyā (AV °*yām*) *adhi manāv* (KS *mānā*, v l *manā*, AV *manāv*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jorgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS SMB Jorgensen, *acakṛṣuh*, SMB Conc *carkṛdhi*, KS v l *acark*°) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'), but the AV (loc of *manī*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone')

aṣādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mādhuṣe*) RV TB N

ghṛtam duhānā viśvatah prapītāh (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPp *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB See §198

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §838

nāvaś carantī svasīca iyānāh VS TS ŚB *nāvo viyantī susīco na vānīh* MS KS

mā no agnim (p p *agnih*) *nirṛtir mā na āṣṭān* (p p *āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā* TA See §87

In ŚŚ 17 12 1 *sarvā vinudya samṭṛdyah* (cf critical note, top of p 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals

8 DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171 Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*, we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff , 122)

dh and *bh*

§172 We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi* Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too

bhadrād abhi (AV Kauś *adhi*) *śreyah prehi* AV TS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi*°) *svārā kṣarānti* (PG *surakṣitah syām*) *svāhā* AG PG *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣānah* MG See Stenzler's Translation of AG 2 4 14 (p 73, n 2), and the critical note on MG 2 8 6

tayor devā adhisamvasantah ApŚ *tasyām devā adhi samvasantah* TS TB *yasyām* (v l *asyām*) *devā abhi samvisantah* MŚ

viśvāvasur abhi tan no gṛnātu RV TA *vīrebhir adhi tan no gṛnāno* etc MS

samānamūrdhnīr abhi (PG *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS MS KS PG *tā ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam* AV

tṛtīye ṭdhāmāny abhy (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS TA Mahān U

idam (PG *imam*) *tam adhitiṣṭhāmi* (PG MG *abhi*°) ŚŚ AG MG PG

ṛtasya nābhāv adhi (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV *punāti*) RV AV

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (MSS *nuh*) MŚ

adhi skanda vīrayasva AV : *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG

ṛṣīnām putro adhirāja eṣah (AŚ *avirāja eṣah*, AV *abhiśastipā u*, VS

ŚB *abhiśastipāvā*, TB *abhiśastipā ayam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŠB TB AŚ SMB N

yamo rājābhiṭiṣṭhati (KS MŚ *rājādhi*°) KS TA ApŚ MŚ

§173. As the roots *skabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV seems to prefer *śubh* (five times), Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV See VV I p 239

tāni brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV *śumbhati*, ApMB *śansati*) RV AV ApMB

śumbhantām lokāh pitṛṣadanāh AV *śundhantām* etc VS MS KS ŠB MŚ *śundhatām lokah pitṛṣadanah* TS ApŚ

śumbham mukham mā na āyuh pra moṣīh AV *sunddhi* (*śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣīh* AG PG ApMB MG

āpah śundhantu (AV *viśve śumbhantu*) *mainasah* AV VS KS ŠB TB *antah śubhrāvatā* (SV *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV SV

§174 An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*, this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *sudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd*

aśūśubhanta (TS TB *asūṣudanta*) *yajñiyā ṛtena* TS MS KS TB

§175 In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely Thus in two cases of the participles *dhita* and *bhṛta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hita* and *bhṛta*, §118

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu (Ppp *pipartu*) AV *ya no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitām dadhātu* TB

garbha iva (SV KU , Poley's ed , *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhinībhih* (RV *sudhita garbhinīṣu*) RV SV KU

§176 Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants

dhartāras (ApMB *bhar*°) *te* (MG *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB ApMB MG

bhakṣīmahi (TS MS KS Vait *dhukṣīmahi*) *prajām iṣam* RV SV TS MS KS PB Vait

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh VS MS KS ŠB *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS Both mean 'undefeated'

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (AV *bharati*, TS TA *namati*, KS *namate*, MS °*bhyām adhamat*) *sam patatrait* (KS *yajatrait*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

nikīrya (MŚ KŚ *niqīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ *madhvah*, Vait *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ *sarvā ādhīh*) KŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ See §47

avikṣobhāya (KS °*kṣodhāya*) *parıdhīn dadhāmı* KS TB ApŚ 'For non-disturbance' 'for non-hunger' KS makes inferior sense

andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya VS ŠB KŚ *ambhah* (TS ŠŚ *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha*° TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG *andhah* '(soma-) juice' *ambhah* 'waters'

bhansaso (ApMB *dhvansaso*) *vı vṛhāmı te* RV AV ApMB Here ApMB is meaningless

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177 There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*

vı senābhır dayamāno (SV *bha*°) *vı rādhasā* RV SV *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean

bhūrnim (MŚ v l *tūrnim*) *devāsa ıha susriyam dadhuh* RV KS ApŚ MŚ

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayisnu RVKh *bhūmidṛṁham acyutam pārayişnu* AV *bhūmidṛṁho 'cyutaś cyāvayişnuh* AV Quasi-synonyms 'establishing', 'saving'

§178 Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc, kakut, kakud, kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakud* Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS and TB use *kakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf Weber, *IndSt* 13 109, Keith, *HOS* 18 p xxxviii)

kakup (and, *trikakup*) *chandah* VS MS KS ŠB *kakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chandah* TS

kakup (TB *kakuc*) *chanda ihendrıyam* VS MS KS TB

apām napād āsuheman ya ūrmih kakudmān (MS *ūrmih pratūrtih kakubhvān* , KS *ūrmih pratūrtih kakudmān*) TS MS KS *devīr āpo yo va ūrmih pratūrtih kakunmān* VS VSK ŠB

bṛhaty uşnihā kakup (TS *kakut*) VS TS MS KSA

d and *b*

§179 A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure, applied to fire-bricks

ambā ca bulā ca MS MŚ *ambā dulā* TS , cf *ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā* TB 3 1 4 1

Another lexical variant

abaddham mano TS KŚ BDh *adabdham mana* (MŚ *cakṣur*) MŚ ŚG

t and *p*

§180 These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies

tiro rajānsi aspṛtaḥ (SV *astṛtaḥ*) RV SV Both mean 'unconquerable' The RV version occurs also with accusative *aspṛtam*, 8 82 9b

ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpaḥ (AV °*sātāḥ*) RV AV Cf RV 1 179 2a, *ye cid dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan*, which confirms the RV reading, if confirmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the *ṛta*')

matsarāsaḥ prasupaḥ (SV °*taḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV SV Epithets of Soma The SV rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm *prakarṣena sutāḥ* [!], *abhiṣutāḥ*) Benfey, 'zeugend' = *pra-su(t)*, but the comm is right to the extent of connecting SV 's word with *su* 'press' The RV reading is obscure, cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9 69 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *svap*)

vahniḥ samtarano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA Practically synonyms, both 'rescuing'

devair nyuptā (KS *nuttā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*tvam*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *vartayatā*) *supeśasā* (AV MG *sutejasā*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG Nearly synonyms See §156

upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS TB TA

mitro (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ* RV VS TS MS TA

sacetasāv (VSK °*sā*, delete 'MS ' in Conc) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB *sacetasau saretasau* TB *samokasau sacetasā arepasau* MS *samokasāv* (KS °*sā*) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś The TB has a lect fac to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacetasau* (comm *ekakarmapravartakau bhūtvā*)

yo gopā api (TB ApŚ *gopāyati*) *tam huve* RV AV TB ApŚ The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood '

susevam somapitsaru (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh *susīmam somasatsaru* AV—Ppp (Roth) *suweśam* (intending *suśevam*) *somapitsalam* For *suśīmam*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption Whitney and Keith regard the TS reading as the correct one, in that case the reading °*pitsaru* would contain dissimilation But it is improbable that the isolated TS has the original reading With Mahīdhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf *paśu-ṣá*, *priya-sá*, both RV), both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV 'having a soma-winning handle')

dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah MS *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA 'Intending to deceive' 'not intending to give' Others, §45

āsannṛṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS KSA MS N *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV The latter is wholly secondary, see §820

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān ipsamānah* MS In AV desid of $\bar{a} + ṛdh$, but comm *ecchamānah*, which suggests that TA intends *iccha*° (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*) MS has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*

tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikitsati (vijugupsate) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU KU IśāU See §45 Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*, see §182

n and *m*

§181 There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mi* and *ni*, these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124, to §119 should be added the following, omitted there

pratilāmīti (AŚ °*nīti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language

The rest are scattering

agdhād eko 'hutād ekah samasanād ekah TS *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko sanāsanād ekah* MŚ TS, 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith) Knauer takes the MŚ form as *sana* + *a-sana* + *ad* Both uncertain Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned

mademendram (MS *maden*°) *yajamānāh svarkāh* VS MS KS ŚB TB Von Schroeder emends KS to *maden*°, without justification, the opt *madema* is probably the original form The other, with instr

sg *madena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence Assimilation or dissimilation in MS ?

kad va ṛtam kad anṛtam (SV *amṛtam*) RV SV See Benfey's note in his translation of SV , which is obviously secondary

jīvam (ApMB *jīwām*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV °*ram*) RV AV ApMB Clearly a secondary effort in AV to make an obscure passage 'sensible'

abhīmam (TS °*mām*, MS MŚ v l °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS MŚ v l °*mā*) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness', in the secondary VS *mahimā* (acc to Mahīdhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject

jāmim (KS †*cami*) *mā hiṃsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV The MŚ is clearly secondary

akṣānām vagnum (MS †*vagmum*, AV *ganam*, read *gatnum*) etc , AV MS TB TA See §832

pṛleva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG See §835

nen na ṛnān TA *nem na ṛnān* MS See §180 Particles *id* and *īm*

śūro nṛṣāḷā savasas (SV MS *śra°*) *cakānah* (SV *ca* †*kāme*) RV SV TS MS

CHAPTER V INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182 Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126–34, 154–61) contain some similar phenomena, and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192) Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *kṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections

1 *ch* varying with *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183 These changes are distinctly Prakritic, cf above, §26, and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph The shift occurs in both directions, when *kṣ* etc are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism Confusion often occurs in the mss , so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage As examples of pure blunders in mss we may mention *etatsamdah* for *etac chandah* MS 3, p 22, n 3, *āvṛchata* for *āvṛtsata*, ibid 1, p 18, n 7, *itsata* for *ichata* Kauś 73 15, *patsah* for *pacchah* Kauś 82 29 See further BR , s vv *kaputsala*, *ucchādana* etc The pāda *parivādam parikṣavam*, AV Nakṣ , is read *parichavam* in many AV mss , see Lanman's note ap Whitney, and the Berlin ed reads *uchantūnnā maruto ghṛtena* in 3 12 4, with all of R-Wh 's mss and most of SPP 's, tho SPP reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdnā* with three mss and comm (Ppp , Barret *JAOS* 32 366, has *ukṣantūnā*, emended by Barret to *°ūdnā*) Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smat samṛchātai*, TA 2 4 1c, the mss at MS 4 14 17c read twice (247 1 and 3) corruptly *samṛtsātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA reading —Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV *kṣu*, as for **pśu* (*paśu*), *IF* 25 185ff , which implies the same phonetic law

§184 Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss, concern *kṣ* and *ch*

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption See VV I p 29

somī ghoṣena yachatu (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs, *ā-yam* and *ā-vah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither' SV is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV AV *anu-yam* 'guide', *abhi-rakṣ* 'protect' Quasi-synonyms, but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics The RV original is much more neat and pointed

achalābhih (KSA *acharābhih*, MS *atsarābhih* in p p, *matsarābhih* in s p, VS *ṛkṣalābhih*) *kapiñjalān* VS MS TS KSA In AV 10 9 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v l *ṛtsarā*, which is supported by Ppp The word is a name for a part of the horse's body, its original form is quite unknown Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f

§185 For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find

namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchra patibhyaś ca vo namah MS KS *namo gṛtsebhyo gṛtsapatibhyaś ca vo namah* VS TS See §45

In AV 19 34 2a the mss read mostly *yāgṛtsyas tripañcāsih* (v l *yā gṛ*°, Berlin ed *akṣakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly) For this Ppp reads (with slight corruption, Barret, *JAOS* 44 262) *yāh kṛcchrās* For the true Śaunakīya reading see §192

§186 For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this

ichanto 'parīdākṛtān ApMB *īpsantah parīyākṛtān* HG The two words are of course perfect synonyms One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *īpsa-* by Goldschmidt, *Gott Nachr* 1874, 525, note

2 *sy* exchanging with *ś-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187 In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h* the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant) All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions Either reading may be at times the older

§188 We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*

stomo yajñaś ca (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °*tah*) RV TB The TB awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣnu, with genitives dubiously depending on it, comm , *yajñena tvam ārādhanīyah* —Here the nominative is the original form, in the next two it is secondary to the genitive

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG ApMB HG MG In AG the epithet *śveta* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG makes good sense, a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryaś ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *udita* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS The Conc unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB as an error, it is a nom sing , replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS to match the complementary nom sing *sūryas* which follows, cf Edgerton, *KZ* 43 110ff

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādatah AV *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS ApŚ

§189 In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant, again the movement may be in either direction

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoh (AV *supratīkah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding Agni is meant both times See Whitney on AV 5 27 1

dhiyā martah śaśamate (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV The SV has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza, see VV I p 164

yaso bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG *riṣat*, mss mostly *riṣak*) PG MG *yaso bhagasya vindatu* ArS Conc suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArS No doubt PG is original ('let glory and fortune find me') But ArS makes *yaśo* object, and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive 'let him find glory of fortune'

viprasya dhārayā kavih RV *viprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV In SV the stem *vipra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sutah*, for RV *kavih*, which is a synonym of *vipra* and which SV contains in the preceding pāda

somah sutasya madhvah RV *somah sutah sa madhumān* SV Like the prec , the genitives are (so naturally[1]) made to agree with *somah*

yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te (MŚ *vivṛtah sūryah save*, or *savah*) TS ApS MŚ *yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya* PB —MŚ is clearly corrupt

mānasya patni saranā syonā AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG The latter is hopelessly corrupt, Oldenberg follows AV in translating

3 Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kś*, and *khy*

§190 The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118 Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kś* For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS , and once in KS , is spelled *kśā*, cf von Schroeder, Introduction to MS , p XLIII In fact the mss vary greatly, but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition This writing is also known to the grammarians

anukhyātre (KS °*kśātre*) *namah* KS GB Vait KŚ The *kś* of KS (both mss) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*

vy akhyan (MS *akśan*) *mahiṣo divam* (AV * TS *mahiṣah s(u)vah*) RV AV (bis) SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The mss of MS vary, p p *akhyat* AVPp agrees with RV

indra ṛbhukṣā marutah pari khyan (MS *kśan*) RV VS TS MS KSA N All mss of MS here *kṣyān*, p p *khyan*

anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat (MS MŚ *aksat*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ All mss of MS *akṣat* or *akṣyat*, p p *akhyat* But most mss of MŚ *akśat*

vikhyāya (MS *vikśāya*) *cakṣuṣā tvam* VS TS MS KS ŚB

svar abhivyakhyam (MS MŚ °*kśam*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS KS MŚ *svar* (KhG *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS ApŚ GG KhG

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ *kśeṣam*) TS MS

duścakṣās te māvaksat (KS text with one ms °*kṣat*, v l °*khyat*) MS KS *tam te duścakṣā māva khyat* TS † (so read) Whatever be the writing of KS , the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*

§191 In the following the reverse condition is found, the readings with *khy* are secondary to *kṣ*

yas te agne sumatim marto akṣat (AV *akhyat*, v l *akṣat*) RV AV If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form)

viśvākṣam (MahānU °*khyam*) *viśvasambhuvam* TA MahānU No doubt *viśvākṣam* 'having eyes all over', is the original, but *viśvākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'

idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (ŚŚ *prakhyā*°) TB TA ŚŚ ApŚ Both TB and TA comms derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning(!), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)', and similarly Caland on ApŚ Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣai*) 'burning up' In any case the ŚŚ (all mss) form shows phonetic decay, it makes no independent sense

4 *j* and *y* exchanging

§192 The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b, and above, our §§156, 159, 161 The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss , e g in AV 3 11 6 several mss read *javam* for *yuvam*, and the comm evidently had this reading before him Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case

uto (ŚŚ and GB Gaastra, *uta*) *padyābhir yavişthah* (AB *ja*°) AV AB GB ŚŚ The Berlin ed of AV also reads *javişthah*, against all mss There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form, the word can only mean 'swiftest' But only AB reads so in the mss , while not only AV and its Brāhmana, GB , but the independent ŚŚ , have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss , regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology Similarly in the next

jajñā (*yajñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*, GB Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāsah* (*avicetanāsah*), *yajñād eta sann apuro*°, see §62 Again there is no doubt that *yajñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts

tato ha jajñe (MŚ *tato 'ham yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *goptā*) TB ApŚ MŚ *te ha jajñe bhu*° *gopāh* PB Here the reverse change has occurred, MŚ is clearly secondary

śatam yo nah śarado ajītān (SMB Conc *ajījāt*, comm *ajīyanat*, PG *jīyān*) TS SMB PG But Jorgensen reads for SMB *ajīyāt*, comm *ajīyād ajyāt*, *aja gatikṣepanayoh*, *gamayatv ity arthah* Three mss of the text read *ajyāt* See VV I p 92f

saujāmıım (ŠG *sauyāmıım*), sc *tarpayāmı*, AG ŠG Here *saujāmıım* (so v 1 of ŠG) ıs doubtless orıgınal It ıs a n, pr

yajñasya hı stha rtvıyā (TB ApŚ *rtvıyau*) RV SV KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *yajñasya rtvıj-* ıs established from RV 1 1 1 on

tısro yahvasya (MS MŚ *jıhvasya*, v l *yah°*) *samıdhah parıjmanah* RV MS ApŚ MŚ *jıhvasya* probably corrupt, and certaınly secondary

īśāno vı ṣyā (= *ṣıyā*, TS *sṛjā*) *dṛtım* AV TS MS KS The two forms are synonyms, TS ıs secondary

jāgṛtsyas trıpañcāśīh AV 19 34 2a, mss (v l *yā gr°*), R-Wh *akṣakṛtyās*, a bad emendatıon abandoned by Whitney, see hıs note Read eıther *yā gṛtsyas*, or better *yāh* (or *yās ca*) *kṛtyās* Cf §185

añjantı suprayasam pañca janāh RV MS , 'the five trıbes anoınt hım (Agnı), possessed of good regalement' *yuñjantı suprajasam* etc , AVPpp 2 74 1 (Barret, *JAOS* 30 244), 'the five trıbes employ hım of good offsprıng' (secondary but not bad Vedıc sense)

§193 Somewhat remoter are the followıng

hṛdo astv antaram taj juṣat (TA *tad yuyota*) RV KS TA —TA secondary

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG

ramayata (KS °*tā*) *marutah syenam āyınam* (MŚ °*tah pretam vāyınam*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

āsum tvājau (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhıre devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ Corrupt ın ApŚ , Caland translates the KS readıng Explaıned ın §296

ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, P B †*yakṣate*) *cıd abhıśrıṣah* RV AV SV PB †9 10 1a, TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG *yarı cetīd* (mss *cetıd*, p p *cya ıtı, ıt*) *abhıśıṣah* MS (corrupt)

5 Palatal stops and *ś(ṣ)*

§194 There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varyıng wıth the palatal sıbılant, or once wıth the lıngual sıbılant (whıch varıes frequently, as we shall see, wıth the palatal sıbılant, so that thıs varıant may represent the same tendency) But ın all cases the lexical element ıs so marked as to make uncertaın the degree to whıch real sound change enters The sıngle case of *ṣ* ıs

abhy arṣata (AV Vait Kauś *arcata*) *suṣṭutim gavyam ājim* RV AV VS KS Vait ApŚ Kauś For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *suṣṭutim* see *RVRep* 523ff The AV variant is a lect fac (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*)

§195 The rest concern *ś*

pratyañ janān samcukośāntakāle N in Durga (Roth, Erlauterungen 12, n 4), *pratyañ janās tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhah* (ŚvetU and ŚirasU * *tiṣṭhati samcukocāntakāle*) VS ŚvetU ŚirasU Dhātup has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected

ayasmayam vicṛtā (KS *viśṛtā*, v l °*dṛtā*) *bandham etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayasmayān vi cṛtā bandhapāśān* AV The original *vicṛtā* means 'loosen thou' KS seems felt as 2 plur from *vi-śṛ* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural

viśvasya devī mṛcayasya (ŚŚ *mṛśa°*) *janmanah* AB AŚ ŚŚ *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable', perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious' ŚŚ's *mṛś°* may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form

pṛthivyāh sampṛcah (MS MŚ °*cas*, VS ŚB *samispṛśas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Also *divah samspṛsas* (MS *sampṛcas*) *pāhi* VS MS ŚB The two words are synonyms

śvitro (MS *citro*) *rakṣitā* AV MS TS ApMB Also *svitra* (MS *citra*) *ādityānām* VS MS Again the two words are synonyms Some AV mss have *citro* in the first variant, Ppp ms *śattro*, Barret *JAOS* 32 370 em *svitro*

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supeśasā*) AV AG PG HG ApMB MG

agre (TB *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya cetatah* (RV *śocatah*) RV KS TB

ūrdhvacitah (MS. KS °*srtah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS text †*sna°*, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm, which glosses *sevadhvam*, ŚB correctly *sra°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Assimilation to *śrayadhvam* in MS KS

mṛśase (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV The change from (*pari-*) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *pavase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sātaye* RV 9 56 3

chlilīpu chlilīṣate ŚŚ *aślilīpu ślilīṣate* AV (mss , R-Wh em *aśiśliksum śislikṣate*) Unknown words

tanūpāś (TB Conc *tanūpāc*, Poona ed text and comm †*tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS KS TB The TB (which obviously reads *tanū-*

napāc) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni The other reading is clearly original

6 Miscellaneous

§196 Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *kṣ* and *bj*

mahnā jinoṣi (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahini* RV TS MS KS ApMB N Synonymous rime-words

āyurdā (*āyuṣmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*havnṣo*, *havnṣā*) *vṛnānah* (etc), see §854

dwyah kośah samukṣitah MS *davvyah kośah* (AV *devakośah*) *samubjitah* AV TS KS The MS reading is a riming corruption

CHAPTER VI LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197 The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects, and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned, and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*

p (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198 Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original, they are listed in the following

yas tānı (TA MahānU *tad*) *veda sa pituh* (AV *sa pitus*, most mss *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS TA MahānU *yas tā vijānāt sa pitus* (TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N 'He shall be Savitar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father', cf Bergaigne 2 104, 108

abhiśaster avasparat (SV *avasvarat*) RV SV 'Fight away' 'sound away', in either case 'protect' (SV comm *pālayatu*) But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense, see e g RV 10 39 6, 8 66 14

rtasya goptrī tapasah paraspī (SMB °*vī*, MG *tarutrī*) SMB ApMB MG *paraspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)' *parasvī* (also in some mss of ApMB) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm *utkrstadhanarūpā*)

spārhā (TB *svāruhā*) *yasya sriyo drśe* RV KS TB And

spārho (TB *svāruho*) *deva niyutvatā* RV SV VS TB The TB reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical Comm , wobblingly, once *susthu ratham ārūdhah*, once *svasmād eva prarūdhāh*

hiranyaparna śakune PG *hiranyavarnah sakunah* MU *hiranyapaksah śakunih* HG Practically synonyms Contrast *darbhaih strnīta* etc under §200

jāmim rtvā māva patsi lokāt AV *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA The AV original 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven' Poona ed of TA reads *jāmi mitvā mā vivitsi lokāt* (v l *lokān*)

Its comm regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyasi*) But neither reading of TA really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v*

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*, certainly rightly *kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'

nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam AV *nāvapṛṇyāte na gamāte antam* TB *ava-pṛ* is the original, it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving Note *apa ava* also (§201)

yatrāspṛkṣat (HG *yatrā vṛkṣas*) *tanuvam* (AV *tanvo*, HG *tanuvai*) *yatra vāsah* (AV *yac ca vāsasah*) AV ApMB HG 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadi vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*

yamasya dūtas ce vāg vidhāvat MS *yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvasi* TA See §145

yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te (MŚ *tisro vitṛtah sūryah savah*, or *save*) TS ApŚ MS See §57

ajāsvah paśupā vājapastyah (TB °*vastyah*) RV MS TB Comm on TB, *vastyam gṛham* (= *pastyam*, see *RVRep* 58) This, and the lexical statements that *vastya* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastya*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped

yat paśur (Kauś *yad vasā*) *māyum akṛta* (Kauś *akrata*) TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG Kauś A synonym is substituted in Kauś

sarpadevajanebhyah (AŚ *sarva*°) *svāhā* AŚ AG Tho the context is different, AŚ looks suspiciously like a lect fac

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read, °*ṣṭhā gha*, with both Poona edd.) *vikā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭād dhavirā vārnah* MS See §86

ghṛtam duhānā viśvatah prapītāh (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPp *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB Barret, *JAOS* 35 88, would keep *pravīnāh*, but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption

§199 The one case of *ph v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement

īṣām khṛgalyam śavam MS *īṣām khagalyam sapham* ApŚ Tho corrupt in *savam*, MS seems to be correct in *khṛgalyam* (cf *khṛgala*, RV), for which ApŚ has a Prakritic ἀπ λεγ

§200 The *v* reading seems to be original in the following

vṛṣṭim (SV * *pṛ°*) *divah parisrava* RV SV (bis) *pṛṣṭim* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates, perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pṛṣ*, §680) may have infected the word

mahyam dattvā vrajata (TAA *prajātum*) *brahmalokam* AV TAA The TAA reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption Comm takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license!

yathāpah pravatā yanti TA TU Kauś *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB See §60

iheha vah svatavasah (TA *svatapasah*) RV MS KS TA AŚ Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatavas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts

tve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve (AV *api pṛñcanti bhūri*) RV AV SV VS AA ApŚ MŚ See §57

divyam suparnam vāyasam (AV *payasam*, KS VS TS * ŚB *vayasā*, MS TS * *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV AV VS TS (bis) MS ŠB AŚ Suparn There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky', but Ppp agrees on *payasam* (twice) Once the AV comm has the hardihood to say that *payasam* is for *va°* by Vedic license

payasvan māmakam vacah (AV * *payah*) RV AV (bis) KS In AV assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily But TS TB MŚ have a further alteration *payasvad vīrudhām payah*

amba niṣpara (TS ApŚ *niṣvara*, KS KapS *nisvara*, MS *nismara* p p *nih smara*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The majority (in which we count MS with *m*) points to *v* rather than *p*, but the word is obscure in all forms

suvarnapakṣaya (MahānU *suparna°*) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original, see under next

darbhaih stṛṇīta haritaih suparnaih (KS †*suvarnaih*) KS MŚ *hotṛṣadanam haritam hiranyayam* AV *hotṛṣadanā haritah suvarnāh* TB ApŚ *suvarna-* is certainly original, as AV shows, cf preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hiranyaparna śakune* etc , §198

parivādam parikṣavam (mss mostly *parichavam*) AV Nakṣ *parīvādam parikṣapam* ApMB The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap Whitney The ApMB can hardly be anything but a corruption, one ms has *°vam*

tvam rājāsi pradivah (VS VSK *pratipat*) *sutānām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS N See §64

tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava (ApŚ *tapa*) *svaih* RV KS ApŚ Followed by *tapā tapiṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV KS , *tapa tapasva tapasā tapiṣṭha*

ApŚ, which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda Caland understands *tapa* as a voc, 'O Brennender'

sa bhūmim viśvato (ArS *sarvato*) *vṛtvā* (VS *sarvata spṛtvā*) RV AV ArS VS TA Comm on VS *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from *vṛtvā* 'encompassing'

anupauhvad (ApMB *anu po 'hvad*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*) HG ApMB In ApMB *po* intends *vo* (pronoun), HG is corrupt and obscure See §732 There is no real variant here, both forms having *p*

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spṛśantām*, Ppp [acc to Roth] *viśanta*, TA *mṛsantām*) RV AV TA

jakṣivānsah papivānsas ca viśve VS etc, the text of VS is misprinted as *papipānsaś*, corrected, p XXII]

§201 In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions *apa* and *ava* So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general

nāpa vṛñjāte (*nāvapṛjyāte*) see §198

ava (AV *apa*) *tasya balam tira* RV AV Note that RV has only *ava-tṛ*, never *apa-tṛ*

apa (TA ApŚ † *ava*) *bādhatām duritāni viśvā* MS TA ApŚ Both familiar

dviṣantam me 'vabādhasva (Poona ed °*dhāsai*, but v l and comm °*sva*) TA *dviṣantam apa bādhasva* SMB If the Poona ed text is right, this should be added to VV I §152

dhātā samudro apa (AG *'va*) *hantu pāpam* AG PG

yat tatraino apa tat suvāmi AV *yad atraino ava tat suvāmi* TA

idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya pāpmānam ava (ApMB *apa*) *gūhāmi* HG ApMB

yad avāmṛkṣac (ApŚ *apā°*) *chakunih* KS ApŚ MŚ

yenāpāmṛśatam (SMB v l °*mṛṣatam*) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvamṛśatām surām* PG

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvetepad āgahi* MG

ābhur anyo 'pa (ApMB *'va*) *padyatām* ApŚ HG ApMB *mātur anyo 'va padyata* ŚG

sarvān ava yajāmahe KS † TB TA ApŚ *sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś *ava-yaj* is more archaic

indur indum avāgāt (KS *avāgan*, MŚ *upāgāt*, v l *apāgāt*) KS PB TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ava dīkṣām asṛkṣata (ApMB *adāstha*) *svāhā* AV ApMB *iyam apa* (v l *ava*) *dīkṣām ayaṣṭa* SMB

apa kṣudham nudatām arātim TB *ava sedim tṛṣnām kṣudham jahi* Kauś

§202 To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended, and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB in the first case

apāpāco (TB °*vāco*) *abhibhūte nudasva* RV AV AB GB TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *apāpāco*, clearly correctly

āyuś ca prāyuś ca *prāñ cāpāñ* (ApŚ *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS ApŚ

p and *m*

§203 The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam* A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them

§204 The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV texts, *tam* in Tait texts

tapasas (TB *tamasas*) *tan mahinājayatairkam* RV TB

mā tamo (AŚ *tapo*) *ma yajñas tamat* (AŚ *tapat*), followed by

mā yajamānas tamat (AŚ *yajñapatis tapat*) TB ApŚ AŚ

§205 The rest are sporadic

kṣumāsi VS *kṣupāsi* VSK An arrow is addressed obscurely Comm on VS 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup root *kṣmā*(*i*), perhaps confused with *kṣubh-* Is VSK influenced partly by *kṣip*?

amba niṣpara (*nismara*, etc), see §200

yuktās tisro vimṛjah *yunajmi tisro vipṛcah* (*vivṛtah*) , see §57

namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite (ChU MU *pṛthivī*°) *lokaspṛte* (MU °*smṛte*, ChU °*kṣite*) TS KSA ApŚ ChU MU And similarly *namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite* , *nama ādityāya* (*namah sūryāya, nama ādityebhyas*) , each time with MU alone reading *lokasmṛte* All in the same passage There is no doubt that *lokaspṛte* is original, Deussen renders MU 'Weltgewährer', seemingly having °*spṛte* in mind

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam visantu (AV *spṛśantām*, Ppp [Roth] *visanta*, TA *mṛsantām*) RV AV TA

apūma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ †*ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG See §78

viśvā spṛdho (AV *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV AV TA

b and *v*

§206 This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*, see Wackernagel I §161 The mss are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b* On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not ocasionally written *v* (*pivāmi*, for instance, for *pibāmi*) This elusive theme (cf Grassmann, *KZ* 12 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition

§207 Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic There are only a few which involve real lexical change These are

carmevāvādhus (TB °*bādhus*) *tamo apsv antaḥ* RV MS KS TB ApŚ The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away' TB understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome' Poona ed of TB has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitavantaḥ*

devīm aham nirṛtim bādhamānaḥ (TS *vandamānaḥ*) TS KS ApŚ 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction TS doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS , but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bibhrato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV KS *yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha* (TB *sambabhūva*, but Poona ed text and comm °*tha*) TB ApŚ The form is dubious The text tradition of AV (19 3 1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*, mss almost all *bíbhṛto* or *bíbhrato*, tho the comm reads *vi-* and so both editions All three mss of KS *bi-* (vv ll *bíbhṛto* and *bíbhyato*) In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛto* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts) Cf next

atandrāso yuvatayo †*vibhṛtram* (TB Conc *vibhartram*, Poona ed text and comm *bibh*°) RV TB Cf preceding, here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB comm *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhṛ*)

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB °*padā babhūva*) ApMB HG The

absurd form of most ApMB mss is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, Introd , xvi

usrā (MŚ *usrāv*) *etam dhūrvāhau* (KS *dhūrbādhā*) VSK KS MŚ Others, §122

yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °*tho*, AV *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (AV KS °*thah*) AV TS MS KS

[*tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ text, *balam*) *sahah* AA ŚŚ *tuje janā* (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balam* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole Second, such prevalence in the older texts Third, the evidence of etymology When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*

Original *v*

§209 We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vadh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV) and remains commoner thru the language The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādh* (and perhaps of *bandh*) In several variants, VS texts (particularly VSK) seem to favor *badh*, but contrary instances occur

dviṣato badho (MŚ *vadho*) *'si* VS KŚ MŚ

mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn (VSK *badhīn*) *mā suparnah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

mā me dīkṣām mā tapo nir vadhiṣ[a (KŚ *ba°*) TS KŚ MŚ

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah (VSK *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ *avadhiṣma rakṣah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (SMB ŚvetU °*mino*, Jorgensen °*mito* for SMB) *vadhīh* (TAA SMB *badhīh*, but Poona ed of TAA and Jörgensen's of SMB both *va*°) RV TS MS KS TAA ŚvetU SMB *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino vadhīh* VS

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB *avartyai* †*vadhā*°) VS TB (so Poona ed)

nātārīd (TB °*rīr*) *asya samrtim vadhānām* (TB *ba*°, but Poona ed *va*°) RV TB

ayanam mā vivadhīr (TAA *viba*°, but Poona ed text and comm *viva*°) *vikramasva* TA TAA

Cf also the following, in which MS is surely corrupt (see §260) Apparently MS MŚ understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA has a form of *vrdh*

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vrdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

§210 Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength'?) Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV, the word is probably connected with root *vr*

indro valam (MS *balam*) *rakṣitāram dughānām* RV AV MS

tvam valasya (AŚ *balasya*) *gomatah* RV †1 11 5, SV AŚ

bibheda valam (AV AŚ *balam* but many AV mss *valam*) *bhrgur na sasāhe* (AV *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

ud valasyābhinat (but all mss °*nas*, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ *ud balasyābhi nas* (read *balasyabhinas*) *tvacam* MŚ The form *abhinas* is for *abhinat*, 2d person imperf, with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s* This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262, but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhinas*

yo gā udājad apa (MS *apih*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

indro yad abhinad valam (GB *balam*, but Gaastra *valam* with most of his mss) RV AV SV AB GB

sa bibheda balam (VS and Poona ed of TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB

§211 There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīvas* etc, have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity

pīvo vrkka udārathih RV KS *pībasphākam udārathim* AV In AV Shankar Pandit prints *pībaspākam* (comm *pīvaspakam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss Ppp has *pivassākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 191, em *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam* Cf Whitney on AV 4 7 3, 3 17 3, and Index Verborum of AV under *pīb°* and *pīv°*

prapharvyam ca pīvarīm VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh *pībarīm ca prapharvyam* AV (comm *pīv°*, Ppp according to Roth reads like VS etc except *prapharvyām*)

neva mānse na pībasi AV *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG —SPP with some mss and comm reads *pīvasi* in AV , so also Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 205) PG , tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc sing fem of *pīvan*)

§212 In the root *vṛh* or *bṛh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *bṛh* 'be great' etc , has helped the variation in spelling (cf §215) Later, *bṛh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear' The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage In them *vṛh* is the real reading of all texts, Weber erroneously prints *bṛh-* in TS against nearly all his mss

ādityās tvā pra bṛhantu (most mss *vṛh°*) TS *viśvebhyas tvā devebhyaḥ pra vṛhāmi* KS *ādityebhyas tvā pra vṛhāmi* MS Add to VV I §312

vasavas tvā pra vṛhantu (TS ed *bṛh°*, most mss *vṛh°*) *gāyatrena chandasā* TS ApŚ

§213 There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*) *bandhura*, RV always spells the word with *v* Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely Bloomfield, *RVRep* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole'

trivandhuro (TB *triban°*, Poona ed *trivan°*, comm *triban°*) *manasā yātu yuktaḥ* RV TB (in Conc by error, TS) MS

ā yāhy arvāṅ upa vandhureṣṭhāḥ (GB AA *ban°*, but Gaastra and Keith in both *van°*) RV AB KB GB AA ŚŚ

pra nūnam pūrnavandhura (VS ŚB LŚ *°ban°*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB, LŚ

ratham hiranyavandhuram (TA *sahasraban°*, but Poona ed text and comm *°van°*, with v l *°ban°*) RV TA

trivandhurena (KS *triban°*) *trivṛtā rathena* RV KS

§214 In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original

vahiṣṭhebhir (MS *ba*°) *viharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm and Poona ed text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ The word can only mean 'swiftest', root *vah*

etad brahmann upavalhāmasi (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabalhāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in LŚ It is perhaps a form of *vṛh*, §212

capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣaǵ asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed *vālah*) VS MS KS TB The word means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra* The converse of this in the variant *kūrkuro bālabandhanah* (*vāla*°), where properly *bāla* 'child', §215

Original *b*

§215 In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original The VS texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209) First three cases in which etymology proves *b* the older

savitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye (PB LŚ * †*vṛh*°) *stuta* GB PB Vait LŚ Twice in LŚ, once printed *vṛ*° and once *bṛ*°, but comm both times *vṛ*° which must be correct (since quoted from PB which has *vṛ*°) — On the other root *vṛh*, 'tear', see §212

kūrkuro bālabandhanah (ApMB *vāla*°) PG ApMB Both must intend *bāla*, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat'* 'spoil' (treat as a child)

ya ābabhūva (PB *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*, comm *viśvāni*) VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait Tho PB comm repeats the incredible *āvababhūva*, it is doubtless corrupt

§216 In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown

yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (MS TB TA *cakara*) *kilbiṣāni* (TA *kilv*°, but Poona ed *kilb*°) AV MS TB TA

viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt AV MS *sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (VS °*kilv*°, LŚ *eva kilb*°) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ

kṛte yonau (KS *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

basto (VS *vasto*) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

dhamanti bākuram (JB *vā*°) *dṛtim* RV JB

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217 In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v* The VS texts again seem to favor *v* First, three cases of *paḍbīśa* or °*vīsa* 'fetter' It is always spelled with *b* in RV, which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form °*vinśa*, *JAOS* 51 170

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS °*vīśāt*, LŚ † *ṣadvinśāt*) RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ

samdānam arvantam padbīśam (VS MS °*vīśam*) RV VS TS MS KSA

yac ca padbīśam (VS MS °*vīśam*) *arvatah* RV VS TS MS KSA Here the sole ms of KS has °*vīśam*

§218 Two variants contain the word *bāna* or *vāna* 'arrow', both Rigvedic In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner

yatra bānāh (VS *vānāh*) *sampatanti* RV SV VS TS AG

viśalyo vānavāṅ (TS *bā*°, MS *bānavan* KS *bānavān*, NilarU *vānavān*) *uta* VS TS MS KS NilarU

§219 The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin

māgadhah punścalī kitavah klībo (VSK *punscalī klīvah kitavo*) *te prājāpatyāh* VS VSK *klība* appears to be commoner

digbhyo vadabe (KSA *vadave*) TS KSA *badabā* and *vā*° are also found

drvāsi VS *drbāsi* KŚ *drubāsi* VSK An arrow is addressed, said to mean 'piercing' (root *dī*)

kṣatrasyolbam (VS TB °*vam*, but TB Poona ed °*bam*) *asi* VS TS MS KS ŠB TB ApŚ MŚ Both common, RV knows only *b* (once)

viśvarūpā sabalīr (KS *śavaly*) *agniketuh* TS KS PG *b* is commoner

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS *vaṣ*°, ApŚ *bāṣkān*) VS MS ApŚ Rare and obscure

subīrana (HG *suvīrinah*) *srja-srja* (ApMB adds *śunaka*), and,

śunām agram subīranah (HG *suvīrinah*) HG ApMB Anomalous name of a dog-demon The ApMB mss are discordant

aulaba (HG °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG °*ta*) HG ApMB In same context as the preceding

bh and *v*

§220 These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior

visvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣte (MS °*nā vicaṣṭe*) RV MS TB *visvānyo*

bhuvanā vicaṣṭe AV Cf *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV, and *abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV

devānām viṣṭhām (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi tasthe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ *divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe* MŚ

mandrābhibhūtiḥ (MŚ *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur* TS TB ApŚ MŚ

asṝmukho rudhirenābhyaktaḥ (TA °*āvyaktaḥ*) MS TA *abhyaktaḥ* 'smeared', is clearly original TA comm understands *a-vyaktaḥ* (not *ā-*), explaining *īdṛgjātir iti niścetum aśakyaḥ*

§221. The participles *ābhṛtam* and *āvṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both, secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other, see Whitney on AV 6 125 2

vanaspatibhyaḥ pary ābhṛtam (MS *āvṛtam*) *sahaḥ* RV AV VS TS MS KSA

apām ojmānam pari gobhir āvṛtam (AV *ābhṛtam*), same texts SPP with some mss and comm *āvṛtam* for AV

§222 The rest are sporadic

yamīr yamasya bibhṛyād (AV *vivṛhād*) *ajāmi* RV AV *vivṛhād* is unintelligible, it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense See Whitney's note

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ *yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva* ApŚ See *AJP* 27 413, Caland on ApŚ 7 17 2

adṛṃhathāḥ śarkarābhiś tṛviṣṭapi (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS ApŚ MŚ The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles' The MŚ assimilates the last word in meaning to *śarkarābhiś*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'

bhansasa (ApMB *dhvansasa*) *vi vṛhāmi te* RV AV ApMB Cf §176, *dhva°* has a sort of assonance to *bha°*

v and *m*, phonetic changes

§223 This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper *JAOS* 13 xcvii ff, and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it See Wackernagel I §177 note

§224 The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions, but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds First, with original *v*

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañ°*) *pṛthvi mā ni bādhathāḥ* (TA *vi bādhithāḥ*) RV AV TA And

ucchvañcamānā (TA *ucchmañ°*) *pṛthivī su tiṣṭhatu* (TA *hi tiṣṭhasi*) RV AV TA (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332) See Wackernagel I §177

suśīmam somasatsaru AV *suśevam somapṛtsaru* (TS *sumatiṭsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh Attempts are made to explain *suśīmam* as *su-śīman*, or from root *śī* with suffix *ma*, but while some such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is essentially phonetic

jyog jīvema sarvavīrā vayam tama MG (all mss) *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava* RV AV SV MS SMB HG ApMB *mā riṣāmā vayam tava* Vait GB AVPpp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 278) The formula *vayam tava* 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced in MG , was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible **vayamtama* (as if superlative to *vayas*!)?

ā tvam (GB *ātmam*, Gaastra *ā tvam* with v l *ātmam*, LŚ *ā svam*) *indrāya pyāyasva* VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ , its edition is very untrustworthy) The converse corruption in Kauś 65 15, where four of seven mss read *devā tvā* for *devātmā*

anamīvāsa idayā (MS *anamīmāsā īdayā*, but p p *°vāsah, idayā*) *madantah* RV MS TB ApŚ *anamīmāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a case of assimilation, but it may be only a misprint which escaped the editor's attention The pratīka occurs as *anamīvāsah* later in MS 4 12 6 (197 8)

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŠŚ *mahah*, all mss , ed em *vahah*) AV ŚŚ

§225 On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following, the *v* forms being often mere corruptions, cf JB *pratītam devebhyo juṣṭam ha vyavasthāt*, where *°havyam asthāt* is pretty certainly intended

ā galdā dhamanīnām MŚ N *ā galgā dhavanīnām* ApŚ *dhamanī* 'vein' is correct, indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ , see §144 Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu)* = *dhāv* 'run' may have flitted thru the mind of the ApŚ redactor

agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (TB *dūtyam vāriṣenyah*) RV MS TB ApŚ Comm on TB *vāriṣenyo mā rīriṣah* (=*mā riṣanyah*!)

punar dātām (TA *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV AV TA 'Let them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life' The

preceding pāda is *tāv asmabhyam dṛsaye sūryāya*, perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv* The comm , at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv act = *dattām* (*dattau prayachatām*) There is no accent on *dattāv*

sa mā mṛta (MG *vṛtat*, one ms *mṛtam*) AG ApMB MG cf *tam mā mṛdhah* ŠG *mṛta* is required 'may he not die'

sarasvatyā adhi manāv (KS *mānā*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jorgensen *manāv*) *acakrṣuh* (*acakrṣuh*, *carkṛdhi*, see §170) KS TB ApŠ *sarasvatyām adhi manāv acakrṣuh* AV The mss of SMB which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption

bṛhaspatiṣ tvā (TS KS ApŠ °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS ApŠ *ranvatu*) VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŠ MŠ And

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS ŠB Here the verb stem *ranva* of the Tait school is based on the adjective *ranva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v* Comm on TS 1 3 7 1, *ranva ramanīyam kuru* See VV I p 121

v and *m*, lexical variants

§226 Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep* 553ff Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole

§227 Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV itself

sīdantu manuṣo yathā RV *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV SV LŠ In *RVRep* 60ff the first form is taken to be original The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior

manuṣvad (TB *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV TB

etat tvātra (LŠ *etat tān*) *pratimanvāno* (AŠ °*vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŠ † LŠ *asmin*) VS AŠ ŠŠ Vait LŠ 'Thinking in reply' 'offering, presenting in return'

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*) *viṣṭhitam jagat* RV AV VS TS MS KSA N 'Take note of' 'acquire', *jagat* is subject in RV etc , object in AV See VV I p 266

suvitasya manāmahe (SV *va°*) RV SV 'Have in mind, purpose' 'desire'
ūrjam bibhrad vasuvanih (VS LŚ ŠG ApŚ * *vah sumanāh*, ApŚ * *vah suvanih*, ApŚ * *vasumanāh*) *sumedhāh* AV VS KS LŚ ApŚ ŠG HG 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive' 'well-minded' or 'minded to wealth' Note three different readings in ApŚ AVPpp. has *vasumatih* Epithet of an owner of a house, all epithets fit well enough, but the readings with *man* may be assimilated in meaning to the following *sumedhāh*

§228 In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in *ūrm-* and *ūrv-* (*urv-*) interchange, perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and not lexical, cf *ūrmilā*, in the Rāmāyana personified as sister of Sītā, probably connected with Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain', which is associated with *sītā* 'furrow' among the geniuses of the field PG 2 17 9, see *JAOS* 13 p xcvii
nama ūrvyāya (MS *namā ūrmyāya*) *ca sūrvyāya* (TS MS *sūrmyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS *namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca* KS Mahīdhara on VS derives from *urvī* 'earth' with *ū* by Vedic license, or alternatively from *ūrva* 'submarine fire' Keith adopts the first interpretation Neither is plausible, and *ūrmya* is probably the true form, *ūrvya* possibly merely a phonetic equivalent
ulsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS MŚ *ūrmim*, VS *arvan*, VSK *°sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ The combination *ūrmi madhumat* 'honeyed flood' is frequent RV 4 57 2, 58 1, 7 47 2, 96 5 The vocative *ūrva* in TS is, as Keith remarks, probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean') This vocative seems further corrupted into the common adjective *arvan* in VS VSK
rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) *svādityā aditaye syāmānehasah* (ApŚ *aditaye 'nehasah*, ŚŚ *ādityā anehasah*) ŠB ŚŚ ApŚ ŠB , 'in the vastness of the Rudras', ŚŚ , 'in the favor of the Rudras' ApŚ seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other two, *ūrmyā* 'night' (RV) gives no chance for intelligent interpretation

§229 In two variations of the roots *mand* 'rejoice' and *vand* 'extol', each is once prior
mandadvīrāyendave RV *vandadvīrāyendave* SV
maghavan vandiṣīmahi (TS MS KS LŚ *mand°*) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB LŚ

§230 The noun *medhā* (*medhas*) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective *medhya*, vary with *vedhā* (*vedhas*) 'pious', or with *vedya* 'well-known'
vedhām aśāsata (SV *medhām āś°*) *śriye* RV SV †

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB ApŚ MŚ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ *śrutkarnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŚ

§231. Somewhat similarly, the word *medin* 'ally' is replaced by a slovenly *vedin*, if Scheftelowitz's ms of RVKh is to be trusted (note also the corruption *kṛnvo* for *kṛnmo* in the ms of AVPpp)

asya (KS and RVKh Scheftelowitz, *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh *kulmo*, Scheft em *kurmo*, KS *kṛnmo*, AVPpp ms *kṛnvo*, for *kṛnmo*) *harivo medinam* (RVKh Scheft *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh TS KS TB AVPpp (Barret, *JAOS* 37 263f) *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV Cf §263

§232 The words *mayas* and *vayas*, practically synonyms, exchange in two associated formulas

hayo dātra edhi vayo (VSK † ŚŚ *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ °*gṛhnate*) VS VSK † ŚB ŚŚ And, in same passage

prāno dātra edhi vayo (VSK ŚŚ *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ °*gṛhnate*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ In two accompanying formulas all texts read *mayo*, VS ŚB vary the expression with *vayo*

§233 In two cases the syllables *sama* are changed to *sava* on faint lexical suggestions issuing from the root *su* in the context

sahasrasamam prasutena yantah PB TB ApŚ *sahasrasavaprasavena yantah* MŚ

tasmā u adya samanī (SV *savane*) *sutam bhara* RV AV SV

§234 The rest are sporadic

śrīnānā apsu mṛnjata (SV *vṛnjate*) RV SV Subject is *somāh* 'are purified in the waters' It is hard to see other than phonetic reasons for the SV alteration of this pāda, which occurs twice in RV Possibly, however, SV means 'are worked, operated', assimilating the idea to the sphere of the *barhis*, cf Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 273ff

achā ma (SV Svidh *va*) *indram matayah svarvidah* (SV *svaryuvah*) RV AV SV GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh Change of person as in *indro vah* (AV *me*) *sarma yachatu* RV AV SV VS TS, or in the persons of the verb, VV I §§290, 307 For others of this sort see our future volume on Pronouns

amba nisvara (*nisvara*, *nisvara*, *nismara*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ, sec §200

rdhag ayā (TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag utāśamiṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*ṣṭa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB N *dhruvam ayā* (AV *ayo*) *dhruvam utāsamiṣṭhāh* (AV *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV AV The AV is clearly a phonetic variant or corruption (comm and Ppp *utāśamiṣṭhāh*) See §86

yat kṣurena marcayatā (MG *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG PG ApMB HG *supeśasā*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG 'Injuring' 'moving' In AVPpp we find *varcayata*, a sort of *vox media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt

yuktās tisro vimṛjah yunajmi tisro viprcah (*vivṛtah*) , see §57

§235 In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter, the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge

ā raśmīn (RV *raśmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvan* (RV TB *svaśvah*) RV VS ŚB TB Tho TB is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others, comm *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya misrīkuru*

drapsaś caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *prthivi* in all later texts against RV

kauberakā viśvavāsah HG *miśravāsasah kauberakāh* ApMB (probably original)

avimuktacakra (v l °*rā*) *āsīran* PG *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB

sa me mukham pra mārkṣyate (ApMB *vekṣyati*) PG ApMB 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth' Probably PG is original

āñjanena sarpiyā sam visantu (AV *sprsantām*, TA *mṛsantām*) RV AV TA —Ppp (Roth) *visanta*

adharo mad asau vadāt svāha ApMB *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG † *adho vadādharo vada* HG ApMB certainly original, the first form of HG unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad*

vṛtrasyasi (KS *mitra*°) *kanīnika* (VS ŚB °*nakah*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*nakāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ Secondary change in KS

anu tvā harino vṛṣā (ApŚ *mṛgah*) AV ApŚ

aṣādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mādhuṣe*) RV TB N

mitro (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

pra hansāsas tṛpalam manyum (SV °*lā vagnum*) *acha* RV SV

kalpantam te (TA * *me*) *diśah sarvāh* (TA * *śagmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both)

§236 Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense

utem anamnamuh TS MS AB AŚ ApŚ MŚ *uteva namnamuh* KB ŠB ŚŚ KŚ

athem ava sya (AV *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāh* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ The original is *ava sya* 'set free', AV secondarily brings in the familiar notion of *iyam pṛthivī* (in genitive form)

tuvi-ṣvanasam (TS JB *tuviṣ-manasam*) *suyajam ghṛtaśriyam* RV TS JB ŠB MŚ The RV supports its reading by numerous instances of *tuvi-ṣvan* (*-i*, *-as*), whereas *tuviṣ-* does not occur in compounds

viśvavidam (AV °*vido*) *vācam aviśvam-invām* (AV *aviśva-vinnām*) RV AV The AV change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128

manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā MS *anvādīdhyāthām iha nah sakhāyā* TB See the context, quoted VV I p 163, note that the preceding pāda ends in *m*

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS °*tyā*, TS °*tīr*, MS °*tī*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV °*nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iyānī*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ The sūtra texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'

bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ The TB comm says that *īm* (in *uddhara-īm*) is for *imam chāndaso 'yam mavarnalopah* The corrupt MŚ reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*

vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām AV *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB See §359

v and *m* in inflectional endings

§237 Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc sing and nom -acc dual, between nom -acc dual and gen plur , between 1st person dual and plural, and so on Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss , thus in Kauś 60 19 two mss read *manthantām* for *manthantāv*, and in Kauś 71 1 all mss *aniśo rājā vibhajatīmām agnī*, where the ed emends *imām* to *imāv*

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhi roha vaniśa* (MG *vaniśah*) AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Roth quotes Ppp as *sthūnā dhi*

aya(h)sthūnam (TS °*nāv*) *udita* (MS TS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS For the VS ŠB form see §188

putrah pitarāv (AV °*ram*) *avṛnīta pūṣā* RV AV The original dual refers to the Aśvins, AV has a stupid simplification

yena striyam (PG *śriyam*, ŚŚ *striyāv*) *akṛnutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *akurutam*) ŚŚ PG SMB GG The ŚŚ is secondary and poor

apsarasāv anu dattām rnam yat (TB TA *rnāni*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anudattānṛnāni* MS (p p *anu, dattāni, rnāni*) MS. is hopeless, see VV I p 282

idam vatsyāvah (AG *vatsyāmo bhoh*) AG HG See VV I p 249, others on the same page and on pp 263, 276

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣnvojasam (SV *dhṛṣnum ojasā*) RV AV SV 'Having terrible strength' 'terrible in strength'

v and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238 On this subject cf Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910 The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular, otherwise the *m* form In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels, cf Sturtevant, *AJP* 50 360ff , *TAPA* 60 33ff The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant* Variants occur in the readings of individual mss , thus at AV 19 42 3 *sutrāmne* for *sutrāvne*, and at Kauś 89 1 four out of seven mss *manvabhih* for *manmabhih* We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation

§239 We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*, once, *varī*)

udyan nakṣatram arcivat (TB °*mat*) RV SV TB Note that RV also knows *arcimat*

tapur yayastu carur agnivān (AV KS °*mān*) *iva* RV AV KS N *agnivān* is read by AVPpp , *agnimant* not in RV This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory

pūṣā jñātimān ŚG *pūṣā jātivin* (read *jñāti*°) Kauś

trīṇyasya savanasya rbhumato (ApŚ °*syarbhu*°) *bṛhaspativato* (KŚ °*mato*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The majority show *vat* after *i*

indram ādityavantam vājavantam bṛhaspatimantam (AŚ °*vantam*) *viśvadevyāvantam āvaha* KB AŚ ŚŚ Here only AŚ has *vant*,

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmana text has *mant*, *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant* But cf next

tāsv adhvaryo (ŚŚ °*yav*) *vājavate bṛhaspativate* (ŚŚ °*mate*) *viśvadevyāvate* AB AŚ ŚŚ Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vate*, but this time the older Brāhmana text reads *-vate* Note that AŚ belongs to the school of AB, and ŚŚ to that of KB (cf prec), the two schools seem to have affected different forms

puṣpavatīh (TS VıDh *puṣpā°*) *prasūvarīh* (AV KS °*sūmatīh*, TS °*sūvatīh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS VıDh The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem of *van*, according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS by the still irregular *vatī*, which looks like a blend of the other two

apām napād kakudmān (MS *kakubhvān*) TS MS KS *devīr āpo kakunmān* VS VSK ŚB See §178

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ [read] *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ See *AJP* 27 415

tveṣam cakṣur dadhire codayanvati (RV °*mati*) RV TB ApŚ Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here, *codayanmati* in RV is a compound with the noun *mati* 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion' Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel TB comm, accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte* (*karmani*)

§240 The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms

nṛṣadvā (SV °*mā*) *sīdad apām upasthe* (SV *apām vivarte*) RV SV *sadman* (also RV) is in the mind of SV

kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne (TB °*mne*) RV TB N The otherwise unquoted form of TB plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman svadhāvan*)

ādityānām patvānv (PB °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA † *ehi*) VS TS MS KSA PB ŚB TB MŚ ApMB Both forms are Rigvedic, cf next

āyoh patmane svāhā KS *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ Cf prec

kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV *vidvane*) *na vidvān* RV AV Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV

mitajñavo varimann (TB °*vann*, but Poona ed *mitajmavo varimann*) *ā pṛthivyāh* RV MS TB *variman* is not recorded, unless here

varṣmā (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, KS *drāghvā*, MS *drāghmā*, KapS *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS The curious TS form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*

[*āpataye tvā paripataye gṛhnāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS adds *śakmane*) *śākvarāya śakvana* (KS *śakmann*) *oṛṣṭhāya* VS KS ŚB *tanūnaptre śakmane śākvarāya sakmanā oṛṣṭhāya* MS *tanū° śākvarāya śakmann oṛṣṭhāya* VSK In KS the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'

abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanih RV *dṛśe* (MS *dṛsā*) *ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanih* (KS °*vabhih*, MS *suśikmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikvan* 'able' (RV), the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel

avavyayann asitam deva vasma (TB ApŚ *vasvah*) RV MS KS TB ApŚ Comm on TB explains *vasvah* as acc sing of an agent noun, *vāsayitāram āchādakam* The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvah* as voc of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB must be deleted

prathamāya januṣe bhuvaneṣṭhāh (ŚŚ *bhūma neṣṭhāh*, AŚ ed *bhūmaneṣṭhāh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Ppp has *bhūm°* The ŚŚ reading makes good sense 'thou shalt lead the world' AVŚ has *bhuvane-ṣṭhāh*

m and *b*

§241 The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v* A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *bṛhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical, see, provisionally, the Conc under these words

parā dehi śāmulyam (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV AV ApMB The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *śāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain' Apparently ApMB is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted' See §607

asambādham badhyato (many AV mss *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp °*veṣu*) AV Kauś *asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS Sense and text tradition require *madhyato* The form *ba°* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādham* (so Whitney), it is in any case a corruption This is immediately followed by

yasyā udvatah pravatah samam bahu (MS *mahat*) AV MS Synonyms, cf *bṛhat mahat*, referred to above But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments

aɪdamɾdā yavyudhah KS *aɪlabɾdā* (MS °*mɾdā*, KapS *ɪlamɾdā*) *āyuryudhah* (TS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure, Mahīdhara on VS desperately, 'bringers of food' (*bhɾtah*¹)

anuṣṭub (°*tum*) *mɪtrasya*, see §412

m and *bh*

§242 The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical

ɪndra ukthebhɪr mandɪṣṭhah (ŚŚ *bhand*°) SV ŚŚ Cf next, the roots are quasi-synonyms

dɪvas (*dɪvah*) *pɾṣṭham* (PB *pɾṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *sumanmabhɪh* RV PB TA ApŚ Cf prec

tāsām īsāno bhagavah (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS Practically synonyms

sarvam tam (AV *sarvān nɪ*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS ŚB *masmasā*, MS †*mɾsmɾsā*, v l *mɾsmɾsā*, VS *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS

savɪtā bhɾtyām (KS ms † *manyām*) TS KS , von Schroeder emends to *bhɾtyām*

acɪṣyāma (p p *amɪ*, for *abhɪ syāma*) *vɾjane vɪsva ūtī* MS *abhɪ syāma vɾjane sarvavīrāh* RV KS Corruption if not misprint

yuktās tɪsro vimɾjah (*vibhɾjah*) , and others, see §57

CHAPTER VII INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243 Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *d* which we add at the end of the chapter

y and *r*

§244 Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption

dvişas taradhyā (ApŚ °*yai*) *rnayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KS AB ApŚ *dvişas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV Roots *īr* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'

śāndīkera (PG *śaundikeya*) *ulūkhalah* PG HG *śanderathaś śandikera ulūkhalah* ApMB Fanciful names of demons

vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA

samvatsarāya paryāyinīm (TB *paryārinīm*) VS TB Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning

ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā (ApMB *kāmān*) *ayansata* (AV *aransata*) RV AV ApMB *ni-yam* 'settle', and *ni-ram* 'rest'

prānasya vidvān samare na dhīrah TS MS *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīrah* AV Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'juncture'

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv acārişam* RV VS MS KS ŚB AŚ LŚ MŚ ApMB MG *apo anv acārişam* (JB †*acārşam*) TS TB JB ApŚ *apo divyā acāyişam* AV *anu-car* 'follow after' *cāy* 'fear, revere'

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG Stonner on SMB understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady' Is HG Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf Pali *ayyo*) One ms of ApMB also *cāyyo* All very doubtful

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja*

ārujah ŚŚ Obscure in all ŚŚ's *ārujah* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu)jah* Or ŚŚ may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*, *ojah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*

gohya †*upagohyo marūko* (PG *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG SMB See §81

sadā yācann aham girā (SV *jyā*) RV SV N See §134

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri-*) see §47

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV AV See §184

antah śubhrāvatā (SV *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV SV See §173

vijye †*vivye vikṣipet* (p p *vi-kṣepe*) MS *vijre vikṣipe vidhame* MŚ (Read *vikṣipe* in MS) According to Knauer (note on MŚ) these words are vocatives of cow-names No etymology for **vijyā* or **vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow

vanisthor hṛdayād (AV * *udarād*) *adhi* RV AV (both) ApMB

agor arir (SV *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV SV Wholly different words and constructions

yena bhūyas carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG *bhūriś carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG *bhūyaś* and *bhūriś* are different suffixal formations from the same root

śukram te (TA * *vām*) *anyad yajatam* (TA * *raj°*) *te* (TA * *vām*) *anyat* RV SV TS MS KS AB KB TA (both) AŚ Svidh N The Poona ed of TA reads *yajatam* for *raj°*, but with v l *raj°*, which the comm also reads, he has a labored and worthless explanation

y and *l*

§245 Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *lubh* or *lup* on the other The two instances of *yup lubh* have been quoted in §113, which see The other is

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV °*ta*, MG *lopayante*) *yad* (AV omits) *eta* (RV *aita*, TA *aima*) RV AV TA MG

y and *v*

§246 Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements, among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph) In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §254

§247 We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittirīya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV schools We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622) The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems) The *y* bridges euphonically the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf §§338ff), precisely as e g in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāyi* etc) The *vin* of Tait texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*, e g *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in* It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin* See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e, Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp 211ff , Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random) Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *ṛṣabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e

nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś (TS °*vibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS TS MS KS

namaḥ sṛkāyibhyo (TS °*vibhyo*, MS *sṛgāyi*°) *jighānsadbhyaḥ* VS TS MS KS

namo rudrāyātatāyine (TS °*vine*) VS TS MS KS

pitāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (TB ApŚ °*vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namaḥ* VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Also with *pitṛbhyaḥ* and *prapitāmahebhyaḥ*

ūrjasvatīḥ svadhāyinīḥ (TS °*vinīḥ*) TS KS

§248 Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal, it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking

aramgamāya jagmaye (TB ApŚ *jagmave*) RV SV TB Ap , Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait texts, for regular *jagmi*

duvasyave (TA *duvasvate*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* MS TA Stems *duvasyu* and *duvasvant*, but MS has v l *duvasvate*

ojasvinī nāmāsi TS ApMB *ojasyā nāmāsi* MS Again Tait texts with *v*

atharya pitum me pāhi VS ŚŚ *atharva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ †*pāhi*) TB AŚ ApŚ *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf RV *athari*, *atharyu*), epithet of Fire Note *v* in Tait texts (to be sure also in AŚ)

tapyatvai svāhā TS *tapatyai svāhā* KSA TA Stems *tapyatu* (RV) and *tapatī* Poona ed of TA *tapyatvai*, v l *tapatyai*

ye te agne medayo (KS °*vo*) *ya indavah* TS KS Here TS has the regular *i*-stem *medi*, while KS substitutes an otherwise unknown *medu*

punse putrāya vettaraī (ŚB [so, for Conc ŚG] BrhU *vittaye*, MG *kartavai*, KS † and v l of MG *kartave*) KS ŚB TB BrhU ApŚ ApMB

tvam no devatātaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV N See §61

srudhi sruta śraddhvam (AV *sraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV The anomalous RV form is, as it were, explained in AV

visvacarsanih sahurih sahāvān (AV *sahīyān*) RV AV MS Again AV eliminates a rare hieratic form

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (AV *baladāvā na ehi*) RV AV 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV p p *hvā, a, ihi*) 'come to us, giving strength'

namo hradayyāya (KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nivesyyāya* (KS *nivesyāya*) *ca* TS KS *namo nīveśyāya* (p p *nī*°) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS *namo hṛdayyāya ca niveśyāya ca* VS Anomalous forms seemingly from *hṛd* and *hṛdaya* (but cf §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake') Stem *hradavya* quoted Pān 6 1 83, Vārtt 2, Pat

idā manuṣvad (AV mss *manuṣyad*) *iha cetayantī* RV AV VS MS KS TB N The mss reading of AV is supported by APr 4 65 (comm *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney The APr comm looks in the right direction, it is a blend of *manuṣvat* and *manuṣya-*

namaḥ sūtāyāhantyaı (TS °*hantyāya*, MS KS °*hantvāya*) VS TS MS KS *a-hanıı*, 'not smıtıng' *a-hantya* = *a-hantva* 'not to be smitten'

arāyo †*asmāṅ abhıduchunāyate* TB AŚ ApŚ *arāvā yo no abhı duchunāyate* RV TAA Vaıt MŚ The stem *a-rāy-a* (*raı*) ıs bahuvrīhi, *a-rā-van* karmadhāraya Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smāṅ* ın ApŚ , ıt seems ındeed that the syllable *yo* ıs ınherıted from the RV form of the pāda

vasuranvo (MahānU °*nyo*) *vibhūr asi* TA MahānU *ranya* ıs from root *ran*, as to *ranva* we must remember the quasi-root *ranv* (see last varıant ın §225) Both comms have fatuous explanatıons, that on MahānU dıvıdes *vasur anyo* (= *stutyaḥ*')

etena twam atra śīrṣanvān (MŚ *tvam śīrṣanyām*, Conc , but Van Gelder's ed , 6 1 2, *śīrṣanyān*) *edhi* KS ApŚ MŚ The KS ApŚ readıng alone makes sense 'by thıs be thou headed' = 'let thıs be thy head' The MŚ form, ıf Van Gelder ıs correct, can only be a phonetıc varıant for °*vān*

unnetar un non (read *no*) *nayonnetar vasvo abhy un nayā nah* AŚ *unnetar vasīyo na un nayābhı* (KS *vasyo 'bhy un nayā nah*) MS KS ApŚ The AŚ form may be felt as acc pl of Vasu (n pr), but ıs really only a phonetıc varıant or corruptıon for *vasyo* (*vasīyo*) 'lead us unto welfare'

§249 In a lıttle group of three cases, AV substıtutes the more popular *varīyah* for *varıvah*, of whıch the *v* ıs certaınly connected wıth the *u* of *uru*

asmabhyam ındra varıvah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhı* RV AV *asmabhyam mahı varıvah sugam kah* RV

sakhā sakhıbhyo varıvah (AV * *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV (both) TS KS GB Here Ppp has *varıvah*, one ms of GB *varīyah*, whıch, ıt seems, ought to be read ın GB ın accord wıth AV , unless GB quoted from Ppp

tvaṣṭā no atra varıvah (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§250. In another small group the *y* ıs definıtely part of a case-endıng, whıle the *v* remaıns suffixal or ıs a stem final

yābhır ındro vāvṛdhe vīryāya (AV *vīryāvān*) RV AV N 'Increased unto heroısm' 'ıncreased, (so as to be) full of heroısm'

gārhapatyah (ŚŚ °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamah* VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Objectıve gen varyıng wıth possessıve adjectıve

prajananam vaı pratıṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās (MahānU *sādhuprajāvāns*) *tantum tanvānah* TA MahānU But most mss of MahānU agree wıth TA , the ed follows one ms and the comm

namaḥ śamgave (TS † *śamgāya*) *ca paśupataye ca* VS TS MS KS
Wackernagel, II 1 p 315, plausibly takes *samgāya* for *śamgayāya*
sa ghā (TB *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā*
(TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§251 In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations, see VV I §§116, 104 We quote a single example here

pra stomā yanty (SV *yantv*) *agnaye* RV SV
Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted
brahmataḍ upāsvaitat (MahānU °*syaitat*) *tapaḥ* TA MahānU The reading of TA is uncertain, see VV I pp 45, 125
[*madhye poṣasya* (AG °*sva*) *tṛmpatām* (MG *puṣyatām*, AG *tiṣṭhantīm*)
AG ŚG MG For *poṣasva* read °*sya* with Stenzler's Translation]
And in different present stem-formations of verbs
manve (ArS *manye*) *vām dyavaprthivī* (ArS adds *subhojasau*) AV ArS
Vait See VV I p 125

§252 We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not) They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*

tam u tvam (SV *taṭa tyan*) *māyayāvadhīḥ* RV SV
tvam (KS *tyam*) *hy agne agninā* RV TS MS KS AB KB JB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Kauś
imam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū*[*m*]) *ṣu tvam asmakam* (TA ApŚ *tyam asmabhyam*) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§253 Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *i* 'go' in variation with *av* They tend to confirm the use of *ai* as a verb of motion, see Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 123ff
āpo agre viśvam avan AV *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS MS KS *yan mahatīr*) *viśvam* (TA *garbham*) *āyan* RV VS VSK TS MS KS TA 'Went (rushed') into the all', AV is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'
ati setum durāvyam (SV *durāyyam*) RV SV The derivation of the RV form is uncertain, see Oldenberg *Noten* on 9 41 2 The SV form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *i* ('hard to cross')

ayebhyah (TB *ave°*) *kṛtavam* VS TB *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original, note that *av-* occurs in a Tait text (see §247), is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm 'to helpers') Tho *aya* may not be derived from root *i*, the variant belongs to this group

§254 Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable)

ṛtūnām putro abhiṣastipā u (VS ŚB *°pāvā*, TB *°pā ayam*) AV VS ŚB TB

tanūpāvānas (AV *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapoyāh* (AV *tanūyāh*) AV AB AŚ *tanūpāvan = tanūpā*

svarvaj (AV *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayam svasti* RV AV ŚB TB

satyam (SV ApŚ *sa tvam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV SV ApŚ The RV original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas

utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah (TB *vicāyah*) RV MS TB N The original has *vi-ca-āvah*, *vicāyah* (comm *viśeṣena pūjāyuktah*) is ἅπ λεγ, corrupt, and untranslatable See Kaegi, *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165

yena bhūyas carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG *bhūris carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG The PG reading is clearly secondary

nāvas caranti svasica iyānāh VS TS ŚB *nāvo vi yanti susico na vānīh* MS KS The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough, VS etc may have a lect fac

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §838

praty eva (ŚŚ *pra tveva*) *gṛbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

§255 The rest we shall not attempt to classify, note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both)

ghṛtam ghṛtayone (MS *ghṛtavane*) *piba* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'Home of ghee' 'rich in ghee', *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV)

anuvāsi (VS *anuyā*, MS *aniwāya*, GB † Vait † *ahnānsi*, em Vait ed to *anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS *rātryā*, MS KS † Vait † *rātryai*) *tvā* (VS MS omit) *rātrim* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *yinva* VS TS MS KS Vait (pratīka in GB) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants The lexicons take them as containing the

roots *vā* and *yā* But note that MS presupposes a stem *anuva*, with short *a*

trātāram indram akṛnor avadhyam (VSK *ayudhyam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonyms, note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v* Something like the reverse process in Pāli *āvudha* = Skt *āyudha*

āvitsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid ā-yuj* Other interchanges of *vi yu* in §805

nādya śatrum nanu (ŚB † *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV ŚB Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vi yu*)

rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ (TB *vivasvataḥ*) RV MS TB The startling change in TB is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the prec pāda Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

śamgayī (MS ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadānū*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ *gaya* 'chattels' *go* 'cow'

somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV Substantially synonyms

spardhante dhiyaḥ (TS KSA *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV SV TS KSA See §109

sarasvatyai yaśobhaginyai (KS *vesabha*°) *svāhā* VS KS

bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (TS KS °*dgrāvā*, MS °*drāyāḥ*, MŚ °*drāyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The Maitr texts obviously secondary

malmalābhavantīm tvā (N °*tīyā*, corrupt) *sādayāmi* TS MS KS TA N

rudra yat te kravī (*kruci*, *kravi*, *gṛci*-) see §47

dhuṅkṣyāgneyī (VSK vv ll *dhuṅkṣyā*° and *dhuṅkṣvā*°) VS VSK MS *agnaye dhūṅkṣṇā* (KSA °*vā*) TS KSA Wholly obscure words

nikīrya (MŚ *nigīrya*) *tubhyam abhya āśam* (ApŚ *tubhyam madhye*, MŚ *tubhyam madhvaḥ*) Vait ApŚ MŚ *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ A desperate passage, see §47

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha TA Bibl Ind , *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA Poona ed , text and comm *duḥṣvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU Comm on TA *durussaha duḥkham utkarṣenābhibhava*, comm on MahānU *duruṣvahā tvam, duṣṭam uṣvam* (!) *dāham hanti* The word seems to be *durasyuha* (°*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'

asvān anassato (KS † ApŚ *anasyato*, MŚ Van Gelder *anasvato*, without v l) *dānam* KS TA ApŚ MŚ Poona ed of TA reads *anahsa'o*, v l *anasyato*, the comm *ayahsaphān*, with v l *anasato* Obscure

revatī ramadhvam (MS * °*tīr amedhyam*) VS TS MS (both) KS The variant of MS is corrupt, see *AJP* 27 403 But the reading of the ed is an emendation, mss °*ramadhyam*

ayuktāso abrahmatā vidasāma (RV *yad asan*) RV VS ŚB *vi-dasāma*, taken by Mahīdhara as from *vi* + *das* 'fail'

y and *h*

§256 A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions Cf Weber, *ISt* 4 224

dyutāno vājebhir yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV

sam sravantu diso mahīh (HG *mayi*) ApMB HG

endram vagnunā vahata PB *vagnunendram hvayata* TB ApŚ Note the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hvayata* to the middle in *vahata* PB comm glosses *āhvayata*

yamīr yamasya bibhryād (AV *vivrhād*) *ajāmi* RV AV See §222

tam aham punar ādade KŚ PG *imam tam punar ādade 'yam* (read *'ham*) HG (plainly corrupt)

hinvāno hetrbhir yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV

snusā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text °*nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ *'ham asmi*) TB AŚ

r and *l*

§257 Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic, the same word is spelled with *r* or *l* The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized

§258 There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts The RV , especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r* In the RV itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru plu, mruc mluc, car cal, prus plus,* the words *puru pulu, aram alakam* [despite Wust, in *Ehrengabe W Geiger* 185ff , which does not convince me—F E], *sahamūra sahamūla,* and the intensive stems *jargur jalgul* Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r* The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded Pischel §259, and cf Wackernagel I p 215f , Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30f This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the mss readings of one and the same text

§259 The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel MS 3 7 9 has *aśvavāra* and *āśvavāra* against *aśvavāla* and *āś°* in the corresponding passages of KS 24 8 and KapS 38 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS , p xv) PG 1 15 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG 1 14 4 *glapsa* (GG 2 7 4 *grathna*) The variant *pleñgha for preñkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh 1 11 31 16 Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *jvar* and *jval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsāgara (5 118, 122) In Aufrecht's edition of AB , p 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka*, *bahura*, etc) Such a thing is not surprising in a Rigvedic Brāhmana, and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV one better, for that form is unknown in RV , where *bahula* is common In fact, the AB passage in question, 2 20 14 (also in AŚ 5 1 15), containing *bahuramadhyam*, imitates RV 10 42 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(h)* —The statement was made by Von Schroeder, *ZDMG* 33 196, that MS has a general preference for *l* over *r* But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text, we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS While Maitr texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally Per contra, note MS *aśvavāra* above in this section, and *kharvās* (to be sure with v l *khal°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265)

§260 The very small group of lexical variants is now given first, one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt

te no 'gnayah paprayah pārayantu (MŚ MG *pāla°*) TS TB PB ApMB MŚ PG MG The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated, both mean in effect 'preserve' Note the adjacent *paprayah*, related to *pārayantu*

adhi skanda (Ppp *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŠG 'Play the hero' 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vīḍ°*) See §272

dhik tvā jāram parasya janasya nirmārjmi MŚ *dhik tvā jālmi* LŚ The words are quite different in meaning and construction

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ See §209 *gulbadhānah* is not divided in p p , it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc) = *guh*, 3 pl aorist

§261 The rest are all purely phonetic in character We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV , but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV , or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB (§259)

aśrīrā (AV ApMB *aślīlā*) *tanūr bhavati* RV AV ApMB The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV , which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī* For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*

aśrīram (TB † *aślīlam*, both edd) *cit kṛnuthā* (TB † °*thāt*, comm and Poona ed text °*thā*) *supratīkam* RV AV TB

samūdham (VSK *samūlham*) *asya pānsure* (SV °*le*) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N The *l* form is regular after RV , the *r* form in RV only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts

mā tad bhūmyām ā śrisan (VSK v l *slisan*) *mā tṛneṣu* RV VS VSK TS MS KSA Cf *aslesā* (*āsreṣā*) below, §265

andhāhīn (TS °*he*, KSA °*heh*, em , ms °*he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS KSA °*gudā*, VS *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS p p) VS TS MS KSA The RV knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf however *sthavira*)

anu no mārṣṭu (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (VS TS KS † ŚB TA ŚŚ *viliṣṭam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later

capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed *vālah*) VS MS KS TB The *r* form is almost limited to RV , cf however *aśvavāra* in MS , §259

devānśo yasmai tvede tat satyam uparipruta (ApŚ *aparipluta*) *bhañgena* (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ The root is commonly *pru* in RV , only very rarely so later

aślonā[1] (comm *asronā*) *añgair ahrutāh svarge* AV *aslonāñgair ahṛtā* (read *ahrutāh* or °*tā* with Poona ed) *svarge* TA *srona* chiefly RV

§262 Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively Here are included two variants in which AV goes RV one better in its hieratic *r*, but both RV passages are from the largely popular Book 10 Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh labh*, which in RV always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two Both forms are common later

utālabdham (AV *utārabdhān*, Ppp *utāl°*) *spṛnuhi jātavedah*, followed by *ālebhānād ṛṣibhir yātudhānāt* (AV *utārebhānān ṛṣ° yātudhānān*) RV AV

The AV is secondary and corrupt in its construction, see Whitney's note

The other variants in this section do not involve RV Two concern *sukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV Another concerns *rohita lohita*, of which again RV has only the *r* form The case of *kṣudra kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole

śukrāya svāhā VS MS ŚB *śuklāya svāhā* VS MS

peśo na śukram (KS TB *suklam*) *asitam* (MS samh mss *aś°*) *vasāte* VS MS KS TB

varuṇāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāh (TS † misprinted *rohita-la°*, KSA *lohita°*) TS KSA

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV *hatah krimīnām kṣudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh* TA (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives)

