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VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume I, 1930

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 I

THE VERB

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PREFACE

Here is presented the first volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The aim of this work is to present a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated mantras of the Vedic tradition, as revealed primarily by Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*. That book presents a complete 'index to every line of every stanza of the [then] published Vedic literature [and of some works not yet published at the time], and to the liturgical formulas thereof'. Of its some 90,000 entries, not far from a third occur more than once, either in the same text or in different texts. Of the repeated text-units, again, it is estimated that about one-third show variations. The VEDIC VARIANTS are concerned with the variant readings of these repeated mantras, numbering roughly 10,000.

✓ As to extent, the variations range all the way from change of a single letter in a single word, to radical rearrangements of the whole text. They may or may not be accompanied by shift of meaning, great or slight. They may be assumed to have been made sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. As to character, they are of the most varied sort. They concern phonetics, the interrelation of different sounds and sound-changes, various departments of morphology, such as formation of stems of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, their inflection, and suffixation, syntax, order of words in the sentence, synonyms, meter, etc. ✓ There is hardly an important paragraph in Vedic grammar, or a department of the textual criticism and exegesis of the Veda, on which they fail to throw light. ✓

Furthermore, it is believed that the Variants will have great interest and value for general linguistics. The literature of the world happens to contain no analogous body of material which can compare with them in size and scope. The tradition of the Veda was at first oral, and

what was originally one and the same stanza or formula was handed down in the texts of the various schools in more or less varying forms. The variants are often of the same general character as those which appear in the various forms of ballads, or of church hymns: there are simple differences in the order of words, differences due to the substitution of a more familiar, handy, or modern word or grammatical form for an archaic, inconvenient, or obsolescent one of equivalent meaning or function. (Or the converse of this, due to a conscious archaizing tendency.) To this must be added the very important point that there are also many

cases in which a given mantra passage, composed under certain definite circumstances, was later on adapted and changed to serve a new purpose

Furthermore, Vedic literary production is often in a high degree imitative and mechanical (a trait which it shares with most religious literature) The poets or priests, more or less consciously, fell into habits of expression such that entire lines of different stanzas or hymns, and considerable sequences of words of different prose passages, show much similarity

So, but for the bracketed phrases, Bloomfield wrote in the Preface to his Concordance, before he had systematically studied the Variants Later he would probably have laid greater stress on the presumably unconscious element in the variations, which was perhaps at least as weighty as the conscious, and is certainly at least as interesting linguistically I suspect, at any rate, that we learn even more about the speech-habits of the Vedic priests from the changes which they introduced without realizing it, than from their deliberate alterations But whether conscious or unconscious—and at this distance it is obviously impossible to separate the two classes with confidence—any linguistic scholar will see at a glance how many interesting observations can be drawn from these thousands of variations, touching on every field of grammar and of linguistic psychology

From the pages of the Concordance, Bloomfield collected and classified the Variants in a preliminary way, arranging them topically under ten or a dozen main heads, with numerous subdivisions in each Of course very many passages had to be included several times over under different headings This preliminary spade-work was completed when he proposed to the present writer a collaborative enterprise, which offer was gladly accepted This was about 1913 In the next half-dozen years I worked up from Bloomfield's lists, supplemented by further gleanings of my own, a preliminary draft of four of the major sections of the work those on Phonetics (including Euphonic Combination or Sandhi), on Noun Formation (stems and suffixes), on Noun Inflection, and on Order of Words Bloomfield completed the first draft of the greater part of the section on the Verb There the matter rested, for lack of prospect of publication Bloomfield left collectanea on Synonyms, Pronouns, and Prepositions and Particles, and a few minor lists, in addition to those already mentioned A section on Meter would also be desirable

On Bloomfield's death in 1928, I took charge of the entire work, and I have since revised and completed the section on the Verb, here presented It seems best to publish it first, since the major part of it

can be issued substantially as it came from the pen of one of the world's greatest Vedists and linguistic scholars

The publication has been made possible by the generous aid of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, and of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, to both of which hearty thanks are due and are hereby tendered. The surviving author also desires to express his deep appreciation of the staunch and effective support given to the project by the Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, Professor George Melville Bolling

Since the work on the Variants has been a collaborative enterprise, and since it was Bloomfield's intention that it should appear over our joint names, no attempt has been made to separate the contributions of the two authors. It would, indeed, be impossible to make such a separation completely. Credit belongs to Bloomfield alone for the general plan of the whole work on the Variants, it was he who conceived it and sketched its outlines. He also prepared, from the Concordance, the preliminary lists of materials for this as well as for nearly all the volumes to follow. To some extent these lists have been expanded by further search on my part, in the Concordance and elsewhere. Moreover, it was Bloomfield, as stated above, who prepared for publication the first draft of the major part of this volume, on the Verb. To be exact, he wrote out a draft of all except the long chapter on Person and Number, the last in the book. I have checked and revised his manuscript, verifying most of the references from the original texts, and making such changes as seemed to me necessary. Most of the changes were of the sort which I am confident he would have made himself in a final revision. I have preserved his language thruout as far as it was possible to do so. A more radical revision of some paragraphs has been made necessary by the appearance, since Bloomfield wrote his manuscript, of new publications, as for instance Renou's valuable dissertation on *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris, 1925). When I have made such far-reaching changes, and whenever I could not feel entirely confident that Bloomfield would have been in agreement with what I have written, I have enclosed my additions or substitutions in [square brackets], followed by the initials of my name. I hope and believe that, even in these parts (which are not numerous), I have written little that would not have met with his approval. The chapter on Person and Number is entirely my work, aside from the gathering of the preliminary lists, which in this case proved to be rather

incomplete Under the circumstances I must perforce accept entire responsibility for the final form of the work as printed, as well as for that of all the volumes to follow In them, unhappily, Bloomfield's share will be much smaller than in this volume, altho I am glad to say that some of the others, notably that on Phonetics, received considerable attention from him

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The abbreviations used need little explanation. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance, except that, of course, the letter *s* is substituted for *ç*, as also in all Sanskrit words, in accordance with the now prevalent international usage. Other abbreviations are rarely used and, it is hoped, will be self-explanatory. *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

Two symbols, which are frequently used, require explanation: the asterisk * and the dagger †.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading of one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute. For instance *satyam vaṇṣyānu* (TA * *vadiṣye*) TA (bis) TU ŚG MG. This means that TA has the pāda in both forms, namely, *satyam vadiṣyānu*, and *satyam vadiṣye*.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance. For instance *tal satyam yad vīram bibhṛtah* (MŚ † *ṭah*) TB ApŚ MŚ. This means that the reading of MŚ is wrongly quoted in the Concordance (it fails to note the variant *bibhṛtah*).

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

Scope and plan of this work

§1 The variations in verbal inflexion are concerned with every leading aspect under which the verb is treated in the grammars. They are, however, dealt with here not in the usual order of the Sanskrit grammars, but either according to their relative importance, or in accordance with certain logical and practical conveniences. These interchanges are, in any case, heterogeneous, partly formal, partly syntactical, and partly stylistic, the boundary lines between these kinds are hazy. The more important rubrics, such as voice, mood, and tense, are, moreover, so large a part of the whole as to call for first consideration, to some extent they serve as a convenient background for assorting and placing the remaining interchanges. It has seemed best then to present the subject under the following nine larger rubrics

- II The Voices
- III The Moods
- IV The Tenses and Tense-Systems
- V The Secondary Conjugations
- VI Interchange between finite Verbs and Verbal Nouns
- VII Interchanges of equivalent Personal Endings
- VIII Matters pertaining to Augment and Reduplication
- IX Variation in Grade of Stems and Allied Matters
- X Person and Number

§2 By way of illustrating the combined effects of most, or at least many, of these phases of verbal variation in the case of a given root, we have chosen the root *hū* 'call'. The interchanges practised on the body of this root are gathered in the following list

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvaṃāmi*) *śakram puruhūtām indra.n*

RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU

sarasvatīm sukr̥to ahvayanta (AV *havante*, comm *ahvayanta*) RV AV KS

sarvān agnīn̄r apsuṣādo huve vah (MS om *vah*) TS MS AB *śvān agnīn̄r apsuṣādo havāmahe* AV

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV *huvemahi*) RV SV

tam (RV om) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*, RV KS *johavīmi*) RV RVKh AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
agnim (AV *ukthar*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt*
sadhassthāt AV TA MahānU
ṛtasya patrīm avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*) AV VS TS MS KS AŚ
 ŚŚ

prātaraṅgam bhagam ugram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV AV VS TB
 ApMB N

prātaḥ somam uta rudram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV AV VS TB
 ApMB

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait °hi, VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hvāmahe*) RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ LŚ ApŚ Vait Kauś
 The Vait (20 9) reading should be the same as that of its source,
 Kauś 89 1, but 3 mss of Kauś read *hvāmahi*, and possibly this
 should be read in both texts

rathitamau rathānām ahva (KS °nām *huva*) *ūtaye* TS MS KS āśūn
huve (AV *va*) *suyamān* (AV °mān *ahva*) *ūtaye* AV TS MS KS
havante vājasātaye RV *huvema vā*° RV SV MS KS *huvēya vā*° RV
 AV

bṛhaspatim vah prajāpatim vo *visvān vo devān visvataḥ pari havā-*
mahe GB Vait cf *bṛhaspatim visvān devān aham huve* RV

§3 If we contemplate this welter of variations we find, in the first place, that it is not due, as might be antecedently supposed, to adaptation. No variant serves a new purpose, different from that of the parallels. They are, without exception, grammatical or mildly stylistic. And they often betray themselves as being blends of two or more existing expressions, which appear in the texts, notably the RV, elsewhere. Thus, in the item

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*, KS *johavīmi*),
 the unmetrical KS reading is due, secondarily of course, to the parallel
 pāda

sarasvantam avase johavīmi RV

Here *johavīmi* is metrically faultless, and its passage into a wrong place was, perhaps, promoted further by the cadences *avase johavīmi*, RV 1 34 12, and *avase johavīh*, RV 3 62 2, 7 38 6

§4 In no less than five instances of the above list AV reads, at the end of its pādas, *havāmahe* in the place of related expressions in other texts. So favorite a cadence has this become in AV that we find it in four of these five times as a mildly incommensurable *yagatī* cadence in

otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanzas 3 16 2, 7 6 2, 7 40 1, 16 1 13¹ Only in one case, 3 16 1, does the AV cadence conform to the rest of the (*jagatī*) stanza It is quite clear that AV, tho well acquainted with all the other present stems of the root *hū*, has been enticed into this preference for *havāmahe* by the fact that the word occurs extensively at the ends of *pādas*, e g *avase havāmahe* RV 2 16 1, 3 26 2, 8 86 4, 8 99 8, 10 66 4, reproduced in two of the four AV instances, 7 6 2, 7 40 1 For other numerous instances of *havāmahe* in *jagatī* cadence see *RVRep* 660, under final cadences in *-he*

§5 That the four present stems of *hū*, namely *hava*, *huva*, *hvaya*, and *johavī*, should interchange in the total oral Vedic tradition, needs no comment It is, probably, supported by set phrases in which the *hū* present is accompanied by some other word The only surprising thing is that the popular AV has not passed over into the (later regular) stem *hvaya*, but, on the contrary, finds it in its heart to exhibit in two instances other stems for *hvaya* of parallel texts²

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtām indram*

RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU

sarasvatīm sukrto ahvayanta (AV *havante*) RV AV KS³

§6 For interchange in this group between moods, tenses, augmented and augmentless forms, and so forth, see the respective rubrics⁴ Barring occasional textual blunders, these and the countless others like them from other roots are one and all outcomes of Vedic tradition as a whole, which in the main does not show the formal, syntactic, and stylistic stability which is customary in literature of a more advanced type For the most part, as may be seen, rubric by rubric, the variations between text and text are based upon the natural freedom of expression in prayers and songs of praise, and upon the looser syntax which, compared for instance with Greek and Latin, pervades Sanskrit from the Veda to the end of its career Faults of memory no doubt entered largely into these variations, and so help to account for such instability in the tradition of the Vedic mantras, which was so largely oral

¹ In one internal occurrence, 7 63 1, AV uses *havāmahe* where it can only be called a gross metrical blunder *agnim* (AV *ukthair*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānU

² See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21 48, *The Atharvaveda* 50, n 6

³ Here, to be sure, the AV comm reads *ahvayanta* with the rest The variant quoted by the Conc as *apām napātām āśvinā huve dhīyā* (TS *āśvinā hvayantām*) is a slip, TS reads *hayanām* and this does not concern the root *hū*

Ambiguous grammatical forms augmented and augmentless preterites

§7 According to a familiar experience of Vedic grammar it is quite often difficult, or even impossible, to determine the precise formal or functional meaning of certain Vedic verbs. This difficulty would, to some extent, seem to be eliminable by means of the variants which are, of course, occasionally in the nature of reciprocal comments. Thus augmentless preterites are not infrequently in interchange with unambiguous modal forms. This makes, or seems at first blush to make, *prima facie* evidence in favor of the modal (injunctive) value of the corresponding augmentless forms, and as a rule we have so classified them. Thus in the class 'Subjunctive and Injunctive', §167 f, the augmentless forms are regarded as modal. Yet they might in perhaps every case be considered preterites, but for that very interchange with subjunctives, as e.g. in

prācīnam śīdat (MS *śīdāt*) *pradīśā prthivyāh* VS MS KS TB

Nay more even in spite of that interchange, there is no way of proving that they are not to be considered preterites. For, as we shall show, §§112 ff, indicatives of all sorts, and §§127 ff more particularly preterites, exchange with moods of all sorts on a huge scale for good and proper reasons, so that the alternation of *śīdat* and its apparent interpreter *śīdāt* really proves nothing in itself. The decision in such cases must be left to tactful individual considerations.