§263 Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b) In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānah* of MS , see §260

asya kurmo (RVKh *kulmo*, AVPpp ms *kṛnvo*) *harivo medinam tvā* RVKh TS TB AVPpp (Barret, *JAOS* 37 263f) *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV *iha kṛnmo harivo medinam tvā* KS Scheftelowitz p 112 reads for RVKh *iha kurmo ha° vedinam tvā* But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms reading *kutso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kulmo*

upapravada (RVKh *upapla°*) *mandūki* RVKh AV N Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapra°* in RVKh , this time with his ms The form intended is *upa-pra-vada*, cf *ā-vada* in next pāda The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a ms corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavasva* in the second half stanza

antarikṣam purītatā (TS *puri°*, MS *pulī°*, KSA *puli°*) VS VSK TS MS KSA The *r* forms are commoner

satatam tu śirābhis tu MahānU *samtatam śirābhis* (Poona ed *śil°*, but v l and comm *śir°*, gloss *nadībhih*) *tu* TA No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded

§264 Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare Here, first, eight passages containing *sarira* or *salila* 'ocean' That MS invariably has *salila*

cannot be considered significant (cf §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV , neither RV nor AV knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism

aśvam jaṃñānam sarirasya (MS *salilasya*) *madhye* VS TS MS KS ŚB
prapīnam (MŚ v l °*tam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ *salilasya*) *madhye* VS KS MŚ *prapyātam* etc TS ApŚ
vibhrājamānah sarirasya (MS *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
vyacyamānam salilasya (VS KS ŚB *sarirasya*, TS TA *bhuvanasya*) *madhye* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
sarīram chandah VS KS ŚB *salilam ch*° TS MS
sarirāya svāhā VS *salilāya tvā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ *salilāya svāhā* ŚB
sarirāya (MS TA *salilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS MS ŚB TA
sarire tvā sadane sādayāmi VS KS ŚB *salile* etc MS *salile sadane sīda* TA

§265 The rest are miscellaneous

kṛṣnagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (MS *lalāte*) *purastāt* VS MS The *l* form is commoner

aśleṣā (TS *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS In MS p p *aśl*°, KS may intend either *a-* or *ā-* The word regularly has *l* Cf *mā tad bhūmyām* etc , §261

adhorāma (HG text *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG †*ulumbarah*) ApMB HG The word (usually *udum*°, probably related to *udumbara*, *ud*° 'fig-tree') appears in RV AV etc , always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG , which may show dissimilation to preceding *l* Cf §273

mudgāś ca me khalvās (MS *kharvāś*, v l *khal*°) *ca me* TS MS KS A kind of grain, the *r* form not found elsewhere Note that it occurs in MS (cf §259)

achalābhih (KSA °*rābhih*, MS [*m*]*atsarābhih*, VS *rkṣalābhih*) *kapiñjalān* VS TS MS KSA See §184

r and *v* ✓

§266 These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīva-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood
udādāya pṛthivīm jīradānum (TS TB ApŚ °*nuh*, VS ŚB *jīvadānum*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ
śamgayī (TB °*ye*, MS ŚB °*gavī*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīva*°) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§267 The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings
avakrakṣinam vṛṣabham yathājuram (SV *yathā juvam*) RV AV SV 'Ageless' 'swift'
ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām (KSA *viś*°) RV TS KSA † 'Graze on' 'enter', the latter an evident lect fac
purū reto dadhire sūryasvitah (AV °*śritah*) RV AV KS The AV is secondary and not very intelligent, 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original Yet KapS (see note on KS) has °*śṛtah*, evidently intending °*śritah*
rudra yat te krayī (*krivi, kravi, giri-*) see §47
pāti priyam ripo (and *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV (bis) *pāty agnir vipo agram padam veh* ArS
dūredṛśam gṛhapatim atharyum (SV *athavyum*) RV SV KS ApŚ MŚ N The SV form is desperate Benfey suggests *atharv-yum* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf §§419ff) In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned
aśvinā gharmam pātam hārdvānam (TA *hārddvānam*, read *hārdi*° with Poona ed , LŚ *pātam aharvyānam*, MS *pibatam hārdrānum*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ The MS corruptly mouths over an obscure form Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*
hilvī (SV *hilvā*) *siro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV *rārapac*) *carat* RV SV
tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (MŚ °*retam*, AŚ corruptly °*bhavatām*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ
rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (KS TB °*ṣu vṛ*°) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh* VıDh See §359
mıśravāsasah kauberakāh ApMB *kauberakā viśvavāsah* HG
āyurdā (*āyuṣmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*havişā*, °*ṣo*) *vṛnānah* (etc), see §854
asmān (MS KS *aṣmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*) RV SV VS. TS MS KS *asmān devāso ț'vatā haveṣu* AV
varunāya rıśādase (KSA *vidase*) TS KSA So the ms of KSA but von Schroeder emends to *rıśādase*

§268 In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned
ugram ojiṣṭham tavasam (SV *tarasam*) *tarasvinam* RV AV SV Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV
vātajavair (HG *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaih* MS HG Either assimilation in MS, or avoidance by dissimilation in HG of the banal sequence *vātajavair manojavaih* Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS is secondary
dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh *bhūmidṛṃham acyutam pārayiṣṇu* AV *bhūmidṛṃho 'cyutas cyāvayiṣṇuh* AV The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāv*° after *acyutah*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e g *ajuryam jarayantam*, RV 2 16 1)

r or *v* and *h*

§269 These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance, cf §266
aredatā (KS * *ahed*°, so ed , but ms *īdatā* read probably *ared*° with v Schr on KS 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān qacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*, TS *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS MS KS ApŚ *ahedatā* (ŚŚ *ahel*°) *manasedam juṣasva* AŚ ŚŚ The root *red* in Naigh 2 12 is followed immediately by *hed* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'
sahamānā sahasvatī (PG *sarasvatī*) PG ApMB HG *sarasvatī* is a blunder
tam tvā bhrātarah suvṛdhā (ApMB °*dho*, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG See §109
tā (*tāv*) *ehi* (*eha*, *iha*, MG *eva*) , see §§578, 898
sa ghā (TB *sadyā*, Poona ed *sa ghā*) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

l and *d*

§270 It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *d* and *dh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāṣkala recensions of the RV to *l* and *lh* This variation is ignored in the Conc , because it is carried out with mechanical completeness Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts, Wackernagel I §194 This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completness as in RV , in two texts, VSK and ŚŚ , and also in the twentieth book of AV These cases are recorded in the Conc , but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK and ŚŚ alone Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically

It is clear that ms tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercized their discretion to some extent Thus N seems to intend to write *l* thruout In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV in those parts of AV 20

§271 The list follows

rdāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ *idavāsmān* (RVKh *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastām vratena* RVKh AV Vait But Scheftelowitz reads *idaiva ghṛtena* for RVKh

aidamṛdā yavyudhaḥ KS *ailabrdā* (MS °*mṛdā*, KapS *ilamṛdā*) *āyuryudhaḥ* (TS *yavyudhaḥ*, MS *vo yudhaḥ*) VS TS MS See §241

ādityā rudrā vasavas tvelate (AB *tvel°*, for *tved°*, GB Gaastra *tlenute*, with all mss) AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

aṣṭrām tādam pratīnāhā (ApŚ † *tālam pratīnāham*) MS ApŚ

yad devī devahedanam (VSK TA * °*helanam*, but TA Poona ed both times °*hel°*, with v l °*hed°*) AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB TA (bis) Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś BDh GDh

nahy anyam badāharam (AA *balā°*) RV AA AŚ But Keith reads AA *balī°* (as is read in RV)

asrathnan dṛdhāvradanta vīditā RV *avradanta vilitā* (fragment) N

indras ca mṛdayāti (AV ŚG *mṛl°*) *nah* RV AV ŚG

ide (ŚŚ VHDh *ile*) *dyāvāpṛthivī pūvacittaye* RV AB KB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MŚ VHDh

īdenyo (AV ŚŚ Vait *ilenyo*) *namasyah* RV AV SV ŚB TB AŚ Vait

krīdantau (N *krīl°*) *putrair naptṛbhih* RV AV N

yad vīdāv (AV *vīlāv*) *indra yat sthire* RV AV SV Svidh

vīdu (AV Vait *vīlu*) *cid ārujatnubhih* RV AV SV Vait

vīhi śūra (TB *sūra*) *purodāsam* (AV °*lāsam*) RV AV KS TB N

vausat (ŚBK ŚŚ *vauṣat*) AB GB ŚB ŚBK ŚŚ Vait MŚ ApŚ

vy ānad (AV *ānal*) *indrah prtanāh svojāh* RV AV

d and *r*

§272 The same change occurs sporadically also between *d* and *r* Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *ilā*, or *irā* the other cases are lexical or corrupt Cf also *ahar divābhir ūtibhih*, §360, here MS has (for *ahar*) *vahad* (cf next §), but one ms *vahad* and p p *vahat*

irāvatī (KS *idā°*) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApŚ MŚ

ida (ŚŚ *ila*, MS MŚ *idā* ApŚ * *ira*, in the same passage with **ida*) *ehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ (both) MŚ

dṛnhasva vīdayasva (MS *vīr*°) *su* TS MS *adhiṣkanda vīrayasva* AV, *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG See §260

vīruc chapathayopanī AV *vīdu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ The latter is a clear corruption of the AV reading, which Caland adopts

varenyakratūr (AV °*tur*, ApŚ *īdenya*°) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ *vīrenyah kratur indrah suśastih* RV See §§383, 554

d and *r*

§272a On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in *GGA* 1931 236ff, especially 239f, and his article in *Ehrengabe fur Wilhelm Geiger* 136f He refers to Patañjali (Introd to Mahābhāṣya, on Vārtt 9, p 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yarvānas, tarvānas,* for *yadvānas, tadvānas,* and to Wackernagel I p 212 Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB °*rīr*) *asya samṛtim vadhānām* (TB *ba*°) RV TB, where a difficult 2d person sing is substituted for a 3d person (cf VV I p 237), traces of this phonetic tendency (Cf ChU 4 1 2 *pradhākṣīr* for °*ṣīd*, Oertel, *ll cc*) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p 195f) Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in *ZII* 8 289f) are

mayi rāyo mayi rakṣah MS 4 9 13 134 5, for which the Conc suggests *dakṣah* for *rakṣah mayi dakṣakratū* TS †2 5 2 4, ApŚ AG HG *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh* VS MS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ

na me tad upadambhiṣar dhṛṣir brahmā yad dadau MS (originally °*dambhiṣad ṛṣir*°, Caland, *ZDMG* 72 10 *infra*) *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) *ṛṣir brahmā yad dade* ApŚ (bis) Here the ApŚ form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (=*k* for *t*), see our §142

yadā rāghaṭī varadah Vait *yadā rākhātyau vadatah* ApŚ *yad adyārādhyam vadantah* MŚ See §70

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following

ahar (MS *vahad*) *dvābhir* (MS *dvyābhir*) *ūtibhih* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ One ms and p p of MS *vahad* (*vahaṭ*), see §360, and the preceding §272 The MS is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic

dadhir (SV *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV

balim ichanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tasya*, v l *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (MahānU AG *preṣṭhāh*) TAA MahānU AG See §65

dvṛṣas taradhyā (ApŚ °*yai*) *ṛnayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KS AB ApŚ *dvṛṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

l and *d* and *n*

§273 By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *n* and with dental *d*, these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here, but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q v) In two contiguous passages *harikṛṣṇā*, fem of the color-adjective *hariṭa*, is changed in ŚŚ to *harikliṣā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*, but the characters are graphically much alike

tāsām ekā harikṛṣṇā (ŚŚ °*kliṣā*) AV ŚŚ

harikṛṣṇe (ŚŚ °*kliṣe*) *kṛṇvaṃ ichasi* AV ŚŚ

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*

urūnasāv (TA *uru*°) *asuḷṛpā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulum*°) RV AV TA AŚ See Lanman apud Whitney AV The TA comm , fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*') See *adhorāma* etc , §265

ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB Both ἅπ λεγ , obscure epithets of Indra KS looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary

CHAPTER VIII THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words The sibilants of such words as *koṣa kośa* (cf §289, end), *srambh śrambh*, are really never determined, and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275) See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13 cxvii ff , Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p lx, Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB , xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability But real lexical changes also occur often Our treatment tries to consider both elements

ś and *s*

§275 We begin with purely phonetic interchanges, and first those in which *ś* takes the place of regular or etymological *s* In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *śru*, the Pet Lex goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *śru* in that sense

śam yor abhi śravantu (MŚ *śra°*) *nah* RV AV SV VS KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ HG So Conc from Knauer's report of mss , but Van Gelder's ed reads *sra°* for MŚ without v l

vi śrutayo (AŚ *viśru°*, ŚŚ *viśru°*) *yathā pathah* SV AŚ ŚŚ One ms of ŚŚ *visru°*

dadhi mantham parisrutam (ŚŚ *manthām parisrutam*, one ms *°srutam*) AV ŚŚ

ā tvā parisrutah (MG *°sṛtah*, mss *°sṛtam*, AG *°śrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † *°āh*) AG PG ApMB MG *emām* (ŚG *enam*) *parisrutah kumbhah* (ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV ŚG —AVPpp *ā tvā pariśṛtah*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32 366 *°śritah* The readings of AG MG , tho certainly secondary, make sense

pratyañ (VS TS ŠB * TB *°yañk*, MS †* and KS v l *°yak*) *somo atidrutah* (AV text *ati hrutah*, VS †* MS *atisrutah*, KS v l *°śrutah*) AV VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŠB (bis) TB ApŚ The true reading of AV is *°drutah*, see Whitney's note

§276 The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally, see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified

śam ūdho romaśam hathaḥ ApMB *sam ūdho romaśam hataḥ* RV Comm on ApMB takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*, see Winternitz, p xx

§277 The rest are sporadic

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS ŚG MŚ SMB Sṛma is a name of an Asura, in the adjoining Brāhmana of MS it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to Sṛma, and that Indra got the cattle from him There is no reason to question this myth, cf Sṛpa, Srmara, and Sṛmala, names of Asuras (Harivaṅśa, see Pet Lex) ŚG has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermudung', Oldenberg) The theme of the passage is branding cattle

āstām jālma (KS *jalma*) *udaram śransayitvā* (KS *sraṁs°*) AV KS Both edd of AV read thus, some mss *śraṁs°* and some *sraṁś*, none the 'correct' *sraṁs°*

śam te hiranyam śam u santv (ApMB *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV Kauś ApMB Metathesis of *ś* and *s* in ApMB , see Winternitz, p xvi

somaś caturakṣarasyāsrīvīr (MS °*śrīvīr*) *nakṣatrāṇi* MS KS A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrīvī* except here in MS

peśo na śukram (KS TB *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS all samhitā mss *aśitam*, ed em *asitam* with p p) *vasāte* VS MS KS TB

ā śīrṣṇaḥ śamopyāt AV , comm and Ppp *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney Cf however Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 255 (*keśam opyāt'*)

svāvṛt tat HG Kirste suggests *sv-āvṛt*, the context gives no help in interpretation

madhu vanśuṣīya AV Read *vaṁs°* cf *JAOS* 13 cxviii, and Whitney on AV 9 1 14

§278 In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś*

śam te hiranyam śam u santv (ApMB *sam u santv*) *āpaḥ* AV Kauś ApMB See §277, and for other *sam śam*, §§276, 280

[*agnim ca viśvaśambhuvam* RV † AV† KS TB† ApŚ † No variant, correct Conc]

śimāḥ (VS *simāḥ*) *kṛnvantu* (VS * *samyantu*) *simyantaḥ* (VS *śamyantīḥ*) VS TS KSA † The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

occurring in the same pāda, is the *s* of VS due to dissimilation? Mahīdhara = *sīmāh*, glossed *rekhāh* or *maryādāh*

parnaśado (ŚŚ °*sado*) *jarutah* (AV Vait °*dah*, om *jar*°) AV AŚ ŚŚ Vait Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf' ŚŚ possibly understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *sad*)

viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve (KS *sūrāh*, ApŚ *sūrāh*) AV KS ApŚ The latter can only intend *śūrāh* Other cases of these two words, capable of lexical explanation, §284

yam eva vidyāh sucim (VāDh *sucim*) *apramattam* VıDh VāDh N

śukeşu me (AV *sukeşu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ 3 of SPP 's mss , comm , and Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 228) read *śukeşu*

mṛgasya sṛtam (HG *śṛtam*) *akşnayā* ApMB HG (vv ll *srutam* and *śrutam* in ApMB) Kirste says 'probably *sṛtam*' More likely *śrutam* is intended in both texts It is a question of ill-omened sounds (*sakunai rudıtam ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG) 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss ' For *śru sru* cf §§275, 283

pred u harivah śrutasya (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS The word refers to Indra, SV is perhaps thinking of Soma Benfey abandons it and translates the RV

namah śaşpiñjarāya (TS *sasp*°) *tvişīmate* VS TS MS †KS See next

ye vaneşu śaşpiñjarāh KS *ye vṛkşeşu śaşpiıjarāh* (TS *sasp*°) VS TS MS MG See prec Except in TS the word is always written *śaşp*°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaşpa* (with haplology, Wackernagel I p 279) Perhaps TS gets its *s* by confusion with *sasya* 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf Wackernagel l c , Keith on TS

yā na ūrū uśatī visrayāte (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *visrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG Comm on ApMB , *śakārasya sakāruh*, cf Winternitz p xvi

krīdī (VSK °*lī*) *ca śākī cojjeşī* (ApŚ *sākī* †*corjişī*, v l °*jīşī*, *ca*) VS VSK ApŚ Name or epithet of one of the Maruts Doubtless 'mighty', root *śak*, so Mahīdhara, and *sākī* seems incapable of other intepretation

jīmūtān hṛdayaupaśābhyām (VS °*sena*, VSK v l °*sena*) VS VSK TS MS KSA

na jyotīnşi cakāsati Suparn *jyotişam na prakāsate* RVKh

tṛştam pişitam asyate AV 5 19 5b Whitney accepts Zimmer's emendation *uśyate*

yad asravan paśava udyamānam AV 7 66 1 Read or understand *asravan* with SPP , comm , and Whitney

sarau parnam vādadhat AV 5 25 1 Read or understand *sarau* with Whitney

§279 In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣilīkā (MS *śusulūkā*) *ta utarajanānām* VS MS The p p of MS reads *suṣilīketi suṣi-līkā*, suggesting that VS has the true reading But *susulūkā* occurs once in RV Both meaning and original form are obscure, folk-etymology may have been at work, Sāyana thinks of *śiśu* and *ulūka*, in RV it is associated with *ulūka*

grāmyamaṅkīradāsakau ApŚ *gramyam mangīradāsakau* MŚ *vyāghram mangīradasa gauh* Vait Obscure proper names, see §49

§280 In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation tho they seem to us too faint to be important While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms Thus the words *sam* and *śam* each make sense in these passages, cf §§276, 278

śam abdhyah TS MS ApŚ MŚ *sam adbhyah* (supplying *sundhasva* from the preceding) KS

mandukyā su sam ɟgamah (TA *gamaya*) RV TA *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily

yat ta āsthitam sam u tat te astu TB *yat te viriṣṭam sam u tat ta etat* Vait 'That shall be all right for thee' 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'

§281 When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer Thus in three cases of the roots *sam-vas* and *śam vis* which are practically synonyms we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments

teṣv aham sumanah sam viśami (AŚ *viśati* for °*ni*, MG *vasama*) AŚ ApŚ HG ApMB MG See Knauer's note on MG

amavasye samvasanto (MŚ °*viśanto*) *mahitva* AV TS MŚ

tasyām deva adhisamvasantah TS TB *tasyam devaih samvasanto mahitva* AV *tayor deva adhisamvasantah* ApŚ *yasyam* (v l *asyām*) *devā abhi samvisantah* MŚ

§282 The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *aś* 'attain', they are practically synonyms in these passages The *ās* forms all occur in RV, the *aś* forms in SV, which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhir aśate* RV 8 31 6 and 1 144 6

sahasrasthūna āsāte (SV *aś*°) RV SV

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV *āsata*) RV SV
yatrāmṛtāsa āsate (SV *āśata*) RV SV

§283 The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*, in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *sru*, cf §§275, 278

nṛcakṣāh soma uta suśrug (comm and Poona ed text *śuśrug*) *astu* TB
sucakṣāh soma uta sasrud astu MŚ See §145 *sasrud* is an em for mss *sasrad, sasrud, suśud*, Conc suggests *susrud*, but *sasrut* occurs in RV, and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing' Perhaps *susrut* should be read in MŚ

dṛse ca (MS *dṛśā ca*, RV *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā śuśukvanih* (RV *śuś°*, KS *susukvabhih*, MS *susikmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §240

§284 The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice, cf *viśve devā* etc, §278

śūro (TB *sūro*) *na mitravaruṇā gavisṭiṣu* RV TB The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'

vīhi sūra (TB *sūra*) *purodāsam* (AV *°lasam*) RV AV KS TB N The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero', TB transfers it to an address to the sun

§285 The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in *s*, some of them rather remote in form

sarvatah sarvasarvebhyah (TA *śarva sar°*, some mss add *sarvasarvebhyah*, MahānU *sarva sarvebhyah*) MS TA MahānU Sc *namah* 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm on MahānU *sarvātmaka*]), to all (the Rudras)' MS has v l *sarvatah* for *sarvatah* Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds, despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic

sarvān agnīnr (AV *sivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS *huve*, AV *havamahe*) AV TS MS AB

kalpantām te (TA **me*) *disah sarvāh* (TA **sagmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both)

visve deva natividhyanti sarve (KS *sūrāh*, ApŚ *sūrah*) AV KS ApŚ See §278

§286 The root *sūd* varies with *sudh* and *subh*, cf §174, and note AV *radantam śuddham uddharet* AV 20 136 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss readings *sudam* and *sunam* (Index Verborum)

asūṣudanta (MS KS *aśusubhanta*) *yajñiyā rtena* TS MS KS TB

āpo asmān (MS *ma*) *matarah sundhayantu* (TS ApŚ *sundhantu*, AV MS KS *sūdayantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question

yena stṛiyam (PG *śṛiyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *stṛiyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ SMB PG GG *strī* is certainly original

śumbhānas (KS *stam*°) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV †*tanvām*) *svām* RV SV MS KS TB

svām tanvam (TS TB *tanuvam*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS TB *asuṣret*) TS MS KS TB 'Enlivened' 'entered into'

śunam ma iṣṭam *svam ma* (*ma idam*) *iṣṭam* , see §353

tās tvā viśantu manasā sivena (TB *mahasā svena*) AV TB

yad anena haviṣāśāste tad asyāt (AŚ *asyām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ 'May he obtain that' 'that (is) in this (offering, sc *hotrāyām*)', or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words are *tad ṛdhyāt*) Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām ṛdhed dhotrāyām*

sakma yat te goh KS MS *sagme te goh* VS ŚB KŚ *samyat te goh* TS See §47

tasthau nākasya sānavi (SV *sarmani*) RV SV

apāvṛnod duro aśmavrajānām (MS *asmadrathānām*) RV MS TA

svātrāh pūtā (ViDh *snātāh prītā*) *bhavata yuyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ ViDh

sadā (MS *sacyā*) *pasyanti sūrayah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB NrpU GopālU VāsuU SkandaU

tad asya priyam abhi pātho asyām (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ Poona ed text and comm *asyām* for TB , see VV I p 86

aryo nasanta (SV *nah santu*) *sanişanta* (SV † °*tu*) *no dhiyah* RV SV See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

āśum jayantam anu (KS *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Even the original version is obscure

ā sutrāvne sumatim āvṛnānah AV Perhaps originally *āsutrāvne*, see §355

s and *ṣ*

§288 Here the total number of variants is much smaller Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances In the following *s* seems to replace proper *ṣ* phonetically

naṛnad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS *arsat*) VS VSK IśāU The word clearly means 'going' (root *ṛṣ*), VS comm *ṛsa gatau* Cf however *anarsarātim* (*alarsirātim*) §292

abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm (MS v 1 °*bhūt*, ApŚ °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiśikṣa rājābhuvam* (v 1 °*bhūvam*) MŚ (quoted from unedited mss, probably only a textual error)

§289 We find *ṣ* for proper *ś*, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, *Śanda* or *Ṣanda* The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with *ś*

śandāya (VSK *ṣa*°) *tvā* VS VSK TS MS ŚB ApŚ

nirastaḥ śandaḥ (VSK MS † *4 6 3 *ṣa*°) VS VSK MS (bis) ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

apanuttau (KS °*tā*) *śandāmarkau* (MS * *ṣa*°) TS MS (bis) KS TB ApŚ MŚ See von Schroeder's note on MS 4 6 3 82 16, which indicates that he then believed MS to intend *ṣanda* thruout But need it have been consistent? The mss are unanimous for *ṣ* in some places, nearly unanimous for *ś* in others Those of MŚ vary

Corruptions

yenāpāmṛśatam (SMB v 1 °*ṣatam*) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvamṛśatām surām* PG

varuneti sapāmahe (MS † °*hai*, LŚ †*ṣayāmahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ The LŚ has probably a mere misprint

[*kavaṣyo koṣadhāvanīḥ* (MS text *kosa*°, all mss *koṣa*°, TB † *'koṣa*°) MS KS TB Read *'koṣa*° in all There would be no variant but for the em in MS, which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *kośa*]

§290 The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions, the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original

indrāṇyai kīrśā (KSA °*ṣā*) TS KSA

ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣulūkā (MS *śuśulūkā*) VS MS See §279

kūśmāñ (VSK † v 1, MS *kūṣ*°) *chakapiṇḍaiḥ* (MS *śa*°) VS VSK MS *kūśmāñ chakabhiḥ* TS KSA

kūṣmāṇḍāḥ, ku°, and *kūś*°, *kus*°, also °*māṇḍyaḥ* and °*māṇḍāni*, various Dharma texts, see Conc Names of certain expiatory verses

ākarśye karśyo yathā ApŚ *gīḥ kośvoṣyaur yadā girah* Vait *madhv ity ākarṣaiḥ kusair yathā* KŚ The meaning of the whole passage is obscure

§291 Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*), the meanings are fairly close

viśvam satyam kṛṇuhi viṣṭam astu RV *viṣvak satyam kṛṇuhi cittam eṣām* AV See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50, Whitney on AV 3 1 4, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 30 6 [But no emendation of AV

is necessary Render 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party)' Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 32 351f) has *viśvam viṣṭam kṛnuhi satyam eṣām*, closer to RV Same general sense in all F E]

adhi kṣami viṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā viśva°*) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs)

purudasmo viṣurūpa (KS *°dasmavad viśvarūpam*, TS ApŚ *urudrapso viśvarūpa*) *induh* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable

anarśarātim (SV *alarśirātim*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV AV SV N The RV form is derivable from root *ṛs* 'injure', cf Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v The SV form seems on the face of it to contain the root *ṛ*, it may be corrupt Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'

nābhimṛśe (MS KS *nabhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Not to be touched (attacked)'

asya hotuh pradiśy (AV *praśiṣy*) *ṛtasya vāci* RV AV VS MS KS TB N Synonyms 'at the command'

prānān samkrośaih MS *samkrośan prānaih* (VS *°krośaih pranān*) VS TS *samghoṣān* (ms *°goṣān*) *prānaih* KSA Synonymous roots *kruś* and *ghuṣ*

yayor vām devau deveṣv aniśitam (TS *aniś°*) *ojah* TS MS KS 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple of *ni-śyati*, 'incessant', *a-niśita*

sam tvā śiśāmi (Vait *śiṣ°*) Vait LŚ KŚ Garbe takes *śiṣāmi* from *śiṣ* 'leave', it is more likely from *śas* (*śiṣ*) 'ordain' Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śiśāmi* ('sharpen')

vanaspatīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (**rāye asyāh*) RV (both) Roots *iṣ* and *as*, practically synonyms The two versions in adjacent hymns, see *RVRep* 258 Add to VV I §121, 324

aspārṣam enam satasāradāya RV AV In AV most mss, SPP, and even Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 257), read *aspārśam*, in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV form in his Translation (root *spṛ*, aor), we think that the AV tradition intended *aspārśam*, as a form of *spṛś* 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years' Of course the form is highly anomalous

dīrghām anu prasitim (KS *samṛtim*) *ayuṣe dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS MS ŚB TB *dīrghām anu prasṛtim samspṛśethām MS* Cf §78

tve iṣah (KS *viśve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrivarpasah* (TS † *bhūriretasah*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

pratnāso agna ṛtam āsuṣānah (AV *āsaśānāh*) RV AV VS TS 'Blowing upon' 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending')

abhiṣṭir (HG °*ṭīr*, ApMB *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no gṛhe* (R̊VKh *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh ApMB HG

ā darṣate śavasā sapta dānūn RV AV N *ā darsati śavasā bhūryojāh* AV The whole thought is made over in AV

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apasyam (KS *bhadrā vṛṣanā agṛbhnām*) RV VS TS KS

aśūśubhanta (TS TB *asūṣudanta*) *yajñiyā ṛtena* TS MS KS TB See §286

ṣ and *s*

§293 Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel The list is not complete

daivyā mimānā manasā (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB

made susipram (SV *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasah* RV SV Cf *PAOS* 13, p cxviii

āpṛno 'si sampṛnah (ApŚ *āpṛnoṣi sampṛna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is corrupt

vasiṣṭhahanuh VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam* TS TA

sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ

tenemām upa siñcatam RV AV TA N *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ

asūrte (MS KS °*tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS °*tā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS N See §828

kratvā variṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV

ṛṣīnām ca stutīr (SV *suṣtutīr*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

§294 The rest are scattering

ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāh* (TS *saspi*°) VS TS MS KS MG See §§32, 278, and next

namah śaṣpiñjarāya (TS *saspi*°) *tviṣīmate* VS TS MS † KS

sarvam tam (AV *sarvān ni*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS ŚB, *masmasā*, MS † *mṛsmṛsā*, one ms *mṛśmṛśā*, VS *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The word is sound-imitative (cf Eng *mash*, similar but independent) VS rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242)

ā sutrāvne sumatim āvṛnānah AV *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatim gṛnānāh* TS Whitney suggests, attractively, *āśutrāvne* (to match *oṣiṣtha-* in

TS), but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV (*āśu* seems not used with the root *trā*)

kh, *kṣ* and sibilants

§295 In view of the common later confusion of *ṣ* and *kh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds, cf the mss reading *ṣudasi* at AV 20 135 4, for *khudasi* of ŚŚ

kaṣotkāya svāhā TA TAA *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU Neither word is interpretable

§296 There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *kh* and *ś*, which point in a like direction, cf the reading *khunā* for *śunā* (thru *ṣunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Caritra 2 268

āsum tvājau (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ The original is *āśum*, which refers to Agni To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ and MŚ , reads *ity ākhukarīṣam* (MŚ °*kirim*) *nivapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill' Hence the word *ākhu* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ (where Caland translates *āsum*)

ud vaṃsam iva yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mahābh 12 284 78

§297 And one case of *kṣ* and *ṣ* (lexical)

mayum te sug rohatu (KS *te ksut*) VS MS KS ŚB The same with other animal names in the same passage

ṣ(*s*) and *h*

§298 There is but faint evidence for this interchange The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic, see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264 In the following it is to be presumed that an original *ṣ* is replaced by *h*

dhiyā na (SV *no*) *vājān upa māsi* (SV *māhi*) *sasvatah* RV SV Verb endings, see VV I p 104 The reverse is found in the first variant in §299

dhruvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG The obsolescent ending *āsah* is replaced by the regular *ā*(*s*) plus the particle *ha*

jātavedo nayā hy enam sukrtām yatra lokah JB *jātavedo vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasvainam*) *sukrtām yatra lokah* (TA *lokāh*) TA ŚŚ The Conc suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB

āsannṛṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV See §820

[*pratyañ* (etc) *somo atidrutah* (°*srutah* etc , AV text °*hrutah*), see §275 The true text of AV is °*drutah*]

§299 In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*

stuto yāsi (RV *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV VS TS KS ŚB LŚ See VV I p 105 The converse of the first variant in §298

turīyādityа (VSK *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonymous roots *su* and *hu*

ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS *ghṛtapruṣas tvā saṛito vahanti* (AŚ *haṛito vahantu*) TB AŚ ApŚ

guhā hitām nihitām (KS † omits *nihitām*, by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS MŚ *guhā satīm gahane gahvareṣu* TB ApŚ

pratno hi (TA *pratnoṣi*) *kam īdyo adhvareṣu* RV AV TA MahānU The TA reading is corrupt, comm *pratanoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV misprinted *susaveha*) *havāmahe* RV AV VS MS KS See Whitney on AV 3 20 6]

CHAPTER IX PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1 Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300 This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi, namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels, the semi-vowels are used in the same way Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root

ya eṣa svapnanaṃsanaḥ (AV °*nasanaḥ*) RV AV N

pūṣṇe 'ghṛṇaye svaha TA *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em , mss *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā* MŚ *āghṛṇi* is a regular epithet of Pūsan For *aṅghṛṇi*, comm *añjanena dīpyamanaḥ*, but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *agh*°

§301 From different and equally regular forms of the verb

agniṃ naras triṣadhasthe saṃ idhire (SV TS *indhate*) RV SV TS KS

agniṃ īdhe (SV *indhe*) *vivasvabhiḥ* RV SV

atra pitaro yathābhāgaṃ mandadhvaṃ TS TB ApŚ *atra pitaro mādayadhvaṃ* VS VSK MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ MŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG VaDh Add to VV I §240

krūraṃ ānaṃsa (KS † ApŚ *ānāsa*) *martyaḥ* (KS † *martaḥ*) AV KS ApŚ See VV I p 187

na pāpatvāya rāsīya (SV *raṃsiṣam*) RV AV SV See VV I p 109

§302 In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS °*vīśāt*, LŚ † *ṣadvaṃśāt*) RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

agniṃ īḍita (SV *indhita*) *martyaḥ* RV SV Cf next, both verbs are common in Agni-worship

yaṃ sīm id anya īdate RV *yaṃ sam id anya indhate* SV Cf prec

yāsad (SV TS KS *yansad*) *viśvam ny atrinam* RV SV VS TS MS. KS Roots *yā* and *yam*, quasi-synonyms

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ HG *mā vo* (AŚ *no*) *'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ *yuñgdhvam*) AŚ Kauś If we may trust *yuñgdhvam*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic Cf VV I pp 42, 150

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (TS ApŚ *śundhantu*, AV MS KS *sūdayantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

§303 Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal These variations are of course primarily morphological, at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered It would hardly be profitable to list them all here So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida vinda*, *vṛjyāh vṛñjyāt*, etc), §279 (*masīya mansīya*), §280 (*adadṛhanta adadṛnhanta*), and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti*, *nti*, *te*, *nte*, etc , on pp 255 ff

§303a Twice subjunctives in -(*ā*)*si* are reported with an anomalous *n* before the *s* We might be tempted to emend the sole ms of KS in the second, in the first no v l is reported for ŚG and Oldenberg keeps °*yānsi*, tho he translates °*yāsi* (see his note, p 36)

jātānām janayās ca yān (ŚG *janayānsi ca* AVPpp *janayāsi* [not °*mi*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV ŚG Barret, *JAOS* 32 360, needlessly emends Ppp to the Ś reading Add to VV I §253

vahāsi mā (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS † *lokah*) KS TB

§304 Similarly, such cases as *vṛṣā punāna āyuṣu* (SV *āyūnṣi*) RV SV , or *svar devā* (TS TB ApŚ *suvar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ , belong to noun declension, and *ajasram tvām* (ApŚ *tvā*) *sabhāpālāh* TB ApŚ to pronominal declension In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated, here we content ourselves with examples

§305 Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change These concern stem or word formation

urvī gabhīrā (TS *gambhīrā*) *sumatiṣ te astu* RV TS MS KS In this

and the next TS replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language

gabhīram (TS *gambh°*) *imam adhvaram kṛdhi* VS TS MS ŚB Cf prec

samudra ivāsi gahmanā (TB *ganh°*, but Poona ed *gah°*) TB ApŚ

satyaujasā dṛnhanā (KS † *dṛhanā*, MS *durhṛnā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS *sarctasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV Both TS and KS understand a form of *dṛh dṛnh* (cf *adadṛhanta adadṛnh°*, VV I p 187), AV and MS struggle in common with another idea

antaḥ subhrāvatā (SV *sundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV SV Cf §173

samudrāya śiśumārah VS MS *sindhoh śiṃśumārah* (KSA † *śiśū°*) TS KSA The form *śiṃśu°* occurs in RV, cf Pali *sunsumāra* Later *śiśu°* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to *śiśu* 'boy' The long *ū* of KSA may be a mere corruption in the single ms

§306 The prefix *sam* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious)

samvṛd asi TS *savṛd asi* VS KS PB *savṛtā savṛte savṛj jiṣva* MS

samstup chandah VS MS KS ŚB *saṣṭup chandah* TS

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS *samvṛdhvane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS *suvṛdhvane*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

satatam tu sirābhis tu MahānU *samtatam śirābhis* (Poona ed *sirā°*, v l *śirā°*) *tu* TA

nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yauṣam MS *nakṣatrānām mā saṃkāśas ca pratīkāśas cāvatām* Vait Kauś

agne sasṛjmahe (MS *samsṛ°*) *girah* RV SV MS KS Here *sa-* is the reduplicating syllable

sa (MS *sam*) *dundubhe sajūr indrena devaih* RV AV VS TS MS KSA N The MS hardly makes sense, it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to *sajūr*

sam (MS *sa*) *dāsuṣe kṛtatu bhūri vāmam* TS MS AŚ ŚŚ Again MS is hardly interpretable, its change is the reverse of the prec

sam yajñapatir (VSK *yajamāna*) *āsiṣā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ *sa yajñapatir āsiṣā* Vait (probably to be corrected to *sam*, see Caland on Vait 4 21)

§307 Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf also §401)

rajobhūmis tvam mām (MahānU *tvam ām*, so TA Poona ed with v l *tvam mām*) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāh* TA MahānU

tato (PB *te*) *ha jajñe* (MŚ *'ham yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *goptā*) TB PB ApŚ MŚ See §192, MŚ clearly secondary

ya īm vahanta āśubhiḥ RV *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV

svahpatir yadī vṛdhe SV *svarpatim yad īm vṛdhe* RV AV

yo rayivo (SV *rayim vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV SV KB ŚŚ ŚG The SV doubtless corrupt

tasyām no devaḥ (MS *tasyām devaḥ*) *savitā dharmam* (VS † VSK † TS † ŚB † *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK ° *ṣak*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Stems *dharma dharman*

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB JB LŚ Incomprehensible in either form

sa īm (TS *ī*) *mandrā* (see §374) VS TS MS The particle *īm* becomes *ī* in TS, before *m*, this might be put with §401

sam īm (SV *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV AV SV

Nasal as 'Hiatustilger'

§308 The Rigveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi Here the nasal (in the recognized RV cases always anusvāra) acts as 'Hiatustilger' See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 33 4 The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved, and in another case ApMB MG read *tanūn* for RV *tanū*, all intending a loc sing

svāyām †tanūn (RV *tanū*) *ṛtviye* (RV † °*vye*) RV ApMB MG See Winternitz, Introd to ApMB, XIX Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*

ā te suparnā aminantan (MS TS °*ta*) *evaiḥ* RV TS MS KS AB

§309 Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m*, seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatustilger' between vowels, or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus

yadīn (AV *yady*) *ṛnam samgaro devatāsu* AV TA Comm on TA *yadīn ṛnam, yad eva prasiddham ṛnam* We must apparently understand *īn* for *īm* (aliter *ī*), the particle of emphasis, the TA form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf §438

abhīm ṛtasya (SV *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutaḥ* RV SV The SV, tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatustilger

abhī (SV *abhīm*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV SV

yenākṣā (SMB °*kṣān*, PG °*kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyaṣṛcyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyaṣṛñcatam*, PG °*tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG Nom acc forms

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV If TS has the original form, AV may be regarded as a lect fac , with avoidance of hiatus

agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām*, *abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*) †*gṛnātam* (AV *gṛnata*) AV VS TS MS KS 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni' MS might intend an instrumental, but note the p p

§310 Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants

agnir ukthena vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir ukthesv anhasu* AV

apām rasam udvayasam (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayansan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA

agnim adya hotāram avṛnītāyam yajamānah pacan paktīh (VSK *pañktīh*) *pacan* VS VSK MS KS TB (See also Conc under *sīsena agnim adya* etc , TB , but Poona ed of TB lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi) *pañktīh* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt The same blunder in Kauś 22 10 see Bloomfield, *AJA* 1902 492

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*), to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong

tam āhutam naśīmahi (AV °*tam as*°) RV AV AB Parallel roots *as* and *nas*

tasya rathagṛtsas (MS °*kṛtsnas*, KS °*kṛtsaś*) *ca* VS TS MS KS ŚB See §46

namah kṛtsnāyatāya (VS °*yatayā*, KS *kṛtsamvītāya*, TS MS *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhāvate* VS VSK TS MS KS A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS

na kir devā minīmasi RV *na ki devā inīmasi* SV Svidh The strange *inīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i*(*-noti*) Benfey equates it with *min*° with unexplained loss of *m* Reverse of Hiatustilger?

sam tvā tatakṣuh (LŚ °*kṣnuh*) Vait KŚ LŚ See VV I p 146 The monstrous form of LŚ may be influenced by its viniyoga *iti takṣnuyuh* (itself somewhat anomalous)

agnaye dhūnkṣnā (KSA °*kṣā*) TS KSA *dhuṅkṣāgneyī* (VSK vv ll °*kṣyā* and °*kṣvā*) VS VSK MS Possibly the second nasal of TS is due to the influence of the first

annam me (ApŚ **no*) *budhya* (ApŚ °*dhnya*) *pāhi*, and °*yājugupah* MS ApŚ One ms of MS writes *buddhya* each time, perhaps *budhnya* is intended

Cf *jīvām rtebhyah* (read *mr*° with SPP, comm, and many mss) *parinīyamānām* AV

§312 Note finally the following curious variant

kāyamāno (MŚ *kāmayamāno*) *vanā tvam* RV SV MŚ N Sāyana glosses by *kāmayamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily introduced in MŚ

2 Presence or absence of *y*

§313 A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal *ya* A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a* These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics, notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as *bhakṣa bhakṣya*, etc Metrical considerations enter to some extent, the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases

(a) *Words equivalent in meaning,* y *follows two consonants*

§314 We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, *iya*, see §784), and in which the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y* The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by showing vriddhi of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vriddhi

aghorena cakṣuṣā mitriyena (ApMB *maitrena*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāham sivena*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB But *maitrena* may be a noun, 'friendship', *mitriyena* must be an adjective

māham pautram (KBU *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG *niyām*, see §724, SMB *nigām*, and *riṣam*) AG SMB ApMB HG KBU

ya āntarikṣāh (sc *sarpās* etc) HG *ye sarpāh pārthivā ye antarikṣyā* AG

vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyaih (ApŚ *āntarikṣaih*) *pātu* KS ApŚ *vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divah* MŚ The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB On the troublesome TB form see §491

§315 In the rest, the great majority, secondary vṛiddhi appears in neither form or in both

sumnāya sumnānī sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ *sumnāyuvaḥ* (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS *sumne sthaḥ sumne mā dhattam* VS ŚB Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'

agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ (TA °*trebhyaḥ*) RV AV TA N

svargāsi KS *svargyāsi* ApŚ

ūrdhvaṁ manaḥ svargyam (TA *suvargam*) MS TA

na yajñasya manvate martyāsaḥ (TB ApŚ *martāsaḥ*) RV KB TB ApŚ The reading *martāsaḥ* is poor metrically

krūram ānanśa (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS † *martaḥ*) AV KS ApŚ Again *martaḥ* is unmetrical

marteṣv (VS MS KS *martyeṣv*) *agnir amṛto ni dhāyi* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

sumitrā (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KŚ *sumitriyā*, AŚ LŚ *sumitryā*) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa oṣadhayaḥ santu* (KS † °*yo bhavantu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh Followed by

durmitrās (VS ŚB MahānU KŚ °*triyās*, AŚ ŚŚ LŚ °*tryās*) *tasmai santu* (KS * TS † TB TA MahānU BDh *bhūyāsuṁ*) *yo* , same texts

śārgaḥ sṛjayaḥ (TS KSA *ākhuḥ sṛjayā*) *śayāndakaḥ* (KSA °*kās*, em v Schr °*kas*, TS *śayandakas*) *te maitrāḥ* (KSA °*tryāḥ*, em unnecessarily to °*trāḥ* in ed) VS TS MS KSA

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*, MS p p °*ṣṭha*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB *yaviṣṭha* and °*ṭhya* are perfect equivalents, the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas

tvām agne samidhānam yaviṣṭha (RV °*thya*) RV TB ApŚ The stanza is pure jagatī in RV , half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others

satam pūrbhir yaviṣṭhya RV *yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasaḥ* RV TA See *RVRep 539*

gambhīrebhiḥ (AV TS HG °*raiḥ*) *pathibhiḥ pūrvīnebhiḥ* (MS *pūrvebhiḥ*, AV *pūryāṇaiḥ*, TS HG *pūrvyaiḥ*) AV TS MS KS SMB AŚ HG

bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇiyam (MS °*ṇam*, so ed with p p , other mss °*ṇim*, read probably °*ṇyam*, TS °*vṛṣṇiyam*) TS MS KS AŚ

tāsām viśiśnānām (KS °*nyānām*) MS KS

namo nīveṣyāya (p p *ni°*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS · *namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca* VS *namo hradayyāya* (KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyyāya* (KS *°ṣyāya*) *ca* TS KS From the noun *nīveṣyá* 'whirlpool', is derived *nīveṣyyà* 'of the whirlpool' The stem *nīveṣyà* (or *nī°*, note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it, practically a question of mere orthography One KS ms *nīveṣyyāya*

namáh śīghryāya (TS *śīghrīyāya*) *ca śībhyāya ca* VS TS *namah śībhāya ca śīghrāya ca* MS KS

tau te bhakṣam (LŚ *°ṣyam*) *cakratur agra etam* VS JB TB ApŚ LŚ ŚŚ

tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi TB ApŚ *tayor aham anu bhakṣam* (LŚ *°ṣyam*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS LŚ *tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi* JB ŚŚ

jaitrāyā (ApMB *°tryāyā*) *viśatād u* (HG *°tām*, ApMB *°tān*) *mām* RVKh VS ApMB HG

devānso yasmai tvede bhañgena (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ

yamam bhañgyaśravo (KS MŚ *bhañga°*) *gāya* KS TA ApŚ MŚ

yamam gāya bhañgyaśravah (KS MŚ *bhañga°*) KS TA ApŚ MŚ

mandūkāñ jambhyebhih (KSA *jambhaih*) TS KSA TB ApŚ

jambhābhyām taskaran (p p *°rān*) *uta* MS *jambhyais* (KS *°yebhis*) *taskarān* (KS † *°rān*) *uta* VS TS KS

aśvasya vāje (KS *krande*, TB *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV KS TB

yo 'sya (MŚ *asya*, but Van Gelder *'sya*) *kauṣ(hya* (KS *kauṣ(ha*) *jagatah* KS TS ApŚ MŚ

śvetāya vaidarvāya (PG *°vyāya*, AG ŚG *°dārvāya*, MG *vaitahavyāya*) AG PG ŚG ApMB HG MG

pāpāt svapnyād abhūtyāh AV *pāpah svapnād abhūtyai* KŚ It would be pedantry to see in *svapnya* any really different meaning from *svapna*

[*inatamam āptyam* (AV *āptam*) *āptyānām* RV AV N The AV must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney]

(b) *Words equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant*

§316 Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant, both forms still equivalent in meaning A small group shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*

meghyā (VS *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācah* VS TS MS KSA

bṛhanto daivāh (VS *divyāh*) VS MS ApŚ *divya* from *div*, *daiva* from *deva*, but meaning the same.

achinno divyas (KS ApŚ *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ See next

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *daivo*, this belongs to §324) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ *bṛhaspatir brahmāham mānuṣah* LŚ *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun Cf prec

kalpayatam mānuṣīh TB ApŚ *dṛnhantām daivīr viśah kalpantām †manuṣyāh* KS

dhiṣanāsi pārvatī (VS ŚB *par°*, TS TB ApŚ *parvatyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Adjectives *pārvata* and *parvatya* (and, if VS ŚB are right, *parvata* Mahīdhara, *parvatātmikā*), all 'of the rock' The VS ŚB reading is supported by the ms readings (two occurrences) of KS, *parvatī* both times, von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice

aranyāya (MS *āranāya*, but p p *aranyāya*) *sṛmarah* VS TS MS KSA

§317. The rest show vriddhi either in both forms or in neither Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *daiva* and *daivya*

daivo (HG *°vyo*) *yo mānuṣo gandhah* ApMB HG

daivā hotārah sanisan na etat AV *daivyā hotāro* (TS *°rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani°*, KS *†vanisan na*) *pūrve* (KS *etat*) RV TS KS

daivyā (AV *°vā*) *hotārā* (TS *°rāv*, AV *°ra*) *ūrdhvam* (MS adds *imam*, KS *hotārordhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV VS TS MS KS 18 17a (†)

daivyam (MS *°vam*) *mānuṣā yugā* (MS *yujā*) RV SV VS TS MS ŚB

pauruṣeyād daivyāt KS *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV 4 26 7c

mānuṣād daivyam (MŚ *°vam*) *upaimi* TB ApŚ MŚ

sam daivena (VS ŚB both also *°vyena*, TA *devena*) *savitrā* VS ŚB TA Mahīdhara glosses both forms by *devena*

§318 Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents

bṛhat sūro (KS *sūryo*) *arocata* RV KS

sūryāso (SV *sūrāso*) *na darsatāsah* RV SV

sajūh sūra (MS *sūrā*, TS *sūrya*) *etasena* VS TS MS KS ŚB

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ

spardhante dhiyah (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viṣah* RV SV TS KSA

§319 The rest are sporadic

āpura stā mā prajayā pasubhih pūrayata ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata prajayā ca dhanena ca* TS AŚ

agneḥ purīṣavāhanaḥ (MS *purīṣya°*, VS † ŚB † *°vāhanaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *purīṣa* and *°ṣya* are equivalent, Pān 3 2 65

kāmāyaı svāhā MG *kāmyāyaı svāhā* MS MŚ Probably MG corrupt

śakalyam (AG *śākalam*, sc *tarpayāmı*) ŚG AG Both patronymics from *śakala* Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG reads *śāk°*, we assume that *śākalyam* is the true reading, *śa°* probably misprint

yakṣmam śronıbhyām (ApMB *śronī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV AV ApMB *yakṣmam bhasadyam śronıbhyām bhāsadam* AV In RV *bhāsada* is a noun, in the second AV version it and *bhasadya* are both adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyam*, but Whitney suggests *bhāsadam*) must be omitted as an ancient gloss

rāyas poṣam audbhıdam (ApMB *°dyam*) RVKh VS HG ApMB

pāvamānāḥ, *°nyāḥ*, and *°nyaḥ*, various Dharma texts All adjectives from *pavamāna*

māyobhavyāya (ŚG *āyo°*) *catuspadī* AG ŚG *catvārı māyobhavāya* TB ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG MG Equivalent nouns

adveṣe (MS *°ṣye*) *dyāvāpṛthivī huvema* (MS *huve*) RV VS MS 'Having no hostility' = 'not hostile'

[*mıtrāvarunābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* VS TS MS KSA † Conc wrongly quotes KSA as *ānuṣṭubhyā°*]

anyam te asman (NrpU *'sman*, AV *asmat te*) *nı vapantu senāḥ* (AV *senyam*) RV AV TS NrpU *Senyam* must = *senā*

(c) *Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants*

§320 In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous

§321 As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two consonants, being then sometimes written *ıy*

mandrābhıbhūtıh (MŚ *mandrā vibhūtıh*) *ketur yajñānām* (MŚ *yajñıyā*) *vāg* TS MŚ

vıśve devā mama śrnvantu yajñıyāḥ (ArS *yajñam*) RV ArS ŚŚ

yajñam-yajñam (KS *yajñıyā yajñam*) *prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS † ŚŚ † *°yadbhyaḥ*) VSK KS TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ

mā no rudrāso adhıgur vadhe nu (mss *nuḥ*) MŚ *mā rudrıyāso abhı gulbadhānaḥ* (TA *gur vrdhānaḥ*) MS TA

ıyam pıtryā (AB *vaı pıtre*, AŚ ŚŚ *pıtre*) *rāştry ety* (AV GB *etv*) *agre* AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

putrah pıtre (KŚ *pıtrye*) *lokakrȷ jātavedah* TB KŚ ApŚ 'As a son to his father' 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'

yā (AV omits) *antarikṣa* (KS AG °*kṣyā*) *uta pārthıvīr yāh* (KS *pārthivāsah*, AV *vā pṛthivyām*) AV KS TB ApŚ AG (ĆAVPpp *pārthivā yāh*)

namah kāṭyāya ca gahvareşthāya (MS °*şţhyāya*, p p °*şthāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

ındro jyeşthānām (MS KS *jyaıştyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaişţhyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Of the noblest' 'of the highest nobilities' 'for highest nobility'

adhvanām adhvapate śreşthah svastyasyādhvanah (ApMB *śreşthasyādhvanah*, MG *śraıştyasya svastasyādhvanah*) *pāram aśīya* AŚ ApMB MG Read *svastyasyā*° in MG with most mss

arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh* Kauś *arhanīyā āpah* ApG *arghyam* '(water) of the *argha*'

adhyakşāyānukşattāram TB †*ādhyakşyāyānukşattāram* VS

§322 A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered with *ukthas*'

uktham vācīndrāya TS AB GB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ *uktham avācīndrāya* ŚŚ *ukthyam vācīndrāya śrnvate tvā* AŚ

mantram vadaty ukthyam (NṛpU *uktham*) RV VS MS KS AA ApŚ NṛpU

añgāni ta ukthyah pātu MS ApŚ *ukthas* (! read *ukthyas*?) *te* †*'ngāni pātv asau* AŚ

ukthebhyas tvolthāvyam grhnāmi KS *ukthyebhya ukthyāyuıcm* ApŚ

uktham (AŚ *ukthyam*) *ındrāya sansyam* RV SV AŚ

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant

§323 Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the *y*, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya* 'heroism'

yau vīryaır vīratamā savişthā AV *vīrebhır vīratamā savişthā* MS *vīryebhır vīratamā savişthā* (TB *sac*°) VS ŚB TB ŞB AŚ ŚŚ

eşa te yajño yajñapate sahasūktavākah suvīrah (AV *suvīryah*, VS *sarvavīras*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

anāmi ksatram ajaram suvīryam (MS KS *suvīram*) RV TS MS KS

sa (also *sā*) *no dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ *suvīram*) TB ApŚ MŚ (In all texts with both *sa* and *sā*)

purukṣu tvaṣṭā (MS °*tah*) *suvīryam* (VSK TS *suvīram*) VS VSK TS MS

nirdevam nirvīram (KSA °*ryam*) *kṛtvā* TS. KSA.

prajām suvīrām (PG *suvīryām*) *kṛtvā* TS PG

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *daivya*, cf several similar cases at the beginning of §316

divaś chadmāsi AG *divyam chadmāsi* LŚ

divo dhārām bhindhi KS *bhindhīdam* (MS *bhindhy ado*) *divyam nabhah* AV TS MS KS

madhye divo (MS * *divyo*) *nihitah prsnir aśmā* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB

ahar divābhir (MS *vahad divyābhir*) *ūtibhih* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ

divābhir is for *divā* + *ābhir*, but is understood by comm on TA as one word, = *dyotamānābhir* This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS , which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective

vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenodgātrā pañcabhir daivyair (MŚ *devair*) *rtvigbhir uddharāmi* ApŚ MŚ

§325 The rest require no subdivision

ātir (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA

pāra (p p of TS *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah* (KSA † *'vārīyebhyah*) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA *avāra* (p p of TS °*re*) *ikṣavah pāryebhyah* (KSA *pārīye*°) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA *pāryāni pakṣmāny avāryā ikṣavah*, and *avāryāni pakṣmāni pāryā ikṣavah* VS MS

pāryāya kaivartam TB *pārāya mārgāram* VS *avāryāya mārgāram* TB *avārāya kevartam* VS

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah RV SV *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB

sugam ca me supatham (VS KapS °*thyam*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS KapS

mā tvat kṣetrāny aranāni (MS °*nyāni*, p p °*nāni*) *ganma* RV TS MS KS TB

bṛhatā tvā rathamtaraṇa traiṣṭubhyā (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* MS KS *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* TS

sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS ApŚ

agne tvam purīṣyah VS KS ŚB *agneh purīṣam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ And others, see Conc

namah sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya (MS °*sarāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

namo lopyāya colapyāya (MS °*pāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

namaḥ parṇāya (TS KS † *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇaśādāya* (VS °*śadāya*, TS °*śadyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

śukras te grahaḥ (VS ŠB *grahyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŠB MŠ 'Draught' '(juice) for the draught'

atho varuṇyād uta RV AV VS *nir mā varuṇād uta* (ApŠ *adhi*) LŠ ApŠ Inferior meter in the latter

sa budhnyād (TS KS AŠ °*nād*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS KS AŠ *januṣābhy*) *agram* AV TS KS AŠ (AVPpp agrees with the others, Barret, *JAOS* 37 260)

tayā gṛṇantaḥ sadhamādeṣu AV *tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh VS °*mādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB *tasthur gṛṇantaḥ sadhamādyāsaḥ* RV AV (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh, but his ms °*mādyeṣu*) In MS KS TB *sadhamādya* means the same as °*māda* 'feast', but in RV AV 'participant in a *sadhamāda*'

nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŠ ApŠ *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV AV VS

agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva (KS *ilakṣva*) KS ApŠ *ava devānām yaja hedo agne* (KS *yaje hīḍyāni*, MŠ *yaje heḍyāni*) AV KS MŠ *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB ApŠ

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

anhaspatyaya tvā VS ŠB KŠ *anhaspatyāya tvā* TS MS TB ApŠ

§326 We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar

ūrjasvatī rājasvaḥ (TS *rājasūyāya*, MS KS °*sūyāḥ*) *citānāḥ* VS TS MS KS ŠB *rājasūya*, adjective in MS KS, is equivalent to *rājasū*, the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel In TS it appears as a noun Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between *-ūy-* and *-ī-*

svāhā rājasūyāḥ (VS ŠB °*svaḥ*, TS °*sūyāya citānāḥ*) VS TS MS ŠB MŠ Cf prec

mahādevam antahpārśvena (VS † °*parśavyena*) VS TS TA Formally, the VS form is based on *parśu* 'rib' Mahīdhara *antar pārśvāsthisambandhinā mānsena* The form *antahpārśvya* occurs in the next formula

āganma mitrāvarunā varenyā (KS °*yam*, MS *varena*) TS MS KS Here the adjective *varenya-* is corrupted in MS to *varena*, instr sing of *vara-*

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*

upastutyam mahi jātam (MS °*tyam janima tat*, TS * *upastutam janima tat*) *te* †*arvan* RV VS TS (both) MS KS Vait Gerundive varies with past pple

uta prahām atidīvyā jayāti (AV °*dīvā jayati*) RV AV The RV has a gerund form, the AV a nom sg of stem *-dīvan*

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning)

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB *martave*) RV PB

§328 A few variants concern noun inflexion Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem forms in *y-ah* varying with masc or neut forms without *y*)

āpo me hotrāsansinah (AG °*sinyah*) ŞB ApŚ AG 'The waters are my Hotrāśansins', the priest-name is once made fem to agree with *āpah*

varṣāś cākṣuṣyah VS ŚB *varṣāni cākṣuṣāni* TS MS KS Here the noun itself changes gender

Or different case-forms vary

in śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *pathcva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā* The latter may be nom in RV (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 13 1), in most texts it is certainly instrumental

imām narāh (MŚ ApŚ * *narah*) *krnuta vedim etya* (MŚ *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss but one, ApŚ † 2 2 6a *eta*) TB ApŚ MŚ Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya* The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d-*) has no standing, were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401

vāñ ma āsan (MŚ PG *āsye*) AV TS GB TAA Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś PG BDh Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsya* Interest attaches to the form *āsyan*, which is read by Gaastra in GB with all his mss , and which is also the reading of most mss of AV and Kauś , so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss of Vait , possibly this is an editorial oversight) The form *āsyan* is evidently a blend of the other two forms

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first), the same root now and then forms both, cf VV I p 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following

tapate svāhā TS KSA TA *tapyate svāhā* VS

tapatyai (TA Poona ed *tapyatvai*, v l *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA TA *tapyatvai* (v l °*tyai*) *svāhā* TS The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapya-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres pple) is based on stem *tapa-*

§330 So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms, see VV I pp 49 ff , where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāi*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB °*ṣiñcatam*, PG °*ṣiñcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

§331 Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA ApŚ MŚ See VV I p 78

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *ṣ*, etc

§332 Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *kṣ* Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character, connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp 28–9)

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Aorist in MS , future in TA , in ŚŚ a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*

(*net tvā*) *dadhṛg* (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayāte* (TA °*tai*, AV *vidhakṣan parīṅkhayātai*) RV AV TA Many mss of AV *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended

śardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV SV MS ApŚ See VV I p 29

bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah (KS *bhakṣa°*) VS KS So the single ms of KS, ed emends to *bhakṣya°* If the ms reading were kept we should have to assume a pple middle in form but passive in meaning

mekṣyāmy ūrdhvas tiṣṭham AV, so emended by RWh, all mss *mekṣāmy*

yenākṣā (*°kṣyāv*, etc) (see §330) In PG *akṣyāv* is taken to be from *akṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption

§333 In one verb form the *y* appears after *ts*, it may be regarded as belonging with the *kṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff

tenārātsyam (GG ŚŚ MŚ *°sam*, so also p p of MS, most mss of MŚ *°syam* with MS text) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG The proper form is *arātsam*, aorist, the conditional does not fit See VV I p 29

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category

ratho na vājam sanişyann (SV *°şann*) *ayāsīt* RV SV Clearly a phonetic slip in SV, making a sort of aorist pple, Benfey, tho he interprets the form as aor, translates a future

ā vṛścyantām (AV *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV The AV form is evidently a phonetic blunder, cf VV I pp 29, 51 f

§335 Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff, we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *kṣ*

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK *°şyāgneyī* or *°şvāg°*) VS VSK MS *agnaye dhūñkṣā* (TS *°şnā*) TS KSA See §255

tarakṣuh (KSA † *°kṣah*) *krṣnah svā caturakṣo* (KSA *°kṣyā*) *gardabhas ta itarajanānām* TS KSA The ed emends to *caturakṣo*, which seems necessary

akṣyos (mss *akṣos*) *tanvo rapah* AV

Cf further such mss readings as *vibhuñkṣamāna* for *vibhuñkṣya°* at Kauś 23 9, 38 26

§336 The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p 268) The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*, indeed the mss also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful

prasthitā vo madhuścutah (VSK MS *°ścyutah*) VS VSK MS TB So the editions But Poona ed of TB records a v l *°ścyutah*, and per contra, all samhitā mss of MS read *°cyutah* or *°ścutah*

srucā devam ghṛtaścutā (KS and v l of MS *°ścyutā*) RV TS MS KS

ghṛtaścuto madhuścutaḥ TS MS KS ŚB *ghṛtaścyuto madhuścyutaḥ* VS MS So v l and p p of MS in the other passage Moreover KS has v l *ghṛtacyuto*, and for *madhu*° its two mss read °*ścyutaḥ* and °*cyutaḥ*

dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat ApŚ *pṛthivyām avacuścotattad* TB ApŚ *yata ścutad dhutam agnāu tad astu* KŚ *yatra cuścutad agnāv evatat* MŚ (but the latter is a dubious emendation, better, *yatra ścutad*) *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ See on this variant VV I p 139

§337 Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals

viṣnoḥ śnaptre (TS *śnyaptre*, MS *sıpre*) *sthaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately *ñ*, this is indicated by the TS variant (v l and p p, however, *śnaptre*), so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf Keith, *HOS* 18 xxxvii)

apāśnuṣnım apā rakṣaḥ (and, *apā ragham*) TA *apāśnyuṣnım* etc TA So, correctly, Poona ed *4śn(y)uṣnı* is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni The comm explains only the form with *y*, monstrously *asnīnām bhoktīnam uṣnır dāhako yo 'gnıh* Cf prec

mano jyotır (VS ŠB LŚ *jūtır*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*, AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS TB ŚB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ

divo jyote (KS * °*tır*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS *vivasvān adıtır devajūtıs* TS

mṛśase (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV

syāmā sarūpamkaranī AV 1 24 4a Here the Berlin ed reads *sāmā* with nearly all mss, but against comm, Ppp, and the evident sense, which demands *syāmā*, see Whitney's note

Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338 To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without *y* In either case the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y* presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatustilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31 The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes, rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this

agne akṣīnı (HG *agneyakṣīnı*) *nır daha svāhā* ApMB HG As Kırste observes, HG must ıntend *agne ak°*, so that *y* ıs a sımon-pure 'Hıatustılger' and nothıng else See also *anāmayaıdhı* etc , §344

§339 The cases of ınıtıal *y* are

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītır*, KS °*dhītam* and † °*nītha*, MS °*dhīta*) *yajñaıh* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *agne* ıs probably orıgınal, ıt ıs preceded by *r* or *m* ın AV KS , by *e* ın MS , the latter would be specıally apt to lead to the development of ınıtıal *y-*

añjantı suprayasam (AVPpp *yuñjantı suprajasam*) *pañca janāh* RV AVPpp MS See §192

pıtevaıdhı sūnava ā (MS *sūnave yah*) *suśevah* VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ

devebhır aktam (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditıh sajoṣāh* VS TS MS KSA

kāṣṭhā ajmeṣv (SV *yajñeṣv*) *atnata* RV SV A lect fac ın SV

vısvakarmā vımanā ād vihāyāh (KS °*nā yo vyomā*, MS *vimame yo vihāyāh*, TS *manasā yad vihāyāh*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ N

ameṣtam ası svāhā VS ŚB *yameṣtam asi* (with or wıthout *svāhā*) TS MS KS TB 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama) ' Preceded by *asi* ın all The preceding vowel *ı* makes ınsertıon or omıssıon of *y* particularly easy

āśum jayantam anu yāsu vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB *yā sanjayantam adhı yāsu vardhase* KS The latter ıs doubtless secondary Preceded by *gırā* KapS *āśram*, doubtless ıntending *āsum*

§340 In some ınstances case-forms of the relatıve stem *ya* exchange wıth sımılar forms of the demonstratıve stem *a* Thıs may be assumed to be partly due to the ınstabılıty of ınıtıal *y*

trınśad yasyā (TB *asyā*) *jaghanam yojanānı* MS KS TB

asya (SV *yasya*) *te sakhye vayam* RV SV

ghorā ṛṣayo namo astv ebhyah (MŚ *astv adya yebhyah*) AV TS MŚ

cakṣur yad eṣām manasas ca salyam AV *cakṣur yeṣām* (v l *hy eṣām*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ *cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdhau* TS

yasyām (v l *asyām*) *devā abhı samvıśantah* MŚ Others wıth *tasyām*, see §281

§341 And the same wıth adverbıal forms derıved from the same stems

mıtro no atra varuno yujyamānah AV *mitro yatra varuno ajyamānah* RV Double case, the *y* of *yatra* seems as ıt were to jump the next word and attach ıtself to the partıcıple ın AV

yaded (KS *ād ıd*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛnh°*) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS KS Thıs pāda precedes or (ın KS) follows the next, the

words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS owing to the transposition of the two pādas

ād (KS *yad*) *id dyāvāpṛthivī aprathetām*, same texts See prec

athā (TB * *yathā*, AV MS TB * *yatra*) *devaih sadhamādam madema* (AV *madanti* comm *madema*) AV MS KS TB (all three) ApŚ Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB

yathā (RV *atho*, VS ŚB *athā*) *na* (RV *ta*) *indrah kevalīh* (VS TS ŚB *indra id viśah*) RV AV VS TS KS ŚB

yathainam jarase nayāt AV *athainam jarimā nayet* HG

Cf also *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc , §363, and *yasyām idam viśvam* (*viśvam hy asyām*) etc , §386

§342 Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y* In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338 While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group

vaisvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary

sudevam indre asvinā (MS *indrāyāsv°*) VS MS TB As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative, both depend on *dadhuh* in the context

sahasrākṣo (VSK TS KS *°kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS KS *medha ā*) *cīyamānah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'For (at) the sacrifice', the latter probably original Keith on TS 4 2 10 1 translates 'for', his text seems to require 'at'

graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma le (MS p p *viprāya, mate*, KS *nyantar vipra ā ṭsatī*) MS KS As in prec , a loc with *ā* varies with a dat

yo gopā apı (TB *gopāyati*) *tam huve* RV AV TB ApŚ

ta ā vahanti (MS *tayāvahante*, KS *tad āharanti*) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS KS TB See Keith on TS 1 1 2 1 The original reading probably in TS , Keith thinks that MS may intend the same, with *tay* for *te*, altho its Brāhmana explains *tayā* as referring to the *dhiṣanā*

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsma°*, AŚ *dattāyāsma°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB *dattāsma°*) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS See §367

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV *kāmāyāsmai*) RV AV TS KS

§343 In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily

pāvakayā yaś (TS *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV VS MS KS ŚB Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 453

pāhi gāyāndhaso (SV *gā andh*°) *made* RV SV The RV has a regular 2d sing impv pres from *gai*, the SV an aor inj, *gās* Add to VV I §158

piteva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG The MS p p reads *jarasena, ā, imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts

§344 Consider also the following peculiar case

amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ† *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB *anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś The mss of Kauś read *anāmayedhi*, the emended °*yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(h) edhi* 'be free from disease' But the Kauś reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ ŚG, with 'Hiatustilger' *y* as in §338 See Bloomfield's Introduction, p lvm, and cf §78

§345 We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya* The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts:

yad dha syā (AV *sā*) *te panīyasī* RV AV SV TS MS KS

mayi tyad (MS *tad*) *indriyam bṛhat* (KS TB TA *mahat*, MS *vīryam*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ Pratīka in MŚ *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss mostly *tād*)

yathā ha tyad (TS ApŚ HG *tad*) *vasavo gauryam cit* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ HG TA AŚ ŚŚ

ā nu tac (SV *tyac*) *chardho divyam vṛnīmahe* RV SV

pratr te (AV *tye*) *te ajarāsas tapiṣṭhāh* RV AV

ud it te vasumattamāh ApŚ *ud u tye* (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few

peśasvatī tantunā samvayantī (KS TB °*vyayantī*) MS KS TB Roots *vā* and *vyā*

endram vagnunā vahata PB *vagnunendram hvayata* TB ApŚ (with metathesis of *h*)

§347 We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated

susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi ŚŚ *suṣadam id gavām asi pra khuda* AV Berlin ed, violently emending the mss which agree precisely with ŚŚ but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *ṣudasi*

vidad gavyam saramā dṛḍham ūrvam (TB *ūrvyam*) RV TB But Poona ed of TB has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm, without v l

satāsatī (comm *satyasatī*) *prayāpatiḥ* TB But Poona ed comm *satāsatī*

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ The corruption may be graphic in nature

prayapsyann iva sakthyau (TB text *sakthau*) TB ApŚ But Poona ed text and comm *sakthyau*, the only possible reading

oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikosyābhyām (TA °*kośābhyām*) TS TA *vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kosyābhyām* VS Poona ed of TA °*kośyā*°

ayoddheva (TB °*dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV TB Tho Poona ed has the same reading, it is surely corrupt, perhaps graphic The comm has the same, but explains it as tho *ayoddhā-iva*

3 Presence or absence of *r*

§348 Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance, that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*

§349 We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots, and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words

sūro nṛṣātā śavasas (SV MS *sra*°) *cakānaḥ* (SV *ca* †*kāme*) RV SV TS MS

gṛnānāḥ śravase (SV *śa*°) *mahe* RV SV

satrā dadhānam aprathiṣkutam śavāṅsi (SV *sravānsi bhūri*) RV AV SV TB

ā yo viśvāni śavasā (SV *śra*°) *tatāna* RV AV SV

śraviṣṭhāḥ stha MS KS *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāḥ* VS ŚB

§350 The roots *dhā* and *dhṛ* and the like, in virtual synonyms

sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe (SV *dadhriṣe*) RV SV

vṛṣā dharmāṇi dadhiṣe (SV *dadhriṣe*) RV SV TS MS KS ApŚ

yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā (MS *vidhartā*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samvṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS

daivyāya dhartre joṣṭre (MS *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

devayor dharme (MS °*mā*, AV *dhāmann*) *asthiran* AV TS MS KS

kṣayasyāsi vidhatah (SV *vidhartā*) RV SV Here *vidhatah* from root *vidh*

§351 Roots *pū* and *pṛ*

atirātram vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ (KS *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*, TS *varṣan pūrtir āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS MS KS

apālām indra (MG *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB MG *trih*) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, MG *pūrty a*°, ApMB *pūrtvy a*°) RV AV JB ApMB MG

§352. Roots *prī* and *pā*

śvātrāh pītā (VıDh *snātāh prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpah* VS ŠB KŠ VıDh

pra vām adhvaryuś caratı prayasvān (AV °*tu payasvān*) AV AŚ ŚŠ Comm on AV *prayasvān*

§353 Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words, in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatustilger'

ahim budhnyam (TS °*niyam*) *anu rīyamānāh* (TS *samcarantīh*, MS KS *anv īyamānāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms, note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary, a sort of 'Hiatustilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli

antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānah (GB *hrīyamānah*, so Gaastra without the v l *hīyamānah* recorded in Bibl Ind ed) RV GB The AVPpp 1 107 4 (Barret, *JAOS* 26 290) has the RV reading, GB perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary Note the final *r* of the preceding word

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS MS *vaṭ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §650

mā tvam hārṣīh śrutam mayı PG *śrutam me mā pra hāsīh* RVKh 'Take away' 'abandon'

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhyā*, p p *vaktṛbhyah*) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŠ ApMB Comm on TA tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jṛ*)

vikırida (KS °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS See §168

ya ṛte (TA ApŠ ApMB *yad ṛte*, PB † *yakṣate*) *cid abhisrıṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŠ ApŠ MŠ Kauś GG ApMB *jarı cetīd abhisıṣah* MS (corrupt, see §193)

jāgṛtsyas (mss , v l *yā gṛ*°) *trıpañcāśīh* AV *yā(h) kṛcchrās trı*° AVPpp See §§185, 192

śunam ma iṣṭam śunam śāntam (p p *śrāntam*) MS *svam ma* (AB *ma idam*) *iṣṭam svam śrāntam* (TB text *śrātam*, Poona ed *śrāntam*) AB TB ApŚ *svam ma iṣṭam astu śunam śāntam* KS

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm (KS *bṛhaspatim*) *śronitah* (KS *śonitaś*, Conc suggests reading *śro°*) VS KS

pṛthivi bhūvari (KS *vibhū°*) *sinīvāly urandhra* (KS *uramdha*) *ācitte* KS ApŚ An obscure epithet of earth, perhaps belongs in §350

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śīrtatano pāhi vidyot KS *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītatano pāhi mādya divah* TS TB ApŚ *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītama pāhi mā didyoh* VS ŚB In KS, apparently the original, 'having uninjured body', TS, 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect fac VS has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable, comm either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory

vi jihīṣva lokam kṛnu AV *vi jihīrṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA The AV is original 'go apart (root *hā*), make room' TA comm takes it as desiderative from *hṛ* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jihīrṣasva*

anādhṛṣṭam sahasyam (TS KS *sahasriyam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS AŚ 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original 'powerful and mighty', lect fac

yo agnih kravyavāhanah (VS KS *kavya°*) RV VS KS AŚ *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS Euphemistic change of *kravya°* to *kavya°*

yata āttas (AŚ *ārttas*) *tad agan punah* TS AŚ 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned' AŚ mere blunder or misprint

prati vastor aha (AV * *ahar*) *dyubhih* RV AV (both) SV ArS VS KS ŚB *praty asya vaha dyubhih* TS The comm on AV has *aha, ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhih*

apām tvā sadhisi (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB *sadhiṣ-i*, 'in the seat', *sadhriṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS 4 3 1 1) perhaps with thought of RV *sadhrī*

anābho mṛda dhūrta (MS °*te*, v l °*ta*) MS MŚ *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ See §749

śam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo RV GB AŚ Vait MŚ According to Gaastra, all his mss read *indro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text

ā na indra (and, *indo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV (both)

vyṛddhyā apagalbham (TB *apra°*, but Poona ed text and comm *apa°*) VS TB Probably mere misprint

potrāgnīdhro (read with Gaastra *potā°*) *nihitam pādam ekam* GB

§354 The following involve different word-divisions

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim patireto grbhāya* (ApMB HG *prati reto grhāna*) ŠG HG ApMB

āyuhpati rathamtaram (MŠ *āyuh pratirath°*) *tad aśīya* etc ApŠ MŠ The latter corrupt

yena bhūyaś (PG *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, corrupt, PG *carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

tan mā punva (KS *mārjmīvā*) TS MS KS 'Quicken me' 'cleansing it'

sa vah sarvāh sam caratī prajānan AV *sarvah sarvā* (p p *sah, sarvāh*) *vi caratu prajānan* MS The latter carelessly assimilates to the following *sarvāh*

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŠ Both forms obscure

agnir hotrenedam (ŠŠ *hotrena*) *havir ajusata* MS ŠŠ *agnihotrenedam havir* TB AŠ But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed of TB

ud vanśam iva yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh

§355 In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically

ūrdhvacitah (MS KS *°śritah*) *śrayadhvam* VS TS MS KS ŠB TA See §195

svām tanvam (*tanuvam*) *varuno 'sușot* (TS TB *aśiśret*) TS MS KS TB See §287

pred u harivah śrutasya (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS See §278

trišug (AŠ *trišrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhātu*) KS TB TA AŠ See §145

śivā rutasya (TS and v l of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva rtasya*) *bheşajī* (MS *°jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS See §684

apūtapā ādhūyamānah TS *vișnur āpritapā āpyāyyamānah* VS 'Drinker of unpurified (soma)' 'protecting when propitiated (?)'