§8 We would draw attention here to a few especially vexing cases of this sort, e.g.

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*⁴, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'delightful to taste be (were) to thee the oblations'. Here *svadan* may be injunctive to match the modal (imperative) *svadantām*, or it may be preterite indicative to match *asvadan*⁵. Chi lo sa? Similarly, in

kāmam (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudīdam ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*, KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ, *viśat* is ambiguous, it may be preterite, to match *viveśa*, or injunctive to match *viśa*. Of a different aspect is

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS ^{tu}) *devāh* RV, SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB

⁴ In one of two occurrences the MS mss. and ed. read *svadam* (p.p. likewise), which is probably an error as indicated by the other reading in the same text, tho possibly a transitive 1st person sing.

⁵ And that whether we regard it as augmentless with the mss. and p.p. of MS, or as intended for '*svadan* = *asvadan* of KS', we ignore at this point this purely formal question as to whether an augment is or is not felt as present where Vedic sandhi permits the elision of initial *a*, a question which obviously increases the dubiety of some of the forms we are discussing, see §§264ff.

'the gods begot (shall beget) him (Agni) as a vessel at their (our) mouths' We have classified (§136) *janayanta* as imperfect, because that seems to us the better sense, we are frankly subjective, as we think we must be. In other words, we refuse to attach value in this instance to the implied comment of the single *janayantu* of KS. Yet the Kāthakas, if we may trust their tradition, evidently conceived the passage reasonably enough. Next,

hero yad agne saradas tvām ic, chucim ghṛtēna śucayaḥ saparyān (TB *saparyan*), *nāmāni cid dadhre yaṣṭīyāni* RV TB, 'when for three autumns (seasons?) = one year, Bergaigne 2 117 n) the pure (gods?) honored with ghee just thee, O Agni, the pure one, they obtained names (forms) worthy of sacrifice'. Here one might classify *saparyan* as injunctive, because of the modal value of *saparyān*. But [the reason for this modal form has never been explained (F. E.), and] a glance at §§264 ff. shows that augmentless imperfects may be regarded just as easily as true imperfects. On the whole, in spite of the implied comment of *saparyān*, we have preferred to construe (§145, d) *saparyan* as imperfect. [This may, indeed, suggest the reason for TB's variation, to the feeling of TB, as to ours, an imperfect indicative was perhaps required F. E.]

§9 Similarly, in

jātaḥ prchad (SV *prchād*) *vi mātaram* RV SV

(cf. *vi prchad iti mātaram* RV) 'as soon as born he asked his mother', the SV, wholly contrary to our sense of fitness, imposes modal value upon the verb. More perplexing than these is the small list discussed §268 (cf. §145), in which augmented imperfects interchange with corresponding augmentless forms in dependent clauses. The latter may be either imperfects, or injunctives, which occur freely enough in relative clauses, see §§125 and 168. In brief, the evidence of the variants, taken by itself, rarely if at all fixes the syntactical value of augmentless preterites.

Uncertainty as to the moods of certain presents and aorists

§10 In this work, as elsewhere, it is hard to distinguish modal forms of the root-present and the accented *a*-present (aorist present) from the modal forms of the root-aorist and the *a*-aorist. In two related cases,

marito vṛita (TS *vr̥ṇita*, KS *varēta*) *sakhyam* RV VS TS MS KS
ŚB

dyumnam (KS also °ne) *vr̥ṇita puṣyase* (KS *varēta puṣyatu*) RV VS
TS MS KS ŚB

we have followed what may be called the orthodox classification of the

forms *varīta* (Lat. *volīte*) and *vareta* as aorists. The decision is grounded on the absence of forms with primary endings by the side of these forms. We are of course not influenced by the present-tense variant *vr̥nīta*, which is ambiguous as to mood.⁶ But this criterion is not always valid in our eyes. In §210 a, occur seven cases in which *kṛdhi* (once *kṛṣva*) exchanges with *kṛnu* and *kuru* (once *kṛnuṣva*). We have taken *kṛdhi* to be aorist imperative, contrary to some authorities (e.g. Grassmann, *Wbch* 334b), not deterred by sporadic back-formations (from this very *kṛdhi*) into the present *kṛthas*, *kṛtha* (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, 21). With some hesitation we have also classed as aorists the first of the following pairs: *pātam*, *pibatam* (notwithstanding RV *pānti*, §210, a), *srotā*, *śṛnota* (ibidem), *manat*, *manve* (§119). Or we have shirked a final decision as to whether the first is a present or an aorist in the following pairs: *yukṣvā*, *yukṣvā* (§192), *madasva* (probably present), *mandasva* (ibidem). Various cases of ambiguity spring from thematic *a* as it present sign or subjunctive sign on the body of a non-thematic form.⁷ Thus in *karati*, *karoti* (§124, end), cf. *karati*, *kṛnotu* (§154), and *karah*, *kṛnotu* (§104, o), in both of which last cases we classify *kara-* as aorist subjunctive. Doubtful also is *vanate*, varying with both the present *vanute* and the aorist *vanate* (§117), or, again, with *vanutām* (§§116, 154, 191).

§11 In the perfectly clear expression

sa trautebhyah parī dadāt (TA *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV TA N

'he shall hand thee over to these manes', both forms, though grammatically ambiguous, are treated as respectively subjunctive and indicative (see §167). They might also be regarded as imperfect indicatives, thematic and non-thematic, see §193 where occur what may be felt as the same forms, since the circumstances make it impossible to say whether the augment was felt with them or not.

§12 In all these and similar cases we have often classified on what may be called the line of least resistance, on the basis of common sense and average Vedic habit, and we have not, in all cases, thought it necessary to suggest the obvious alternative. Cf. on this theme Neisser, *BB* 7 211 ff.

Imperatives (?) or Subjunctives in se

§13 Of exceptional interest are the two forms *stuṣe* and *kṛṣe* interchanging with *stuhī* and *kṛdhi*, listed §165. We have inclined to regard

⁶ Perhaps best considered optative in view of the parallels, tho in itself it might equally well be injunctive or imperative.

them as 2d person singular middle imperatives, or perhaps better subjunctives, corresponding to the well-established class of active modal forms in *si*

Phonetic variants interchange between t and th in 2d plurals

§14 A number of phonetic variations are so constant as to raise the question whether the resulting formal differences are not in part mere oral blunders, especially in cases where one of the verb-forms is questionable on some other ground. The most important of these is the interchange between *t* and *th*, part of the broad chapter of interchanges between unaspirated and aspirated stops, which will appear as an important part of our volume on Phonetics. Thus the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* interchange freely, there being rarely any connexion in which either of them, notwithstanding their modal difference, is impossible or even difficult, cf. the other interchanges between indicative and imperative, §116. The chronology of the texts generally decides in favor of one or the other.

tam sma jānīta (VSK °*tha*) *paśame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ. Here *jānītha*, tho perfectly sound grammar, is a secondary blend of *jānīta* and (subj.) *jānātha* in the hundred formula *etam jānātha* (KS *jānīta*, TB *jānītāt*) *pa° vy°* VS KS ŚB TB, cf. *jānīta smānam* (TS MŚ *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV TS MŚ.

§15 In the next, *kṛtha* is a dubious root present, really a back-formation from aorists such as *kṛdhi*. Yet it is certainly the original reading *yad āmayati nis kṛtha* (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV VS TS MS KS.

§16 In the following group, primary *tha*, with indicative sense, is secondary and more or less inferior to the ending *ta* with injunctive or imperative sense.

devebhyo bhavata (TB °*tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV AV VS MS KS TB N Śivā no bhavata (ApŚ °*tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ
suddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °*tha*, MG °*ntu*) *yajñyāsah* RV TA MG
tena kṛdantīś (ŚC °*kṛt*) *carata* (ŚG °*tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśānu anu*) AV TS ŚG PG VdDh

asvā bhavata (AV TS KS °*tha*) *vājinaḥ* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
devā bhavata vā° RV

datto asmabhyam (etc., see §250, p. 165) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

§17 Wholly anomalous, not to say impossible, are the traditionally recorded *tha* forms in the next two

ye 'tra pitarah bhūyāsta AV ŚŚ *ya etasmin loke bhūyāsta* TS TB Of course a precativ formation cannot, according to decent grammar, have a primary ending, yet apparently all mss of both AV and ŚŚ agree on *-tha*, see Whitney on AV 18 4 86

arālāg udabhartsata (AV mss °*tha*) AV ŚŚ The AV mss at 20 139 1 read thus, in an augmented form *tha* is a monstrosity Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhīr yathā*, has of course no standing

§18 On the other hand the forms in *tha* claim precedence in the following

payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa (TS °*tāpa*) *oṣadhīh śvāh* (TS om śi°) AV TS *ud īyathā* (MS MŚ °*tā*, AV KS °*ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV AV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ

yūyam (MS *dvo*) *vṛṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS °*tā*) *purīṣinah* RV TS MS KS

§19 Doubtful as to precedence are

aulaba (HG °*va*) *ut tam upā hwayatha* (HG °*ta*) ApMB HG *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ Cf Stenzler's note to translation of PG 1 16 22

Phonetic variants interchange between t and th in 2d and 3d duals

§20 About equally often the 2d and 3d dual forms interchange so as to involve *t* and *th*, these cases will be classified in greater detail in the section on Person, below The decision as to priority depends on attendant circumstances, notably the relative chronology of the texts

hato (SV TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV TB *apratu*) RV AV SV TB

Followed in RV SV by the next two

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī*, and *hato* (SV *hatho*) *vīśvā apa dvīṣah* RV SV An entire stanza is changed here from 3d person reference to direct address, see below, §§329, 332 —As in this case, the *t* forms are prior in

sam (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV ApMB The form *hathah* is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, p xx

purā grdhṛād araruṣah pibātah (TB °*thah*) RV MS TB

§21 But in the next two the *th* form is evidently prior, while in most of the rest here listed there is little clear evidence supporting either one *citrebhīr abhrav upa tiṣṭhatho* (MS °*to*) *ravam* RV † MS Followed by *dyām varṣayatho* (MS °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV MS The p p of MS has °*thah* See §337

ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī prornuvāthām (VSK TS ApŚ *prornuvāthām*, MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ, cf *vapayā* etc Kauś, and see Conc under *svarge* (°*gena*, *suwarge*) *loke(-na)* *prornuvāthām* etc (only MS °*tām*, VS VSK TS KSA † [which reads *samprornuvāthām*] ŚB TB Vait °*thām*)

yā (AV TS *yāu*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °*tho*, AV *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (AV KS † °*thah*) AV TS MS KS

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °*tuh*) KS TS

yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛtah (MŚ † °*tah*), and, in same passage

vīram janayīṣyathah (MŚ °*tah*), and

te mat prātah prajanayīṣyethe (MŚ °*te*), *te mā prajāte prajanayīṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah*) TB ApŚ MŚ

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

divi (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS † °*thām*), same texts *abhūtām* is anomalous, see §§56, 337

kāmam duhātām iha śakvaribhuh AV *rāṣtram duhāthūm iha revatibhuh* TB Here, tho the context in AV requires a 3d person verb, most mss read °*thām* like TB (but Ppp °*tām*)

§22 For lack of a better place we append here another curious variant between *t* and *th* in verbal endings, which concerns neither duals nor 2d plurals

abhiramyatām (MŚ 8 20 °*thām*′) MŚ ŚG YDh BṛhPDh So according to Conc the mss of MŚ as recorded by Knauer, since it occurs in the unpublished part of MŚ it is impossible to verify it, but it is presumably a mistake in copying by either an Indian scribe or a western scholar The form *abhiramyatām* is, of course, 3dsingular passive imperative

Phonetic variants interchange between a and u before v

§23 From out of the confusion of shifting vowel tradition in the variants, to be treated in our volume on Phonetics, one phase tends to unsettle the exact meaning of a certain group of verb changes. Namely, in quite a number of cases *u* interchanges with *a* before *v*, so that the resulting forms may be judged to be either phonetic or morphological, in all probability a mixture of both. Thus, in

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV SV

nonuvur is intensive perfect (Whitney, *Gr* § 1018a), while *nonavur* is in-

tensive augmentless imperfect (*ibid* §1015) The SV reading is surely secondary, and phonetic at least in part, rather than truly morphological. Considerations of this sort are in order in the following list, in which the frequent interchange between stems *bhava-* and *bhuva-* strikes the eye, note particularly the persistent choice of *bhuva-* on the part of SV in the first six examples (cf. contrariwise SV *nonavur* above). The Black YV texts also show a preference for *u* as against *a*, as we shall show in the Phonetics volume.

samniślo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuwah*) *dhenubhah* RV SV
uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varāthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS
 Kauś

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV *°bhuwat*) *sacā* RV SV KS
nemus cakram vābhavat (SV MS *°bhuwat*) RV SV TS MS
yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *°bhuwah*) RV SV
yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV *°bhuwah*) RV SV MŚ N
sampriyah (TA *°yam prajayā*) *pasubhir bhava* (TB TA *bhuwat*) MS
 TB TA ApŚ

asapatnā (RV * *°nah*) *kilābhuwam* (ApMB *°bhavam*) RV (bis) ApMB
yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā itī bravan* (SV *bruwan*) RV SV
tasmai devā adhi bruwan (VS TS *bravan*) VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ
tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS *bruwat*) RV AV KS
pra bravāma (MS *bruvāma*, v l *bra°*) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TA ApMB
 HG MG

tad aham nihnave (ŚŚ *nihnave*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ
upa śravat (MS *sruvat*, p p *srvat*) *subhagā yajñe usmin* RV MS

An interchange like *tam ahve* (SV *u huve* = *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV, may be suspected of being a similar phonetic variant across the faint pronunciation of *h*.

Phonetic variants loss of *t* (*d*) as first of a group of three consonants

§24 In a small group attention is arrested by the interchange between *āt* (*ād*) and *ā* before two consonants, in connexion with which the *t* (*d*) makes three consonants. There are three such cases each before *d* and before *s*.

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapesāh* RV TS P p of TS *dāh*, this form occurs several times in the context, and no doubt fitted thru the mind of the compiler. But a 2d person form is most bizarre, since a nominative subject (*agnir*) immediately precedes, despite Keith's attempt to explain it (TS 162, n 4), we believe the variant is essentially phonetic. Cf. the next

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS *tiṣṭhād*) *dravineha dhattāt* RV MS KS AB TB
 N P p of RV *tiṣṭhāh* 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou
 standest erect' All texts have as next pāda, *yad vā kṣayo mātur*
asyā upasṭhe, showing up the extreme reprehensibility of the KS
 reading Cf prec, of which this is the reverse
āprā (AV *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV AV ArS VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB AA TA

Here both forms are 3d person, AV has the later form *āprād* for *āprās*
tān ādityān anu madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV MS P p of MS
mada, *madāt* may be a mere corruption, see §315
bodhā stotre (MS *bodhāt stomair*) *vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV
 SV MS ApŚ In MS part of a different stanza, but a v l *bodhā*
 is recorded
adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG
 (corrupt, see §153), cf *adho vadādharo vada* HG

Phonetic variants, presence or absence of visarga at the end of words,
mostly at the end of pādas

§25 In a number of cases verbal variations depend entirely or in part
 upon the presence or absence of *visarga* (*h*), especially at the end of a
pāda As the sound was pronounced faintly (not, as in modern Hindu
 pronunciation, as *h* followed by a vowel), it is quite possible that some
 of these interchanges are purely phonetic, it would doubtless be going
 too far to say that they all are Thus (§158, end) TS 3 5 10 1 has the
 anomalous *yodhi* for *yodhīh* of other texts at the end of a stanza (Whit-
 ney, *Gr* §839), if this is the only occurrence of *yodhi*, we might cancel it
 from our grammars and lexicons Cf Keith's note, *HOS* 28 286, n 1
 The total of such correspondences is not small, those which concern
 verb forms are supported by others, cf *pibāt somam mamadā* (AŚ ŚŚ
somam amadann) *enam iṣte* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*), AV AŚ ŚŚ, §137, where
 it occurs in noun forms

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*, but Poonied *tira*) AV VS TS MS
 KS TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ See §156 for this and the next three
sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ *tapah*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ
nī dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*) AV ŚŚ
visvasmāt (TA *divo vi*?) *śīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *uruṣyah*) RV TA
tāv imā upa sarpatah SV JB *emām anu sarpata* MS See §116
agne vītīd dhavīṣo yad yajāma (TB *mah*) RV TB See §124, where
 also, but in the interior of the passage, *dhvarāma dhūrvāmas*, in
 the item *tam dhūrva* etc

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra*^o) *saścima* (TA *°mah*, RV *saścire*) RV VS
MS ŚB TA (corrupt) For this and the next four items see
§262, c

prati bhāgam na didhīma (SV *°mah*) RV AV SV VS N

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) VīDh YDh BṛhPDh

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ

tau saha (VS ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS
ŚB *°yāva*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

vrśvāh pṛnvathah (TB *°tha*) *svasatasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm
Bibl Ind ed *°thah*, but Poona ed *°tha*) Vacillation of sandhi
before *s* + cons, one ms of MS *°tha*

Phonetic variants interchange between e and ai

§26 Especially at the end of pādas, but also elsewhere, *e* and *ai* frequently interchange This, as regards the verb, concerns for the most part interchange between the (indicative or subjunctive) endings *mahe*, *vahe*, and the subjunctive *mahai*, *vahai*, see §§118, 124, 253 To illustrate the same phonetic change outside of the verb, we may quote one of many changes between the pronouns *asme* and *asmā*

supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsmē (AV *kartam asmā*, VSK *kartam asme*)

AV VS VSK MS

In the item *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ, the Conc suggests the more proper *karavai* for KŚ

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ *°mahai*, MŚ *visrjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ
MŚ PG

yam jīvam asnavāmahai (MS *°he*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV *°he*) RV SV

kva tyāni nau sakhyā bahvūvuh, sacāvahe (MS *°hai*, p p *°he*) *yad avṛkam
purā cit* RV MS

The same interchange occurs between *te* and *tai* as subjunctive endings, all the cases which occur are grouped in §253

Phonetic interchanges concerning y in combination with other consonants

§27 For this theme as a whole see Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 418 ff, and the appropriate section of our volume on Phonetics The Concordance presents the item

bhakṣa āgatah TS *bhakṣah pītah* VSK *bhakso bhakṣyamānah* (KS
bhakṣa^o) VS KS So the single ms of KS (at that time unedited)

reads, but the now printed text quite properly emends to *bhākṣya-mānah*, matching VS Similarly,
 (net twā) *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañkhaṇāte* (AV *vidhakṣan parīñkha-ayātar*) RV AV *net twā dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhaṇātar*
 TS 'Lest the bold one embrace thee (shake thee about) intending to burn thee', or the like Many mss of AV read *vidhakṣyan*, which should be adopted Cf Whitney on AV 18 2 58
vācaspace vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ The aorist *yakṣase* may = the future *yakṣyase*, and *yachase* is certainly a phonetic corruption for *yakṣ(y)ase*

On the other hand, the fuller *kṣy* is secondary in the following
ā te yatante rathyo yathā prthak, śardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*)
dhakṣatah (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV SV MS ApŚ *dhakṣatah* is aorist participle, gen sing, *dhakṣyase*, 'thou shalt be kindled', connected asyndetically with *yatante*, is obviously secondary In fact, Caland on ApŚ 3 15 5 takes it as a mere corruption of the other reading

§28 Similarly the group *scy* is reduced, secondarily
ā vṛscyantām (AV *vṛscantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV See §87

In one instance *ṣy* is secondarily reduced to *ṣ*
ratho na vājam sanīṣyann (SV *sanīṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV SV 'He hath come like a chariot about to win (that hath won) booty' *sanīṣyan* is a common form, *sanīṣan* an aorist participle made for the occasion Cf Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 281, and our §234, c

In a remarkably persistent way the mss read *arātsyam*, improper conditional, for *arātsam*, proper prophetic aorist, in the set formula
tenārātsyam (ŚŚ MŚ GG v 1 °*rātsam*) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG, cf *tan me 'rādhi* (Kauś *rāddham*) VS TS TA Kauś

CHAPTER II THE VOICES

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ACTIVE AND MIDDLE AND PASSIVE

§29. The number of these interchanges is large. They naturally fall into four rubrics. First, a not very large group of interchanges between active and middle, in which the middle has middle or passive value, and the active has transitive value, so that the two are definitely distinguished.

Second, a very much larger group, involving many roots of the language, in which the interchange between active and middle is without clearly perceptible difference, this is a part of the break-down of the distinction between the two voices which is noticeable from the earliest times. Our variants are grouped in two subdivisions, according as we find the interchange two or more times from a single root, or only once.

Third, interchange between active and passive constructions, as part of a growing movement towards passive forms of expression, which becomes far more pronounced in later Sanskrit.

Fourth, interchanges between middle and passive, a small group in which the middle has passive meaning and is therefore equivalent to the passive form.

1 Transfusions between active and middle psychology, or interchanges between active and middle in their true and original meanings

§30. The primary distinction between active and middle as vehicles of transitive and reflexive (or more broadly, sphere-of-the-subject) function, well named by the Hindu grammarians *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, comes to the fore in not a few passages which alternate active and middle forms with more or less material and clear change of meaning, and, we may add, by no means always so that the active passage may be transfused directly into the middle passage. These cases are parallel or analogous to the similar list of variant active and passive constructions, treated below. They are, moreover, flanked by a few others which offer occasion for a quasi-variant use of active and middle, tho they are not true variants of one another, but merely passages derived from similar spheres of conception in which active and

middle each are properly differentiated in accordance with the total sense of the passage

apriyah prati muñcatām AV 'let the enemy fasten on himself', *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś † *muñcatam*) AV Kauś 'fasten thou (ye two) that on the enemy'

naṣkam va prati muñcata (and, *°tām*) AV (both) In different verses 'fasten ye on (others) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc

ya im vahanta āśubhāh RV 'who travel (transport themselves) with swift horses', *yadī vahanty āśavah* SV 'if swift horses transport (him)' Cf §67, where the two voices of *vah* are found without difference of meaning

yad vo 'śuddhāh (VSK °ah) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *j°ghānastad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS VSK ŚB 'whatever of yours the impure have (has) polluted, that do I here cleanse for you', *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad va etena śundhantām* KS 'whatsoever the impure has polluted, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (become pure)', or, perhaps, 'let them (indefinite) purify that for you thru this', cf below, §71, to which the KS version belongs if *śundhantām* has active meaning *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ sundhadhvam* MS 'what of yours an impure one has handled, do ye purify that for yourselves (or, do ye become pure as to that)'

yat te krāram tat te sudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena sundhatām*, MS *tad etena sundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ See prec, and cf §§71, 82, 338 end

sa visvā prati cālpe AV 'he hath shaped himself into all things', *sa visvam prati cālpat* AŚ ŚŚ 'he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe'

ito mukṣīya māmukah (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ *preto muñcāmi* (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu*, PG † *muñcatu*, ApMB *muñcāti*) *nāmukah* (ŚG MG SMB † *māmukah*, PG *mā pateh*) RV AV AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG cf *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt* (MŚ *mā patyuh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TAA Vait LŚ MŚ N See §§104a, 312

The liturgical series, *vācam* (etc) *te śundhāmi*, VS 6 14, 'I purify thy voice' etc, is paralleled by a corresponding list showing true reflexive value, *mukham sundhasva* etc Kauś 44 19, 'purify thy mouth' etc

āpo devīh śundhata mā devayajyāyāi MS *dauyāya karmāne śundhadhvam devayajyāyāi* VS ŚB *sundhadhvam dauyāya karmāne* (TS TB add *devayajyāyāi*) TS MS TB ApŚ

yad ahnāt (also, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA *yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*)
pāpam akārṣam TA MahānU 'What evil is done (I have done)
 by day (night)' *kurute* has passive force

agne dakṣaḥ punīhi nah (TB *mā*, MS *punīmahe*) RV MS TB 'Purify
 us', '(may) we become pure' And similarly

brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punī-
 mahe*) RV VS KS MS TB LŚ *idam brahma punīmahe* TB

evam tam (ApMB *tvam*) *garbham ā dhehi* (ApMB *dhatsva*) RVKh
 ApMB MG 'Thus set thou the embryo (in her)' 'thus set thou
 (addressing the woman) the embryo in thyself (receive the embryo)'
 See §302

madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayīṣyāmi JB *madhu janīṣye* (AV
 °ṣīya) AV TS TA ŚŚ 'I shall produce honey (for myself)'

ud dharṣantām maghavan vājīnāni AV *ud dharṣaya maghavan* (AV.
satvanām) āyudhāni RV AV SV VS TS 'Let strengths be
 aroused, O generous one' or, 'arouse the weapons, O generous
 one (or, the weapons of the warriors)'

tṛtīye nāke adhi vi śrayasva (and, *śrayanam*) AV (both) 'Spread thou
 (him) out upon the third heaven'

samnahye (KS °hya, 2d sing act) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ
 ApMB *samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV Only KS has a transitive
 verb, 'gird on' (the things mentioned in the preceding pādas)
 For the others ('I gird myself', 'gird thyself'), see §308 end

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ The subject in
 ŚB is a king, the active form goes with the causative 'he caused
 a sacrificial horse to be bound', i.e. caused the *aśvamedha* to be
 performed In ŚŚ the subject is the priests 'they bound a
 sacrificial horse'

§31 We group separately such interchanges of voice in *Participles*,
 since they constitute, to some extent certainly, a special problem
 Renou has shown (*Valeur du parfait* 121-38) that voice in the participles
 frequently seems not to run parallel to that in finite forms

parāśutpāh śośucatah śṛnāhi AV 'destroy the fiercely burning (demons)
 that delight in (taking) life', *parāśutpō abhi śośucānah* (sc *śṛnāhi*)
 RV 'destroy (the demons) that delight in (taking) life, burning
 fiercely against them' Cf Renou 128

viśvasmād īśatah (MS *īśamānah*) *paridhah* TS MS KS 'the fence
 from every attacker', the MS reading (somewhat uncertain, see
 editor's note, 1 1 12 7 10) seems to mean 'fleeing from every
 attack'

jagñānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinwo arkañ* RV SV In RV *jagñānah* is absolute, 'when born', in SV *janayan* lamely governs *sūryam*. The interchange is of the loosest kind

§32. In one case active and middle are used in precisely the reverse of the function to be expected

tasman tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB 'do thou, O breast, swell for him',
tasman stanam pra pyāyasva HG 'do thou swell out thy breast for him' [But the middle seems justified, as referring to 'thy' breast — G M B, approved by F E]

§33 There are also, as noted above, a few formulas, related in context, but not strictly variants of one another, which contrast the two voices according to the same standards, the middle being reflexive or at least intransitive, the active being transitive

divo mātrayā varinā (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prathasva* VS TS MS KS ŚB
rṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā (VS *varimnā*)
prathantu VS MS KS 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself in breadth', 'the sages of yore shall extend thee in breadth'
dṛṇha pṛthvīm PB, and *pṛthvīm dṛṇha* VS TS MS KS ŚB JB MG
 'make firm the earth' *dṛṇhasva pṛthvyām* VS KS ŚB 'be firm upon earth'

iṣe pinvasva, ūrje pinvasva VS ŚB *iṣam pinva, ūrjam pinva* MG
vācam me tvayī dadhānī, (response,) *vācam te mayī dadhe* KBU And the same with many other nouns besides *vāc*, in a long litany
 The father says 'Let me place my speech (etc) in thee' The son replies 'I take thy speech (etc) in myself'