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŠ *ūrmyāyām*, ŠŠ *omyāyām*) ŠB ApŠ ŠŠ See §228

amoci (AV *amuktha*) *yakşmād durităd avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV PB ApMB See §60

anu daha sahamūrān kravyādah (SV *kayādah*) RV SV *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādah* AV Benfey explains the SV form as from *kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating' This would imply metric shortening of *ā* to *a* There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyavāhana kavya°*, §353

ā sutrāvne (MS KS *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS KS *oṛiṣṭhadāvne sumatim gṛnānāh* TS It is likely that the original form was *āśutrāvne*, cf Whitney on AV 19 42 3 The TS form, though impeccable, is secondary

§366 Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion

ghṛtam duhata (RV * *duhrata*) *āśiram* RV (both) SV See *RVRep* 137, 562, and VV I p 169

te dakṣinām duhate (AV *te duhrate dakṣinām*) *saptamātaram* RV AV See VV I, 1 c

utainam (NīlarU *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśran* (TS NīlarU *adṛśan*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU See VV I p 170 Followed by

adṛśrann (TS † *adṛśann*) *udahāryah* VS TS See ibid

apa snehtīr (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi* (Poona ed *snuhi*) *tam nṛmnām athadrām* TA See §110, and VV I p 170

sarasvatyā (AV °*yām*) *adhi manāv* (KS *mānā*, v l *manā*, SMB *vanāva*, but Jorgensen *manāv*, AV *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS and SMB Jorg *acak*°, SMB Conc *carkṛdhi*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG The KS also has v l *acark*°, which perhaps should be read thruout Jorgensen assumes dissimilation, see VV I p 149

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rire*, VV I p 170, and *ghṛtam mimikṣe* (TA °*kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yonih* RV VS TA , ibid p 214

§357 Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected, cf the similar cases with *y*, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below

bhūri śastam (SV *sastram*) *pṛthuh svaruh* RV SV VS Synonyms, but here the form without *r* is older

atiṇddhā vithurenā cid astrā (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS is secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption

na kir devā minīmasi RV *na ki devā inīmasi* SV Anomalous reduction of *na-kis* to *na-ki*

sūro rathasya naptyah (ArS *naptryah*, TB *naptriyah*) RV AV ArS KS TB Feminine stems *naptī* and *naptrī*, the latter influenced by *naptar*

tvaṣṭīmatī (TA Conc *tvaṣṭrī°*, which is a v l in Poona ed , its text *tvaṣṭī°*) *te sapeya* TS ApŚ TA *tvaṣṭṛmantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭrī°*, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The MS MŚ ApŚ forms are Prakritic in vocalism In the Tait school form, which concerns us here, the stem *tvaṣṭṛ* is, as it were, feminized Add to VV I §345

praty etā vāmā pratiṣṭhotopavaktar (ŚŚ °*vakta*, v l °*vaktar*) *uta* KB ŚŚ *praty etā sunvan pratiṣṭhotopavaktar uta* AŚ The form can only be construed as nom , °*vakta*, if it is intended, must stand for °*vaktā* with partial sandhi (*ā* shortened, §991) But it looks as if all texts intended °*vaktar* Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ , p 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*, but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatustilger, as in Pāli? Cf the first variant in §353 Or is °*vaktar* used as nom ? Cf the nom neut (?) forms in *-tari*, Wackernagel III p 205 supra

viśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV KS *viśvā āsāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyah* VS TS See §783

vaptā (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG °*ti*) *keśasmasru* (AG PG MG *keśān*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG *vaptrā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB Synonyms

matyai śrutāya (*mahe śrotrāya*) *cakṣase* AV (both)

gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °*tā*, MS °*trā*) *vāt* (MS *veṭ*, TA *vat*) VS MS TA ŚB *yajata* (°*tā*) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG See §818

agner agneyāny (KS *agniyāny*) *asi* (one ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asi*) MS KS *devānām agneyāny asi* TS *agner yāny asi* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS and probably of MS , is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case KS has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary

bṛhaspatisutasya (TS MS add *ta*, VS VSK ŚB add *deva soma ta*) *indra* (TS *indo*, VS ŚB *indav*) *indriyāvatah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Gen voc

sa viśvācīr (KS °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīh* (KS °*cī*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The KS changes an accus plur , with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasī* in the preceding pāda

devī dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait Cf prec, and §732

asmadrātā madhumatīr (KS °*tī*) MS KS ŚŚ and others, §800

gaurīr (°*rī*) *mimāya* , *see* §545

4 Presence or absence of *v*

§368 Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf Wackernagel I §232c) Among the variants they are fairly numerous Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338–44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353) As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history

v initial before a vowel

§369 Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *ṛṣabha* and *vṛṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel But this is by no means universal

vṛṣabhena (TS *ṛṣ°*) *tvaṣṭā* TS KS This is an instructive case, it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS , in a consonant in TS We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS begins with *v-*

vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām AV *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB Observe that *ṛṣ-* is preceded by a final *-m*, *vṛṣ-* by a final vowel It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236)

vṛṣabhena (TS *ṛṣ°*) *gāh* (KS *gāvah*) TS KS KSA The single ms of KSA has corruptly *asvā-vṛṣa°*, which Von Schroeder emends to *aśvān vṛ°*, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS reading (*aśvān ṛṣ°*) should be adopted

vṛṣabham (VS * *ṛṣ°*) *naryāpasam* RV AV SV VS (both) MS TB Here preceded by a consonant

ṛṣabhāya (MS *vṛṣ°*) *gavayī* (TS KSA *rājne gavayah*) VS TS MS KSA A consonant precedes

ṛṣabho (KS *vṛ°*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS TB A consonant precedes

vṛṣabho 'si svargah AV *ṛṣabho 'si svargo lokah* TB Initial in verse
kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ °*ham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam ṛṣ*°)
rocate bṛhat (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
astabhnād dyām vṛṣabho (TS MS *dyām ṛṣ*°) *antarikṣam* RV VS TS
MS ŚB TB KŚ
bṛhad ṛṣabham (TB *vṛ*°, but Poona ed text and comm *ṛ*°) *gām vayo
dadhat* VS TB
śākvarā (LŚ *ye śāk*°) *ṛṣabhā* (AV *vṛṣ*°) *ye svarājah* AV LŚ Note the
vowel preceding
rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (KS TB °*ṣu vṛ*°, so AV comm, and so Ppp
intends, Barret, *JAOS* 30 204) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣv akṣeṣu
vṛṣabharājāh* VıDh

§360. There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely identical in meaning But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process

te arṣantu te varṣantu LŚ *te varṣantı te varṣayantı* AV Roots *arṣ* 'rush' and *varṣ* 'rain' One is inclined to suspect assimilation to the following *varṣ-* in AV
ṛjīte (KS *vṛj*°) *parı vṛnādhı nah* RV VS TS MS KSA ApŚ Initial in the verse Von Schroeder says on KSA, 'wohl fehlerhalt fur *ṛjīte*' Perhaps assimilated to the following *vṛnādhı*
śalmalır vṛddhyā (KSA *ṛddhyā*) VS TS KSA ŚB Synonyms
agne vājajıd vājam tvā VS ŚB TB Vaıt ApŚ *ājım tvāgne* MŚ Synonyms since earliest times Note preceding vowel before *vāja*°
varenyakratūr (AV °*tur*, ApŚ *īdenya*°) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ *vīre-
nyah kratur ındrah sušastıh* RV
hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS °*nam*) *vıkṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dıkṣv*) *agnım* RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB † For the RV original is substituted *vıkṣv* after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatustilger' *v* and other phonetic changes (cf especially §153a) On MS see §869 (a further, graphic change)
tad āyuh (ApŚ *vāyuh*) MS KS ApŚ 'That is life (wind, breath)'.
asum (AV TS *vasum*) *gharmam dıvam* (VS *svar*) *ā tıṣṭhatānu* (AV *rohatānu*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *asu* 'life' *vasu* 'weal' (with ungrammatical *m*), preceded by vowel, *asu* is original, as shown by RV 10 14 12, 15 1 (cf 10 15 9, 10)

devā gātuvido gātum vittvā (VSK *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB Cf *gātum vittvā gātum iha* MS ApŚ, *devā gātuvido* (MŚ adds *gātum vittvā*) *gātum yajñāya vindata* TB ApŚ MŚ 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original, VSK assimilates to the following *ita*

tve iṣah (KS *viśve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrivarpasah* (TS † *bhūri-retasah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB On MS see §694 KS clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels

dhiṣane vīdū (VS VSK *vīdvī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *īdite*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omit) *vīdayethām* (MS MŚ *īdethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ See §169

tigmam anīkam vidatam sahasvat AV *tigmam āyudham vīditam* (KS °*dham īditam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS 'Implored' of KS is secondary to 'strong', AV is still farther afield, see §169

yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt (KS *anu*°) RV KS ApŚ 'Who fights against us' KS seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us' Reverse of 'Hiatustilger' KapS *vanuṣyā*

namo vīdhryāya (MS *vīdhriyāya*, p p *vīdhryāya*, TS *nama īdhriyāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS TS MS KS Both forms are obscure, TS probably secondary See Keith's note

īśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase (SV *īyase*) RV SV Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV, reverse of 'Hiatustilger' with a vengeance!

mahīva dyaur adha (AV *vadha*) *tmanā* RV AV *vadhatmánā* (sic) not divided in p p, and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption, he translates the RV Still, the AV may be rendered 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'

ahar (MS *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS *divyābhir*) *ūtibhih* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ *ahar*, adverb 'by day' One ms of MS with p p *vahad* (*d* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a), preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatustilger'

viśām vavarjuṣīnām (AV *viśām avar*°) RV AV The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhis*)', Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 275 The AV uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation, the initial *a*- must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vṛj* = *pari-vṛj* as in Classical Skt) Cf Whitney ad loc The retention of the perfect pple form shows the badness of the AV

mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV *miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV Reverse of 'Hiatustilger'

abhūr āpīnām (HG °*nām*, AV mss *v āpī*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV HG ApMB Others, §46

ramayata (KS °*tā*) *marutah śyenam āyinam* (MŚ *marutah pretam vājinam*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *cid* †*n*) *yemur vim* (SV *cin ni yemur in*, TA *cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinah* RV SV AV VS TA *vim*, acc of *vi*, secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (*id*)

vidvīr yāmann avardhayan VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB (Conc) But Poona ed of TB has correctly *yāmann avar*°

§361 In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v* (after a vowel, 'Hiatustilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*

pro ārata (TB *'vārata*) *maruto durmadā iva* RV TB 'Rush along, Maruts, like madmen' Comm on TB *avārata dhāvata*

uruṣya rāya eṣo (VSK *rāyo 'veṣo*, i e *ava, iṣo*, TS MS KS *rāyah sam iṣo*) *yajasva* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *ava-yaj* 'remove by sacrifice' with object *iṣo*, is peculiarly inept

§362 A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word

agninendrena somena upa te huve savāham (KSA *huve 'sā aham*) TS KSA 'I summon for thee, O offering' 'I, so and so (*asau* 'N N'), summon for thee' If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA is original, the TS reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatustilger', yielding a different lexical result The same with *brāhmanān ṛtvijo devān , iṣṭena pakvam , devān sendrān*

añkāñkam (MS *añkāv-añkam*, so divided in p p, KS *añkañkam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Nothing is known of the original form or meaning of this word (said by comms to mean 'water'), note the curious KS variant, with short *a* It may be that MS has a kind of 'Hiatustilger' with its *v*

v initial before a consonant

§363 So far initial *v* before a vowel In a few cases the same *v* appears or disappears before an initial consonant

reśīnām (VS ŚB *vre*°) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ *reśīṣu* (sc *te śukra śukram ādhunomi*) TS An epithet of water, of unknown etymology and meaning, *v-* presumably unoriginal

agne yajasva (AV *vyacasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS See §57

apāvṛnod duro asmavrajānām (MS *asmad-rathānām*, p p *asmin, ra*°) RV MS TA The MS is hardly interpretable

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto gṛhāna* (ŚG *patireto gṛbhāya*) ŚG ApMB HG Cf §354 *vy asya* 'open' must be intended, *yasya* makes no sense

v not initial

§364 Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741

satavasemam (KS *sva°*) *yajñam divi deveṣu dhattām* MS KS TB

sūro na svayugvabhiḥ (SV *sayu°*) RV SV

viśvā dveṣāṃsi taratu svayugvabhiḥ (SV *sayu°*) RV SV Better meter in RV (anapest after cesura)

indra svayugbhir matsveha (ApŚ *sayugbhir didyun na matsvā madāya*) *mahe ranāya* AV ApŚ

yajño bhūtvā yajñam āśīda sakṣaya (MŚ *svakṣaya*) *ehi* TB ApŚ MŚ

§365 There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-* At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *kā* (both from the interrogative stem)

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it RV *tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam it* SV KS TB ApŚ Followed by

tam in mahe vṛnate nānyam tvat RV *tvām maho vṛnate* (TB ApŚ *vṛnate naro*) *nānyam tvat*, same texts

tam (TA *tvam*) *u nir vāpayā punah* RV TA

tvām (MS *tām*) *śasvanta* (MS *°tā*) *upa yanti vājāh* RV SV VS TS MS KS

paramām tam (TB ApŚ *tvā*) *parāvatam* AV TB ApŚ

etat tvātra pratimanvāno (AŚ *°vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ *†asmin*) VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait *etat tān pratimanvāno asmin* LŚ

yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe PG *yām tvā rātry upāsmahe* (TS *upāsate*, SMB *rātri yajāmahe*) AV TS SMB *ye tvā rātry* (MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS MG

tvam gopāya MG *tam gopāya* etc , see Conc

prajāyai mṛtyave tvat (TA *tat*) RV TA Here the stem *tva-* is not the 2d personal pronoun

tayānantam (MŚ *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam*) *aham jayāni* (MŚ °*mi*) AŚ † ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

tayā (ApMB *tvayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °*ti*, v l °*tu*) ApMB HG

tayāham (MS *tvayā°*) *śāntyā śāntim karomi* MS TA *tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ śamayāmy aham* AV

tvayā (TAA 10 1 9 *tayā*) *hatena pāpena* TA TAA † MahānU

yajuryuktam sāmabhir āktakhamtvā (MS *ṛktakham tā*) MS TA The words are bad enough in either case MS p p *ṛkta-khám, tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic, *ṛktakham* is not in any lexicon But *āktakham* is little better TA comm *āktāny āpyāyitāni khānīndriyāny avayavā yasya pravargyasya so 'yam āktakhas tādṛśam, sāmagānena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati* (!)—Boehtlingk, p w 2 293, 'dessen Buchse geschmiert ist'

puras tvā (ŚŚ *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun The sense requires object *tvā* Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff) in the secondary ŚŚ

yat tvemahe (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB All mss and comm of SMB agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading Comm , unbelievably *te tvām* (!) *yat phalam mahe* (!) *tan no 'smabhyam juṣasva prayachety arthaḥ*

kva (SV *kā*) *pratnā va āhutiḥ* RV SV

§366 Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *v* Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf VV I p 121

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS ŚB (In MS *rane* is a noun)

āpas tvā sam arinan (MS *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB *āpaḥ sam arinan* TS KS

manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N See VV I pp 76, 121

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated

jananta (SV *jinvanta*) *uṣaso bhagam* RV SV

§367 Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*, but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption

asya pītā (SV *pītvā*) *svarvidah* RV SV Lect fac in SV for *pītā*, loc sing of *pīti*, 'in the drinking of it'

yenendro havişā kŗtvī (ApMB *kŗtī*) RV ApMB The ApMB form (v l *kŗtvī*) may be interpreted as nom sg of *kŗtin*, but is doubtless corrupt It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff), the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kŗt(v)y-a-*

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsma°*, AŚ *dattāyāsma°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB *dattāsma°*) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS[4] 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity'

hotā viştīmena (ŚŚ *viştvī me*) *jaritar* AV 20 135 5, AŚ † 8 3 24, ŚŚ Vait This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed of AV and therefore in Conc Most ŚŚ mss *viştī*, per contra, v l of AV *viştvī* It is very obscure in any case

daśasyantāmŗtāya (ApMB *°tvāmŗtāya*) *kam* RV ApMB The ApMB form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple , but may fairly be called corrupt, cf Winternitz, p *xx*

yuktvā (TB Conc *yuktā*, Poona ed text and comm correctly *yuktvā*) *harī vŗşanā yāhy arvāñ* (MS KS *arvāk*) RV MS KS TB

apālām indra (MG *°las*) *triş* (*trih*) *pūtvī* (AV *°vā*, ApMB *pūrtvī*, MG *pūrty a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG The last seems clearly corrupt

[*indrah pāsena †şıktvā vah* ApMB *indrah pāśena vah †sıktvā* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG *indrapāśena sitvā* PG The true reading is *sitvā*]

§368 A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes

madhvo (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV These alternative forms of gen sing of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhvah madhoh*, see Conc p 681a

ed u madhvo (SV PB *madhor*) *madintaram* RV AV S[1] PB AŚ ŚŚ

vaso vasvoh puruspŗhah RV *vasor vaso puruspŗhah* SV

asammŗşto jāyase mātroh (TB *mātŗvoh*) *sucih* RV TB With *mātŗvoh*, guaranteed by all mss and Vaidikas, cf perhaps *pitŗvya*, and note that *mātroh* in RV is trisyllabic

mahāntam gahvareşţhām SV *tanūr varşişţhā gahaneşţhā* MS Root *gah*, with different suffixes

gambhīrāh pathibhih pūrvyaih (AV *pūryānaih*) AV TS HG The AV is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification Cf next

prehi-prehi pathibhih pūrvyebhih (AV *pūryānaih*) RV AV MS AŚ AG Cf prec

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajāstvam mārtavatsam* AV Others, §650 Suffixes *tā* and *tva*

§369 Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf Wackernagel I §232c·

saumyās trayah śvitimgāh (KSA *śi°*) TS KSA

With *śvit-* and *śit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*, see §195

citra (VS *śvitra*) *ādityānām* VS MS

citro (AV *śvitro*) *rakṣitā* AV MS

§370 After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff below

śiśīte śṛṅge rakṣase (AV *rakṣobhyo*) *vi nikṣe* (KS *nakṣe*, AV mss *nikṣve*), RV AV TS MS KS The Berlin ed and Whitney's translation adopt the RV reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa* See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinikṣva* occurs in the next verse

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK °*ṣvā°* or °*ṣyā°*) VS VSK MS And others, see §255

svarṣām (TB *suvar°*) *apsām* (TB Poona ed , twice, †*apsvām*, in text and comm) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB *apsvām* is uninterpretable

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *dhana°*, TS °*yid*, KSA °*yed*) *dhūmagandhih* RV VS TS MS KSA The text of MS is based on p p , the samh mss are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vunairddhamagandhir*) It seems that *vu* in these mss is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS as in the other texts

§371 After or before single consonants, a miscellaneous group

āpo devīh svadantu (VSK *sad°*) *svāttam cit sad devahavih* VS VSK ŠB *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu* MS *svāttam cit sadevam havyam āpo devīh svadatairnam* TS ApŚ The reading of VSK is poor (cf *svāttam*) Cf next

em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu (MS *svad°*) MS KS TB Here *svad°* does not belong, the reverse of the prec

aparihvṛtāh (MS °*hṛtāh*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV MS KS Intended for synonyms, MS slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption

tuvidyumnam vibhvāsaham (SV *vibhā°*) RV SV *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhvā*

(for °*van*) 'excellent' Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'

apām rasam udvayasam (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayaṅsan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing', KS and TA a verb form, which in TA is 3 plur aor of *ud-yam* KS may intend the same with *udayaṅśam* followed by *s*, but in VV I p 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing

viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto 'si PrānāgU *viśvantu tvām āhutayas ca sarvāh prajās tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'si* MU The Conc says, 'read *visantu*' for both In the Poona ed (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayah*, An Skt Ser, 1895), the MU passage (p 406) reads *viśantu* in text and comm, but the PrānāgU (p 307), *visvam tu* in both Certainly *visantu* must be read

anvitir asi dive TS KS JB PB Vait *anitir asi* GB The Conc calls the latter a 'blunder', yet, curiously, Gaastra also has *anitir*

mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikitvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45 The AŚ form is difficult and suspicious

satyaujasā dṛnhanā (MS *durhṛnā*, KS † *drhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS *sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV See §305

vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi RV *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV See VV I p 218

anu daha sahamūrān kravyādah (SV *kayādah*) RV SV *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādah* AV See §355

anukāśena bāhyam MS *anūkāsena bāhvyam* VS *antarenānūkāsam* TS KSA The VS reading is apparently a blunder, comm reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows

§371a One anomalous case involving false word-division

uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi TS MS KS TB *pururāvno deva* etc VS ŚB LŚ The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility' The Vāj reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning, but Mahīdhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'

5 Presence or absence of *s*

§372 Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s* Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś paś*, *kṛ skṛ*, etc) See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi)

§373 Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially

§374 Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word

sa prathamah samkṛtir viśvakarmā TS TB ApŚ *sā* (MS MŚ *yā*) *prathamā samskṛtir viśvavārā* (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB (Pratīka, MŚ) The root *kṛ* regularly appears as *skṛ* with *sam*, so that the Taitt form is irregular

ut te stabhnāmi (TA *tabhnomi*) *pṛthivīm tvat pari* RV AV TA Cf Whitney §233c In TA this law operates in spite of tmesis, this is not without parallel

tegān (TS TB ApŚ *stegān*) *danṣṭrābhyām* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain RV has *stega* Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned It may be significant that in VS MS KSA the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS it is initial in its section As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS *sa īm* (TS *ī*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS Probably all the forms may be corrupt, at least they are all difficult But note *starīman* in MS (*tarī* AV)

§375 The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned, and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds

divah samspṛśas (MS *sampṛcas*) *pāhi* VS MS ŚB And

pṛthivyāḥ sampṛcas (TS TB ApŚ °*cah*, VS ŚB *samspṛśas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *sam-pṛc* and *sam-spṛs*, practically synonyms See §195

divam agrenāspṛkṣaḥ †VSK, wrongly quoted in Conc as °*āpṛkṣaḥ divam agrenāspṛkṣat* (TB °*āprāt*) VS TB And others

viśvā spṛdho (AV *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV AV TA,

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spṛśantām*, Ppp [Roth] *viśanta*, TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA

yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsaḥ*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvaṛ yatra vāsaḥ* HG

sa bhūmiṃ viśvato (ArS *sarvato*, VS *sarvata*) *vṛtvā* (VS *spṛtvā*) RV ArS AV VS TA See §200

tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ (PB °*yaḥ*) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB ApŚ See §93

samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŚB *samsrava*°, MS °*gāḥ*, KS Kauś °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś See §§96, 747

§376 Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms), the rest is sporadic

ajoṣā (SV *saj*°) *vṛṣabham patim* RV AV SV *ajoṣa* 'unersattlich, gierig'

sacetasāv (VSK °*sā*) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB *sacetasau saretasau* TB And others, see §180

ā (VaradapU *sā*) *nah śṛnvann ūtibhiḥ sīda sādanam* (VaradapU *saśvat*) RV TS KS VaradapU The comm is hard put to it to explain *sā*, he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening It is in fact inexplicable

yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (KS *yavā āyavā ūmā* † *evā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS KS MŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS The form *sabda* of TS, for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure, doubtless due to some analogy

anāgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣiyema Vait *anāgaso adham it samkṣayema* TB See §110

§377 The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma bhūyāsma*), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *rayim* RV SV VSK TS MS KS Present and *s*-aorist

tasya te bhaktivānsaḥ syāma (MS KS °*vāno bhūyāsma*) AV MS KS *tasyās te bhakṣivānaḥ syāma* (MS KS ApŚ 4 13 7† *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) MS KS TB ApŚ (both) Suffixes *vans* and *van*

6 Presence or absence of visarga

§378 This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings), and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter, and certainly it was never followed by a vowel The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like, some must be considered mere corruptions

§379 In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*, Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ *tapah*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*, em , mss *mahah*) AV ŚŚ

niyudbhir (AV *niyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ †*muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Add to VV I §25

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi*°) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA °*yah*) RV TA

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV JB *emām anu sarpata* MS

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB °*mah*) RV TB

aśvinā bhiṣajāvatah (MS °*tam*, TB †°*ta*, both edd) VS MS TB

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra*°) *saścima* (TA °*mah*, RV *sascire*) RV VS MS ŚB TA (corrupt)

prati bhāgam na dīdhima (SV °*mah*) RV AV SV VS N

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) VıDh YDh BrhPDh Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (*smah sma-ha*)

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ

tau saha (VS ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah prasārayāvahai* (ŚB °*yāva*, MS °*yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

viśvāh pinvathah (TB °*tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm °*thah* in Bibl Ind ed , but Poona ed °*tha*) This is probably only a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant, cf §978 ff

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS . *adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhīh* RV SV AV AA MŚ See VV I p 101

agne (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV SV MS TA Add to VV I §§25, 156

sam agnis tapasāgata VS MS ŚB (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS edition separated by a mark of punctuation) *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (**gatah*, Poona ed *gata*) TA * As pple *gatah* is defensible See VV I p 161

varebhir varāh abhi ṣu prasīdatah (ApMB *pra sīdata*) RV ApMB A participle (gen sing , Grassmann, acc pl , Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur in ApMB

iha rama (HG †*ramah*) MS AB AŚ ApŚ HG Here *ramah* is a noun form

§380 In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms

punar āgāh punarnava (AV °*nava* and °*navah*) RV AV (bis)

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicañkuna*, MS KS *nicunkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Vocative in TS TB by assimilation to an adjoining formula, see §150

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (MG °*nā*, ApMB HG °*nāv*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Here the nom is secondary

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS °*tah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ

yajñah praty u ṣthāt (KS *pratyaṣṭhāt*, v l *praty u°*, MŚ adds *sumatau matīnām*) KS MŚ *yajña pratiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ

indrah (*indra*) *somasya pītaye* (also °*ye vṛṣāyate*) RV (all three)

indra (MS *indrah*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS °*dasenaujah*) TS MS KS AŚ

paramajyā ṛcīṣamah (SV † °*ma*) RV SV AV

devebhyo (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* (RV * °*na*) RV (both) ApŚ

sahasrākṣo amartyah AV *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV

pavamānah (SV °*na*) *samtanim eṣi kṛnvan* RV SV

tvaṣtā devaih sahamāna indrah MG *tvaṣtar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB

yo agnih kravyavāhanah (VS KS *kavya*°) RV VS KS AŚ *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS See §353

hiranyapakṣah śakunih HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB *suvīrinah sṛja-sṛja* HG The latter is doubtless corrupt, a voc is required

indra kratvā (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV MS KS See §664

ayā somah (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV See VV I §328

ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana (KS TB † ApŚ † °*nah*) AV KS TB ApŚ

āpṛno 'si sampṛnah (ApŚ *āpṛnoṣi sampṛna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is secondary and poor

indra karmasu no 'vata VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but read *indra 'vata*, see VV I p 260)

indra (MS *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV MS The nom is hardly construable

indrah (SV PB *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ

indra (MS *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV MS KS

kāmena kṛtah (RV and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava icchamānah* RV MS TB

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB °*tah*) RV VS ŚB TB

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ The nom is not construable, see Knauer's note

mitra satyānām pate (ŚŚ *satyānām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ *mitrah satyānām* (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG

viśvā (KS PG *viśvāś ca*) †*deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS °*ṣyāh*, PG † °*ṣyak*) KS TB ApŚ PG HG

vrīhīnām medha (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB ApŚ MŚ

śuddho mamaddhi somyah (SV *somya*) RV SV

sajoṣā indra (TB *indrah*) *sagano marudbhih* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ

§381 In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified, sometimes involving different but related stems

pibāt somam amadann (AV *somam mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayah* (AV *iṣṭe*) AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88, loc sing of *iṣṭa* nom pl of *iṣṭi*

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS °*yaih*) TS MS KS AŚ Loc sing instr pl Cf §706

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV * *vāraih*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV As prec

candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāh (KS TB comm and Poona ed °*nā*) VS KS TB *sukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* MS (but p p °*nāh*) The plural agrees with *aśvinā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject, the fem sing with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmidṛṅham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛṅho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣnuh* AV Change of

gender, neuter to masculine, the latter certainly secondary, see §268

sa viśvācīr (KS °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīh* (KS °*cī*) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB Change of acc pl to dual, explained in §357 But the actual reading is *ghṛtācīr* (before initial vowel following)

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV (taken by Whitney as loc plur) *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS (apparently felt as nom sing) And others, all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt, see §374

samhitāsi viśvarūpā (VS ŠB ŚŚ °*pī*, TS ApŚ * °*pīh*) VS TS MS KS ŠB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis) In TS the old nom fem of the *vṛkīs* type

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB *bajābojopakāśinī* HG Both words unintelligible, §69 Perhaps *h* in ApMB ending of *vṛkīs* type

anāhanasyam vasanam carişnu (ApMB HG *ja*°, PG *jarişnuh*) ŠG PG ApMB HG See §57 The nom masc transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject

yenā samatsu sāsahah (SV °*hih*, MŚ °*hi*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ See §584

aghadviṣtā devajātā AV Kauś *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ In AV nom sing fem In ApŚ, which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °*jūtā* followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing, but the verb is plural, and the Conc gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom plur)

sīrāh (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS MS KS °*nīh*) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV *bhūtvā*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Sing in AV, plur in the others

ya ābabhūva (PB *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*, comm *viśvāni*) VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait *viśvāh* is certainly wrong

vīruc chapathayopanī AV *vīdu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ (corrupt, Caland adopts the AV reading) See §272

uta vām uşaso budhi RV GB Conc *budhih* for GB, and so all mss apparently read, but Gaastra emends to *budhi* (loc sing 'at the awakening of dawn')

arāddhyā edidhişuhpatim VS *ārādhyai* (read with Poona ed *ar*°) †*didhişūpatim* TB The VS form is anomalous, as a fem word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom form in composition is absurd

avasyuvātā bṛhatī (TS ° *tīr*) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS °*rīh*) TS MS KS AŚ Sing plural

imam yajñam avantu no ghṛtācīh (MS KS AŚ *avatu yā* [AŚ *no*] *ghṛtācī*) TS MS KS AŚ Sing plural

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedıh paraśur nah svastı* (TS °*tıh*) AV TS *svastı* ıs famılıar as both fem and neut

vıṣṭhıtāh (AV °*tā*) *pṛthivīm anu* RV AV VS AB TB SMB Fem pl neut pl (ın different contexts)

śam rātrī (VS. *rātrīh*, VSK TA *rātrıh*) *pratı dhīyatām* AV VS VSK TA MS All noms sg

śatamūlā śatāṅkurā TA MahānU *śatamūlāh śatāṅkurāh* MahānU Fem sıng plur

śṛnvantv āpo dhıṣanāś ca devīh (MS * *dhıṣanā ca devī*) VS TS MS * KS ŚB Sıng plur

vıśo (SV *dıśo*) *vıśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Agnı ıs meant, and a nom or voc masc ıs required, *prabhu*, repeated ın the comm , ıs apparently understood as an adverb, but ıs probably only a phonetıc error

samśıtam kṣatram (MS KS TA add *me*) *jıṣnu* (AV *kṣatram ajaram astu jıṣnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The AV form would be masc , whıch cannot be construed, Whıtney accordıngly adopts *jıṣnu*

vatso jarāyu (KS *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratıdhuk pīyūṣah* AV TS MS KS The regularly neuter word ıs here masc ın KS , perhaps attracted to the gender of the precedıng masc

sa nah pṛthu (TB *pṛthuh*) *śravāyyam* RV SV ŚB TB Transference of the epıthet wıth change of gender from neut to masc

sīsam ca me trapu (TS °*puś*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS The rare stem *trapus*, for the regular *trapu*

sapatnīr †abhıbhūvarī (ApMB °*rīh*) RV ApMB Only a nom sıng fem can be construed See Wınternıtz, Introd , xxn

sarasvatī (AV TB † °*tīh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV *sadantām*) RV AV VS MS KS TB N Whıtney calls the °*tīh* form a blunder and emends Thıs ıs perhaps goıng too far, but of course ıt ıs a nom sıng lıke the other

sarasvatyā (TV °*tyāh*) *supıppalah* VS MS TB Instr gen

sahasraśīrṣā (ArS °*ṣāh*) *puruṣah* RV ArS VS ŚB TA ApŚ Both nom sıng , °*śīrṣāh* as ıf from an s-stem (contamınatıon from *śıras*?)

atıṣṭhā vıthurenā cıd astrā (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS ıs doubtless corrupt

varṣman kakubhı (TB Conc °*bhıh*, MS *kakubbhıh*) *śıśrıyānah* (TB *śrayasva*) TS MS TB See §400

upahūtāh sapta hotrāh TS TB ŚŚ *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB Sıng plur

agne tvam purīṣyah VS KS ŚB *agneh purīṣyam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Voc gen

hiranyayāh (MS °*yā*) *śucayo dhārapūtāh* RV MS The only grammatically construable form is °*yāh*, MS seems corrupt

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS *sanāmy †agneh*) VS TS MS KS Voc gen

sapratha (MŚ °*thah*) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ *pāhi*, and *'jugupah*) TB ApŚ MŚ Both voc , stems in *a* and *as*

imā brahma brahmavāhah (TS † °*ha*) RV AV KS TB As prec

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApŚ °*vah*, KS *subho*) *sūryāya* VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŚB ApŚ Vocatives, *s* and *a*-stems On KS see §749

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV *dātum cec chaknuvāṅsah* (Poona ed *chaknavān sa*) *svarga eṣām* TA See §826

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *suci* might pass as an adverb

dūrvā rohatu puṣpinī (RV *rohantu puṣpinīh*) RV AV Sing plur

tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā (VS *yās ca ṣaṭpadāh*) VS TS MS KSA Sing plur

tṛnam vasānā (HG °*nāh*) *sumanā asas* (HG *asi*) *tvam* AV HG The form can only be nom sing fem , HG is impossible

pṛthivyā (MS * °*vyāh*) *sambhava* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Probably the only correct reading is °*vyā* (see von Schroeder's note)

§382 In adverbial forms

athā (AV *adhah*, comm *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV AV ApMB *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV See §74

śṛnvanty (PB °*tv*) *āpo adha* (PB *'dhah*) *kṣarantīh* RV PB

parā svapnamukhāh śucah AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ See §820 The variation *-mukhāh* (bahuvrīhi) *mukhā* belongs to the preceding section

§383 Involving different divisions of words

samudrād udajani vah (ApŚ *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53

idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS **rakṣobhih*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam dahāmi*) TS MS (both) KS MŚ As the Conc suggests, *rakṣobhih* must be a corruption

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §57

śarīram yajñaśamalam (MahānU *yajñah sa°*) TS KSA TA MahānU See §818

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV TB N

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāh* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB

pra su (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG

ūrjam bibhrad vasuvanih (*vah sumanāh*, *vah suvanih*, *vasumanāh*) , see §227

upānasah saparyan RV † *upo nu sa sap*° SV

kavir yah putrah sa īm ā (TA Conc *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV AV TA N *imāh* has no standing

ava (RV *abhi*, MS *ā vah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The reading of MS is secondary but simple

indrah pāśena †śiktvā vah (HG *pāśena vah †śiktvā*) ApMB HG *indra-pāśena sitvā* PG See §819

rtasyartena mām uta (TA *ita*) TB TA *rtasya tv enam āmutah* MS (corrupt, see §838)

adyā mamāra sa hyah sam āna (MS Samhitā, *sahyah samānah*) RV AV SV MS N *sam āna*, verb, *samānah*, adj

vīrenyah kratur indrah sušastih RV cf *varenyakratūr* (°*tur*, *īdenya-kratūr*) *aham*, §554 Conc suggests *vīrenyakratur*, Oldenberg, *Noten*, goes further and suggests *varenya-* (or °*yah*) *kratur*

vānmanaścakṣuhśrotrajñhvāghrānaretobuddhyākūtisamkalpā (TA TAA °*ākūtih samkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU Despite the persistence of the reading °*ākūtih* (to be sure, one ms of TA reads like MahānU), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound

§384 Miscellaneous

purā yatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhyā*, p p *vaktṛbhyah*) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB See §57, *ātṛdah* apparently abl sing of a noun, MS corrupt, perhaps feels *ātṛda* as imperative

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvetapad ā gahi* MG (but most mss *apa*, so read, cf §817)

apa (MG *apah*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV MG Here all mss of MG have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense

parītoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ *pari doṣād ud arpithah* KŚ The true reading in both seems to be *udarpitah*, see §63

sugantuh karma karanah karişyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ On the obviously corrupt LŚ see §739

gharmam śocantah (AŚ °*ta*, ŚŚ °*tam*) *pravaneşu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveşu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV I p 165

aghāya bhūma harivah parādai (MS °*dair*) RV AV TS MS *parādai* is an infinitive, *parādair* is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra, despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!); or else as an instr plur 'by betrayal'

tām ha jaritar na pratyagrbhnan AV AB GB JB ŚŚ Gaastra reads *nah* in GB (v l *na*), but the sense clearly requires *na*

na sīsarīdata (HG †*sīsaridatah*) ApMB HG Both hopelessly corrupt, Winternitz p xxvi suggests *sīsarī datah*

adṛnhathāh śarkarābhis trivistapi (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhih*) KS ApŚ MŚ

samudram nah subhvam (AVPpp ms *subhavas*) *tasthivāńsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhvah svā abhiṣṭayah* RV *samudram na subhuvas tasthivānsam* AV And others, §§119, 789 *nah*, pronoun *na*, comparative particle

bhiṣajam na (MS *nah*) *sarasvatīm* VS MS TB *na*, comparative particle

7 Presence or absence of *h*

§385 The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions, but cf the startling *samiyāre* in the first variant under §387

§386 Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r* The variation is almost wholly lexical, it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words

sa ugrah sa hi (PG *i*) *havyo babhūva* TS PG This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant, an otherwise unknown *i* (said to mean 'and', the mss are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi*

himkārāya (and, *himkṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS MS ŚB *īmkārāya* (and, *īmkṛtāya*, KSA †*im*°) TS KSA TB ApŚ Interjections

tasminn (AV *yasminn*) *ā* (VS *tasmin ha*) *tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* RV AV VS · cf *tasminn ārpitā bhu*° *vi*° RV

cakṣur yeṣām (v l *hy eṣām*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ And others, see §340

yasyām idam viśvam (MS *viśvam hy asyām*) *bhuvanam āviveśa* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mahaś (MS *mahī*) *cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā* RV VS VSK MS ŚB *mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā* TS

dhiyo hinvāno (MS *dhiya invāno*) *dhiya in no avyāt* (RV *avyāh*) RV MS TS Rime words

antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānah (GB *hrīyamānah*, v l *hīyamānah*, but no v l in Gaastra) RV GB See §353

uta no brahmann avişah (MS °*man havişah*) RV MS KS AB ŠB ŠŠ KŠ The secondary *havişah* is unaccented in MS, perhaps felt as a verb form from root *hu* 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'

tena samhanu kṛnmasi AV *tena sann anugṛhnāsi* HG See §47

atho mātātho pitā TA *hatā mātā hatah pitā* SMB *hato hatamātā krimih* AV The TA probably secondary

rakşohāmīvacātanah (AV * *atho amīva*°) RV AV (both) VS TS MS KS ApŠ If the AV variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary

āntrīmukhah HG *ālikhann animişah hantrīmukhah* PG Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem form of *hantṛ*)

atho ye kşullakā iva AV *hatah krimīnām kşudrakah* SMB *atho sthūrā atho kşudrāh* TA

āsaninişūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eşām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV See §820

vanişthor hṛdayād (AV * *udarād*) *adhi* RV AV (both) ApMB

§387 Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest Only the first variant deserves special attention, in it all mss of Vait are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form *samjigāire*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an unquestionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant

tāh prācya (Vait °*yah*, MŠ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŠ † °*hīre*, Vait *samjigāire*) Vait KŠ MŠ *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŠ

sā (read *sa*) *nah prajām paśūn pāhy aranīyamānah* (p p *aháh, ánī* (sic!), *yámānah*) MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛnīyamānah* TA Read doubtless *ahṛnīyamānah* in MS, the absurd p p points in this direction

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *başkihān* (MS *vaş*°, ApŠ *bāşkān*) The word is wholly obscure

tujo janā (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS *tujo yujo vanam* (ŠŠ *balam*, emend) *sahah* AA ŠŠ The passage is obscure, we see little to choose between *svah* and *sahah*

pary agnim ahṛşata (VSK † *arşata* or *aharşata*) RV VS VSK *parīme 'gnim arşata* AV (v l in AV *arişata*) Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 43 99) reads as in RV except *aharşata*, with one ms of VSK, Barret em *ahṛşata*

CHAPTER X CONSONANT GROUPS

§388 In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone, second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse, and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX

1 Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss Editors have followed very different courses, sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss , sometimes they add to the confusion Cf on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228–232, Wackernagel I §98 The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says l c It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following

śunddhi (PG MG *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣīh* AG PG ApMB MG Many mss of ApMB read *sundhi*

o ṣu (MS *ṣū*) *vartta* (MS KS *varta*) *maruto vipram acha* RV MS KS The spelling *vartta* (2d plural) is etymological, Muller prints *varta* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV

§390 Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel ll. cc) Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss and editions in such cases Thus the word *pattra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in

śyenasya patram (MS *pattram*) *na plīhā śacībhiḥ* VS MS KS TB, where only MS has the etymological spelling So in

ukthapatra (MS °*rā*, TS °*pattra*) *īdyo gṛbhītaḥ* VS † TS MS KS † ŚB †, the editor of TS alone prints °*pattra*, all others (contrary to the Conc) °*patra*, but most mss of TS actually read °*patra* The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS in·

yena (*yenā*) *ṛṣayas* (*yenarṣ*°) *tapasā satram* (TS † *sattram*) *āsate* (VS ŚB *āyan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB,

where again most mss of TS read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*) We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases

§391 Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms

tā yā devā ā ca śāsvā (VS and Poona ed of TB *śāssvā*) *ca gurasva* VS TB The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*

iyam vaḥ sā satyā yām indrena samadhaddhvam (MS °*dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā yām indrena samadadhvam* KS Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring, to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA *abbhuvam*, MS *ā dhanvā*) RV MS TA The TA may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf §790) But if the comm is right it would be a lexically different word, he analyzes it as *ab-bhuvam* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)' This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible

ut tvā (SV PB Svidh *u †tvā*, two words) *mandantu somāḥ* RV AV SV PB ŚŚ Vait Rvidh Svidh The Conc prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV, and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first

ya ātṛnatty (SamhitopaniṣadB *ātṛnoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh *avida*°) *karnau* SamhitopaniṣadB VāDh N *ātṛnoty* is an impossible form and must be an error

ayam yah puro vibhinatty (SV °*naty*) *ojasā* RV SV The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint

agnir hotā vetv (ŚB *vettv*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu prāvitram* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ So the Conc , TB Poona ed reads *vettv* and *vettu* In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB comm *jānātu*) Cf next, and the variations between the participles *vīta* and *vitta*, §398 below

prati tvādityās tvag vettu (TB Poona ed † *vetu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *prati tvā divo* (TB *divah*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB Poona ed † *vetu*) TS TB And others in the context The text of TB actually reads *vetv-ity āha*, doubtless *vettu* is intended

āprā (AV * *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV AV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AA TA N See VV I pp 27, 129

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS *tiṣṭhād*) *dravineha dhattāt* RV MS KS AB TB N Here the KS form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person Cf VV I p 27

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapeśāh* RV TS See VV I p 26

satvānām (KS †*sattv*°) *pataye namah* MS KS This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen plur of *satvan* would be *satvanām* (cf §494), MS must intend gen plur of *sattva*, like KS

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS The AV has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *ddy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words, see §826

sadanān (Vait *sa dahan*) *pradahan v* (Vait *nv*) *agāh* GB Vait Particles *u* and *nu*, the passage is metrical and *v*(*nv*) is read consonantically

lokam (RV *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ *id*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV *jāmim*) *iyatuh* RV MS ApŚ

Double and single consonants between vowels

§393 The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology See Geiger,

Pāli §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant

§394 In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e* This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pāli and Prakrit, there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long But we find variations in the mss between single and double consonants after it, as in AV 15 10 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā* And so in the variant

sa no jīveṣv ā yame AV *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV TA ,

where most mss of AV. read *yame*, but the comm *yamed*, which is certainly intended, the next word begins with *d-*, and the actual reading of RV TA is *yamad* See Whitney's note on AV 18 2 3, and VV I p 74 This is clearly a phonetic simplification

§395 The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions, the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently

apsarassu (HG °*rāsu ca*) *yo gandhah* ApMB HG

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG *medhāpsarahsu*, Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh) RVKh MG *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA MahānU HG ApMB ApG

Here the fem gender of the word, and its nom sg *apsarāh*, may have helped in the change But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected

yā te agne 'yāsayā (VS ŚB *'yahśayā*, TS *'yāśayā rajāśayā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ *yā te agne rajāśayā* (VS ŚB *rajahśayā*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ

§395a The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-*

agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam (SV *bhajase mahad dhanam*) RV SV

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyai* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l c , §393) Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine) But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved, the *rai* forms seem original

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS

ŚB TB (The Conc quotes AŚ ApŚ under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrāḍ* etc)

rāyas poṣeṇa (MS *rayyā*) *mā paśyata* (and *vah paśyāmi*) TS MS KS

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*, a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-tama*

indrāya (MS MŚ °*ya tvā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS ŚB *suṣūtamam*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ

§398. The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift, it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older Cf §329, *agnir hotā veiv* (*veitv*)

iṣṭam ca vītam (ŚB AŚ *vittam*) *ca* (ŚŚ *cābhūt*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

śocasva devavītamah (KS °*vittamah*) RV RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *rocasva devavītamah* VS

§399 More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant They are chiefly lexical We begin with those in which the vowel is short Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu*

acittapājā (TA *acyuta*°) *agnīt*, and

acittamanā (TA *acyuta*°) *upavaktā* MS TA ŚŚ Proper names of rishis, 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense, the latter is secondary

citim (MS KS MŚ *citim*) *juhomi manasā* (VS TS ŚB add *ghṛtena*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ ApŚ See Keith on TS (*HOS* 19 p 444, n 1) *Citim* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *cittim*, but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs To be sure, one ms of MS has *cittim*, but MŚ *citim* The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*cit*) the fire-altar In the same context occurs

cittim acittim (KS ms †*citim acittim*, emended by von Schroeder) *cinavad* KS † °*vo*) *vi vidvān* RV TS KS Add to VV I §337 Cf prec

mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārinah* AV VS TS MS KS Lexical, but the reading with *tt* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS , 'in first thought'. 'piling (the altar) first'

§400 One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem
varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi (TB Conc °*bhiḥ*, Poona ed °*bhi*, MS *kakubbhiḥ*) *śiśriyānah* (TB *śrayasva*) TS MS TB Loc sing instr plur of *kakubh* The form *kakubhiḥ* is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed , yet the comm seems to have read so (but he glosses *uttamāṅge*, as if loc)

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere corruptions and false readings
nama ākhidate ce prakhidate ca VS MS KS *nama ākkhidate ca prakkhidate ca* TS The curious doubling in TS is authorized by TPr 14 8, but the mss show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's note on TPr , and Weber's on TS 4 5 9 2.
ayā san (*ayāh san, ayās san*) *manasā hitah* (MS *kṛttah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (*vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB *kṛttah* is obviously a blunder Cf §402
vicṛtlāya (VS *vicṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA *vicṛtāya* probably an error
nivṛtah (ŚŚ *nivṛttah*) *puruṣād dṛtih* AV ŚŚ The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other
vaiśvānarah pratnathā nākam āruhat (PB †*āruha*) AV PB TA ApŚ In all followed by *diva-*, *āruhad* is the actual reading PB has a phonetic simplification or corruption, a 2d sing impv is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pāda) Add to VV I §332
phalāya, and *phallāya*, KhG *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB GG See §79
samudrād udajani vah (ApŚ *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53
imām narāh (*narah*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (*eta, etat*), see §328
yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV MS TA Corruption in MS
vivitl (*vicitl, vivitlyai, vivisṭyai*) *svāhā*, see §866
māyādevā avataran HG *adevā devavattaram* ApMB Several HG mss read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text
ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīnām* AV See §832
iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir drawnodā yatibhir (MS once *yattibhir*) *āśirdā* MS † KS † ApŚ † The isolated *yattibhir* can only be a mistake

pitvo (VS MS. *pidvo*) *nyañkuh kakkaṭas* (MS *kakuṭhas*, TS *kaśas*) VS TS MS

daridra (TS °*dran*) *nīlalohita* VS TS MS KS ŚB Epithet of Rudra, the TS form apparently felt as a participle Keith, 'waster'

apā vṛdhi parivṛtam (TB Conc °*vṛttim*, comm °*vṛtim*, Poona ed text and comm °*vṛtim*) *na rādhah* RV TB

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB Conc *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hiṛsīh* GB Vait Kauś Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB

rajani (AV Berlin ed *rajjuni*, by emend) *granther dānam* (AŚ *dhānām*) AV AŚ Vait The emendation is probably right, at least in giving the true original reading of the passage, but there is no variant Caland in his translation of Vait quotes it as reading *rājani*, perhaps by a slip

jīvebhyas tvā samude vāyur indrah AV 8 1 15a Conc says read *samimude*, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p p *sam-ude* 'conversation' The comm however connects the word with root *mud* If this were right the variant could be classed with §306 Uncertain

svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣnan (SV *iṣnan*) RV SV Conc suggests *muṣnan* in RV , see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc

§402 Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single or double consonant is long in both cases Particularly interesting, as suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant This seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that position Thus

sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt (VS °*niṣāt*, LŚ *eva kilb*°) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ The LŚ obviously has a secondary lect fac , altho it makes good sense

ayā (MS *ayāh*, KS *ayās*) *san* (KS ms *ayāsā*) *manasā hitah* (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB Cf §401

jīvām ṛtebhyah parinīyamānām AV *mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām* TA Read *mṛtebhyah* in AV with some mss and SPP

sarvam ni ṣvāpayā janam RVKh AV Edgerton, *AJP* 35 439, has suggested *ṣvāpayāj janam* as the true reading

§403 There are several variations concerning the synonymous adverbs *paścā* and *paścāt*, before following *d-* In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved
apaścāddaghvane (SV *apaścāda°*) *nare* (SV *narah*) RV SV TB ApŚ
apaścāddaghvānnam (AV *apaścādaghvānnasya*) *bhūyāsam* AV MS ApŚ MŚ
paścādoṣāya glāvnam VS *paścāddoṣāya glāvam* TB

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīta* (and *parī°*), pple of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīta* (*parī°*), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*) In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious
yat kuśīdam apratītam (TS *°tīttam*, and so TA Poona ed , with v l *°tītam*, SMB *apradattam*) *mayeha* (TS *mayi*) TS MS TA MŚ SMB *apamityam apratīttam yad asmi* AV *yāny apāmityāny apratīttāny* (TB Poona ed *°tītāny*) *asmi* TB ApŚ It seems that the original form must be *apratīttam*, from *prati-dā* (cf SMB), but possibly the pple of *prati-i* may be defended So the comm on TA reads (*apratītam*), glossing *na pratyarpitam*
śyene parīto (VSK *parīto*) *acarac ca †vāte* VS VSK ŚB *śyene vāta iva yo 'carat parīttah* AV Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*
apah sṛṣāsan svar (TB ApŚ *suvar*) *apratītah* (TB Conc *°tīttah*, Poona ed text and comm *°tītah*) RV AV KS TB ApŚ Here the double *t* has no standing
stuhi śūram vajrinam apratīkam (TB Conc *apratīttam*, Poona ed *°tītam*) MS TB The only correct reading is *apratītam* 'invincible' On MS see §138

§405 In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt
atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādanā* (TA *°nāt*) *te minotu* (AV *krnotu*) RV AV †TA A clear error in TA see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV
ugrampaśyā (MS *ugram paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TA Names of Apsarases The MS has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*, see §820
nama ākhidate ca prakhidate ca VS MS KS *nama ākkhi° ca prakkhi° ca* TS See §401
svāna bhrājā°. VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *svāna bhrāṭ* TA *svān nabhrād* KS *suvāñ nabhrād* MS MŚ Keith on TS suggests *svāna nabhrāj-* as the original form

2 Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406 The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid

§407 We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51, Jacobi, *Ausgewahlte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi)

usrāv (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam* *anaśrū* (KS *anaśśū*, v l °*śrū*) *brahmacodanau* VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ See Keith on TS 1 2 8 2, he points out that *anaśśū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt

manyor mṛdhrasya (HG *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB HG *manyoh krodhasya nāśanī* PG Kirste suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd°*

krīḍī ca śākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ *sākī* †*corjiṣī ca*) VS VSK ApŚ Here the dissimilated form is secondary, it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*)

āvat tam (TA read *āvar tam*, §873) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV AV SV KS TA

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y* We have a number of cases concerning it, to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928

abhinne khilye (TB *khille*) *nidadhāti devayum* RV AV TB Comm on TB *khilībhūte*, the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha TA Bibl Ind *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA Poona ed, text and comm *duhsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU See §255

aśvān anaśśato (KS †ApŚ *anaśyato*, MŚ van Gelder, *anasvato*) *dānam* KS TA ApŚ MŚ See §255

ud u tye (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS PB GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ The secondary MS MŚ reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*

yad annenātirohati RV ArS VS TA *yad aṇyenābhavat saha* AV Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y* On the nonsensical reading of AV (the comm has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §838 The assimilation is secondary

capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur* VS MS KS TB *capya* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure, *cappam* may be a graphic blunder

sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām (KSA *vṛkkā°*) TS KSA The TS form is a secondary and (as shown by Av *vərəδka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s v *vṛkka*)

§409 A single case concerns *l*

gāvo gulgulugandhayah (Vait *guggulu°*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*, but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form

§410 As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408 Besides, we find

tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (ApŚ *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ, assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas*

yathāyatham nau tanvau (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* KS AŚ MŚ The MŚ is obviously corrupt, no v l quoted

mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS *°hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikitvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

viśvavidam (AV *°do*) *vācam aviśvaminvām* (AV *aviśvavinnām*) RV AV See §236

apa durhārddiśo jahi Kauś Read *°dviśo*, the corruption may be graphic (§869)

§411 Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG *prataram na*, mss *°ran na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG

daivyā (AV *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS °*rā*, AV °*rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani*°, KS † *vaniṣan na*, AV *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etai*) RV AV TS KS

akṣatam ariṣṭam ilāndam SMB · *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnam gopāyanam* ŚG Epithets of the cow, cf the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS 4 2 1 22 7, 10, and 4 2 7 28 12 Altho SMB comm says *ilāndam ilānnam kṣīrādilakṣanam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed *'yam*) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*, v l *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU Here probably MahānU is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original

ukṣantūdnā maruto ghṛtena AV 3 12 4 So Conc, with Whitney's Transl, the comm, and SPP But according to Whitney no ms reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotriyas*, most of them have °*ūnnā*, a few °*ūtnā* Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 32 366) has °*ūnā* See §183

[*svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavah* (TB Conc *tṛnnutarbh*°, ApŚ and TB Poona ed *tṛpnutarbh*°) RV TB ApŚ *tṛnnu*° probably misprint]

§412 When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule But it occurs in a couple of cases

sahasrāpsāh pṛtanāṣāṭ (SV °*ṣād*) *na yajñah* RV SV

anuṣṭum (MS °*ṭub*) *mitrasya* (GB Vait add *patnī*) MS KS GB Vait

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals

§413 In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains anusvāra This may be merely a matter of writing

devya (ApŚ *divyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ *namnam*°) PB KŚ ApŚ

vājasya hi prasave (TS °*ve*) *nannamīti* (TS *namna*°) TS MS KS

ā yam (MS MŚ *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāśuṣe* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ Lect fac in MS MŚ (verb form, 'they have come')

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with anusvāra But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc and neuter (adverbial) forms *tam* and *tad* (*tan*), and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc as a mere corruption

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA

tan (JB *tam*) *mā punar kartary erayadhvam* JB KBU
tṛta etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje TB *tṛta enam manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* AV
Conc and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended

§415 Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exceception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt, in it a following nasal (!) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute
śiśum nadīnām harim adribudhnam (TS *°buddham*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation

§416 The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually, there is, then, no need to repeat them here

§416a To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601–4, and in that of *ṛ* with *ru*, §§678–80 We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622–4

3 Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417 Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ñ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231, Wackernagel I §233a The dropping of the mute is required by APr 2 20 The VPr 6 30 requires it before a voiced mute, the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389) The other Prātiśākhyas ignore it All texts seem to show it sporadically But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value Note Weber's disregard of the

TS mss in the first two variants, which is typical, other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated

bṛhaspate †yāmyām (KS ms °*yā* emend °*yām*) *yuñgdhi* (AŚ *yuñdhi*) *vācam* TS MS KS AŚ But practically all mss of TS *yuñdhi*

parivṛñdhi (TS MS ŚB °*vṛñgdhi*) *harasā* VS TS MS KS ŚB But here too all mss of TS *vṛñdhi*, and so p p of MS

ādityam garbham payasā sam añgdhi (VS *añdhi*, TS KS *añjan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

athāmṛtena jaritāram añdhi (ApŚ *añgdhi*) TB ApŚ But TB Poona ed *añgdhi*, text and comm

śucir añkte (SV *añte*) *śucibhir gobhir agnih* RV SV

yah pauruṣeyena kravişā samañkte (AV *samañte*) RV AV Kauś

udno (VS MS *apo*) *dattodadhim bhintta* (VS MS *bhinta*) VS TS MS *udno dehy udadhim †bhindhi* KS

śunddhi (PG MG and v l of ApMB *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣīh* AG PG ApMB MG

ayam sa śiñkte (AV *śiñte*) *yena gaur abhīvṛtā* RV AV JB N

sampasyan pañktīr (AV *pañtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānah* RV AV

achā vīram naryam pañktirādhasam (SV *pañti*°) RV SV VS MS ŚB TA

[*pāñktrah* (KSA em *†pāñktah*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA *†man*°) *te pitṛnām* (KSA *†pitīnām*) TS KSA The mss of both texts all read *pāmtra*, intending *pāñtra*, TS comm *pāmtra-kaśān*, as a dvandva]

§419 There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*, see §§314–5, 321–2, 332–7, 357, 367, 370) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu* The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy, there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well

girah somah (SV *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāh* RV SV Here there is a change in syntax, but cf the next, where there is none

ghṛtāhutaḥ somapṛṣṭhaḥ (MŚ *stoma°*) *suvīraḥ* AV MŚ *stomapṛṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkaḥ* KS TB † 3 7 2 7b, AŚ ApŚ The originality of AV is supported by the RV epithet *somapṛṣṭha* (fashioned on the model of *ghṛtapṛṣṭha*)

apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhiḥ (TS tr *soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS *stu°*, MS *ṣṭu°*) TS MS KS PB *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te matsvido nṛbhi ṣṭutastotrasya* (AS *nṛbhiḥ sutasya*) AŚ ŚŚ

nārāśaṁsena stomena (RV *somena*) RV VS TS MS KS AB SB LŚ Kauś See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54 54 and 56, Hillebrandt, *Lieder des RV* 124 Grassmann would emend RV to *stomena*, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio facilior

[*sutā* (mss *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss *vedamātā*) AV *stuto mayā varadā vedamātā* TAA Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV edition Weber, *ISt* 2 144, discusses the TAA passage, he would understand *stuto* as *stutā-u*]

§420 The rest need no subdivision

parīyamā cit kramate (AŚ ŚŚ *cid ramate*) *asya dharmani* AV AŚ ŚŚ 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance' Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable reading, to us it seems merely a lect fac

tam tvam viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ kratūn (KS °*bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ Apparently KS has the true reading, cf Caland on ApŚ 10 25 1, *kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣināḥ kalpaya*

ahorātrābhyām puruṣaḥ samena (GB * *kṣanena*) GB (both) ŚB

yena śriyam akṛnutām PG *yena striyam akṛnutam* (ŚŚ *striyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ SMB GG *śriyam* is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects

bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (TS KS *bṛhadgrāvā*, MS *bṛhadrāyāḥ*, MŚ *bṛhadrāyaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The form containing *g* seems to be the older

śumbhānas (KS *stam°*) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV †*tanvām*) *svām* RV SV MS KS TB 'Adorning (establishing) his own person'

anyavratasya (TA *anyádvra°*) *saścima* (TA °*mah*, Poona ed °*ma*, RV *saścire*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Tho the comm on TA takes *anyádvratasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one, *anyad* is the 'stem' form

māteva putram bibhṛtā sv (VS ŚB *bibhṛtāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS ŚB

namaḥ śuṣkyāya (MS *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS TS MS KS Von Schroeder thinks MS is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*, but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification)

bhayam śūnmabhyām (KSA ° *madbhyām*) TS KSA Stems in *-man -mant*, obscure names for some part of the horse's body

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added)

kṛtān nah pāhy aṅhasah (TA *enasah*) MS TA *ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah* TB The latter is poor, comm *ṛtāt prāptāt tasmād aṅhasah*

ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ TS *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām* VS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS cf *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS KS ApŚ Ritualistic rigmarole The MS pāda may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS

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

stavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhiyā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution

āyobhavyāya (AG *māyo*°) *catuṣpadī* AG ŚG *catvāri māyobhavāya* TB ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG The ŚG is obviously secondary and poor, it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*

yāsām agnir iṣṭyā (KSA *niṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV TS KSA The KSA reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice' 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'

erum tundānā patyeva jāyā AV *perum tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS The original form of *eru peru* is unknown, it probably means the male organ

purudasmo viṣurūpa (KS *purudasmavad viṣvarūpam*) *induḥ* VS KS ŚB *urudrapso viśvarūpa induḥ* TS ApŚ Synonyms

madhvā (VS *adhvā*) *rajāṅsīndriyam* VS MS KS TB Comm on VS *madhvā*, the only possible reading Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśīmahi tvā* ŚG *tvayāvasena* etc TS KS TB AŚ MŚ Kauś SMB PG *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected *SBE* 29 98, note]

CHAPTER XI VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422 The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter —In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between *ā* and short *a* plus nasal, they will not be repeated here See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants

§423 Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent) Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and *ā*

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening, that is, cases in which *ā*, not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified Shortenings of *ā* before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf §§393 ff) But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions

1 Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases

§427 To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā* Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV , and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form, whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed, cf Wackernagel III p 34 f and references in small print there) Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*, it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p 312 *infra*, rather different is the implication of III p 92) Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening We shall therefore begin with—

(a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*

§428 Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm, at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264–6 The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a* Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, nor, in TS , at the end of a

kandukā (Wackernagel I §265a, note), cf VV I p 174 Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a* thirteen of the 2d sing impv *-a*, eight of 2d plur *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing middle *-sva*, four of 1st plur *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing perfect *-a*, 2d sing perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur perfect *-a* There are seven other cases two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta* On *prā*, probably not to be connected with IE **prō*, see §§439, 449, 465

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference But some general considerations suggest themselves

§431 First the variant word never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases (Note that in AV 19 39 10d *suvā* is a misprint for *suva*, see Whitney's note, the pāda is repeated without variant from AV 5 22 3d) One exception has been explained in VV I p 174 *vanaspate 'va sṛjā* (KS *sṛja*) AV VS TS MS KS For another see *nihāram* etc , §446

§432 Secondly only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus

indra somam pibā imam RV AV SV MS *indra somam imam piba* RV ŚŚ Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form, but p p of RV MS both *piba* Cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8 17 1

§433 Thirdly Otherwise the word following the *a ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV , short *a* RV) and seems due to special reasons In both cases, as its happens, the following word is *pra* We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy), possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf §464)

ut tiṣṭhata (AV Kauś °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV AV VS ŚB TA Kauś The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter

juhota (AV °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV AV VS TA This pāda of AV (18 2 2b) is RV 10 14 14b, the preceding one is RV 10 14 15a (these two RV verses are jumbled in AV , see Whitney-Lanman),

yamāya madhumattamam But further, RV 7 102 3b has *juhotā madhumattamam*, the first word is the first word of AV 18 2 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV *juhotā* is a reminiscence of *juhotā* RV 7 102 3b, where the *ā* is regular, in that RV passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV it is immediately preceded by that word

§434 With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ Both are regular, in AV *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS KS ŠB Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda Perhaps *tvam* is surplusage, whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvam* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam* But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular

§435 Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a* In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long The following syllable conforms better, it is short in about three fourths of the cases In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*, but in the other three *ā* is older It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda, this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are

hinva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŠ *gātrāṇi*) *harivah* TS Vait KŠ ApŠ MŠ Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV °*vā*) *vājasātaye* RV AV SV KS AB ŠB Lengthening secondary

abhi vānīr ṛṣīnām sapta (SV °*tā*) *nūṣata* RV SV

vidma (Kauś text °*mā*, read °*ma* with AV ?) *te svapna janitram* AV Kauś (pratīka only)

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam asti* (MS *astu*, KS °*nam astu kṛṣnam*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Lengthening secondary

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB

asti hi ṣmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

adyā (SV GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV SV AB KB AA TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG GG Svidh

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are

vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS *dadh*°) *havīṃṣi* MS KS TB N

upa (MS *uā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS TB TA

indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (AV *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr*°) RV AV MS ArS AB KB TB AA N Note that *ā* is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464)

§438 In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical, and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz , six, four, and six times respectively It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth, one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the sixth of an anuṣṭubh This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura) In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda

pra (KS *prā*) *na āyur jīvase soma tārīh* RV KS AB GB Vait MŚ It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS has preserved a historic

representative of IE **prō* Cf *pra* (*prā*) *smā mināty* (*minoty*) *ajarah*, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449

§440. In the second syllable

hinva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāṇi*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ

vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā dadhiṣe* (MS *dadh*°) *havīṃṣi* MS. KS TB N

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB

vidma (Kauś °*mā*) *te svapna janitram* AV Kauś

adyā (SV GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV SV AB KB TB AA TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG GG Svidh

upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS TB TA

§441. In the third syllable.

juhota (AV °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV AV VS TA

pretā (TS *upa preta*) *jayatā narah* RV SV AV VS TS Read *pra-itā* in RV etc TS seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse

janiṣvā (MS °*ṣva*, RV KS °*ṣṭa*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV TS MS KS ApŚ

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam asti* (MS *astu*, KS °*nam astu kṛṣnam*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§442 In the fourth syllable

varivasya mahāmaha (SV °*syā mahonām*) RV SV

tam ā pṛna (TB *pṛnā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV TB

ut tiṣṭhata (AV Kauś °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV AV VS ŚB TA Kauś See §433

ā juhotā (TB ApŚ °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV ŚB TB ApŚ (pratīka)

ramayata (KS °*tā*) *marutah syenam āyinam* (MŚ *marutah pretam vāyinam*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ Three mss of KS *ramayata*

asti hi ṣmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§443 In the fifth syllable, before the cesura

udīrayathā (MS MŚ °*tā*, AV KS °*ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV AV TS. MS KS AŚ

yatrā nah cakrā (Conc *cakra* for KS with one ms, but ed *cakrā* with others) *jarasam tanūnām* RV VS MS KS GB ŚB. ApŚ ApMB HG

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA

§444. In the sixth syllable of anuṣṭubh

indra somam pibā imam RV AV SV MS *indra somam imam piba* RV ŚŚ See §432.

§445 In the seventh syllable of jagatī·

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV *dhanvā*) *vājasātaye* RV AV SV KS AB ŚB The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter tends to be long

§446 In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī

apo devīr upa sṛja (MS *sṛjā*) *madhumatīḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB

bṛhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV ĀV SV VS TS MS KS No real variant, since *dīya* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS , see §428 and VV I p 174

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam naḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless *tvam* be deleted, see §434

vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS *sṛja*) AV VS TS MS KS Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p 174

dyumantam śuṣmam ā bharā (SV *bhara*) *svarvidam* RV SV

aditsan vā (MS *dhipsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyan*) *samjagara* (TB °*jagārā*, MS °*cakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS TB TA

vayam rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma (MS † KS † °*mā*, MS p p and TS *jāgṛiyāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS VSK TS MS KS

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS °*tha*) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

sapta yonīr (KS *yonīnr*) *ā pṛṇasva* (TS KS TB °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ

bhagemām dhiyam ud avā (TB † ApMB † *ava*) *dadan naḥ* RV AV VS TB ApMB

nihāram in ni me hara (TS †*harā*) TS KS The TS form is quoted as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr. 3 12, the actual quotation there includes the following word *nihāram*, which is the initial of the next pāda There is no doubt of the pāda-division, the pāda is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh But the lengthening of *a* final in its pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following *nihāram*), or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the saṃhitā-pāṭha is not *hara* but *harās*, subj and not imperative This was wrongly analyzed by the p p. as *hara*, and hence arose the TPr rule on the subject This variant should then be added to VV I §152 We do not count it in our figures for this section

§447 In the ninth syllable of jagatī

abhi vānīr ṛṣīnām sapta (SV °*tā*) *nūṣata* RV SV

§448. In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh

vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS °*va*) *nah* RV VS TS MS KS No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS, cf §428 and VV I p 174

gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °*tā*, MS °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS *veṭ*, TA *vaṭ*) VS MS ŚB TA Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter, hence lengthening secondarily in TA Note that TA is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable

§449 Different syllables, with change of meter

idam me prāvatā vacah RV VS TS KS TB *oṣadhayah prāvata vācam me* MS *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position

indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam (AV *nu pra vocam vīr*°, but most mss, SPP, and Whitney Transl *prā* for *pra*) RV AV ArS MS AB KB TB AA N—Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 48 47f) like RV On *prā* cf §439 and 437

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*, adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*, gerunds in *ya* or *yā*, instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*, and neuter nom -accs in *ma* or *mā*, also one variant of *acha achā* It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf §438) Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda

§451. *Adverbs in tra trā*, viz *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra* There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a), the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected

§452 In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*

yatrā (MS **yatra*, AV **yenā*) *nah* (AV **te*) *pūrve pitarah paretāh* (RV MS * *pareyuh*) RV AV (bis) MS (tris)

yatrā sapta ṛṣīn (TS KS *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuh* RV VS TS MS KS N

yatrā (TS *yatra*) *suhārdah sukṛto madanti* (TS °*te*) AV TS

atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādanā* (TA °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV † TA

tatrā sadah (SV *tatra yonim*) *kṛnavase* RV SV KS

tatrā (SV *tatra*) *no brahmanaspatih* RV SV *tatra indro bṛhaspatih* VS

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

atrā (VS *atra*) *jahīmo* (RV TA *jahāma*, AV *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV *aśivāh*, and *asan durevāh*, VS ŚB *'śivā ye asan*) RV AV VS. ŚB TA

§453 *Adverbs in tha, thā, and dha, dhā* Among the variants are found only *atha, athā, adha, adhā*, and one case of *itthā, itthā* Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā* The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha* The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā* There is this time no difference in accent The *itthā itthā* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*

§454 In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one, but the following syllable is long also in every case but one

atha (AV *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no gṛhān* AV HG.

adha (TB *adhā*) *vāyum niyutah saścata svāh* RV VS MS TB

atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhah TS *adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gṛhe* VS

atha jivrir (read *jirvir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadāsi* AV *athā jīvrī* ApMB *adhā jivrī vidatham ā vadāthah* RV

adha syāma (MS *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ

athā (AV *atha*) *devānām vaśanīr bhavāti* RV AV TA

athā (TS * *atha*) *bhava yajamānāya śam yoḥ* RV TS MS KS AŚ No true variant, the short *a* once in TS (3 2 11 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*, see §428 This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi

§455 For completeness we add here the single case of *itthā* varying with *ittha* The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha* Of course the original and regular form is *itthā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477

ihettha (AV °*thā*) *prāg apāg udag adharāk* AV GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait

§456 *Gerunds in ya yā* According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr sing forms of *i* or *ti* stems This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening

hiraṇyayāt pari yoner niṣadyā (MS °*ya*) RV MS ApŚ

vanaspate rasanayā niyūyā (MS °*ya*, KS TB *rasanayābhidhāya*) RV MS KS TB AŚ N

viśvā agne abhiyujo vihatyā (AV TB °*ya*) RV AV MS KS TB

rudrāḥ samsṛjya (MS °*yā*, TS ApŚ *sambhṛtya*) *pṛthivīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

mitraḥ samsṛjya (MS °*yā*) *pṛthivīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

§458 *Instrumentals of a-stems in na nā* In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a* There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*, these three forms are initial in their pādas In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV has, while SV substitutes short *a* against the meter In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short

kavir gīrbhiḥ kāvyenā (SV °*na*) *kavih san* RV SV

tenā (AV TB Poona ed and MŚ ed *tena*, but all mss of MŚ *tenā*) *sahasrakāṇḍena* AV TB ApŚ. MŚ *tena vayam sahasravalśena* TB ApŚ

tena (AV *tenā*) *vayam bhagavantaḥ syāma* RV AV VS TB ApMB.

yena vahasi sahasram VS MS ŠB *yenā* (KS *yena*) *sahasram vahasi* AV TS KS Vait

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom masc) in ma mā* (once, *a ā*) Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc *ā* neut *a*) Sometimes there is a change of number altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the p p regularly writes *a* Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible, and cf Wackernagel III §145h There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut sing , so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf Wackernagel III §145b)

§460 The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭubh once, thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr*-(cf §§433, 464) The preceding syllable is always long, the following one is long just half the time

śarmā (TA °*ma*) *sapratha āvṛṇe* KS TA *śarma yachātha sapratha* (read °*thāh* with all mss , cf Lanman, *NInfl* 560) AV The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS has a clear rhythmic lengthening This is the only indubitable case

vyomā (TS °*ma*) *saptadaśah* VS TS MS KS ŠB KŠ MŠ—BR assume a change of gender here in *vyoman* The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant

ayam sahasram ānavo vidharma (ApŠ °*mā*) SV ApŠ MŠ Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula, rather change of gender, neut to masc , in ApŠ Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey)

brahma (ApŠ °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā ṛtasya* PB ApŠ Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŠ masc , 'priest of the gods')

ṛtasya brâhma (AV *bhūtānām brahmā*') *prathamota* (emended by RWh in AV to *prathamo ha*) *jajñe* AV TB The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation, see Whitney's note

tan no brahmā (TA °*ma*) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Here also there is change of gender (MS *brahmā'*)

triṁśad dhāma (MS MŚ *triṁśáddhāmā* as one word) *vi rājati* RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS understands its compound as of masc gender

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS MS TB AŚ ŚS *brahmā devakṛtopahūtā* ŚB Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB

varma (AV °*mā*) *sīvyadhvam bahulā pṛthūni* RV AV KS ApŚ Both forms here are plural, and so in the next

yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma (AV *nāmā*) RV AV Cf prec , note the variation at the end of a pāda

tava śravāṁsy upamāny ukthyā (SV °*ya*) RV SV The only case of a n pl in *a ā* not from an *n*-stem

§461. One case of the preposition *acha achā* The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain, but in RV it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s v) One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here Wackernagel II 1 p 131, believes that *achā* is original

acha yāhy ā †vahā daivyaṃ janam RV *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV SV We consider that *vahā vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*. The p p , of course, always reads short *a*

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened

§462 Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way

§463 The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse There are five metrical

variants of *a ā* before the suffix *vant*, in every one the variant syllable is second in the pāda

§464 Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v* If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence, cf above, §§433, 460 Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants — For compounds of *a* privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f

§465 *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition All the cases are prose In two out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*

apamityam apratītam yad asmi AV (pratīkas in GB Vait Kauś) *yāny apāmityāny apratītāny* (TB Poona ed °*tītāny*) *asmi* TB ApŚ (Metrical in AV, but prose in TB ApŚ)

upāvīr (TS ApŚ *upa*°) *asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ See pw VII p 325

prayāsāya (VS *prā*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA TB TA On *prā*, not to be identified with IE **prō*, cf §§429, 439

[*prāvanebhiḥ* (MS KS *pravanena*) *sajoṣasaḥ* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana* See §491]

§466 Other compounds The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v* The first three cases are metrical, the others prose For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476

āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB And (in same passage) *āvittau* (TS *āvinnau*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being long already) Cf §665

sahasrapoṣam subhage (TS * °*gā*) *rarānā* RV TS MS KS SMB ApMB *sahasrāpoṣam subhage rarānā* AV Kauś

īde agnim svavasam (AV *svāvasum*) *namobhiḥ* RV AV MS TB AŚ Only the AV truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu* The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*

deva samsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe (AV *sahasrā*°) AV TS *sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe* SMB (Conc quotes the latter again for AV TS, but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase)

dvārapāya svāhā, dvārapyai svāhā, dvārapopa spṛśa, dvārapy upa spṛśa, all HG *dvārā*° etc, ApMB

[*bṛhaspatināˊ rāyā svagākṛtah* TS †*svagākārakṛto mahyam* MŚ Conc *svagak˚* for MŚ]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr texts short *a*, but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed, we have seen (§§238 ff) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels The first five variants are metrical

aśvavat (RV *aśvāˊ*) *soma rīravat* RV SV VS

indravanto (TS *indrāˊ*) *maruto viṣnur agnih* RV AV TS KS †40 10b

puṣpavatīh (TS *puṣpāˊ*) *supippalāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

puṣpavatīh (TS VıDh *puṣpāˊ*) *prasūvarīh* (TS ˚*vatīh*, AV KS ˚*matīh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

sṛkāhastā (TS KS *sṛkāvanto*, MS *sṛgavanto*) *niṣaṅginah* VS TS MS KS

indravān bṛhad bhās svahā KS *indrāvān svāhā* TS TB *indravān svavān bṛhad bhāh* MS

dūrehetır indriyāvān (PB † ˚*yavān*) *patatrī* (PB ˚*trih*) TS PB TB PG ApMB

vātavān varṣan bhīma ravat svahā MS *vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛt svāhā* TS *vātavan varṣann ugra rāvat svahā* KS

agnīndrayor aham devayajyayā vīryavan indriyavān bhūyāsam MŚ *indrāgniyor* (MŚ ˚*nyor*) *aham devayajyayendriyāvy annādo* (MŚ ˚*driyavan vīryavan*) *bhūyasam* TS MŚ *indrasyaham devayajyayendriyavī* (KS ˚*yavan*, MŚ ˚*yavan*) *bhūyāsam* TS KS MŚ

juṣṭam devebhyo havyam ghṛtāvat (TS *ghṛtavat svāhā*) TS MS

dhiṣanas tvā devīr visvadevyāvatīh (MS MŚ *dhiṣana tvā devī visvadevyavatī*) *pṛthivyah sadhasthe* VS TS MS KS ŚB And so with *aditiṣ tva* (˚*tis tvā*) *devī* , *devānām tvā patnīr devīr* , *janayas tvāchinnapatra devīr* , *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtrī*, etc) , *gnās tvā devīr* All in same texts, Maitr always reading *viśvadevya˚*, the others ˚*vyā˚*

[*somam te krīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam* TS KS Conc *vīryavantam* for TS]

§468 *The reduplicating syllable* Two cases, in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*

trita etan (AV *tṛta enam*, comm *etat*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* (AV *mamṛje*) AV TB The AV form is more usual but bad metrically, TB (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmṛj-* (found RV)

śucanto agnim vavṛdhanta (AV *vā°*) *indram* RV AV KS The regular form is *va°*, but forms with *vā°* are found in RV

(d) Final *ā* optionally shortened to *a*, and other *a ā* either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds

§469 We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' *a ā* Real phonetic shortening of *ā* is not common In most of the following variants both short and long *a* can be justified morphologically We begin with an interesting group concerning *a* privative and the preposition *ā* Some of these concern lengthenings of *a* privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition *ā*

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV form *ā'deva*, 'godless', is the same as *ádeva*, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV itself A somewhat dubious theory on *ādeva*, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 6 49 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II 1 p 131

viśa ādevīr abhy aśnavāma RV *viśo adevīr abhy ācarantīh* RV AV AB *bhuvad* (SV *bhuvo*) *viśvam abhy ādevam* (SV *ad°*) *ojasā* RV SV Here the *ā* may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura, with short *a* we have a tribrach

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of *a* privative are

adayo (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV *adaya ugrah*) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS In pw I p 297 it is said that *ādāya* is an error for *adaya* But the p p repeats the form, it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from *ā-dā*

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *yavā āyavā ūmā †evā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS KS MŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS ApŚ The forms *yava(n)*, *yā°*, and *ayava(n)*, *ayā°*, are used with great confusion, but the *a-* seems to be felt as privative, the *y*-forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the *ay°* forms the latter half The form with *āy°* is not noted except here and in the next, it seems to be equivalent to *ay°*

sajūr abdo (MS * *abdā*) *ayavobhih* (TS ApŚ *'yāvabhih*, MS MŚ *āyavabhih*, KS *āyavobhih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ Cf preceding

§472 In the next we have a clear case of the preposition *ā* varying with *a* privative

yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah AV *yām apītā upatiṣṭhanta āpah* LŚ

'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon' 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'

§473 In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants, cf the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff) The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them *a* privative may be involved, so in the first

svastidā āghṛṇih (TB TA *agh*°) *sarvavīrah* RV AV MS TB TA This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā* The form *aghṛṇi* is recorded in no lexicon Comm on TB desperately takes the *a* as privative *asodhavyadīptih* (!) The comm on TA varies in different mss , one reading is *āgatadīptih* (taking *a* as =*ā*) The reading adopted in Poona ed is *adīptah, asmāsv anugrāhī,* which is not utterly unreasonable, cf the classical *aghṛṇin* (pw II p 286, 'nichts verachtend') But cf also *pūṣṇe 'ghṛṇaye svāhā,* §300, where the yet different form *aṅghṛṇi* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛṇi*

aśleṣā (TS *āsreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa,* both these forms are otherwise unknown BR derive *aśleṣa* from *a* privative, but *āśleṣa* (*āśr*°) from the preposition *ā,* this is hardly credible The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a-* is a case of shortening before two consonants

ā no viśva (MS °*vā*) *āskrā* (TB *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS °*ta*) *devāh* RV MS TB AŚ The word is obscure, *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown Comm on TB *ābhimukhyena kartārah santah,* which implies *ā* and supports BR's derivation from *ā* plus root (*s*)*kṛ* (Sāyana derives from *kram*) This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group

§474 There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of *a* privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders ' The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB Bibl Ind ed , and each time the Poona ed reads short *a* in text and comm without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts

arāddhyā edidhiṣuhpatim VS *ārādhyai †didhiṣūpatim* TB Conc 'For misfortune '

aṣāḍham (TB Conc *aṣ*° or *āṣ*°) *yutsu pṛtanāsu paprim* RV VS VSK MS TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Unconquerable '

aṣāḍham (TB *āṣ*°, Conc) *ugram sahamānam ābhih* RV AB TB

§475 Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *vant* They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II 1 §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case

nāsikāvate (TS °*kavate*) *svāhā* TS KSA

amāyān māyavattarah ŚB *māyām māyāvattarah* AB

idaprajaso (KS *idā*°) *mānavīh* TS MS KS

śirahpānipādapārśvaprṣthorūdarajaṅghasisnopasthapāyavo (MahānU °*prṣthodarajaṅghā*°) *me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