2 *Interchange between active and middle in the same verb as part of the break-down of this distinction from earliest times*

§34. In the preceding cases the varying use of the voices depends, as a rule, on change of construction, or some imaginable difference of attitude towards the same passage. But the bulk of the interchanges between active and middle of the same root are in passages of identical construction, devoid of any appreciable difference, if there is a difference in meaning between the voices, it is certainly of the most tenuous kind, and while we would not rigorously deny such possibilities here and there, there seems no doubt that by and large they are signs of the almost complete practical erasure of this distinction towards which the language tends from the very beginning, from the RV on.⁷

⁷ Renou, *passim*, shows that a verbal system is frequently made up with one tense of one voice and another tense of another, there being no difference of

§35 In his admirable *Wörterbuch*, Grassmann says (column 1070) under *yaj*, 'Das Medium fugt überall die bekannte reflexive Bedeutung hinzu' BR s v cite the scholast to Pān 1 3 72, Vop 23 58 to the effect that the active of *yaj* is used of the priest, the middle of the sacrificing householder (*yajanti yājakāh, yajamāno yajate*) However, both BR and Delbrück⁹ recognize that this distinction is not absolute The *yaj* variants, below, show at any rate that it is not adhered to very closely in Vedic tradition The twin of *yajati*, namely *juhoti*, which might be expected to be on all fours with *yajati*, shows scarcely, if ever, any such distinction, being generally active This may be due to the fact that *juhoti* is conceived as the function of the *hotar* The root *hū* 'call', produces only middle forms in the RV when the present stem is *hava-*, whereas the other stems show both actives and middles This is not the place to go into an elaborate investigation of the reason why *hava-* has no actives, the variants, at any rate, show in almost every instance active forms of the other stems interchanging with middle forms of *hava-* In general, our variants are loftily on the other side of right and wrong, the total of this evanescent distinction has broken down, almost every root showing actives in interchange with middles

§36 Occasionally attendant circumstances show which of the two voices is prior in a given variant In one case AV gives us two forms of what is essentially the same *pāda* *viṣe viṣam aprkthāh* 7 88 1, *apṛāg api* 10 4 26b 'in poison thou hast (he has) mixed poison'¹⁰ Here, in the first place, metrical considerations come in, 7 88 1 is prose, and the formula is made metrical in 10 4 26 by the addition of the 'patch-word' *api* Aside from the question of meter, when a longer form of one voice is replaced by a shorter one of the other voice, which is then padded out by a patch-word, usually a pronoun or adverb, this latter form of the *pāda* invariably impresses one as secondary Other cases are

meaning represented in the voice distinction Even in essentially the same *pāda*, active and middle may be equivalent as early as RV *ajāsrena śociṣā śobucac chuce* 6 48 3, *ajāsrena śociṣā śobucānah* 7 5 4 The needs respectively of *yajati* and *triṣṭubh* are deferred to, see *RVRep* 204, 531 Cf Renou 121ff (participles and voice)

⁹ *AltSyntax* 248, so also Renou 106, 110 Delbrück 241, observes that *ca* 'pile' (bricks of the altar) exhibits regularly the same distinction, the middle being used of the sacrificer, the active of the priest

¹⁰ [In a charm against poison, especially that of snakes, there may be in the middle a suggestion of 'for thyself', the poison being magically directed back against its emitter F E]

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu tvam*) RV AV
 SMB ApMB MG N
marutām pītas tad aham grñāmi (MS *grñe te*) TS MS · *marutām pītar*
uta tad grñāmah KS
anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*) TS MŚ
ni no rayam subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV VS TS MS KS
sa no mayobhūh pīto āvīśasva (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pītav āvīśasva*,
 AŚ *pītav āvīśeḥa*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG See §69
huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmi*) *śakram purukūtam indram*
 RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU
tam manyeta (ViDh *var manyet*) *pītarām mātaram ca* SamhitopaniṣadB
 VāDh ViDh

Aside from such cases there are occasionally other indications as to priority which have been noted whenever they seemed sufficiently certain and not too obvious

§37 We have arranged the interchanges between active and middle in two lists. In the first a given root interchanges twice or oftener, in the second only once. We have wished in this way to separate the verbs that are more habitually free in their choice of voice from those in which the interchange may be suspected of being either accidental or solecistic. Delbruck, *AltSyntax* 228ff, has collected considerable material for the use of the voices in Brāhmana prose. We have added in parentheses (D) the pages on which he comments on a large number of our roots.

§38. The following is an alphabetic list of all the roots which so interchange, those which are not treated by Delbrück—a rather large number—are distinguished by italics. The two denominatives *rājaya* 'demean oneself as king', and *sukratūya* 'have superior wisdom', are not listed.

āś 'obtain'	<i>kalp</i> (caus) 'shape'
arṣ 'move'	gam 'go'
ās 'throw'	gar 'praise'
ās 'sit'	gup 'protect'
1+adhī 'read'	gai 'sing'
1+palā 'flee'	grabh 'seize'
īr 'arouse'	ghuṣ 'sound'
edh 'prosper'	cat (caus) 'drive off'
kar 'make'	ci 'observe'
kar 'praise'	jan 'beget'

jī 'conquer'
 juṣ 'enjoy'
 tan 'extend'
 tar 'cross'
 dah 'burn'
 dā 'give'
 dī 'shine'
 dī 'fly'
 dikṣ 'consecrate'
 dyut 'shine'
 dharṣ + ā 'dare'
 dhā 'set'
 dhāraya 'hold'
 nam 'bend'
 naś 'perish'
 naś 'obtain'
 ni 'lead'
 nud 'expel'
 pac 'cook'
 parc 'mix'
 pū 'purify'
 bandh 'bind'
 bhaj 'share'
 bhar 'bear'
 bhū 'be'
 bhrāj 'shine'
 majj 'dive'
 mad 'revel'
 man 'think'
 muc 'release'
 yaj 'revere'
 yam 'hold'
 yu 'unite' and 'separate'
 raks 'protect'
 ram 'rest'
 ram, rā 'give'
 ruh 'grow'
 rej 'tremble'

lubh 'desire'
 vakṣ 'grow'
 vac 'speak'
 vad 'speak'
 vadh 'slay'
 van 'win'
 vap 'throw'
 vāraya 'ward off'
 vart 'turn'
 vardh 'grow'
 vah 'carry'
 valh 'ask a riddle'
 vid 'obtain' and 'perceive'
 viś 'enter'
 vyā 'envelop'
 śikṣ 'help'
 śri 'set up'
 śudh 'purify'
 sac 'follow'
 sad 'sit'
 san 'be effective'
 sar (caus) 'move'
 sarj 'loosen'
 sah 'be able'
 sev + ni 'be devoted to'
 stan 'thunder'
 stu 'praise'
 sthā 'stand'
 sthāpaya 'place'
 snāpaya 'cause to bathe'
 svad 'taste'
 svap 'sleep'
 han 'slay'
 hā 'leave'
 hi 'incite'
 hu 'sacrifice'
 hū 'call'

Interchanges between active and middle which occur twice or oftener

§39 *as* 'obtain' (D 229)

viśvam āyur vy aśnavat (AV °vam) AV VS MS KS TB The AV mss (19 55 6) read *aśnavat*, which Whitney (Transl) emends to *aśnavan* Cf the parallels with active, *viśvam āyur vy aśnutah* and *asnuvat*, and on the other hand with middle, *dirgham āyur* and *sarvam āyur* in Conc See §140

viśvam id dhātam (MS *dhītam*) *ānaśuh* (SV *āsata*) RV AV SV MS ApŚ

yena sravānsy ānaśuh (SV *āsata*) RV SV

vy aśema (SV VS *aśemahi*) *devahītam yad āyuh* RV SV VS VSK MS KS TA ApŚ NṛpU NṛuU MG The active is usual with prepositions, and *vy aśema* obviously prior to °mahī, Delbruck, l c Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 278

tenāmṛtatvam asyām (KS PB *aśīya*) KS PB TB TA ApŚ so 'mṛtatvam asīya' (VSK *akyāt*) VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ *tayāmṛtatvam* (and, *tair amṛ*°) *asīya* PB

tato mā dravīnam aṣtu (AB *āṣṭa*) VS AB SB ŚŚ See §130

§40 *ir* 'arouse'

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham (ŚŚ erroneously *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ *airayant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ om) ŚB TA ŚŚ KŚ See §248, end

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat AV *svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS AA AŚ ŚŚ *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS KSA *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS *tanvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS KŚ But *airayata* is the reading of most mss also in AV 7 3 1, see Whitney

aghāyūnām ud irate (AŚ °ti) AV PB AŚ We put little faith in the Bibl Ind edition of AŚ

tām nah pūṣaṇ chvalatām erayasva HG *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV °an) *chvalatām erayasva* RV AV ApMB *sā nah pūṣā śvalatām eraya* PG

§41 *kar* 'make' (D 238)

ugram cettāmi adhīrājam akran (AV *akrata*) RV AV VS TS KS *akrata* collides with the *tristubh* meter of the stanza as a whole, and Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 37 264) reads *akran*

dyumantam ghoṣam vijayāya kṛṇmahe (AV *kṛṇmasi*) RV AV

agnau kariṣye karavāi karavāni (with reply *kṛiyatām kuruṣva kuru*)

AG *agnau karanam kariṣyāmi* MŚ *agnau kariṣyāmi* GG BDh

agnau karavāni ViDh Cf Stenzler's note on AG 4 7 18, Transl

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu twam*) RV AV SMB ApMB MG N Besides the patch-word (cf §36),

AV is marked as secondary by dissyllabic *syonam* (the others, archaically, *stonam*)

kuru AG GG VīDh *kuruṣva* AG YDh AuśDh BrhPDh
kuruta MS MŚ LŚ ŚG Kauś GG KhG PG HG *om kuruta* ŚŚ AG.
 MG *kurudhvam* PG

kṛṣm suśasyām ut kṛṣe (KS *kṛdhi*) MS KS MŚ See §165
yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase ŚŚ *yajñapataye vāryam ā svas*
kah MS *yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmar* TA

Participles (cf §31)

punah kṛnānā (KS *kṛnwantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS KS ŚB *punah*
kṛnwantah pitaro yuvānah MS *punah kṛnwant twā pitarām yuvānam*
 TS

§41a. *gam* 'go'

juṣte juṣtm te gameyam (ŚŚ °ya, TS 'śiya) TS KS ŚŚ LŚ
nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam AV *nāvaprjyāte na gamāte antam* TB

§42 *gup* 'protect'

tad gopāyata (KS °yadhvam) KS ApŚ
tan me gopāya (Kauś °yasva) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś
tam gopāya (KS ŚG °yasva) KS AG ŚG ApMB *tām gopāyasva* TA
asvapnaś ca mānavadrānaś cottarato gopāyetām (KS MG *ca dakṣinato*
gopāyatām) KS PG MG *asvapnaś ca tvānavadrānaś ca rakṣatām*
 AV See also Conc under *gopāyatiś ca*, *jāgrviś ca*, *dīdiviś ca*, and
gopāyamānam gopāyatām is 3d dual impv act, rather than
 3d sing impv mid

§43 *grah* (*grabh*) 'seize' (D 240)

tam ātman (MS KS *ātmanī*) *pari grhñīmahe vayam* (MS *grhñīmāstha*)
 TS MS KS

(*asyed indro madaṣv ā*) *grābham grbhñīta* (SV *grbhñāti*) *sānasim* RV SV

§44 *jan* 'beget'

surayā (MS KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanta* (KS † TB °ti) *relah* VS †
 MS KS TB

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB °ya) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS
 TB ApŚ

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS **devaya-*
jyayā prajaniṣeyam prajayā paśubhih, KS * MŚ *devayajyayā*
prajaniṣīya prajayā paśubhih) KS (bis) ApŚ MŚ See §175

§45 *juṣ* 'enjoy' (D 229)

sa no nedīṣṭham (TS MS °ṭhā, VS ŚB *viśvānī*) *havanānī joṣat* (TS
joṣate, MS *havanā jujoṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB On perfect
 active and present middle cf Renou 14, 144ff

†*vrprā* (SV *vrprāya*) *gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati* (AA °*ṣat*, SV *yam jujoṣate*) SV AA ŚŚ

§46. *tan* 'extend' (D 242)

bṛhaspatir yajñam imam tanotu VS ŚB LŚ *bṛhaspatis tanutām imam nah* TS TB

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV *yāś ca tatnre*) AV SMB PG ApMB HG *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG—MG is obviously secondary, and may perhaps be a case of purely external form-assimilation *atanvan* for *atanvata* to match *akṛntan*

yunakṭa sīrā vi yugā tanudhvam (AV TS MS KS *tanota*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§47 *tar* 'cross'

pra candramās tirate (TS † °*tī*, AV † °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N

†*suwīrābhīs tirate vājabharmabhīh* (SV TS *tarati vājakarmabhīh*) RV SV TS KS See §197

§48 *dā* 'give' (D 242)

iṣam ūṣam aham ita ādam (TS ApŚ *ādade*, MS KS MŚ *ādī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ VS comm understands *ādam* as from *ad* 'eat', but the accent shows that it is from *ā* + *dā* 'take' The active of *ā* + *dā* is rare or anomalous, cf Delbruck

na me tad (ApŚ *ma idam*) *upadambhīsar dhṛṣir* (ApŚ °*bhīṣag ṛṣir* [once, erroneously, *udambhī*°]) *brahmā yad dadau* (ApŚ *dade*) MS ApŚ

§49 *dī* 'shine' (only in participles, cf §31)

ajāsrena bhānunā dīdyatam (TS *dīdyānam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *viśvā āśā dīdyāno* (MS KS *dīdyad*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

The meter favors *dīdyāno*

§49a *dhā* 'set' (D 243, cf also Grassmann s v)

añgirasām tvā devānām (ApŚ *devānām vratapate*, Kauś *devānām ādityānām*) *vratenā dadhe* (ApŚ *dadhāmī*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś *bhṛgūnām tvāñgirasām* (ApŚ *tvā devānām*) *vratenā dadhāmī* TB ApŚ And similarly under *ādityānām tvā devānām*, *indrasya tvā* etc, *manos tvā* etc, see Conc

asman rāṣṭra indriyam dadhāmī AB *asman rāṣṭre śriyam dadhe* SMB *parīdam vāso adhīdhāh* (HG *adhīdhāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV HG ApMB The readings of HG ApMB are obviously inferior, the sense requires a middle ('thou hast put this garment round thyself unto well-being')

ni me dhehi ni te dadhe (VSK *dadhau*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ The middle is here proper, VSK assimilates the voice to that of *dhehi*

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś *annādam annādāyādadhe* (KS *annādāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS KS *annādam agnum annapatyāyādadhe* MS *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ *agnim annādam annādāyādadhe* VS

gaḥbham dadhāthām te vām aham dade TB ApŚ *reto dhattam puṣṭyan prajananam* MŚ

pañcābhur dhātā v dadhā (MS p p *dadhe*, TS *dadhāv*) *idam yat* (MS om *yat*) TS MS KS Uncertain, because KS must, and MS may (contrary to its p p), intend *dadhau*, like TS

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ *°dhe*) KS ApŚ Cf §139

§50 *nam* 'bend'

sam ākūtir namāmasi (MS *anansata*, 3 pl mid) RVKh AV MS

tasmai viśah svayam evā namante (TB *°ti*) RV TB AB

sam bāhubhyām dhamatī (AV *bharatī*, TS TA *namatī*, KS *namate*, MS *°bhyām adhamatī*) *sam patatrāḥ* (KS *yajatrāḥ*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

§51 *nī* 'lead' (D 244)

agnis te 'gram nayatu TS *agnis te agram nayatām* MŚ

samudrasya tvākṣityā un nayāmi VS ŚB *samudrasya vo 'kṣityā un naye* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ The VS ŚB reading simulates *trīṣṭubh* meter, the passage is really prose

devasya tvā savtuh prasave 'svinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām upa nayāmy asau (HG *naye 'sau*) ŚG HG And others, see Conc
iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG

§52 *nud* 'expel' (D 244)

nīh kravyādam nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS

agnis tān asmāt pra nunottu lokāt MŚ *agnis tān* (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātī*, SMB *nudatī*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ApŚ SMB *agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ

§53 *pac* 'cook' (D 245)

ity apacah TB ApŚ *ity apacathāh* MŚ

varūtrayo janayas tvā pacantūkhe TS *varūtrī* (and, *varu°*) *tvā pacatām ukhe* MS *janayas tvā pacantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB

§54 *bandh* 'bind' (D 245)

mitras tvā padī badhnātu (VS ŚB *badhnātām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *māba°*, TS ApMB* *yam abadhnāta*) *savitā susevah* (AV *°vāh*, TS ApMB* *suketah*) RV AV TS ApMB (bis) KŚ

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ on this see §30, end

§55 *bhar* 'bear' (D 230)

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharantam (MŚ °retām, 3 du impv mid) TB
ApŚ MŚ (In TB ApŚ sambhara—etam)
(*ud u tvā vṣve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS also *bharanta*) *cittibhiḥ* VS TS
MS KS ŚB See §156

§56 *bhū* 'be, become'

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS °thām) MS KS
TB ApŚ—MS (2 du mid) is probably only an error for 3 du
act °tām, mechanically influenced by the parallel form *ārabhethām*,
see §§337 and 21

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta evam mahyam pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG
°tah) *svadhā bhava* (HG *bhavatām*) ApMB HG And the same
with *yathā vāyur* , *yathādityo* See §329

§57 *bhrāj* 'shine'

sa yathā tvam bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy evāham bhrājatā bhrājyāsam AV *sa*
yathā tvam bhrājyā bhrājasa evam aham bhrājyā bhrājīṣiya MS
mahi bhrājanṭe (TS MS KS °ty) *arcayo vidhāvaso* RV SV VS TS
MS KS ŚB On the evidence of RV (see Grassmann) the middle
present is prior to the active See also Whitney, *Roots* s v, and
Oldenberg, *Proleg* 309

§58 *mad* 'revel'

hotā yakṣad aśvinau somānām pibatu madantām vyantu MS
vyantu pibantu madantu (form-assimilation) AŚ The KS parallel
lacks any form of *mad*
pibantu madantu (MS °tām) *vyantu* (TB *vyantu somam*) VS MS TB.
Cf prec

yatrā (TA *yatra*) *suhārdah sukrto madanti* (TA °te) AV TA

§59 *muc* 'release' (D 247)

yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS TA *amoci* must be
interpreted as 3d person middle, not passive

Participles (cf §31)

pramuñcamānā (AV °canto) *bhuvanasya retah* AV TS KS ApŚ
MŚ

§60 *yaj* 'revere' (D 248), see §35 above

ava devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi (KS TS TB °yāt) VS TS KS ŚB
TB , *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS KS See §266
agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devānām yaja*
hedo agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ Cf
ava devān yaje hedyān TB ApŚ

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS† TB TAA ApŚ

asau yaja AŚ. *asau yajate* LŚ

mahyam yajantu (AV KS °ntām) *mama yāni havyā* (AV KS yānīṣṭā)

RV AV TS KS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*) TS MŚ See §36

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS °itha) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS.

TS MS KS ŚB

§61. *yam* 'hold' (D 248)

yachantām pañca VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *yachantu pañca* MS *yachantu*

tvā pañca KS

gharmasyaikā savitarikām ni yachati (MS KS °te, PG °tu) TS MS KS

PG

§62. *yu* 'separate' and 'unite' (D 249)

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ HG *mā vo*

(AŚ *no*) 'to 'nyat pitaro *yoṣuvata* (AŚ *yūñgdhvam*) AŚ Kauś

ni no rayim subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV VS TS MS KS Cf

Delbruck, l c , and §36 above

§63 *rakṣ* 'protect' (D 250)

agne havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB

MŚ

viṣno havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

MŚ

vratam rakṣanti viśvāhā AV *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV The AV

reading is in every way secondary, cf the formulas *vratā rakṣante* in Conc

§64 *vad* 'speak' (D 252)

achāvāka vadasva (MŚ *vada*) AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *achāvāka vadasva yat te*

vādyam AB KB. ŚB KŚ ApŚ

avapalanār avadan RV VS TS MS KS *avayatiḥ sam avadanta* VSK

pippalyah samavadanta AV Here the preposition *sam* is, of course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps better be placed in §30

satyam vadiṣyāmi (TA * *vadiṣye*) TA (bis) TU ŚG MG

§65 *var* (caus *vāraya*) 'hold in, hold off' (D 230)

antar evaṣmānam vārayadhvāt (MS TB *vārayatāt*, but most mss and

p p of MS °dhvāt) MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ

varano vārayātā AV *varano vārayiṣyate* AV *varuno* (Poonā ed *varano*) *vārayāt* TA See §171

§66 *vart* 'turn' (D 235)

ime jīvā vi mṛtaḥ āvartan (TA *āvavartin*) RV AV TA AG The

monstrous form is found in both edd of TA, text and comm,

comm glosses by *āvṛttāh* It can only be felt as a wholly anomalous
3d plural impf act
ṛtenāśya nīvartaye (MŚ °ya), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ °ya) TB ApŚ
MŚ See §116

§67 *vah* 'carry' (D 253)
ta ā vahanti (MS *tayāvahante*) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS TB
jātavedo vahemam (ŚŚ *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (TA *lokāḥ*)
TA ŚŚ The reading of ŚŚ is obviously secondary
ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*,
and so ApMB comm explains, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*)
havyam ūhiṣe MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayā*
no yajñam vahāsi KŚ See §140

§68 *vid* 'obtain' and 'perceive' (D 253)
videya TS KS AŚ ApŚ *videyam* KS ŚŚ ApŚ *videya* TS is in same
passage as *videyam* ŚŚ

brāhmanam adya videyam (VSK °ya) VS VSK ŚB
tat puruṣāya (MahānU * °śasya) *vidmahe* MS KS TA MahānU
puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya TA (immediately preceding the
other form)

tasya vītāt (MS *viṭṣva*) TS MS KS *etasya vītāt* VS ŚB 'Take note
of that'

mā jñātāram mā pratīṣṭhām vidanta (AG † *vidantu*) AV AG

§69 *vis* 'enter' (D 253)
ny anyā arkam abhūto vivīṣre (AV 'viṣanta, JB *vivīsyuh*) RV AV JB
ŚB AA

sa no mayobhūh pito āviśasva (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āviśasva*,
AŚ *pitav āviśeḥa*, MŚ *pitur āviśeḥa*) TS TB AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB.
PG *sa nah pito* (!) *mādhumān ā vivesa* Kauś *sa nah pito mā-*
dhumān ā viśeḥa KS See §§139, 332, on perfect active and present
middle, Renou 14, 144ff

Participles (cf §31)

viso-visah praviśwānsam imahe AV *viśvasyam visi praviśwānsam*
(KS † *pravivīśānam*) *imahe* TS MS KS See §273

§70 *vyā* 'envelop' (D 254)
tasmai devā amṛtāh (AV °tam) *sam vyayantām* (AV °ntu) AV TS MS
ApMB

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °sā) *sam vyayantu*
(PG *vyayasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG *tās tvā jarase sam*
vyayantu AV Stenzler, Transl of PG 1 4 13, takes PG to be a
mere corruption, at a pinch it could perhaps be rendered 'wrap

thyselves in these goddesses unto old age', with distinct middle force, belonging then with the preceding section

§71. *śudh* 'purify, be pure'

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ parā jaghnur etc , see §30

yat te krūram tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS *tad etena sundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ Here both verbs are middle in force, or, more strictly, *śudhyatu* is properly a passive, made into an active intransitive by change from middle to active ending, see §§82, 30

§72 *śri* 'set up' (D 255)

vāk patamgāya śīśriye TS *vāk patamgo aśīśriyat* (KS °gā aśīśrayuh) AV KS See §219

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV °ti, ApMB HG *visrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG See §253

§73 *sad* 'sit' (D 230)

tsro devīr barhīr edam sadantu (AV °lām) RV AV VS TS KS

sarasvatī (AV °tīh) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °lām) RV AV VS MS KS TB N

§74 *sarj* 'loosen' (D 255f)

tena mām indra sam srja (MŚ *srjasva*) TS TB MŚ

rāyas poṣena sam srja (MG *srjasva*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ SMB MG In this and the prec *srjasva* in the cadence is bad

vi (MS KS *pra*) *parjanyaḥ* (RV °yam, TS °yāh) *srjanti* (MS KS *srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS

pāvamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot srje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena vīryena devas tvā savitot srjatu* TS

§75 *stu* 'praise' (D 257)

indravanta (AB °tah) *stuta* (AB *studhvam*) AB GB Vait

stuta Vait MŚ *om stuta* ŚŚ ApŚ *studhvam* AŚ *om studhvam* AŚ

indro vide tam u stuhī (AA *stuṣe*) AA *Mahānāmnyah* See §165

§76 *sthā* 'stand' (D 257)

śivo me saptarṣīn (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣīn*) *upa tiṣṭhasva* (Vait MŚ *tiṣṭha*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ

yāvac ca sapta sindhavo vitasthure (TS °tasthuh) TS VS *yāvat sapta sindhavo vitasthure* AV

yenarṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA MahānU

kṣuttṛṣṇābhyaṁ tam yo gām vikṛntantam mānsam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhale TB *kṣudhe yo gām vikṛntantam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhati* VS

caus *sthāpaya* 'place' (cf D 257)

ā *mātārā sthāpayase jagatnū* RV AV *āsthāpayata mātaram jagatnum* AV

§77 *hu* 'sacrifice'

pra tve havīṇṣi juhure (KS *juhūmas*) *samiddhe* (MS *tve samiddhe juhure havīṇṣi*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB But *juhure* may be passive, with *havīṇṣi* as subject, so Grassmann

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (ApŚ *juṣatām*, MŚ *juhutām*) *havih svāhā* PB KS ApŚ MŚ

§78 *kū* 'call' (D 261)

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvaṣānu*) *śakram puruhūtām indram* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*, KS *johavānu*) RVKh AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *sarasvantam avase johavānu* RV The AV reading introduces a *jagati* pāda into an otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanza, while KS is a bad *triṣṭubh* contaminated from the two other readings (Delete reference to KS 19 14d in Conc under *sarasvantam*, and add *bis* to this reference under the other)

agnim (MahānU *ugram*, AV *ukthair*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānU The AV reading is metrically bad

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*) AV VS TS KS MS AŚ ŚŚ The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*

prātarjūtam bhagam ugram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV AV VS TB ApMB N As in prec, *triṣṭubh* stanza