ūrnamradasam (TS TB ApŚ *ūrnā*°) *tvā stṛnāmi* (KS *ūrnamradah prathasva*, Kauś *ūrnamradam prathasva*) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *devebhyah* VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathasvornamradam svāsastham devebhyah* MS

§476 The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition

mitrāvarunanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyah (VSK *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS VSK ŚB

ye devā mitrāvarunanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas (VSK *vottara*°) *tebhyah svāhā* VS VSK ŚB

§477 The rest are sporadic The stem *aṣṭa aṣṭā* belongs with noun formation rather than here, *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf Wackernagel II 1 p 131, III p 358) On *itthā ittha* see §455, on *achā acha*, §461 Otherwise we record here only the form *visvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants

śivā visvāha (VS and p p of MS °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*, TS *visvāhabheṣajī*) VS TS MS KS (Cf *vratam rakṣanti visvahā* etc , §511) The reading of MS p p suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables) If the word is a compound of *visva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut plur in *a ā*, cf §§459 f)

ati vā (AV *ativa*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV *vā iva*

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N See §832

athem ava sya (AV *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivyāh* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth' 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth '

2 Non-final *a ā* in verb inflexion

§478 In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā* Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift

devān devayate (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV SV KS TB ApŚ MŚ

agne prehi prathamo devayatām (AV *devatānām*, MS KS *devāyatām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is meant for jagatī in all except AV , meter favors *devā°*

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV *amitrā°*) RV AV TS KS

devayuvam (TS TB *devā°*) *viśvavārām* (AŚ *°re*) TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

devīr āpo agreguvo devayuvam (VSK *devā°*) VS VSK ŚB

§479 Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p 155)

vasoṣpate ni ramaya (N *rām°*, so v l of AV) AV N *vasupate vi ramaya* MS

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS *yavayāsmad dveṣah* VS TS ŚB Kauś *yavaya* (v l *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TA

yāvayārātim KS *yavayārātīh* (MS Kauś *°tim*) VS TS MS ŚB Kauś The p p of MS has *yāvaya*

tatra havyāni gāmaya (KS *ga°*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ But von Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS with one of his three mss

§480 There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation, see VV I p 187, to which our first variant should be added

aditsan vā (MS *dhipsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyan*) *samjagara* (TB *°jagārā*, MS *°cakara*) *janebhyah* MS TB TA These are first person forms, so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS †*sāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atrinam* RV SV KS

bibheda valam (AV AŚ *balam*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ The *ā* is probably due to the meter here, in the middle it is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h) But the AV form is itself not regular, it should be *sehe*

svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanuvam*) *piprayasva* (AV *piprā°*) RV AV TA MahānU See VV I p 187 The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form

§481 There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a* They are mostly collected in VV I pp 128 f , 186 On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following

ānyāvākṣīd (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāṇi* VS TB Cf also

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*, so KS ed , with v l as Conc) *abhi somasyāṅśum* (ApŚ °*sunā*) KS ApŚ

§482 Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a* They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152–4, 167f) Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193), or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā a*, VV I pp 180f , and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples

ayann (TB ApŚ *āyann*) *arthāni kṛṇavann apānsi* RV KS TB ApŚ

ahā yad dyāvo (AV *devā*) *asunītim ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337

ā mā gantām (VSK † °*tam*) *pitarā mātarā ca* (VSK †*yuvam*) VS VSK 10 3 12c, TS KS ŚB Subject voc in VSK , nom elsewhere Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs

3 Non-final *a ā* in noun formation

§483 In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear, the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group

§484 Most of them fall into two classes First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the vriddhi of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this vriddhi The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite

§485 Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv°*, and *ay°*, *āy°*, to which attention has already been drawn in §471 The original form of the word in question is unknown

sajūr abdo (MS **abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (KS *āy°*, TS ApŚ *'yāvabhiḥ*, MS MŚ *āyavabhiḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (KS *āyavā ūmā* †*evā abdas*, TS ApŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ

yavānām (TS *yāv°*) *bhāgo 'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ayavānām (TS *ayāv°*) *ādhipatyam* VS TS MS KS

yavāś cāyavāś cādhipatayo āsan VS MS KS ŚB *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsīt* TS

§486 Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable, type *bhaga bhāga* They call for no comment

subhagamkaranī mama AV *subhāgamkaranam mama* SMB Most samhitā mss of AV *subhāg°*

mām agne bhāgınam kuru ApMB *mām ındra bhagınam kṛnu* AV

samsrāvabhāgā (*°gāh*, *°gās*, VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava°*) *stheyā* (Kauś *tavisā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

namaḥ parnāya (TS KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnaśādāya* (TS *°śadyāya*, VS *°śadāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

prātaḥ prātahsavasya (ApŚ MŚ *°sāvasya*) *śukravato* ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *prātahsāva* is the only form known to RV, but the other is commoner later

prātaḥ prātahsavasyendrāya (ApŚ MŚ *°sāvasyen°*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ

śrāvaś (VS *śravaś*) *ca me śrutiś ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS *śravaś* might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvaś*

kṣuro bhrajaś (TS *bhṛjvāñ*, MS *bhṛjaś*, VS *bhrājaś*) *chandaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB *bhrajaś* (KS ed †*bhrā°*, v l *bhra°*) *chandaḥ* VS (in next verse) TS KS (in same verse) ŚB Comm on VS *bhrajaś* for *bhrā°*

vahniḥ samtarano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA Different but synonymous roots

§487 Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning

yad bhūtam yac ca bhavyam (AV **ArS* VS *bhā°*, AV ** yad vā bhāvyam*) RV AV (bis) ArS VS TA Comm on AV and Ppp *bhav°* Metrical lengthening, possibly

uttarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ (TB also *°tā*) TS ŚB TB *upahūto 'yam yajamāna* (MS *°nā*) *uttarasyām devayajyāyām* (MS *°yājyā-yām*) MS AŚ ŚŚ

§488 Forms in other suffixes

havanaśrun (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV TB *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*

dūṣīkābhir hrādunim (KSA † *hra°*) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣikābhih* VS MS The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*, if KSA is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*

divācarebhyo (MG *°cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* MG VīDh *ahascarebhyah* ŚG (Sc *namah* in both) Also *naktamcarebhyah* ŚG VīDh *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyah* MG Stems *cara* and *cārin*

tatam me apas (TB ApŚ *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punah* RV KB TB AŚ ApŚ Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic

vratāni (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG Here the gerundive varies with a participle

§489 The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations, occasionally they may be lexically different in origin

adayo (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV ed with p p *adaya ugrah*, but mss *adā°*, and so comm) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS On the initial *ā* of MS see §471 The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV comm) Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS and note

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MS *°dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS *vaṣ°*, ApŚ *bāṣkān*) VS MS ApŚ Cf §219 The word is obscure, is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ ?

vāṣaṭ ApŚ *vaṣatkārah* AG ŚG If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss of ApŚ *vaṣaṭ*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vaṣaṭ*

ākhuh kaśo mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pitīnām* VS VSK MS *pāṇktrah* (KSA † *pāṇktah*, but mss of both texts *pāmtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA † *man°*) *te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitī°*) TS KSA See §77

hemantāya kakarān (KSA † *kakārān*) VS MS KSA ApŚ Name of an unknown animal or bird

[*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KSA † *vikarān*, Conc *vikārān*, ApŚ *vikirān*) VS KSA ApŚ]

āsṭām jālma (KS *jalma*) *udaram śrañśayitvā* (KS *srans°*) AV KS

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Read *kūvārasya* in KSA , see §198

sanderathaś śandıkera ulūkhalah ApMB *śāndīkera* (PG *saundıkeya*) *ulūkhalah* HG PG Fanciful names of demons

ākhuh sṛjayā śayandakas te maıtrāh (KSA *śayāndakās te maıtryāh*, em in ed to °*kas te maıtrāh*) TS KSA *śārgah sṛjayah śayāndakas te maıtrāh* VS MS The word *say°* is obscure, and may have been originally a compound

tāsā stha VS TS ŚB TB ApŚ *vasāh stha* MS KS MŚ Addressed to waters *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyana's guesses), *vaśāh* 'cows' It is held by some that *vaśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'

§490 Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having vriddhi in the first syllable and the other lacking it

tisras ca rājabandhavīh (HG °*vaih*) HG ApMB *prajāh sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaih* (MG °*vyah*) PG MG *sarvas ca rājabāndhavīh* (ŚG † °*bandhavaih*) AG ŚG (Oldenberg suggests reading °*vīh* in ŚG) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān°*, both from *bandhu*

mitrāvarunau prasāstarau prasāstrat (KŚ *pra°*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The office of the *prasāstr* is *prasāstra* or *prā°*

dıvyam suparnam vāyasam (AV *payasam*, KS VS ŚB TS * *vayasā*, MS TS * *vayasam*) *brhantam* RV AV VS TS KS MS ŚB AŚ Suparn *vāyasa* and *va°* both 'bird', *vayasā* is instr of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength

dhıṣanasi parvatī (TS TB ApŚ °*tyā*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*, but KS miss *par°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ In the Tait texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr school an equivalent *parvata*, the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahīdhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening), it is too well attested to make emendation advisable See next

prati tvā parvatī (TS TB °*tir*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See prec Twice in KS , once the sole ms has *parv°*, the other time *pārv°*, but KapS *parv°*

gārgī (AG *gargī*) *vācaknavī* (sc *tṛpyatu*) AG ŚG Patronymics, *gārgī* is to be expected See next

śakalyam ŚG *śākalam* AG (with both sc *tarpayāmi*) Read no doubt *śakalyam* in ŚG (misprint, Oldenberg's translation has Śākalya) Cf prec

ya āntarikṣāḥ (sc *sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi*) HG *ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* AG

vāyur na iḍita iḍitavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS ApŚ

āṅgūṣānām (SV *aṅgoṣinam*) *avāvaśanta vānīḥ* RV SV The SV form in this and the next is dubious

āṅgūṣyam (SV *aṅgoṣinam*) *pavamānam sakhāyaḥ* RV SV Cf prec

śvetāya vaidarvāya (°*vyāya*, °*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315

suvarnaśtainyam avrātyam (BDh *avratyam*) ViDh BDh Perfect equivalents

narāśaṅse (VS *nār*°) *somapītham ya āśuḥ* (KS *ānaśuḥ*) VS MS KS TB It is at least conceivable that *narāśaṅsa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without vrddhi

[*narāśaṅsa stavṛṣyate* AV AŚ ŚŚ In the Berlin ed of AV is printed the false emendation *nārā*°]

sūyavasinī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA °*sye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *mānuṣa* of KS = *manuṣa* of TA (*manuṣe* in RV is dative of *manus*, a more primitive form, all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*)

agnīd rajanarauhinau (so ed , v l *rāja*°, p p *rājan*, *rau*°) *purodāśāv adhiśraya* MS A name of a sāman, see note in MS , and BR s v *rājana*, which seems to be the true form, *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *śronī*°) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB *yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV

aranyāya (MS *āranāya*) *sṛmarah* VS TS MS KSA Both mean 'of distance'

kalpayatam mānuṣīḥ TB ApŚ *dṛṁhantām daivīr viśah kalpantām* †*manuṣyāḥ* KS

achinno divyas (KS ApŚ *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *daivo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§491 In other cases a secondary formation with vrddhi of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word

śunam vāhāḥ śunam narah (TA *nārāḥ*) RV AV TA *narah*, plur of *nṛ*, *nārāḥ*, plur of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*

namas te rathamtarāya (AA *rāth*°) AA LŚ ŚŚ Both words refer to

the Rathamtara sāman, AA forms an adjective from the noun *rath°*, with *sāmne* understood

bhuvanam asi sāhasram (MS **sah°*, ŠG *sahasrapoṣam*, MS **sahasrapoṣapuṣi*, ApŠ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS SMB ApŠ MŠ ŠG Probably read *sāhasram* in MS *, note that MŠ has this

vāyosāvitra (TS p p *°trah*, MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (TA *brahmā*) *ca* AV TA

nāsām āmitro (TB *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV AV TB *āmitra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amitra*)'

agnes tvā (MS *agneṣ ṭvā*) *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS *°tyā*, MS *jāgatyā*) *vartanyā* TS MS KS 'with the path of the jagatī' or 'with the jagatī as path' KS v l *jāgatyā*

jagad asi MS MŠ *jāgatam asi* MS TA ApŠ *jāgatāsi* MS *jāgato 'si* MS MŠ All 'composed in jagatī meter'

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB The TB form is problematic, comm *agneh prajvalanakartāram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham* Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnīndham*?

sadyahkrīś (ApMB *sādyaskrīś*) *chandasā saha* ŠG ApMB *sadyaskrī* (masc !), name of an ekāha The ApMB form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem , and there seems to be no fem noun with which it could agree

prāvanebhih sajoṣasah RV VS TS ŠB *pravanena sajoṣasah* MS KS The ἅπ λεγ *prāv°* is doubtful, Grassmann as secondary adj , '(fires) of the abyss' But RV p p *prav°*, possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf §464) The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*, in that case it would belong to §465

śāśvatībhyah (AV ApŠ and TB Poona ed *śaś°*) *samābhyah* AV VS TB IśāU ApŠ The adjective *śāsvata* = *śasvat*, fem forms of both

yadi varunasyāsi Kauś *yadi vāruny asi* Rvidh ApG *yady asi vārunī* GG

yathā yamāya harmyam (TA *hā°*) AV TA , and

evā (TA *evam*) *vapāmi harmyam* (TA *hā°*) AV TA *hārmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that, but TA takes it as a secondary adj , 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun, and this is also possible

sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah MŠ *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS ApŠ

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathaḥ RV SV *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB
adhyakṣāyānukṣattāram TB †*ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS
somo vaiṣṇavo rāyā (AŚ ŚŚ *somo vaiṣṇavas*) *aṅgiraso* (AŚ †*āṅg*°, ŚŚ *āṅgiraso vedo*) *vedaḥ* ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'The Aṅgirasas (i e, the AV) are the Veda', so ŚB The others mean the same thing 'the (Veda) of the Aṅgirasas'

§492 There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense First a group of variants between *āgrayaṇa* and *āgrā*°, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma, which is apparently derived from *agra*, the *ā* may be rhythmic in character The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in MS MŚ and KS, with short *a* elsewhere
nidhanavata āgrayaṇaḥ (MS KS *āgrā*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayaṇaś (MS KS *āgrā*°) *ca me* VS TS MS KS
āgrayaṇāt (KS MS *āgrā*°) *trinavatrayastrinsau* VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayaṇo (MS MŚ *āgrā*°) *si svāgrayaṇaḥ* (MS MŚ *svāgrā*°) VS TS MS ŚB MŚ
āgrayaṇas te dakṣakratū pātv asau AŚ *ātmānaṃ ta āgrāyaṇaḥ* (ApŚ †*āgra*°) *pātu* MS ApŚ

§493 When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds, the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a* declension
ūrnamradasam (etc, see §475) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *devebhyaḥ* VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathasvornamradam svāsastham devebhyaḥ* MS
kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhaḥ (MS KS and most mss of MŚ °*ṣṭhāḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ
yuvā kaviḥ puruniṣṭha (KS °*ṣṭhā*) *ṛtāvā* RV TS MS KS
mitro na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ehi sumitradhaḥ* (TS KS °*dhāḥ*, MS * °*dhaḥ soha rāyas poṣena*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
yo devānām nāmadhā (AV °*dha*) *eka eva* (KS *eko asti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS
adabdho gopāḥ (KS †*gopaḥ*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu viśvataḥ*) RV TS KS
pravāyāhne 'har jinva MS *pravayāhnāhar jinva* VS The MS form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*, VS has instr of *pra-vā* The root is *vā*, 'blow'

§494 Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajasyam pautramartyam* SMB *aprajāstvam mārtavatsam* AV On stems *prajas* and *prajās* (*prajā*) see Wackernagel II 1 p 95 f

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB °*sam kṛnotu*) PG ApMB 'He shall make thee (fem) me-minded' Stems *man-manas* and *man-manasa*

agnir adhyakṣah (TA °*ṣāh*) MS TA 'Agni is overlord' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA , as if from stem *adhyakṣas*! It is repeated in the comm , with gloss *svāmī*

satvanām (MS *satvānām*, KS †*sattvānām*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS Stems *satvan* and *sattva*, MS has a bad writing for *sattv°*, cf §392

imām narāh (*narah*) , see §328 Nom pl of stems *nara* and *nṛ*

tisrah kṣapas (TA °*pās*) *trir ahātisrajadbhih* RV TA Stems *kṣap* and *kṣapā*

tābhir (TB *yabhir*) *yāsi dūtyām* (MS °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV MS TB Stems *dutya* and °*ya* (Pischel, *VSt* 1 22, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 58 3)

agne pṛthivīpate varuna dharmanām pate TB *agne pṛthivyā varuna dharmānām* ŚŚ Stems *dharma* and °*man* (Also listed in Conc under *varuna*)

§495 The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*, the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language, cf Wackernagel III p 358 f

astasthuno daśapaksah Kauś *aṣṭapakṣām dasapakṣām* AV

astabhyah (KSA *aṣta°*, but ed em *aṣṭā°*) *śatebhyah svāhā* TS KSA

[*aṣṭābhyah* (Conc wrongly KSA *aṣṭa°*) *svaha* TS KSA]

[*agnaye gayatraya trivṛte rathamtarāyāṣṭākapālah* (with varr) VS TS MS KSA All texts *aṣta°*, Conc *aṣṭa°* for VS]

§496 A couple of doubtful cases

samudrasya tvāvakayā (TS ApŚ *tvāva°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *avaka*, name of a water-plant, from *ava*, *avāka* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf similar cases before *vant* and *vin*, §467, and Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 118, where this should in that case be added Boehtlingk, 'die untere Einhaut' for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(n)c*, Keith, 'wind', we see little reason for either interpretation

nirṛtim nirjarjalpena (MS *nirjalpena*, TS *nirjālmakena*, KS *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṣnā* VS TS MS KS Obscure word, see §810 TS comm , followed by Keith, 'bald'

4 Non-final *a ā* in Noun Declension

§497 In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax, that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender

§498 First, the forms *apas* and *āpas* are frequently interchanged as nom and acc of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p 240)

śam no bhavantv āpa oṣadhayah (6 23 3 *apa oṣadhīh*) *śivāh* AV 2 3 6, 6 23 3 But mss at 2 3 6 also *apa* (comm *āpah*), which Whitney's Translation restores, and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter, it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anv*, AV *divyā*) *acārişam* (JB †*acārşam*, AV *acāyişam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB ApG MG Here the form is accusative

§499 Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387 4, Wackernagel III p 235 f) The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p 237, foot

dvipac catuşpad (SV *dvipāc catuşpād*) *arjuni* RV SV

dvipac catuşpad (AV VS Kauś *dvipāc catuşpād*) *asmākam* RV AV VS VSK TS Kauś

catuşpadām uta yo (TS *ca*) *dvipadām* AV TS *catuşpāda uta ye dvipādah* KS MŚ Here the ablaut is regular, different case forms

viśvā āśā dakşinasat (AB AŚ °*sāt*, ŚŚ °*tah*, LŚ °*dhak*) VS MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

§500 Twice Tait texts present vriddhi-grade forms of *pitr* in the bahuvrihi compound *dákşa-pitr*, which Wackernagel II 1 p 101 (cf also III p 200) properly compares with *tvát-pitārah*

sudakşā dakşapitarā (TB °*tārā*) RV TB

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *sudakşā dakşapitaras* (TS † °*tāras*) TS MS KS BDh VıDh

§501 Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom pl *vrşanah* (Wackernagel III p 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vrşānah*

vrşanah (TB *vrşānah*) *samidhīmahi* RV AV SV ŚB TB

§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr 589 = 9 30), is replaced in SV by the regular form.

miteva sadma paśumānti (SV °*manti*) *hotā* RV SV —Similarly

ava dronāni ghṛtavānti sīda (SV °*vanti roha*) RV SV

§502 As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom -acc of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p 288)

śarmā (TA °*ma*) *saprathā āvṛne* KS TA *śarma yachātha saprathah* AV But all mss of AV °*thāh*, which should doubtless be read, comm °*thah*

yachā nah (AV *yachāsmai*) *śarma saprathah* (AV VS KS TA ApŚ ApMB HG °*thāh*) RV AV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N

viśām agnim atithim suprayasam (KS °*yāsam*) RV KS The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading, v Schr emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think Cf Whitney §415b, 2, 3 (But Wackernagel III p 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uṣas*) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV, which is unquestionably conservative and wise, but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it

ayā san (so read, MS *ayāh san*, KS ms *ayāsā*, ed emend *ayās san*) *manasā hitah* (MS *kṛttah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ *ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB HG See next

ayā san (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayasā ha*° *ū*° ApŚ ApMB HG The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts, a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom form with noms of stems in *as* See Geldner *VSt* 3 122 n 5, Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v, Wackernagel III p 282

§503 A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms

agne yan me tanvā (TS *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan ma ā pṛna* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG Abl -gen sing of *u*-stem

anadvāṁs tapyate vahan (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ The passage of MŚ is unpublished, if correctly reported, the ending of the nom sing pres pple would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems

§504 Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*

athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām RV *adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām* KS But v l of KS *yuva°*

§505 Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender

svām (MS KS *svam*, MG *sva-*) *yonim gacha svāhā* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB MG *yoni* may be masc or fem , the Tait school makes it fem in all the variants

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See prec

svam (TS *svām*) *yonim ihāsadah* VS TS † MS KS (No *svam* in TS)

yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ

[*svāmkṛto* (KS *svam°*) *'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form]

dhruvam (TS *°vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hiṃsiṣṭam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim* MS KS *mā mā hiṃsīh svām* (KS *svam*) *yonim* VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *mainam hiṃsiṣṭam svām yonim* AB

sa no dadātu tam (AV *tām*) *rayim* AV AA ŚŚ *rayi*, masc or fem

athāsmabhyam sahavīrām (AV VSK MS KS *°ram*) *rayim dāh* AV VS VSK TS MS KS HG Cf prec

abhīmam (TS *°mām*, MS MŚ v l *°mān*) *mahinā* (VS MŚ v l *°mā*) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NilarU ApMB *iṣu*, m or f

§506 These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yoni*, *rayi*, and *div*) There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am -ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc or neut adjective

indremam pratāram (VS TS ŚB *°rām*) *kṛdhi* (VS MS ŚB *naya*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

ud enam uttaram (VS TS KS ŚB *°rām*) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś

jīvātave pratarām (RV *°ram*) *sādhayā dhiyah* RV SV SMB

drāghīya āyuh prataram (TA † *°rām*, MG *pratiram*) RV AV TA AG MG And others, see §575

asmin kṣaye prataram dīdyānah SV *adhi kṣami prataram dīdhyānah* RV AV

§507 In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel This is, for instance, true as between the instr sing and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom masc sing and plur of *a*-stems, as well as between masc or neut and fem forms, treated in §§505–6 We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom and accus pronouns *tvam* and *tvām* Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension

surayā (MS KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS †MS °*ta*) *retah* VS MS KS † TB 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine'

surayā (MS *surāyāh*) *somah suta āsuto madāya* VS MS KS ŚB TA

dīkṣayedam (KS *dīkṣāy*°) *havir āgachatam nah* KS TB ApŚ All mss and ed of KS read so, but it seems that it must be an error for *dīkṣay*°

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāh (MS °*nah*) RV TS MS KS The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS

pra candramās tirate (TS † °*ti*, AV † °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N Nom voc

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāh (AV † *devah*) RV AV VS TB ApMB *devāh* voc pl , *devah* (lect fac) nom sing Ppp ms *devāh*, wrongly emended to *devah* by Barret *JAOS* 35 88

namah kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK °*yatāya*) VS VSK Others, §311 Metathesis of quantity in VS , which simulates an instr fem but is really uninterpretable

tvāni (TB *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV MS KS TB The construction is changed, both readings are construable

5 Non-final *a ā* lexical and miscellaneous

§508 In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins, cf the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment

vedhām aśāsata (SV *medhām āśā*°) *śriye* RV SV †

akrān (TA *ākrān*) *samudrah prathame vidharman* RV SV PB TA MahānU N Comm on TA *ākrān ākrāntavān vyāptavān*

āgann apāna ātmānam ŚŚ *agan prānah svargam* ŚŚ

āganma (AŚ *ag°*) *viśvavedasam* VS ŚB AŚ
ānganma (SV *ag°*) *vṛtrahantamam* RV SV AA ŚŚ
ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŠB *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS *'dhvare sthāh*, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
agnaye samidham āhārṣam (ŠG GG *ahārṣam*) AG ŠG SMB GG PG HG ApMB
yad gharmah paryavartayat (MŚ *paryā°*) TB ApŚ MŚ
ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām AV SPP , Berlin ed *ajagan*, with slight ms authority, some mss *ājāgan*, see Whitney's note on AV 19 49 3

§509 Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *ā*, before forms in short *a*

āgne (RV *agne*) *yāhi suśastibhih* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas tuvismān TS *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt* MS KS
patho anaktu (AV KS *°ti*, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV VS TS MS KS
āsmāsu (KB *as°*) *nṛmnam dhāt* (KB *dhāh*) MS KB TA ŚŚ
kāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ *°ṣa ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ
tāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ Vait *°ṣa ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Vait
yasmin sūryā ārpitāh (KS †TB TA *ar°*) *sapta sākam* AV KS TB TA
indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām (TB Conc *āhv°*, Poona ed *ahv°*, comm *ahv°* with v l *āhv°*) VS TB
agnaya upāhvayadhvam Vait *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS ApŚ MŚ In Vait *upa* + *ā*
[*antarikṣam* (VS *ān°*) *pṛthivīm adṛmhīt* VS TB But Poona ed of TB *ān°*, which is clearly right]

§510 The pronouns *asmat* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV TS* *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS *asmāt*) RV AV TS MS KS
praty auhatām (MS *ūh°*) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmat*) AV VS TS KS MS TA

§511 The rest are miscellaneous

vratam rakṣanti viśvahā AV *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV form for some obscure reason, cf *śivā viśvāhā* (*°ha*) etc , §477
ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāh AV *ye te 'ryaman* (KS *arya°*) *bahavo devayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 13a *jana-ayana deva-yāna* But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here

gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °*tā*, see §448, MS °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS *veṭ*, TA *vaṭ*) VS MS ŚB TA *vaṭ*, *vāṭ*, or *veṭ*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation

āhalag (MS *ah*°, TS TB *āhalam*, KSA *ahalam*) *iti vañcati* (TS TB *sarpati*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB An onomatopoetic interjection All texts may intend *āh*°, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final *-ā*, comm on VS TS *āh*°, p p of MS, to be sure, *ah*°, in default of comm or p p there is no evidence as to which KS intended

aṭṇārasya parah putrah ŚB *āhnārasya parasyādah* ŚŚ Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships

śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ *śatākṣarachandasā yāgatena* Kauś The Conc suggests *śatākṣ*° in ApŚ, but probably wrongly, Caland, 'der hundertstromige' (*sruva*)

agdhād eko samasanād ekah TS *adhvād eko sanād ekah sanāsanād ekah* MŚ See §181

agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (MS *mayo*) *dātra edhi* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

añkāñkam (MS *añkāv-añkam*, so p p, KS *añkañkam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The curious shortening in KS seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening) Cf §362

āptye (AV *apriye*) *sam nayāmasi* RV AV See §878

vātajavair (HG *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaih* MS HG See §268

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV SV See §60

āntrīmukhah HG *ālikhann hantrīmukhah* PG See §386

visvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ See §840

§512 Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous

pra smā mināty ajarah RV KS *prāsmā minoty ajarah* ApŚ We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*) In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439

nīlāgalasālā AV 6 16 4c *nīlagalamālah śivah paśya* NīlarU 22b The true reading of NīlarU is certainly that of AV, see Jacob's *Concordance* s v, two mss and the comm read so, and the comm quotes AV 6 16 4

aśīrṣānā ahaya (SV °*ṣāno 'haya*) *iva* RVKh SV *aśīrṣāna ivāhayah* AV But we must read in RVKh as in SV, with Scheftelowitz (p 106)

agniś ca dahatam prati AV SV Misprinted *āgniś* in AV, see Whitney's note

atrā (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādanā* (TA °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV AV TA. Conc *sadanā* for AV

asmān devāso 'vatā (Conc *'vata*) *haveṣu* AV † And others, all with *avatā*

ā na indo śatagvinam (SV misprinted *śāta*°) RV SV See Benfey's Corrigenda

arvāñ (GB *ārvāñ*) *ehi somakāmam tvāhuh* GB etc Gaastra correctly *arvāñ*

viśve devā udīcyām tu abhiṣiñcantu (error for °*cyām tvābhi*°) *śreyase* Rvidh *udīcyām tvā diśi viśve devāh abhiṣiñcantv* AB

jāmim (KS †*cami*) *mā hinsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV The KS (one ms only) must certainly be emended to *jāmim*

pavamāna vidharmani RV SV Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV, corr Benfey's Corrigenda

†*vārṣāharam sāma gāya* (correct Conc) MS ŚB MŚ *prastotar vārṣāharam sāma gāya* ApŚ

CHAPTER XII VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513 In contrast to the *a ā* variants, those between *ɪ* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between *ɪ ī* and *u ū* as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long *ɪ* and *u* declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an *ī* or *ū* historically long By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence —See §§300–2 for variations between *ī*, *ū*, and short *ɪ*, *u*, plus nasal, and §§395–8 for the like before single and double consonants

1 Final short *ɪ* lengthened phonetically

§514 We begin with cases in which final *ɪ*, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics As in the case of *a ā*, we include not only absolutely final *ɪ*, but *ɪ* in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final *ɪ*

§515 The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a pāda (On the one exception to this last, see §518) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short A majority of the variants are prose, of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the pāda Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rodasī vɪ* [*vī*] *ṣa āvah*, §516) There seems to be a special tendency for *ɪ* to be lengthened before *v*, but also before *r* and sibilants (cf §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41)

§516 First the cases of prepositional adverbs Note that the following consonant is most commonly *v* (once *b*), but *r* is also frequent, and there are several cases of *ṣ* The first five variants have *ı* absolutely final, not in composition, in four of them the older form of the variant has short *ı* We add one case of the conjunction *yadı*

vıdad yadī (MS † *yadı*, TB ApŚ *yatī*) *saramā* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ See §63

abhı (SV PB *abhī*) *no vājasātamam* RV SV PB

tena somābhı rakṣa nah RV *tebhıh somābhı* (TA °*bhī*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV TA

abhī na ā vavṛtsva RV *agne 'bhyāvartınn abhı mā nı vartasva* (with variants, Kauś *abhı na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś See §648

mā tvā sūryo 'bhı (KS *sūryah parı*, ApŚ *sūryah parī*) *tāpsīn māgnır* (ApŚ *mo agnır*) *vaiśvānarah* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

obhe aprā rodasī vı (SV *vī*) *ṣa āyah* RV SV Here the meter favors *ī*, which SV introduces secondarily

agnım atırugbhyām (MS *atī*°) VS MS

adhīvāsam (MS *adhı*°) *yā hıraṇyāny asmaı* RV VS TS MS KSA

abhīvartah (TS *abhı*°) *savıtāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

abhıṣāhe (and *abhī*°) *svāhā* MS (both)

abhīṣāṭ (so ed em , Conc with ms °*ṣāś*) †*cābhīṣāhyaś ca* KS *abhīṣāṭ cābhīṣāhī cābhımātıhaś* LŚ *abhīṣāc cābhıṣavī ca* ApŚ

nīroho (PB *nı*°) *'sı* TS PB

namo nīveṣyāya (p p *nı*°) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS *namo hradayyāya* (VS *hṛdayyāya*, KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nıveṣyāya* (TS °*ṣyyāya*) *ca* VS TS KS

parītoṣāt tad arpıtha ApŚ *parı doṣād ud arpıthah* KŚ

parıvādam parıkṣavam AV *parīvādam parıkṣapam* ApMB

ṛṣī bodhapratībodhau AV *bodhaś ca tvā pratībodhaś ca rakṣatām* AV *bodhaś ca mā pratıbodhaś* (KS †*pratī*°) *ca purastād gopāyatām* KS MŚ *bodha pratībodhāsvapnānavadrāna gopāyamāna* KS

vıvadhaś (KS *vī*°, MS *vīvadham*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

vıvarto (MS KS *vī*°) *'ṣṭācatvārınśah* (KS *aṣṭā*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§517 To these may be added a case of *antarīkṣa* for *antarı*°, the old adverb *antarı* is fairly comparable with prepositions in *ı* (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like *antarı*) The form *antarīkṣa* crops up again in Buddhistic Sanskrit, *e g* Saddharmapundarīka, ed Kern and Nanjio, 149 1

svadhā pıtṛbhyo 'ntarıkṣasadbhyah (AV *antarı*°, GG † *'ntarī*°) AV ApŚ MŚ GG HG

§518 The only other absolutely final *ɪ ī* concerns the imperative ending *dhɪ*, which appears sometimes as *dhī*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur, we may note that in the pāda. *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ several mss of MS read *śrudhɪ*, but the printed texts are all alike The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant* II 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg* 421), that the lengthening in RV is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf *RVRep* 673, top) In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there)

ɪmam me varuna śrudhī (AŚ *śrudhɪ*) RV SV VS TS MS KS AŚ ApMB

§519 Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants, the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *ɪ*)

ɪmam agne camasam mā vɪ jɪhvarah (TA *jī°*) RV AV TA AG

yɪyapsyata (AŚ *yī°*) *ɪva te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ Desiderative from *yabh*, the form with *yī°* is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots

udgrābhenod ajɪgrabhat (KS *ajīgrabham* and *ajīgṛbham*) MS KS

§520 There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *ɪ* before the suffix *vant*

mādhyamdɪnasya savanasya nɪṣkevalyasya bhāgasya śukravato (ApŚ adds *manthɪvato*) *madhuścuta* (KŚ * *manthīvata*, v l *manthɪ°*) *indrāya* (MŚ *savanasya śukra° manthɪvato nɪṣk° bhāgasyendrāya*) KŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ Stem is *manthɪn* (weak *manthɪ*) + *vant*

parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu raśmɪvatīm (MŚ *raśmī°*) MS KS

§520a In one case *ī* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kṛ*, while the *ɪ*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *ɪn*-stem before *cārɪn*

ɪma udvāsīkārɪna ɪme TB ApŚ *ɪmā uddhāsɪcārɪna ɪme* MŚ Cf §59

§521 And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *ɪ* as stem final of its first member
yā te agne harɪśayā (VSK *harī°*, MS MŚ *harā°*) *tanūr varṣɪṣṭhā gahvareṣṭhā* VS VSK ŚB (Pratīkas MS MŚ)

2 Final ī in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522 No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained We cannot improve on Wackernagel II 1 §56 e-g (cf also Leumann, *Gurupūjakaumudī* 13 ff) It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening, that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, ī was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis

§523. Radical ī is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527), the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS alone has the shortening
tasya rathagṛtsaś (KS °*kṛtsaś*, MS °*kṛtsnaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānīgrāmanyau* (TS *senānɪ°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB And so with *tārkṣyaś cāriṣṭanemiś ca, senajɪc ca susenaś ca, rathaprotas* (TS *rathe°*) *cāsamarathaś ca, rathasvanaś ca rathecɪtraś ca*

§524 The other cases concern the feminine nouns *pṛthɪvī* and (once) *prapharvī*
yā devy asīṣṭake prānadā prapharvīdāh (ApŚ °*vɪdah*) KS ApŚ
namo 'gnaye pṛthɪvɪkṣɪte lokaspṛte (ChU *pṛthɪvɪkṣɪte lokakṣɪte*, MU *pṛthɪvīkṣɪte lokasmṛte*) TS KSA ChU MU
pṛthɪvɪṣadam (MS *pṛthɪvī°*, VS † °*sadam*) *tvāntarɪkṣasadam* (VS †adds *dɪvɪsadam devasadam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
pṛthɪvɪspṛñ (MS *pṛthɪvī°*) *mā ma hɪnsīh* MS TA
ye devā dɪmbhāgā ye pṛthɪvībhāgās (TS KS *pṛthɪvɪ°*, but 2 mss of KS °*vī°*) TS MS KS
svadhā pɪtṛbhyah pṛthɪvɪṣadbhyah (MŚ GG *pṛthɪvī°*) AV ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG HG

3 Miscellaneous final ɪ ī

§525 There is very little else On *na ced avedī* (*avedɪ*) etc, see §530 below, it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final ɪ or ī
agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśrutī (MS °*tɪ*, TB °*śrɪto*) *dɪvas* (TB *dɪvah*) *pṛthɪvyoh* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ The form is locative of an ɪ-stem

MS is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?)

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV KS *devi*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV °*mānā purastāt*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ Nominative and vocative

stomatrayastriṅśe bhuvanasya patni TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastriṅśe bhu*° *patnī* MS As prec see §818

sam devi (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā* TS KS ApŚ

rātri (TB *rātrī*, v l of KS *rātrih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS TB

satyād ā (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmanas patī* (Vait MŚ *pari*) AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

asvinendram na jāgṛvi (TB ° *vī*) VS MS TB The *-vī* form is a dual adj , and so Mahīdhara takes the *-vi* form also, but possibly it may be a neut sing adverb

gāyatrī (MG °*tri*) *chandasām mātā* (MG *mātah*) TA TAA MahānU MG Nom voc

na sīsarīdata (HG † *sīsaridatah*) ApMB HG See §384

4 Noun stems in *i ī*

§526 It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax, many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned

§527 We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī* First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition

namah senābhyah senānībhyaś (VS TS °*nibhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS

§528 In the same context occurs the following variant Boehtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *sva-nī* 'leading dogs'; this seems improbable in the light of the variants, both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith)

namah śvanibhyo (MS *śvanī*°) *mṛgayubhyaś ca vo namah* VS MS KS *namo mṛgayubhyah śvanibhyaś ca vo namah* TS

Other cases of probably original ī are

sucakṣā aham akṣībhyām (MG *akṣı°*) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N The ī-form is regular in the older language Wackernagel III p 303

varūtrīm (KS † *varu°*, TS *varūtrım*) *tvaṣṭur varunasya nābhım* VS TS KS ŚB *tvaṣṭur varutrīm va° nā°* MS MŚ

rātrīm-rātrīm (AV TS *rātrım-rātrım*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV TS MS KS ŚB

rātrım (KS *rātrīm*) *jınva* TS KS PB Vait

rātrīm (TS *rātrım*) *pīvasā* TS KSA

śam rātrī (VS *rātrīh*, VSK TA *rātrıh*) *pratı dhīyatām* AV VS VSK, MS TA

rātrım (SMB PG MG *°rīm*) *dhenum ıvāyatīm* (AV *upāyatīm*) AV HG ApMB SMB PG MG

ye rātrım (KS *°rīm*) *anutıṣṭhantı* (KS † *°ṣṭhatha*) AV KS

pratı tvā parvatī (TS TB *°tır*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See §490

veṣaśrīr (TS *° śrır*) *ası* TS KS GB PB Vait LŚ

mahīnām (VSK *mahınām*) *payo 'sı* VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ ŠG Even from the stem *mahı*, the VSK form would be anomalous

hrādunībhyah (KSA *°nıbhyah*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA This is uncertain, both short and long ı are otherwise known RV has *hrādunım*, but *hrādunī-vṛt* See also *dūṣīkābhır hrādunım* etc , §543

śımībhıh (KSA † *śımı°*, VS *śamī°*) *śımyantu* (VS *śam°*) *tvā* VS TS KSA

§529. But in the rest stems in short ı seem to be primary

svāhākṛtıbhyah (TS ApŚ and most mss of MŚ *°kṛtī°*) *preṣya* TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'To hail-makings', suffix *tı*

ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhiśastiś (AŚ ApMB HG *°tīś*) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG Suffix *tı*, as in the last

ākūtım (SMB *°tīm*) *devīm manasah* (SMB *°sā*, AV *subhagām*) *puro dadhe* (SMB *prapadye*) AV TB SMB As prec

ātır (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvıdā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA *ātı* is Rigvedic

abhiṣṭır (HG *°ṭīr*, ApMB *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no gṛhe* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh ApMB HG

dıva (*dıvas*, *dıvah*) *skambhanır* (VS ŚB *° nīr*, VSK † *skambhany*) *ası* VS VSK TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Here fem gender is responsible for the long ī

śırah-śırah pratı sūrī vı caṣṭe TS ApŚ *śıro devī pratı sūrır vı caṣṭe* KS Here too *sūrı* is made fem , agreeing with a fem entity

śroṇibhyām (TS *śroṇī°*) *svāhā* TS KSA.

yakṣmam śroṇibhyām (ApMB *°ṇī°*, v l *°ṇi°*) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB *yakṣmam bhasadyam śroṇibhyām bhāsadam* AV

mitrāvarunau śroṇibhyām (TS *śroṇī°*) TS KSA

śam methir (ApMB *śam te methī*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB *tṛdma*) AV ApMB

ṛtūn pṛṣṭībhiḥ (KSA em *pṛṣṭibhiḥ*, ms *bhṛ°*) TS KSA Cf Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 358 f

pṛṣṭībhyaḥ (KSA † *pṛṣṭi°*) *svāhā* TS KSA

imām khanāmy oṣadhim (ApMB *°dhīm*) RV AV ApMB

oṣadhibhyaḥ MG *oṣadhībhyaḥ* ŚG

kratvā varistham vara āmurim uta RV *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV

sam arir (VS ŚB *arīr*) *vidām* (KS *vidaḥ*) VS MS KS ŚB Nom sing of stem *ari*, the anomalous VS ŚB form is noted in BR, s v 2 *ari*

adhā jivrī (AV *atha jivrir*, ApMB *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthaḥ*) RV AV ApMB Stem *jivri* (or, with most mss of AV, *jirin*) RV has a dual form, ApMB an isolated sing from a stem in ī, perhaps due to confusion between the RV and AV forms On the ī of the initial syllable see §544

plāśir (TB *°śīr*) *vyaktaḥ śatadhāra utsaḥ* VS MS KS TB

ambā ca dulā ca nitatnī MS *ambā dulā nitatnir* TS

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV TB Here we have a complete change of construction, in addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form

ni te bhinadmi takarīm (KS *° rim*, AVPp [Roth] *tagarim*, AV *mehanam*) AV TS KS ApŚ See §49 There is no way to determine the original quantity of the *i* here

§529a There are also cases in which a nom sing in *ī*, apparently from a stem in *in*, varies with one in *ih* from a stem in *i*

vyānaśiḥ (SV *°śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV *dharmanā*) RV SV

tan no dantī (TA *°tiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Comm on TA *mahādantaḥ*

dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB † *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PB *°triḥ*) TS PB TB PG ApMB *dūr° patatrī vājinīvān* MŚ MG

suparno avyathir (SV *°thī*) *bharat* RV SV

§530 In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also verb forms

na ced avedī (BṛhU *avedi*) *mahatī vinaṣṭiḥ* ŚB BṛhU So Conc, with

the printed texts But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation, mss *avedī* The Kāṇva recension, however, has *avedir*, and Kena Up (not in Conc) *avedīn*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster') *avedir* would be nom sing of a noun stem *avedi* 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster ' *avedī* is taken by comm as nom sing of *avedin* 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5 Verb forms containing *i ī* and *i ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531 This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character

suśami samīṣva (TS TB *śamiṣva*, KS †*śamnīṣva*) VS TS MS KS TB

avanty asya pavītāram (SV *pavi°*) *āsavaḥ* RV SV The shortening of SV improves the meter (anapest after cesura)

§532 The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure

antarikṣam purītatā (TS *puri°*, MS *pulī°*, KSA *puli°*) VS VSK TS MS KSA

ulo halikṣṇo (TS *ūlo halī°*) VS TS MS KSA Name of some animal A theory as to the origin of this ī in Wackernagel, I §39 note

§533 At least in origin, the *i* of the *iṣ* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf VV I p 189

tena (TB *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (MS *°nā*) *aviṣṭam* (TB *avī°*) RV MS TB The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin The ī of TB is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avīt* So in the next

amīmadanta pitaro (Kauś also *patnyo*) *yathābhāgam* ( ) *āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŚ *°yīṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG Cf prec

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS °*yid*, KSA °*yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhih* RV VS TS MS KSA This is the converse of the preceding, TS shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS *adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhīh* RV AV SV AA MŚ On the anomalous TS form see VV I p 27

ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA °*dīt*) RV TA *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* MS See VV I §84

§534 Probably rhythmic in character is the *ī* which varies with *i* in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign, cf VV I p 155, and above §478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*

putrīyantah (AV *putriyanti*) *sudānavah* RV AV SV

janīyanto nv (AV *janiyanti nāv*) *agravah* RV SV AV AŚ ŚŚ

§535 In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening of *i* in stem syllables, at least it occurs in positions where the meter favors a long

prati ṣma (SV *sma*) *deva rīṣatah* (SV *riṣ*°, and so p p of RV and MS) RV SV MS KS TB The p p readings confirm our opinion that the *ī* is metri gratia

avāmba (VS ŚB KŚ *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (VS ŚB KŚ *adī*°, and so v l of MS KS MŚ, and p p of MS) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§536 But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some cases where it cannot be rhythmic, the explanation varies and is sometimes obscure

sarvān patho anṛnā ā kṣīyema (AV *kṣi*°) AV TB TA ApŚ The root *kṣi* 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with *ī*, perhaps under the influence of the other root *kṣi* 'perish', from which *ī* forms are familiar

yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrūhi (MŚ °*chriya*°) ApŚ MŚ Here the *ī*, in the passive of *śri*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in MŚ with most mss

samiñgayati (ŚB *samī*°) *sarvatah* RV ŚB BṛhU The root *iñg* appears sporadically as *īñg* in the Brāhmanas, the true reading of BṛhU is *samīñg*° in this passage (text emended)

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ji* and *jyā*, *jī*

ajitāh (TA *ajītāh*, ApMB and one ms of HG *ajītā*) *syāma saradah śatam* TA ApMB HG

vājino vājajito vājam sasṛvānso (KS *jigīvānso*, TS *sasṛvānso vājam jigivānsah*) VS TS KS ŚB

§538 We have classified the form *īyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *ı*, see VV I p 126

ıyānah (SV *īy°*) *kṛṣno daśabhıh sahasraıh* RV SV AV KS. TA

stotṛbhyo dhṛṣnav ıyānah (SV *īy°*) RV AV SV

§539. The participle *īḍıta* appears as *ıḍ°*, probably under the influence of the nouns *ıḍ*, *ıdā*

īdıto (MS KS *ıḍ°*, VSK *īl°*) *devaır harıvāṅ abhiṣṭih* VS VSK MS KS TB

§540 The present and past passive participles of root *kṣı* 'perish', *kṣınat* and *kṣīna*, are concerned in the following

namo vikṣıṇatkebhyah (TS KS *vikṣīnak°*) VS TS KS ŚB *nama ākṣınakebhyah* MS If MS is right it has a blend of the other two readings, but the mss vary, and it is likely that *ākṣīnak°* was intended

The 3 plur perfect ending *ıre* appears once as *īre*

tāh prācya (Vait *°yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjıgāhıre* (KŚ † *°īre*, Vait *samjıgāire*) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhıre* ApŚ

6 Noun suffixes containing *ı ī*

§541. Twice in MS the suffix *ıya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*, but both times the p p of MS has *ıya*

namo agrıyāya (VS KS *'gryāya*, MS *'grīyāya*) *ca prathamāya ca* VS TS MS KS

sahasrıyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyatām*, MS *sahasrīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

§541a We have quoted in §249 (q v) three variants in which AV reads *varīyah* for older *varıvah*

asmabhyam ındra varıvah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhı* RV AV *asmabhyam mahı varıvah sugam kah* RV

sakhā sakhıbhyo varıvah (AV **varīyah*, so one ms of GB , Ppp *varıvah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV *TS KS GB

tvaṣṭā no atra varıvah (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§542 Several times forms in *īna* vary with other forms containing short *ı*

yā sarasvatī veśabhagīnā (ApŚ * *vıśobh°*, KS *veśabhagınī*) MS KS ApŚ *-bhagīna*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here, KS substitutes a more regular form (fem of *bhagın*)

tıraścırājī (MS *tıraścīnarājī*) *rakṣıtā* AV MS Again *īna* varies with *ın* (weak stem *ı*)

namo yuvabhyo nama āśınebhyah RV ApŚ *namo yuvabhya āśınebhyaś*

(MS *āśī°*, p p *āśi°*) *ca vo namah* (MS *namo-namah*) MS KS *āśina* is *ἄπ λεγ* in RV, in MS it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *īna*

§543 The shortening of *ī* to *i* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings Cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 95 f, 111 *dūṣīkābhir hrādunīm* (KSA *†hra°*) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣikābhih* VS MS

7 Miscellaneous *i* and *ī*

§544 Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious *īmkārāya*, and *°kṛtāya* (KSA *im°*, VS MS ŚB *him°*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ

īryatāyā (TB *ir°*) *akṛtavam* VS TB From the equivalent adjective forms *irya* (RV) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v *irya*)

uṣṭārayoh pīlvayoh (ApŚ *pilvayoh*) MS ApŚ MŚ Cf the word *pilu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree Obscure

vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB Comm on TB *dṛdhaśaktayah*, that is equivalent to *vīdu*, for which *vidu* is not recorded

adhā jivrī (AV *atha jivrir*, most mss *jirvir*, which Whitney would restore, ApMB *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā(ji)* or *jṛ* The *ī* in the first syllable in ApMB is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jīv* or of the *ī* forms of *jyā* or *jṛ* (*jīrna* etc) See §529

anamīvāsa idayā (MS *anamīmāsā īdayā*, p p *idayā*) *madantah* RV MS TB AŚ The MS form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *īd*? cf the lexically quoted *īdā*), corrected in p p

dame-dame suṣṭutyā (TS *° tīr*, MS *°tī*, AŚ ŚŚ *°tir*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV *° nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ Different case forms of an *i*-stem See §236

śanderathas śandikera ulūkhalah ApMB *śāndīkera* (PG *śaundikeya*) *ulūkhalah* HG PG See §489

§545 The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations, thus in the first

subhūtāya pīpihi (MS *pipīhi*) MS TA ApŚ And others, with *iṣe*, *ūrje*, *brahmavarcasāya*, etc In MS always *pipīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpihi* is from *pyā(pī)* 'swell' The result, how-

ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity, cf VV I p 182

sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak (TB ApŚ *abhīṣṇāt*) RV AV VS MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ See §142

sudītir asi TS PB *sudītir asi* KS GB Vait *sudītinādityebhya ādityān jinva* MS Boehtlingk *sudīti* Anklang an Aditi, *sudīti* glanzvoll (*dī*) *Sudīti* is Rigvedic

viśvam id dhītam (MS *dhitam*) *ānaśuh* (SV *āśata*) RV AV SV MS ApŚ Roots *dhī* and *dhā*

ligmam āyudham (AV *anīkam*) *vīditam* (AV *viditam*, KS °*dham īditam*) *sahasvat* AV TS MS KS See §169

kavir yah putrah sa īm ā (TA *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV AV TA N

ati vā (AV Kauś *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV Kauś Metathesis of quantity

śam padam magham †*rayīṣine na kāmam* (AA *rayiṣani na somah*) SV AA *rayi-iṣin rayi-san* (so Keith, or, *-sani*)

ghasinā (ApŚ *ghasīnā*) *me mā sampṛkthāh* VSK ApŚ Corruption in ApŚ, perhaps for *ghāsinā* (RV *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf Caland's note

ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (SV KB ŚŚ *hariha*, AŚ *harī iha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless read, in all except AV, *harīha* (=*harī iha*), with Whitney on AV and Keith on KB

gaurīr (TB TA °*rī*, AV *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG

indrāpāsya phaligam ApMB *indrāyayāsya śepham alīkam* HG See §46

samiddho agnir vṛṣanāratir (AV °*nā rathī*, ŚŚ °*nā rayir*) *divah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ

rādhānsīt (MS MŚ °*si*) *sampṛcānāv* (MS MŚ °*nā*) *asam*° MS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

nem na prān prnava it samānah TA *nem na prān prnavān īpsamānah* MS And others, see §180

[*atikiriṭam* (comm °*rīṭam*) *atidanturam* TB So Conc with Bibl Ind ed, probably misprint, Poona ed comm with text *atikiriṭam*]

[†*vañkrīr* (so all!) *aśvasya svadhitih sam eti* RV VS TS KSA]

8 Final *u* lengthened

§546. As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable The cases are still less numerous than those of *i ī*, and add nothing further to the subject

§547 Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su* All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS)

o ṣu (MS *ṣū*) *vartta* (MS KS *varta*) *maruto viṛram acha* RV MS KS

tam ū (MS *u*) *śucim śucayo dīdivāṅsam* RV ArS TS MS KS

imam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū*[*m*], and MŚ *ū*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ *tyam asmabhyam*) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ

idam ta ekam para ū (TB † ApŚ † *u*) *ta ekam* RV AV SV KS † TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ (*u-ta* = *uta*) On *puru purū*, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*, the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening Cf VV I p 182

gṛhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ *gṛhān* (MŚ *gṛhāñ*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS MŚ

prajām me (ApŚ **no*) *naryājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ v l °*jūgupah*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ

paśūn me (ApŚ **nah*) *śaṅsyājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ v l °*jūgupah*) MS MŚ ApŚ *dhanam me saṅsyājugupah* KS *śaṅsya paśūn me 'jugupas tān me pāhy eva* ŚŚ And others in the same passages

ahirbudhnya mantram me 'jugupah (v l *'jū*°) MŚ

§549 There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*

savitre tvarbhumate (VS ŚB *tva ṛbhu*°, MS *tvarbhū*°) VS MS ŚB TA If MS understands a form of *ṛbhu*°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS (see §916), and two mss read *svarbhūmate*

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū* The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf under §516)

anuroham jinva Vait *anuroho* (KS *anū*°) *'si* TS KS GB PB Vait *anurohāya tvā* PB Vait *anūrohenānūrohāyānūroham jinva* MS (with p p and v l each time *anu*°)

anuvṛd (KS *anū*°) *asi* KS GB PB Vait *anuvṛte* (KS *anū*°) *tvā* KS PB Vait *anuvṛtam jinva* Vait †*anūvṛtānūvṛte 'nūvṛj jinva* MS

panthām anūvṛgbhyām (KSA *anu*°) TS KSA

anukāśena bāhyam MS *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS *antarenānūkāśam* TS KSA

§551 Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*, in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts

samdhātā samdhim (MS °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB and p p of MS *puro*°, MS *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB. TA KŠ ApMB

urūnasāv (TA *uru*°) *asuṛpā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulu*°) RV AV TA AŠ

mithucarantam (TS *mithuś ca*°, KS *mithū*°, AV *mithuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV TS MS KS

sindhoh śiśumārah (KSA † *śiśū*°) TS KSA *samudrāya śiśumārah* VS MS See §305 Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain

§552 Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf also §563)

brahmanas pate suyamasya (MS *sū*°, p p *su*°) *viśvahā* RV MS TB The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura)

suyame me adya ghṛtācī bhūyāstam svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau ApŠ *suyame me bhūyāstam* VS ŠB *sūyame me 'dya stam svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau* MS MŠ

kuyavam ca me 'kṣitiś (VS °*tam*) *ca me* VS MS KS (v l *kū*° in MS) *akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS

9 Final *ū* shortened

§553 Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening

kūṣṭho (read *kū ṣṭho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV *ku ṣṭhah ko vām aśvinā* SV See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5 74 1

10 Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554 The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of *-bhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition

hanūbhyām (KSA *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŠ

hanubhyām (TS *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS MS KS In this and the prec Tait texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*

agne sadakṣah satanur (KS † °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS *agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ

śūrāso ye tanūtyajah (TA *tanu*°) RV AV TA Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening

iyam te yajñiyā tanūh (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ

avasyur (VS ŚB °*syūr*) *asi duvasvān* VS TS MS KS PB ŚB ŚŚ

śundhyur (VS TS °*yūr*) *asi mārjālīyah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ Only *-yu* in RV

ārādhyai (see §474) †*didhiṣūpatim* TB *arāddhyā edidhiṣuhpatim* VS (on the latter see §381)

varenyakratūr (AV °*tur*, ApŚ *īdenyakratūr*) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ Whitney calls °*tūr* 'an improvement' See also §383

vibhūr (PB *vibhur*) *asi pravāhanah* VS TS MS ŚB. TB PB ApŚ. MŚ

vibhūr (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitrā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

śambhūr (KS °*bhur*) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB Note *mayobhūr* even in KS

ābhūr (VS TS *ābhur*) *asya nisāṅgathih* (VS °*dhih*) VS TS MS KS

savitre tvarbhumate (etc, §549) *vibhumate* (MS *vibhū*°) VS MS ŚB TA

phalgūr (KSA °*gur*) *lohitornī* VS TS MS KSA

havanaśrun (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV TB Comm on TB *āhvānasya śrotā san* Irregular lengthening of *sru* in composition

§555 Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom.-acc. forms, both sing. and plur., in either *u* or *ū*

sa hi purū (SV *puru*) *cid ojasā virukmatā* RV SV Adverbial

[*sam gṛbhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed. *purū*-) *śatā* RV AV MS KS TB]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*

dadhad ratnam āyuni (AV *āyūnṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ See §819

vṛṣā punāna āyuṣu (SV *āyūnṣi*) RV SV

§556 In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel

kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK ŚB *dakṣakratubhyām* (sc. *me* etc.) TS ApŚ *dakṣakratubhyām me varcodāh pavasva* MŚ

§557 The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c). In the ApŚ form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhiḥ*, and conversely in the KS form *ūr* before vocalic endings Both must be analogical, if textually sound, note that in the 'correct' MŚ form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc , stigmatizes KS *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for °*ram*) as corrupt, and Knauer proposes to emend KS on the basis of MŚ But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants

yathādhuram (KS ms °*dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS *dhūro*) *dhūrbhiḥ kalpantām* KS MŚ *yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhiḥ kalpantām* ApŚ

11 Other *u ū*

§558 The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing In verb inflexion there is practically nothing Once TB presents an anomalous *ūḥ* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uḥ*, it occurs at the end of a pāda, and remains unexplained

upo ha yad vidatham vājino guḥ (TB *gūḥ*) RV MS TB

§559 The various forms of the root *su, sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc , show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel Thus

prašāstaḥ pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ Both *sūhi* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p 189 it is suggested that *suhi* is a blend of the two Cf next

ardhamāsyam prasutāt pitryāvatah JB *pañcadašāt prasūtāt pitryāvatah* KBU Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise JB 1 18 has v l *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, *JAOS* 19 [2], 112, 115, delete in Conc *tam ardhamāsam*)

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*

abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v l °*bhūvam*) MŚ

§560 Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*), indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *uhyate*) as identical from the two roots Of course they are ultimately variants of each other

mā hiṅsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB Here *ūh* does not fit very well, AV means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds' (In ApMB the pple is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off')

samuhyo 'si viśvabharāh ŚŚ *samūhyo 'si viśvabharāh* ApŚ *samūhyo 'si viśvavedā* VSK KŚ Here, contrary to the prec , it is *sam-ūh* that is meant, even in ŚŚ

phalgunībhyām vy ūhyate ApG *phalgunīṣu vy uhyate* AV Kauś

§561 The present participle of the 'root' *tūrv* varies with the related adjective *tura*

tūrvan (KS *turo*) *na yāmann etaśasya nū rane* RV VS TS MS KS

§562. Several times the word *varutrī varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vṛ* 'cover', varies in its two forms

varūtrīṣ ṭvā (KS *varutrīs tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ* VS KS ŚB KŚ

varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr TS *varūtrī* (once, 2 7 6, †*varu°*, and so v l in the other passage) *tvā devī viśva°* MS (bis)

tvaṣṭur varutrīm varunasya nābhim MS MŚ *varūtrim* (VS ŚB *°trīm*, KS † *varutrīm*) *tvaṣṭur var° nā°* VS TS KS ŚB

varutrīr avayan KS *varūtrayas †tvāvayan* ApŚ

§563 The word *sumna* or *sū°* has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times, yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf §547) also appear with *sū*

sumnāya (VS *sū°*) *nūnam īmahe sakhibhyaḥ* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (AV *°yau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form, but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread

viṣṇo (*°noḥ*, *°nos*) *stupo* (TS TB ApŚ *stūpo*) *'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *viṣṇoḥ stupaḥ* MS MŚ

reṣmānam stupena (MS *stū°*, but p p *stu°*!) VS MS

§564 The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch d RV*, s v, may be ultimately connected with *uru* At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption

urvīm gavyām pariṣadam no akran AV *ūrvam gavyam pariṣadanto agman* RV KS See §46

urv (AŚ once *urvy*, once *ūrvy*) *antarikṣam vihi* MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ. (bis) ApŚ MŚ We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint

ūrva (TB *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmo asme* RV †3 90 19c, TB N Comm on TB *urva iva*, *vādavāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ See §228

§565 The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank'

kulyābhyah (TS *kū°*) *svāhā* TS KSA Here the TS comm takes *kūl°* as a secondary adjective from *kūla*, but it is probably only an equivalent of *kulyā*, cf next Keith, 'to those of the pools'

medasah (HG * *ājyasya*) *kulyā* (HG *kū°*) *upa tān* (AG *upainān*, SMB *abhi tān*) *sravantu* (HG ApMB *kṣarantu*) VS AG ŚG Kauś SMB HG ApMB *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhinihsravantu* MG. Cf also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* in Conc, and prec Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *ku°*

§566 The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV, but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA Poona ed reads *pū°* with v l *pu°*

ato (AV ArS ChU *tato*) *jyāyāṅś ca pūruṣah* (TA *pu°*) RV AV ArS VS TA ChU

§567 Twice the RV writes *ūgra* for *ugra* According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 165 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable, cf Wackernagel I p 293 f) One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p p *hi*, *ugrah* Both pādas occur in the same hymn

aham hy ugras (RV *ū°*) *tavisas tuvismān* RV MS KS TB

aham hy ugro (RV *ū°*) *maruto vidānah* RV MS KS

§568 Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words

ūlena parimūdho 'si HG *ulena parisīto 'si* ApMB Followed by *parimūdho 'sy ūlena* HG *parisīto 'sy ulena* ApMB *utūla parimūdho 'si* PG The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown Cf next

ulo halikṣno (TS *ūlo halī°*) VS TS MS KSA Cf prec Here apparently some animal is meant

godhūmāś ca me masūrāś (TS and KapS *masu°*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Both forms are otherwise known, *masūra* seems to be commoner

hotā vediṣad atithir duronasat (VS *dū°*, but comm *du°*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB TA MahānU KU NṛpU VaradapU The word *dūrona*, for the usual *durona* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded

kurkuro nīlabandhanah HG *kūrkuro bālabandhanah* (ApMB *vāla°*) PG ApMB The usual form is *kurkura*, perhaps cf Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant) Cf next

kurkurah sukurkurah HG *kūrkurah* (ApMB °*ras*) *sukūrkurah* PG ApMB Cf prec

kuṣmāndāh, °*dānı*, °*dyah*, and *kuś*°, *kūṣ*°, *kūś*° See §290

prathamāya januṣe bhūmaneṣṭhāh (AV *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ *bhūma ne*°) AV AŚ ŚŚ Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma(n)*

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV

āpura stā ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ

atıkulvam (VSK °*kūlvam*) *cātılomaśam ca* VS VSK *kulva* 'bald', regularly with short *u*

agnaye dhūnkṣnā (KSA °*kṣā*) TS KSA *dhuñkṣāgneyī* (VSK °*kṣvā*° or °*kṣyā*°) VS VSK MS Said to mean a sort of bird, original form and precise meaning unknown

uṣo (PB *ūṣā*) *dadṛkṣe* (PB *dadṛśe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB Conc suggests reading *uṣā* in PB

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantıkā* AV ApMB The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants) Cf §151

§569 The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhva*

ugro (HG *ūrdhvo*, MG *agne*) *vırājann* (MG °*jam*) *apa* (MG *upa-*) *sedha* (AV *vṛnkṣva*) *satrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV ApMB HG MG

ugradhanvā (TS MS KS *ūrdhvadha*°) *pratıhıtābhır astā* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS

ud vanśam ıva yemıre RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham ıva menıre* Mbh

yad annam admı (PrānāgU *agnır*) *bahudhā vırūpam* (PrānāgU *vırāddham*, vv ll *vırājam*, *viruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU

brahmādhıguptah (etc) *brahmābhıgūrtam* , see §742

athā jīvah (KS *adhā vişıtah*, VS ŚB *athaıtam*, AV *adomadam*) *pıtum* (AV *annam*) *addhı prasūtah* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

aghnyau śūnam (AV *aghnyāv aśunam*) *āratām* RV AV *śūna* 'want' *aśuna* 'unprosperity'

suhutakṛtah stha AŚ *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ

utem (SV *ūtım*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS In RV etc *uta-īm*, in SV acc of *ūtı* But the Samhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the *u* vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final *u*

sā brahmajāyā vı dunotı rāṣṭram AV *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV 'Burns up' 'shatters'

trīnı padānı rūpo anv arohat AV *pañca padānı rupo anv aroham* RV
Read *rupo* ın AV , wıth many mss , comm , and Whıtney's Transl
udno (AV text *ūdhno*) *dıvyasya no dehı* (AV MS *dhātah*) AV TS MS
KS *ūdhno* ıs a false emendatıon, wıthdrawn ın Whıtney's note
Cf §106
namo vah pıtarah śuṣmāya (VS ŠŠ *śoṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*)
VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŠŠ SMB GG KhG See §720

CHAPTER XIII QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1 Short *a* and *i*

§570 The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively These have little phonetic interest At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a* *i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf Wackernagel I §21) Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question Cf Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances

§571 We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut, it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *sakya* (by which TA comm glosses *śikya*) One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *sikvas*), according to Wackernagel (l c , p 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ*

satām śikyah (MahānU *śa°*, v l *śi°*) *provacopaniṣat* TA MahānU

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in

dātum cec chikṣān sa (TA *chaknuvānsah*, or *°vān sa*) *svarga eva* (TA *eṣām*) AV TA See §826

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p 18) ultimately unrelated In the variant pādas VS uses only *śam*, TS KS only *śim*

śamībhih śamyantu tvā VS *śimībhih* (KSA †*śimi°*) *śimyantu tvā* TS KSA

kas te gātrāṇi śamyati (TS KSA *śim°*) VS TS KSA

māsā ādchyantu śamyantah VS *māsāś chyantu śimyantah* TS KSA

śimāh (KSA Conc *śimām*, ed with v l *śimāh*, VS *simāh*) *kṛnvantu* (VS * *śamyantu*) *śimyantah* (VS *śamyantīh*) VS TS KSA Note that VS denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading *simāh* with *s*, not *ś* (comm interprets by *sīmā rekhāh*)

sūcībhih śamyantu (TS KSA *śim°*, MS *samayantu*) *tvā* VS TS MS KSA

§573 Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf Wackernagel I §21, but most of the cases are obscure or dubious, only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar, SV has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hiri*

hiriśmaśrum (SV *hari°*) *nārvānam* (SV *na varmanā*) *dhanarcam* (SV *°cim*) RV SV

asyai nāryā upastare (ApMB *°stire*) AV ApMB Infinitive forms, Whitney emends to *°stire* with Ppp

śiśirāya vikakarān (KS †*vikarān*, ApŚ *vikirān*, vv ll *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS KS ApŚ Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning

suganīuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ With *karasyu* cf the noun *káras*, RV ?

rudra yat te krayī (VS KS *krivi*, VSK *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri°*) *param nāma* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47, all the forms are unintelligible

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e g the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently, and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e i*) also appears among the verbal variants (§582) Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms

§575 First, cases in which *r* follows (cf §578) Here we find two cases in which *pratara*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tr* 'cross' The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident

drāghīya āyuh prataram (TA †*pratarām*, MG *pratıram*) *dadhānāh* (AV **te dadhāmi*) RV AV TA AG MG *dīrgham āyuh pratırad bheşajānı* TB *āyur dadhānāh prataram navīyah* AV Here *pratırad* ıs a verb-form (*prakarşena dadātu*, comm), *pratarām* an adverb (comm *prakarşena*), *pratıram*, ıf correct, ıs the Rigvedic ınfinıtıve *pratıram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss read *prataram* ın MŚ

aganma yatra pratıranta (MG *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG

§576 Before other consonants than *r* (cf §§570 ff), here might be mentıoned, first, the three varıants concernıng the synonymous roots *sam-vas* and *samvıś*, whıch are lısted ın §281 Formally even closer are two varıants between *kşan* 'ınjure' and *kşı* 'destroy', also vırtual synonyms

ındra ivārişţo akşatah (AV *akşıtah*) RV AV

akşatam asy (SMB omıts *asy*) *arıştam* SMB ŚG *akşıtam* (*akşıtır*) *ası* (see §586)

pṛthivī darvır akşıtāparımıtānupadastā (VıDh *akşatā*) Kauś VıDh *yathāgnır akşıto* ApMB HG

§577 Other near-synonyms

yajñam devebhır anvıtam (TS TB *ınv°*) TS MS ApŚ TB †1 4 4 5b 'Accompanıed' (*anu* + *ı*) 'ımpelled'

śıśīte śrīnge rakşase (AV *rakşobhyo*) *vınıkşe* (KS *vınakşe*, AV mss °*nıkşve*) RV AV TS MS KS *nıkş* 'pıerce' *naś* (as ıf causatıve) 'destroy' But no such form of *naś* ıs otherwıse recorded, and the KS form ıs questıonable

pavamāno daśasyatı (SV *dıś°*) RV SV Benfey would derıve the SV form from stem *dıśas* = *dıs* (lex , and class ın compositıon)

§578 Since ıt ıs ımpossible to draw a sharp lıne between these cases and other lexıcal varıants, we shall add here other cases whıch seem to us purely lexıcal, concludıng wıth some false readıngs or corruptıons Fırst, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *ı*) and partıcles (*ha hı*, etc)

ato (AV MahānU *ıto*, TB *tato*) *dharmānı dhārayan* RV AV SV VS TB MahānU

pūrvo ha (TA MahānU *hı*) *jātah* (JUB *jajñe*) *sa u garbhe antah* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚırasU JUB

rşır ha (ŚŚ *hı*) *dīrghaśruttamah* TS MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ

eşo (TA MahānU *eşa*, ŚırasU *eko*) *ha* (TA MahānU *hı*) *devah pradıśo 'nu sarvāh* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚırasU

vıśvam hı (KS *ha*) *rıpram pravahantı* (MS °*tu*) *devīh* RV AV VS MS KS ŚB

agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtvā MŚ *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS † °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS

śreṣṭho ha (Sāyana, AV Introd p 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhijātah* GB

amutrabhūyād adha (AV *adhi*) *yad yamasya* AV VS TS MS KS TAA

anūdhā yadi jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid ā*) RV SV Two cases in the same pāda

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ

duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV *turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān* AV

tāv ehi (AV *iha*, AB *eha*, MG *tā eva*) AV AB AG ŚG PG MG Others, §888 *ehi* contains the verb *iti*, *eha* is probably corrupt (Weber, *ISt* 10 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ

asūrte (TS MS KS °*tā*) *sūrte* (TS °*tā*) *rajasi* (TS °*so*) *niṣatte* (MS °*tā*, KS *na sattā*, TS *vimāne*) RV VS TS MS KS N

mā no agne 'va (MG *vi*) *sṛjo aghāya* RV AG MG

sūryo apo vi (MG *'va*) *gāhate* MS ApŚ MG

Miscellaneous pronominal forms

āre asman (MS NīlarU *asmin*) *ni dhehi tam* VS TS MS KS NīlarU *asmat* 'from us' *asmin* 'in it' or 'in him' MS has v l *asman*, and its p p *asmat*

prajāyai kam (AV *kim*) *amṛtam nāvṛnīta* RV AV Both forms are used as particles here

yad vā me api (LŚ *'pi*, Vait *apa*) *gachati* AŚ Vait LŚ

yo gā udājad apa (MS *api*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

ahir jaghāna (PG *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* AG PG ApMB HG MG Here true pronoun forms, no one' 'nothing'

māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah RV SV VS *mariṣām kam canoc chiṣah* TS TB ApŚ *mariṣām uc cheṣi kim cana* AV As in prec

§579 Remoter lexical variants

mā no vidad (KS *vadhīd*) *abhibhā mo aśastih* AV KS TB ApŚ These forms are still quasi-synonyms, 'find' (in a hostile sense) 'injure'

dyutāno vājibhir yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV 'Guided' 'placed'

jāmim itvā (Poona ed *jāmi mitvā*) *mā vinitsi lokān* (Poona ed *lokāt*) TA *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV See §198

śukrām vayanty asurāya nirnijam RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirnije* SV

vātajavair (HG *vātajirair*) , see §268

anarśarātim (SV *alarśirātim*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV SV AV N See §292

hṛtsu kratum varuno (°*nam*) *vikṣv* (*apsv, dikṣv*) *agnim*, see §360

mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS °*nā*) *cikitnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikitvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

tisro yahvasya (MS MŚ *jihvasya*) *samidhah parijmanah* RV MS ApŚ MŚ See §192

viśvakarman bhauwana mām didāsitha (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ See §840

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yavişţha* (MS KS *devahitam yavişţhya*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatah (TB *vivasvatah*) RV MS TB See §255

yaśo (AŚ *diśo*) *yajñasya dakşinām* (AŚ °*nāh*) TB AŚ

agnih pareşu (AŚ *pratneşu*, SV VS ŚB *priyeşu*) *dhāmasu* AV SV VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

hinvāno hetṛbhir yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV

alivandāya svāhā KSA *iluvardāya svāhā* TB ApŚ Followed by *balivardāya* (KSA °*vandāya*), which suggests that KSA has an assimilated form

sam padam magham †*rayīşine na kāmam* (AA *rayişani na somah*) SV AA See §545

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB HG ApMB

mihaṃ na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV Metathesis of *a* and *i*

§580 The following seem to be false readings

ahim (RVKh *aham*) *dandenāgatam* RVKh AV Both words make good sense, but Scheftelowitz (p 62) reads *ahim* for RVKh with his ms

tādītnā (TB Poona ed †*tādīknā*) *śatrum* (TB *satrūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB *vivatse*) RV TB But Poona ed *vivitse*, comm gloss *na labhase*

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV *ma ichāt*, TB with two AV mss †*achāt*) RV AV KS TB *achān* is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney, see VV I p 130

[*añjisakthāya* (KSA °*şak*°, Conc °*şik*°) *svāhā* TS KSA]

[*namah saspiñjarāya* (TS *sasp*°, Conc wrongly *śişp*° for MS) *tiriţimate* VS TS MS KS]

[*mā no vadhīh* (Conc *vidhīh* for TS , wrongly) *pitaram* RV VS TS TAA MŚ]

§581 In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*, included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems

pra bhānavah sisrate (SV *sa°*) *nākam acha* RV AV SV VS TS MS On this and the two next see VV I §272

vṛṣāva cakradad (and *°do*) *vane* RV *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV See prec

tāh prācya (Vait *°yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ *°ire*, Vait *samjigāire*) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ See prec two

stotāram id didhiṣeya (SV *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV See VV I p 90

hastagrābhasya didhiṣos (AV *da°*) *tavedam* (TA *tvam etat*) RV AV TA Many mss of AV *di°*, which Whitney would read Cf however next

vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS *da°*) *havīṃṣi* MS KS TB N Cf prec The MS reading is not certain, several mss *di°*

§582 In present formations of different classes

suvīrābhis †tirate (SV TS *tarati*) RV SV TS KS Note the following *r* (§573)

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema* Vait 1st and 4th class presents, VV I p 125 In the latter *y* is epenthetic

yac ca prāniti (AV *°ati*) *yac ca na* AV ŚB † TB BṛhU † 1st and 2d class presents, VV I p 123

yah prāniti (AV *prānati*) *ya īm śṛnoty uktam* RV AV Cf prec

kati kṛtvah prānati cāpānati ca (ŚB *prāniti cāpa cāniti*) GB ŚB Cf prec two

ni ṣṭanihi (AV *abhi ṣṭana*) *duritā bādhamānah* RV AV VS TS MS KS Cf prec three

§583 The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf Whitney §1030

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ *ali°*) AB ŚŚ An aorist in AB See VV I p 87

sa bhikṣamāno (SV *bha°*) *amṛtasya cārunah* RV SV Both *bhikṣ* (a sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhaj*, but function as quasi-independent roots

§584 In various miscellaneous verb forms,

ajījapata (TS TB *°jipata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS TB MŚ See VV I p 192 Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists, the form with radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root

gṛhā mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG See VV I p 133

nābhā samdāyi navyasī (SV *°dāya navyase*) RV SV *samdāyi* is 3d sing passive aor , *samdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb)

yenā samatsu sāsahah (SV °*kıh*, MŚ °*hı*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV (perfect subj) 'whereby (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV (adjective) In MŚ the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in prec

sam ındra no (*no*) *manasā neşı* (AV *neşa*) *gobhıh* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See VV I p 105

pıtā no bodhı (TA *bodha*) VS ŠB TA See VV I p 123

a ı in noun formation

§585 The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes Phonetics has little to do with them, at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and *ı* may exchange Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti*, the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti*, or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na nı* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra rı*, patronymics in *ka kı*, heteroclitic stems in *a(an) ı*, stems in *ana ın(a)*, stems in *ın* (in composition *ı*) *a(n)*, stems in *a-ka ıkā*, and a remnant of unclassifiable *a ı* forms

§586 We begin with the suffixes *ta ti*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning, see also §599 below

yam akşıtam (ŠŚ N °*tım*) *akşıtayah pıbantı* TS ŠŚ N *yam akşıtam akşıtā bhakşayantı* AV *yathākşıtım akşıtayah pıbantı* (KS °*yo madantı*) MS KS 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV imperishable ones) drink (or the like) '

akşıtam asi mā pıtīnām (with variants) *kşeşthā* ApG ApMB HG BDh *akşıtam asi mā me kşeşthāh* TS *akşıtam asy akşıtam me bhūyāh* MS *akşıtir asi mā me kşeşthā* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ And other variations

apā vrdhi parivrtam (TB Conc °*vrttım*, Poona ed text and comm °*vrtım*) *na rādhah* RV TB 'Open up as it were hidden treasure' 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'

bradhnaś cid atra (SV *yasya*) *vāto na jūtah* (SV *jūtım*) RV SV *jūtah* 'speedy', adj with *vāto*, *jūtım* 'speed', with change of construction

pra samrājo (SV °*jam*) *asurasya praśastim* (SV °*tam*) RV SV KB
atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS MS KS

§587 These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *ti*

puṣṭapate rakṣuṣe MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °*pate*) *puṣṭiś* AŚ ApŚ
pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam RV SV PB *pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtim* AV
nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °*tim*) RV AV KS
ākūtim (MS MŚ MG °*tam*) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG
vāco vidhṛtim (MS °*tam*) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB
In same passage with prec
sviṣṭaṁ (MŚ v l °*ṭim*) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS MŚ *sviṣṭim no abhi* (KŚ *'bhi*) *vasīyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KŚ
kṛnutam nah sviṣṭim (MS KS °*ṭam*) VS TS MS KS
mayi puṣṭim (AV °*ṭam*) †*puṣṭipatir* (AV *puṣṭa*°, KS **puṣṭipatnī*) *dadhātu* (AG †*dadātu*) AV MS KS (four times) TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB
kuyavam ca me 'kṣitiś (VS *'kṣitam*) *ca me* VS MS KS *akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS
[*ādityās te citim* (KS Conc wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS ApŚ]
punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, KS * °*dhītam*, v l °*dhītim*, KS * [38 12b] †°*nītha*, KapS °*dhītam* or °*tim*, MS °*dhīte*) *yajñaih* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB °*nītha* is a variant for °*nīta*, see §93

§588 Coming to variants between *na* and *ni*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*

asapatnā sapatnaghnī (ApMB °*nighnī*) RV ApMB ApG Cf *sapatnī*, for which *sapatni* is recorded in the Rāmāyana (BR)
gandharvāya janavide (ApMB *jani*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG Cf the stems *jani* and *janī* Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root *jan*)
somāya janivide (MG *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG In same passage as prec
teṣām yo ajyānim (PG *'jyānim*) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB Conc *ajīyim āvahāh*, but Jorgensen text and comm as others) TS SMB PG BDh *teṣām ajyānim* (MŚ °*nam*) *yatamo vahāt* (KS MŚ *na āvahāt*) AV KS MŚ *a-jyā-ni*, 'non-oppression' *a-jyā-na* id , not recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears as *na* after *ā*

hiranyapakṣah śakunih HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

pururūpam suretasam maghonam (TB °*nim*) VS TB *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc sing of *maghavan* (cf RV *maghonas*, nom plur) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem, *maghonim* (masc) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same TB comm *annavantam*, VS comm *maghavantam dhanavantam*