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV AV VS TB ApMB Here, on the contrary, the rest of the stanza is *jagati*, and AV makes this pāda fit its context metrically

havante vājasātaye RV *huveya vā*° RV AV *huvema vā*° RV SV MS KS

§79 *Interchanges between active and middle which occur only once*

aṣ 'move' (D 233) *marya iva yuvatibhiḥ sam aṣati* (AV *iva yoṣāḥ sam aṣase*) RV SV AV The AV. reading is bad in meter and sense

as 'throw' (D 237) *ayam yajamāno mṛdho vyasyatām* (AŚ *vyasyatu*) TB AŚ ApŚ

ās + *upa* 'revere' (cf D 233) *brahmarūpā upāsavitat* (MahānU *upāsavitat*) *tapah* TA MahānU But Poona ed of TA as MahānU, v 1 *upāsavit*° See §195

i + *adhi* 'read' (D 237) *adhīhi bhoh* AG ŚG GG KhG HG GDh ApDh RVPrātiśākhya 15 2 *adhīṣva bhoh* MDh AuśDh

i + *palā* 'flee' *palāyṣyamānāya svāhā* TS *palāyṣyate svāhā* KS
Participles

edh 'prosper' (D 229) *athāsyai* (TS MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām*
(Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
Vait LŚ *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA

kar 'praise' *sacāyor indraś carṣṭṣa* (3d sing pres intensive mid) ā
RV *sadā va indraś carṣṭṣad ā* SV See Grassmann s v *kur*, and
Oldenberg RVNoten 2 325

kalp, caus *kalpaya* 'shape' (cf D 234) *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV °*vah*)
kalpayasva (AV VS *kalpayātu*) RV AV VS

gar 'praise' *marutām pitar uta tad grnīmah* KS *marutām pītas tad*
aham grnāmi (MS *grne te*) TS MS

gai 'sing' (D 240) *rājānam samgāyata* (PG °*gāyetām*) ŚG PG

ghuṣ 'sound' *devaśrutau deveṣu ā ghoṣethām* (VS ŚB *ghoṣatam*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB MŚ

cal, caus 'drive off' (cf D 231) *ghoṣenāmīvānś cātayata* (PB °*mīvān*
cātayadhvam) PB TB ApŚ

ci 'observe' *cakṣuṣā na cikṣate* (MS °*ti*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

ji 'conquer' (D 241) *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ *ajayathāh*, ŚB
ajayat) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

dah 'burn' (D 242) *ā te yatante rathyo yuthāprthak*, *śardhānśy agne*
ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV SV MS
ApŚ See §§27, 250

āi 'fly' *parnavir wa diyati* (SV °*te*) RV SV

dīkṣ 'consecrate' (D 234) *agnir dīkṣitah prthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā*
dīkṣayatu (JB *dīkṣeta*) *tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣe* JB ApŚ And others,
see §160 The active is better, note the medio-passive *dīkṣe* follow-
ing in both texts

dyut 'shine' *sam sūryena rocate* (SV *dīdyute*) RV SV VS MS ŚB
TA *sam sūryena dīdyutad udadhīr nadhīh* VS

dhar, *dhāraya* 'hold' *soma* (MS *somā*) *indro varuṇo mitro agnis te devā*
dharmadhṛto dharmam dhārayantu (KS °*tām te* 'smai vācam suvan-
tām) MS KS

dharṣ 'dare' *nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate* (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*)
śavah AV AV ŚŚ 'He is not to be dared against, his might dares'
See Whitney on AV 6 33 2 and Keith on AA 5 2 3 1 ŚŚ
seems to intend a perfect from caus, in sense of primary

naś 'perish' *alakṣmā me naśyatu* (MahānU °*ta*) TA MahānU cf
alakṣmur me naśyatām RVKh See under *bhaj*, below

naś 'attain' *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV
prai°) AV VS TS MS KS

parc 'mix' *viṣe viṣam aprkthāh* (and, *aprag api*) AV (both) See §36

palāya 'flee' see *ι + palā*

pū 'purify' (D 234, 245) *taṭ punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*) *yavā mama ViDh sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh sarvam punaṣha* (ViDh *punīta*) *me pāpam BDh ViDh*

bhaja 'share' (D 246) *śrī me bhajata MahānU śrīr me bhajatu TA* Comm on MahānU *lakṣmīr mahyam bhajatu ity arthah* See *naś* 'perish', above

maḥ 'dive' (D 232) *upamañkṣyati syā* (ŚŚ °*mañkṣye* 'ham) *sahlasya madhye ŚB ŚŚ nimañkṣye* 'ham *sahlasya madhye AB*

man 'think' (D 234) *taṃ manyeta* (ViDh *vaḥ manyet*) *pīṭaram mātoram ca SamhitopB VāDh ViDh N*

ram 'rest' (D 250) *iha rama* (SMB *ramasva*) MS AB AŚ ApŚ SMB HG *iha ramatām VS ŚB HG* Note that HG 1 12 2 has *rama* and *ramatām* side by side VS comm *iha bhavān ramatām*

rā (*ram*) 'give' *na pāpatvāya rāṣīya* (SV *ransiṣam*) RV AV SV See §174

rājaya (denom) 'be king' (cf D 232) *adhivāyo rājasu rājayātaḥ* (TS °*ti*, MS *rājayate*) AV TS MS See §117

ruh 'grow' *vayā wānu rohate* (KS °*ti*) RV KS ApŚ MŚ *vayā wānu rohate juṣanta yat RV*

rej 'tremble' *arejetām* (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā RV TB* See §241

luh 'desire' (D 232) *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB HG °*lulobha*, ApŚ °*mamāda*) ApŚ ŚG ApMB HG MDh

vakṣ 'grow' *deva somaṣa te lokas tasmāñ cham ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva* (VSK *lokah pari ca vakṣi śam ca vakṣi*, ŚBK *tasmāñ cham pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*) VS VSK ŚB ŚBK See §164

vac 'speak' (D 251) *pra tad voced* (TA MahānU *voce*) *amṛtam nu* (AV *amṛtasya*) *vidvān AV VS TA MahānU* But the form *voce* is highly questionable, see § 174

vadh 'slay' (D 232) *indriyam me vīryam mā nir vadhāh* (MŚ *vadhīṣta*) TS MŚ

van 'win' *dauvyā hotāro* (TS °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanī*°) *pūrve* (KS † *vanuṣan na etat*) RV TS KS Cf *dauvā hotārah sanuṣan na etat AV*

vap 'throw' (D 252) *pratiḥprasthātah savanāyān nir vapa* (MŚ *vapasva*) ApŚ MŚ

vardh 'grow' (D 253) *avīrḍhat* (VSK *avīrḍhata*) *purodāṣena* (VSK *puroḥ*°) VS VSK Cf *avīrḍhanta* etc in Conc

valh 'ask a riddle' *etad brahmān upavalhāmasi* (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

śikṣ 'help' *indro yajvane pr̥nate ca śikṣati* (AV *gr̥nate ca śikṣate*) RV AV TB

sac 'follow' (D 230) *anyavratasya* (TA. *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV *sascire*, TA *saścimah*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Read *saścima* in TA §262, c

san 'be effective' (D 233) *aryo naśanta sanīśanta* (SV † *nas santu sanīśantu*) *no dhīyah* RV SV See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

sar 'move' (caus) *tā ubhau* (TS MS KSA ApŚ *tau saha*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāva* (TS KSA ApŚ °*yāvahar*, MS °*yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

sah 'be able' *pra sūkṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV AV *pra sakṣati pratimānam prthivīāh* AV

sukratūya 'have excellent wisdom' (denom) *vartir yajñam pariyan sukratūyase* (KS °*si*) RV KS

sev 'be devoted to' *gr̥dhrah suparnah kunapamī nī śevati* (TA † *śevase*) MS TA

stan 'thunder' (D 232) *pra te divo na stanayanti kuṣmāh* (MS °*yanta kuṣmanh*) RV TS MS

snā 'bathe', caus (D 232) *prasnāpayanty ūrmīnam* RV *prasnāpayanta ūrmayah* SV Benfey, *Transl* 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma) The SV passage is thoroly secondary, its comm, as quoted by Benfey, suggests that *ūrmayah* stands for acc sing *ūrmīm*, the subject being preempted by *vasārah*. But it may be taken as an additional, asyndetic subject 'the fingers (and) the waves wash (soma),' Benfey's 'imperfect' is a slip for present

svad 'taste' (D 230) *havyā te svadantām* (MS *svadan*, and once—erroneously?—*svadam*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

svap 'sleep' (D 236) *ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan mā divā svāpsīh* Kauś *mā divā suṣupthāh* (SMB GG HG *svāpsīh*) ŚG SMB GG PG HG *mā suṣupthāh* ŚB ApMB *divā mā svāpsīh* AG

han 'slay' (D 259) *jaghanān upa jighnate* (MS °*tu*, p p °*ti*) RV VS TS MS KSA

hā 'leave' (D 234) *nī vo jāmayo jihatā* (ŚŚ *jihatām*) *ny ajāmayah* KB AŚ ŚŚ

hi 'incite' *rtasya yonau* (RV *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahīnvan* (RV *ahēṣata*) RV TS KS ApMB

3 Interchange between active and passive

§80 Encroachment of passive construction upon active is a growing movement thru the history of Classical Sanskrit. It is already noticeable in the later Vedic texts, and indeed is not entirely absent in the earliest, see Delbruck, *AI Syntax* 268ff, who quotes many instances of passive construction where we should expect the active.

§81 The passive finite forms are originally medio-passive¹⁰, their most conspicuous representatives, the present passive system, are specialized middles, and the remaining tenses, for the most part, are ordinary middles, not at all differentiated in form¹⁰. Hence, occasionally, a present middle construction interchanges with an active construction in a manner comparable with the variants of the present rubric, see above, §30. In a considerable number of cases, moreover, the passive version uses a past passive participle, with or without copula, for which see §245ff, and a few similar cases will be found in the rubric Perfect Passive Participles interchanging with Moods, §143f.

§82 There are one or two cases of a present passive form in *ya* appearing with active endings (cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§761b, 774) *yathā tvam agne samidhā samidhyase* (SMB †^{se}) SMB PG ApMB HG

But SMB has a *v* I^{se}

yat te krāma tat te śudhyatu etc, see §71

§83 In the following list, in which both versions contain finite verbs (or, in a very few cases at the end, active and passive participles), no attempt is made, as a rule, to establish priority for either active or passive construction. The examples are largely from ritual texts in which both constructions may be assumed to be familiar, and which offer no basis for relative chronology. In one instance, however, which involves RV, the active construction is clearly prior.

mahe cana tvām adruah, parā sulkāya deyām RV 'not would I, even for a high price, sell thee, O (Indra) to whom belong the press-stones'
mahe ca na tvādrwah, parā sulkāya dīyase SV, where *tvā* and *dīyase* together make nonsense. Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 278.

§84 On the other hand, in

ād id ghṛtēna pṛthivī vy udyate (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūduh*) RV AV MS

¹⁰ It is to be noted that the well-known 3d person in *ṛ* (Whitney, *Grammar* §§ 542ff), which is the only finite form outside of the present supposed to have exclusively passive function, is used at least once as a middle with active force, interchanging with a perfect active of the same meaning. See *yeṇa suriyam tamaso nṛ amoci (mumoca)*, §59. Cf further Neisser, *BB* 30 305, and the variant *ā gharma agnim ṛtayanṇ asādi* etc, §84.

KS *ād it prthivī ghr̥taṃ vy udyate* TS cf *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī vy undhī*
(KS *vyundan*) RV KS

the solitary active of AV is clearly secondary, patterned after RV 5
83 8

Thus also in the following, the (medio-?) passive of RV is superior to
TA's active

ā gharṃ agnīm ṛtayanā asādī (TA *asādī*) RV TA *ā gharṃ agnir
amṛto na sādī* MS We agree with Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 5 43 7, in
considering the TA variant 'meaningless' for the RV, against Neisser
(BB 30 305) who finds it important and would interpret *asādī* as a
middle, cf our footnote 10 above, which shows that the middle interpre-
tation of the word is *per se* quite possible

§85 The remaining cases involve occasionally direct transmutations
of one voice into the other, but for the most part the interrelations are
of a looser kind, in which active in one version and passive in the other
are not directly convertible

rajaṭā harināḥ śīsā (MS *rajaṭāḥ śīsā harināḥ*), *yujō yujyante* (MS *yujān-
tu*) karmabhūh VS TS MS KSA

yat svapne annam aśnāmi AV *yad annam adyate naktam* (HG *sāyam*)
ApŚ HG

stīṇanti (RV * *stīṇāta*, RV * AV *tistire*) *barhiṣ ānuṣak* RV (all three)
AV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ N *tistire* is passive

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyāṣicyanta*
(ŚŚ SMB *abhyāṣīcatam*, PG *°tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG See
§332 Subject is Aśvins, except in AV, where the verse is address
to them too, but turned into passive construction with subject
akṣāh

varca ā dhehī me tanvam (KS *dhāyī me tanvāḥ*) AV KS

satyam ṛte 'dhāyī (TB *dhāyī* but Poona ed *'dhāyī* here and in next, TS
KSA *'dhām*) TS KSA TB ApŚ

ṛtam satye 'dhāyī (TB, see prec, TS KSA *'dhām*), same texts

mayī dhāyī (MS *dhehī*) *suvin yam* MS TB TA

abhīramantu dhavantah ViDh *abhīramyatām* (MŚ *°thām*) MŚ ŚG
YDh BṛhPDh

ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī pūryethām VS ŚB *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī ā prne-
thām* (MS MŚ *pr̥na*, LŚ *prīnāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ
ApŚ MŚ

maṛṣām kam canoc chiṣah TS TB ApŚ *maṛṣām uc cheṣī kim cana* AV
māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah RV SV VS *māmīṣām moci kaś cana*
AV

paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB *tasyaś te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmi* TS
pra tve havīṇṣi juhure (jukumas) , see §77 juhure either mid or pass
tat śrīyām anu śicyate (ŚG *śīñcatu*) AV ŚG
saha dharmam cara (GDh *dharmāś caryatām*) GDh NāradaDh *sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh
asmān goṣṭha upa pṛñca nah AV *āsu goṣṭupa pṛcyatām* RV TB LŚ
 The AV is secondary in various ways, see Whitney on 9 4 23
tan me 'rādhi (Kauś *rāddham*) VS TS TA Kauś *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ MS GG. °*rātsam*) MS ŚŚ MS GG See §248
dadato me mā kṣāyi (GB *Vait me mopadasah*, MS °*sat*) TS MS KS GB TB *Vait* ApŚ
ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ *ajann agnih*) *pūrvah pūrvebhyah pavamānah pāvakaś śucir* (ApŚ *śucih pāvaka*) *īdyah* KS ApŚ Cf Delbrück, AISyntax 266