§589 Of the suffixes *ra ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri* °*ra* The usual form is °*ri*, but °*ra* occurs elsewhere, however in this passage the MS p p reads *tittirih*

mandūko mūṣikā tittiris (MS °*ras*) *te sarpānām* VS MS Cf §598, *varṣābhyas*

§590 The suffixes *ka* and *ki* exchange in patronymics, really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*, all occur in the same passage

śaunakam (ŚG °*kim*) AG ŚG

kaholam kauṣītakam (ŚG °*kim*) AG ŚG

mahākauṣītakam (ŚG °*kim*) AG †ŚG

§591 Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan asthi*

asthabhyah (KSA *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA

ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohitākṣi (MahānU *puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohitākṣa*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds)

anakṣikāya (KSA °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA

anasthikāya (KSA °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA

§592 A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*

dhruvas tiṣṭhāvicācalih (AV MS KS ° *calat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

parvata ivāvicācalih (AV MS KS °*calat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

dadhir (SV *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV

enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām TS *eno mahac cakṛvān baddha †eṣa* MS

§593 Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (*ina*)

tan nau samvananam kṛtam MG *tenu samvaninau svake* HG *samvanana* 'concord' *samvanin* 'concordant'

manyoh krodhasya nāśanī PG *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB *mṛdhrasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB HG Feminines of *nāśana nāśin*

mā no vidad (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS TB ApŚ °*anā*) *dveṣyā* †*yā* AV KS TB ApŚ Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown

śunām agram suvīrinah (ApMB *subīranah*) ApMB HG Cf next

subīrana srja-srja śunaka ApMB *suvīrinah srja-srja* HG Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and meaning

§594 Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*)

tasya te †*vājipītasyopahūtasyopahūto* (Vait *vājipītasyopahūto*, LŚ *vājapītasyopahūta* [text °*hata*] *upahūtasya*) *bhakṣayāmi* AŚ LŚ Vait *tasya te vājibhir bhakṣamkṛtasya vājibhih sutasya vājipītasya vājinasyopahūtasyopahūto bhakṣayāmi* ApŚ *vājy aham vājinasyopahūta upahūtasya bhakṣayāmi* VSK KŚ

vājam tvāgne Vait *vāji tvā* ApŚ MŚ *vājinam tvā vājin* KS *vājinam tvā vājedhyāyai* (*sapatnasāham*) VS VSK TS ŚB

ava jyām (HG *dyām*) *iva dhanvanah* (HG *dhanvinnah*) AV ApMB HG See §159

matsvā sušipra (SV °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV *tam*) *īmahe* RV SV

bodhinmanā (SV *bodhan*°) *id astu nah* RV SV In SV pres pple, *bodhat*

§595 Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i* replaces *a*, see Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 95 f

vidyutam kanīnikābhyām (VS *kanīna*°) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS

vṛtrasyāsi (KS *mitrasy*°) *kanīnikā* (VS ŚB °*akah*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*akāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ

agner akṣnah kanīnakam (VSK °*kām*, TS MS KS °*ikām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jalgulīti* (KSA ms †*jalgalūti*, em °*lūti*) *dhānikā* TS KSA

avajihvaka nijihvaka ApMB *avajihva nijihvika* HG Here, in a masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous, it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form **jihvin*, with suffixal *in*

§596 The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a i* in suffixes and endings

tasmin ma indro rucim ā dadhātu AV *tasmin somo rucam ā dadhātu* HG ApMB Stems *ruci* and *ruc* Cf next

hiranmaśrum nārvānam dhanarcam RV *hariśmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcim* SV Stems *rc* and *rc-i* (possibly with confused thought of *arcis*?)

kuvayah (KSA °*yıh*, VS TS *kvayıh*) *kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājınām* (TS KSA *sınīvālyaı*) VS TS MS KSA A name of an unknown animal, p p of MS also *kuvayıh*

ındrah (ŚŚ °*as*) *patıs tuvıṣṭamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*) AV AA ŚŚ Stems *tavas* and *tuvıṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word)

tılvılāstām (ed misprınted *tılva*°, see Stenzler's Transl p 83 n) *ırāvatīm* AG *tılvılā sthājırāvatī* ŚG *tılvalā sthırāvatī* MG † 2 11 12b *tılvılā syād ırāvatī* ApMB The word is otherwise *tılvıla*, probably MG is to be emended

vı śloka etu (AV *etı*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yantı*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrıh*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS †*sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

agne varcasvın (VSK °*van*) *varcasvāns* (ŚŚ °*vī*) *tvam deveṣv ası varcasvān* (ŚŚ °*vy*) *aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ

pradakṣının (AV °*nam*) *marutām stomam ṛdhyām* (MS *aśyām*) RV AV MS TB The old adverb *pradakṣınıt*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV

mānasya patnı śaranā syonā AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG

harṣamānāso dhṛṣıtā (TB °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N See §122 and VV I §86

kṛkalāsah (KSA *kṛkı*°) *pıppakā śakunıs* (TS KSA *śak*° *pı*°) *te śaravyāyaı* VS TS MS KSA Of uncertain origin, simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛkı-*

2 Long *ā* and *ī*

§597. These variants are few The most interesting group concerns *ā* varying with *ī* as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings *ī* and *ā* in this connexion These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples

samhitāsı viśvarūpā (VS ŚB ŚŚ °*pī*, TS ApŚ * °*pīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis)

upasthāvarābhyo dāśam VS *upasthāvarībhyo †baındam* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB

sakhā saptapadī (ApMB °*padā*) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB ApMB MG

śivā rutasya (TS and v l of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS See §684

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not)

gṛdhrah śitikakṣī vārdhrānasas te divyāh (KSA *vārhī°*, ed em *vārdhrī°*, *te 'dityāh*) TS KSA The word (otherwise spelled with *ī*) seems at least to be felt as a compound, cf *vārdhra*?

uṣṭro ghṛnīvān vārdhrīnasas (MS *ghṛnāvān vārdhrā°*) *te matyai* VS MS Cf prec, p p of MS *vārdhrī°* In *ghṛ°* we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here

ākhuh kaśo mānthālas (MS °*thālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāṇktrah* (KSA †*pāṇktah*, mss of both *pāṃtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA †*man°*) *te pitṛnām* (KSA †*pitṛ°*) TS KSA See §77

yā te agne harisayā (VSK *harī°*, MS MŚ *harā°*) *tanūr* VS VSK ŚB (Pratīkas MS MŚ) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*

vidyutam kanīnikābhyām (VS *kanīna°*) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here

§598 The other variations of *ā* and *ī* are very miscellaneous, mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort

agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS *agna āyuhkārāyuṣmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS See also *agne varcasvin* etc, §596

indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī (KS °*yāvān*, MŚ °*yavān*) TS KS MŚ

śivā visvāha (VS °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (TS °*habheṣajī*, MS °*jā*) VS TS MS KS

viśvacarṣanih sahurih sahāvān (AV *sahīyān*) RV AV MS

śilpā vaiśvadevīh (VS °*vyah*) VS MS *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāh* TS KSA Fem and masc forms, nom plur

samānī va ākūtih RV AV TB AG *samānā vā* (KS *va*) *ākūtānı* MS KS MG *ī* of fem sing *ā* of neut plur

varṣābhyas tiṭtirīn (MS °*rān*) VS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ Acc plur of the words which vary in §589

dhiyā manotā prathamo manīṣī (SV °*mā manīṣā*) RV SV 'The foremost intelligent one' ' intelligence'

sā śamtātı (SV °*tā*, TB ApŚ °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ *śamtātı* acc neut, and *śamtātā* loc sing, from *śamtātı*, on *śantācī* see §156

añgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS and v 1 of MS *'sthīni*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Stems *asthan asthi*

teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (AV *sam dadhmo akṣīni*) RV AV (Ppp has *akṣāni*) Stems *akṣan akṣi*

bahu ha vā ayam avarṣīd MS *bahu hāyam avṛṣād* (KS °*ṣad*) TS KS See VV I p 129

tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (JB *īyuh*) AV JB Imperfect and perfect of *i*

In VV I p 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (*n*)*ā* (*n*)*ī*, which we shall not repeat here Add the following

śṛnīhi viśvatah prati RV †*śṛnāhi viśvatas pari* SV

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī* As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older

avād dhavyāni surabhīni kṛtvā (RV VS *kṛtvī*) RV AV VS TS ApŚ SMB

kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā (RV °*tvī*) RV AV ApMB

kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *devair nikilbiṣam* RV AV

kṛtvī (AV *kṛtvā*) *savarnām adadur* (AV *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV AV N

pītvī (SV TS *pītvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV SV AV VS TS ŚB

vayo ye bhūtvī (AV °*tvā*) *patayanti naktabhih* RV AV

svinnah snātvī (AV °*tvā*, VS ŚB *snāto*) *malād iva* AV VS MS KS ŚB TB

hitvī (SV *hitvā*) *śiro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV *rārapac*) *carat* RV SV

apālām indra (MG °*ras*) *triṣ* (*trih*) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, ApMB *pūrtvī*, MG *pūrty a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG

3 *a* and *i* with shift of quantity

§599 Here are found only a few stray variants too few to classify Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality, these will not be repeated We begin with variants of *ā* and *i*, the first two belong with those of *a* and *i* in §586

prācīm jīvātum akṣitām (ŚŚ ŚG °*tim*) AV TS MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG AG † (Stenzler's Translation, p 36 n) ApMB N

vyacasvatīṣayantī subhūtih AŚ MS *viśvavyacā iṣayantī subhūtih* (KS °*tā*) TS KS In the latter *subhūtā* is an adjective going with *aditir* in the next pāda

tan no durgā (TA °*gih*) *pracodayāt* TA MahānU Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here

śriyo (AV TB °*yam*) *vasānaś carati svarocih* (TB °*cāh*) RV AV VS KS TB

āñgūṣānām (SV *añgoṣṇam*) *avāvasanta vānīh* RV SV Different case-forms of *a* and *ṇ* stems

adhi kṣami vṛṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā vṛśva°*) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB

kara ād (SV *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV SV

anādhṛṣṭā VS MS KS ŚB *anṛbhṛṣṭā* TS See §176

§600 Between *a* and *ī* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic

sīrāh (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV *sarā*) *patatriṇī* (TS MS KS *°ṇīh*) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV *bhūtvā*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *sīrā*, *sirā* is also found (RV) All are from root *sṛ*, cf §§570, 573

aṃṛtenāvṛtām puram (TA *purīm*) AV TA Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *purī*

yātudhānebhyah kaṇṭakīkārīm (TB *kaṇṭakakāram*) VS TB Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd , show shift in gender

nayanto garbham vanām dhiyam dhuh RV *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyam dhāh* SV Lexical

āsmiṇn (KS *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ Lexical

vīreṇyah kratur indrah suśastih RV *vareṇyakratūr* (AV *°tur*, ApŚ *īdenya°*) *aham* RVKh AV ApŚ See §§383, 554

4 Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601 Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ū* There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV , and the like seems to be largely true of MS

§602 In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation The following are those from *ū* roots

acikradat svapā iha bhuvat (Ppp *bhavat*, Barret, *JAOS* 30 244) AV Ppp Add to VV I 1 c

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS KS TB † [Poona ed text and comm] ApŚ *bruvan*) VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS *bruvat*) RV AV KS

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

pra bravāma (MS *bruvāma*, v l *bra°*) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TĀ ApMB ApG HG MG

sammiślo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS Kauś

nemiś cakram ivābhavat (SV MS *°bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah*) RV SV

yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV *°bhuvah*) RV SV MŚ N

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV *°bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

asapatnā kilābhuvam (ApMB *°bhavam*) RV ApMB *asapatnah kilā-bhuvam* RV

sampriyah (TA *°yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TA ApŚ *bhuvat*) MS TB TA ApŚ

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV *†huvemahi*) RV †1 101 1–7, SV

[*svāveśo anamīvo bhavā* (Conc wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB) *nah* RV TS MS SMB PG ApMB]

§603 From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *girah* RV SV (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root) Here SV goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV *uv*

upa śravat (MS *sruvat*, p p *śra°*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV MS On the anomalous and doubtful MS form cf VV I p 106

tad aham nihnave (ŚŚ *°nuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents, the latter (*hnute*) is more regular

nedīya it sṛṇyah pakvam ā yavan (Ppp *yuvan*, Barret, *JAOS* 30 207) AV Ppp (Others, see Conc) Add to VV I l c

§604 The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems

abhibhuve (MS *°bhve*, KS *°bhave*) *svāhā* MS VS KS TB ApŚ And, in same passage,

vibhuve (MS *vibhve*, KS *†vibhave*) *svāhā*, same texts

samudram na suhavam (*suhuvam*, *subhuvas*) , *mahiṣam nah subhvam* (*subhavas*) , see §119

indrah (ŚŚ *°as*) *patir tuviṣṭamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*) AV AA ŚŚ Cf §596

śiśibhravo (MS °*bhruvo*) *vasūnām* VS MS

puṁsavanam puṁsavanam AG *puṁsuvanam asi* ApMB The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV)

tad viprāso vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV VS NṛpU VasuU SkandaU ArunU MuktiU

tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV

sumnāyuvah (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS MŚ

tasya prajā apsarasa bhīruvah (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS

§605 Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff, we have noted surprisingly little We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo kuru* The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par- pur-*, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work

sukarīrā svopaśā (v l *svau°*) MS *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB The usual form is *kurīra*, the etymology is unknown If MS is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*)

avabhṛtha nicumpuna (TS TB ApŚ *nicañkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nicuñkuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ MŚ ApŚ N See §150 Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicañkuna*, MS KS *nicuñkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ Cf prec

samkasuko vikasukah AV MS *samkusuko vikusukah* TA ApŚ The root is *kas* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows Cf next

asmin vayam samkasuke (ApŚ °*kusuke*) AV ApŚ Cf prec

ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB See §273 Note that the variant vowel is preceded by b, a labial consonant

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya*, v l °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ Here the original form was neither *a* nor *u*, but *ṛ*, see §631

tuce tanāya (SV Svidh *tunāya*) *tat su nah* RV SV Svidh The SV form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal, assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *karo-*, *karu-* (VV I p 116 f, and references there quoted) Most of the other words are obscure, often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel

karanam (TS *karunam*) *asi* TS AŚ ŚŚ Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work', but *karanam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karunam* in this variant

varano vārayātai (and, *vārayiṣyati*) AV *varuno vārayāt* TA The root *vṛ*, like *kṛ*, has dissyllabic forms in *u* It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuna* is derived from it, the god's name (if the reading is correct, Poona ed has *varano* with v l *varuno*) is here used obviously with punning intent

So with the verb-forms *vanate vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p 121, whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l c), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *rayim* RV SV VS VSK TS MS KS

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§607 The rest are more dubious in character

pitvo (VS MS *pidvo*, KSA *bidvo*) *nyañkuh kakkaṭas* (MS *kakuṭhas*, TS KSA *kaśas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA °*yāh*) VS TS MS KSA There may be assimilation in VS or dissimilation in MS , but the forms are wholly obscure

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB °*tunam*, ŚŚ *sajoṣanam*) AV AB GB JB ŚŚ Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal, yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf RV *cetu*

somasya rājñah kulumgah TS *somāya kuluñgah* (MS *kulañgah*) VS MS *somāya rājñe kuluñgah* KSA The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable In both this and the next variant MS p p has *kulu*°, contrariwise VS comm reads in both *kula*°, glossing *kuraṅga*

sādhyebhyah kuluñgān (MS *kulañgān*) VS MS Cf prec

yādase śābalyām (TB *śābulyām*) VS TB *parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV AV ApMB Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words, *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śabala* 'spotted' A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS TB, whose comms interpret 'a woman with spotted skin', the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b* ApMB is clearly thinking of *śabala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment', in RV AV ApMB reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night Cf §241

§608 Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation First a group in which the common synonyms *cakṣas* and *cakṣus* interchange Note the misreading *cakṣaṣī sāmavedasya* in GB Bibl Ind ed, which is a mere misprint for *cakṣuṣī* as shown by the following ṣ, Gaastra reads correctly *cakṣuṣī* *Cakṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *cakṣus*

namaḥ samudrasya cakṣase (PB *cakṣuṣe*) TS MS KS JB PB LŚ

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV

āyuś ca prāyuś ca cakṣaś ca vicakṣaś (ApŚ *cakṣus ca vicakṣuś*) *ca* MS ApŚ

§609 Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation

tarakṣuḥ (KSA † °*kṣaḥ*) *kṛṣnaḥ* TS KSA Both forms otherwise recorded, original unknown

sādhu (SV *sādhaḥ*) *kṛnvantam avase* RV SV As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II 1 p 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*

tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā RV ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically, but resembles the case of *cakṣas cakṣus*, §608, superficially

daivyā mināna manasā (VS *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB

sugantuḥ karma karanaḥ kariṣyan JB *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karanaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ Cf §573

ārdraḥ prathasnur (MŚ †*pṛthusnur*, v l *prathasnur*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB ApŚ MŚ Knauer, note on MŚ, would understand *prathasnu* (TB comm *prathanaśīlo*) as dialectic by-form of *pṛthusnu*

samṛṣṭam ubhayam kṛtam (KŚ *abhayam kratum*) KS TB KŚ ApŚ Note metathesis of *a u* in KŚ, which is poor and secondary, and cf next

puñjikasthalā (KS † *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, compounded of *kṛta* ~ *kratu*, cf prec Really lexical, since the words are radically not related

dhanaspṛtam (MS *dhanu°*, but p p *dhana°*) *śūśuvānsam sudakṣam* RV MS *dhanu°* could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of 'wealth-winning', it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitar*

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS KS *°tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS *°tyaiḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ 'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'

§611 In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect indicative) endings, *(n)tu (n)ta* The instances are gathered in VV I, mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics are hardly concerned We add a few other stray cases

adārasṛd bhavata (AV *°tu*) *deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bhavata* seems uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see VV I p 283

ā pitaram vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh*! comm *akah*, glossed *kuru*) PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *kuh* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a gross corruption for *kah* (*'kah*), VV I p 283

§612 The remaining cases of *a u* are purely lexical A large group concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other, also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa su*, of various character, are included here

ye sajātāh samanasah (Kauś *su°*) TB ApŚ Kauś *ye samānāh samanasah* VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

śatam jīvema śaradah sarvavīrāh (TB *savīrāh*, ApŚ *suvīrāh*) AV TB ApŚ

ā tvā vahantu harayah sucetasah (ApMB *sa°*) MS ApMB HG

ādityāsah sumahasah (SV *sa°*) *kṛnotana* RV SV

agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtvā MŚ *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS † *°nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS *samvṛdhvane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS *suvṛdhvane*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

sajātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam AV TS *sa° madhye śraiṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā* MS *sujātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB *°tunam*, ŚŚ *sajoṣanam*) AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

marutvān astu ganavān sajātavān (AŚ *sujātaiḥ*) TB AŚ

akah su (TS *sa*) *lokam sukṛtam pṛthivyāḥ* (VS ŚB *°vyām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*

ayam sa (ŚŚ *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam* AV AŚ ŚŚ

pra sumartyam (*su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB *pra sa mṛtyum yuyotana* HG Here *sa* seems uninterpretable, Conc would read *su*

dadhad yo dhāyi sute vayāṅsi SV *dadhir yo dhāyi sa te vayāṅsi* RV Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of different character, involving false divisions of words

samsṛṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu* MS

nṛcakṣāḥ (MŚ *sucakṣāḥ*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm and Poona ed *śuśrug*, MŚ *sasrud*) *astu* TB MŚ If Poona ed is right, TB has *śu-*, the reduplicating syllable See §145

§613 Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or with other *a-*

yajñah pratyaṣṭhāt (v l *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV In VV I p 26 we have suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated from the vowel only by the aspirate

irām u ha (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ AG

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other *na*, sometimes involving false division of words

tam te vi ṣyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS MS KS ŚB *idam te tad vi ṣyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* TS

yajñāyate vā paśuṣo na (MS *nu*) *vājān* RV MS KB

upānasah saparyan RV † *upo nu sa saparyan* SV

avasyuvātā bṛhatī (TS *°tīr*) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS *°rīḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ

mahāṅ indrah paraś ca nu (SV *puraś ca nah*) RV AV SV Metathesis of *a u*

§615 Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange, this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in §605, q v Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur

pari pūṣā parastāt (AV *pu°*) RV AV

yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kim canāsa TA *yasmāj jātam na purā kim canaiva* VS *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ *yasmāt param nāparam asti kimcit* TA MahānU N *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātah* PB *yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti* (NṛpU *'sti*) VS, TB ApŚ MahānU NṛpU

[*ye devāh purahsado* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ BDh *ye devā agni-netrāh purahsadas* VS ŚB Conc quotes *parahsado* for TS]

§616 Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words, sometimes with false division of words

pra na (SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV

sarve rādhyāh stha (ŚŚ °*yās tu*) *putrāh* AB ŚŚ

devāñśo yasmai tvede tat satyam uparipruta (ApŚ *aparipluta*) *bhañgena* (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ

ugro (MG *agne*, HG *ūrdhvo*) *virājann* (MG *virājam*) *apa* (MG *upa-*) *sedha* (AV *vṛñkṣva*) *satrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV ApMB HG MG

upaśṛnvate (ŚŚ *apa*°, corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ ŚŚ

apa snehitīr etc RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi* etc TA See §110

tāni brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV *śumbhati*, ApMB *śañsati*) RV AV ApMB

§617 The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another

mitro yatra (AV *no atra*) *varuno ajyamānah* (AV *yujya*°) RV AV

devebhir aktam (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditih sajoṣāh* VS TS MS KSA

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ

pramade (TB °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS TB

anu stomam mudīmahi (PB *mademahi*) RV AV PB

asmin goṣthe karīṣiṇīh (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣiṇīh*) AV MS Kauś See §152, note *p* before *u*

sā samnaddhā sanuhi vāyam emam (MŚ *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV MG (Others, §52) *ā-san su*, near-synonyms

añjanti suprayasam (Ppp *yuñjanti suprajasam*) *pañca janāh* RV AVPpp MS See §192

vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA

pratnāso agna ṛtam āsuṣānāh (AV *āsaśānāh*) RV AV VS TS

asīmahi (MS *uś*°) *tvā* MS TA

ā raśmīn (RV °*mim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB °*vah*) RV VS ŚB TB

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jalgulīti* (KSA ms †*jalgalūti*, ed em °*līti*) *dhārnikā* TS KSA Onomatopoetic forms?

ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (AV *ye apa°*, some mss *ya upa°*, comm *u parāsah*) *īyuh* RV AV VS TS MS

[*yaje samrādhanīm aham* ŚB BṛhU AŚ SMB ApMB *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt, p 250) †*samardham īm aham* ŚŚ *agnau samrādhanīm yaje* HG]

§618 And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote

pratīpam prātisuvanam (AB °*satvanam*) AV AB ŚŚ Boehtlingk regards the reading °*suv*° as a corruption of the other But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *satvan*

svasti nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛteṣu*, v l as RV) *yonisu* RV AB MG

vasisṭhahanuh śiṅgīni kośyābhyām VS *osisthahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA °*kośā*°) TS TA

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV MS TA See §401

adha syāma (MS *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ See §840

pratisrutkāyā artanam (TB *rtulam*) VS TB See §651

śumbhānas (*stambh*°) , see §287

vi no rāṣṭram unattu TB *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV See §139

bhakṣīmahi (TS MS KS Vait *dhukṣ*°) *prajām isam* RV SV TS MS KS PB Vait

rajani , *rajjuni* , see §107

īde agnim svavasam (AV *svāvasum*) *namobhih* RV AV MS TB AŚ See §466

imam stām anupakṣitau (ApMB *anapekṣ*°) AV ApMB

āśum jayantam anu (KS *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

abhi sprdha usro vedim tatarda ŚŚ *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB The TB looks generally secondary Comm *asro nirasanakusalo prtanāny añgāni svadhitā parūnsi* (Vait *añgā sukṛtā purūni*) TB Vait

[*hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram acisṭum* (TB Conc °*ṭam*, Poona ed °*ṭum*, which certainly read) MS KS TB]

[*havir havisṣu* (SV *havihṣu*) *vandyah* (SV Conc wrongly °*yuh*) RV SV]

[*asmākam anśum maghavan puruspṛham* SV Conc 'read *anśam*' for *anśum*, but cf Benfey's Glossary, perhaps *anśum* is correct]

[*upa drava payasā godhug osam* (ŚŚ † *osum*, AŚ † *payasā gosam*) AV AB AŚ ŚŚ Both AŚ and ŚŚ probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV]

5 Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

§619 The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*

divyo gandharvah ketapūh (VSK °*pāh*) *ketam nah* (MS KS omit *nah*) *punātu* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB SMB 'Purifying (protecting) the will', the verb *punātu* is cognate with *-pūh* of the original reading

pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasuh (ApŚ MŚ *vibhā*°) RV SV ApŚ MŚ

drapsaś caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (RV *prathamāṅ anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

aghadvişţā devajātā AV Kauś *atharvyuştā devajūtāh* ApŚ

yad annam admi (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *virāddham*, vv ll *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU

§620 Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in

sakhā suśevo advayāh (Mahānāmnyah °*yuh*) RV KS AA Mahānāmnyah Nom sing masc of *as u* stems

yo nah (AV *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsati druhā* (AV *druhuh*) RV AV *druhā*, instr sing of stem *druh*, *druhuh*, nom sing of adj *druhu*

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB HG Pronoun *sā* prefix *su*

pumānsam u (ŚG *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG †*dadhād*) *iha* AV ŚG Add to VV I §§167, 193

§621 Variants of *a* and *ū*

yad adya hotrvarye (ŚŚ °*vūrye*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ °*vūrya* is Rigvedic, its long *ū* seems anomalous For the *u*-vocalism cf *vurīta* etc (VV I §10)

nakih (RV *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV *nū* = *nu*

druhah pāśān (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *şū*) *mucīşţa* RV TS MS KS See §612

utsam juşasva madhumantam ūrva (KS MŚ *ūrmim*, VS *arvan*, VSK °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ See §228

6 Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622 These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittirīya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

v for *y* (§§247–8) The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change, so in

pareyivāṅsam (TA ApŚ *pareyu°*) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV *itī*) RV AV MS TA AŚ N (Pratīkas, ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś Rvidh) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *i* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance, possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*

hlādike hlādikāvatī (TA *hlāduke hlādu°*) RV AV TA Here, too, another motive is discernible The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling' This meaning in the Brāhmana language is expressed by the suffix *uka*, cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 104 ff But again the form appears only in a Tait text

goṣv aśveṣu śubhrīṣu (TB *°uṣu*) RV AV KS TB The stem *śubhru* occurs only here, the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation)

made-made hi no dadiḥ (TB *daduḥ*) RV AV MS KS TB AŚ *daduḥ* can only be a noun form equal to *dadiḥ*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable) The samhitā mss of MS have a different phonetic corruption, *dadṛk*, ed follows p p

§623 In other texts *i* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous

acety agniś cikituḥ (SV KS *°tiḥ*) RV SV KS Perhaps assimilation in SV KS

daivyā (AV *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS *°rā*, AV *°rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vaniṣ°*, KS † *vaniṣan na*, AV *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS KS The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end It is historically quite as justified as *vaniṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS , contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation

§624 In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned

ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣilīkā (MS *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS MS (p p of MS *suṣilīketi suṣi-līkā*) See §279

dṛśe ca (MS *dṛśā ca*, RV *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (RV *śuśu°*, KS *°vabhiḥ*, MS *suśikmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §240

§625 In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *i* and imperatives in *u* They need not be listed here, see VV I, e g §116 Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt, unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *hım* and (commoner) *hum*

paśūnām tvā hımkārenābhıgıghrāmy (GG °*mı*, HG *hum*°) *asau* . SMB GG ApMB HG

§626 In several variants forms of root *śrı* exchange with *śru* or *sru*

agne tvam sūktavāg asy upasrutı (ŚB AŚ ŚŚ °*tī*, TB *upaśrıto*) *dıvas* (TB *dıvah*) *pṛthıvyoh* MS ŠB TB AŚ ŚŚ *upaśrıto dıvah pṛthıvyoh* TS

śavasā hy ası śrutah (AV *śrıtah*) RV AV But SPP *śrutah* for AV, with many mss (other mss *śṛtah*), and so Whitney's Transl

ā tvā parısrutah (MG °*sṛtah*, mss °*tam*, AG °*śrıtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °*āh*) AG PG ApMB MG And others, see §275

§627 The rest are sporadic

prajāvatīh sūyavasam (AV °*se*) *ruśantīh* (RV TB comm *rıś*°) RV AV TB See Whitney's note on AV *ruś*° 'shining', tho no doubt secondary to *rıś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is clearly the reading of AV tradition

prıyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hıto*, v l *huto*) *'sı* (MŚ †*bhava*) TS MŚ This, as between ı and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the mss of MŚ

svarvıdo abhı gā adrım uṣnan (SV *ıṣnan*) RV SV See §401

pātı prıyam rıpo (and, *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV (both) *pāty agnır vıpo agram padam veh* ApŚ Read *rupo* in both RV passages, cf Ludwig ad loc, Bloomfield, *JAOS* 27 75, and *RVRep* 184

apām tvā sadhıṣı (MS † *sadhrıṣu*) *sādayāmı* VS MS KS ŠB See §353 The MS is mangled, is its ending felt as loc plur ? (*sadhıṣı* loc sing)

upa yajñam asthıta (MŚ *astu no*, AV comm *astṛta*) *varśvadevī* RV Kh AV ApŚ MŚ

ā śuṣe (SV *āśıṣe*) *rādhase mahe* RV SV The RV has a verb form from *ā-śvas* 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty' In SV we have an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form The ending e suggests a dative matching the following *rādhase*, hence *āsıṣe* 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb Benfey supplies 'we summon'

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA *ıta*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam āmutah* (p p *tu, enam, mā'm, uttam ma*') MS (corrupt in both forms) TA comm takes *ıta* as a verb form (= *prāpnuta*)

mandāna ud vṛṣāyate (SV *ıd vṛṣāyase*) RV SV

ṣaḍ ıd yamā (TA *udyamā*) *ṛṣayo devajā ıti* RV AV TA N

ud ıt te vasuvittamāh ApŚ *ud u tye* (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt MŚ

sarvān ıt tān anu vıdur vasıṣṭhāh RV *sarvam uktam anuvıdur vasıṣṭhāh* JB

vıśvaır devaı rātıbhıh samrarānah (MG *devaır ṛtubhıh samvıdānah*) ApMB MG

sugandhım (*subandhum*) , see §152

lokam (RV *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ *ıd*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV *jāmım*) *ıyatuh* RV MS ApŚ

[*vātāpe pīva ıd bhava* RV KS †—Conc *ud* for KS *ıd*]

nādya śatrum nanu (ŠB † *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŠB *yuyutse*) RV SV See §255, and other interchanges of *vı yu* in §805

alıvandāya svāhā KSA *ılıvardāya svāhā* TB ApŚ See §579

achıdrā uśıyah padānu takṣuh TS *achıdrośıyah kavayah padānutakṣıṣuh* (so text, em by Caland, ms † *padānıtakṣıṣvat*) KS

vratānı (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bıbhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG

7 Interchanges of long ī and ū (*u*)

§628 Here are found only a few stray variants

ūrjam samsūdena (KSA °*sīdena*) TS KSA Parts of a horse's body, wholly obscure TS comm *samsūdam samtatakṣarano nāsıkādıh*

vıṣnur āprītapā āpyāyyamānah VS *apūtapā ādhūyamānah* TS The passages are rather low bathos

ahır na jūrnām (TB *ahır ha jīrnām*) *atı sarpatı tvacam* RV SV TB Both participles of the dissyllabic root *jṝ* The ī form is regular in Sanskrit, but the Vedic ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton, *Ind Stud C R Lanman* 27)

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣılīkā (*susulūkā*) , see §624

sam īm (SV *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV AV SV

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh VS *pıtṛbhyo barhıṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhruvanūkāśān* ApŚ See §742

CHAPTER XIV VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629 With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *ṛ* (*ḷ*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *ṛ* in a secondary text These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *ṛ* and consonantal *r* with another vowel, especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ri* or *ru* On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *ṛ* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical, that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined Cf our remarks in §20

1 *ṛ* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631 We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the Rigveda itself

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhṛn°*) RV SV The SV has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV The root is originally *hṛn*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *han*

īṣām khṛgalyam śavam (ApŚ *khagalyam śapham*) MS ApŚ An uncertain part of a wagon is meant The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khṛgala*, RV , if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related

paṣṭhavād (MS *pṛṣṭhavād*, p p *paṣṭavād*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts, and even in the fourth a v l has it

tejo yaśasır sthavıram samıddham (ŠG *samṛddham*, v l *samı°*) ŠG PG ApMB HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34, *samıddham* is pretty clearly for *samṛddham*

dadhıṣa ehı ApŠ *dadhṛṣy ehı* MS The forms are voc sing fem , and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhṛṣ*, so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kühne'

To these may be appended another, in which however *ı* for *ṛ* seems to be a textual corruption

ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhṛṣānah (AŚ † *jarhıṣ°*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB TB AŠ But elsewhere AŠ has the vikāra *aham śa° jayāmı jarhṛṣānah*, indicating that *jarhıṣ°* is corrupt

§636 An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next, *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhıd*), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34

puramdaro gotrabhıd (MS *°bhṛd*, all mss , TB *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuh* VS MS KS TB

§637 In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *ı* and *ṛ*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct

jāmım ṛtvā māva patıı lokāt AV *jāmım ıtvā mā vivitsı lokān* TA The roots *ṛ* and *ı* are synonyms But Poona ed of TA *jāmı mıtvā*

ādityānām prasıtır (MS *°sṛtır*) *hetır ugrā* MS TB TA 'Extension' 'progress' Cf next two

prayatıś ca me prasıtıś (MS KS *°sṛtıś*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Cf prec and next

dīrghām anu prasıtım (KS *samṛtım*) *āyuṣe dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŠB TB *dīrghām anu prasṛtım samaspṛśethām* MS Cf prec two

tām dhīrāso anudṛṣya (VSK *°dıśya*) *yajante* (KS †*anudṛśyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB *tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudıśyāyajanta* MS *tām u dhīrāso anudıśya yajante* VS ŠB *anu-dıś* 'assign' *anu-dṛś* 'survey'

tam ghed (MS *hed*) *agnır vṛdhāvatı* (MS *vidh°*) RV TS MS In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avatı* MS is obscure and probably corrupt, p p *vadhā* (sic!), *avatı*

§638 To this same group belongs the single case involving long ī; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ mss read °*mṛte* with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mi* 'change, alter'

tasmin sīdāmṛte pratiṣṭha (MŚ text *sīdāmīte pratiṣṭhan*) TB ApŚ MŚ Add to VV I §250

§639 Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hita* (or *dhita*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhṛ* (*hṛ*)

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu (Ppp *piparti*) AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitam dadhātu* TB

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat VS *ga° nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU And others, §855

devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ RVKh (but Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*) *devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtaḥ* (TB °*bhṛtāḥ*) SV TB

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ *prahitam*, MŚ *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

hiranye 'smin samahitaḥ (RVKh Scheftelowitz °*hi tah*, HG °*bhṛtāḥ*) RVKh ApMB HG

garbha iva (SV KU [Poley's ed] *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhinībhiḥ* (RV *sudhito garbhinīṣu*) RV SV KU

sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam TS TB *sūryāñ* (p p °*yāt*) *sukram samībhṛtam* MS *sūrye santam* (KS TA *śukram*) *samāhitam* (KS TA *samābhṛtam*) VS KS ŚB TA

§640 Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants

priyo ma hṛdo (MŚ *hito*, v l *huto*) *'si* (MŚ †*bhava*) TS MŚ

imā (MS *idam*) *brahma pīpihi* (MS *pipṛhi*, v l *pipīhi*) *saubhagāya* VS MS KS ŚB

vṛṣayūtir no 'vṛtaḥ (SV *'vitā*) RV SV *a-vṛ-tah av-i-tā* (nom ag , root *av*)

hotrāvidah (RV °*vida*, TB °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaiḥ* RV AV MS TB

mā no vidad (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS TB ApŚ °*anā*) *dveṣyā* † *yā* AV KS TB ApŚ

indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhir brahmanā samvidānah* ŚŚ

ājyanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spṛsantām*, TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA

atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣnoh (RV N *vṛṣnah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Viṣnu is meant even in RV , later texts substitute the name for the epithet

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvirīr (SV *prāntarikṣāt sthāvirīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV SV
vācaspate hṛdvidhe nāman (MS MŚ *hinvidhe*) MS TA ŚŚ MŚ All mss and p p of MS agree on the strange form Even *hṛdvidhe* is none too clear (TA comm *hṛdayasya vidhātah cittaprerakety arthah*)
vṛtrasyāsi (*mitra*°) see §235
made-made hi no dadih (TB *daduh*, MS samh mss *dadṛk*) RV AV MS KS TB AŚ See §622
adṛnhathāh śarkarābhis trivṛṣtapi (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhih*) KS ApŚ MŚ See §222
ĩśāno vi ṣyā (= *ṣiyā*, TS *sṛjā*) *dṛtim* AV TS MS KS
upa yajñam asthita (AV comm *astṛta*, MŚ *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RV Kh AV ApŚ MŚ
dame-dame suṣṭutyā (TS °*tīr*, MS ° *tī*, AŚ ŚŚ °*tir*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV °*nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236
[*eṣa iṣāya* (AV Berlin ed *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV ŚŚ Keep *iṣāya* with AV mss]

3 *ṛ* (*ṝ*) and *u*(*ū*)

§641 The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be prevailingly Prakritic in character We should expect *u* for *ṛ* especially in the vicinity of labial consonants, but except in the first variant (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case, the only other instances with labials (e g *bhṛ* and *bhū*) are lexical The most clearly Prakritic cases are
tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf *tvaṣṭṛīmatī* (TS ApŚ and TA Poona ed *tvaṣṭī*°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ The Taittirīya form is feminized
ut (Vait *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ Vait °*yor*) *ava gudam* (TS KSA ApŚ *sakthyor grdam*) *dhehi* VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ Vait ApŚ Altho *grda* seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be the original form of *guda*
etām samikṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ See §631
ṛtaprajātā (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS MŚ This may be called a lexical variant, since MŚ makes sense, but it is doubtless fundamentally Prakritic

§642 Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably both are mere textual errors or corruptions

sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (TB Conc *nahṛṣo*) *yahvo agnih* RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading

devam manah kuto (AV *kṛto*) *adhi prajātam* RV AV Altho all mss of AV apparently agree on *kṛto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kuto*, with Whitney

made-made hi no dadih (*daduh*, *dadṛk*), see §§622, 640

§643 More purely lexical variants are

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hito* or *huto*) *'si* (MŚ †*bhava*) TS MŚ See §640

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvann* (RV *apunann*) *uśiyo amṛtyave* (RV °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ

vaniṣthor hṛdayād (AV * *udarād*) *adhi* RV AV (both) ApMB

upa yajñam asthita (*astṛta*, *astu no*) , see §640

avimuktacakra (°*rā*) *āsīran* PG *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB Note labial consonants preceding *ṛ u*

āyurdā deva (AV *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB ApG HG *gṛn*°) AV MS KS MŚ ApMB HG ApG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB *āyuṣmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣānah* (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

§644 The only cases of long *ū* and *ṛ* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhṛ*, which are practically synonyms here

adbhyah sambhṛtah (TA MahānU ApŚ *sambhūtah*) *pṛthivyai* (MS KS † °*vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS MS KS TA MahānU KŚ ApŚ PG

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*, TS ApŚ *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhah pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS ApŚ omit) *'bhibhūtaye* (TS ApŚ *abhibhūtyai*, ŚŚ *'bhibhṛtyai*, KŚ *'bhibhūtyai*) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ *ariṣṭyā avyathyai samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryā* (also *triṣṭubho*, *jagatyā*, *anuṣṭubho*, *pañktyā*) *abhibhūtyai svāhā* ApŚ

Once *r̄* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms

tāsām svasṝr ajanayat (MS *svar ajanan*, KS ms † *svasūr* [ed em *svasṝr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS

4 *ḷ* and *u*

§645 There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form A perfect middle participle of root *klp* appears twice in ApŚ with *u* for *ḷ* There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots

saṃvatsara ṛtubhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ (KS °*bhiś cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ °*bhiś cākupānaḥ*) MS KS ApŚ

satyaṃ pūrvaṃ (KS °*vebhiṃ*) *ṛṣibhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ* (KS † °*bhiś cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ *cākupānaḥ*) MS KS ApŚ

5 *ṛ* and *o*

§646 In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots *gṛh* and *guh*

gṛhyopagṛhyo mayobhūr ŠG *gohya †upagohyo* SMB PG.

6 *ṛ* and *ar*

§647 The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular

§648 The following concern various finite verb forms

pary agniṃ ahṛṣata (VSK †*arṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV VS VSK *parīme 'gniṃ arṣata* AV (Ppp ms *aharṣata*, Barret *JAOS* 43 99 em *ahṛṣata*) Sigmatic aorists from *hṛ*, weak-grade or guna, the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf VSK and AVPpp) it is to be regarded as a blend of *ahṛṣata* and *arṣata*

bahu hāyam (MS *ha vā ayam*) *avṛṣad* (TS *avṛṣād*, MS *avarṣīd*) *iti śruta rāvat* (MS °*vaṭ*, TS *śrutar āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS MS KS See VV I p 129

praty u adarśy (TB *uv †adṛśy*) *āyatī* RV SV TB AŚ ŚŠ This can only be a 3d sing aor pass, with *ṛ* in TB anomalously for *ar* (comm *dṛśyate*) To be added to VV I §281

bhartam (VS ŠB *bhṛtam*) *agniṃ purīṣyam* VS TS MS KS ŠB See VV I p 188

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS *abhi no nivartasva*, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŠB Kauś *abhī na ā vavṛtsva* RV See VV I p 126

punar ūrjā ni vartasva (Kauś *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV VS TS MS KS ŠB LŚ MŚ Kauś

ime jīvā vi mṛtair āvavṛtran (TA *āvavarttin*, Poona ed °*rtin*) RV AV TA See VV I p 42

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŠ *dadharṣayā*) AV AA ŚŠ See VV I p 89

§649 In various participles and gerundives

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS MS KS See VV I p 147

jāgaritāya (KSA *jāgṛtāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA Both equivalent participles

adhā te viṣno viduṣā cid ardhyah (TB *ṛdhyah*) RV TB Gerundives, cf Whitney §963b, 4

dāma grīvāsv avimokyam yat (TS *avicartyam*) AV TS *pāśam grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS ŚB °*cṛtyam*) VS MS KS ŚB Cf prec AVPp according to Whitney has °*cṛtyam*

§650 In other noun and adjective formations

śam methir (ApMB *śam te methī*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB *tṛdma*) AV ApMB No stem *tṛdman* is otherwise known

atandrāso yuvatayo †vibhṛtram (TB *vibhartram*) RV TB Poona ed of TB text and comm *bibhartram* Agni is referred to, TB comm *poṣakam*

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajasyam pautramartyam* SMB Comm on SMB repeats the form, glossing *putrasambandhimaranam*

pra sa (tead *su*?) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* ApMB SMB *prathamam artim yuyotu nah* MG

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvann* (RV *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ In ApŚ a blended stem *-martyu* (fused from *marta*, *martya*, and *mṛtyu*), cf prec

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB *martave*) RV PB Infinitive in PB

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi* SV JB

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS MS *vaṭ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV in compounds It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here The next preceding phrase in KS is *nṛṣade veṭ*, the *ṛ* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°

devāh pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt (AV *nirṛthāt*) RV AV TS Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition', *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic

[*niṣkartā* (RV KŚ *iṣ*°, ApMB Conc wrongly *niṣkṛtā*) *vihrutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihṛtam*) *punah* RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB]

§651 Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB *artanam*, comm *duhkhinam*, BR 'reviler', *ṛtulam*, comm *deśarājavārtākathanaśīlam*

sarnīkāya tvā TS *sṛdīkāya tvā* MS Both words wholly obscure, said to mean 'water'

dvṛṣas taradhyā (ApŚ ° *yaı*) *ṛnayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KB AB ApŚ *dvṛṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

7 *ṛ* and *ār*

§652 Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *ṛ* Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*

aprajāstvam mārtavalsam AV *aprajastām pautramṛtyum* ApMB HG Others, §650

ārtavā (MS KS *ṛtavo*) *adhıpataya* (MS KS *'dhı°*) *āsan* VS MS KS ŚB *ārtavo 'dhıpatır āsīt* TS

ṛtavo 'sṛjyanta VS TS ŚB *ārtavā asṛjyanta* MS KS

agnır gṛhapatīnām (MS KS *gārhapatyānām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

ārtyaı (TB *ṛtyaı*) *janavādınam* VS TB Stem *ṛtı*, from *ṛ* *ārtı*, from *ā* + *ṛ*

8 *ṛ* and *ır*, *ur*, *ūr*

§653 Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least As to *ṛ* *ır*, we find just two cases in which the samhitā mss of MS (the same text each time!) read *ṛ* for proper *ır* In both cases the p p points to the reading *ır* Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *ṛ* in one case and emends to *ır* in the other, there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other

nama ānırhatebhyah (MS *ānṛ°*, p p *ānır°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

anuttam ā te maghavan nakır nu (MS mss *nakṛnu*, ed em *nakır nu*, p p *nakıs, tu*) RV VS MS KS

§654 Under *ṛ* *ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious

agnır dvārā vy ṛnvatı RV TB Conc quotes *urnvatı* for TB , but Poona ed text and comm *ṛn°* without v l

satyaujasā dṛnhanā (MS *durhṛnā*, KS †*dṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS And others see §305

nābhımṛśe (MS KS *nābhıdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣāṇah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Might also be classed in §643

§655 Of *ṛ* *ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *ṛ* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrnu*, really a form of *vṛ*

tveṣas te dhūma ṛnvati (AV *ūrnotu*) RV AV SV LŚ KŚ MŚ

9 *ṛ* and *ra*, *rā*

§656 In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprasārana', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar On this see Wackernagel I pp 69–71, and cf the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *va* in the next chapter There is one case, also, of *ṛ* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p 212 f There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation) and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological

§657 The cases of so-called Samprasārana concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *gṛbh*, on which see especially VV I §281

agṛbhīt VSK *agrabhīt* VS AŚ ŚŚ

agṛbhīṣata VS *agrabhīṣata* KS

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS *ajigrabhat*, KS *ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgṛbham*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnaye tvā mahyam pratigṛhītre (ŚŚ °*gṛhnate*) VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ

prāno dātra edhi pratigṛhītre (ŚŚ °*gṛhnate*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ The same with *hayo dātra*

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms

viṣe viṣam apṛkthāh (*aprāg apı*) AV (both)

§658 In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel l c , some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical

hradam (MS *hṛdam*) *na hi tvā nyṛṣanty ūrmayah* RV, MS 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmānı*) ' The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *samprasārana* Cf next

namo nīveśyāya (p p *ni°*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS *namo hradayyāya* (VS *hṛdayyāya*, KS *hṛadayyāya*) *ca niveśyāya* (TS °*ṣyāya*) *ca* VS TS KS See §248 The MS and VS forms simulate derivatives of *hṛd* and *hṛdaya*, but these can hardly be in place here, the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hṛda* = *hrada* found in MS in the preceding variant

pṛkṣasya (ArS *prakṣ°*) *vṛṣno aruṣasya nū sahah* (ArS *mahah*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh *pṛkṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse, its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere

nimrado (ApŚ *nimṛdo*) *'si* MS KS ApŚ MŚ Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p 71

avātiratam bṛsayasya (TB *prathayasya*) *śeṣah* RV TB See §69

bhṛjaś chandah MS *bhrajaś chandah* VS TS ŚB *bhrājaś chandah* KS † (but v l *bhra°*) The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhrāj*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l c but may be related to *bhrajj*, Wackernagel p 69, cf also *bhargas* etc There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots Cf next

kṣuro bhrajaś (TS *bhṛjvāñ*, MS *bhṛjaś*, VS *bhrājaś*, stigmatized by Conc as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec

ārdrah prathasnur (MŚ †*pṛthusnur*, v l *pratha°*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB ApŚ MŚ See §609, and Wackernagel p 71

svasty apsu vṛjane svarvati (MG †*vrajane svarvatah*) RV AB MG Really a lexical variant, *vrajana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda But some MG mss read with RV

[*digbhyaś cakravākah* (KSA Conc *cakṛv°* with the sole ms , ed em *cakrav°*) TS KSA This is probably a mere corruption, if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same]

§659 The roots *rādh* and *ṛdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin, and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group Cf also §806

ṛdhyāsam adya makhasya śirah MS TA ApŚ *makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyāsam devayajane pṛthivyāḥ* VS ŚB [The references to MS MŚ in Conc seem to be erroneous]

tan me rādhyatām VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ Kauś SMB *tan me samṛdhyatām* (Kauś *samṛddham*) TB SMB Kauś

harivato graham ṛdhyāsam KS *harivato hariyojanasya harivantam graham rādhyāsam* MS

§660. The single case noted of *ṛ* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p 212 f) is

samsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu MS *samsraṣṭā* (AV v 1 *samsṛṣṭā*) *sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS

§661 From the root *śṛ*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise

suśrātam (AV *suśṛtam*) *manye tad ṛtam navīyah* RV AV

§662 The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic In verb inflexion forms in *ṛ* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG *āpo jāgṛta* MS KS MŚ *āpo havihṣu jāgṛta* ApŚ *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG See VV I p 123

ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (KS *jāgṛtha*) AV KS See VV I p 221

yajamānāya jāgṛta ApŚ *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG See VV I p 96

te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS † *jāgṛta*) AV KS

yat paśur māyum akṛta TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś See VV I p 257

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bibhrato*) *jātavedāh* AV KS Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p 158), and obscure as to interpretation

§663 Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *ṛ* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*

hotrakānām (MŚ *hotṛk°*, v l *hotrak°*) *camasādhvaryavah* ApŚ MŚ The words *hotṛka* 'secondary *hotṛ*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest See Caland on ApŚ 12 23 4

§664 Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated, notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kṛ* Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology

puñjikasthalā (KS †*puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, and so naturally flexible

samsṛṣṭam ubhayam kṛtam (KŚ *abhayam kratum*) KS TB ApŚ KŚ

indra kratvā (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vasāma* RV MS KS The MS , which is certainly secondary and poor in *indrah*, reads the

gerund *kṛtvā* for *kratvā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness

mainā arvā revukakāṭah pṛnak (MS † [v l *pṛnak*] KS *pranak*) MS KS TB *pra-ṇak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*, *pṛnak* from *pṛc*

indrāya tvā śṛmo '*dadāt* (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB See §277

§665 The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague

drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV *prathamāṅ anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vague assonance only

tam tvam viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS °*bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ

sā (read *sa*?) *nah prayām paśūn pāhy aranīyamānah* (p p *ahāh*, *ánī*, *yámānah*!) MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛnīyamānah* TA The MS is hopelessly corrupt, probably read *ahṛnīyamānah*

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS *bhadrā vṛṣanā agṛbhnām*) RV VS TS KS

idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ *idavāsmāṅ* (RVKh *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastām vratena* RVKh AV Scheftelowitz reads *ghṛtena* in RVKh

idam aham sarpānām grathnāmi (MŚ mss *kṛtsnāmi*) TS ApŚ MŚ See §47, MŚ perhaps corruption for *grath*°

nadayor vivratayoh śūra indrah RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV See §828

viśvair devai rātibhih samrarānah (MG *devair ṛtubhih samvidānah*) ApMB MG

āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB In this and the next, TS has interchanged the two old adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh* and *dhṛtavrata* (both RV)

āvittau (TS *āvinnau*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec

10 *ṛ* and *ri*, *rī*

§666 Since *ṛ* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *ṛ* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects) On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp 31 ff It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss, including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV 5 14 3, apropos of the pāda *rišasyeva parīšāsam* So the Berlin ed prints it But Whitney informs us that most mss read *ŕśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text, we agree with him Against most mss , but with some of them and with the comm , Whitney would also read *ŕśyapadīm vŕşadatīm* in AV 1 18 4a, where both editions have *rišya*°

§667. These AV cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS , which presents *trişu* for *tŕşu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *tŕş*) and *tvaşţri* for the god-name *tvaşţŕ* We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss , despite the unquestionable meaning of the words In short, we believe that the Maitrāyanīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word

tŕşu (MS *trişu*) *yad annā vevişad vitişţhase* RV SV MS ApŚ

tŕşucyavaso (MS *trişu*°) *juhvo nāgneh* RV MS

tvaşţŕmantas (MS MŚ *tvaşţri*°, ApŚ *tvaştu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Others, see §641

§668 Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *krimi*, altho its original form seems to have been *kŕmi* (Wackernagel I p 33, Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch* , s v) Several variants show both forms of this common word

hatas te atrinā krimih (GG *kŕ*°) SMB GG *atrinā tvā krime hanmi* TA ApŚ *atrivad vah krimayo hanmi* AV

hatāh krimayah (but Jorgensen text and comm *kŕ*°) *sāśātikāh sanīlamakşikāh* SMB *āśātikāh kŕmaya* (but Poona ed *kri*°, v l *kŕ*°) *iva* TA Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nīlamgoh (MS °*gave*) *kŕmih* (TS *kri*°) VS TS MS KSA

§669 So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *ŕ*, not *ri* But the opposite is also not uncommon It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism, or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *ŕ* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *ŕ* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially

§670 Take for instance the proper name *Trita*, which is quite definitely established in that form* as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrita*) Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV (6 113 1 and 3) it is spelled *Tṛta*, according to all mss known to both editions In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trita* In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss

tṛta enam (read *enan*, TB *trita etan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* (TB *mā°*) AV TB

tṛte (TB *trite*) *devā amṛjatairtad enah* AV TB

§671. There is little doubt that the MS form *āpapṛvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpaprivān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pṛ*, as Whitney questioningly suggests The MS p p has *°pri°*

āpaprivān (MS *āpapṛvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§672 The verb *sredhati* makes it clear that *sridh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant In fact many AV mss read *sridhah*, which Whitney regards as the true AV reading

ati nitho ati sridhah (AV MS *sṛdhah*) AV VS TS MS KS

§673 In the next *krivi* is the only form known to RV , and so may perhaps be assumed as the original, both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown

ā va indram krivim (SV Svidh *kṛvim*) *yathā* RV SV ŚŚ Svidh

adha tvāṣṭīmāṅ abhy ojasā krivim (SV *kṛvim*, v l *krivim*) *yudhābhavat* RV SV

§674 According to Wackernagel I §180b, *ṛ* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law, when *ṛ* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy In the second variant the original (AV) reading was pronounced *pitriyāc*, and for this TA *pitṛyāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *ṛ* for proper *ri*

vayam rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma (MS † KS † *°mā*, TS and p p of MS *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāh* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

dyaur nah pitā pitṛyāc (TA *pitṛyāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA *bhavāsi*) AV TA Cf the next where the RVKh reading is doubtful

dvyuṣam jāgṛtād aham AV *dvyuṣam jāgriyād aham* RVKh Aufrecht

but Scheftelowitz *āvyuṣam jāgṛyām* (em , for ms °*yāmy*) *aham* Cf VV I p 102

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning, presumably MS is secondary

vikirida (KS °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS .

§676 Finally a few corruptions and false readings

ya ṛte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad ṛte*, PB †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jari cetīd* (mss *cetid*, p p *cya iti it*) *abhiṣiṣah* MS (grossly corrupt, cf §193)

sam tvā rinanti (Vait *ṛnanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait Note the anomalous sandhi in Vait , *sam-ṛ* and *sam-ri* would be virtual synonyms, but a 9th class present from *ṛ* is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup , but not known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*) The Vait reading is therefore doubly suspicious See §992

[*imau te pakṣāv* (°*ṣā*) *ajarāu patatrinau* (VSK TS KS °*nah*, Conc wrongly quotes TS as *patatṛnah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB]

§677 Twice *ṛ* varies with *rī*, both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases

śṛtas tvam sṛto 'ham ApŚ *śrītas tvam śrīto 'ham* KS Participles of the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śṛ, śrā, śrī* 'cook, mature'

adbhir viśvasya bhartrībhih ApMB *adbhih sarvasya bhartṛbhih* ŠG In ApMB a distinctively feminine stem *bhartrī* is used, to agree with *adbhih*, ŠG uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender

11 *ṛ* and *ru*

§678 The shift between *ṛ* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than that between *ṛ* and *ri* There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings In standard modern Marāṭhī the *ṛ* of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*, instead of *ri* as in most other vernaculars) That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr 14 12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarau kurvanty oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau*) There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with *ṛ ri* They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *ṛ* in conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring

§679 Among the clearest phonetic variants are

bhṛmim (TB *bhrumim*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛnata* RV TB Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants The original *bhṛmi* is not very clear, one of Sāyana's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhrumi* by TB comm, who derives it from root *bhram*

dṛvāsi VS *dṛbāsi* KŚ *drubāsi* VSK An obscure word, note the following *b* There is no way of determining the original form

§680 A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *ṛ* for original *ru* is the stem *pṛṣvā*, found several times in Tait texts for regular *pruṣvā*, note the preceding *p* BR call *pṛṣvā* a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed TA comm explains by *jalabinduh* It seems clear that it was the established Tait school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters, see e g Keith on TS 7 4 13 1

pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ VS MS *aśrubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS *pṛṣ°*) TS KSA

pruṣvābhyah (TS *pṛṣ°*, KSA ed *pruṣṭābhyas*, ms *praṣṭā°*, read probably *pruṣvā°*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA

śam u pṛṣṭhāva (read with Poona ed text and comm *pṛṣvāva*) *śīyatām* TA *śam te pruṣvāva śīyatām* AV

§681 Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *ṛ* in the following cases, we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change At least the *ṛ* form seems quite well established in the Tait school, the MS is more seriously corrupt

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhyā*, p p *vaktṛbhyah*!) *ātṛdah* (MS *°da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

§682 The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange Thus, the roots *sṛ* and *sru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *sruti* both mean 'course, way'

dve srutī (VS KS ŚB BṛhU KŚ *sṛtī*, and so TB Conc, but Poona ed *srutī*) *asṛnavam pitṝnām* RV VS MS KS ŚB TB BṛhU ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS 38 2 to *srutī*)

namah srutyāya (KS *sṛt°*) *ca pathyāya ca* VS TS KS *namah pathyāya ca srutyāya ca* MS Derivatives of the words concerned in the prec

ā tvā parisrutah (AG *°śrutah*, MG *°sṛtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † *°āh*) AG PG ApMB MG *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG *emām parisrutah kumbhah* AV *pūrnān parisrutah kumbhān* ŚB No form *parisṛt* is otherwise recorded, despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG (all mss) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutah*

hiranyam astṛtam (ŠB BṛhU GP *asrutam*) *bhava* ŠB BṛhU KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG Here *sru* varies with *stṛ*, 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold)

Cf *mṛgasya sṛtam* (HG *śṛtam*, ApMB vv ll *srutam*, *śrutam*) *akṣnayā* ApMB HG See §278

§683 Similarly *hṛ* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*, the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like A third variation between *hṛ* and *hru* is merely a textual corruption

avinaṣṭān avihrutān (AŚ °*hṛtān*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ ŠG

iṣkartā vihrutam punah RV KŠ *niṣkartā* (Conc wrongly °*kṛtā* for ApMB) *vihrutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihṛtam*) *punah* AV SV MS PB TA ApMB In TA there is a v l *vihrutam*, adopted in the text in Poona ed , but the comm even there reads *vihṛtam*, and glosses *viseṣena bhagnam*

aślonā (comm *asronāh*) *aṅgair ahrutāh svarge* AV *aślonāṅgair ahṛtā svarge* TA But Poona ed text and comm *ahrutāh*, v l °*tā*, for TA , and this is the only possible reading The simple *hṛ* is not a synonym of *hru*, *ahṛta* would make no sense, comm *kauṭilyarahitāh* (=*ahrutāh*)

§684 Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *papratheebhir evaih* RV MS KB TB The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared' This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB

śivā rutasya (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and v l of MS *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS Original is certainly *rutasya* 'healer of what is injured' *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an obvious lect fac , and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the ṛta' or 'the ṛta's healer', while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *ṛ* and *ru*

satyaujasā dṛnhanā (MS *durhṛnā*, KS †*dṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS KS *sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV Multiple confusion, see §305, etc

mayobhūh śamtamā yad dhrudo (comm *dhṛdo*) *'si* TB So Conc , but Poona ed text with comm *dhṛdo*

CHAPTER XV THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAMPRASĀRANA

§685 In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e ai* and *o au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times

I *i e*

§686 The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems, with a residuum of lexical variants We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives

atra (ŠB *atrā*) *jahīmo 'śivā ye asan* VS ŠB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV **aśivāh*, **asan durevāh*) RV AV TA The meter properly requires *aśevāh* if the word be final (VS ŠB transpose)

yā sarasvatī viśobhagīnā (MS ApŚ * *veśa°*, KS *veśabhagini*) MS KS ApŚ *viśo-* is gen sing of *viś*

divyah kośah samukṣitah MS *daivyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devakośah*) *samubjitah* AV TS KS ŚirasU

divo jyote (KS **jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS *vivasvān adhir devajūtis* TS

devya (ApŚ *divyā*, v l *devyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* PB KŠ ApŚ

sūryo divo (TS KS * *devo*) *divişadbhyah* (TS KS °*bhyo*) TS KS * MŚ

puńse putrāya vettavai (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*) ŚB TB BṛhU ApMB ApŚ HG

pra suvānāso (SV *svā*°) *bṛhaddiveşu* (SV °*deveşu*) *harayah* RV SV

lekah salekah TS *salilah salilgah* MS KS See §49

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like **trayadhā* (cf §§744 ff below, Wackernagel I p 53, III p 347)

tridhā (MS *tredhā*) *baddho vrşabho roravīti* RV VS MS KS GB TA ApŚ MahānU N

§688 In the stem-syllable of verbal forms

maişām uc cheşi kim cana AV *maişām kam canoc chişah* TS TB ApŚ *māmīşām kam canoc chişah* RV SV VS

yah prānato nimişataś (v l KS *nimeş*°) *ca rājā* MS KS *yah prānato nimişato* (VS *nimeş*°) *mahitvā* RV AV VS TS KSA Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miş*, the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded Add to VV I §197

vāmī te samdrşi viśvam reto dhişīya (MS *dhe*°) MS KS *viśvasya te vāmīr anu samdrşi visvā retānsi dhişīya* TS Cf next The form *dheşīya* seems to be established in the Maitr school It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guna *dhe*! perhaps by confusion with root *dhī*?) See VV I p 186

somasyāham devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhişīya* (MŚ *dhe*°) TS ApŚ MŚ

§689 In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere See VV I §§39-79 and 82 *et passim*

§690 Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat - abl plur forms in *ibhyas ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n) a*

divācarebhyo (MG °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* (sc *namah*) MG ViDh *ahaścarebhyah* (sc *namah*) ŚG

naktamcarebhyah ŚG ViDh *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyah* MG

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MŚ °*dhebhyo*) *'nubrūhi* ŚB MŚ

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *başkihān* (MS *vaş*°, ApŚ *bāşkān*) VS MS ApŚ

svāheştibhyah (Kauś °*tebhyah svāhā*) KS Kauś *işţebhyah svāhā vaşad anişţebhyah svāhā* TB ApŚ

§691 The others are miscellaneous case-forms, since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists

pūṣne śarase (MS † °*si*) *svāhā* MS TA ApŚ *svāhā pūṣne śarase* VS ŠB KŠ The majority reading (dat) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms), but the loc of MS is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage

hiranyapakṣah śakunih HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG Nom voc

pra vo mahe mahivrdhe (SV PB *mahevrdhe*) *bharadhvam* RV SV AV PB AŚ ŠŠ The SV seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding)

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB ŚvetU Nom gen.

agnir hotā vetv agnir (AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (*vettu*) TB AŚ ŠŠ *agnir hotā vettv agner hotram vettu* ŠB Nom gen

kratvā varisṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV

§692 Oddities of noun stems

agner agneyāny (KS *agni°*) *asi* (MS v l and p p *agner agner yāny asi*) MS KS *devānām agneyāny asi* TS *agner yāny asi* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ See §357, and cf *vāyosāvitra* , §716

śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV See §248, both forms have the force of gerundives

§693 The remaining variants are lexical, but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688

sa idhāno (KS *edh°*) *vasus* (MS *vasuh*) *kavih* RV SV VS TS MS KS The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guna

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janesu* (ŠŠ °*sv ā*, MS *janisva*) MS AB AŚ ŠŠ ApŚ The MS form could be interpreted as a 2d sing impv from *jan* but for the accent (*jánisva*), which seems to call for emendation

ino (AV *enā*) *viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāh* RV AV N *ino*, nom of stem *ina*, *enā*, adverbial pronominal form

utem (SV *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-īm* acc sing of *ūti*

krīdī ca śākī cojjesī (ApŚ *sākī* †*corjisī ca*) VS VSK ApŚ See §407

āsannṛṣūn ḥṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV See §820

[*vācā mendrıyāvıśa* TS KS MŚ Conc *vācam ındr°* for KS , so ed reads at 4 14, but at 31 15 (p 18, n 1) it is corrected]

§694 Several times a word beginning in *ı* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*

ındram (SV *endram*) *agnım ca vodhave* RV SV

ıha (MS AŚ ŚŚ *eha*) *gatır vāmasya* TS MS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ †1 14 19

tve ıṣah (KS *vıśve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrıvarpasah* (TS † *bhūrıretasah*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB See Von Schroeder's note If correct, MS must intend *tve, ā, ıṣah*, but the p p reads *tve ıtı tve, ıṣah*

tāv (*tā*) *ehı* (*eha, eva*, AV *ıha*) , see §§578, 888

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava ıt samānah* TA See §180

ādıtyānām patvānv (PB *°mānv*) *ıhı* (KSA †*ehı*) VS TS MS KSA PB ŚB TB MŚ ApMB

2 *ī e*

§695 Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different

vıśo yantre (KS *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātım* KS TB ApŚ Duals from stems *yantrā* and *yantrī*

śamgayī (MS ŚB *°gavī*, TB *°gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīva°*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Also feminine duals

vaırājī (KSA † *°je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA Also fem duals, there seems no reason to emend KSA as von Schroeder would do

rātrı (TB *°rī*, KS v l *°rıh*) *stomam na jıgyuṣe* (KS † TB *°ṣī*) RV KS TB

mahī vıśpatnī sadane (KS *°nī*) *ṛtasya* KS TB ApŚ MŚ Here *sadane* is loc sing '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*' KS makes *sadanī* fem dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *aranıs*), the other reading is simpler and most likely original

vaiśvānarāya matır navyasī (ArS *°se*) *śucıh* RV ArS Nom sing fem dat sing masc (with *agnaye* in next pāda)

nābhā samdāyı navyasī (SV *°dāya navyase*) RV SV As prec

rāyas poṣam cıkıtuṣe (AV *°ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV TS MS KS ŚŚ As prec

ūrṇamradā yuvatir (AV °*dāh pṛthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA °*tī*) RV AV TA As prec

tava praśastayo mahīh (SV °*taye mahe*) RV SV Nom pl dat sing

satyasya dharmanas patī (ApŚ *pate*) ŚŚ ApŚ Vocatives, dual and sing

graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te (KS *nyantar inpra ā* †*satī*) MS KS See §838

sa supranīte (ŚŚ °*tī*) *nṛtamah svarāḍ asi* AA ŚŚ Both forms are uncertain The two text mss of ŚŚ have °*te*, comm apparently °*tī* which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc ('in good guidance'?) Sāyana on AA takes °*te* as loc , and Keith follows him, rendering 'when (the rite) is duly paid', but in his note Keith suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc , 'O good leader'

īdiṣvā hi mahe (ApŚ *mahī*, v l *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV ApŚ Acc dual (with *dyāvāpṛthivī*) dat sing (with *hotrāya*)

śruṣṭī (SV °*te*) *jātāsa indavah svarvidah* RV SV Instr (?) of *i*-stem loc of *a*-stem SV comm in one of two places reads *śruṣṭī*

iyam oṣadhe (PG °*dhī*) *trāyamānā* PG HG ApMB The voc cannot be construed, see Winternitz on ApMB , Introduction, xxiv

mṛgā na bhīmās tavṛṣībhir arcinah (TB °*ṣebhir ūrmibhih*) RV TB The adverbial instr of RV (from the noun *tavṛṣī*) is made an adj agreeing with *ūrmibhih* in TB

daivībhyas (KS *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS °*yas*) *svāhā* KS TB ApŚ Kauś 'To the bodies of the gods', or 'to the gods, to (their) bodies '

viśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih (KS °*ṣebhyah*) AV KS

§696 A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which simulate that relationship

agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devānām yaja hedo agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ

apa snehitīr (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS †*nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi* (Poona ed *snuhi*) *tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA

suśīmam somasatsaru AV *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŠB VāDh

dhenā'm antah sabardughām SV *dhīnām antah sabardughah* RV The gen pl of *dhī* is changed to an acc sing , but the accent of SV shows that it has a false form (the true stem is *dhenā*), cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 9 12 7

lālīlāya (MahānU *lāle°*) *dhīmahi* TAA † (not TA) MahānU Names of Agni, of unknown origin Hardly to be classed as ablaut The two comms have different and equally ridiculous explanations

aṣāḍhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mīḍhuṣe*) RV TB N Lexical In the reduplicating syllable

aindrah prāno aṅge-aṅge ni dīdhyat (TS *ni dedhyat*, VSK *nidhītah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS is felt as such, cf VV I pp 149, 160

§697 Cases concerning verb inflection An aor ind varies with a present opt But the KS ed reads as ApŚ , with v l as Conc

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) KS ApŚ VV I p 86

anu stomam mudīmahi (PB *made°*) RV AV PB Optatives of different verbs

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS *°yid*, KSA *°yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) RV VS TS MS KSA

§698 Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf §694

vāmam pitṛbhyo ya idam samerire (AV *samī°*) RV AV ApMB

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān ipsamānah* MS See §180

3 *i ai*

§699 Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vriddhi

vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah AV KS *yo vaiśvānara uta †viśvadāvyah* (ApŚ *vaiśvadevyah*) MS ApŚ Whitney's Transl adopts for AV *viśvadevyah*, which he states is the reading of Ppp , but this is an error, Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 32 359) has *°davyah*, intending *°dāvyah* Only ApŚ has a derivative of *viśvadeva*

divyah kośah samukṣitah MS *daivyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devakośah*) *samubjitah* AV TS KS ŚirasU

achinno divyas (KS ApŚ *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

bṛhanto daivāh (VS *divyāh*) VS MS ApŚ

nirbādhyena (AV *nair°*, Ppp *nir°* according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV TB ApŚ

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena traiṣṭubhyā (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* MS KS *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* TS

aghorena cakṣuṣā mitriyena (ApMB *maitreṇa*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāhaṁ śivena*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB

indrasya vaimṛdhasyāham (KS *indrasyāham vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-sapatno* (ApŚ but not †MŚ adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS ApŚ MŚ

kapota (MS °*tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS KSA *nairṛtāh*) VS TS MS KSA

nirṛtyai svāhā MŚ *nairṛtyai* (sc *diśe*) *svāhā* VāDh

vihāyaso (PG *vaih*°) *'dhi bhūmyām* HG PG *vi*°, abl of *vihāyas*, *vai*°, nom of adj *vaihāyasa*

indrasya śuṣmam irayann apasyubhih RV SV *aindrah śuṣmo viśvarūpo na āgan* AV

vaivasvato (AV *vivasvān*) *no abhayam kṛnotu* AV TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ SMB PG HG *vai*°, of course, means Manu

hairaṇyanābhah (ŚŚ *hir*°) *kausalyah* ŚB ŚŚ

indropānasyakehamanaso (MŚ *aindro*°) ApŚ MŚ The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ to *indro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe

§700 Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection

indrādhipatih (MS KS °*patyaih*) *pipṛtād ato nah* TS MS KS AŚ 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA The form in *yai* is dat of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor' The *yi* form would seem to be acc neut of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf §247), perhaps used adverbially

Two concerning aorist verb forms

āpo malam iva prānaikṣīt (ApŚ *prāniyan*) AV ApŚ See VV I p 129

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °*bhaiṣam*) ApMB HG See VV I pp 139, 186

And one in which *ai* contains the augment

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ

4 *ī ai*

§701 Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr plur and nom -acc plur (fem) forms

indrena devīr (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhah samvidānāh* TS MŚ

devīr devīr (ApŚ *devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS ApŚ MŚ

sapta ca vārunīr (PG °*nair*) *imāh* AG PG ŚG MG *sapta ca mānuṣīr imāh* ApMB HG Followed in all by

tisraś ca rājabandhavīh (HG °*vaih*) HG ApMB *prajāh* (this word belongs to prec pāda) *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaih* (MG °*vyah*) PG MG *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavīh* (ŚG † °*bāndhavaih*) AG ŚG

ā dadhnah kalaśair (ApMB °*śīr*, MG °*śam*) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann iva*, MG *airayam*) AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG MG

§702 There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous, and one aorist verb form, also anomalous

straiṣūyam anyatra dadhat AV *strīṣūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) *ā dadhat* ŚG

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prai*°) AV VS TS MS KS In the pres mid pple the vriddhi is quite out of place, 'blundering corruption', Whitney

yad adīvyann (MS *daivyam*) *ṛnam aham babhūva* (AV *kṛnomi*) AV MS TA BDh *adīvyann ṛnam yad aham cakāra* TB The original is *adīvyan* 'not gambling', MS has a stupid lect fac Add to VV I §231

indra enam (TB ApŚ *enam*) *parāsarīt* AV TB ApŚ cf *indro vo 'dya parāśaraiś* AV But for the last SPP with most mss and Ppp °*śarīt*, the regular form See VV I p 186

5 *e ai*

§703 Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them They are fairly numerous, the great majority fall into three classes, to wit dative (or locative) forms in *e ai*, forms with *e ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation, and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings

§704 First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat or loc) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it'

asmai (TB *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam* (Conc divides AV before *vāmam*) AV TB *asme* is secondary

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS ApŚ *srad asmai naro vacase dadhātana* VS KŚ Keith assumes that TS intends *asmai*

asmai (MS *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS MS AŚ *asmai* is certainly simpler

supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmai*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS 'For him' 'for us', equally possible

savitrā prasavitrā . indrenāsme (VSK °*smai*) VS VSK As prec
asme (AV *asmai*) *dhārayatam* (MŚ °*tām*) *rayim* RV AV MŚ Different contexts, both possible
asme (AV *asmai*) *dhatta vasavo vasūni* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Equally possible
asme (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin* RV KBU AG PG N
asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya (KS *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS KS *asme kṣatrāni dhārayer anu dyūn* RV TS MS KS *asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya* TS *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne* AV Kauś Different contexts
asmai (MS *asme*) *karmane jātah* MS ApŚ 'For our rite' 'for this rite' Probably lect fac in ApŚ
asme (AŚ *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspatī* RV TS MS KS AŚ Probably misprint in AŚ

§705 Other dative forms in *e ai*, including infinitives

tā (VS ŚB *yā*, TS *te*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS °*ye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N The TS form is anomalous, cf Keith's note and Whitney, *Grammar* §976a Infinitives
havyāyāsmai vodhave (KS °*vai*) *jātavedah* TS MS KS Kauś Infinitives
sugam meṣāya meṣyai (RV °*ye*) RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ *sukham meṣāya meṣyai* VS ŚB
agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS ŚB TB Cf §396
ābhiṣ tvāham sūtave (HG °*vai*) HG ApMB
kuhvai (KSA *kuhve*, ed em °*vai*) *trayo 'runaitāh* TS KSA
punse putrāya vettavai (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*, KS †*kartave*, MG *kartavai*, v l °*ve*) KS ŚB TB BṛhU ApŚ ApMB HG MG
śakrāya sunavai (JB °*ve*) *tvā* RV JB
śriyai (MG *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *vedhavai*) ApMB MG
śam tokāya tanvve (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG
parīdhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG *parīdhāsye yaśo dhāsye* MG cf *parīdam vāso adhithāh* (HG °*dhāh*, ApMB *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV ApMB HG These forms are taken as datives by the PG comm , followed by Stenzler and Oldenberg It is uncertain whether this is correct, or whether they are verb forms, see VV I p 112

§706 Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc sing and instr pl)

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS °*yaih*) TS MS KS AŚ

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV * *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV SV
punar brahmāṇo (*brahmā*) *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*), see §339

§707 When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with vriddhi varying with other related forms without vriddhi

daivīm (VS *devīm*) *nāvam svaritām anāgasam* (AV °*sah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS
devīḥ (AV *daiv°*) *ṣad urvīr uru naḥ* (TS ApMB *naḥ*, and so Whitney for AV with most mss) *kṛnota* RV AV TS ApMB
daivībhyas (KS *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyaḥ* (KS °*yas*) *svāhā* KS TB ApŚ Kauś
bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *daivo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ
devān mā bhayād iti SMB *daivān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ
imā yā devīḥ pradiśaś catasraḥ AV *yā daivīś catasraḥ pradiśaḥ* TB ApMB HG
sam devena savitrā TA *sam daivena* (and, *daivyena*) *savitrā* VS ŚB
divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ MS *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV ŚirasU *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV TS KS ŚirasU
vācā tvā hotrā pañcabhir daivyair (MŚ *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmi* ApŚ MŚ
mā devānām (TA *daivyas*) *tantuś chedi mā manuṣyānām* (TA *manuṣyaḥ*) MS KS TA ŚŚ
indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG
vaiśvānaram kṣaitrajityāya (TB *kṣetra°*) *devāḥ* VS TB
somaindrā (KSA †*saumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāḥ* TS KSA
adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanah (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ*, MG *sraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah*, read *svastya°* with most mss) *pāram aśīya* AŚ ApMB MG
meghyā (VS *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācah* VS TS MS KSA

§708 A couple of cases with *e ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding, it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary vriddhi or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e* In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants

avārāya kevartam VS *pāryāya kaivartam* TB The usual form is *kai°*, evidently of non-Aryan origin, and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke°* is a Prakritism

veśantābhyo dāsam TB . *vaiśantābhyo baindam* VS Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin, but this time the usual form is *ve°* Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS

§709 Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *ai* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269c) The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731 Wackernagel, l c (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *ai*, *au* to *e*, *o*, besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form

adhi na indraiṣām (VS *indreṣām*) RV VS Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS is *indra-eṣām* This is the most certain case

neva māṅse na pībasi AV *naiva māṅsena pīvari* PG The AV p p reads *na, iva*, according to Barret *JAOS* 26 205, Ppp also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note) Yet it is possible that AV really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading

jagatyainam (AŚ *°tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS KS *°mi*, AŚ *°ni*) TS MS KS AŚ In VV I p 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenam* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh, to be sure the edition of AŚ inspires little confidence But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc *jagaty* instead of instr *jagatyā*)

enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā KS (prec by *-mānā*, actual text, *-mānair-nāhne°*) the MŚ version quoted in Conc as *idāhna id āharam aśīya* is Knauer's emend of corrupt mss which begin [*-mān*]-*enāhned-*, doubtless intending the same as KS

See also *anāmayaidhi* etc , §344

§710 In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *ai*, see VV I p 28

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŠŚ *°hai*, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŠŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ PG

yam jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS *°he*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

devān yajñiyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV *°he*) RV SV

sacāvahe (MS *°hai*, p p *°he*) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV MS

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ *karave*, read °*vai*) AV KŚ (? the proper subjunctive form would be °*vai*, °*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant)

anu nau śūra manṣate (TS °*tai*) RV TS KSA

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *viśrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG

pari ṣvajāte (AV °*tai*) *libujeva vṛkṣam* RV AV N

pra yaḥ satrācā (TB *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*tai*, text and comm in Poona ed) RV TB

dadhad vidhakṣyan paryankhayātai TA *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV *vidhakṣan parīṅkhayātai*) RV AV

manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV °*hai*) RV SV

varuṇeti śapāmahe (MS † °*hai*, AV *yad ūcima*, LŚ †*ṣayāmahe*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

§711 There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf §§694, 698, or, in the first two cases, to the augment

mṛtyoḥ padam (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV °*ta*, MG *lopayantu*) *yad* (AV omits) *eta* (RV *aita*, TA *aima*) RV AV TA MG

vācaspate 'chidrayā hotrām airayat (KŚ °*yant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB TA KŚ ŚŚ Augmented forms in ŚB KŚ, the ŚŚ is uninterpretable

ā te garbho yonim etu (AG *aitu*) AG ApMB HG *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV ŚG *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV *ā garbho yonim etu te* ApMB HG The preceding *a* proves AG secondary

aiṣu (AŚ *eṣu*) *dyumnam svar yamat* AV AŚ ŚŚ Perhaps misprint in AŚ, as Whitney on AV suggests

etat te agne rādha aiti (MS KS *eti*) *somacyutam* TS MS KS

gṛhān aimi (LŚ HG *emi*) AV VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

abhyaiti (SV *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamana* RVKh SV VS

§712 Miscellaneous cases

he 'lavo he 'lavo ŚB *hailo hailo* ŚBK Interjections

mā bheh VS TS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ *ma bhaiḥ* MS KS MŚ Aorist verb forms, see VV I p 129, and next

mā bher mā VS VSK TS ŚB *mā bhair mā* MS KS See prec

uṣnena vāya (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakeneti* (SMB GG °*naidhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG See §122, and on the MG form, VV I p 87

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nake*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS MS KS ŚB °*yainam*, TA °*rohemam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Pronouns *imam enam*

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatam (MŚ °*retām*, AŚ °*bhavatām*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ fusion of *sambhara* and *etam*, in the others dual verb forms

śatruhanam amitrahanam (KS *śatru*° *asi śatruhanam*) *bhrātṛvyahanam asurahanam tvaindram* (ApŚ text *tvendram*) *vajram sādayāmi* KS ApŚ Here *tvendram*, if not a corruption or misprint, can only be a phonetic reduction of *tvaindram* (*tvā* + *aindram*)

[*endram* (TB *aindram*, but comm and Poona ed text *endram*) *acucyavuh* TB ApŚ]

6 *u o*

§713 The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables, thus, in nouns and adjectives

namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya (VS ŚŚ *soṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*) VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

matyai śrutāya (*mahe śrotrāya*) *cakṣase* AV (both)

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB

duścyavanah pṛtanāṣāḍ (°*ṣāḷ*) *ayudhyah* (AV MS *ayodhyah*) RV AV †19 13 7c, SV VS VSK TS MS KS Gerundives

deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā MS *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv asi* TA Causative and simple participles Cf next

rucito gharmah MS KB ŠB TA etc *rocito gharmo rucīya* TA Cf prec

ānandā modāh pramudah AV *ānando modah pramodah* TB *modah pramoda ānandah* TB *mudah pramuda āsate* RV Stems (*pra*)*mud* and (*pra*)*moda*

drunā (SV *drone*) *sadhastham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV SV Stems *dru* and *drona*

714 With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations

dyumnī ślokī (KS *śuklī*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau*°) RV AV SV MS KS TB

suśevam somapitsaru (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŠB VāDh *sušīmam somasatsaru* AV See §180

sumitrah soma no (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŠB KŠ Kauś An obvious lect fac in Kauś

§715 Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb Variations between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p 185, and need not be repeated In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists

yan me mātā pralulubhe (ApMB HG *pralulobha*) ŠG ApMB HG MDh

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŠ MŠ Aorist and present, see VV I p 82

ādityа (AV also *sūrya*) *nāvam ārukṣaḥ* (SMB *ārokṣam*) AV SMB See VV I p 130

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV TB ApMB

mā bher mā roṉ (VSK *mo roṉ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŠB *mā bhair mā ruṉ mo ca* (KS *rauṉ mā*) *naḥ kim canāmamat* MS KS See VV I p 129

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīḥ (TS *śūśucaḥ*, KS *śucaḥ*, MS *hiṁsīḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŠB See ibid p 128

devasya (°*syāham*) *savituḥ ruheyam* (GB *roh*°) VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB TB GB Vait MŠ ApŠ LŠ See ibid p 132

sa yathā tvam rucyā rucişīya (MS *rociṣīya*) AV MS See VV I p 186

On the following form see VV I p 281, the MG form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG °*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ* SMB HG MG

§716 In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition

vasuḥ (TS ApMB *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rajā* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB Nom and gen forms, the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc)

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV °*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV VS TS MS KS ŠB See §189

āyuṣkṛte (ApŠ *āyoṣ*°) *svahā* KS ApŠ Both 'maker of life'

vāyosāvitra (TS p p °*traḥ*, MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS *payaḥ*) TS MS KSA TPr 6 8 explains *vāyo*° by *vāyu-savitṛbhyām*, it is a secondary adj in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyos*, cf *agner agneyāny* etc , §692

uror ā no (VS ŠB LŠ *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŠB TB LŠ See §371a

madhu reto (TS *madhor ato*, KS † *madhur ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS MS KS AŠ See §837

§717 The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*, cf below, §721

samdhātā samdhim (MS °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB MS p p *puro*°, MS text *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB
puru viśvāni jūrvan RV *puro rakṣāṅsi nijūrvan* AV

§718 Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf §§694, 698, 711

obhe pṛnāsi (TS *ubhe pṛnakṣi*) *rodasī* RV TS MS *pṛnakṣi rodasī ubhe* RV SV VS KS ŚB
ā yā dyām (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā pṛthivīm orv* (KS *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§719 The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical The first may be some sort of phonetic variant

sayūr devair vayonādhaih (MS MŚ *vayu*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*, *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS *manu*°, VıDh *manujuṣah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB BDh VıDh ApŚ Stems *manas* and *manu*

agnir havyānumanyatām (MŚ *havyā no man*°) TB ApŚ MŚ

pra nu (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no* with all mss but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *nu*) *vocam cikituṣe janāya* RV TA SMB Kauś GG ApMB HG MG

pra nu vocam (ArS *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasah* (ArS °*se*) RV ArS

yas te stanah śaśayo (AV ° *yur*) *yo mayobhūh* RV AV VS MS AB ŚB TA BṛhU AŚ Equivalent stems, *saśaya* °*yu*

yā codītā yā ca nodītā (TA *yā cānudītā*) MS TA *na-udītā an-udītā*

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrıyāya* MG See §801

agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (MS *mayo*) *dātra* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ See §228

sīdanto vanuṣo yathā RV SV LŚ *sīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV See §227

karma kṛnvantu (MŚ °*to*) *mānuṣāh* AV MŚ The MŚ form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb It is really a phonetic variation

[*ato* (TB *tato*) *no rudrā uta vā* †*nv* (Conc *no*, TB *nuw*, Poona ed *'nv*, comm *anu*) *asya* RV TB]

7 *ū o*

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut, but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §84)

abhi tyam devam savitāram onyoh (TS *ūnyoh*) *kavikratum* AV SV VS TS MS KS KB AB ŚB AdB AŚ ŚŚ The isolated TS stem *ūni* must mean the same as the regular *oni*

namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya (VS ŚŚ *śoṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*) VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG Comm on SMB *sūṣa iti balanama*

sam pūṣā (ApŚ adds *sam dhātā*, MS * *poṣā*) *sam bṛhaspatih* (KS *dhātā*) AV MS (bis) KS ApŚ *poṣa* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guna forms of root *puṣ* The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmana passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmana *pūṣā* is read Cf next

api (PG *iha*) *pūṣa ni ṣīdatu* (AV ŚŚ * °*tu*) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB PG HG *rāyas poṣo ni ṣīdatu* ApMB ApŚ Cf prec , *rāyas poṣo* is here evidently secondary, but sensible

kukūnanānam (KS *kūtanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā* VS MS KS ŚB *kotanāsu* TS Wholly obscure words

yamasya pāṭūrah (KSA *pāṭo*°) TS KSA *yamyai pāṭūrah* TS *yamyāh pāṭorah* KSA Uncertain part of the horse's body

aṅgoṣinam (RV *āṅgūṣānām*) *avāvaśanta vānīh* RV SV Cf §490 and next

aṅgoṣinam (RV *āṅgūṣyam*) *pavamānam sakhāyah* RV SV Cf prec

mano jyotir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*, AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms

divo jyote (KS * °*tir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* TS

§721 The stem *purū*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puro* for *puras*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q v , and also in

tam sakhāyah purorucam (SV *purū*°) RV SV

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf §718 etc

yat kım cānṛtam odıma (TA *ūdıma*) MS TA

yad vācānṛtam odıma (TB TA *ūdıma*) MS TB TA

devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (RV *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV SV TB A complicated case, on which see *RVRep* 131 f , VV I p 237 f

§723 The rest are miscellaneous

amo 'ham asmı sā (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB ŚB BṛhU JUB AG ŚG Kauś PG MG *amūham asmı sā tvam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG *sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB BṛhU PG *aham*, ApMB *amūham*, MG *asy āpy amo 'ham*) KS AB JUB ŚB BṛhU AG ŚG PG ApMB MG *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama*, *amūham*, peculiar sandhı connectıng some form of stem *amu* (*amū*? *amus*, *amūs*?) and *aham*, see Wınternıtz, Introductıon to ApMB , p xxvıı

añghrınā viṣno (KS *viṣnū*, twice, ms once *viṣnu*) *mā tvāva* (KS *vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB *agnāviṣnū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ See Von Schroeder on KS 1 12 and Keith on TS 1 1 12 1 *viṣno*, voc sing , *-viṣnū* ın TS *devatādvandva*, ın KS elliptic dual (note *vām* ın KS), but note also the phonetic resemblance between *añghrınā* and *agnā* of TS

tapūṅṣy (MS *tapobhır*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV VS TS MS KS Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh AV *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh* AB AŚ *sa tū* (SV *sato*) *dhanam kārıne na pra yaṅsat* RV SV

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms obscure

8 *u au*

§724 Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the vrıddhı of secondary derıvatıon as regards their *au* forms, but one or two of them are strange forms (For the aorıst forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rauk*, see §715, *mā bher* etc)

suślokyāya (ApMB *sau°*) *svastaye* ApMB AG PG MG

māham pautram (KBU *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG *nıyām*, read *nıgām*, with SMB *, SMB **nıgām*, **rıṣam*) AG SMB ApMB HG KBU

ulūkhalā (ApMB *aul°*) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) ApMB HG MG *aulūkhalāh sampravadantı grāvānah* SMB

udbhınnam (ApŚ *audbhidyam*) *rājñah* MS ApŚ

āśīr na (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam uta suprajāstvam* (AV *sau°*) AV TS MS KS KŚ Whıtney rightly calls the AV form 'anomalous'

kumbhīnasah (KSA *kaum°*) *puṣkarasādo lohitāhis te tvāṣṭrāh* TS KSA
Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the vriddhi, the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun

vāce krauñcah (VS *krunčah*) VS TS MS KSA Again the two forms are apparently synonyms In this case the form with vriddhi is commoner, at least in the later language The origin and primary form of the word are unknown

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh *dyauh samā tasyādityā upadraṣṭā* HG See §833

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV TS MS KS TB ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB Augmented and augmentless forms

vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divah* RV SV (both in each) As prec

9 *ū au*

§725 Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning vriddhi of secondary derivation

†*aindrāsūrāh śyetalalāmās* (KSA †*aindrāsaurāh* †*syāmalalāmās*) *tūparāh* TS KSA

pauṣno (VSK *pūṣā*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc *mahāvīrah*) VS VSK

svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā KS *svarmūrdhā vaiyasano vyaśyann* MS

dhruvāya bhūmāya (PG *bhau°*) *svāhā* TA MahānU PG

ūrvaih ŚŚ Vait *aurvaih* LŚ With both sc *pitṛbhih*

§726 There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhauta*, from roots *dhu*(*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language

nṛbhir dhūtah (SV *dhautah*) *suto aśvaih* RV SV

nṛbhir dhūto (SV *dhauto*) *vicakṣanah* RV SV

apsu dhautasya (AŚ ŚŚ *dhū°*) TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ

apsu dhūto (SV *dhautam*) *nṛbhih sutah* (SV *sutam*) RV SV

§727 In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment

praty auhatām (MS *ūh°*) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmat*) AV TS VS MS KS TAA

10 *o au*

§728 Here again the largest group concerns the vriddhi of secondary derivation

dyumnī ślokī (KS *śuklī*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau°*) RV AV SV MS KS TB

namo mauñjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya GDh *namo mauñjyāyaurmyāya* Svidh

yat somyasyāndhaso (ApMB *sau°*) *bubodhati* RV ApMB

juṣantām somyam (TB *sau°*) *madhu* VS MS TB

somaındrā (KSA †*saumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāh* TS KSA *somāpauṣnāh* (KSA *sau°*) *śyāmalalāmās tūparāh* TS KSA

yadı somasyāsı rājñah somāt Kauś *yadı saumy ası somāt* AG Rvidh *yady ası saumī somāya* GG

cauraśyānnam (TAA BDh *cor°*) *navaśrāddham* TAA MahānU VıDh BDh

[*twam rauhınam* (AV misquoted *roh°* in Conc) *vyāsyah* AV ŚŚ]

§729 Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems

mā (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣena vı yauṣma* VS MS ŚB *māham rāy° vı yoṣam* TS KS TA ApŚ

ıhaıva stam mā vı yauṣtam (ApMB *yoṣtam*) RV AV ApMB

mā bher mā etc , see §715

§730 Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf §722 etc

ā no (VS ŚB *mā*) *goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu* (TS *auṣadhīṣu*, MS *oṣadhīṣu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§731 A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion These are parallel to the similar cases of *e ai*, §709, q v

upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena (TS °*noṣṭhena*, KSA *adharoṣthena*) VS TS MS KSA See TPr 10 14

saha ojah (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait Adverb *saha* plus *ojah* in VS VSK , the latter with irregular sandhi, the other texts *sahas + ojah*

ya āvivešoṣadhīr (MS °*śausadhīr*) *yo vanaspatīn* AV MS There is a v l °*auṣadhīr* in AV , which Whitney adopts in the text

[*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS But several mss and p p of MS *svaup°*, which should probably be read in the text The second part of the cpd is certainly *opaśa*, and the first probably *sva*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*, doubtless this was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS]

§732 Miscellaneous

asthūrı nau (*nau, no, no*) etc , see §950 Dual and plural pronouns *nau* and *no* (*nas*)

[*ye ke cobhayādatah* (TA *cau°*, Poona ed correctly *co°*) RV VS TA *ye ca ke cobhayādatah* AV]

anupauhvad (ApMB *anu po 'hvad*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*) HG ApMB The ApMB surely means *po* for *vo*, comm says *p* is *'chāndasa'* for *v*, cf Winternitz, p xxi The HG seems to intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here, but nothing is really known of the word

agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS *ikṣvn*) KS ApŚ *iyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj*, possibly for metrical reasons, KS presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present

dhanānı śakro dhanyah (AŚ *dhanīh*) *surādhāh* TB AŚ The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyah* to the monstrous *dhanīh* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanın*?)

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *ıd*, *īm*, varying with *yad*, *yam*, or the like

apām payasvad ıt (KS *yat*) *payah* RV KS *apām payaso yat payah* AV TS TB MŚ

gomān ıd (SV *yad*) *ındra te sakhā* RV SV

muşkāv ıd (VSK °*kā ıd*, LŚ °*kau yad*) *asyā ejatah* AV VS VSK ŚS LŚ

mıtram na yam (TB *īm*) *śımyā goşu gavyavah* (TB °*vat*) RV TB

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam ıt*, KS * *sarıt*, all mss) *sravantı sarıto* (TAA °*tā*, Poona ed °*to*) *na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS * ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ * MŚ

yadı tvam otra (Vait *tvam tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait *yad-yat tvam atra manasānuveltha* LŚ

ıtı cıd dhı (AV **yadı cın nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV AV (both)

§736 In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *ı*

mā dhenur atyāsārinī (HG *atısā*°) HG ApMB The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB , HG has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea")

yajña prathışţha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ *yajñah pratyaşţhāt* (v l *praty u ştāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ştāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ

toyena jīvān †vısasarja (TA text *vya ca sarja*, comm v l *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA MahānU The only possible reading in TA is *vyasasarja*, which is itself anomalous enough, see VV I p 140

abhyaşıkşı rājābhūm (ApŚ °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiśikşa rājābhuvam* (v l °*bhūvam*) MŚ

§737 Stems or endings in *ı* varying with extensions in *(y)a*

agnır grhapatīnām (MS KS *gārhapatyānām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS

ye 'gnayah purīşyāh (*purişınah*), and others, see §907

devī dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait is impossible

sūryo rūpam kṛṇute dyor (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB Only a gen can be construed here On *dyauh* as abl -gen see Wackernagel, III p 224, infra

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Others, §63

mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito (AV °*citā*, MS °*citau*) *nikārinah* AV VS. TS MS KS See §399

imau (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS °*ṣā*) *ajarau patatrinau* (VSK TS † KS °*no*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Nom dual gen sing

11 'Samprasārana', *i*(*ī*) *ya*, *yā*, and the like

§733 We have already referred in §§656 ff to the phenomena of so-called samprasārana as they concern *r* in variation with *ra*, *rā* Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaj ij*, etc The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i ya* as a live factor in the language Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint

agne yat te tejas tena tam prati titigdhi (KS *tityagdhi*, AV *tam atejasam kṛnu*) AV MS KS ApŚ For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhi*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p 191

§734 All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following

prapīnam (MŚ v l °*tam*, TS ApŚ *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ *sahlasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one

yatrāsate sukṛto yatra te yayuh (AV *ta īyuh*) RV AV VS ŚB TA 'Roots' *yā* and *i*, the latter form here metrically poor

vikirida (KS °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

antɪmɪtraś (TS *antyam°*) *dūre-amɪtraś* (MS *'mɪtraś*) *ca ganah* VS TS MS KS Both probably mean 'having near friends', *anti* and adj *antya* Weber and Keith follow the comm on TS in dividing *anty-amɪtraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible

agnɪr havyam (RV KS *havih*) *śamɪtā sūdayātɪ* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc char°*) *payasā sametɪ* (TB *°tya*) TB Vait (also AVPpp) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *sametya*, the 3d sing *sametɪ* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasārana' Cf VV I p 164

kɪm ɪt te vɪṣno parɪcakṣyam bhūt (SV *parɪcakṣɪ nāma*) RV SV TS MS N The SV form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption for the other

tāh prācya (*°yah*, *prācīr*) , see §387 Equivalent case-forms, others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions

satyam vadanty anv ɪcha (KS *anu yacha*) *etat* TS KS PG *anu-iṣ* 'seek after' *anu-yam* 'follow'

yebhɪr vɪśvam (SV *vy aśvam*) *aɪrayah* RV SV *Vy aśvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift Benfey takes *asva* as a proper name

anyām ɪcha pɪtṛṣadam vyaktām (ApMB *vɪttām*) RV ApMB *jāmɪm ɪcha pɪtṛṣadam nyaktam* (read *°tām*) AV *vɪttām* is certainly secondary Note that in *jāmɪm anyām* we also have a kind of samprasārana in the final syllable

acɪttapājā (TA *acyuta°*) *agnīt* MS TA ŚŚ Also *acɪttamanā* (TA *acyuta°*) *upavaktā*, same texts Here *yu* ɪ vary, cf the second variant in §736, and next

bhujyuh (MS *bhujī*) *suparno yajño gandharvah* VS TS MS KS ŚB *yu* ī, cf prec

pāhɪ mā dɪdyoh (TS TB *mādya dɪvah*) VS TS ŚB TB

ayam yo 'sɪ (MŚ *yo asya*) *yasya ta ɪdam śɪrah* KS ApŚ MŚ The latter certainly secondary

yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūrɪs carā dɪvam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

12 Samprasārana *u(ū) va, vā*, and the like

§739 Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants, almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences The most clearly phonetic cases are

svar (KhG *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS ApŚ GG KhG *svar abhivyakhyam* (MS MŚ °*kśam*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS KS MŚ *sur* is certainly for *svar*, cf the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'

katı dhāmānı katı ye vivāsāh MS *ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīh* AV Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'

agnır havyam (RV KS *havih*) *śamitā sūdayātı* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically

agnır havyānı sıṣvadat RV *agnır havyā suṣūdatı* RV

ayā no yajñam vahāsı KŚ *ayasā havyam ūhıṣe* ApŚ ApMB HG And others, see §502 Related roots *vah* and *ūh*

And similarly in suffixal elements

vidyullekheva bhāsvarā (MahānU *bhāsurā*, v l *bhāsvarā*) TA MahānU Both these stems are familiar adjectives

madhuntamānām (VSK *madhvanı°*, MS *madughānām*) *tvā patmann ādhūnomı* VS VSK ŚB MS The VS form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madın-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula The VSK form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*

suganıuh karma karanah karıṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ So the printed ed of LŚ, BR read *suganıvah* 'leicht gangbar', but no **ganıva* is recorded The text is evidently very corrupt

§740 Several times the AV presents the word *abhiśastıpā(h)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhiśastıpāvā*, as nom of a suffixal form in *-van*, cf Lanman's note in Whitney on AV 19 24 5, which suggests that AV is secondary

bhavā kṛṣṭīnām (AV *gr°*) *abhiśastıpāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG

abhūr grṣṭīnām (AV **vasānam* in text, mss *v āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*, ApMB *āpīnām*) *abhiśastıpāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV HG ApMB

rṣīnām putro abhiśastıpāvā (AV °*pā u*) AV VS ŚB

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once

yad vā (RVKh *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV RVKh

§741 The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa-*(§§364, 612)

nāvaś carantı svasıca ıyānāh VS TS ŚB *nāvo viyantı susıco na vānīh* MS KS

ımam yajñam svadhayā ye yajante (KS *dadante*) KS AŚ *ımam ca yajñam sudhayā dadante* MS *ya ımam yajñam svadhayā dadante* (ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS TS ŚŚ

sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś ApŚ *sadanāni santu*, KS *devās sadaniedam astu*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Kauś ApŚ N

sunītī svayaśastaram (SV *su°*) RV SV

avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś (KS *su°*) *ca* MS KS So the one ms of KS, but ed em *svagā°*, no doubt rightly, cf *ava° ca me svagā° ca me*, in Conc

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ See §119

priyāny añgāni svadhitā parūnşi (Vait *añgā sukṛtā purūni*) TB Vait §742 The rest are sporadic lexical variants

urudrapso viśvarūpa indub TS ApŚ *purudasmo viṣurūpa* (KS *°dasmavad viśvarūpam*) *indub* VS KS ŚB KŚ Other cases of *viṣu viśva* in §291

dhūmrā babhrunīkāsāh pitīnām somavatām VS *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāsān* ApŚ *babhru* + *nikāśa* (*anukāśa*)

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi°*) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*) *svāhā* AG PG *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣānah* (most mss *svarārakṣānah*) MG For AG Stenzler says 'moge ich Lieder ergiessen'

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †'vatā haveṣu* AV

svādhyo (TB *°dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv aj°*) RV TB

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*, comm *vanutām*) *viṣṭhitam jagat* RV AV VS TS MS KSA N Sing plur, see VV I p 266

indrah (ŚŚ *°as*) *patih tuvişţamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeşu ā* (ŚŚ *janeşu*) AV AA ŚŚ

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeşu* (ŚŚ *° ṣv ā*, MS *janişu a*) MS AB AŚ ŚŚ See §§693, 826

§743 A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or *vī* is found varying with *u* or *ū*

vidyutām (PG MG *udyatām*) *iva sūryah* ŚŚ AG PG MG

adyā kṛnuhi vītaye (SV *°hy ūtaye*) RV SV *nṛvat kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV *°hy ūtaye*) RV SV The variation may also be considered one between *yū* and *vī* (§805)

achidrām pārayişnum (SMB *°yişnvīm*) TS SMB Fem acc of *u* stem

dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vi bhāti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB Cf §791, and next variant The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS

cakşur mā urvyā (KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec

dhiṣane vīdū (*vīdvī*) , and others, see §169

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS *yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS KS *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā* AV See §63

13 *aya e* and the like

§744 On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5 27 ff , Wackernagel I p 53 f It is clearly Prakritic in character The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following, the MS form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other

namah kṛṅśilāya ca kṣayanāya (MS *kṣenāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS Epithet of land

§745 In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents, but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them

arejetām (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV TB Cf VV I p 154, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB , which spoils the meter

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS MS KS ŚB °*yainam*, TA *rohemam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA See VV I p 152 The contracted form of TA is unmetrical

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB *kṣeti*) *carṣanīnām* RV MS TB The contracted form is again unmetrical Cf VV I p 123

agnir (also *vāyur*, *prajāpatir* etc) *dīkṣitah dīkṣayatu* (JB *dīkṣeta*) JB ApŚ See VV I §160

§746 Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88

tasyed (AV *tasya yad*) *āhuh pippalam svādv agre* RV AV The AV expansion is hypermetric, according to Whitney, Ppp agrees with RV

§747 As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e*(*ai*) and *av*, *ay*, *iye*, *iya*, *ā-yā* For *e ya*, *yā*, see §803

samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŚB *samsrava*°, MS °*gāh*, KS Kauś °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *tavṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś See §96

TS p p *stha, iṣāḥ*, and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished', but this is implausible The original doubtless means *stha iṣā* 'ye are great by food', Kauś, 'by strength'

tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyaitu (TA *dhārayitum*) AV TA The AV form intends *kulyā-etu*, TA suggests *dhāraitu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV and its secondary reading

āruroha tve sacā (KS *tvayy api*) KS TB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS KS *révati yajamāne priyam dhā ā viśa* VS ŠB *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS ApŚ The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS, and this is further broken up into *priyam dhāḥ*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS

vi dhūmam agne aruṣam miyedhya (MS *medhya*) RV VS TS MS ŚB TA *miyedha* and *medha*, both RV, are synonyms, it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them

agnir devebhyah suvidatriyebhyah (TA *suvidatrebhyah*) RV AV TA N In the original form °*datriyebhyah* stands for °*datryebhyah* (suffix *ya*)

pratiravebhyah (TA *pratirebhyah*) *svāhā* MS TA The correct reading is certainly that of MS, *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava* TA comm *pratirebhyo 'bhivṛddhihetubhyah prānadevebhyah* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life])

ā yāta (SMB GG ViDh *eta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV SMB GG HG ViDh *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms

Compare the interesting case *agnim* (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśocişam* RV SV, see §843

14 *ava o* and the like

§748 See the references quoted in §744 The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e* The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p 54)

to-to (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rāyah* VS TS MS KS ŠB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§749 Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency

yatra yanti srotyās (KS *sravatyas*) *taj jitam te* AV TS MS KS The fuller form of KS improves the meter RV knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravantī* = KS *sravatī*, both meaning 'stream' But note that several mss of KS read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*

sā nah priyā supratūrtir maghonī TS *sā nah supratūrtih priyā nah*

suhār ṇah priyavanır maghavanır antā ehi MS In TS the regular fem of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*, in MS an *ı*-extension of the strong stem

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApŚ °*vah*, KS *subho*) *sūryāya* VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŠB ApŚ The KS probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (*-bhū*), parallel to *-bhava(s)*

anābho mṛda dhūrte (read °*ta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ Cf p w 5 Nachtrage, s v Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last, but the readings are very obscure Epithets of Rudra KS ms reads *anānbhava*, KapS *anār*°

§750 We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*,

avamaıs ta ūrvaıs te kāvyaıs te pıtṛbhır bhakṣayāmı PB LŚ *ūmaıh pıtṛbhır bhakṣayāmı* AB ŚŚ Vait It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pıtṛbhıh* so well We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction Caland does not translate the word in Vait

For *o va, vā*, see §804

CHAPTER XVI INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1 EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751 In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*, it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49–53, also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or- *riṣ-*, in VV I pp 189–191 As Wackernagel says (p 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis

§752 In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel, and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it

§753 Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp 190–1, and Wackernagel I p 60 As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words

pra na (MS *nā*, SV PB *na*) *āyūṃṣi tāriṣat* (VS *TS *KS *ŚŚ N * *tāriṣah*, Kauś *tāṛṣat*) RV AV SV VS *TS *MS KS *PB TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N * The Kauś form is bad metrically

āchettā te (TB ApŚ * *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS and all mss of MŚ *māṛṣam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ Since the root is *riṣ*, the Maitr form (to be read also in MŚ) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*

§754 In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anv*, AV *divyā*) *acārişam* (JB † *acārṣum*, AV *acāyişam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB ApG MG Add to VV I §286a, p 190 Note that JB is unmetrical

agne vratapate vratam acārişam (MS MŚ v 1 *acārşam*), VS TS MS KS † ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG

vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*patayo*) *vratam acārişam* (MS *acārşam*) MS TA Kauś

§755 The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain, Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek πέλεκυς In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *svasthi*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically), but note that in TS both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS °*tih*) AV TS

§756 There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered

§757 The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u* It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h* In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*, this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter, to make the text metrical it has to be omitted

§758 First, between *r* and sibilants the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, 1 c)

yad rātriyā (MahānU TA v 1 *rātryā*) *pāpam akārşam* (TA v 1 *akārişam*) TA MahānU

diteh putrānām aditer akārşam (MS *akārişam*) AV MS

tan nah parşad (MS *parişad*) *ati dvişah* TS MS

dakşam te bhadram ābhārşam (AV *ta ugram ā bhārişam*) RV AV

§759 The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed of TB text and comm reads *dhūrşadam* It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p 56, likewise delete there the form *dhūruşāh-*, which is supported by only one ms in TS 1 2 8 2, the other mss all read *dhūrşāh-*

ghṛtapratīkam va (TB *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB Bibl Ind *dhūruṣadam*) RV TB ApŚ

§760 There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant, most mss of MS (in three occurrences) and of MŚ (in two) read with epenthesis *-valiśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valiśā*

sahasravalśā (MS * MŚ v l °*valiśā*) *vi vayam ruhema* RV VS TS MS * KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically

§761 Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word The variation is really lexical (*spārha svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering

spārhā (TB *svāruha*) *yasya śriyo dṛśe* RV KS TB

spārho (TB *svāruho*) *deva niyutvata* RV SV VS TB

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*

etad brahmann upa valhāmasi (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabalhāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

§763 Likewise one between *h* and *r*

dahram (v l *daharam*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (TA Poona ed *vipāpam* [v l *vipāpma*] *vara*°, MahānU *vipāpmam varam* [v l *vara-*] *veśma*°) TA MahānU Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known, the latter is required by the meter here

§764 Before labial consonants, generally *v*

puru tvā dāśvān (SV *dāśivān*) *voce* RV SV The inserted *i* in SV is doubtless meant to improve the meter In RV *dāśvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg)

sutaḥ sudakṣa dhanva (SV *dhaniva*) RV SV Read *dhanua* in RV, the *i* of SV is to be explained as in the prec

aśvina gharmam pātam hārdvanam (TA *hārddivānam*, read with Poona ed *hārdi*°) VS ŚB TA ŚŚ And others, see §267

varṣmā (VS *varṣima*) *ca me drāghmā* (TS *draghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*, KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS The *i*-forms of VS are exceptional Interesting is the TS form, which suggests a middle stage **drāghivā* (blend of KS *drāghvā* and VS *drāghimā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*iv uy*)

Here we may also mention the common forms *pṛthvī* and *pṛthivī* In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form It is a disputed question which is the original, Wackernagel thinks *pṛthivī* (I p 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf e g Avestan *pərəθwī*)

pṛthvī (VaradotU *pṛthivī*) *suvarcā yuvatiḥ sajoṣāḥ* TB VaradotU

§765 Finally, an isolated corruption

yad asyā aṅhubhedyāḥ (LŚ *anuhodbhyāḥ*) AV VS GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ The LŚ form is an uninterpretable corruption The word *anu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it

2 WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note, a briefer statement in Whitney 129d The Prātiśākhyas seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr, altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS and other Tait texts In the commentary on TPr 2 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear

§767 The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here Certain broad general tendencies appear, the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittirīya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv* Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait texts beginning with RV itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyant*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795) In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prorṇvāthām* (this time with VSK) against *prorṇuv°* of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *ṇu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a) Again, the word which in most texts is written *kuvala* seems to have in the Tait school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782), nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages Similarly the adverb *urviyā* (so RV always) is spelled *urvyā* in TS (also in VS, §791), and *kuvayi* or *°ya* of MS KS is written *kvayi* in TS and VS A Tait text (TA) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait school is otherwise so fond (§770)

§768 Nor is the Tait school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character KS in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uv* for *v* Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryavi*, KS in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *triyavi* (§776) The RV itself is guilty of one strange anomaly the pres mid participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *suvāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*, the SV in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794)

§769 Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic Thus the writing *iy* or *uv* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait school) substitutes *iy* or *uv*

§770 To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uv* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v* Cf Wackernagel I p 59 These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention They are

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *ke cid* †*in*) *yaman vim* (SV *ke cin ni yemur in*, TA *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinah* RV AV SV VS TA The TA form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *ni yemur*, so the comm There is, to be sure, a v l *ni yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA

graha viśvajanīna niyantar (KS *nyantar*) MS KS This and the next passage are prose KS can only intend *ni-yantar*

anvāsi PB *anuvāsi* TS KS (not GB Vait , see §255) *anuvāya* MS Here PB can only have in mind *anu-vā*

§771 In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apsuv ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS (?§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañc*) is broken up into *ni yan* (thru the middle stage *niyañ*) in a secondary reading of AV (§778) Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *api yā* in SV (§785), and the RV *abhvam* (two syllables, not **abhuam*) is revamped by TB into *ab-bhuvam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790) Other variants which have lexical bearings are *suvāñ svān(a)*, §778, *nv* for *nu* varying

with *'nv* for *anu* (wrongly printed *nuv* in TB Bibl Ind ed , §778), and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786) With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic

§772 The variants fall into five clearly defined groups First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uv* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel, most commonly after more than one consonant Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables, chiefly the one word *svar* (*suvar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *iy* or *uv* form seems to be more primary) Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *iya*, and written so in secondary texts, in practically all cases after more than one consonant Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel, again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uv*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles

§773 In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uv* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait texts which show this secondary writing Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suvar*, the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait texts (such as KS , from which ApŚ frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uv* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV *suvāna* (§794) Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter

A *uv* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774 Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV etc is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a)

ghṛte śrito ghṛtam v (TA *uv*) *asya dhāma* RV VS TA AŚ MŚ
praty u (TB *uv*) *adarśy* (TB †*adṛśy*) *āyatī* RV SV TB ŚŚ AŚ
na vā u (TS TB ApŚ *uv*) *etan mriyase na riṣyasi* RV VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ
sa u (TS *uv*) *ekavṁśavartanaḥ* TS MS Prose

§775 The spelling *uv* was regular from RV times in the word *suvita* (*svita*) It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait texts
śarad dhemantaḥ suvite dadhāta (MŚ °*tu*) KS MŚ *śarad varṣāḥ svite* (TS SMB *suvitam*) *no dadhāta* (TS SMB *astu*) AV TS SMB The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS SMB because of their change to *astu*
suvite mā dhāḥ TS MS KS ŚŚ LŚ ŚG N *svite* etc VS GB ŚB AŚ Vait Prose

§776 The word *tryavi*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *triyavi* in KS, altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait texts write this word *tryavi*(!) Two of the variants are prose, the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*
tryavir (KS *triyavir*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS MS KS TB
tryavir (KS *triya*°) *vayaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Prose
tryaviś (KS *triya*°) *ca me tryavī* (KS *triya*°) *ca me* (MS MŚ omit *me* twice) VS TS MS KS MŚ Prose

§777 The rest are sporadic
śutudrī stomam sacatā paruṣṇy (TA °*niy*) *ā* RV TA MahānU N In a jagatī stanza, RV certainly pronounced °*niy-ā*
asikny (TB °*niy*) *asy oṣadhe* AV TB
dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasaḥ (TB *dhṛṣṇuvo*°) RV AB KB TB

§778 False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following
yad oṣadhīṣv apsv ā (TS *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV VS TS ŚB *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsuv ā* As a matter of fact, this may be what TS really intends, but p p divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith
nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °*tim*) RV AV KS The AV has a corruption based upon *niyañ* for *nyañ*
svāna bhrājā° VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *svān nabhrād* KS *svāna bhrāṭ* TA *suvān nabhrād* MS MŚ In the latter *su-vāk* (*vāc*) is meant
[*ato no rudrā uta vā* †*nv asya* RV *tato no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed '*nv*, and comm *anu*) *asya* TB We assume that the Poona ed is right, so that the variant does not belong here]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*

B Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779 These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here It will be seen that the form *suvar* is practically limited to Tait texts, but that in them it is nearly universal The rare cases in which Tait texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ) from non-Tait sources, retaining the non-Tait spelling We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke samprornvāthām* TS KSA TB , the true reading of KSA is †*svarge loke* †*samprornuvāthām*, correct Conc

§780 In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete)

parı lokān parı dıśah parı svah (TA MahānU *suvah*) VS TA MahānU

dıvı mūrdhānam dadhıṣe svarṣām (TS TB *suv°*) RV VS TS MS KS TB

hıranyavāśīr ıṣırah svarṣāh (TB *suv°*) RV TB —The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz

svarṣām (TB *suv°*) *apsām* (TB Poona ed twice †*apsvām*, text and comm) *vrjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB

§781 There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait text (TB) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements, if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered The later texts of the same Tait school, TA and MahānU , write *suvar*

tapasarṣayah (MahānU *°rṣayah*) *suvar* (TB *svar*) *anvavından* TB TA MahānU

§782 Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *iy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*, is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone Most curious of all, in each case a Tait text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone, and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait school and to be regularly used there in this particular word - despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait tendency Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations

pakṣmānı godhūmaih kuvalaır (TB *kvalaır*) *utānı* VS MS KS TB

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalaır* makes better meter But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kvàla* in the Taitt school, and is so written e g in a prose Brāhmana passage, TS 2 5 3 5 —The same word in

ajo dhūmro na godhūmaih kuvalair (TB *kvalair*) *bheşajam* VS MS, TB
kiyāmbv atra rohatu RV *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA *jāyatām*) AV TA

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling *i*

kuvayah (KSA and p p of MS °*yih*) MS KSA *kvayih* VS TS

§783 Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *samdhuvānā*, which TS substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *samdhvānā* of other texts We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *samdhvānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*)

samdhvānā (TS °*dhuvānā*) *vātā abhi no grnantu* TS MS KS AŚ

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832, the word *bhiyah* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending *-bhyah* (KS , or *-bhih* AV)

viśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuşībhih (KS °*şebhyah*) AV KS *viśvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuşīr bhiyah* VS TS *vy amīvāh pramuñcan mānuşānām* MS

C Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784 Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in (*i*)*yañc*, (*i*)*yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character) In practically every case the writing *iya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary It occurs almost exclusively in Tait texts The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few (*i*)*yañc* stems

asmadryak (TS °*driyak*) *sam mimīhi sravānsi* RV TS MS KS
asmadryag (TS TB °*driyag*) *vāvrdhe vīryāya* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
te pāyavah sadhryañco (TS *sadhriyañco*) *nişadya* RV TS MS KS
mā te mano vişvadryag (TS °*driyag*) *vi cārīt* RV TS MS KS
vi mucyadhvam aghnyā (TA ApŚ *aghniyā*) *devayānāh* VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ
vājam arvatsu payo aghnyāsu (TS *aghniyāsu*) TS KS
payo grheşu payo aghnyāyām (TB ApŚ *aghniyāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ
yad āpo aghnyā (TS TB *aghniyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS TB MS KS LŚ)

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ *yad āhur aghnyā iti* VS ŚB

ni vīram (TS *vīravad*) *gavyam aśvyam* (TS *aśvıyam*) *ca rādhah* RV TS MS KS. Several mss of MS *aśnyam*

sugavyam no vājī svaśvyam (TS °*nıyam*) RV VS TS KSA AŚ

parā duṣvapnyam (TB TA ApŚ MahānU °*nıyam*) *suva* RV SV TB TA ApŚ Kauś MahānU

achā devāṅ ūcişe dhiṣnyā (TS *dhiṣnıyā*) *ye* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

sa budhnıyā (TS TB TA *budhnıyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāh* AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ TA

pra budhnyā (TS °*nıyā*) *va īrate* (TS *īrate vo*) *mahāṅsi* RV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

ahim budhnyam (TS °*nıyam*) *anu rīyamānāh* (MS KS *anv īyamānāh*, TS *anu samcarantīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

svāyām tanū (ApMB †MG †*tanūṅ*) *rtvıye* (RV † *rtvye*) *nādhamānām* (ApMB *nātha°*, MG *bādha°*) RV ApMB MG

sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣnyebhıh (TB °*nıyebhıh*) *samokāh* RV AB KB TB

tam sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣnyānı (TB *vṛṣnıyānı*) RV MS KS TB

bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣnyam (MS °*nam*, see §315, TS °*nıyam*) TS MS KS AŚ

§785 There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant (cf §771)

ya usrıyā apyā (SV *apı yā*) *antar asmanah* (SV °*nı*) RV SV The adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apıyā*, is falsely divided in SV

§786 In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with *īy*, that is, the epenthetic vowel is long The forms concern secondary noun formations in (*ī*)*ya* sometimes, the rest are either comparatives in *yaṅs īyans*, or denominative participles In some cases the form in *īy* is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in plain *y* secondary, note that, most curiously, one of these secondary forms without *ī* occurs in TS !

apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan (SV † °*yān*, TS *kavyan*) RV SV TS KSA In SV nom of a comparative stem, in the others, of denominative participles

turīyāditya (VSK *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV *hav°*) *ta indrıyam* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical, and is twice found in Tait texts alone

tam tvā gṛnāmi tavasam atavyān (TS °*vīyān*) RV SV TS MS KS N Comparatives

sanım gāyatram navyāṁsam (TA *navīyāṁsam*) RV SV MS TA Comparatives In the next case the meter is ambiguous

devā devebhyo adhvaryanto (KS *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuh* VS TS KS ŚB

sviṣṭim (°*ṭam*) *no abhi* (*'bhi*) *vasyo* (TS KŚ *vasīyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KS KŚ MŚ Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling *vasyo* seems older

yathā no vasyasas (TS °*sah*, LŚ *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

unnetar vasīyo (KS *vasyo*) MS KS ApŚ Prose

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS Prose

pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah (KSA † *'vārīye°*) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA *avāra ikṣavah pāryebhyah* (KSA *pārīye°*) TS KSA Prose

§787 The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *iya*

etāni te aghniye (PB *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* TS PB *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS ŚB MŚ In the latter form quasi-meter

ā pyāyadhvam aghnyā (TS TB ApŚ *aghniyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

yāsyā aputryā (ŚG °*triyā*) *tanūs* ŚG SMB

ahir asi budhnyah (TS ApŚ *budhniyah*) VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ ApŚ

ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi MŚ *ahe budhniya mantram me gopāya* TB ApŚ

ahir budhnyo (TS °*niyo*) *devatā* TS MS KS

namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS °*niyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS *namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca* KS

namo agriyāya (VS KS *'gryāya*, MS *'grīyāya*) VS TS MS KS

namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (TS °*miyāya*) *ca* VS TS KS

namo vīdhryāya (MS °*riyāya*, p p °*ryāya*, TS *nama īdhriyāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS TS MS KS

namah śīghryāya (TS °*riyāya*) *ca śībhyāya ca* VS TS *namah śībhāya ca śīghrāya ca* MS KS

sumitrā (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KŚ °*triyā*, AŚ LŚ *sumitryā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh ApŚ KŚ MŚ And similarly *durmitrās* etc , see §315

aśvibhyām tirohniyānām (MŚ *tirohnyānām*) ApŚ MŚ

tirohniyān (MŚ *aśvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān* ApŚ MŚ

D Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788 Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uv* is in

accord with the pronunciation Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait texts The variants fall naturally into four groups First, monosyllabic (radical) *ī* and *ū* stems In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uv* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a), consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait texts (and rarely others) show *iy*, *uv* Second, derivative *ī* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *ū* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d, only one such variant has been noted) Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792) Fourth, *ū* stems of the *vṛkīs* type, the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*

§789 Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *ī*, *ū* Most of the variants are metrical, we call attention specifically to the prose ones They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhī*, *bhū*, and *pū*

svādhyam (TS °*dhiyam*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV VS TS MS

svādhyo (TB °*dhiyo*) *manasā devayantah* RV MS KS AB TB PG

svādhyo (TB °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv ajī*°) RV TB

tam tvā vayam sudhyo (TB *sudhiyo*) *navyam agne* RV MS KS TB

pāhi mam yajñanyam (TS TB °*niyam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ

vaneṣu citram vibhvam (TS *vibhuvam*) *vise vi'e* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

vibhuve (MS *vibhve*, KS † *vibhave*) *svahā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ Prose

abhibhuve (MS *abhibhve*, KS *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ Prose

śatam yasya subhvah (SV *subhuvah*) *sākam īrate* RV SV

mahiṣam nah subhvam (AVPpp ms *subhavas*, Barret *JAOS* 35 46 *subhuvas*) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhvah svā abhiṣṭayah* RV *samudram na subhuvas tasthivānsam* AV Others, see §119

ghṛtena no (MS KS *mā*) *ghṛtapvah* (TS °*puvah*) *punantu* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB According to Roth, AVPpp also °*puvah*

devas tvā savita punatu vasoh pavitrena supvā (ApŚ *supuvā*) VS ŚB ApŚ *devas tvā savitotpunatu supvotpunāmi* Kauś Prose

§790 A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA *abbhuvam*) RV TA The pāda occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvam* was undoubtedly a dissyllable in RV In TA it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam* 'originating in water', according to the comm , see §392

§791 Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases The first is the only case of an *ū* stem

samrājñī śvaśrvām (ApMB °*ruvām*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB On this form cf Wackernagel III p 189, l 1

asiknyā (TA °*niyā*) *marudvṛdhe vitastayā* RV TA MahānU N

sūro rathasya naptyah (ArS *naptryah*, TB °*triyah*) RV AV ArS KS TB

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS °*niyor*) *jyām* VS TS MS KS

devyo vamryo (VSK *vamriyo*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ Prose

dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vi bhāti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB This adverb is always spelled *urviyā* in RV , the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS , cf next

cakṣur ma urvyā (MS *uruyā*, KS *urviyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB Prose Cf prec

apīparo mā rātriyā (MŚ *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ Also *apī*° *māhno rātriyai* (*rātryai*) etc , same texts

yad rātriyā (MahānU and v l of TA *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v l *akāriṣam*) TA MahānU *yad rātriyāt kurute pāpam* TAA Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form

rātryai (TB °*triyai*) *kṛṣnam piṅgākṣam* VS TB

rātryai (TS *rātriyai*) *tvā* TS KS PB Vait

rātryai (TA ApŚ *rātriyai*) *mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ

rātryai (TS TB *rātriyai*) *svāhā* TS MS KS KSA TB

viśvapsniyā (TS °*psniyā*) *visvatas pari* SV VS TS MS KS Kauś Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form

samvesāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (TS ApŚ °*triyāś*) TS KS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ

sa gāyatryā (TS TB °*triyā*) *triṣṭubhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ Kauś

gāyatryai (TS °*triyai*, MS KS °*tryā*) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mano gāyatryai (TB ApŚ °*triyai*) VSK TB KŚ ApŚ

§791a The following case is peculiar

vilıptī yā (*vilıptyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV (both) In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12 4 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical Whitney would emend *vilıptyā* to *vilıptī yā*, but this is unnecessary, *vilıptyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c 'of the *vilıptī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'

§792 Genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems On these cf Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoh* and *-voh* (rather than *-iyoh* and *-uvoh*) 'durchweg', the occurrence of the Tait spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV

indrāgnyor (TS ApŚ °*gniyor*) (prose formulas, see Conc) VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayāḍ agnir indrāgniyoś TB *ayād indrāgnyoś* MS

bāhuvor balam TS TAA *bahu bāhvor balam* AV *bāhvor balam* Vait MŚ PG

bāhvos (TS *bāhuvos*) *tava hetayah* VS TS *hetayas tava bāhvoh* MS KS

patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoh (TS *bāhuvoh*) RV TS MS KS

ūrvor (TS TAA *ūruvor*) *ojah* AV TS TAA Vait MŚ PG

§793 The stem *tanū* and its type The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem accus sing *sudrvam* (from **sudrū*, fem to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV —The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait texts alone are not listed in full

nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam (SV *sudruvam*) RV SV

yasyai bahvīs tanuvo vītaprṣṭhāh TB *yasyā bahvyas tanvo vītaprṣṭhāh* MS

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

tanūs tanvā (TS TAA *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV TS TAA PG Vait *tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ The AV mss read °*me sahed antāh* or the like, the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG Note that PG has the characteristic spelling of TS from which it here quotes (there is a v l *tanvai*)

tayā nas tanvā (TS ŚvetU *tanuvā*) *śamtamayā* VS TS MS KS ŚvetU NīlarU Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form

tanvam (TS ApŚ ApMB HG *tanuvam*) *me pāhi* VS TS MS KS AB ŚB JB ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG ApMB Prose

E Verbal forms

§794 The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous A large group contains the participle *suvāna*, from *su* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV altho pronounced *svāna*, SV changes the spelling to match the pronunciation

pra suvānāso (SV *svā°*) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV *°deveṣu*) *harayah* RV SV

bṛhat somo vāvṛdhe suvāna indub (SV *svāno adrih*) RV SV

soma u ṣuvānah (SV PB *ṣvā°*) *sotṛbhih* RV SV PB

mitrāh suvānā (SV *svānā*) *arepasah* RV SV

indre suvānāsa (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV AV SV

ā soma suvāno (SV *svāno*) *adribhih* RV SV

pari ṣya suvāno akṣāh (to be read *akṣāh*, cf Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc) RV *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV cf *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV

pari suvānaś (SV *svā°*) *cakṣase devamādanah* RV SV

pari suvānāsa (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV SV

pari suvāno (SV PB *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāh* (to be read *°ṣṭhāh*) RV SV PB

suvānā (SV *svānā*) *devāsa indavah* RV SV

suvāno (SV *svāno*) *arṣa pavitra ā* RV SV

suvāno (SV *svānair*) *yāti kavirkratuh* RV SV

§795 We have already referred (§767) to the Tait spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc), in defiance of meter

prati kṣiyantam (TS *kṣyantam*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantah (TB *°kṣyantah*) RV MS TB

§796 Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait texts show *viyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vī*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical

samidho agna ājyasya vyantu (TB *viyantu*) MS KS TB

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG *viyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo 'ktam* (VSK *ripto*) *rihānāh* VS VSK ŚB KŚ The comms on both VS and TS, followed by Keith, take the verb form from *vi* + root *i*

vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (TB *viyantu*) VS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ

vyantu (TS *viyantu*) *devā havişo me asya* TS MS KS

vyantu (TS *viyantu*) *devīr ya ṛtur janīnām* RV AV TS MS N

vyantv (TB *viyantv*) *ājyasya* VS MS KS TB

uta gnā vyantu (TB *viyantu*) *devapatnīh* RV AV MS TB N

pibantu madantu (MS *°tām*) *vyantu* (TB *viyantu somam*) VS MS TB

prati na īm surabhīni vyantu (TS *viyantu*) RV TS MS KS

lekah salekah viyantu TS *salilah salilgah vyantu* MS KS

§797 In two prose variants Tait texts, with VSK, read *prorṇvāthām* for the more regular *prorṇuvā°* (above, §767)

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait *svarge loke prornuvāthām* (MS °*tām*, VSK *prornvāthām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *suvarge* (KSA † *svarge*) *loke samprornvāthām* (KSA † °*nuvā*°) TS KSA TB

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām (VSK TS ApŚ *prornvāthām*, MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS ŚB KS ApŚ MŚ *vapayā dyāvā*° *prornuvāthām* Kauś

§796. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *v* exchanging with *uv* The latter are commoner in most texts

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait °*hi*, VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hvāmahe*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś See VV I §2

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV

CHAPTER XVII METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1 *Metathesis*

§799 On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance

§800 We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB Here mss of both texts present both readings, and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic

asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatīḥ TS *asmadrātā* (MS KS ŚŚ add *madhumatīr* or °*tī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*) VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ The TS is doubtless secondary 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates, this is of course the meaning of the other variant)

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja ārujah* ŚŚ See §244

indram vagnunā vahata PB *vagnunendram hvayata* TB ApŚ

§801 Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed *'yam*) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU In MahānU v 1 *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me* The comm understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanaḥ*) portion by effort—no other' TAA comm says *nāman* = *paramātman*!

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG The latter is simply a bad corruption, original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'

adhā jivrī (AV *atha jivrir*, mss *jirvi*, ApMB *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthaḥ*) RV AV ApMB See §544

§802 More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants

yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyam pavasva JB *yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye †'vapathās tena mahyam pavasva* KS The original is *'vapathās*, as shown by the preceding formula in KS, *trir vasubhyo 'vapathās* etc (see Conc) If the JB reading is correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the following *pavasva*

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS See §149, and next

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA See under prec

svasti nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākṛteṣu*, v l as RV) *yoniṣu* RV AB MG

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro (KS MŚ *bhūtaya dhruvo*) *astu devāh* (TS °*dhvaro 'si*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

abaddham mano daridram cakṣuh sūryo TS KŚ BDh *adabdham mana iṣiram cakṣuh* (MŚ *adabdham cakṣur ariṣtam manah*) *sūryo* MŚ ŚG

gharmam śocantah (AŚ °*ta*, ŚŚ °*tam*) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ

chandonāmānām (VSK *chandomānānam*, TS °*mānām*) *sāmrājyam gacheti* (VSK *gachatād iti*, MŚ *gached iti*) VS VSK TS ŠB MŚ

jari cetid (mss *cetid*, p p *rya iti it*) *abhiśiṣah* MS *ya* (TA ApŚ ApMB *yadi rte* (PB †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB See §193

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ *yo no dveṣty anu tam ravasva* ApŚ Here MŚ transposes the syllables *nu-ta*

apa snehitīr (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛmanam adadhram*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadram* TA See §110 The KS reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rām*

agne dakṣaih punīhi nah (TB *mā*, MS *punīmahe*) RV MS TB The MS reading may be a metathesis of that of TB, which is secondary to RV

śam te hiranyam śam u santv (ApMB *sam u śantv*) *āpah* AV Kauś ApMB See §277

brahmādhiguptah (PG *brahmābhi°*, MG *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāni*

(PG *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG *svarākṣānaḥ*, most mss *svarārakṣānaḥ*) AG PG MG Evident corruption in MG

divaṣ (SV *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV †*rohanti tejasā*) RV SV With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf §57

vājaś ca prasavaś vasuś (TS *suvaś*) *ca* TS KS The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *svar*)

§803 When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff above, q v The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*

arthaś ca ma emaś (VSK *me yāmaś*, MS *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

ṛṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ *vṛṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarvidam* MS KS ApŚ

ahā yad dyāvo (AV *devā*) *asunītim ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV

āyur vasāna upa vetu (AV TA *yātu*) *śeṣaḥ* (TA *śeṣam*) RV AV TA

iīdam viśvam bhuvanam sam eti (AV *vi yāti*) RV AV N Synonymous and related roots *i* and *yā*

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve (VS °*ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) VS TS MS See §840

iyam pitryā (AB *vai pitre*, AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV GB *etv*) *agre* AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *ba*°, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Cf VV I §175, and next

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB See prec

vanaspatīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (*rāye aśyāḥ*) RV (both)

ghṛtam eva (BDh *ghṛtam yavā*) *madhu yavāḥ* BDh VıDh

§804 Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*

sāmāni cakrus tasarāny otave (AV °*ni vātave*) RV AV

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiñjīni kośyābhyām VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiñjīnikośyābhyām* (TA °*kośā*°) TS TA

sam eta viśvā (AV †*viśve*) *vacasā* (SV *ojasā*) *patim divaḥ* AV SV Roth quotes Ppp as reading *oham ā*-, evidently for *ojasā* See §52

pari ghransam omanā (TB *parighransa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Bad corruption in TB

§804a A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoḥ madhvaḥ* While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here

madhvaḥ (SV *madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayaḥ* RV SV

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV SV
madhoh pibatam aśvinā VS MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhvah* etc RV VS AŚ ŚŚ
madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pibanti gauryah* RV SV AV MS
madhoś cakānaś cārur madāya AV SV *madhvaś* etc AŚ ŚŚ
vasvah (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuvid vanāti nah* RV KS TB TA MahānU

§805 Instances of *vi*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*

achā ma (SV *va*) *indram matayah svarvidah* (SV *svaryuvah*) RV AV SV GB Vait
adyā (also *nṛvat*) *kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV °*hy ūtaye*) RV SV Cf §743
āvitsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS
nādya śatruṁ nanu (ŚB †*na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV ŚB
vivalam (MS KS *yuvalam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB
mā te vyoma (=*viyoma* or *vioma*, AV *yuyoma*) *samdṛśi* (AV ° *śah*, LŚ † °*śah* or °*śe*) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG
yajñam pranaya (TS *pra suva*) *devāyam* (TS MS *devāyuvam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS *devāyam*) *prṇacmi* etc MS KS ApŚ MŚ
devebhyas tvā devāyam (VSK *devāyuvam*) *gṛhnāmi* etc VS VSK ŚB
prāsmān ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB *yutsu*) RV TB
ukthebhyaṣ tvokthāyam gṛhnāmi KS *ukthyebhya ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ
varṣmā (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghima* (TS *draghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*, KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS See §764 TS apparently has a metathetized form for **drāghivā*

§806 With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared §§656ff In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *ṛ* vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *ṛ*), or as guna derivatives of a root in *ṛ*

tena rādhyāsam VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś *tenardhyasam* KS SMB The latter stands for *tena ṛdh°*, cf §659
agnau samrādhanīm yaje HG *yaje samrādhanīm aham* ŚB BṛhU AŚ SMB ApMB *yuje* (read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt p 250) †*samardham īm aham* ŚŚ
ahā avartim (AV *aratim*) *avidat* (AV °*dah*) *syonam* AV TB ApMB

2 Haplology

§807 On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16 xxxiv, *AJP* 17 418, Wackernagel I pp 278ff, where further references may be found, we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV 4 5 5, and other

references below We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplology, those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology, and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplology

pṛthivi vibhūvari (ApŚ *bhūvari*) KS ApŚ This is a very clear case On the strength of the isolated ApŚ form Boehtlingk (pw 6 304) set up a goddess Bhūvarī, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *pṛthivi*

viśvasyām viśi pravivṛścivānsam (KS †*pravivṛścānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS *viśo-viśah pravṛścivānsam īmahe* AV Lanman, in Whitney's Transl , has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplology But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also

ya āste yaś ca carati (AV *yaś carati*) RV AV The haplology is again noted by Lanman

trīni padani (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU The ms of Ppp *padānihatā guhās-*, em Barret *JAOS* 30 195 to the AVŚ reading Clear haplology in TA MahānU

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītatano (*'sīrtatano*, *'śītama*) *pāhi* , see §353

yani kāni ca cakṛma (ApŚ mss omit *ca*, by haplology) MS ApŚ cf *duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma* MS *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA (here not really haplology, *ca* is needed only after *kāni*)

ye vā (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspatīnr anu* (MS NilarU °*patīnām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB NīlarU ApMB Supposed to be metrical even in MS , which is clearly haplological In the same verse

ye vavaṭeṣu (MS †KS *ye 'vateṣu*) *śerate*, same texts Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avaṭeṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplological

tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (MS *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS MS ŚB TA cf *eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MŚ *tayā twam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ ApŚ ŚG ApMB ApG HG The second *ca* is clearly required

yad eva kim ca pratigrahāham (TA °*jagrāham*) AV TA The TA form (also found in Poona ed) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplological

nyag vāto 'va vāti (AV *vāto vāti*) RV AV Lanman notes the haplology

yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhah RV *yūyatām asmad rapo apa sridhah* TB ApŚ The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long *ū*

aṅhomuce pra bharemā (AV *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV TS MS KS See VV I p 253

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh VS MS KS ŚB *anıbhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS See Keith on TS

chandonāmānām (VSK °*mānānām*, TS °*mānām*) *sāmrājyam gacheti* (with variants) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip

yad †apsaradrūr uparasya (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādatı* KS ApŚ The latter corrupt

guhā hitām nihitām (KS † omits *ni*°) *gahvareṣu* KS MŚ

namah śamgave (TS † *śamgāya*, for °*gayāya*?) VS TS MS KS See §250

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA Others, see §244

viśvānyanyo bhuvanābhıcaṣte (MS °*nā vi*°) RV MS TB *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV

parīdam vajy ajınam (PG °*dam vājınam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajınam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG HG ApMB The PG is not construable

[*yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo* KS ApŚ Conc quotes ApŚ as omitting the second *yo*, a modern haplology!]

§809 The following cases are less certain

mama ca nāma tava ca (KS once omits *ca*) *jātavedah* KS (both) The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical, this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā*-)

puru viśvānı jūrvan RV *puro rakṣāṅsi nıjūrvan* AV (Ppp *viśvānı-jūrvan*) Whitney suggests *viśvā nıjūrvan* for RV, Lanman, *viśvānı ni*°, assuming haplology As Oldenberg (*Noten* on 1 191 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda, he would read *jūruan*

suvāñ nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre MS *svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre* VS TS ŚB *svāna bhrāṭ, anghārır bambhārıh* TA *svān nabhrād anghāre bambhāre* KS See Keith on TS 1 2 7 1, he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original

3 Dittology

§810 The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation

kukūnanānām (KS *kūtanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā* VS MS KS ŚB *kotanāsu* TS Note double dittology in VS ŚB

namo babhlušāya vyādhine (TS *vivyā°*) VS TS MS KS Either form makes good sense, we assume that the majority have the original

athem enam pra hinutāt pitṛbhyah (AV †*pitṝnr upa*), and

athem enam (AV *athemam enam*) *pari dattāt pitṛbhyah* RV AV TA See Whitney on AV 18 2 4, 5 There is no doubt of the dittology in AV (note the meter), in 18 2 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss and both editions In 18 2 4 there is more variation in the mss , and SPP reads *athem enam* with the comm

devā (AV *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV AV The meter proves AV secondary, and Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 42 127) also omits *vā*(*i*)

namo girišāya (VS °*šayāya*) VS TS MS KS The stems -*śa* and -*šaya* are both unexceptionable, probably the majority indicate the original

na sīm adeva āpat (SV *āpa tat*) RV SV ŚŚ The RV has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable SV tries to improve the meter, cf VV I p 138

nirṛtim nirjarjalpena (MS *nirjalpena*, TS *nirjālmakena*, KS *nir-jālmāka-*) *sīrṣnā* VS TS MS KS Obscure word, VS simulates an intensive from *jalp*

ye te agna (MS *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayah* (TA *urnunābhayah*, but Poona ed *u nā°* with v l *urnunā°*) MS KS TA The absurd corruption of some TA mss seems to be read by the comm also, perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrnanābhi* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here

anhaspatyāya (VS ŚB KŚ *anhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS TS MS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ Stem varying with genitive case form in composition

ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB *apasas*) *pari* RV GB If GB is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāh*) But Gaastra reads *apas*, with v l *apasas*

tanūpāš (TB Poona ed text and comm *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS KS TB See §195

tir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh °*hrire*) RV SV Svidh See VV I p 170

vṛṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye (RV * *avyaye*) RV (both) SV TA MahānU N Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya*? or *avi*?) are well known, and both are metrically possible, they are triṣṭubh and jagatī forms of the same expression But the latter occurs in a verse

(9 86 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RV Rep* 453), so that *avye* is probably original

āyam na girvaṇāho jigyur aśvāḥ SV *āyaṃ na jagmur girvāho aśvāḥ* RV For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV the original Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 24 6 The SV form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely

§811 Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following

nidhedhāsi puruspārham (so KS and TB Poona ed, and p p of MS, MS text *puruṣaspārham*) *yaśasvat* MS KS † TB †

tato vākā (TS *tataḥ pāvakā*) *āśiṣo no juṣantām* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers', TS spoils the meter Dittology with *p* for *v*

tena yo 'smat (TA * *tenānyo 'smat*) *samṛchātai* (MS mss *samṛtsātām*) MS TA The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here TA repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change, the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc

indrāpāsya (v l °*yāsya*) *phalīgam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya śepham alīkam* HG Kirste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'

4 Haplology or Dittology

§812 In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*

āyur bṛhat tad aśīya tan māvatu (MŚ *mām avatu*) ApŚ MŚ

tan mām āvīt TA TU *tan māvīt* MG

tan māvatu PB TA TU ApŚ *tan mām avatu* MŚ AG MG

punar mām aitv (AV Vait Kauś *maitv*) *indriyam* AV ŚB TA BṛhU ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG MG

§813 Other, miscellaneous cases

vājajityāyai (KS °*jityai*) *tvā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Stems *jityā* and *jiti* While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive KS is probably on the whole the most original YV text, only two other schools differ from it, and *jiti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*

śiśirāya vikakarān (KSA † *vikarān*, ApŚ *vikirān*, vv ll *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS KS ApŚ Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird) Cf the preceding formula, *hemantāya kakarān* (KSA † *kakārān*)

aneśann asya yā ıṣavah (TS KS NīlarU *asyeṣavah*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU The presence or absence of the articular relative makes little difference, and the meter is no better in one reading than in the other

bharatam uddharem anuṣıñca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ See §236, end Either haplology in TB ApŚ, or dittology in MŚ which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*

anu no mārṣṭu (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad vırıṣtam* (*vili°*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

CHAPTER XVIII FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814 Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16) There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently

1 A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

§815 In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation

§816 We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable

jagāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (AV *vi madhyam*) RV AV Whitney rightly says that the AV reading is a corruption of the other

oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām (TA *°kośābhyām*) TS TA *vasiṣṭhahanuh śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS The VS reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801

aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca MS *ghora ghoratarebhyah* TA MahānU Preceded by *aghorebhyo 'tha ghorebhyah* The forms of Rudra are meant The tradition is unstable One ms of MS has two accents, but MS p p takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original TA has two accents, yet its comm understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed prints it so (but with two accents!) Comm on MahānU, however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra

manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB The variants in AV 7 97 8 and TS 1 1 13 3, 4 44 3, have *deveşu yajñam*, which supports KS in meaning The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm on VS, but the accentless voc is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd)

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācachidrayā juhvā dim devāvrdham (ŚŚ *devā vrdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ °*yant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB TA KŚ ŚŚ The ŚŚ is uninterpretable

§817 In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose

yajur yuktam (TA † *yajuryuktam*) *sāmabhir aktakham tvā* (MS *rtakhamta*) MS TA Comm on TA, 'provided with the *yajus*' In MS two accents 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like

madhu śaşpair (MS *madhuśaşpair*) *na teja indriyam* VS MS TB In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bheşajam*, or *śaşpair* MS p p divides *madhu śaşpair* as two words, Poona ed of TB prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm)

madhu havir (MS *madhuhavir*) *asi* MS TA ApŚ MŚ So according to the accents of MS and TA Probably MŚ must be read *madhuhavir* like MS, Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ 4 3 34, but MS also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word Cf prec

devabarhih (KS *deva barhiś*) *śatavalsam vi roha* TS KS TB ApŚ *atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalso* (MS *tvam barhih śatavalśam*) *viroha* VS MS ŚB The latter version suggests taking *deva barhih* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS The words are voc, so that the accent proves nothing, TS p p takes it as one word But Poona ed of TB prints it as two

avīvarata vo hi kam (TS *hikam*, so printed also in KS †) AV TS MS KS Comm on AV (as also that on TS) as a single, compound particle

upa prakşe (AA ŚŚ *upaprakşe*) *madhumati kşiyantah* SV AA ŚŚ Svidh This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA Transl, p 285 n 7 Keith's text of AA prints *upa prakşé* with most mss, but against comm, who understands *upaprakşe* as a prepositional cpd, 'near the *prakşa*' Cf also the infinitive (?) *upaprakşé*, RV 5 47 6

namas te rudra rūpebhyo namah MS *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA MahānU 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage' 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'

śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (TS °*habheṣajī*, VS °*hā bhe*°, MS °*ha* [p p, °*hā*] *bheṣajā*) VS TS MS KS There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not

devīh (AV *daivīh*, KS *trayīṣ*) *ṣad urvīr* (TS p p *ṣadurvīh*, and so Conc assumes for ApMB HG) *uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, KS † *nas*) *kṛṇota* RV AV TS KS ApMB HG The words are voc and there are no accents RV and AV p p interpret as two words, which seems more natural No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait school separate *ṣad urvīr*

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS *devapuraś carasa rdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MŚ See §147, and §838 MS p p divides *deva* from *punaś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*)

imām su nāvam āruham TS KS ApŚ *sunāvam ā ruheyam* VS (pratika PG)

pra su (HG *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumartyam*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB HG The reading of ApMB is original

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvetapad ā gahi* MG Read *apa śveta padā* in MG, there is no good ground for Kauer's editing of the text See his note and comm, and our §134

2 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818 Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts

stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patni TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS The latter corruptly turns the vocs into noms, apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender

vāṅmanaścakṣuhśrotrajnhvāghrānaretobuddhyākūtisamkalpā (TA TAA °*ākūtih samkalpā*) *me sudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU See §383

śarīram yajñasamalam (MahānU *yajñah śa*°) *kusīdam tasmin sīdatu yo 'smān dveṣṭi* TS KSA TA MahānU The latter is clearly second-

ary, comm makes *śarīram yajñah* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body' On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow', but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression

tām vidyām brahmayonim svarūpām (VaradapU *brahmayonisva°*) NṛpU VaradapU 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman', either is possible

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣnuvojasam (SV *dhṛṣnum ojasā*) RV AV SV 'Of irresistible strength' 'irresistible in strength'

mithucarantam (KS *mithū°*, TS *mithuś car°*, AV *mithuyā car°*) *upayāti* (AV *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV TS MS KS There is really no way of deciding the original

agner (TS *devānām*) *agneyāny* (KS *agniyāny*) *asi* TS MS KS One ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asi* Cf *agner yāny asi* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ See §357

devajūte vivasvann ādityā te no devāh MS *vivasvān adityir devajūtis te na ādityā* TS *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva ādityā te no devā* KS Both parts of the cpd are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words

syonā māviśaterammadah (TS *°terā madah*) TS MS KS The TS may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural 'kindly enter into me as food and drink' But it is probably a lect fac for the other 'kindly enter into me as Irammada (Agni, lightning?)'