§86. A couple of cases, finally, concern interchange of active and passive participles, as stated above, we shall deal later with the more numerous instances of interchange between participles and finite verbs

tantum tanvan (KS *tatam*) *rajaso bhānum anv ihi* RV TS KS AB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ AG HG
harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *dhṛṣṭā* is an adverbial instrumental of the present participle

4 Interchange between passive and middle

§87 This group exhibits interestingly a few cases in which the medio-passive value of *ātmanepada* forms, quite clear by themselves, is, as it were, glossed by corresponding passive forms Thus, twice, the medio-passive *amukthāh* varies with *amoci*, or *bhakṣyamānah* (*bhakṣamānah*) with *bhaktah* Note Delbrück's remark on *amoci*, op cit 266, and, more generally, 263 ff A few cases of this sort are unreliable on account of the phonetic uncertainty of *y* in combination with two other consonants, such as *vrscantām* and *vrscyantām*, the former of which may in reality be equal to *vrścyantām* cf §§27, 28

mā pṛnan pūrtyā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS *rādhi*) TS MS KS
amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yaḥsmād duntād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV TB ApMB

Followed by

druhaḥ pāsān nṛṛtyai codamoci TB ApMB *druhaḥ pāsād grāhyāś*

codamukthāh AV Cf Delbruck, op cit 266 Both here and in the prec Ppp has *amoci*, but see §329
sam barhīr aklam (VS ŚB *añktām*) *haviṣā ghr̥tena* AV VS ŚB *sam añktām* ba° ha° ghr̥° TB ApŚ See §144
vājino vājayito vājam bhāgam avajighrata nī mṛjānāh (KS *bhāge numṛjatām*, TS *bhāge nī mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB *vājinau vājayitau vājam jtvā bṛhaspater bhāge numṛjyethām* MS The last phrase means 'Be ye (ye two) cleansed', or 'being cleansed' (mid participle in VS ŚB), or 'let them be cleansed' Only MS has a definitely passive form, the rest have middles substantially in passive sense

ā vṛscyantām (AV *vṛscantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV See §28
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pr̥nethām (MS MŚ *pr̥na*, LŚ *pr̥nāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS, LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī pūryethām* VS ŚB The contrast between *pr̥nethām* and *pūryethām* brings this variant in here, cf §85

svāhā marudbhīh (MS MŚ °*bhyah*) *parīśrayasva* (VS ŚB °*śrīyasva*) VS MS ŚB MŚ TA KŚ *marudbhīh parīśrīyasva* ŚB 'Hail, be encompassed (encompass thyself) with (for) the Maruts'

na karmanā lpyate pāpakena ŚB TB BrhU BDh 'he is not stained by evil action' *na karma lpyate nare* VS ĪśāU 'action does not stick to a man' The latter shows *lpyate* middle in form but almost transitive in meaning (governing *nare*)

Participles

bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah (KS ms *bhakṣa°*) VS KS Cf *bhakṣah pītah* VSK *bhakṣa āgatah* TS See §27

jajñānā (SV *yā jātā*) *pūṭadakṣasā* RV SV

nirṛtyai parivindānam (TB *parivittam*), and, *ārtiyai parivittam* (TB *parivindānam*) VS TB Exchange between the two equivalent participles

[*samjñhānāya svāhā* TS KSA Conc quotes *samjñhātāya* for KSA]

CHAPTER III THE MOODS

Observations on the scope and character of modal interchanges

§88 In the midst of the variations which concern the verb change of mood looms as the most constant and important. Any mood may be supplanted by any other—*bellum omnium contra omnes*—in most cases, apparently, without any clear change of meaning. If there is any psychological shift of attitude in these changes, that shift is at the most and solely due to an arbitrary change in the appraisal of the original mood. Granted that the moods really expressed different values, there is no conceivable motive for the mass of these changes, except the subjective feeling of the repeater or reciter of the second form. Of course this does not exclude the possibility of an occasional imitation of a related expression which has come to the mind of the repeater. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that independent changes of the repeater's mood are, in the main, and in varying degrees, at the bottom of this unbridled variety, tho such an assumption is, in the circumstances, the purest kind of argument in a circle. In any case the frequency of these changes testifies eloquently to that genuine instability in the use of moods which characterizes Hindu speech at least up to the time of the modern vernaculars. And because they concern all moods, the following pages are a kind of negative syntax of the ancient Sanskrit moods. Needless to say, the conditions described in this chapter happen to be unparalleled in the history of recorded literature and speech. A preliminary selection from them was published by Bloomfield in *AJP* 33 1 ff.

§89 The interest of these interchanges is greatly enhanced by the uncommonly large formal apparatus for expressing mood which is at the disposal of the Vedic language. This apparatus is considerably larger than that of Classical Sanskrit, and, we believe, than that of any other Indo-European language. The following forms carry with them modal value, under circumstances to be dealt with in detail later on, in various ways and various degrees they interchange with one another.

1 Present Indicative

2 Various Preterite Indicatives, notably Aorist, also predicative Past Passive Participles

3 Imperative (including those in *tāt*)

- 4 Imperative forms in *sz* and (?) *se*
- 5 Subjunctive
- 6 Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms
- 7 Injunctive
- 8 Optative
- 9 Precative
- 10 Future
- 11 Desiderative
- 12 Infinitive

The rôle of the last two of these twelve classes is unimportant and, as regards strict modal quality, somewhat dubious. This still leaves ten modal categories whose interrelations are the theme of the following pages.

§90 Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the modal interchanges as between two or more different texts, there are three preliminary matters which substantiate this instability, and lend atmosphere to the subject as a whole. First, one and the same text sometimes varies its mood in what may be regarded as a repetition of the same passage. Secondly, the interchanges in different texts sometimes, and not rarely, bring in three or even more different moods. Thirdly, change of tense goes along with change of mood without, again, affecting the resulting meaning. Related with the last class are the numerous cases in which different tense-forms of the same mood interchange, again without the least indication of difference in function, see §§208 ff.

Interchange of moods in passages repeated in the same text

§91 Any single Vedic text is likely to show iteration on an extensive scale (cf Bloomfield, *JAOS* 31 49 ff). In these repeated passages the mood may be changed, either, apparently, for no other than subjective reason, or because of some external circumstance provoked by the technique of the text in question. Thus the RV

ādityair no aditih śarma yansat 1 107 2, 4 54 6,

ādityair no aditih śarma yachatu 10 66 3,

'Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection' *yansat* is aorist subjunctive, *yachatu* present imperative, of the same relation between RV 10 128 8a and AV 5 3 8a, and see §106 for the frequent interchange between the stems *yacha* and *yans* in general. The motive of the variation is metrical. The first verse is *triṣṭubh*, the second *jagati*. To see any other reason for the change would be sheer hair-splitting, one sentence says exactly the same as the other.

§92 The same criterion governs the choice of *kṛdhī*, aorist imperative, and *kah*, aorist injunctive in the two RV pādas

asmabhyam indra varvāh sugam kṛdhī 1 102 4,

asmabhyam mahī varvāh sugam kah 6 44 18

See *RVRep* 530 —Also in the following, both in KS

vācaspatir vācam nah svadatu 15 11,

vācaspatir vācam adya svadātī nah 13 14

The first phrase is prose, the second receives a *jagatī* cadence See §104, p

§93 Only in a partial or one-sided way, if at all, can metrical convenience be assigned as a ground for the following variation

suvedā no varū kṛdhī RV 7 32 25,

suvedā no varū karat RV 6 48 15

'Make (let him make) wealth easy for us to get' *kṛdhī* is aor impv, *karat* aor subj, there is no reason why the poet of 7 32 25 should not have used *karah* to match *karat*, but as to 6 48 15 it may be observed that the meter would oppose the use of the aor impv **kartu*, mixed aor subj-impv *karatu*, or pres impv *kṛnotu* or *karotu*

§94 In passages repeated in the same vicinity, we find modal variations which appear to be due simply to the stylistic urge for variety, the change is for its own sake This is prettily illustrated in the following RV instance

jeṣah svarvatīr apah 1 10 8c,

jeṣat svarvatīr apah 8 40 10,

ajah svarvatīr apah 8 40 11

'Thou shalt conquer (hast conquered, he shall conquer) the waters rich in light' In 8 40 10 we have a secondary repetition with change of person of 1 10 8c, in the next verse this is deliberately modulated by substitution of the aor indic for subj See *RVRep* 39 —Similarly,

gyok pitṛṣv āstām AV 1 14 1, 'long may she sit among the fathers', is modulated in vs 3 of the same hymn to

gyok pitṛṣv āsātāi,

with subj for impv, which means exactly the same thing, it may also have been felt as improving the meter

Here may likewise be recorded *abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti* (6 63 7 °tu) RV 1 118 4, 6 63 7 For in pāda a of 1 118 4 occurs the form *vahantu*, and it seems fairly clear that the following *vahanti* is a sort of stylistic dissimulation, and is secondary to *vahantu* of 6 63 7 See *RVRep* 124

AV 11 10 14a *sarve devā atyāyanti* is repeated in the next verse,

15a, with *atyāyantu*, again, apparently, the change is for stylistic variety

§95 Possibly of the same order may be the reason for the change in
svadhvarā kṛnuhi jātavedāh RV 3 6 6, 7 17 3,
svadhvarā karati jātavedāh RV 6 10 1, 7 17 4,

'Prepare, O Jātavedas (let J prepare) effective sacrifices" (Cf other forms of the same pāda in other texts, §154) If we assume that the variation originated in 7 17 3 and 4, the desire for variety may be sufficient to account for it, we can, at any rate, see no other reason *kṛnuhi* is pres impv, *karati* aor subj. The 3d person subj forms are just as good imperatives as true imperative forms. Consider the 3d person mixed subj -impv forms treated below, §173, and let us remember that the so-called 1st person imperatives are really subjunctives. In view of these facts, and of the enormous number of interchanges between the two moods (below, §§151ff), we may confidently say that there is no real difference between subjunctive and imperative in the mantras, at least as far as principal clauses go.¹¹

§96 In the next, a RV repetition,

jyok paśyema sūryam uccarantam 10 59 6,

jyok paśyāt sūryam uccarantam 4 25 4,

'Long may we (he) behold the rising sun", the variation between trissyllabic and dissyllabic verb-forms goes hand in hand with dissyllabic and trissyllabic pronunciation of *sūryam* (*sūriam*). Since *sūria-* is commoner in RV, we may perhaps assume that *paśyema* is secondary. But it must be observed that this has no apparent bearing on the question of moods, since the subj *paśyāma* would do just as well in 10 59 6, and the opt *paśyēt* in 4 25 4.

§97 In AV 6 122 5, 11 1 27 *indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me* (11 1 27 *dadād idam me*), 'Indra with the Maruts, may he give that to me", a slight and apparently unnecessary change between *tad* and *idam* goes along with, and either causes or is caused by, the exchange between impv and injunctive (? subjunctive, from stem *dada-*). Again, AV 19 50 7 has the metrically correct couplet *uṣā no ahna ā bhajād, ahas tubhyam vibhāvāri*, 'may the dawn commit us to the day, the day to thee, O shining one". For the sake of a slight and unnecessary lexical alteration AV 19 48. 2 varies the mood and violates the meter *uṣā no ahne pari dadāt, ahas tubhyam vibhāvāri*. The meaning is the same.

¹¹ The chief distinction between the two moods appears to be the exclusion of the 2d person imperative from dependent (except prohibitive) sentences. Cf RV 8 103 14 *mādayasva svarṇare*, 'delight thyself with (chez) Svarṇara', but 8 65 2 *yad mādayāse svarṇare*, 'when thou mayst delight thyself' etc.

RV 10 35 13 *viśve no devā avasā gamantu*, 'may all the gods come hither with help for us', is changed in 1 89 7 to *viśve no devā avasā gamann iha*. The patch-word *iha* helps the substituted subj *gaman* (instead of mixed impv-subj *gamantu*) to make a *jagatī* pāda out of a *triṣṭubh*.

AV 7 60 7 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyata*, 'prosper ye in all forms', is adapted to the cosmogonic Rohita in 13 2 10 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyasi*, 'thou prosperest in all forms'. The Ppp in the latter passage has *prajāh sarvā vi paśyasi*, 'thou beholdest every way all creatures', a more appropriate saying for the solar Rohita, and probably the original one, the Śaunaka version has mechanically imitated 7 60 7 which floated thru the mind of its redactor.

§98 Metrical convenience may again be held to account for the subj-opt interchange in RV 7 66 16 *jīvema saradaḥ satam*, appearing secondarily with change of person in 10 85 39 as *jīvātu* etc. For the opt 3d sing *jīvet* would not fit the meter. It is interesting to note that this pāda, RV 10 85 39, is repeated in ApMB 1 5 2 with change of *jīvātu* to the hybrid subj-impv *jīvātu*, showing the tense sympathy between subj and impv in the third person, alluded to above.

§99 In one RV repetition there is no other than the resulting metrical difference between a pres subj and an aor indic.

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, ubhe bhayete rajasī apāre 4 42 6, 'When the soma libations and the songs of praise incite me, both boundless hemispheres (heaven and earth) are afright'.

purū sahasrā ni sisāmi dāśuṣe, yan mā somāsa ukthino amandīṣuh 10 48 4

We may of course render the aor of this passage 'Many thousands do I secure for my worshiper when the soma libations accompanied by songs of praise have incited me'. But in truth the aor is here just as modal as the subj, it is the so-called prophetic aorist which states a wish as an accomplished fact. See §127 below.