ṛtaprajātā (MŚ *uta pra°*) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS MŚ The latter is secondary but intelligible, §641

sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt (LŚ *eva ki°*, VS *devakilv°*) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ *viśvasmād deva°* AV MS The LŚ is secondary but sensible, §402

[†*aindrāsūrāh* (KSA †*aindrāsaurāh*) *syetalalāmās* (KSA † *śyāmala°*) *tūparāh* TS KSA Conc quotes KSA as *aindrāh saurāh*]

[*anyavratasya* (TA *anyadvra°*, printed by Conc as *anyad vra°*, the accent proves that it is a cpd , tho the comm seems to take it as two words) *saścima* (RV *saścire*, TA *sascimah*, Poona ed *°ma*) RV VS MS ŚB TA]

§819 In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original

svāhā yajñam manasah (KS 2 3 *yajñamanasah*) VS MS KS †2 3 and

23 5, ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood, the accus *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS 2 3 should be so corrected In 23 5 KS has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc) '(I take) sacrifice from mind'

māgadhah punścalī kitavah klība 'śūdrā abrāhmanās (VSK *punścalī klīvah kitavo 'śūdrābrāhmanās*) *te prājāpatyāh* VS VSK

śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ *śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena* KauŚ In KauŚ v l *śatākṣarah* The original reading of ApŚ (cf §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam sruvo* preceding, with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*

dahram (v l *daharam*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (MahānU *vipāpmam varam veśma°*) TA MahānU The Poona ed of TA reads *vipāpmam vara°*, with v l *vipāpmavara°* MahānU also has v l *varaveśma°* The most plausible original seems to be *dahram vipāpmam varaveśmabhūtam* This is stylistically better than *vipāpmavara°*, an awkward compound

dadhad ratnam (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣam pitṛbhya* (AŚ ŚŚ *dakṣapit°*) *āyuni* (AV *āyūṃṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless AV is original The edition of AŚ separates *dakṣa* from *pi°*, evidently regarding it as a voc

indrah pāśena †śiktvā vah (HG *pāśena vah †śiktvā*) ApMB HG *indrapāśena śitvā* PG See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG

aślomā (AV comm *aśro°*) *añgair* (TA *°nāñgair*) *ahrutāh* (TA *ahṛtā*, Poona ed *ahrutāh*, v l *°tā*) *svarge* AV TA 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs' AVPpp agrees with TA , but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp , meter indicates that the other version is original

rudra yat te krayī (VS KS *kriyi*, VSK *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS MS ŚB *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* (ŚG *patireto*) *grhāna* (ŚG *grbhāya*) ŚG ApMB HG *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one

śad id yamā (TA *śad udyamā*) *rṣayo devajā iti* RV AV TA N Apparently TA must understand *udyamā* as an adjective

3 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820 In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form, sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb) We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word

vṛṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ *vṛṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarvidam* MS KS ApŚ The original of MS KS means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rain-sky, heaven-finding', the sacrifice is referred to In ApŚ by a lect fac the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc

parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains' 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances)' But KŚ may intend a compound

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB *indrah sūrah prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ Comm on TB takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed), interpreting as noms sing But they must surely be acc dual of a devatā dvandva, object of *janayan* The whole verse is pretty low bathos AŚ has a lect fac

bhuvanam asi sahasraposapuṣi (ApŚ *sahasraposam puṣa*) MS ApŚ 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity' 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity' Verb form introduced secondarily, cf next

agne tvāmkāmayā (SV *tvām kāmaye*) *girā* RV SV VS The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song' By a lect fac SV introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next '(O) Agni, I desire thee with song'

revati prcdhā , *revati yajamāne priyam dhā* , *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata*, see §747

āre satrūn (AV † *āreśatrum*) *kṛnuhi sarvavīrah* (AV °*ram*) AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV , doubtless original 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect fac The AV comm stumbles over the form and understands two words

ugrampaśyā (MS *ugram paśyā'c*, TB *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TB TA *ugrampaśye ugrajitau tad adya* AV In this and the next MS is hopelessly corrupt, note accents

ugrampaśye (MS *ugrám paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhṛt kilbiṣāni* AV MS TA Cf prec

āsannisūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd *āsann-iṣūn* 'having arrows in the mouth' SV means 'carrying water in their mouths'

mama padyāya vi rāja ApMB *mayi dohah padyāyai virājah* (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG *mayi padyāyai virājo dohah* ŚŚ ŚG PG The original is *virājah*, gen of *virāj*

[*subhagamkaraṇī mama* AV *subhāgam karanam mama* SMB But Jörgensen properly prints SMB *subhāgamkaranam*, as one word]

§821 In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi SV JB *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS In the latter nom of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS) The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives

pari ghraṅsam omanā (TB *parighraṅsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Hopeless corruption in TB See §828

agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam AŚ ApŚ *agnihotram pṛthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding pāda *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma*

pari doṣād udarpithah KŚ *parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ See §63

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ See §§209, 260, MS has a gross corruption

sahasradhāram vṛṣabham divo duhuh (SV *divoduham*) RV SV Verb form in RV 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked' SV 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'

uror ā no (VS ŚB LŚ *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ See §371a

4 Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822 In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'), or the reverse The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841–850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater, there is no hard and fast line between them

§823 Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnāni (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām anudattānṛnāni* MS (p p *anu, dattāni, ṛnāni*) Either the plur *ṛnāni*, or the sing *ṛnam* with the pronoun *nah*, is quite satisfactory

vratāni (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB ApŚ ŚS ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚS ApŚ ŚG In MS etc the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*, in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms incomprehensible

§824 In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word Here may be mentioned RV 4 20 9b (also in KS, where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛnoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvah*, read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc, cf Oldenberg, *Noten* ad loc

jāmim (KS †*camı*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB ApŚ MŚ *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā sayānām* AV Acc to AV comm the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed, *amuyā* is adverbial The MŚ variant makes *śayānā* refer to *jāmim*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees

gaurīr (AV *gaur ın*, TB TA *gaurī*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV AV TB AA TA N

dhruvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG

stavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhıyā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā rudrıyāso abhı gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ Altho the MŚ reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect fac TA accents wrongly *vṛdhā'nah*, and its comm takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāh*)! Cf §821

yo rayivo (SV *rayım vo*) *rayintamah* RV SV KB ŚS ŚG VHDh Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayım* as accus of specification

ṛṣīnām putro abhiśastıpāvā (TB °*pā ayam*, AV °*pā u*) AV VS ŚB TB See §740

bhavā kṛṣṭīnām (AV *gṛ*°) *abhiśastıpāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV PG ApMB HG See prec

abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (ApMB *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*, AV mss **v āpīnām*, em wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhıśastıpāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV HG ApMB See prec but one

ya usriyā apyā (SV *apı yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV °*nı*) RV SV See §785
SV misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters'

achāyam eti (KS °*yam yantı*) *śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cıt*, KS *ghṛtācīh*) AV VS TS MS KS The AV reading looks secondary to that of KS, which has an adjective agreeing with *srucah*, the subject of *yantı*, *ghṛtā* can only be construed as an accus of goal after *eti*, whose subject is Agni

divaś cid antād (RV *antāń*) *upamām* (RV °*mān*, TA *upa mām*, so AV v l adopted by Whitney, and comm) *ud ānaṭ* RV SV AV TA While RV is of course original, the AV TA reading is not bad 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me' This should doubtless be read in SV

te brahmalokeşu (TA °*loke tu*) *parāntakāle* TA MahānU MundU KaivU

viprasya dhārayā kavih RV *viprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV See §189

somah sutasya madhvah RV *somah sutah sa madhumān* SV See §189

na vaı śvetasyādhyācāre (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, others all *śvetasyā-*) AG PG ApMB HG MG Secondary but intelligible reading in AG, see §188

ubhāv indrā (ŠB *indro*) *udithah sūryaś ca* VS ŠB *aya(h)sthūnam* (°*nāv*) *uditā* (°*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS See §188

ūrvam gavyam parişadanto agman RV KS *urvīm gavyām parişadam no akran* AV

aganma yatra pratıranta (MG *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV AV MG

suganituh karma karanah karişyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ See §739

apa snehitīr (SV *snīhitım*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS †*nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhı tam nṛmnām athadrām* (Poona ed varies) TA

sam takşā hanti cakrī vah (HG *cakrınah*) ApMB HG Very obscure passage, HG seems to approach closer to a sensible reading

ṛtena (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (°*nāv*, °*nā*) *adhi roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā iva*', yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte ava* In any case MG is secondary

svarvaj (AV *svar yaj*) *jyotır abhayam svastı* RV AV

grāmyamañkīradāśakau ApŚ *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MS *vyāghram mañgīradāsa gauh* Vait See §49

§825 In verbal endings (cf §827)

svastı rāye maruto dadhātana (MG *dadhātu nah*) RV KS AB MG See VV I p 281

pra su (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG

viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā PrānāgU *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca* MU Read *viśantu*, see §371

kriyanta (TB *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhih sīda* RV AV KS TB

daivyā (AV °*vā*) *hotāro* (TS °*rā*, AV °*rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani*°, KS †*vanişan na*, AV *sanişan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS KS

vasūni cārur (*cārye, cāryo, cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG Cf VV I p 96

jātavedo nayā hy (read *nayāsy*?) *enam sukṛtām yatra lokah* JB *jātavedo vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtām* TA ŚŚ

§826 In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older, a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change

samudrena (and °*dre na*) *sindhavo yādamānāh* RV (both) Read *samudre na* in both, Bloomfield, *JAOS* 27 77 ff, *RVRep* 197, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 36 7

tvişim indre na (MS *indrena*) *bheşajam* VS MS TB Bathos in either case, but MS p p *indre, na* VS comm says that *na* means *ca*!

spardhante dhiyah (*divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA Change to instr in TS KSA because this is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*

neva mānse na pībasi AV *nava mānsena pīvari* PG *na mānseşu na snāvasu* ApMB Perhaps PG should be divided *mānse na*, at least this is the original reading

samsraştā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsrştāsu yutsv indro ganeşu* MS 'This Indra the joiner of battle' 'Indra in the joined battles'

trīni padāni (*padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc ending *-su*

māteva putram bibhrtā sv (VS ŚB °*tāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to waters, hence the secondary reading *apsu*

idam aham rakşo 'bhi (MS **rakşobhih*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam dahāmi*) TS MS (bis) KS MŚ See §353

āvat tam (TA Conc *prāvartam*, comm and Poona ed text *āvartam*) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV AV SV KS TA The sole ms of KS also reads *āvartam* (ed emends) TA comm interprets as a gerund (*āvrtya*)

samid dišām āśayā nah (MS *āśāyānah*) *svarvit* (TS *suvar*°) TS MS

KS AŚ ApŚ Both accent and sense show that no pres mid pple (masc) can be intended, altho MS p p does not divide the word

yajā no (MS *yájāno*) *devo* (TB AŚ ApŚ *devān*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS TB AŚ ApŚ *bhavā no dūto ajarah suvīrah* ŚŚ ŚG Again (cf prec) the accent shows that MS p p is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable

vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayah RV *vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayah* SV Benfey renders SV 'devoured' (root *aś* 'eat', middle pple in passive sense) It is a Verballhornung, the orig itself is rather obscure, *vi-naś* is peculiarly used

yato bhayam abhayam tan (KS 35 1c †*abhayatvam*) *no astu* (AV ed *asti*, misprint) AV KS * TB ApŚ MŚ

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me (TB *kṣatriyānām*) AV TB Kauś

viṣṇūvarunā (TB °*nāv*) *abhiṣastipāvā* (TB °*pā vām*) MS TB Followed by *devā yajanta haviṣā ghṛtena* 'O V and V , let the 'gods' (TB comm *ṛtvijah*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc The variant form must be dual, and as MS can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (*stem* °*pāva*, or irregularly from °*pāvan*), we assume that TB is orig

bṛhaspataye (MŚ °*pate*) *mahiṣa* (TS *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS MŚ Comm on AV agrees with TS , which has the correct reading see §392

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV *dātum cec chaknuvānsah* (so, with double accent, Calc ed) *svarga eṣām* TA For the latter read *chaknávān* (or better °*vān*) *sá* with Poona ed , see VV I p 165

purastāt (AB *puras tvā*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ See §365

sumitrah soma no (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Kauś

stomo yajñaś ca (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °*tah*) RV TB See §188

arepasah (ApŚ adds *samokasah*) *cite goh* (SV *citā goh*, ApŚ *cidākoh*) SV AV ApŚ MŚ See §47

turaś cid viśvam †arnavat tapasvān AV *duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV

tam id arbhe haṇsy ā samānam it RV *tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam it* SV KS TB ApŚ

anupūrvam yatamānā yati ṣṭha (AV *stha*, TA *yatiṣṭa*) RV AV TA See §86

agne vitatam antar ā (LŚ *antaram*) RV VS MS KS TB LŚ VHDh Assimilation in I Ś to *vitatam*

ā no yāhi (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS *jánişva*, ŚŚ *janeṣv ā*) MS AB AŚ ŚŚ The accent proves MS wrong, it seems to presuppose *janeṣv ā*

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādatah AV : *yad †apsaradrūr uparasyą* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādath* KS ApŚ In AV complementary sing after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ 43 110 ff) See VV I p 270 f

§827 Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf §825)

srucā juhuta no (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havih* TB ŚŚ ApŚ

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV TB N Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801

āpṛno 'si sampṛnah (ApŚ *āpṛnoşi sampṛna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter inferior

ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat (Kauś *bibhītana*) AV Kauś

pratno hi (TA *pratnoşi*) *kam īdyo adhvareşu* RV AV TA See §299

5 First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828 Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary

śūro nṛṣātā śavasas (SV MS *śra°*) *cakānah* (SV *ca †kāme*) RV SV TS MS Assimilation in SV to the preceding loc *nṛṣātā* 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'

vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV *vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS TS MS KS The bad meter and feeble sense of AV show that it is a corruption of the other, moreover Ppp agrees with the other texts (Barret, *JAOS* 42 108)

śukrām vayanty asurāya nirnijam RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirnije* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'

nadayor vivratayoh śūra indrah RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV seem to be Indra's horses, lect fac in SV

asūrte (MS KS *°tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS *°tā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle, it is of course secondary

aryo naśanta (SV *nah santu*) *sanişanta* (SV † *°tu*) *no dhiyah* RV SV

Again a lect fac in SV (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured be our foes')

ūrjam bibhrad vasuvanih (VS LŚ ŚG ApŚ **vah sumanāh*, ApŚ **vah suvanih*, ApŚ **vasumanāh*) *sumedhāh* AV VS KS LŚ ApŚ (thrice) ŚG HG See §227

aılabrdā (MS °*mrdā*, KS *aıdamrdā*) *yavyudhah* (VS *āyuryudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS KS See §241

parı ghrańsam omanā (TB *parıghrańsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N The original 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength' Corruption in TB

dame-dame suştutyā (TS °*tīr*, MS °*tī*, AŚ ŚŚ °*tır*) *vāvrdhānā* (AV °*nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām ıyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236

amanmahīd anāśavah (PB °*hīt tad āśavah*) RV AV PB

brāhmanebhyo 'bhyanujñātā (MahānU *hy anu*°) TA MahānU

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV

tılvılā (misprinted *tilvalā*) *stām ırāvatīm* AG *tılvılā sthājırāvatī* ŚG *tilvalā sthirāvatī* MG *tılvılā syād ırāvatī* ApMB A desperate passage, all forms corrupt Oldenberg (on ŚG, p 144) suggests something like *sthāvarāvatī* for the original In ApMB a mistaken rationalization, a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address

[*pra yah satrācā* (TB Conc *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*tai*) RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *satrācā*]

§829 In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original

adyā mamāra sa hyah samāna (MS *sahyah samānah*, p p *sah, hyah, sam, āna*) RV AV SV MS TA N The MS makes no sense, and its p p gives the true reading

yas tā vijānāt (TA * MahānU *yas tad veda*, AV * VS *yas tānı veda*) *sa pituş* (VS MahānU *pituh*, TA *savıtuh*) *pıtāsat* RV AV VS TA MahānU N See §198

sa dahan (GB *sadanān*) *pradahan nv* (GB *v*) *agāh* GB Vait One ms of Vait has the same absurd reading as GB

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB HG

garbhe (MS °*bhah*) *sañ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS MS *sam*°) *jāyase punah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB But it is likely that MS KS really intend *san* (so MS p p)

sa eva jātah (TA MahānU *sa vijāyamānah*) *sa janişyamānah* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚlrasU

svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (SV *udā*°) RV SV See §60

agne yāhi dūtyam mā rişanyah (TB °*yam vārişenyah*) RV MS TB AŚ See §225

tan mā jinva TS MS *tan mārjitvā* KS See §354 KS probably secondary

amum ma iṣāna, and, *sarvalokam ma iṣāna* VS *amum manişāna*, and *sarvam manişāna* TA The form *iṣāna* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchati* 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', 'every world' TA has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*'), as if from the aorist of root *man*, comm *prayaccha*

ā samudrā (KS *ā sīm ugrā*, TS ApŚ *āsminn ugrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS seems clearly secondary

apām na yanty (SV *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayah* RV SV 'Like streams of water go (the somas)' '(the somas) lead on the waters'

upākṛtam śasamānam yad asthāt (MŚ *sadhasthāt*, v l *sad asthat*) AV TS MŚ MŚ If *sadhasthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*

parişītah kveşyasi ApMB *parişīdah kleşyasi* HG The true reading is *kva işyasi*, or more properly *eşyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *klis* (thinking of *klis*)

6 Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830 Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa, often with further changes We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65

ava (RV *abhi*, MS *ā vah* [text *vah* preceded by *havişā*], VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛsāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

sanvan (KŚ *sa tvam*) *sanim suvimucā vimuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The secondary KŚ reading may be graphic

yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvasi TA *yamasya dūtas ca vāg vidhāvati* MS See §145

satyam (SV ApŚ *sa tvam*) *vṛşan vṛşed asi* RV SV ApŚ

irām u ha (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ ŚG

pra na(SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarit*) *sravanti saritо*

(TAA Conc °*tā*, Poona ed text and comm °*to*) *na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS * ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ * MŚ The second reading of KS, *sarıt*, tho given by all mss, is evidently a mistake for *sam ıt*, which is secondary to *samyak*

nyañ (AV *nı yan*) *nı yanty uparasya nışkṛtam* (AV °*tım*) RV AV KS

tarī mandrāsu prayakşu AV *sa īm* (TS *ī*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS *stanī mandras suprayakşuh* KS As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt, but *sa īm* (*ī*) looks like a secondary lect fac for some single word (as in AV KS)

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original

ıdam ta ekam para ū ta (TB ApŚ, but not KS, *uta*) *ekam* RV AV SV KS † TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Comm on TB *uta, apı ca*, but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta ekam*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*te*)

sa tū (SV *sato*) *dhanam kārıne na pra yaṅsat* RV SV 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer' 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer' The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV

kavır yah putrah sa īm ā (TA Conc *sā ımāh*, Poona ed text and comm *sa ımā*) *cıketa* RV AV TA N Comm on TA *ımā, etānı dṛśyamānānı sarvānı bhūtānı*

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

ā yam (MS MŚ *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāśuşe* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ The corruption of MS is indicated by the fact that the verb *acucyavuh* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent

ku şthah ko vām aśvınā SV *kūştho devāv aśvınā* RV It is universally recognized that RV must be read *kū ştho*

utem (SV *ūtım*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-īm ūtım*, 'aid'

mahī no vātā ıha vāntu bhūmau AV *mıham na vāto vı ha vātı bhūma* RV

ā tvā (AV *emām*, ŚG *enam*) *parıśrutah* (AG °*śrıtah*, MG °*sṛtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB †*kumbhāh*, ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV AG ŚG PG ApMB MG

tve ā (SV *tvayā*) *bhūşantı vedhasah* RV SV Note resolution of *e* to *ay*

svahpatır yadī vṛdhe SV *svarpatım yad īm vṛdhe* RV AV

sarvah sarvā vı caratu prajānan MS *sa vah sarvāh sam caratı prajānan* AV The MS p p *sah, sarvāh*, in the samhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word

yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvaı yatra vāsah* HG Probably *yac ca* of AV ıs original and *yatra* due to assimılatıon to the precedıng *yatrā*

[*ā tvam* (GB *ātmam*, but Gaastra correctly *ā tvam*, LŚ *ā svam*) *ındrāya pyāyasva* VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt LŚ]

[*name tad upadambhıṣar* MS MŚ *na ma ıdam upadambhıṣag* ApŚ We must read *ná me* ın MS MŚ , there ıs no p p here, and *náme* ıs sımply bad edıtıng]

[*vı gā ındra vıcaran spāśayasva* TA ApŚ In TA text prınted *vıgā*, but both syllables accented, clearly *vı gā(h)* ıs ıntended, so comm]

7 Longer words, not compounds, broken up ınto two or more shorter words, and vıce versa

§832 We come next to a group of varıants ın whıch a word of more than two syllables, generally at least four, ıs splıt up ınto two or more shorter words, or vıce versa Excluded are dıvısıons of compounds ınto parts, whıch have been treated above Fırst come cases ın whıch the longer word ıs orıgınal

balım ıcchanto vıtudasya (AG *vı tu tasya*, v l *vıdurasya*) *preṣyāh* (MahānU AG *preṣṭhāh*) TAA MahānU AG See §65

upanasah †saparyan RV *upo nu sa saparyan* SV Indra ıs meant, SV has obvıous earmarks of secondarıness

yad ındra cıtra mehanā (SV PB *ma ıha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N As ın the precedıng, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv) ıs broken up ınto a serıes of harmless partıcles ın SV

na me (so read, §831) *tad upadambhıṣar* MS MŚ *na ma ıdam upadambhıṣag* (once erroneously *udam bhıṣaq*) ApŚ A sımple and obvıous blunder, possıbly only a mısprınt

nā (AG MG *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG ApMB MG See §868

akṣanām vagnum (AV cm *ganam*, true readıng probably *gatnum* wıth SPP , see Whıtney's note, MS †*vagmum*) *upajıghnamānah* (AV *upalıpsamānāh*, MS *avajıghram āpah*) AV MS TB TA The MS ıs corrupt, ıts p p , yet worse *akṣnā, avagmam ıty ava-gmam, avajıghram ıty ava-jıghram, āpah* But the orıgınal ıs obscure enough

vısvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhıh (KS °*ṣebhyah*) AV KS *vıśvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhıyah* VS TS *vy amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣānām* MS Evıdently VS TS are secondary, tho ınterpretable, cf §783

yasya te viśvamānuṣah (SV *viśvam ānuṣak*) RV AV SV It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV reading distorted in SV into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret See Benfey's note in Translation, p 259

anvādīdyāthām iha nah sakhāyā TB TA *manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā* MS The latter seems clearly corrupt, p p *dīdhyānām*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuna)'

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA The AV comm , followed by SPP and Whitney's Transl , reads *pradhāvati*, correctly

tvam no devatātaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV See §61

prathamāya januṣe bhūmaneṣṭhāh (AV *bhuvane°*, ŚŚ *bhūma neṣthāh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ If ŚŚ intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world' Obscure

yajñah pratyaṣṭhāt (v l *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt* (v l *pratyaṣṭhāt*) MŚ *yajña pratiṣṭha* TB ApS

apāmityam (AŚ *apām ittham*) *iva sambhara* MS KS AŚ A graphic error in AŚ

ubhe yatete ubhayasya (AV *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV AV Cf next

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV AV In same verse as prec , here Whitney adopts the RV reading See §911

§833 Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary

ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīnām* AV *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original, in TS AV there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied The double *t* is suspicious (cf §401), BR take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS AV) Keith rejects the comm and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition MS p p *avataram*

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvirīr (SV *prāntarikṣāt sthāvirīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV SV

pra dhārā yantu madhunah AB *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya* AG (corrupt, abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading)

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh *dyauh samā tasyādītya upadraṣṭā* HG The BDh reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG , which is typical stylistically —The next two variants are in the same passage

antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā BDh *antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadraṣṭā* HG As prec

pṛthivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadraṣṭā BDh *pṛthivī samā tasyāgnir upadraṣṭā* HG. See prec two

sutarasi tarase (MahānU *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namah* RVKh TA MahānU The latter has a v l like the others, but its comm reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler *Sutarasi* is voc sing fem, and *tarase* an infinitive

śīte vāte punann iva (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and v l of KSA *punarniva*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ Doubtless a graphic corruption, but its wide spread is curious

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī apah suvah TB ApMB HG *antarā dyāvāpṛthivyor apasyuh* MG Is *apasyuh* understood as *apa-syuh*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom -sing of *apasyu* In any case it is secondary

anupauhvad anupahvayet HG *anu po 'hvad anuhvayah* ApMB See §732

yajñapataye (ŚŚ adds *vasu*, TA *yajamānāya*) *vāryam ā svas kah* (TA *ā suvas kar asmai*, ŚŚ *āsamskarase*) MS TA ŚŚ The latter secondary

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh AV *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh* AB AŚ The AV is probably original See §254

ayam sahasram āṇavo dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ *ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe vidharmani* AV Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV reading *sahasramāṇavo* as one compound word, against the accents 'der tausendbewachende' Probably AV is original, tho it too is not very sensible

agnir hotrenedam (*hotrena, agnihotrenedam*) *havir* , see §354

vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi RV *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p 218

8 Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834 Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant They fall into three subdivisions Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another, sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835 We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel Either form may be the older, we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case

avakrakṣinam vṛṣabham yathājuram (SV *yathā juvam*) RV AV SV *ajuram* 'ageless', *juvam* 'swift'

na māṁsam asi nodalam (HG *no dalam*) ApMB HG If the division is so intended, HG must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment' The comm on ApMB (Winternitz, Introduction, p xxiv) takes *nódálam* for *ná-udáram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣāṇāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Conc suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-imā*) for AV, and Whitney notes that the AV text (p p *sávane, mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'

samidhyamānah prathamānu †dharmā (TB ApŚ *prathamo nu dharmah*) RV TB ApŚ The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā dharmā* (neut plur) of RV 'According to ancient ordinances' 'as the very first law'

prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somam vocatopo (KB *vocato yo*) *asmān brāhmanān brāhmanā hvayadhvam* KB AŚ ŚŚ As Keith says in his Transl, KB must be read *vocatopo* A graphic corruption

jihvā pavitram aśvināsan (TB °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS MS KS TB The original, of which TB is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS GB Vait ApŚ *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ Precisely like the prec, except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible

gāia upāvatāvatam (SV *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV SV See §60

yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuwam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvaı yatra vāsah* HG The latter corrupt, see §198

ṛdhag (RV AV *dhruwam*) *ayā* (AV *ayo*, TS MS KS *ayād*) *ṛdhag* (RV AV *dhruwam*) *utāśamiṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*ṣṭa*, AV *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N See §234

yat tvemahe (SMB *te mahe*) *pratı tan no* (Kauś *pratı nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB Original has *tvā-īmahe* SMB comm alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjayāmı*, or as a noun, *utsave*, supplying *pūjādıkam karma* with *yat* All mss agree on it

āsum tvājau (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ *harıśmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcım* SV *hırıśmaśrum nārvānam dhanarcam* RV

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samvṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS N Graphic change in KS, §871

hotā viṣṭīmena (ŚŚ *viṣṭvī me*) *jarıtar* AV AŚ ŚŚ Vait See §367

tenemām upa sıñcatam RV AV TA N *tena mām abhiṣıñcatam* ŚŚ SMB Different contexts, *ımām* or *mām*

tena tvam agna ıha vardhayemam AV *tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam* (MS °*yā mām*) TS MS KS *ımam* or *mām*

pıteva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG The corruption of MS is indicated by its p p *jarasena, ā, ımam*, pointing to the other reading

yaded (KS *ād ıd*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛṁh*°) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS KS

yenākṣā (SMB °*kṣān*, PG °*kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyaşıcyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyaşıñcatam*, PG °*tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG For the original 'dice' ŚŚ lamely substitutes 'earth'

[*tvayāvasena* (ŚG text *tvayā jvasena*) *sam asīmahi tvā* TS KS TB AŚ MŚ Kauś ŚG SMB PG The ŚG seems to be a misprint]

§836 We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary

yadārāghatī (read *yadā rā*°) *varadah* Vait *yadā rākhāṭyau vadatah* ApŚ *yad adyārādhyam vadantah* MŚ See §70

praty eva (ŚŚ *pra tveva*, i e *tvā-iva*) *gṛbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyāṅśum* (ApŚ °*śunā*) KS ApŚ But KS ed prints the ApŚ reading, with v l °*vādīd*

śrutakakṣo aram (SV °*kakṣāram*) *gave* RV SV Nom voc

vīhi svām āhutim juṣāṇo manasā AV *vīhi svāhāhutim juṣāṇaḥ* TS TB The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary

niṣvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro (KS MŚ *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS °*dhvaro 'si*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ *adhvara dhruva*, it is not certain that the latter is more original

mā na āyuḥ param avaram mānadonaiḥ MS *mā naḥ param adharam mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ †*param adhanam mā rajo naiḥ*) TA MŚ The MS is corrupt, and its p p is worse *mā, anat, ā, unaiḥ*! Cf VV I p 93

ā māśiṣo (or *ām āśiṣo*, so MS understands) *dohakāmāḥ* MS KS *emā agmann āśiṣo dohakāmāḥ* TS ApŚ It is possible that KS$_4$ also intends *ām* (interjection) *āśiṣo* It seems that TS ApŚ (*ā-imās*) have a lect fac

[*ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam* (GB *ātmanātmānam*, but Gaastra as the others) *me mā hiṁsīḥ* GB Vait Kauś]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another This process may be illustrated within the RV itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner avena marutām na bhojyā*, 1 128 5b Here we must surely read *agne ravena*, see Conc and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* I 127 This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *ṛṭbhir yad yukto vive rapāṁsi*, RV 1 69 8, we must read *viver apāṁsi*, and for *muṣāyaś cakram avive rapāṁsi*, RV 6 31 3, *aviver apāṁsi* Also in AV 6 116 1a, *yad yāmam cakrur nikhananto agre*, read probably *yady āmam*, see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 428, *SBE* 42 457, and Whitney *ad loc*

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB

madhu reto (TS *madhor ato*, KS †*madhur ato*, AŚ text printed *madhu-reto*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS MS KS AŚ Keith on TS thinks the KS reading is correct He calls the MS 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula, *madhu* and *reto* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object But the MS p p reads *madhuḥ, amtaḥ*, pointing towards the KS reading

revatī ramadhvam, revatīr amedhyam, see §255

ā mā́hiṣo (MS text *ām āśiṣo*) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS. And others, see §836 MS and KS may intend the same reading

agor arir ā cikeṭa RV *nāgo rayir ā cikeṭa* SV Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'bos' Doubtful, the SV is hardly interpretable

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS *ārtnyor*, NilarU *ubhayo rājñor*) *jyām* VS TS MS KS NilarU An absurd corruption in the last, it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm calmly takes it

satyād ā (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmaṇas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmaṇā*, and so mss of MŚ, Vait MŚ *pari*, ŚŚ omits *patī*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

purovāto varṣañ jinvar āṛt svāhā TS ApŚ *purovāta* (KS °*to*) *jinva ṛāvaṭ* (KS °*vat*) *svāhā* MS KS And other formulas in same passage, see §168 TS is secondary

yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ †*namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ Followed by *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait entnahmen) from the asuric N' ŚŚ is secondary and poor, *dadhi* 'sour milk' conceals *adhi*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl which preceded in the original form For the myth in question see Bloomfield, *JAOS* 15 144-63

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838 In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona ed of both °*ṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārnaḥ* MS (corrupt)

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU In MahānU a v l agrees with TA but for *anūp*°, but the comm keeps to the text as printed He explains *pītābhā* by *pītavarnā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmenopamīyate kuṇḍalinīti yām nāigamā āhuh* The TA makes *pītā bhāsvalī* = *pītavarnā*, and *anūpamā* is explained by *laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavitum yogyā*

acikradat svapā iha bhuvat AV *adidyutat sv apāko vibhāvā* RV MS Whitney says the AV has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading Ppp *bhavat* for *bhuvat* (§602)

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ The MS is corrupt p p *deva, punar iti punah, carase* See §817

dvṛṣas taradhyā (ApŚ °*yai*) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KS A ApŚ *dvṛṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV 'A simple corruptic (Whitney) in AV

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA *uta*) TB TA *ṛtásya tv ènam ā'mútaḥ* M (p p *tú, enam, mā'm, utâm ma,* in part pointing to theTB readin MS is corrupt, in TB supply *muñcata* from preceding pāda

graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, 'mate,* K *nyantar vipra ā ṭsatī*) MS KS

§839 In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locati ending

made suśipram (SV *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV SV

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *sa īm* (TS *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (M °*sā starīman,* TS *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*) VS TS MS *stanī mandr suprayakṣuḥ* KS

mandūky apsu sam bhuvaḥ AV *mandūkyā su sam ṭgamaḥ* (TA *gamay* RV TA The familiar association of the frog with waters leads t the secondary reading of AV

§840 The rest hardly need classification

yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so ahaṃ MahānU *yās te soma prajā vats 'bhi so ahaṃ* TA Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter pretations of the comms give little help For instance, the TA comm explains *soma* as *sa* + *uma,* from *umā* = *brahmavidya* so that *soma* = *paramātman*!

viśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ *didāsitha* is taken as a desiderative from *dā* 'O V Bh , thou dids seek to give me (the earth) away' ' thou wast slow of wit (s comm , *mandamatiḥ*)' Either meaning is possible

bhrātāntarikṣam abhiśastyā nah (TA *abhiśasta enaḥ*) AV TA Comm on TA *yad eno 'smābhiḥ kṛtam tad abhiśastaḥ śatrusthānīyam* It would be better to understand *abhiśaste,* 'upon the accursed one (may) the sin (light)' Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV

samudrād udajani vaḥ (ApŚ *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS ApŚ The ApŚ reading seems better

yā samjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase KS *āśum jayantam anu yāsu vardhase* RV VS TS MS ŚB

mānasya patnī śaranā syonā AV *mā nah sapatnah saranah syonā* HG See §189

jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke SV *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmanī kṣor anīke* RV The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for *dyukṣayor,* from *dyukṣa*

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yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (ApMB *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūriś carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye (VSK *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS VSK ŚB Corruption in VSK

āyuhpati rathamtaram (MŚ *āyuḥ pratiratham°*) *tad aśīya* ApŚ MŚ Caland would read *°patī* (nom) in ApŚ, and observes that MŚ is yet more corrupt

ud vansam iva yemire RV SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh

kratvā varistham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhir evaiḥ* RV MS AB KB TB See §684

prathamachad (KS *parama°*) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen depending on *vara* (*vare*) The result is close to nonsense

ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS MS

tena saṃhanu kṛnmasi AV *tena sann anugṛhnāsi* HG See §47

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ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve (VS *°ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *bṛhadrathamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS *†kalpantām*) VS TS MS Cf §803, TS secondary

pumānsam vardhatām mayi ŚG *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB See §97 Despite the Conc, ŚG is quite correct, and may well be the original reading

jāmim itvā mā vivitse lokān TA *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV See §198

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ

utem anamnamuḥ (KB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ *uteva nam°*) TS MS AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

athem ava sya vara ā pṛthivyāḥ TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *athemam asyā vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* AV See §236

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ulānyo asmad yajate vı cāvah (TB *vicāyah*) RV MS TB N See §254

anūdhā yadı̄ jı̄janad (SV *yad ajı̄janad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid ā*) RV SV

pra su (HG *sa*) *mr̥tyum* (SMB *pra sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG The last is secondary

yaśasendrābr̥haspatī (ArS *yaśo mendrā°*) ArS PG MG Graphic change

dyumattamā supratı̄kasya sūnoh (AV *°tı̄kah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §189

dhiyā martah śaśamate (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV See §189

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG *rı̣śat*, most mss *rı̣śak*) PG MG *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS See §189

yunajmi tisro vipr̥cah sūryasya te (MŚ *vivr̥tah sūryah save*, or *savah*) TS ApŚ MŚ See §189

pragāyāmasy agratah PG ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG †*prajāyāmasy agratah* HG *asya* in MG is to be taken in a cosmic sense, it is of course secondary

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV MS TA Whitney describes the MS as a 'corrupt guess'

māyādevā avataran HG *adevā devavattaram* ApMB See §401

ā gharmo agnim r̥tayann asādi (TA *asādīt*) RV TA *ā gharmo agnir amr̥to na sādi* MS The latter is of course secondary

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *gr̥heşu* AV KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo gr̥heşu* MS The ApŚ is worthless, Caland tacitly adopts the other reading

[*işur nāvirastāram* ŚŚ *işum na vīro astā* AV RWh by emendation, but mss as ŚŚ except for *işum*]

[*pātam mā dyāvāpr̥thivī adyāhnah* (Kauś text *aghān nah*) TS ApŚ Kauś Read *adyāhnah* in Kauś , cf critical note, p 295, n 4 of ed In the reading quoted for ms Bu *hna* should be read for *dna*]

9 Patch-words

§841 In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822–31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Fluckworte, Lückenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above At least they all belong in the same chapter

§842 For instance, in a pāda like

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛṇu tvam*) RV AV SMB ApMB MG N,

it is clear that AV has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *tvam* There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *tvam* and *-sva* This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

ni no rayim subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV VS TS MS KS, where TS likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *iha* And in a pāda like

āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG *te sadā*) MG YDh,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*, rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te* If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG, the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same

§843 Prevailingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word

agnim (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśocişam* RV SV In RV *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p 51) The SV has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*

viṣe viṣam aprkthāh (*aprāg apı*) AV (both) The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original

yatah sūrya udeti AV *yataś codeti sūryah* ŚB BṛhU KaṭhaU †4 9a

āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye TS MS KS *āśūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye* AV Here the longer form of AV may be original, at least it is better not only metrically but in sense

§844 There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word

tasmai no (AV *mā*) *devāh parıdatteha* (AV PG °*dhatteha*, KS MŚ °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ *vıśve*) AV TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh Even the KS MŚ form, lacking *ıha*, is not really good in meter.

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter

śatena pāśaır varunābhı dhehı KS *śatena pāśaır abhı dhehı varunaınam* AV The reading of Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 37 298) is that of KS, and this is doubtless original

tam aham punar ādade KŚ PG *ımam tam punar ādade 'yam* (read *'ham*, as Kirste suggests) HG

tasmā u rādhah kṛnuta praśastam (AV *kṛnuhı supraśastam*) RV AV The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV Anukramanī and omitted in Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 41 266)

§846. Once SV omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV, thereby spoiling the meter, the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsah* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ıme* leaves is too short

tubhyam somāh sutā ıme RV *tubhyam sutāsah somāh* SV

§847 Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following

anumate 'nv ıdam manyasva AV *anumate 'nu* (KapS †*anu*) *manyasva na ıdam* KS Cf *anumate 'nu manyasvā* (prose) GG KhG HG ApG

apām napātam aśvınā huve dhıyā (TS †*hayantam*) AV TS The mss of AV read *aśvinā* (accented) and *dhıyah* Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss, but both are metrically correct See Whitney's and Keith's notes

§848 In the next AV by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV, and to save the meter omits the light word *u*

agnır vıdvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV Kauś *sa ıd dhotā*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB See §996

§849 In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary, they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group

ımam (AV **tam u*) *me agadam kṛta* (AV *kṛdhı*) RV AV * VS TS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ

tam manyeta (VıDh *tam vaı manyet*) *pıtaram mātaram ca* Samhitopaniṣad B VāDh VıDh

asmān (AV *sā nah*) *sīte payasābhyāvavṛtsva* AV, VS TS MS KS ŚB

upa yajñam asthita (MŚ *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh AV ApŚ MŚ

apasedhan (SV † °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV *no mṛda*) RV SV See VV I §194 In RV *r* in *mṛdaya* is long, in SV it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to improve the meter

marutām pitas tad aham gṛṇāmi (MS *gṛṇe te*) TS MS *marutām pitar uta tad gṛṇīmaḥ* KS

tasya doham aśīmahi (KS *aśīya*, AŚ *aśīya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ In KS prose.

tvaṣṭā sudatro (TA *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyaḥ* RV VS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ N

sa naḥ pito madhumān ā viseha (Kauś *viveśa*) KŚ Kauś *sa no mayobhūḥ pitav* (TS TB *pito*, MŚ *pitur*, SMB Jorgensen *pitav*) *āviśasva* (AŚ *āviśeha*, MŚ *āviveśa*) TS TB AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG

aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñiyebhiḥ RV TS MS *aṅgirobhir yajñiyair āgahīha* AV

dadhad ratnāni (RV once *ratnā vi*) *dāśuṣe* RV (thrice) SV VS TS MS KS TB *dhattam ratnāni dāśuṣe* RV *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāryāni* RV VS

tviṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu AV *tviṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB The Ppp agrees with TB (Barret, *JAOS* 30 204)

anāgā devāḥ śakuno gṛheṣu (AV *gṛham naḥ*) RV AV MG The Ppp according to Roth agrees with RV , and the AV text makes poor sense as Whitney observes

abhūn mama (KS *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS KS PG

ahnā yad enaḥ kṛtam astu pāpam (AŚ *astu kimcit*, ŚŚ *enaś cakṛmeha kimcit*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

edam barhir ni ṣīdata (AŚ ŚŚ *ṣīda naḥ*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Change of context in AŚ ŚŚ requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with *naḥ*

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu* (TB * AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *vaha naḥ*, Kauś **vaha*) *prajānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB * AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś * MG In one form Kauś is unmetrical, lacking *naḥ*

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU

vīryebhir (MŚ *vīrebhir*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śacī°*, Poona ed *śavī°*) AV VS MS ṢB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

punantu viśvā bhūtāni (MS *bhūtā mā*) AV VS MS KS Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of *viśve devāḥ punīta mā*, which is the RV form of this pāda?

śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (MS *vitatāny*) *āsu* MS ApŚ ApMB Undoubtedly MS is original, form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others

hvayāmi (AV SV TS MS *huve nu*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV AV SV MS VS TS KS MahānU

aprīye (AV **aprīyah*) *prati muñcatām* (Kauś † °*tam*, AV **muñca tat*) AV (bis) Kauś

sarvāh agnīnr (AV *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*, AV *havāmahe*) AV TS MS TB See VV I p 253.

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are

rṣīnām ca stutīr (SV *stuṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

agnim indram (TB *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB *vām*, MS °*hanam huvema*) AV MS TB

yā antarikṣyā (TB ApŚ °*kṣa*) *uta pārthivāsah* (TB ApŚ AG *pārthivīr yāh*) KS AG TB ApŚ Since the adjectives are feminine (agreeing with *āpah*), the KS form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62), but it may nevertheless be the original

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV *yāś ca tatnire*) AV SMB PG ApMB HG *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG Discussed in VV I §§46, 218

jarām gachāsi (PG *gacha*, AV *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV PG ApMB HG Only the relative antiquity of AV favors greater originality of its reading, and perhaps this is not conclusive

CHAPTER XIX RIME WORDS

§851 A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants, the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound, that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms

§852 We begin with the roots *jinv* and *pinv*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms 'inspire' and 'make to prosper' The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Saṃhitās, both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts

mano me jinva (MS KS *pinva*, Vait *mano jinva*) VS TS MS KS Vait
Followed by
vācam me pinva (MS KS ŚŚ *jinva*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ
tad indrāgnī jinvatam (MŚ † *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāvat* TB ApŚ MŚ
jinva (AŚ †*pinvam*, read *pinva*) *gā jinvārvatah* TB ApŚ AŚ Cf. *pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato nah* RV KS

§853. Other verb forms are

ūrjā pṛthivīm gachata (MS *yachata*) TS MS KS TB
paramam padam ava bhāti (VS ŠB *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS *bhūreh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB N The comm on VS calmly says *avabhāri avabhāti, takārasthāne chāndaso rephah*[1] BR derive from root *bhṛ*, as aor pass 'wurde eingedruckt', which is at least possible
trikadrukebhih patati (AV *pavate*) RV AV KS TA ApŚ Cf Hillebrandt, *Ved Myth*[1] I 500
pratilāmīti (AŚ °*nīti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS TS MS KSA ŠB TB AŚ ŚŚ Derived by the comms from roots *tal* and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise

sam bāhubhyām dhamatı (AV *bharatı*, TS TA *namatı*, KS *namate*, MS °*bhyām adhamat*) *sam patatraıh* (KS *yajatraıh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU *sam-dham* and *sam-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together' Note also the noun forms *patatra yajatra* (graphic change)

asadan (TS *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms. 'has seated himself' 'has reached'

yābhyām svar ajanann (TB *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS TB MŚ *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning'

sam grāvabhır nasate (SV *vasate*) *vīte adhvare* RV SV Both 'unite with', SV lect fac (*sam-nas* was obsolete)

rasena sam asṛkṣmahı (RV *agasmahı*, KS LŚ *aganmahı*, AV JB *aprkṣmahı*) RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB *sam-sṛj* and *sam-pṛc* practically synonyms Cf *sam-pṛc* and *sam-spṛś*, §375

añgād-añgāt sambhavası (SMB **samśravası*) ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB * GG ApMB HG MG N Mahābh In SMB a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arisest' The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts In both cases some mss of SMB have the alternative reading

pra ketunā bṛhatā yāty (AV TA *bhāty*) *agnıh* RV AV SV TA 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam' Perhaps graphic?

śocasva (VS * *rocasva*) *devavītamah* (KS °*vıttamah*) RV RVKh VS * TS MS KS TA Synonyms

tataś (RV *ataś*, KS *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV °*the*, MS KS *cakrāthe*) *aditım ditım* ca RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Root *cakṣ* perfect of *kṛ*

adhı skanda vīrayasva AV *abhı kranda vīlayasva* ŚG Quasi-synonyms AVPp also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach)

mā chetthā (v l *bhetthā*) *mā vyathiṣṭhāh* KBU

[*varṣmā rathasya nı jihīṣate* (ŚŚ *jihīlate*) *divah* AV ŚŚ So RWh, but the mss of AV read *jihīdate*, which should be kept]

§854 Riming participles occur in the following

pratyag enam śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāh (AV *sṛṣṭāh*) RV AV Comm and one ms of AV *tṛṣṭāh*, for which *sṛṣṭāh* may be called a lect fac 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'

yā dabhrāh parisasruṣīh ŠG *yā †ārdroghnīh pari tasthuṣīh* ApMB Ppes of roots *sru* and *sthā*

āyurdā deva (AV *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB ApG HG *gṛn°*) AV MS KS MŠ ApMB ApG HG *āyurdā* (VS ŠB. *āyuṣmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣānah* (VS ŠB ŠG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS ŠB TB TA AŠ ApŠ ŠG The ApMB etc readings are an interesting blend of those which contain *vṛnānah* and *juṣānah* Perhaps *gṛṇānah* was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring', even this would be none too sensible in the context Oldenberg adopts *vṛnānah* for HG Still a different version ('thriving by the oblation') is adopted in VS etc , this is an easy lect fac in a passage relating to Agni

ā sutrāvne (MS KS *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS KS *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatim gṛnānāh* TS 'Choosing to myself (praising) his kindness'

§855 Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman nāman* stands out In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are easily interchangeable, the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both mean its mystic essence In some cases the change from one to the other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in

yat te 'nādhṛṣṭam nāma yajñiyam (KS *nāmānādhṛṣyam*, MS *dhāmānādhṛṣyam*) *tena tvādadhe* VS TS MS KS ŠB The change in MS was suggested by *ādadhe*

sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada †āsīda (VSK *priyena nāma priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK ŠB Also

priyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŠ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda* (VSK TS TB ApŠ * *priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK TS ŠB TB KŠ ApŠ In this and the prec (which are variants of each other) only the VS texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym of *sadas*

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*, Ppp *gandharvo nāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŠB ApMB *gandharvo dhāma paramam guhā yat* (VS *vibhṛtam guhā sat*) AV VS *gandharvo nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU Here two different pādas have become confused, one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*, the other with *gandharvo dhāma* The AVPpp reading (not in Conc) occurs in the verse where AV has *vidma te dhāma*

puruṣṭutasya dhāmabhih (MS *nā°*) RV AV MS Vait

§856. Twice the RV phrase *pratnena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense In one case TB follows SV

aham pratnena manmanā (SV *jan°*) RV SV AV

agnih pratnena manmanā (SV TB *jan°*) RV SV MS. KS AB TB AŚ MŚ

§857. Other nouns and adjectives

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS TB *viyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS* TB MŚ GG KhG *vyantu vayo 'ktam rihānāh* VS A very obscure passage, the isolated *artham* may possibly be due to graphic confusion

śarīram me vicarṣanam (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU *pratīkam me vicakṣanam* PG 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Scheftelowitz on RVKh reads *vicakṣana*, but it seems that °*nam* must be the true reading

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA The latter is called 'ludicrous' by Keith On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p 204, he takes it as a masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden'; cf Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p 171

kuhūm aham (AV Vait *kuhūm devīm*) *suvṛtam* (AV MS KS *sukṛtam*, TS *subhagām*) *vidmanāpasam* AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N Quasi-synonyms

dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya RV *dyumnam sudatra manhaya* SV

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmidṛṁham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛṁho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣnuh* AV The evidently secondary *cyāv°* is suggested by *'cyutaś* 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'

aśloṇo 'piśācadhītah ApMB *anandho 'śloṇo 'piśācadhīrah* HG The latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by demons'

adroghavācam matibhih śaviṣṭham (RV* *°bhir yavi°*) RV* AV See *RVRep* 275 f

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB Quasi-synonyms

nagnahur dhīras (KS *vīras*) *tasaram na vema* VS MS KS TB Synonyms

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG *edhase*) *svāhā* TA MahānU ŚG *edhase* is certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity' TA comm quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase* The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, KS °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38 12b], MS °*dhīte*) *yajñaih* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The form with *n* is apparently original, in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti*

kuvin no asya sumatir navīyasī (SV. *bhavīyasī*) RV SV 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'

sthirā cin namayiṣṇavah RV *dṛdhā cid yamayiṣṇavah* SV Practically synonyms, 'bending' 'subduing'

añdhi kham vartayā paviṃ (SV *pavim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it, cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten* ad loc) It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent

tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena (TB *mahasā svena*) AV TB The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next

ut satvanām māmakānām manāṃsi (TS *mahāṃsi*) RV SV VS TS Cf prec

dviṣadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāśam (HG *pāpam*) SMB ApMB HG The two words are near-synonyms, *pāśam* is clearly original

upa śreṣṭhā na āśiṣah (MS *āśiṣah*) AV TS. MS KS

panasyuvah saṁvasaneṣu (SV °*vaneṣv*) *akramuh* RV SV Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'

asya (AŚ *mama*) *snuṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim* (AŚ *pravṛṣṭau*) TB AŚ Complete change of meaning as well as syntax

svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS *vātāya sūr*°) *vṛṣṭivanaye* (MS ° *sanaye*) MS TA ApŚ

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ādhi kham vartayā panim (SV *pavim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it, cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten* ad loc) It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent

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dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam (HG *pāpam*) SMB ApMB HG The two words are near-synonyms, *pāśam* is clearly original

upa śreṣṭhā na āśiṣaḥ (MS *āśirah*) AV TS MS KS

panasyuvaḥ saṁvasaneṣv (SV °*varaneṣv*) *akramuḥ* RV SV Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'

asya (AŚ *mama*) *śruṣṭi śvaśurasya prasiṣṭim* (AŚ *pravisṭau*) TB AŚ Complete change of meaning as well as syntax

svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS. *vātāya sūr*°) *viṣṭivanaye* (MS ° *sanaye*) MS TA ApŚ

CHAPTER XX GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858 There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *dh* and *dh*, *ṭ* and *ṭh*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion, it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored

§859 The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r* Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *v*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n* The rest are more sporadic We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency

n and *r*

§860 The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent

§861 We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants

indhāna enam jarate (MS KS *janate*, but MS p p *jarate*, KS v l *jarite*) *svādhīh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB N One ms of KS reads *jarite*, and the p p of MS *jarate*, this is clearly the proper reading

mṛttike hana (MahānU *hara*) *me pāpam* TA MahānU Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hṛ* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away')

asadan (TS *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB

avimuktacakra (v l °*rā*) *āsīran* PG *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS Others, §830

tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā MS *mahāntam gahvareṣthām* SV

nirṛtho (MS °*to*) *yaś ca nisvanah* (AV °*rah*) AV MS TA

nigalgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB *ni jalgulīti* (KS † *jalgalūti*, mss , em °*līti*) *dhānikā* TS KSA

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS *devapuraś carasa rdhyāsam*, p p *deva, punar iti punah, carase*, etc) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MŚ The text of MS is corrupt in both readings

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih MS *mā nah param adharam* (MŚ *param adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naih* (MŚ *naih*) TA MŚ Two cases, *adhanam adharam*, and *mā rajo mānado-* (corrupt)

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhir evaih* RV MS AB KB TB But *ṛ* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*, §684

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants, note one case in RV itself

viśvāny anyo (RV *KS *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV (both) MS KS TB In different contexts

balivardāya (KSA °*vandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Apparently *balivardāya* is intended

uluvardāya (KSA *aluvandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Follows the prec

gaurīr (TB TA *gaurī*, AV *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV AV TB AA TA N

vidyur (ApMB *vidyun*) *me asya devāḥ* RV AV KS ApMB See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xxiv *vidyun* is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*, it is read by all mss and confirmed by the comm, who says that *t* for visarga is *chāndasa*! *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form

śīte vāte punann iva (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and v l. of KSA *punarniva*) VS TS MS KSA. ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ The persistence in the mss of the impossible *punarniva* is striking

ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB See §273

adyā tvā vavan (KS *vardhan*) *surekṇāḥ* RV KS TB

ukhām sravantīm agadām aganma (MŚ *akarma*) KŚ MŚ

anārbhava mṛda KS ApŚ The ms of KS reads *anānbhava*, em v Schroeder, see p w 5, Nachtrage Cf *anābho mṛḍa dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ See §749

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agni* and *agra* A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV 10 18 7d, *ā rohantu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneḥ* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire' In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV and TA, there is no authority for this change There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne* It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agni* secondary The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion

§864 The list is as follows, the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantam (PB *abhisam°*) TS PB TB PG ApMB · *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss of both *vātāgnim*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

agre vikṣu pradīdayat RV *agne vikṣu pratīdayat* TB (Poona ed *agre* without v l, but comm *he agne*)

tubhyam agre (MG *agne*) *pary avahan* RV AV PG ApMB MG

agre (MS *KS *MŚ *agne*) *bṛhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt* RV. VS TS MS *KS * ŚB ApŚ, and Pratikas AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Rvidh BṛhD

tenemam agra (TB *agna*) *iha varcasā* †*samaṅgdhi* KS TB Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading, one accented ms of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended

tavāham nāma bibharāny agne (AŚ *agre*) TS AŚ *tavāham agne bibharāni nāma* MŚ Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading

[*agre* (TB *agne*, but Poona ed text and comm *agre*) *yajñasya śocatah* (KS TB *cetatah*) RV KS TB]

[*agne* (AV. *agre*) *samidham āhārṣam* AV Kauś *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed , which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following

akṣānām vagnum (MS †*vagmum*) *upajighnamānah* (MS *avajighram āpah*) MS TB TA The MS is certainly wrong TB comm *upahatam kurvan*

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Whitney on AV adopts *śnuṣṭih* with most mss , Ppp *sunṛṣṭas* See §57

ūrdhvacitah (MS KS °*śritah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS † *śna*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Doubtless corruption, if not misprint, see §195

c and *v*

§866 Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-cṛt* and *vi-vṛt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-cṛt*, 'unloose', also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śav* The others are sporadic

agnim hotāram antarā vivṛttāh AŚ *hotāram agnim antarā vicṛttāh* ApŚ 'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicṛttāh* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect fac It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'

rtasya tantum vitatam vivṛtya (VS *vicṛtya*, AV *dṛśe kam*) AV VS TA MahānU The true reading is probably *vicṛtya* So Poona ed of TB text and comm , tho with v l *vivṛtya*, comm gloss *gurušāstramukhān niścitya*, which looks as if he had read *vivṛtya* and taken it from *vi-vṛ* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

case MahānU reads *vivṛtya* without recorded variant, comm gloss *vṛtī sandīpena sandīpya*, which is obscure to us

[*vi pāśam madhyamam cṛta* (TB and MŚ v l *vṛta*) RV KS TB MŚ So Conc, seemingly erroneously, MŚ has *cṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed of TB likewise *cṛta* text and comm with no v l]

śabalo prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ

[*vīryebhir* (MS *vīrebhir*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci°*) AV VS MS ṢB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ But Poona ed of TB *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm without v l]

[*devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci°*) MS TB Again Poona ed of TB *śavi°* without v l]

vicito (or *vivito*) *svāhā* MahānU *vivitṣyai svāhā* TA TAA There is also a v l *civiti* in MahānU The word is meaningless Comm *vicito*, which he does not explain, he quotes also a v l *vidhṛya* Poona ed of both TA and TAA *vivitṣyai*, explained by comm as for *vivṛṣṭyai* by Vedic license

vakratuṇḍāya (TAA *cakra°*) *dhīmahi* TA TAA † MahānU

sam arvanto raghudruvah (VSK *°drucah*) RV SV VS VSK MS Meaningless corruption in VSK

ghṛtapratīkam va (TB *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB *dhūruṣ°*, Poona ed *dhūrṣ°*) RV TB ApŚ The sandhi shows that TB is secondary and poor

yatra cābhimṛśāmasi (HG *vābhi°*) ApMB HG

p and *y*

§867 A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group

indrāpāsya (two mss *indrāyāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya* (corrupt, Kirste suggests *indra āyāsya*) *sepham alīkam* HG

hriyai śalyakah (VS *śalpakah*) VS MS The *p* is a false reading, VS comm *śvāvit*

bṛhaspataye śitpuṭah (KSA † *śimyutah*) TS KSA An otherwise unknown word, said to be a kind of cat

prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somam vocatopo (KB *vocato yo*) *asmān* KB AŚ, ŚŚ Read in KB as the others (Keith)

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (etc, §853) *sam patatrair* (KS *yajatrair*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

prapunvanta upa spṛśata prapunvadbhya svāhā ApMB *prayunvanta upaspṛśata prayunvadbhyah svāhā* HG Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable

susasyāh (VSK °*pāh*) *kṛṣīs kṛdhi* VS VSK ŚB KŚ *kṛṣyai tvā susasyāyai* (KS †*sumanasyāyai*, bis) TS KS ApŚ With the VSK reading cf *śaspa*

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB The mss of both texts vary between *lp* and *ly*

anadvāṅs tapyate vahan (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ If MŚ is correct (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption

tvam hi rādhaspata (text °*yata*, wrongly) *eka īśiṣe* ŚŚ

ubhe ca no (etc) *anhasah* (°*sas*) *pātām* (TB Conc *syātām*, Poona ed *anhasah spātām*, AŚ text †*anhasa syātām*) MS ŠB TB AŚ ŚŚ The true reading can only be *anhasah* (or °*sas*) *pātām*

[*tanūpā* (TB °*yā*, Poona ed °*pā*) *bhiṣajā sute* VS MS KS TB]

[*vahiṣṭhebhir viharan yāsi* (TB Conc *pāhi*, comm and Poona ed text *yāsi*) *tantum* RV TB KS AŚ ApŚ]

[*tvaṣṭā turīpo* (TB *turīyo*, Poona ed text and comm °*po*) *adbhutah* VS MS KS TB]

[*āpataye* (GB *āya*°, Gaastra *āpa*°) *tvā gṛhnāmi* VSK TS MS GB Vait ApŚ MŚ]

[*varuneti śapāmahe* (MS † °*hai*, LŚ †*ṣayāmahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Probably a double misprint in LŚ]

[*viśvatohasta uta viśvataspāt* (TA °*tah syāt*, but Poona ed correctly °*taspāt*) TS MS KS TA]

gh and *dy*

§868 The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent

mā (AG MG *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG ApMB MG The correct reading is *mā aghāyavah* 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee' It is strange that apparently all mss of AG MG read *ā* at the beginning, preceded by anusvāra at the end of the preceding pāda (Stenzler assumes *mā*) The further corruption in MG seems an attempt to patch up a bad job, it implies *adya-āyavah* 'may lives today reach thee '

magham (MS , but not KS †, *madyam*) *indrāya jabhrire* VS MS KS TB 'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra ' Indra's well-known bibulous habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS , involving the misreading of *gh* as *dy* Cf next

sa bibheda balam (VS and Poona ed TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB Cf prec

śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā (read with Poona ed of both °*ṣṭhā gha viṣā*) *pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA . *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārnah* MS (Poona ed of

TB records v l *'dya*, and comm v. l *adya*) The MS is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ddh* for *gh*, cf §875, see also §838

pātam mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnah (Kauś *aghān nah*, read *adyāhnah*) TS ApŚ Kauś See §840

[*kevalāgho* (TB *kevalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm °*lāgho*) *bhavati kevalādī* RV TB N Gloss in TB comm *pāpam eva sampādayati na tu kimcid api punyam*]

[*sa ghā* (TB *sadyā*, read with Poona ed text and comm *sa ghā*) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ]

[*yad vā ghā* (TA *vādya*, but Poona ed *vā ghā*, and comm *vā gha*) *satyam uta yan na vidma* RV TS MS KS TA There is a v l *vādya* in TA Poona ed, but gloss in comm (*yad eva kimcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*]

d and *v*

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *diś* and *viś*, both stems always appear in the plural number, cf Wackernagel II 1 p 48, foot These are of course rime words In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *viś* There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*

devānām patnīr (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *diśah* (MS KSA †*viśah*) VS TS MS KSA The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes' This is the only case of original *diś*, and even it is perhaps not certain

ye vā nūnam suvṛjanāsu vikṣu (AV *dikṣu*) RV AV A v l *vikṣu* occurs in AV, and so Ppp reads

śakvad viśah (TB *diśah*) *savitur daivyasya* RV TB The change in TB was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanāni* in the next pāda

viśām (TB *diśām*) *patir abhavad vājinīvān* MS TB Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *viśām*.

viśo (SV *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Agni is meant.

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS *varunam*) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB †

apa durhārddiśo jahi Kauś (read *durhārdviśo*, Conc)

ut parjanyasya dhāmabhih (TS TA ApMB *śuṣmeṇa*, MS *dhāmnā*, KS *vṛṣṭyā*, PG *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK TS MS KS TA AŚ PG ApMB

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samvṛk*) RV VS TS KS MS N *samvṛk* perhaps 'seizer', certainly inferior

avasphūrjan vidyud (TS *didyud*) *varṣan* . TS MS KS

bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janāh AV *yām tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate* VS MS KS ŚB The latter secondary and poor, Mahīdhara, *stauti*, which the verb can hardly mean

s and *m*

§870 Here the variants are quite miscellaneous

kṛṣyai tvā susasyāyai (KS †*sumanasyāyai*, bis) TS KS ApŚ Others, see §867 The original is clearly *susasyāyai*

agne yān devān ayād tām sasanuṣīm (KS ms *tāṅ samanoṣīṅr*, ed em *samanaiṣīr*) *hotrām* MS KS TB The corrupt ms reading of KS seems to point towards the reading of MS TB , rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version

pṛkṣasya (ArS *prak°*) *vṛṣno aruṣasya nū sahah* (ArS *mahah*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh Synonyms

athā jīvah (KS *adhā viṣitah*, VS ŠB *athaitam*, AV *adomadam*) *pitum* (AV *annam*) *addhi prasūtah* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, mate*, KS *nyantar vipra ā* †*satī*) MS KS

yaśasendrābṛhaspatī (ArS *yaśo mendrā°*) ArS PG MG

mā brāhmanasya (3c *sā br°*) *rājanya* AV 5 18 1c, 3c In the Berlin ed *mā* is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error

mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (SV *panisṭama*) RV AV SV VS *mahāṁs te mahato mahimā* AV The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*

vahāsi mā (KS †*vahāṁsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS *lokah*) KS TB Certainly KS is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the *juhū*

tvaṣṭā devaih sahamāna vidrah MG *tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma vidra* ApMB

nīlāgalasālā AV *nīlagalamālah śivah paśya* NīlarU See §512 Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU , thinking of *nīla-gala* and *mālā*

t and *n*

§871 The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters Our list may be incomplete

sa tvaṁ (ŚŚ ApŚ *sanvan*) *sanıṁ suvıṁucā vıṁuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ See §830

tan mā jınva (KS *māryıtvā*) TS MS KS See §§354, 829

dhātā vıdhātā (MS *dhartā vıdhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samvṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS N See §835

yad ejatı jagatı yac ca ceṣtatı nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*, v l *mānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed *'yaṁ*) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*, v l *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU

upa stuhı (Poona ed *snuhı*) *tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA (Other forms, see §110) The mss of the comm vary between *stuhı* and *snuhı*, gloss *bhūmau prasrāvaya*, pointing to *snvhı*

yām apītā upatiṣṭhanta āpah LŚ *yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah* AV

prapīnam (MŚ v l °*tam*, TS ApŚ *prapyālam*) *agne sarırasya* (MŚ *salılasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ghṛtam duhānā vıśvatah prapītāh (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPpp *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS TB ApMB

āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS *āvınne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB

āvittau (TS *āvınnau*) *mıtrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Others with *āvitta āvınna*, see Conc 188.

grāmam sajānayo †*gachantı* ApMB *grāmān sajātayo yantı* HG

jāmım ıtvā mā vıvitsı lokān TA *jāmım ṛtvā māva patsı lokāt* AV

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (°*no*) , *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino* , see §209

savitā bhṛtyām (KS ms † *manyām*) TS KS See §242

ṣ and *p*

§872 The variants are few

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nır mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS °*vīśāt*, LŚ †*ṣadvınśāt*) RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

vājınam śepena VS *śeṣo vājınena* MS But MS p p *śepah*, read certainly *śepo*

ye tātṛṣur (TB *tātṛpur*) *devatrā jehamānāh* RV AV MS TB AŚ ŚŚ. Kauś 'Thirsted' 'delighted'.

ā and *prā*

§873 In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV itself

āvo (and *prāvo*) *yudhyantam vṛṣabham daśadyum* RV (both)

āsmā aśṛṇvann āśāḥ AV · *prāsmā āśā aśṛṇvan* TA

āvat tam (TA Conc *prāvartam*, comm *āvartam*, Poona ed text and comm *āvar tam*, so also KS ms) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV AV SV KS TA

s and *p*, *pt*, *pr*, *bh*, *t*

§874 The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870)

suśīmam somasatsaru AV *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS MS KS ŚB VāDh See §180 *s* and *p* (*t*)

rasena sam asṛkṣmahi (RV *agasmahi*, KS LŚ *aganmahi*, AV JB *apṛkṣmahi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB *s* and *p*

[*āptam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ So read in TB , for which Bibl Ind ed has *āsam*]

sacyutim (AŚ *pracyutim*) *jaghanacyutim* MS TB AŚ Preceded by a pāda ending in *sacyutim* (MS *hastacyutim*) Perhaps the AŚ variant (*s pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety)

anugrāsaś (PB *anugrābhaś*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV AV PB The original is a nom pl of *an-ugra* PB misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*

yad adya dugdham pṛthivīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Again *bh* is secondary to *s*

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *sv tv*, the latter secondary

gh and *dh* and other similar letters

§875 The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868 The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147 The rest are sporadic

gṛhānāñgāny apve (SV *aghe*) *parehi* RV AV SV VS N The SV is certainly corrupt, see Benfey's Nachtrage to SV text, p 258 Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā gh pv*

agdhād eko 'hutād ekah TS *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekah* MŚ *gdh dhv* or *ddh.*

ıma udvāsīkārına ıme .. TB ApŚ . *ımā uddhāsıcārına ıme* MŚ. *ddh dv*

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhır evaıh* RV MS AB KB. TB. The TB is secondary, *ddh dbhy*

v and *j*, *ṣ*, *tr*, *ṭh*

§876 Compare §§866, 869 for *v* and *c*, *d*

pra vıṣṭīmınam āvıṣuh AV. VS ŚŚ *pra samhṛṣṭınam ājıṣuh* LŚ The whole passage is obscure, LŚ doubtless secondary, with *j* for *v*

usrāv (VSK *usrā*) *etam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK MŚ *dhūrvāhau*) VS VSK TS ŠB MŚ Others, §122 *ṣ v*

[*vaırājī* (KSA † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so also KSA †, Conc wrongly *puruvī*) TS KSA]

[*pra yah satrācā* (TB *sa vācā*, but comm and Poona ed text *satrācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*tai*, Poona ed text and comm °*te*) RV TB]

[*śam le pruṣvāva śīyatām* AV *śam u pṛṣṭhāva* (read *pṛṣvāva* with Poona ed text and comm , tho v l *pṛṣṭhāva*) *śīyatām* TA]

y and *ṣ*, *th*

§877. For *y* and *p* see §867, for *dy* and *gh*, §868

ṛṣvāh satīh kavaṣah (KSA *kavayah*) *śumbhamānāh* VS TS MS KSA See Keith's note on TS While the meaning of *kavaṣah* is quite uncertain, *kavayah* (found also in some TS mss) is probably only a graphic lect fac

tad asya prıyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB *asthām*, Poona ed *aśyām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ See §287

apāmıtyam (AŚ *apām ıttham*) *va sambhara* MS KS AŚ The AŚ is an absurd graphic blunder

samıddho agnır vṛṣanāratır (AV °*nā rathī*, ŚŚ °*nā rayır*) *divah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ Here the reverse error, *y* for *th*, has occurred in ŚŚ , see §93

Miscellaneous

§878 Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character

āptye (AV **apnye*, **dnṣate*) *sam nayāmasi* RV AV * The AV comm reads *āptye* for *apnye* But the variant *dnṣate* suggests that *apnye* must have been known in very early times, and indeed Ppp reads

apriye (Barret, *JAOS* 30 220) The RV says 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya' The AV charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character, with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy' Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *dviṣate* would be unintelligible

tāsām viśiśnānām (KS *viśiśniyānām*) MS KS *teṣām viśipriyānām* (VS ŚB °*nām vo 'ham*) VS TS ŚB *śn(y) pr* Both words are obscure, Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS KS meant the same

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB *n. l.* Possibly phonetic, cf §273

khanyābhyah (KSA *khalyā°*) *svāhā* TS KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS *n l*, cf preceding

anarśarātim (SV *alarṣirātim*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV SV AV N See §292 *n l*

śaśvat parikupitena (HG °*pilena*) ApMB HG *t l* Oldenberg abandons the HG reading

abhi yo na vrasyati (AV *no durasyati*) RV AV The AV reading (found also in Ppp as *durasyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV, which is antiquated and limited to RV *du r*

acīṣyāma (p p *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūtī* MS *abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrāh* RV KS *c bh* (note p p of MS)

CHAPTER XXI SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f (nasal as 'Hiatustilger'), 338 ff and 359 ff (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatustilger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful, not a few new principles have come out of the study

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prātiśākhyas, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor Different scholars have chosen different solutions, and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts

§882 For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools This is notaby the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*)

§883 The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*) Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a* This is one of the most interesting sections The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages, for details see the section itself The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*, here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants Then the change of dental to lingual *n*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittirīya school (often also in KS) Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittirīya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant, here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ṣ*) We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations

FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§885. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit

(a) AV writes *āv* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel This is required by APr 2 21 f But once, in a passage inherited from RV, AVŚ shows *ā* for *au* before *u*, Ppp has the regular *āv*

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner Thus Maitrāyanīya and Kāṭhaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels This is prescribed by VPr 4 124, for the practice of VS see just below The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr texts, cf *kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ 5 1 3 27 So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v l On the other hand, at MŚ 3 5 14c Knauer reads *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaital*, without any ms authority, the corrupt mss are closer to *agnā*, the expected form

(c) Taittirīya texts write *āv* and *av* before all vowels This is contrary to TPr 10 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a* But 10 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āv* and *av* should always be written, this is favored by the comm on TPr, and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss of TS The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait school texts, at least in their mantra materials

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV, SV (very few instances), and VS —write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āv* and *av* before other vowels So RPr 129 (2 9) and 135 (2 11), and so VPr 4 125 gives the opinion of 'some' opposed to its own rule 4 124, quoted above

(e) To summarize before *u*-vowels, Tait texts write *āv* and *av*, AV writes *āv* for *au* but *a* for *o*, others *ā* and *a*

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr texts, KS, and VSK write *ā* and *a*, AV writes *āv* but *a*, all others *āv* and *av*

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc sing forms is retained without change before a following vowel Cf Wackernagel I §273b, the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it

§886. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following

aśvināu dhyakṣarena (MS KS °*rayā*) *prāṇāpānāv* (MS KS °*nā*) *ud ajayatām* TS MS KS

asā (ApŚ *asāv-asāv*) *upahvayasva* ŚŚ ApŚ

asmākam yonā (ApŚ *yonāv*) *udare suśevāh* MS ApŚ

imam yajñam juṣamāṇā (TB. °*māv*) *upetam* MS TB
upasthe mātuḥ surabhā (TS °*bhāv*) *u loke* RV TS MS KS
ubhā (AV *ubhāv*) *upāṃśu prathamā pibāva* RV AV
urūṇasāv (TA *uru*°) *asuṭṛpā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulu*°) RV AV. TA AŚ
kā (TA *kāv*, AV VS *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA † *pādāv*) *ucyete* RV AV VS. TA
The only exception to the rule in AV Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 42 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly
daivyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS MS °*rā ūrdhvam*, KS *hotārordhvam*) VS TS MS KS †18 17a In KS the form *hotārā*, not °*rau*, is concerned
na yonā (TS *yonāv*) *uṣāsā*° VS TS MS
rakṣohanau (VS ŚB °*nau vām*) *valagahanā* (TS ApŚ °*hanāv*) *upa*° VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ
syone kṛṇudhvam surabhā (TS °*bhāv*) *u loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are

uṣnena vāya (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakeneḥi* (with varr.) AV SMB ApMB AG GG PG
deva viṣṇa (ApŚ *viṣṇav*) *uru* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
divo vā viṣṇa (TS. *viṣṇav*) *uta vā pṛthivyāḥ* VS TS KS ŚB *divo viṣṇa* etc AV MS
maho vā viṣṇa (AV *maho viṣṇa*) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS *viṣṇav uta vāntarikṣāt*) AV VS TS KS ŚB
viṣṇa (TS ApŚ *viṣṇav*) *urukrama* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§888 The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are

agnāv (VSK MS KS MŚ *agnā*) *agniś caratu pravīṣṭaḥ* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB, pratīka, Vait KŚ Kauś GG
agnīṣomāv (MS KS MŚ °*ṣomā*) *imam su me* RV TS MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚŚ
ajasya nābhāv (MS KS *nābhā*) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV VS TS MS KS
asāv (MS KS MŚ *asā*) *anu mā* MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ
āyur dadhad yajñapatav (MS KS °*tā*) *avihrutam* RV SV ArS VS MS KS LŚ ApŚ
imau bhadrau dhuryāv (MS °*yā*) *abhi* SV MS JB
usrāv etam VS TS ŚB MŚ ApŚ KŚ *usrā etam* VSK KS
In MŚ the rule is violated, no v. l. reported
gośaphe śakulāv (VSK °*lā*) *iva* AV VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ
tāv (KS *tā*) *eḥi sam* TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ HG BṛhU *tāv iha sam* AV *tāv eḥi* (MG *tā eva*) *vi* AG ŚG PG MG *tāv eha sam* AB.

dīkṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanah MS MŚ *adīkṣiṣṭāyam brāhmaṇo 'sāv amuṣya* . ApŚ

daivyā hotārāgnā (KS AŚ °*gna*, ŚŚ °*rā agna*) *ājyasya vītam* MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ Since ŚŚ, if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °*rāv*, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ, or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*, the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °*rau* No v l reported for ŚŚ

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv (VSK MS KS °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS VSK MS TB ŚB KS

naṃucāv (VSK MS KS °*cā*) *āsure sacā* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv (MS KS *dadhā*) *idam* TS MS KS But MS p p *dadhe*

putram iva pitarāv (VSK MS KS °*rā*) *aśvinobhā* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

praiṣān sāmidhenīr āghārāv ājyabhāgāv (KSA *āghārā ājyabhāgā*) *āśrutam* TS KSA

madhavyau stokāv (MS °*kā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS MS

muṣkāv (VSK *muṣkā*) *id asyā ejatah* AV VS VSK ŚŚ

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thām*) MS KS † TB ApŚ

yadā carṣṇū mithunāv (MS °*nā*) *abhūtām* RV MS N

yo 'sāv (MU *'sā*) *ādityo puruṣah so 'sāv* (MU *'sā*) *aham* VS MU

rādhānsīt sampṛñcānāv (MS MŚ °*si* °*nā*) *asam* MS ŚB KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

viṣṇuh śipiviṣṭa †ūrāv (VSK †*ūrā*) *āsannah* VS VSK *śipiviṣṭa †ūrā āsādyamānah* KS

sacetasāv (VSK °*sā*, MS *samokasau sacetasā*) *arepasau* VS VSK MS ŚB *samokasāv* (KS °*sā*) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś

samiddhe agnāv (VSK MS KS *agnā*) *adhi māmahānah* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

samrājāv (MS °*jā*) *asya bhuvanasya rājathah* RV MS

sarasvatīm aśvināv (VSK MS KS °*nā*) *indram agnim* VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB

sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv (VSK MS KS °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS TB TA

ṛtena sthūnāv (MG *ṛteva sthūnā*) *adhi* . ApMB HG MG

tena (TB *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (MS °*nā*) *avṛṣṭam* (TB *avī*°) RV. MS. TB
madhuś ca mādhavaś ca vāsantikāv (VSK MS KS °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
viṣṇūvarunā (TB °*nāv*) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB °*pā vām*) MS TB
yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad* AV TS MS KS
agnim sve yonāv (VSK MS KS *yonā*) *abhār ukhā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
ahāv (MS KS *ahā*) *anadatā hate* AV TS MS KS
ā tasthāv (VSK MS KS *tasthā*) *amṛtam divi* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
indravāhāv (KS °*hā*) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāh* RV KS
mitrāvarunāv (VSK °*nā*, MS *indrāvarunā*) *algābhyām* VS VSK MS
vāsantikāv (KS *ime vās*°, MS KS °*tikā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāh* VS MS KS TB
śaiśirāv (MS °*rā*, KS *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāh* TS MS KS ŚB
iṣaś corjas ca śāradāv (VSK MS KS °*dā*) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
ubhā dātārāv (VSK MS KS °*rā*) *iṣām rayīnām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
ko nu vām mitrāvarunāv (MS °*na*) *ṛtāyan* RV MS KB ŚB
tapaś ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv (VSK MS KS °*rā*) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
devī uṣāsāv (VSK MS °*sā*) *aśvinā* VS VSK MS TB
daivyāv (VSK °*yā*) *adhvaryū ā gatam* VS VSK ŚS
dhanasātāv (VSK MS KS °*tā*) *ihāvatu* VS VSK TS MS KS
praharṣino (KS ms °*nam*, ed em) *madirasya made mṛṣāsāv* (KS °*sā*) *astu* KS ApŚ
mahāntāv (MS °*tā*) *indrāvarunā mahāvasū* RV MS
yajñasya pakṣā (TS °*ṣāv*) *ṛṣayo bhavantī* TS MS KS
yat pṛthivyām yad urāv (VSK MS KS *urā*) *antarikṣe* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
yā (AV omits) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS † °*bhā*) *āyatāyām* AV KS TB
yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatnah (TS °*varunāv abhidāsati*) TS MS
imau (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatrinau* (VSK TS † KS °*nah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś
rājānah samitāv (VSK MS KS °*tā*) *iva* RV VS VSK TS MS KS
vāyava ārohanavāhāv (KSA °*hā*) *anadvāhau* TS KSA
venubhāram girāv (KSA *girā*) *iva* TS KSA TB
śacyā harī dhanutarāv (KS °*rā*) *atasta* RV KS

śukraś ca śucíś ca grahmāv (VSK MS KS °*mā*) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
śūdrāryāv (VSK MS KS °*yā*) *asṛjyetām* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv (VSK °*nyā*) [*ahorātre*] VS VSK
sam yāv apnastho (MS *yā apnahstho*) *apaseva janān* RV MS
sajoṣasāv (VSK °*sā*) *aśvinā dansobhih* VS VSK ŚB
sahasrasā (RV also °*sām*) *medhasātāv* (VSK °*tā*) *iva tmanā* RV (bis) VSK KB (This RV repetition is omitted in *RVRep*.)
somārudrāv (MS °*drā*) *iha su mṛdatam nah* RV AV MS
staumi devāv (MS KS *devā*) *aśvinau nāthito johavīmi* TS MS KS
hatāghaśaṅsā (TB °*sāv*) *ābharadvasū* MS KS TB
hatāghaśansāv (VSK °*sā*) *ābhārṣṭām vasu vāryāni* VS VSK TB
hemantaśiśirāv (VSK MS KS °*rā*) *ṛtū* (TS *ṛtūnām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
hotārāv (VSK MS °*rā*) *indram aśvinā* VS VSK MS TB
hotārāv (VSK MS KS °*rā*) *indram prathamā suvācā* VS VSK MS KS TB

§889 The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are
ubhayebhyah pra cikitsā gavişţau (VSK *gaişţau*) RV VS VSK
kuvit su no gavişţaye (MS KS *gaişţaye*) RV SV TS MS KS AB AŚ ApŚ
ye śāmbare harivo ye gavişţau (VSK *gaişţau*) RV VS VSK AB KB
eko bahūnām asi manyav īdītah (AV *manya īdītā*) RV AV
tam tvā ghṛtasnav (VSK °*sna*) *īmahe* RV SV VSK ŚB
tava vāyav (VSK *vāya*) *ṛtaspate* RV VS VSK ŚB
niyutvān vāyav (VSK *vāya*) *ā gahi* RV ArS VS VSK
niyudbhir vāyav (VSK MS KS *vāya*) *iṣṭaye durone* RV VS VSK TS MS KS
niyudbhir (AV *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha* AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ
maitrāvarunasya camasādhvaryav (MŚ °*ya*) *ādrava* (*ehi*) TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
vasaṭ te viṣṇav (KS *viṣṇa*) *āsa ā kṛnomi* RV SV TS KS AŚ
vy astabhnā (etc., §137) *rodasī viṣnav* (VSK MS KS *viṣṇa*) *ete* RV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TA
sahasah sūnav (MS KS *sūna*) *āhuta* RV TS MS KS

§890 In the following *o* of voc sing is retained without change
sa no mayobhūh pito (AŚ ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav*) *āvišasva* (AŚ *āviśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG PG SMB
tāsv adhvaryav ādhāve° ŚŚ *tāsv adhvaryo indrāya* AB AŚ

bṛhaspatiṣutasya ta (MS *tā*, KS omits) *indo* (MS KS *inda*) *indri°* TS MS KS *bṛhaspatiṣutasya deva soma ta inda indri°* VSK

INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891 In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (abhinihita), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a* On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p 324, the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question

§892 On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the Prātiśākhyas give no help Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided VPr 4 78 *specifies that it is generally written in verses (ṛkṣu)*

§893 Early statements in western grammers add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text'

§894 Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr 3 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV instances, that

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf Wackernagel, l c, p 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten, except that at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five

§895 If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors Cf Oldenberg, *Prolog* 460 f , Wackernagel I p 325

General practice of Vedic texts

§896 Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases *where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally* Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out, perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases That is since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts, while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters

Evidence of the variants

§898 In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*, whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases

in the AV , and much more regularly in the RV In fact, RPr 138 (2 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position

§899 Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms *a* written and *a* elided This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896 If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them And such, we think, is the case

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV , mentioned in §894 Thus in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases, the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38) In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases, the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur The prose variants from AV are very few (only 5), in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole

Metrical passages

§901 The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants, it is not pronounced in 10 In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written

§902 When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117) In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts Thus RV , written 21 times, omitted 4, AV 25 to 12, TS 19 to 7, MS 24 to 9 But it is lower than the general average in VS (10 to 6) and KS (20 to 16) SV forms a striking exception, among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers, they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times The SV school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV school much more than in the others) While the SV and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm Thus RV school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV itself 21 to 4)

§903 When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19) The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools

§904 Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity

Prose passages

§905 In the prose variants the school texts of SV show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittirīya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25) Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction MS has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced)

Table of final a written or omitted after e and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent			
	a written and pronounced	*a* not written, not pronounced	*a* not written, but pronounced	*a* written, not pronounced	*a* written	*a* elided
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent			
	a written and pronounced	*a* not written, not pronounced	*a* not written, but pronounced	*a* written, not pronounced	*a* written	*a* elided
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items)

so adhvarān (AV Kauś *'dhvarān*) *sa ṛtūn kalpayāti* RV AV TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

anumate 'nu (KapS † *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV *'nv idam manyasva*) AV KS KapS (quoted in note to KS) *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG KhG HG ApG

nir amum bhaja yo 'mitro asya TB *nir ṭam bhaja yo amitro asya* AV *tatra śiśriye 'ja ekapādah* AV † 13 1 6 *tasmiñ chiśriye aja ekapāt* TB

teṣām yo ajyānim (PG *'jyānim*) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB Conc *ajīyim āvahāh*, but Jorgensen as other texts) TS SMB PG BDh

ṛco akṣare (NṛpU *'kṣare*) *parame vyoman* RV AV GB TB TA ŚvetU NṛpU N

yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (ŠŠ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŠŠ *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātah* PB *yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti* (NṛpU *'sti*) VS TB ApŠ MahānU NṛpU

ye agnayah (TS KS TB ApŠ *'gnayah*) *samanasah* (KS adds *sacetasah*) VS TS MS KS ŠB TB. ApŠ MŠ

tam tvā viśve avantu (AV *'vantu*) *devāh* AV ApMB HG A very poor pāda but intended for triṣṭubh

yo 'syeśe dvipado yaś catuṣpadaḥ AV *ya īśe asya* (MS KS * *īśe yo asya*) *dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ* RV VS TS MS KS (both)

vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām (AV *'ṅgi°*, AŚ *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

śucir śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS †*śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ

sūryo ahobhir (KS *suryo* [misprint] *'hobhir*) *anu tvāvatu* KS TB

so asmāṅ (MŚ *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS MŚ *so 'smān adhipatīn kṛṇotu* ŚŚ

svām tanvam (TS TB *tanuvam*) *varuno 'suṣot* (TS TB *aśiṣret*) TS MS KS TB It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS KS reading to an *anuṣṭubh*

agnir ajaro 'bhavat sahobhiḥ MS *agnir amṛto abhavad vayobhiḥ* (KS *sahobhiḥ*) RV VS TS KS ŚB ApMB

na tā arvā reṇukakāto aśnute (AV *'śnute*) RV AV KS TB AŚ Many AV mss read *aśnute*

adhi bruvantu te 'vantu (TS TB ApŚ *avantv*) *asmān* RV AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ

anīkair dveṣo ardaya (ŚŚ *'rdaya*) MS ŚŚ

annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB *'smāsv*) *dhatta* (MS ApŚ *dhehi*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ

anyam te asman (NṛpU *'sman*) *ni vapantu senāḥ* RV TS NṛpU

anyo- 'nyo (Vait *-anyo*) *bhavati varno asya* TB Vait

avāsṛjo apo (TB *'po*) *achā samudram* RV MS KS TB

pra vartaya divo aśmānam (AV *'śmānam*, v l *aś°*) *indra* RV AV

prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (TS *aviṣyan*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

namo astu (MŚ *'stu*) *parāyate* AV MŚ

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA

payo gṛheṣu payo 'stu tan nah MŚ *payo vatseṣu payo astu tan mayi* AB TB AŚ ApŚ

ye agnayaḥ pāñcajanyāḥ (MŚ *purīṣinaḥ*) VS ŚB MŚ *ye 'gnayaḥ purīṣyāḥ* (KS *°ṣinaḥ*) TS KS ApŚ JUB

dhātā samudro apa (AG *'va*) *hantu pāpam* AG PG *dh° sa° abhayam kṛṇotu* MG

śiśū krīḍantau pari yāto adhvaram (AV *arnavam*, and *'rnavam*) RV AV MS TB

namo astu (VS ŚB KŚ PG NīlarU *'stu*) *sarpebhyaḥ* RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ PG ApMB HG MG NīlarU

ye 'do (MS *amī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh TS MS ApMB

yo asyāḥ pṛthivyās tvaci TB ApŚ *yo 'syāḥ* (so all mss but one, and so Conc , but ed † *asyāḥ*) *pṛthivyā adhi tvaci* MŚ

yo nah svo (AV *svo yo*) *aranah* (SV *'ranah*) RV SV AV AG ŚG Oldenberg, *Proleg* 40, thinks of inserting *yo* in RV, tho he fails to note that AV reads so

varśvānaro adabdhas (AV *no adabdhas*, TA *me 'dabdhas*, MS ApŚ *'dabdhas*) *tanūpāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB

ko ambādadate (AŚ *'mbā°*) *dadat* MS AŚ

mayā so annam (AV *'nnam*) *attı yo vipaśyatı* RV AV

ındra vājeşu no 'va (TB *ava*, KS *vaha*) RV AV SV ArS MS KS TB

yad vā me apı (LŚ *'pı*, Vait *apa*) *gachatı* AŚ Vait LŚ

ye agnayo dıvo ye pṛthivyāh MS ApŚ MŚ *ye 'gnayo dıvo ye 'ntarıkşāt* KS (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)

ye agnıdagdhā ye anagnıdagdhāh (TB Poona ed † *'nagnı°*, so v. l. of AV) RV AV TB AŚ *ye agnişvāttā ye 'nagnişvāttāh* (VS *anagnı°*) VS TB ApŚ

sā tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB BṛhU PG *amo aham*, ApMB *amūham*, MG *āpy amo 'ham*) KS JUB ŚB BrhU AG ŚG PG ApMB MG *sa tvam asy amo 'ham* AB

kīkasābhyo anūkyāt (ApMB *'nū°*) RV AV ApMB

te asmat (TS *'smat*) *pāśān pra muñcantu enasah* (TS *aṁhasah*) AV TS

dıvo antebhyas (KS *'nte°*) *parı* RV SV KS

yo adya (PB *'dya*) *saumyo* (AV *senyo*) *vadhah* AV PB AŚ—Ppp *'dya* acc. to Roth

vyāghro varyāghre adhı (TB *'dhı*) KS TB *vyāghro adhı varyāghre* AV

ye anneşu (VS KS *'nneşu*) *vivıdhyantı* VS TS MS KS

varşışţhe adhı (KS *'dhı*) *nāke* TS KS TB

rājā me prāno amṛtam (TB *'mṛtam*) VS † MS KS TB

ıdam (KS *ā mā*) *varco* (AŚ *rādho*) *agnınā* (KS *'gnınā*) *dattam āgāt* (AV *āgan*, KS *etu*) AV MS KS TB AŚ

vṛşāyamāno 'vṛnīla (AV *av°*) *somam* RV AV TB

śatotaye 'bhımātiṣāhe (PG *abhı°*) TS KS MŚ SMB PG

kṛnvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS KS ApŚ † *anyān*, MS *anyan*, KŚ † *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ

śṛnvanty (PB *°tv*) *āpo adha* (PB *'dhah*) *kşarantīh* RV PB

so adhvarā (AB *'dhvarā karatı*) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB Cadenced prose, cf *kṛnotu so*

annapate 'nnasya (MS KS MŚ MG *an°*) *no dehı* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ PrānāgU AG ŚG MG SMB Intended for triṣṭubh

ayam yo asya yasya ta ıdam śırah MŚ *ayam yo 'sı yasya ta ıdam śırah* KS ApŚ

[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagatah* MŚ *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS °*ṭha*) *ja*° KS TA ApŚ So Conc , but Van Gelder's ed reads *'sya* for MŚ without v]]

[*anamitram no* (VSK *me*) *adharāk* (AV °*rāt*) AV VSK † KS Conc *'dharāk* for VSK]

[*bṛhaspate abhiśaster* (AV ed *'bhi*°) *amuñcah* AV VS TS MS KS TAA But read *abhi*° in AV , see Whitney's note]

§908 In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided

namo 'stu (TS KS *astu*) *nīlagrīvāya* (NīlarU *nīlaśikhandāya*) VS TS KS NīlarU BṛhPDh

viśvasmai bhūtāya dhruvo (TS ApŚ *bhūtāyādhvaro*) *astu* (TS *'si*, MŚ † *'stu*) *devāh* (TS omits) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ye apsu ṣadānsi (KS *'psu sa*°) *cakrire* MS KS

ye te 'ryaman (KS *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 1da

vāyinām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān VSK *vāyinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ

yo 'gnim (AŚ *agnim*) *hotāram avṛthāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ †

jātavedo maruto adbhis (TB *'dbhis*) *tamayitvā* TB ApŚ

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

aghorebhyo 'tha (MS *atha*) *ghorebhyah* MS TA MahānU

yāś ca devyo antān abhito tatantha SMB *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (mss *tatantha*) MG See §63 The meter is poor in any case

§909 We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written), or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions

anv adya no anumatih (AV Kauś *'nu*°) AV MS ŚŚ MŚ Kauś

yān agnayo anvatapyanta (TS *'nva*°) *dhiṣṇyāh* AV TS MS

ye asmin (KS *'smin*) *mahaty arnave* MS KS MŚ

jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat AV *jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat* HG

jyok śrotre 'dhi (HG *adhi*) *jāgarat* AV HG

antarikṣe adhy (TS KS *'dhy*) *āsate* TS MS KS MŚ

sarvābhyo abhayam (TB *'bhayam*) *karat* RV AV TB N

garbho asy (MS *'sy*) *oṣadhīnām* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait —*Ppp* also *'sy* (Barret *JAOS* 48 38)

tanvo adya (MS *'dya*) *dadhātu me* AV MS

vasanto asyāsīd (VS *'syāsīd*) *ājyam* RV AV VS TA The meter of VS (with *ājyam*) seems easier

satyam it tan na tvāvāñ (MS *°vañ*) *anyo astī* (MS *'stī*) RV MS KS TB The meter of MS (*tuāvañ?*) is inferior

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

ūrubhyām te aṣṭhīvadbhyām (ApMB *'ṣṭhī°*) RV AV ApMB

te asmā agnayo (MS *°ye*, v l *°yo*) *dravinam dattvā* MS ApŚ *te 'smā agnaye dravināni dattvā* KS The meter of MS ApŚ is very poor

sviṣṭim no abhi (KŚ *'bhi*) *vasīyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KŚ *sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS MŚ

sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, KS *adhiti*) *upasthe* VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ

eko vo devo apy (AV *'py*) *atiṣṭhat* AV MS *eko devo apy atiṣṭhat* TS KS Only MS is certainly inconsistent (*a* written but not pronounced)

bheṣajam gave 'śvāya (MS *aśvāya*) VS TS MS ŚB LŚ *bheṣajam gave 'śvāya puruṣāya* KS In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya* to this pāda makes the elision of *a* better metrically

mā va eno anyakṛtam bhujema RV *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema* KS In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent

tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante VS ŠB (*a* not pronounced) *tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS (*kavayo* looks like a secondary intrusion, cf KS in next form, without it *a-nu°* would have to be pronounced) *tām dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK *°diśya*) *yajante* (KS *anudṛśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK TS KS TB (*a* pronounced)

anyāṁs te asman (KS *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāḥ* MS KS Both writings are metrical VS TS have *anyam asman niva° tāḥ*, which is inferior to both MS and KS

yad vāto apo (MS MŚ *'po*) *aganīgan* (TS KSA ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS MS KSA ApŚ MŚ Writing and pronunciation are consistent in all texts except VS, where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted in reading, tho both are written

yo agnau rudro yo apsv antaḥ AV (intended for triṣṭubh, reading *agnau, apsu*, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short) *yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psv antaḥ* ŚirasU (meant for anuṣṭubh, *'gnau, 'psu*) *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣv* TS ApŚ MŚ (triṣṭubh, *'gnau, 'psu*—inconsistent with the writing of TS ApŚ) *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct Conc) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu* KS (writing and pronunciation consistent)

so asmān pātu sarvatah AV *so 'smān pātu* (prose) TS

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53

abhayam vo 'bhayam no astu (AB AŚ *me 'stu*) AB AṢ ŚŚ *abhayam me astu* (AB † *'stu*) AB ApŚ

iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) *dyumnāyorje* (VS ŚB † *dyumna ūrje*) *'patyāya* (VS † ŚB † *apa°*, TB † *patyāya*, ApŚ *°yorjapatyāya*) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

etāni te aghniye (PB *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* TS PB *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS ŚB MŚ In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with This metrical form is not counted in our table, the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or *'ghniye*)

vīvarto aṣṭācatvārinśah (MS *'ṣtā°*) MS KS *vivarto 'ṣtā°* VS TS ŚB

yo 'smān (MS MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭi yam* (AV adds *ca*) *vayam dviṣmah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU KBU JUB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś HG BDh This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr school, with *'smān* in all others, if the editions are to be trusted For other formulas containing it see the Conc under it, and also *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc , *agne yat te tapas* (*tejas*, *'rcis*, *śocis*, *haras*) etc , *tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi* etc , *ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo †asmān* (ApŚ *'smān*) etc MS ApŚ † 6 18 2, *abhy aham tam bhūyāsam* etc , *prāham tam atibhūyāsam* (ApŚ *†abhi°*) etc , *vy asau yo* etc , *durmitrās* (or the like) etc

devānām tvā patnīr devīr sadhasthe añgirasvad (TS *'ñgi°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same with *aditis tvā* (*°tis tvā*), *dhiṣanās tvā*, *varūtrayo* (etc), *gnās tvā*

ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (MS KS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The same with *medhāyai manase*, *sarasvatyai pūṣne*, and *dīkṣāyai tapase*

agneh (also, *indrasya*, *viśveṣām devānām*) *priyam pātho 'pīhi* (TS *apīhi*) VS 8 50, VSK 8 22 4, TS ŚB 11 5 9 12

yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsāt (five formulas) MS *agnim* (also, *indram*, *mitrāvarunau*, *somam*) *sa* (TB *sa disām devatānām*) *rchatu yo maitasyai* (KS *°syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS TB ApŚ

namo agriyāya (VS KS *'gryāya*, MS *'grīyāya*) VS TS MS KS

namo agrevadhāya (MS KS *'gre°*) VS MS TS KS

namo aparasadbhyah (PB and v l of MŚ *'para°*) PB MŚ

namo 'śvebhyo (TS *aś°*) *'śvapatibhyaś ca* VS TS † MS KS

namas te astu (PB JB LŚ SMB *'stu*) VS TS MS KS AB PB JB

ŚB TB TA TAA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ AG Kauś SMB ApMB ApG Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except in SV texts, which read *'stu*

namo vo 'stu (AŚ ŚŚ *astu*) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait SMB Here, in curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB reads *astu* according to Jorgensen's edition (not in the Conc), while *'stu* is read by VS and Vait

tebhyo namo astu (PG *'stu*) VS MS KS PG ŚB

namo 'gnaya (ApŚ *agnaya*) *upadraṣṭre* ŚŚ ApŚ

namo astu (VS ŚB *'stu*) *rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe* (VS KS ŚB *'ntarı°*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also *namo astu* (VS ŚB KŚ *'stu*) *ru° ye dıvı* (and, *pṛthivyām*) VS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ

namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaś (KS *'rbha°*) *ca* VS KS *namo bṛhadbhyo 'rbhakebhyaś ca* MS MŚ

namo rathıbhyo arathebhyaś (TS *'rathe°*) *ca* VS TS

yo no antı śapatı tam etena jeṣam MŚ *yo me 'ntı dūre 'rātīyatı tam etena jeṣam* TS

rudro 'gnīt (MS *agnīt*) MS TA ŚŚ

rudro 'dhipatih (MS *adhı°*) MS TA

tasyāpo apsarasa (KS † *'psa°*, MS *'psarasā*) *ūrjo nāma* (TS *'psaraso mudāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

dhūrta (KS *°te*) *namas te astu* (KS *'stu*) KS ApŚ *dhūrte namante* (?) *astu* MS

praty etā vāmā yajamāno 'grabhīd (ŚŚ *agra°*) KB ŚŚ

prāno agnih PrānāgU *prāno 'gnih* MU

madhu hutam indratame agnau (LŚ *'gnau*) VS ŚB LŚ *hutam havir indratame 'gnau* MS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ

ye devā ḍuvibhāgā (MS *°gāh stha*) *ye antarikṣabhāgā* (TS KS *'ntarı°*) TS MS, KS

śivam prajābhyo 'hinsantam (KS † *ahin°*) *sadhasthe* (VS ŚB ° *sthād*) *agnim* (TS *'gnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB—KS punctuates before *agnim*, so that elision of *a* is impossible

sajūr abdo ayavobhih (TS ApŚ *'yāvabhih*) VS TS ŚB ApŚ

samidhah-samidho 'gne-'gna (ŚŚ *°dho agna*, MŚ † *°dho 'gnā*) *ājyasya vyantu* AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *samidho agna* (MS *agnā*) *ājyasya* MS KS TB MŚ

suyame me adya ApŚ *sūyame me 'dya* MS

agnir adhi viyatto asyām KS *agnir viyatto 'syām* TS

agne yat te 'rcis (MS *arcis*) *tena* AV MS KS ApŚ

añgiraso me asya (KS *'sya*) *yajñasya prātaranuvākair ahauṣuh* MS KS

tam (KS † *tat*) *tvendragraha saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ *asti*) *tena* KS ApŚ *tam tvā pra viśāmi saha yan me 'sti tena* AV

dviśo abhy abhūd ayam MS KS MŚ *dviśo 'bhy ayam rājābhūt* TS TB Semblance of meter, perhaps to be classed with metrical variants

antimitraś (TS *antyami°*) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS *'mitraś*) *ca ganah* VS TS MS KS

andho achetah (TS ApŚ *'chetah*) VS TS KS ApŚ Ed of KS *'chetah*, but the sole ms *aśchetah*

apāgne agnim (TS MS TB MŚ ApŚ *'gnim*) *āmādam jahi* VS TS MS KS ŠB TB ApŚ MŚ

apsu dhautasya yo aśvasanis (KS *'śva°*) MS KS *yo bhakṣo aśvasanir* TS

aśvibhyām tiroahnyānām (MŚ *tirohnyānām*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ MŚ Also *tiroahniyān* (MŚ *asvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān prasthitān preṣya* ApŚ MŚ

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŠB *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS *'dhvare sthāh*, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŠB ApŚ

āpo devīr agrepuvo agreguvo TS TB *devīr āpo 'greguvo 'grenīyo* MS MŚ *devīr āpo agreguvah premam* KS

ye devāh purahsado (so also TS, for which Conc † *parah°*) *'gnisetrā* (MS *agni°*) TS MS KS BDh

dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati VS TS ŠB TB *dhvara dhvarantam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS

agnis te 'gram TS *agnis te agram* MŚ

somo 'smākam (KS *asm°*) *brāhmanānām rājā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB TB MŚ ApŚ

svadhā pitṛbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyah (AV *antar°*, GG † *'ntarī°*) AV ApŚ MŚ GG HG

yo asmi so asmi AV *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS KS AB *yo 'ham asmi sa san yaje* TB ApŚ

tutho vo viśvavedā vibhajatu varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS *'dhi*) *nāke* TS MS KS

nirasto aghaśansah (ApŚ *'gha°*) KS ApŚ

[*devo narāsanso 'gnau* (ŚŚ † *'gnā*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ ŠŚ Conc quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ]

[*yena turyena brahmanā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās* JB *yena rūpena prajāpataye* †*'vapathās* (Conc *ava°*) KS]

§911 Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and initial *a* occur among the variants For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338 In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*, but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple·

tve ā (SV *tvayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV A loc in RV is replaced by an instr in SV, with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV AV Followed by *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV AV The verse is mystic and obscure If the AV text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*, so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV reading, but keeps the AV reading in the second

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*

dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣa VS VSK MS KS ŚB, the Conc quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK But the actual text is *urv* If the text as printed (with *antarikṣa*, not °*kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā° urv antarikṣam* AV TS

SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *ṛ*

§913 The variants indicate the following school tendencies Rigvedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-ṛ* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *ṛ* This is prescribed by RPr 136 (2 11) and VPr 4 48 (which gives *a-ṛ* for *ā-ṛ* and makes no reference to *a-ṛ*, implying no change)

§914 Taittirīya texts and KS write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *ṛ*, as prescribed by TPr 10 8 So does LŚ in the single variant noted

§915 The rule of APr 3 46 is like that of TPr, *ar* for both *ā-ṛ* and *a-ṛ* But the mss of AV, according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *ṛ* is not followed by a sibilant, when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-ṛ* (because of *svarabhakti*, Whitney on APr 1 101) There are exceptions in the mss, and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss, namely, *ar* for both *ā-ṛ* and *a-ṛ* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-ṛ* Both Vait and Kauś sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows, the instances recorded are few

§916. Maitrāyanīya texts regularly write *ā-ṛ* and *a-ṛ* without change Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*, so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* (°*yañ*) etc , §918 Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *ṛ* in MS , these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf §§452 and 458 They are found below in §919 *yatrā ṛṣayo jagmuh* and *yenā ṛṣayas tapasā* There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-ṛ* in MS

savitre tvarbhumate (VS ŠB *tva ṛbhu°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) VS MS ŠB TA This sandhi is unique among the MS variants It is perhaps worth noting that two mss read *svarbhū°*, but p p *tvā, ṛbhu°* Cf §549, and Wackernagel I §267a*α*, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *ṛ*-vowel separately

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS , attention will be called to them as they occur

§918 The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *ṛ*

savitre tvarbhumate (VS ŠB *tva ṛbhu°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) VS MS ŠB TA See §916

yad dīdayac chavasa (MS °*yañ śavasa*, TS °*sā*) *ṛtaprajāta* (KS *chavasarta°*) RV VS TS MS KS AB This is the only case in which MS shortens *ā* to *a*, see §916 The TS reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*, which always suspends all sandhi, it is no real exception to the Tait practice

dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuh (TS KSA *tathartuh*, MŚ *tathā ṛtuh*) RV VS TS KSA MŚ

agnijihvebhyas (MS *agnihvarebhyas*) *tvartāyubhya*[*h*] (MS *tvā ṛtā°*) TS MS KS

yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*) RV AV

yatha ṛtava (AV TA *yathartava*) *ṛtubhir yanti sādhu* (AV *sākam*, TA *klptāh*) RV AV TA

svāha ṛṣabham (MS *svāhā ṛṣ°*, TB *svāharṣ°*) VS MS TB

viśvakarma ṛṣih (MS °*mā ṛṣih*, KS °*marṣih*) VS MS KS ŠB

tapasarṣayah (MahānU °*saṛṣayah*) *suvar* (TB. *svar*) *anvavindan* TB TA MahānU The MahānU reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm , which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pān 6 1 128

yayo rathah satyavartmaṛjuraśmiḥ AV *yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmiḥ satyadharmā* TS MS KS Here only AV has this sandhi, the other texts stand for *rathas* plus *ṛju°* Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation *ratharju°*, with double crasis, even in the YV texts

[*viśvādhiko rudro maharṣiḥ* (TA Conc *maharṣiḥ*, but Poona ed correctly *maharṣiḥ*) TA MahānU]

§919 The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *ṛ*

yatra ṛṣayo (MS *yatrā ṛ°*, KS *yatrar°*) *jagmuḥ* VS MS KS ŚB On the MS forms of this and the next cf §916

yena ṛṣayas (MS MŚ *yenā ṛ°*, TS KS ApŚ *yenar°*) *tapasā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ Cf prec

yatrarṣayah (Kauś *yatra ṛṣ°*) *prathamajā ye* (Kauś *°jāh*, om *ye*) *purānāh* TS TB ApŚ Kauś

śāradena (also, *śaiśirena*, *vasantena*, *hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS TB *°nartunā*) VS MS KS TB KŚ

ṛtuṣṭhā (MS *°āh*, KS *°ās*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS *sthartuspṛśah*) VS MS KS ŚB

ṛtava (KS *°vas*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS † *sthartā°*) VS KS ŚB *ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhah* TS

medhām sapta ṛṣayo (ApMB *saptar°*) *daduh* ApMB RVKh But Scheftelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh

svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavah (TB [so Poona ed] ApŚ *tṛpnutarbhavah*) RV TB ApŚ

brāhmanam adya ṛdhyāsam (KS *adyardh°*) MS KS MŚ

tasya ṛksāmāny (TS KS *tasyark°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

tvām adya ṛṣa ārṣeya ṛṣīnām (KS † TB *adyarṣa ārṣeyarṣīnām*) VS MS KS TB

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB *avartyai †vadhā°*, so Poona ed) VS TB

yathāham bharata ṛṣabha (ŚŚ *bharatarṣ°*) AB ŚŚ The only irregular case in ŚŚ or any RV text among the variants No v l is recorded

yebhyo na ṛte (TS KS *narte*) *pavate dhāma kimcana* VS TS MS KS ŚB

varunasya ṛtasadanam (KS *°syarta°*) *asi* VS KS ŚB

varunasya ṛtasadany (ApŚ *°syarta°*) *asi* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

tṛtīyasya savanasya ṛbhumato (ApŚ *°nasyarbhu°*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tenarṣinā (MS AŚ *tena ṛṣinā*) TS MS TB AŚ ApŚ

śruta ṛṣim (TB *srutarṣim*) *ugram abhimātiṣāham* RV MS TB

śivo me saptarṣīn (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣīn*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ Note *ar* in Vait even before a sibilant, cf §915

satyaś (VS *śukraś*) *ca ṛtapāś* (TS KS *carta°*) *cātyanhāh* VS TS MS KS
saptarṣayah (VS MS *sapta ṛ°*) *sapta dhāma priyāni* VS TS MS KS TB In TS 1 5 3 2b *sapta ṛṣ°* is read without sandhi merely because a *kandukā* ends here, it is no real exception to the rule
sapta ṛṣayo (TS KS *saptar°*) *'sṛjyanta* VS TS MS KS ŚB
saptaṛṣīnām (ApŚ Kauś *saptar°*) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* Vait KŚ MŚ ApŚ Kauś Note *ar* in Kauś even before a sibilant (one ms *aṛ*), cf §915
saptaṛṣīn (ApŚ *saptarṣīñ*) *jinva* ApŚ KŚ
upahūtā dhenuh (ŚB *gāvah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB *°bhāh*, AŚ ŚŚ † *saharṣabhā*) TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Irregular sandhi in ŚB
upa mā (AŚ ŚŚ *mām*) *dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ *saharṣ°*) TB AŚ ŚŚ
indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhir brahmanā samvidānah* ŚŚ
indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhih (KS *saharṣ°*) RV AV KS ApMB In ApMB we must certainly read *saharṣibhih* with four mss, in accord with Tait usage, Winternitz prints *saha ṛ°* with only one ms
upa ṛṣabhasya (TB LŚ *uparṣ°*) *retasi* (AV *yad retah*) RV AV TB LŚ
indrāya ṛṣabhena VS *indrāyarṣabhenāsvibhyām sarasvatyai* TB
ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS Only AV has this sandhi (*na, ṛnam*), the others *nas, ṛ-*
yatrā sapta ṛṣīn (TS KS *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuh* RV VS TS MS KS N
yathaika ṛṣir (KS *°karṣir*) *vijānate* KS TA ApŚ Only KS has this sandhi, the others *eka(h) ṛṣir*, two words

SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920 On this subject the variants throw little new light School tendencies are seldom discernible, when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence

I Final *n* before initial vowels

§921 All the variant passages concern forms which originally (prehistorically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny* These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics, they hardly belong in this place

1 Final *ān* before vowels

§922 The Prātiśākhyas in general (RPr 284 [4 26], VPr 3 141, APr 2 27) make *anusvāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions, Whitney's note says that AV more often retains *n* TPr 9 20–24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization, Whitney's note (p 225) states that TS retains *n* five times out of six

§923 Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements It happens that those occurring in TS show *anusvāra* more often than *n*, but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr texts and KS show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other But as to Maitr texts, when they change *n* to *anusvāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ā* to *a*, cf Schroeder, MS , Einleitung, p XXIX When this shortening of *ā* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it The variants fall naturally into three divisions accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s*-aorists (only one of the last)

§924 The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are

agniṣ ṭān (MS † *ṭaṅ*, KS † *ṭān*, TS TA *agnis tān*) *agre pra* AV TS MS KS TA The same with *vāyuṣ* (AV † *ṭān*)

agne devān (MS *devaṅ*, ŠG *devān*) *ihā vaha* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŠG The isolated form of ŠG is suspicious (misprint or error?)

aty anyān (VS ŠB *anyāṅ*) *agām nānyān* (VS ŠB *nānyāṅ*) *upāgām* VS TS MS KS ŠB MŚ ApŚ

athā (VS ŠB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS twice† °*nān*, TS twice† °*nāṅ*, once °*nān*) *indro me* VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŚ MŚ

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā* RV SV TS VS MS KS

idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ *idāvāsmāṅ anu vastām vratena* AV

unnayāmi svāṅ (MS *svan*, AV *svān*) *aham* AV VS TS MS KS ŠB TA

etat tvam deva soma devāṅ (TS KS ApŚ *devān*) *upāgāh* VS KS TS ŠB ApŚ *devān upāvṛtah* MS

kṛṇvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS KS ApŚ † *anyāṅ*, KŚ *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ

jambhyais (KS °*yebhis*) *taskarāṅ* (KS °*rān*) *uta* VS TS KS *jambhābhyām taskaran* (p p °*rān*) *uta* MS

puroḍāśāṅ (MŚ °*śaṅ*, GB Vait °*śān*) *alamkuru* TS GB ŠB Vait KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

mā so asmāṅ avahāya parā gāt TS *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat* MS *maiṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt* KS

yāṅ (AV TS MS KS Vait *yān*) *āvaha uśato deva devān`* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Vait

yā devīr antāṅ abhito 'dadanta AV *yāś ca devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* etc ApMB SMB HG *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān* etc MG

rakṣohāmitrāṅ (VS °*trān*) *apabādhamānah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS

vājo devān (MS KS *devān*) *ṛtubhiḥ kalpayāti* **VS** TS MS KS

sarvān (MS °*van*) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS AV *śivān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS † TB TAA ApŚ

so asmāṅ (MŚ *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS MŚ *so 'smān adhipatīn kṛnotu* ŚŚ

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

§925 Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following

agnih pravidvān (MS °*vaṅ*, KS °*vān*) *iha tat* MS KS ApŚ

idāvān (MS °*vān*) *eṣo asura prajāvān* RV TS MS KS

iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir āsīrvān (ApŚ °*vān*) *atharvabhih* KS ApŚ

cikitvān (MŚ °*vān*) *anu manyatām* TS KS MŚ

pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti RV *pumān enad vayaty udgṛnatti* AV

visalyo vānavān (TS MS KS *bā°*, MS °*vaṅ*, v l °*vān*, KS NīlarU °*vān*) *uta* VS TS MS KS NīlarU

payasvān (TS TB ApMB ° *vān*) *agna āgamam* AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB

pra yo jajñe vidvān (AV *vidvān*) *asya bandhum* (AV ° *dhuh*) AV TS KS

haviṣmān (KS °*mān*) *astu sūryah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

[*adha tviṣīmān abhy ojasā* RV SV † (Conc *tviṣīmān* for SV)]

§926 We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form

savitā jyotir ud ayāṅ (KS *ayān*, MS *ayan*) *ajasram* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

2 Final *īn* and *ūn* before vowels

§927 For this sandhi RPr 289 (4 29) requires *īnr*, *ūnr* The other Prs allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than RV See APr 2 29 and Whitney's note, TPr 9 20 and Whitney's note, VPr 3 140 The variants include very few cases, not enough to justify deductions

sarvāṅ (MS °*vaṅ*) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS AB *śivān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV

padā paṇīṅr (SV *panīn*) *arādhasaḥ* RV SV AV
ṛtūnr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* RV AV MS TB
ṛtūn (AV *ṛtūnr*) *utsṛjate vaśī* AV SV TB AŚ ŚŚ
[*tisro bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS °*yaṅs*) *trīṅr uta dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ
In this variant the printed text of MS reads †*trīnr*, with nasal consonant *n*, instead of *trīnr* This reading, which the Conc ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīnr*]

3 Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems
asmin brahmany asman karmany AV *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre* (ŚŚ adds *'smin karmany*) KS ŚŚ *asmin brahmann . asmin karmann* (PG *karmany*) TS ApŚ PG *te nah pāntv asmin brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmin karmany* MS
ātmann (IśāU °*ny*) *evānupaśyati* VS IśāU
śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ
[*divye dhāmann* (once °*ny* acc to Conc) *upahūtah* (once °*tā*) TB (both)
But Poona ed *dhāmann* both times]
[*tṛtīye dhāmany abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS TS MahānU
So Conc , but TA MahānU both have *dhāmāny*, acc plur]
One isolated case concerning verb forms
ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ *ajann agnih*) KS ApŚ See VV I p 51

II Final *n* before initial consonants

§929 Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV

1 Final *n* before *c*

§930 RPr 228 (4 4) requires *ñ*, but numerous exceptions are mentioned, cf 293f (4 32) VPr 3 133 and APr 2 26 require *ńś*, and so does TPr 5 20f , with a few exceptions Whitney's note on APr 1 c says that this rule is universally followed in the mss and text of AV , a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV be excluded from consideration (the Pr in fact does not deal with Book 20) In AV 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant The variants are

acikitvāñ (AV °*vāṅś*) *cikituṣaś cid atra* RV AV
anadvāṅś (TS °*vāñ*) *ca me* VS TS KS *dhenuś cānadvāṅś ca* MS MŚ
asmāṅś (RV KS *asmāñ*) *cakre mānyasya medhā* RV MS KS Most mss of MS *asmān* (with dental *n*), v l of KS *asmāṅś*
ghoṣenāmīvāṅś cātayata (PB °*mīvāñ cātayadhvam*) TB PB ApŚ
tām airayaṅś candramasi svadhābhiḥ MS KS *yām airayaṅs* (TS ° *yañ*) etc VS TS ŚB
mahah pitum papivāñ (AV 20, °*vāñ*) *cārv annā* RV AV
vajriñ (AV 20, SV *vajrin*) *citrābhir ūtibhiḥ* RV AV SV MS
asmāñ (SV *asmān*) *citrābhir avatād ablabhiḥ* RV SV

2 Final *n* before *t*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also RPr 295 (4 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done So also TPr 6 14 In the few variants found, the RV and TS schools, and KS, generally keep the nasal unchanged On the other hand APr 2 26 and VPr 3 134 require *ns*, tho both allow exceptions The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith, and Maitr texts seem also to favor *ns* But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive Besides the writings *n* and *ns*, a couple of cases of *n* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below, probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*

§932 The following variants occur,

agnir āyuṣmān sa vanaspatibhir āyuṣmān (PG KS °*māns*) *tena* (KS *tasyā*) TS KS PG ApMB (in the last with punctuation after *āyuṣmān*)
aśmans (KS *asman*) *te kṣut* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayah TB *ihaiva san* (MŚ *sans*) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB AŚ MŚ
tasmin (Vait MŚ °*mins*) *tad eno* RV TAA Vait MŚ
tisro bhūmīr dhārayan (MS °*yans*) *trīnr* (MS text †*trīnr*) *uta dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ
paśūṅś (RV *paśūn*) *tāṅś cakre vāyavyān* RV AV VS TA
pūṣan (ŚB TB *pūṣans*) *tava vrate vayam* RV AV VS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
śarman (MS *śarmans*) *te syāma* MS KS TA *tava syāma sarmans trivarūtha* VS *tava syām śarman trivarūtha* TS
dhāman (AG *dhāman*) *te visvam* RV VS KS AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG
brahmaṅś (MS KS *brahmā3ns*) *tvam* (MŚ *tvam me*) *brahmāsi* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ *brahmā3n* (TB °*mā3n*) *tvam rāyan brahmāsi* TS TB ApŚ (in the last with punctuation after *brahmā3n*)

[*brahman tvam asi* MahānU , acc to Conc *brahmañ* etc in TA , but the Poona ed. of TA reads *brahman*]

3 Final *n* before *j*

§933 The usual statements (e g Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ* This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhyas RPr 228 (4 4), APr 2 11, TPr 5 24, VPr 4 92 For *ñ* the spelling *ṅ* occurs very commonly in mss of many, perhaps most, texts Thus in the AV mss , according to Whitney (note to APr 1 c), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed , Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ* We find, in fact, *n* in all the AV variants, and also in SV in the two variants recorded there (But in ArS once *ñ*) Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above

§934 The variants from VS and ŚB , following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ* Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear, his note on VPr 1 c (*ISt* 4 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss follow the Prātiśākhya Perhaps some of his other mss keep dental *n*, if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS and ŚB on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber Note that the comm on VPr 4 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayaṃ vājāñ jayatu*, VS 5 37, which Weber prints *vājān*

§935 According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted The sole variant noted from another Maitr school text is MŚ 1 6 3 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *gṛhāñ jugupatam yuvam* with a majority of his mss , but against that which he regards as the best, its reading is *gṛhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS passage according to Von Schroeder —KS usually reads *ñ*, but once *n* (*yat te asmin* etc , below) Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *ṅ* (cf above)

§936 The following are the variants

adyā devāñ (VS *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāh* RV VS TS KSA

ahīnś ca sarvān (TS KS *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS °*ya*) VS TS MS KS

āyuṣmān (PG ApMB °*māñ*, RVKh VS °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭir* RVKh AV VS AG PG ApMB Scheftelowitz reads *āyuṣmān* for RVKh The mss of PG have corruptly *āyuṣyam*

kam agañ (AV *agaṅ*) *janayopanah* RV AV N
garbhah samjāyase punah MS *garbhe saṅ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS *sam-*) *j° p°* RV VS TS KS ŚB
tam arcişā sphūrjayañ (AV °*yan*) *jātavedah* RV AV
tvam etāñ (AV *etāṅ*) *janarājño dvir daśa* RV AV
te asmin (TS KS *asmiñ*) *javam ādadhuh* VS TS MS KS ŚB
devān (RV TB *devāṅ*) *jigāti sumnayuh* RV MS ŚB TB
paśyañ (AV °*yaṅ*) *janmāni sūrya* RV AV ArS N
pitīñ (KŚ *pitīn*) *jinva* TS KS PB Vait KŚ ApŚ *ojasā pitrbhyah pitīn jinva* MS
prajāh kṛnvan janayan virūpāh MS *prajā vikṛnvañ* (ApŚ *vikurvaṅ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ °*pāh*) KS ApŚ
praty ajātān (AV °*tāṅ*, TS KS TA °*tāñ*) *jātavedo nudasva* AV VS VSK TS MS KS TA
māre asman maghavañ (SV °*vaṅ*) *jyok kah* RV SV
yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS *yasyās te ghora āsan ju°* VS ŚB *yasyās te asyāh krūra āsañ ju°* TS ApŚ Exception in KS
yāns (TA Poona ed †*yās*) *te soma prānāns tān* (Poona ed *tān*, MahānU *tāñ*) *juhomi* TA MahānU
vibhrājañ (AV SV °*jan*) *jyotişā svah* RV AV SV
vrtrāni vrtrahañ (AV °*han*) *jahi* RV AV
satyānrte avapaśyañ (AV °*yan*, MS °*yan*) *janānām* RV AV TS MS ApMB This is quoted by APr 2 11 as an example of *ñ* before *j*[1]
saptarşīñ (KŚ *saptarşīn*) *jinva* KŚ ApŚ
[*grhān* (MŚ *grhāñ*, read *grhān*, see above, §935) *jugupatam yuvam* MS MŚ]

4 Final *n* before *ś*

§937 *Before ś, the regular sandhi of n requires ñ, which however is* often written *n*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV and AV The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*) But in the single variant noted from the YV Samhitās, TS alone has this regular *ñ-ch*, MS and VS keep *ś* unchanged, MS writing *ñ* before it and VS *ṅ*, the sole ms of KSA reads like VS, but von Schroeder emended to *ñ-ch* in his edition This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr 4 94 We begin with this variant
ādityāñ chmaśrubhih (VS and ms of KSA °*tyāṅ śma°*, MS °*tyāñ śma°*) VS TS MS KSA.

asmiñ (AV *asmiṅ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV AV
tām nah pūṣañ chivatamām erayasva HG *tām pūṣañ* (AV *pūṣaṅ*) *chi°* RV AV ApMB
divi ṣañ (AV *ṣan*, SV *san*) *chukra ātatah* RV AV SV
maghavañ (AV SV PB TB Conc °*van*, TB Poona ed °*vañ*) *chagdhi* RV AV SV PB TB TA ApŚ MahānU
yācchreṣṭhābhir maghavañ chūra yinva RV *yāvacchreṣṭhābhir maghavan chūra* AV
yat te rājañ (AG *rājaṅ*) *chṛtam havih* RV AG ŚG
sūro na rurukvāñ (SV °*vān*) *chatātmā* RV SV
parārcṛṣā mūradevāñ (AV °*vāṅ*) *chṛnīhi* RV AV
pratyañcam arkam anayañ (AV ° *yan*) *chacībhih* RV AV
śatam hemantāñ (AV °*tāṅ*) *chatam u vasantān* RV AV N

5 Final *n* before *s*

§938 Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by APr 2 9 and TPr 5 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr 236 (4 6), cf the divergent views recorded in VPr 4 14f It is quite common in all texts, likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *ñ* before *s* Cf Wackernagel I §282 The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*, most of them concern *san sam*, in the latter case the preposition *sam* being felt as involved

brahman (LŚ * *brahman*) *stoṣyāmah praśāstah* KB GB, ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ
sasavān san (MS *sam*) *stūyase* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The p p of MS *san*, all samh mss *sam* The other texts all actually read *sant*, except KS *san*
pumānsam vardhatām mayi ŚG (Conc says that this is an error for *pumān samvar°*, but the text is correct, see §97) *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG
jihvā pavitram aśvināsan (TB °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS MS KS TB

§939 To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which *t* is alternatively added after final *ñ* before *s*

pratyañ (VS TS MS, ŚB * TB *pratyañk*) *somo atidrutah* (with var) AV VS VSK MS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Poona ed of TB *pratyañ*
prāñ (VS. TB *prāñk*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK ŚB TB ApŚ Again Poona ed of TB *prāñ*

6 Final *n* before *p*

§940 The only cases noted concern *nṝnṣ* or *nṝnh* for *nṝn*, since this variation really concerns final *s* before *k* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965

7 Final *n* before *k*

§941 Only a single case has been noted, AV writes *jayam* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc would read *jayan* In any case it is purely a matter of orthography
samjayan (AV ed *jayam*) *kṣetrāṇi* AV TS MS KS KŚ

8 Final *n* before *y*

§942 See RPr 287 (4 28), VPr 3 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d
dadhanvān (MS KS °*vān*, VS ŚB TB °*vā*) *yo naryo apsv antar ā* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB

9 Final *n* before *l*

§943 Two variants
agniṣ ṭān (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (etc) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB *agniṣ ṭān asmāt* AV MŚ Inconsistent with RPr 227 (4 4) and Wackernagel I §281b, the VS reading also inconsistent with VPr 4 13, which requires nasalized *l* Cf further APr 2 35, TPr 5 26 A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts
eṣa me 'muṣmin (ĢB *'muṣminl*, Gaastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB GB † 2 5 8
[*viṣnus tryaksarena trīnl lokān* (VSK *trīn imānl lokān*, TS † *trīṅ lokān*) VS VSK TS]

10 Final *n* before *v*

§944 One variant
puru tvā dāśvān (SV *dāśivān*) *voce* RV SV N Cf RPr 287 (4 28), APr 2 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *n*

§945 The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *n* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably) In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change, and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *n*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable, one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittirīya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics, or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-* Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyanīya texts rarely alter to *n*, while Taittirīya texts generally alter to *n*, but there are exceptions in both cases Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants

§948 We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound Note that after a final *r*, Taittirīya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV and MS , which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *n*, and yet, as we have said, Tait texts generally favor lingualization

§949 In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*

svar na (TS *suvar na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ * *gharma*) *svāhā* VS TS KS ŠB ApŚ The same with *jyotih*, *śukrah*, *sūryah*, *arkah*, all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc) Only TS has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ)

svar na (TS *suvar na*) *jyotih* RV SV VS TS MS KS

asya sutasya svar na (AŚ ŠŚ *ṇa*) AV SV AS ŠŚ

āśīr na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ūrjam* AV MS Vait MŚ

anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS *nu*) RV VS MS KS The mss of MS read corruptly *nakṛnu*, p p *nakih*, *tu*

vṛtratūr no (TB *no*) MS TB (two variants in the same passage)

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word

pra no naya vasyo acha RV *pra no naya prataram vasyo acha* RV

pra na (SV MS PB *na*) *āyūnṣi* RV AV SV VS TS VSK MS. KS PB TB TA AŚ ŠŚ ApŚ Kauś N

pra na (SV *na*) *indo* RV SV

pra nah (SV *nah*) *pinva* RV SV

pra nu (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no*, read *nu*) *vocam cikituṣe janāya* RV TA SMB ApMB Kauś PG HG MG Jorgensen reads *nu* for SMB, but with v l *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read in accord with the usage of SV texts

pra no (also, *no*) *jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśah* Kauś (both)

pra no (TS † JUB *no*) *jīvātave suva* VS TS KS ŚB MŚ JUB Conc wrongly *no* for TS 5 5 7 5 Note JUB *no*, contrary to SV usage

pra no (TB *no*) *navyebhis* RV MS KS TB

pra no (AV TS *no*) *yachatv aryamā* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

pra no (AV TS *no*) *yacha* (KS *rāsva*) *viśaspate* (AV *viśām*°, TS *bhuvas*°, VS ŚB *sahasrajit*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

parainān (AV °*nān*) *devah savitā dadātu* RV AV

pari nah (SV *nah*) *śarmayantyā* RV SV

pari no (SV *no*) *aśvam aśvavit* RV SV

pari no (VS MS *no*) *rudrasya* VS TS MS KS TB *pari no heti rudrasya* RV VSK *pari no hedo* RV

atas cid indra na (SV *na*) *upa* RV SV ŚŚ

indra enam (KS *enam*) *prathamo adhyatiṣṭhat* RV VS TS KS

indra enam (AV *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV TB ApŚ

sam indra no (AV MS KS Kauś *no*) *manasā* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ KŚ Kauś

sumitrā (etc) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh ApŚ KŚ MŚ

uruṣyā no (MS *no*) *aghāyatah samasmāt* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ N

tebhih (RV also *tena*) *somābhi* (TA °*bhī*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV (*bis*) TA

śikṣā no (TS *no*!) RV AV VS TS KS AB Note that TS perversely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency

devīh (AV *daiv*°, KS *trayīṣ*) *sad urvīr uru nah* (only RV *nah*, AV ed *nah*, but read *nah*, see Whitney's note, KS † *nas*) *kṛnota* RV AV TS KS ApMB

asthūri nau gārhapatyam MS KS *tayor* (ApŚ *tayor nāv*) *asthūri* (MŚ °*ri nau*) *gārh*° ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *asthūri nau gārhapatyāni* Kauś *asthūri nau* (VSK *no*, ŚŚ *no*) *gārhapatyāni* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ *asthūri no* (TS TB *no*, KS *nau*, MŚ [van Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV TS MS KS TB MŚ In the first-quoted version, the two best mss of MS read *nau*, in accord with MS usage, but the MŚ form of it (*tayor* etc) has *nau* according to all Knauer's mss

§951 (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV just as in simple words Wackernagel I §170

§952 We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n-* compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions, Wackernagel I §169) When SV shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic Among the variants, TS twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*, and the *n* of *nāsatya* is twice lingualized, once in VS and once in MS (! despite the tendency of MS to avoid lingualization)

abhi pra nonumo (SV *no°*) RV SV SV

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) RV SV

tvām abhi pra nonumah (SV *no°*) RV SV KB

pra nāmāni (TS *nā°*) RV TS MS KS

athainam jarimā nayet HG *yathainam jarase nayāt* AV

tasmād vār nāma (TS *nāma*) AV TS MS KS

gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā (VS *nā°*) RV VS AŚ

nāsatyā (MS *nā°*) *bhiṣajāśvinā* VS MS TB Preceded in all by *bhiṣañ*, which may be meant for part of this pāda

punar āgāh punarnava (AV *°nava*, and *°navah*) RV AV (bis)

uṣṭro ghṛṇīvān vārdhrīnasas (MS *ghṛṇāvān vārdhrānasas*) VS MS *gṛdhrah śitikakṣī vārdhrānasas* (KS ms *vārhīnasas*, ed em *vārdhrī°*) TS KSA

sahasranīthah (SV *° nīthah*) *padavīh kavīnām* RV SV

§953 Of the rest, in which *n* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases

sādhyebhyaś carmamnam (VS *°mnam*) VS VSK TB The form *°mna* occurs in RV

agne deva panibhir vīyamānah (MS MŚ *°nah*, VS ŚB *guhyamānah* KS *idhyamānah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ TB

abhūr āpīnām (HG *°nām*, v l *°nām*) ApMB HG

dyutadyubhir namasyair iyānā MS *mitajñubhir namasyair iyānā* RV

devaśrīh śrīmanāh (VSK TS *°nāh*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

agneh purīṣavāhanah (MS *purīṣya°*, VS † ŚB † *°vāhanah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected The variation is due

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi, in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental *suṣumnah* (TS N °*nah*) *sūryaraśmih* VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS N there is thought of the simple *sumnah*

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound, in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized *amṛnmayam* (ApŚ *amṛn°*) TB ApŚ

FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

§955 On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies *As to the Prātiśākhya rules* RPr 349 requires *ṣ* regularly before *tvā* and *te* (but cf 356), and 350–354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns APr 2 84, 85 also makes *ṣ* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions, according to Whitney, *ṣ* is commoner in AV VPr 3 75, 76 (cf 79ff) likewise makes *ṣ* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns) TPr 6 5 allows the change to *ṣ* in only a few specified cases

§956 Wackernagel I §286b says that the change to *ṣ* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh kennen solches *ṣ* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen ' This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV shows *ṣ* for RV *s*, not before pronouns These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns

dhanuṣ tanvanti (RV *dhanus ta°*) *pauṃsyam* RV SV
uṣā apa svasus tamah (SV †*svasuṣ tamah*) RV AV SV AŚ

§957 All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns (Cf *agneṣ ṭvā tejasā sūryasya* MG , to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows *agnes tejasā sūryasya* MS KS AB TB TA) They show that the schools of RV , AV , VS , and TS follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhyas to their respective Samhitās To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV , and that is exceptional in showing *s*, but the RV school texts show 12 cases of *ṣ* to 1 of *s* AV shows 4 of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*, and its school texts 3 to 0 VS has 17 to 2, and other Vāj texts (incl VSK) 22 to 1 TS , on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases) This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s*, but KS also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ṣ* SV itself has

only one instance (of *ṣ*), and its school texts have 2 of each MS is as unanimous for *ṣ* as TS is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ and MG) Summarizing the schools of RV, AV, VS, and MS regularly write *ṣ*, that of TS always, and KS usually, *s*, the variants from SV are indecisive

§958 There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns

aṁśur-aṁśuṣ ṭe (TS. KS ApŚ °*śus te*) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS. TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnis te 'gram (MŚ *agniṣ ṭe agram*) TS MŚ

agniṣ ṭe tanvam MŚ *agnis te tanuvam* (KS *tanvam*) TS KS TB ApŚ *agniṣ ṭe tvacam* VS ŚB KŚ

agniṣ ṭe tejo AŚ MŚ *agnis te tejo* TS TB JB ApŚ

agniṣ ṭe (TS *agnis te*) *'dhipatih* VS TS MS KS ŚB

agniṣ ṭvābhi (TS *agnis tvā°*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB

agniṣ tvā (TS KS *agnis tvā*) *śrīnātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnis tvā (MS *agniṣ ṭvā*) *hvayati* TS MS KS TB

agniṣ †ṭan agre MS *agniṣ ṭāṅ* (AV *ṭān*, TS TA [but not KS †] *agnis tān*) *agre* AV TS KS TA

agneṣ ṭvā (KS ApŚ *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ

agneṣ ṭvā (TS KS *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* TS MS KS MŚ

agneṣ ṭvāsyena (TS ApŚ *agnes tvā°*) VS VSK TS GB ŚB KB ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

adityāṣ ṭe (TS KS TA ApŚ °*tis te*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ KŚ MŚ

adityāṣ ṭvā (TS KS ApŚ [but not MŚ †] °*tis tvā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ

avatatya dhanuṣ ṭvam (TS KS NīlarU °*nus tvam*) VS TS MS KS MŚ NīlarU

gopāya mā (VāDh *mām*) *śevadhis te* (N °*dhiṣ ṭe*) VāDh VīDh N

tābhiṣ ṭvam (KS TA *tābhis tvam*) *ubhayībhih samvidānah* MS KS TA

tebhiṣ ṭvam putram janaya ŚG *tais tvam putram* (*putrān*) *vindasva* AV ApMB

dyauṣ ṭvā (ŚŚ *dyaus te*) *pitā pṛthivī mātā* AV ŚŚ

prajāpatiṣ ṭvā sādayatu VS ŚB MS MŚ *prajāpatis tvā sā°* TS TB TA ApŚ KS

prajāpates tvā (MŚ °*teṣ ṭvā*) *prānena* TB ApŚ MŚ

prabhos te (SV °*bhoṣ ṭe*) †*satah* RV SV

bahis te (AV KS *bahiṣ ṭe*) *astu* AV TS KS ApŚ

bṛhaspateṣ ṭvā (TS TB °*tes tvā*). VS VSK TS ŚB TB

bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā (TS KS ApŚ *°tis tvā*) *sumne* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā (SMB HG *°tis tvā*) *niyunaktu* AG ŠG SMB HG MG
bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā (TA *°tis tvā*) *viśvair* MS TA
bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā (TS ApŚ *°tis tvā*) *sādayatu* TS MS ApŚ MŚ
bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvopasīdatu (TA ApŚ *°tis tvo°*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ
manoṣ ṭvā MS KŚ MŚ *manos tvā* KS TB ApŚ
varūtrīṣ ṭvā VS ŠB *varutrīs tvā* KS
vāyuṣ ṭtān (MŚ *ṭan*, KS *ṭāṅ*, TS TA *vāyus tāṅ*) *agre* AV TS KS TA MŚ
vāyuṣ ṭe (TS *vāyus te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS TS MS
vāyuṣ ṭe (TS *vāyus te*) *vāyav yuñ* TS KSA
vāyuṣ tvābhiṣṭātu (TS *vāyus tvā°*) VS TS MS KS ŠB
śivebhir arcibhiṣ ṭvam (TS *°bhis tvam*) VS TS MS KS ŠB
savitus tvā (AG ŠG *°tuṣ ṭvā*) *prasava* VS ŠB KŚ AG ŠG
svadhitis te (ŠG *°tiṣ te*) *pitā* VS ŠG ApMB

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§959 Here the rules of the Prātiśākhyas (RPr 260 [4 14] ff , APr 2 62ff , TPr 8 23–35, VPr 3 10f , 20ff , especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya*) But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule

§960 European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf Macdonell 78 2, c) Wackernagel I §286c, *β*, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an āmredita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an āmredita, and very few others concerning compounds They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words, but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately The sole āmredita noted is the following

paruṣah-paruṣas (KS *paruṣas-paruṣas*, TS TA MahānU *paruṣah-paruṣah*) *pari* VS TS MS KS ŠB TA MahānU Note that in the VS and MS schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases, and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the Prātiśākhyas, namely we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member VPr 3 36 mentions this as an exception, likewise TPr 8 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *ṣ* or *dh*, covers the case, this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences

§962 The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*)

sādyaskrīś ApMB *sadyahkrīś* ŚG

śocişkeśam (MS * *śocih°*) *purupriya* RV VS TS MS (both) KS

upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarane (MS *havih°*, but p p *haviṣ°*) MS AŚ ŚŚ

bhūyasi haviṣkarana upahūtah (TB * *°tā*) TS TB ŚB

āyukṛd āyuhpatnī ApŚ *āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī* AV

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the Prātiśākhyas, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h* Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference The Taittirīya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels, but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyanīya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others) We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows

	After *a*-vowels		After non-*a*-vowels		
	h	*s*	*h*	*ṣ*	*s* (dental)
RV	7	9	3	12	
RV school	5	12	1	2	
SV	5	4	3	2	
SV school	1	3	1	3	
AV	4	7	1	8	
AV school	0	4	0	1	
VS	3	15	5	7	
VS school	3	16	4	8	
TS	21	2	2	4	
TS school	24	7	16	6	2
MS	6	15	10	5	1
MS school	2	2	5	1	1
KS	9	9	5	7	1
Others	0	2	0	1	

	After *a*-vowels		After non-*a*-vowels		
	ḥ	*s*	*ḥ*	*ṣ*	*s* (dental)
Total RV school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS school	45	98	38	57	3

1 The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964 Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittirīyas, the latter is nearly unanimous for *ḥ* Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f), the following occur

somaḥ (SV *somas*) *patī rayīnām* RV AV SV

sa no divā sa riṣaḥ (VS MS *riṣas*) *pātu naktam* RV AV VS TS MS KS TB

śam nas (RV *naḥ*) *karato asvinā* RV TB ApŚ

manyāsai śam ca nas (TS *naḥ*) *kṛdhi* VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N

devīḥ (*daivīḥ*) *ṣad uru naḥ* (*naḥ*) *kṛnota* RV AV TS ApMB *trayīṣ ṣad uru ṭnas kṛ°* KS

uru kṣayāya nas (TS *naḥ*) *kṛdhi* RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

varivas (RV *°vaḥ*) *kṛnvan* RV SV

ayam no agnir varivas (TS KS AŚ ApŚ *°vaḥ*) *krnotu* VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

urvī rodasī varivas (TS KS *°vaḥ*) *kṛ°* TS MS KS

divaḥ (VS *divas*) *parjanyād* VS TS MS KS

divaḥ pṛthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt TS KS TB ApŚ *divas* etc RV AV MS

divaḥ pṛthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam VS TS KSA *divas* etc RV AV Vait Kauś

divaḥ pṛṣṭham svar (*suvar*) TS MS KS *divas* etc AV VS ŚB

divas (SV *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭham adhi* RV SV

divas (SV *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭhāny* AV SV

divaḥ (RV *divas*) *pṛṣṭham* (PB *°ṭhe*). RV PB TA ApŚ

abhi priyā divas padā (SV *divaḥ kavīḥ*) RV SV

agne tvam sūktavāg divas (TS TB *divaḥ*) *pṛthivyoḥ* TS (fragment) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu dıvah (VS ŚB *dıvas*) *pṛṣṭhe*. VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

śrnīhi vıśvatah prati RV †*śrnāhi vıśvatas pari* SV Add to VV I §275

gırır na vıśvatas (SV °*tah*) *pṛthuh* RV AV SV

yathā nah śreyasas (TS °*sah*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

yathā no vasyasas (TS °*sah*, LŚ *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

vıśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah (VS † ŚB PG † °*bhyas*, MS *daṅṣṭrābhyas*) *pāhi* (TS TB *pāta*, PG *parıpāhi*) VS TS MS ŚB TB TA PG

yeṣām apsu sadas (TS ApMB *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS TS ŚB NılarU ApMB † 2 17 6c

mıtrās (RV *mıtrah*) *pānty adruhah* RV SV

pṛthıvyāh sampṛcas (TS TB ApŚ °*cah*, VS ŚB *samspṛsas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ AŚ

nānā hi vām devahıtam sadas (TB ApŚ *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS MS KS AB ŚB TB ApŚ AŚ

dıva oṣadhayas (TS °*yah*) *pari* RV VS TS MS

ubhe ca no (etc) *anhasah* (MS ŚB † AŚ °*sas*) *pātām* (TB Conc *syātām*, Poona ed *aṅhasah spātām*!, AŚ text, †*aṅhasa syātām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

ındrah (ŚŚ *ındras*) *patıs* AV AA ŚŚ

ıdāyās (ApŚ *ıdāyāh*) *padam* AV AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB Vaıt Kauś

apah (TS TB ApŚ *apas*) *pınva* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Note the perverseness of the Taıt texts in reading *s*, contrary to their usual rule, against all other texts!

agne trātar rtas (SV *rtah*) *kavıh* RV SV

pāṣādhvanah (VS KS ŚB °*nas*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

prānasya tvā tanuvah (MS *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS TA

praıtu brahmanas (MŚ °*nah*) *patnī* TS ApŚ MŚ

ṣan morvīr aṅhasas (ŚŚ °*sah*) *pāntu* ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

2 The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965 Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance In general, however, *ṣ* prevails The dominance of *h* in the Taıt school is less marked, TS itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ* More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr school this time favors *h*, tho after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s* Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS alone shows *ṣ*, other texts *h* These all concern the single form *nṝn*, acc plur of *nṛ*, the vowel *ṝ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf §940 above)

hotā yakṣad uṣāsānaktā nṝnh (MS *nṝnṣ*) *patibhyo* MS KS TB
hotā yakṣan narāśaṃsam nṛṣadam nṝṣpraṇetram (TB *nṝnh°*) MS TB
nṝnh (MS *nṝnṣ*) *pāhi* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB

§966 Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants, both times before a form of root *kṛ* (does the form *skṛ* exercise an influence here?)

supippalā oṣadhīs (ApŚ °*dhīḥ*) *kṛdhi* MS KS ApŚ MŚ
śam agnir agnibhis (RV °*bhiḥ*) *karat* RV TB ApŚ

§967 Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants

dyauḥ (RV *dyauṣ*) *pitaḥ pṛthivi mātar adhruk* RV MS TB
dyauḥ pitā TB ApŚ *dyauṣ pitā* AV
dyauḥ pṛṣṭham pṛthivī śarīram ŚŚ 10 17 4 (as two separate mantras) *dyauṣ pṛṣṭham antarikṣam* ŚB KŚ
upahūto dyauṣ (TB ApŚ *dyauḥ*) *pitā* VS ŚB TB ApŚ
upa mām dyauṣ (TB ApŚ *dyauḥ*) *pitā hvayatām* VS ŚB TB ApŚ
jyotiṣ (MS LŚ *jyotiḥ*) *paśyanta* (MS ° *tā*) *uttaram* RV MS KS ChU LŚ
jyotiṣ (SV °*tiḥ*) *paśyanti vāsaram* RV SV KS
yas tāni veda sa pituṣ (VS and most mss of AV *pituḥ*) *pitāsat* AV VS *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N *yas tad veda savituḥ* (MahānU *sa pituḥ*) *pitāsat* TA MahānU
aham id dhi pituṣ (MG *pituḥ*) *pari* RV AV SV Vait MG
sa idhāno (KS ms *edh°*, ed emends) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuḥ*) *kavih* RV SV VS TS MS KS
haviṣ (HG MG *havih*) *kṛnvantaḥ parivatsarīnam* (HG † SMB † °*nām*, MG °*yam*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG
yasya dvārā manuṣ (SV *manuḥ*) *pitā* RV SV
mṛtyoḥ (VSK °*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS VSK MS KS ŚB MŚ
citraḥ śiśuḥ (MS *śiśuṣ*) *pari* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
āyoḥ patmane svāhā KS *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ
āviṣ (MS *āvih*) *kṛnuṣva daivyāny agne* RV VS TS MS KS
apālām tris (ApMB MG *trih*) *pū°* RV AV JB ApMB MG
parne vo vasatiṣ (TS MS °*tiḥ*) *kṛtā* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
niḥ kravyādam nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS *niṣ kravyādam sedha* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *niṣ kravyādam anīnaśat* RV AV MG

[*svādus* (AV °*duh*, but most mss, SPP, and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kilāyam madhumāñ utāyam* RV AV AB ApŚ]

ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *k* AND *p*

§968 Among the variants occur only three pādas belonging here, and they all concern the word *svarpatı* This occurs in that form in RV (three times), AV and KS (once each), while in SV (three times) and PB (once) it occurs in the form *svahpatı* This accords with RPr 258 (4 12), which requires *svar* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *h*) APr ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it ocurs in Book 20, which the Pr does not treat The pādas are

yuvam hi sthah svarpatī (SV PB *svahpatī*) RV SV PB
dātrasyāgne svarpatih (SV *svahpatih*) RV SV KS
svahpatır yadī vṛdhe SV *svarpatım yad īm vṛdhe* RV AV

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969 In this case RPr 251, 253 allows either *h* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ* A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Muller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *nihṣahamāno*, Muller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *niṣṣah*° in accordance with the Pr rule VPr 3 8 f quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them, according to Weber the mss of both VS. and VSK generally write *h* APr 2 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss of AV generally write *h*, and the edition usually follows them TPr 9 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss of TS generally write *h*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition

§970 The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *h*, whether absolutely final or in compounds In KS however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf his Einleitung, p XII), the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS, and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here Among the variants, the RV retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all), but in several of these Müller prints *h* instead According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl Ind edition), TB also

retains the sibilant three times, but in all of these the Poona ed. has *h* ApMB also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p xlviii), but again the Concordance usually ignores this All other texts would seem to write *h* [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance In this opinion I agree with him, and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value F E]

§971 The following variants have been noted

nihṣahamāno (SV *niṣṣa°*) *yamate nāyate* RV SV On the RV reading see the preceding paragraph

vakṣahsu (RV *vakṣassu*, but Muller °*hsu*) *rukmā upaśiśriyānāh* RV MS TB

vardhanam purunisṣidhe (SV °*nihṣidhe*) RV SV

pṛtsutūrṣu śravassu (AV and Muller's RV °*hsu*) *ca* RV AV

vṛṣā na kruddhah patayad rajassv (AV and Muller's RV °*hsv*) *ā* RV AV

havir havisṣu vandyah (SV *havihsu* †*vandyah*) RV SV

kriyanta (TB *priyā ta*) *ā barhih* (KS † TB °*his*, but TB Poona ed °*hih*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB

uto aranyānih (TB °*nis*, but Poona ed °*nih*) *sāyam* RV TB

upa nah (KS † TB *nas*, but TB Poona ed *nah*) *sūnavo girah* RV SV VS KS TB

idam devānām idam u nah (KS *idam nas*) *saha* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

satyā eṣām (AG *etā*) *āśiṣah* (ApMB °*ṣas*) *santu* VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG

FINAL *s* BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972 RPr 255 (4 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant So also VPr 3 12 TPr 9 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect, the comm and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss of TS generally follow it APr contains no such prescription, but the AV mss observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr 2 40) This appears to be not quite true, cf the variants *hotrā-vidah stomataṣṭāso* AV 18 3 47b, and *madhvah ścotanty* AV 20 88 3d

§973. None of the Prātiśākhyas authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant, but the comm. on TPr 9 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then

1 Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions, and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss Aufrecht's edition of RV follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd, but Muller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise Benfey's edition of SV is apparently not wholly consistent of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h* On AV see above, §972 In TS, Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*, at least the variants record no contrary case The same is true of Weber's edition of VS Von Schroeder's edition of MS always prints *h*, but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol 1, p XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss, which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s* On MŚ and MG cf Knauer, Einleitung to MG, p xxxviii, it appears that the mss of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally, among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapsa skandaṭ* MŚ 2 4 3 29a The mss of KS usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant, in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS, quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS

§975 Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras But evidently the mss of many of them are inconsistent It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl Ind and Poona editions are often at variance on the point ŚŚ likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG of the mantra *mā no hinsīh* (*hinsī*) *sthaviram* , with and without *h*, we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v l to either

§976 [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS, MŚ, and MG against the evidence of their mss

Likewise in the case of KS there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS , MŚ , MG , or KS , it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Muller's edition in every case reads *h* —I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded —F E]

§977. The list of variants concerning final s before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows

pra tad viṣṇu (TB Poona ed *viṣnuh*, AV † *viṣnu*, ŚŚ [pratīka] †*pra tad viṣnur iti*] *stavate* RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ ŚŚ NrpU

ya (ŚŚ *yah*) *strīnām* VS TS KSA ŚŚ

viṣṇo (TB *viṣnoh*) *stupo* (*stūpo*) *'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

viṣṇo (TB *viṣnoh*) *sthānam asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

samsrāvabhāgā (or, *samsrava°*, TB *°bhāgāh*) *stheṣā* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ

huta (TB *hutah*) *stokah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

hotrāvida (AV *°vidah*, TB *°vṛdha*, Poona ed *°vṛdhah*) *stomataṣṭāso* RV AV MS TB

vipṛca (TB Poona ed 1 3 3 6 *°cah*) *stha* VSK KS ŚB TB (both readings) KŚ ApŚ MŚ The same with *sampṛca*

andha sthāndho VS ŚB KŚ *ambha* (ApŚ *ambhah*) *sthāmbho* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG

ā na (ŚŚ *nah*) *stuta* RV ŚŚ

āyu stha ApŚ *āyuh stha* TB

ṛtava (TB *°vah*) *stha* VS KS ŚB TB

indravanta (AB *°tah*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB GB Vait

diva (TB *divah*) *skambha°* VS VSK KS TS ŚB TB ApŚ

pra va (KB ŚŚ *vah*) *spad* RV KB ŚŚ

prokṣitā (TB Conc *°tā* and *°tāh*, Poona ed both times *°tāh*) *stha* VS TS MS KS TB ŚB KŚ MŚ

balavijñāya (SV °*yah*) *sthavirah* . RV AV SV VS TS MS KS
bṛhadbhir vājai (TB Poona ed *vājaih*) *sthavirebhir* RV MS KS TB
bṛhaspati (TB Conc °*ti* and °*tih*, Poona ed both times °*tih*) *stotram* VS MS KS TB
madhva (AV °*vah*) *scotanty* RV AV
mā no hiṃsīh (and, *hiṃsī*) *sthaviram* ŚG (both)
mānta (ApŚ *māntah*) *sthur* RV AV AB JB ApŚ MŚ
mā na stena RV KS *mā va* (TB Poona ed *va* and *vah*) *stena* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
yas te drapsa (ŚŚ Vait *drapsah*, MŚ *drapsa*) *skandati* RV VS TS KS GB ŚB Vait MŚ ŚŚ
ye devā devasuva (TB °*vah*) *stha* TS TB
vāyava (TB °*vah*) *stha* VS TS MŚ KS GB ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
upāyava (TB °*vah*) *stha* TS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ
prānah sthah TB *prāna sthah* ApŚ
stokā (TB Poona ed *stokāh*) *scotanti* RV MS KS AB TB
subhūtakṛta stha ApŚ *suhutakṛtah stha* AŚ
sūryatvacasa (TB Poona ed °*sah*) *stha* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ
gira (ApŚ *girah*) *stomāsa irate* RV AV SV MS ApŚ
cakṣu (TB *cakṣuh*) *sthaś* TB ApŚ
cita (TB *citah*) *stha* TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
cita (ApŚ once out of four times, and TA twice out of three times acc to Conc , all three times acc to Poona ed , *citah*) *stha pari*° VS TS KS TA ApŚ KŚ
prati tvā diva (TB *divah*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB Poona ed †*vetu*) TS TB
[*trinave* †*maruta* (Conc °*tah* for VS) *stutāh* (°*tam*) VS MS KS]
[*dhruvam asi dhruvata* (Conc °*tah* for ApMB) *sthitam* ApMB HG]

2 Final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978 Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākhyas, require *h* In KS , just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant, again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS as reading *visarga* like other texts The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB , see Winternitz's Introduction, p xlvii It appears, however, that the mss of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently Especially is this true of AV , see Whitney's note on APr 2 86, and on his Translation of AV , 6 121 1 The Bibl Ind editions of TB and TA show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *h* in most of these cases There is even one case in MS which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ) *syonena ghṛtena mā samukṣata*, MS 4 2 5 Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic

§979 [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz 1 KS always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance —2 Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text —F E]

§980 The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV The latter is to be understood with *svápna(h)* nom , not voc , Edgerton, *AJP* 35 438ff

medasah (VSK °*sa*) *svāhā* VS VSK MS TB

yā devy asīṣṭake prānadā cakṣurdāś (ApŚ °*dā*) *śrotradā dyaurdās* (ApŚ °*dā*) *svardāh* KS ApŚ *yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāḥ cakṣurdāh śrotradāh* MS

samjñānam nah (TB *na*, but Poona ed *nah*) *sve°* RVKh AV MS KS TB

ādityebhyah preṣya mahasvasarasya (MŚ *mahah sva°*) ŚB MŚ ApŚ See Knauer's note, and pw , Addendum to Vol 5, s v *mahasvasara*

avidahantah (TB °*ta*) *śrapayata* TB ApŚ MŚ

uṣasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat ApŚ *uṣasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB Conc , but Poona ed as ApŚ

jyog ajītā (MŚ *jīvā*, SMB *jītā*, but Jorgensen *ajītā*) *ahatāh* (SMB °*tā*) *syāma* TS KS MŚ PG SMB

śrotrapāh (AŚ °*pā*) *śrotram* TS MS AB AŚ

svar (TS ApŚ *suvar*) *na* (TS ApŚ *na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ * °*ma*) *svāhā* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ (both)

stutah (TB *stuta*, but Poona ed *stutah*) *śravasyann* RV MS KS TB

syonāh (MS °*nā*) *syonena ghṛtena mā samukṣata* MS ApŚ

supānih (TA °*ni*, but Poona ed °*nih*, ŚŚ *subāhuh*) *svaṅgurih* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

citih (TA °*ti*, but Poona ed °*tih*) *sruk* MS TA ŚŚ MŚ

paro martah parah (ApŚ all mss , and TB Conc *para*, but TB Poona ed *parah*) *śvā* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ MŚ

pary āvarte duṣvapnyāt (KŚ *duhṣva°*, v l *duṣva°*) AV KŚ See Whitney's note on 6 121 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV mss.

duṣvapnyam durıtam nıh (AV **nı̄*) *ṣvāsmat* AV (both) Whitney, however, would read *nıh* in both places—with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the mss

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed *duṣṣvap° duruṣṣaha*) TA *duhsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU Cf preceding two

aślonā (AV comm *aśro°*) *añgaır ahrıdāh* (TA *aśloṇāñgaır ahṛtā*, Poona ed *ahrutāh* with v l *°tā*) *svarge* AV TA

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text *°nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ *'ham asmı*) TB AŚ *sapatnāh*, nom pl masc (!), seems to be intended in both

INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhyas (RPr 318 (5 1) ff , APr 2 96 ff , TPr 6 1 ff , VPr 3 58 ff) The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7 In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *ı* or *u* vowel, TS reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *ı* or *u* vowel occurred (§984) *Visarga* after *ı* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration Wackernagel I p 237, bottom

§982 In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s* In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV , but becomes common in the other Samhitās (Wackernagel I §205a), two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV *s* (§983) The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds Here the conditions are confused the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206) We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies, earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV , but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207), accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV) *ṣ*, but the reverse is also found (§987) Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompounded words, in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language, yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB substituted for *s* of RV (§988)

§983 The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987 ·

vy astabhnā (VS ŠB *askabhnā*, MS *aṣkabhnā*, KS *aṣṭabhnā*, TS *askabhnād*, TA *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī* RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB, TA

ād id dhotāram ny asādayanta (TB *aṣā°*) RV VS TB

abhy aṣṭhām (TS KS ApŠ *asthād*, MS *asthām*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* AV TS MS KS MŠ ApŠ

tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ TS KS *tena devā vy aṣahanta śatrūn* AV *yasmād bhīṣā nyaṣadaḥ* (ŠŠ *nyasadaḥ*) TB ŠŠ ApŠ

§984 Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular Four of them contain the Rigvedic words *pṛtanāṣaḥ* (°*ṣāḥ*, °*ṣāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular °*saḥ* etc Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣaḥ*, *bhūriṣaḥ*, *abhīṣaḥ* etc —The only other case contains the TS form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b

samstup (TS *saṣṭup*) *chandaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŠB

ā vīram pṛtanāṣaham (SV °*saham*) RV AV SV

tam agne pṛtanāṣaham (TS °*saham*) RV TS

pṛtanāṣāhyāya (TB °*sāhyāya*) *ca* RV AV VS TB

uccairvāyu pṛtanāṣāṭ (HG °*sāham*) RVKh HG

§985 Twice in the same passage of TS occurs the stem *ṛkṣama*, for *ṛksama* of the others, this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf Wackernagel I p 237, top)

jagatyā ṛksamam (TS *ṛkṣamam*) VS TS MS KS ŠB

ṛksamāc (TS *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukraḥ* VS TS MS KS ŠB

§986 The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong In GB 1 5 25d, quoted in Conc as *viskandham enam vidhṛtam prajāsu*, Gaastra reads *viṣkandham viṣṛtam*

abhivīro abhisatvā (KS °*ṣatvā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV MS † KS *sahojit*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS Many mss of AV , followed by the comm and SPP 's ed , also read *abhiṣatvā*

stotā me goṣakhā (SV *gosakhā*) *syāt* RV AV SV

pṛthivīṣadam (MS *pṛthivī°*, VS † °*sadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS † adds, *divisadam devasadam*) VS TS MS KS ŠB TB

deva savitaḥ suṣāvitram (ApŠ *suṣāv°*) PB KŠ ApŠ

rayiṣṭhāno (AV °*ṣṭhāno*) *rayim asmāsu dhehi* RV AV
suṣamiddho (RV *susa*°) *na ā vaha* RV SV PB LŚ
susamiddho (KS TB *suṣa*°) *varenyah* VS MS KS TB
susamiddham (TB *suṣa*°) *varenyam* VS TB
suṣadam (ŠŚ *susatyam*) *id gavām* AV ŚŚ
ye triṣaptāh (MS *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV MS
triṣaptāso (TB *tris*°) *marutah* AV TB
utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam VS *utkūlavikūlābhyām tristhinam* TB
amba niṣpara (TS ApŚ *niṣvara*, KS *nisvara*, MS *nismara*) VS TS MS KS ŠB ApŚ In VS ŠB divide *niṣ-para*, the rest belong here
somanetrebhyo uparisadbhyo (VSK °*ṣadbhyo*) VS VSK ŠB
ye devāh somanetrā uparisado (VSK °*ṣado*) VS VSK ŠB *ye devā uparisado* (KS ° *das*) MS KS
vrajam gacha gosthānam (VS ŠB TB *goṣthānam*, but TB Poona ed °*sth*°) VS TS MS KS ŠB TB ApŚ MŚ
kṛṣnagrīvah sitikakṣo 'ñjisakthas (MS °*ṣakthas*) *ta aindrāgnāh* VS MS
añjisakthāya (KSA † °*ṣakthāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA
duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣṣaha*) TA *duhsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU

§987 Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the copula In one or two of these s of RV is replaced by ṣ in a later text
druhah pāśān (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV TS MS KS
apo su (MS *ṣu*) *myakṣa* RV MS

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction
kṛdhī ṣv (TS *sv*) *asmāñ* RV TS MS KS
prati ṣma (SV *sma*) *deva rīṣatah* (SV *ri*°) RV SV MS KS TB
prati ṣma (AV *sma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV *jahi*) RV AV
asti hi ṣmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŠB
vayam ghā te api ṣmasi (SV *smasi*) RV SV
anupūrvam yatamānā yati ṣṭha (AV *stha*) RV AV
divi ṣañ (AV *ṣan*, SV *san*) *chukra ātatah* RV AV SV
divi sad (RV *ṣad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV SV VS
ūtī ṣa (SV *sa*) *bṛhato divah* RV SV
pari ṣya suvāno akṣāh RV *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV cf *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV
tasmād āpo anu ṣṭhana (TS *sthana*) AV TS MS KS

§988 Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-

pounded words Note that in the first a later text introduces *ş* where RV has *s*

trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇy (TB *şa°*) *agnim* RV VS TB .

ye apsu ṣadāṅsi (KS *'psu sadāṅsi*) *cakrire* MS KS *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh

apsu dhautasya te deva soma (TS tr *soma deva te*) *nṛbhiḥ ṣṭutasya* (KS *nṛbhis stu°*, TS PB *nṛbhiḥ sutasya*) TS MS KS PB The mss of MS read *nṛbhi*, which von Schroeder as always (cf §974) changes to *nṛbhiḥ*, but the presence of final *h*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event

pari bhrātuḥ pari ṣvasuḥ HG ApMB *pari mātuḥ pari svasuḥ* PG

vāyo ve (TS ApŚ *vīhi*) *stokānām* (VSK *°nām juṣāṇaḥ*, KS *ṣṭokānām*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ KS † 3 6 (with *tve*, not *veṣ*)

SECONDARY CRASIS, AND HIATUS

§989 Secondary crasis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG , which according to Knauer (p xxxvm f) has it quite frequently

dhruvā strī patikule iyam (MG *°kuleyam*) SMB MG In SMB , also, the v l *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule iyam* (with complete hiatus)

uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām (AV *chuṣmauṣ°*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°māḥ*) *oṣ°*, this is supported by Ppp , cf Whitney's note and Barret, *JAOS* 35 50 f

viśvādityāḥ [pratīka] MG This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG text *tviśve*, with hiatus) *ādityā vasavaś ca devāḥ* (*MG sarve*) AG PG MG All mss of MG (in the pratīka) read *viśvād°*

sahasradhāre 'va (AV *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV AV KS ApŚ Whitney, note on AV 5 6 3, suggests that RV stands for *°dhārāḥ*, with double sandhi The RV p p reads *°dhāre, ava* Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of p p The whole verse is difficult and obscure

anāmayaidhi etc , see §344

§990 All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context

ado ma āgachatu ApŚ *ado māgachatu* MS KS MŚ (not ApŚ which in 4 13 8 reads †*ma āga*°)—In ApŚ *me*, in the others *mā*

māgadhah puñścalī kitavah klība 'śūdrā abrāhmanās (VSK *'śūdrā-brāhmanās*) *te prāyāpatyāh* VS VSK Two separate words in VS, a compound in VSK So also in the following; cf the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here

aślonā (AV comm *aśro*°) *añgair ahrutāh* (TA *aślonāñgair ahṛtā*, Poona ed *ahrutāh*, v l °*tā*) *svarge* AV TA 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with unmaimed limbs' Cf preceding

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS *ākrayāyāyogūm* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB Different genders, fem in VS, masc in TB

saha ojah (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait In VS VSK *saha* plus *ojas* (on VSK 's sandhi see §731), in the others, *sahas* plus *ojas* The latter form is probably original

yathaika rṣir (KS °*karṣir*) *vijānate* KS TA ApŚ See §919, end

yā (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NilarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS Serpents are referred to 'who are missiles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS makes reasonable sense 'either in whom are sorcerers' (correlative with the following, which see) But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *iṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi or they may be called the converse of them In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular, in those we are about to give, it is irregular A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable

ula śravasā (MS *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS TS MS TA The p p of MS reads *śravasah, ā*, but both meter and sense show that the MS has a stupid blunder

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N See §832

vasneva (KS *vasna iva*) *vikrīnāvahai* VS TS MS ŚB AŚ Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom -acc plur of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS p p), rather

than *vasna* We have, then, in KS perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in *ā-ṛ* = RV etc *a-ṛ*, cf Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than *ṛ* Otherwise KS would be a mere blunder, like MS in the preceding Cf the next

sapatnā vācam manasā (AŚ °*sa*) *upāsatām* TB AŚ 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds' Both texts must intend *manasā*, TB has complete hiatus, while AŚ (if the text is correct, we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi', see under the preceding variant The meter is against fusion See also the variant *praty etā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc , §357

§992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted

bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhati (MŚ *rājā arhati*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ All Knauer's mss read thus for MŚ , Knauer suggests *pluti* The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ it could pass for a fair jagati pāda

pavasva deva āyuṣak (RV *devāyuṣak*) RV SV PB The accent in SV (*devá*) indicates a nom form, but Benfey translates a voc In any case SV is secondary, and metri gr

pāpmānam uta vāgham (SMB *vā agham*) SMB ApMB HG Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS , in AV the meter is improved without fusion

tatra indro bṛhaspatih VS *tatrā* (SV *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatih* RV SV Hiatus *metri gratia* in VS

tan ma (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB Vait Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR only in one epic passage (Mbh 5 508) In GB (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter

sam tvā rinantu (Vait *ṛnantu*) LŚ KŚ Vait The hiatus in Vait may be connected with pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ri*, see §676

punantu ṛṣayah TA MahānU Hiatus in both forms

daivyā hotārāgna (MS °*gnā*, ŚŚ *hotārā agna*) *āyasya vītām* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ Probably ŚŚ stands for *hotārā*, not °*rāu*, and therefore has hiatus, see §885d For *hotārāu* we should expect °*rāv* in ŚŚ

achidrā uśıyah padānu takṣuh TS *achidrośıyah kavayah padānutakṣıṣuh* (see §627) KS Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achidrā* went with *padā* as in KS, but TS p p *achidrāh*, with *uśıyah*, and so comm

abhīm (SV *abhī*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV SV Cf *abhīm ṛtasya* (SV *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutah* RV SV On *m* as "Hiatus-tilger" see §309

pitṛbhyah svadhāstu (MahānU *svadhā astu*) TA MahānU

§993 With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts, in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā* But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait texts, and according to TS p p and TPr 5 2, 10 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*

māsı MS MŚ *mā asi* TA ApŚ Likewise (in MS TA) *pramā, unmā, vimā, sammā, pratimā*

sahasrasya pramāsı (TS °*mā asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*

§994. The next is different in character

manāsı (KS *manā asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas* In KS it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom *manā's*) In the others it becomes an *ā* stem

§995 The next group contains textually dubious cases

pitaraś ca upāsate (VS *copā°*) RVKh VS The hiatus improves the meter, but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa āsate*, with hiatus in a different place

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG *medhāpsarahsu*) RVKh MG The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus However, most of Knauer's mss read *medhā aps°* in MG, and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps°* in RVKh without report of variant, he also reads *°psarassu*

devā brahmāna āgachata āgachata GB, Conc *de° bra° āgachatāgachatāgachata* LŚ But Gaastra reads for GB *āgachatāgachata*, he notes a v l *āgachatā āya°*

vibhur vibhāvā suṣakhā (AV *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV AV So the mss of AV, leaving *sakha* unaccented, SPP follows them, the vulgate ed reads *sákhā ā'* It seems at least possible that the AV. mss correctly

present the Atharvan tradition, the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus Whitney in his Transl assumes *sákhā'* (fusion of *sákhā* and *ā'*)

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus The variants are not numerous, in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus

semām (AV *sa imām*) *no havyadātim juṣānah* RV AV VS TS MS KSA Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV should probably be read *sa imāṁ*

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV Kauś *sa id dhotā*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV omits the particle *u*

sa imām (ŚG *semām*) *devah pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varunah*) ŚG AG SMB

soma āyuṣmān sa oṣadhībhir (PG *sauṣa°*) *āyuṣmān* TS KS PG ApMB This passage is prose PG is hyper-archaizing

INDEXES

INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

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Note —Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc) with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word, only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences —In this Index the colon ( ) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for ' References are to sections

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