§100 Again, the imperative in *tāt* (Whitney, *Grammar* §571, Delbruck, *AltSyntax* §207, Speyer, *Ved Skt Synt* §188, n 1) fails to differentiate itself modally from the ordinary pres impv in two RV parallels.

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthu chardih 1 48 15,

prāsmar yachatam avṛkam pṛthu chardih 8 9 1,

'Do thou furnish us (do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies' (Cf further RV 8 27 4, *yantā no avṛkam chardih*, with a yet different mood). The difference is at most chronological, *yachatād* may be a more archaic form, and it occurs in an older part of RV, see

Oldenberg, *Proleg* 262, and *RVRep* 82 Thus we may account for the variation between *kṛdh* and *kuru* in ŚS *tato na abhayam kṛdh* 3 20 2 and *kuru* 13 2 2 Here the mood is the same, but the archaic aor impv (inherited from RV and kept in nearly all of the numerous reproductions of the *pāda* in other texts, see §210, a) is replaced by the commonplace pres impv *kuru*

§101 We can conceive no reason for the variation between impv and precative in the following formula, both forms of which are found in KS *durmatrās tasmat santu* (38 5 *bhūyās*) *yo 'smān dveṣti* 3 8, 38 5, 'may they be hostile to him who hates us'

Instances of more than two modal varieties in the same passage

§102 In quite a number of cases more than two moods, usually three, but occasionally even more than three, interchange in different versions of one and the same passage These are of special interest because they show in a superior degree that the modal distinctions are the reverse of sharp The cases here listed are not repeated below under the heads of the much more numerous interchanges between two moods, they may be added there without any great inconvenience

§103 In the formulaic prayer which says 'may I (thou, we, or he) live a hundred autumns', there is a confluence of almost all modal varieties subj *jīvāh*, impv *jīva*, mixed impv-subj *jīvātu*, opt *jīvema*, subj (or impv) 1st pers *jīvāmi* and *jīvāva*, and, finally, present indie *jīvāmi* Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance, see e.g. *jīvāti śaradah śatam* And compare with these the closely related *triṣṭubh* *pāda*, *śatam jīvantu* (*jīvantah*, *jīvema*, *jīvāmi*, *ca jīva*) *śaradah purūcāh* (*suvarcāh*), 'may they (we, I, thou) live a hundred numerous autumns' or 'a hundred autumns being in possession of glory'

§104 In the majority of the following list of multiple modal interchanges, one or more indicatives figure often along with one or more of the oblique moods, cf §§112ff and 127ff These are followed by cases in which at least three non-indicative forms vary with each other In the first not less than four moods are found (five if we count the mixed subj-impv)

(a) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Imperative, Imperative, and Precative

ito mukṣīya nāmutah (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ *preto muñcāmi* (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu*, PG † *muñcatu*, ApMB *muñcāti*) *nāmutah* (ŚG MG SMB † *nāmutah*, PG *mā pateh*) RV AV AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG 'Hence, and not thence (not from my, or

her, husband) may I be loosened (I loosen, let him loosen, etc.)' Cf. in Conc *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt (mā patyuh)* See §312

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive

prapitāmahañ bībhartī pīvamānah (TA † °maham bībhartat pīvamāne) AV TA *svarge loke pīvamāno bībhartu* ApŚ 'It supports (shall support) our great-grandfathers, swelling' or the like

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva*, MS SMB *dūhā*, followed by vowel, but SMB once, 2 2 1c, *duhām* acc to Jorgensen, and so v 1 of MS, MS p p *duhe*) RV AV TS MS KS SMB PG 'Rich in milk she yields (yield thou, let her yield) to us' The MS and SMB readings are doubtful

yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti (AŚ *tarantu*) TA AŚ *yajñāyur anu sam carān* TB ApŚ 'Let them (they do) follow along the life of the sacrifice'

kṣeme tiṣṭhāti (ŚG *tiṣṭha*, PG *tiṣṭhatu*, HG *tiṣṭhati*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānā* AV ŚG PG HG 'May it, dripping ghee, stand (or, it stands, stand thou) in security'

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative

teṣu (ŚG *anyeṣu*, read *yeṣu* with Oldenberg, *ISl* 15 73, note) *aham sumanāh sam viśām* (AŚ °ni [text, °ti], MG *vasāma*, ŚG *viśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB MG (see Knauer's note on MG 1 14 6) '(May) I (we) in this house live happily' or the like

(d) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Precative

sūrya bhrājīṣtha bhrājīṣṭhas (with variants) *tvam* (MS adds *varcasvān*) *deveṣu asī* (MS *edhī*, TS *deveṣu bhūyāh*) VS VSK TS MS ŚB ŚŚ 'O brilliant sun, thou art (be thou) brilliant among the gods'

ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB *kṛnomi*) RV ApMB *ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG *ariṣṭāham soha patyā bhūyāsam* VS 'I make thee (he shall make me, may I be) free from harm, with thy (my) husband'

(e) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Future

yāvatīnām idam karomi (ŚG *karīṣyāmi*) *bhūyasīnām uttarām* (ŚG °mām) *samām kriyāsam* MS MŚ ŚG *yāvatīnām-yāvatīnām va aṣṣamo lakṣanam akārīsam bhūyasīnām-bhūyasīnām va uttarām-uttarām samām kriyāsam* SMB †

(f) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Imperative

vācaspatih somam apāt MS TA ŚŚ *pībatu* TA ŚŚ *pībati* TA All in same context 'The lord of speech has drunk (drinks, shall drink) the soma'

sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N °nam) *akarma* (MS

kṛnomi, KŚ ApŚ Kauś *sadanām santu*, KS *sadanedam astu*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Kauś N 'We have made (I make, let be) your seats easy of access for you, O gods'

(g) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Precative

nir (KS *nir druho nir*, VS ŚB *svāhā nir*) *varunasya pāsān mucye* (KS *mukṣīya*, MS *pāsād amukṣi*) VS MS KS ŚB 'I am (have been, may I be) released from Varuna's fetter'

(h) Present Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Subjunctive

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*) *bhavātu* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS 'That whoso (what) is like should be different' or the like See §330, end

varuneti śapāmahe (MS † °*hai*, AV *yad ūcima*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

(i) Imperfect Indicative (or Injunctive), Perfect Indicative, and Imperative

kāmam (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*, KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ 'Desire hath entered (shall enter) the ocean', or, 'enter into the ocean desire'

(k) Imperfect Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Perfect Optative

ny anyā arkam abhito vivṣre (AV °*viśanta*, JB *viṣiyuh*) RV AV JB ŚB AA 'Others settled (may settle) about the sun'

(l) Imperfect Indicative, Imperative, and Injunctive

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB But *svadan* may be imperfect, like *asvadan*, see §8

(m) Aorist Indicative, Injunctive, and Imperative (Subjunctive-Imperative)

apaitu mṛtyur amṛtam na āgan (PG *āgāt*) TB TAA ApŚ PG HG *paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitu* (ŚŚ SMB *amṛtam mā ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ SMB 'Let death depart, immortality hath (shall) come to us (me)'

As between *āgāt* and *ā gāt* the mss are, of course, indeterminate

akṣan, *aghat(tam)*, *aghan*, *aghasan*, °*sat*, *aghasām tam*, *ghasat*, *ghasan*, *ghastu*, and *ghasantu* see Conc under each word All mean 'he has (they have) eaten' or 'shall eat'

(n) Aorist Indicative, Imperative, and Future

subhūtakṛtah subhūtam nah kṛnuta ŚŚ *suhutakṛtah stha suhutam kariṣyatha* (and, *akārṣta*) AŚ

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive

madhu tvā (AV *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV *karah*, RV *cakāra*, MS *kṛnotu*) RV AV MS TA ApŚ 'May it, honeyed, make thee honey', 'it, honeyed, has made etc', 'do thou, honeyed, make honey for me'

(p) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Subjunctive-Imperative

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK *vācaspatir vācam* (VS ŚB † also *vājam*) *nah svadatu* (TS KS * *vācam adya svadāti nah*, TB *svadāti te* [but Poona ed *nah*], MS *svadātu nah*) VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB TB SMB 'May the Lord of Speech sweeten our (thy) speech (food)'

svadantu havyam madhunā ghṛtena RV AV VS MS KS TB N *svadāti* (MS °tu) *havyam* (VS KS *yajñam*) *madhunā ghṛtena* VS MS KS TB

agniṣ tān (AŚ *tāl*, for *tānl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudāt*, SMB *nudatu*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB *agniṣ* (ApŚ *agne*) *tān asmāt pra nunottu* (ApŚ *nudasva*) *lokāt* (AV *pra dhamāti yajñāt*) AV ApŚ MŚ 'May Agni (O Agni) drive them away from this world'

(q) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Injunctive

viśvā ḍdeva pṛtanā abhiṣya TB ApŚ HG *viśvāś ca deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG † °iyah) KS PG 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts' On *abhiṣyak* see §337, end

mandūkya su sam gamah (Cone *gama*, by error, TA *gamaya*) RV TA *mandūky apsu sam bhuvah* AV

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative

mahyam id vaśam ā nayāt ApMB *mahyam punar udājat* HG *mahyam muktavāthānyam ānayet* PG

(s) Imperative, Imperative in *tāt*, and Subjunctive

etam jānātha (KS *jānāta*, TB *jānātāt*) *parame vyoman* VS KS ŚB TB *jānāta smānam* (TS MŚ *jānātād enam*) *parame vyoman* AV TS MŚ 'Acknowledge him in the highest heaven' Cf *tam sma jānāta* (VSK °tha) *parame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ, which introduces also the present indicative, if we may trust the VSK reading

(t) Imperative, Imperative in *tāt*, and Optative

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmṛāḡyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*, MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Arrive (may he arrive) at the sovereignty of the meters' names', or the like

deveṣu nah sukṛto (VSK *mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ *brūyāt*) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt* (ŚB with *ūha*, *voceh*) VS ŚB *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 3d person form is impossible here, PB comm reads *brūtāt*, and probably MŚ should be read so too 'Declare us (me) righteous among (to) the gods'

(u) Imperative, Optative, and Precative

tasya na iṣṭasya pṛtasya dravinēhāgameh VS 'Wealth of this en-

joyed sacrifice, come here to us" *lasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīlasya dravnehāgamyāt* MS (see §332) *lasya meṣṭasya vīlasya dravnam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravnehāgamyāh*, ApŚ *dravnehāgameh*) TS KS ApŚ *lasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravnam māgachatu* KS (so read in both 5 4 and 32 4, with ms at 32 4, v Schroeder wrongly emends to *dravnam āga*")

pari no hetī rudrasya vrjyāh (VSK °yāt) RV VSK *pari no rudrasya hetir vrnaktu* TS KS *pari no rudrasya hetir vrnaktu* VS MS 'May Rudra's missile avoid us' Cf *pari vo rudrasya hetir vrnaktu* AV KS , and *pari vo hetī rudrasya vrjyāh* (TB *vrñjyāt*) RV TB See RVRep 573, where the pāda *pari tvā* etc , and the Concordance reference thereto, are to be deleted, add KS 30 10 under *pari vo rudrasya* etc

(v) Imperative, Injunctive, and Optative

sarvam āyur geṣam (AV *āśya*, TA *ayāni*, ŚB *ih*) AV KS TB ŚB TA ApŚ Cf *sa° ā° asi* TB ApŚ

(w) Imperative, Precative, and Past Passive Participle

apahato 'raruh prthivya (also, °vyā *adevayajanah*, and, °vya *devaya-janyai*) TS ApŚ *apārarum adevayajanam prthivyā devayajanā* (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ *apārarum prthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Driven away is (drive away, I would drive away) Araru from the earth' etc

(x) Subjunctive, Injunctive, and Optative

anu (MS erroneously, *nu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jihvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS KS KB ŚŚ *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyat* (TS °yet) VS TS MS KS ŚB *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV TS † also, ā) *caranyat* (AV °yāt, TS °yet) AV. TS MS KS KB AŚ ŚŚ 'May your tongue move up to meet the ghee', or the like

kṣetrasya patrī adhī no bruvāthah (TS *brūyātam*, KS *adhī vocatam nah*) TS MS KS 'Ye two mistresses of the field, bless us' On the meaning of *adhī-vac* and *adhī-brū*, see Gehman, JAOS 36 213 ff

yad adya hotvare (ŚŚ °vārye), *jihmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ °lāt), *agniḥ tat punar ābharāt* (ApŚ † °rat, ŚB *ābhryāt*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ 'That which, at the choice of the hotṛ, may escape the crooked (faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here'

(y) Optative, Precative, and Future

cārum adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam ApŚ *madhumatīm* (ŚŚ °tim *adya*) *devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ŚŚ *vācam vadīṣyāmi*) TS TA ŚŚ *madhumatīm vācam udeyam* AV *indriyāvatīm adyāham vācam udyāsam*, ApŚ 'May I (I shall) speak (today) honeyed (sweet) speech (to the gods)'

Change of tense

§105 According to a familiar fact of Vedic grammar the mood of any so-called tense has precisely the same value as the corresponding mood of any other tense, or, stated conversely, the moods may avail themselves indifferently of the so-called tenses to express what appears to our feeling as impenetrably undifferentiated modal value. This type of interchange belongs as well to the section on tenses, and is treated there in so far as forms are concerned which are identical in mood but different in tense (§§208ff). E.g., as between *vinda*, present imperative, and *vida*, aorist imperative, there is no difference whatever in the historic period of the language. Now this element of formal tense-difference appears frequently along with modal variation. That is to say, along with a change, say, from imperative to subjunctive, there is also a change from present to aorist, or some other tense change. These interchanges, tho they are necessarily negative on the side of tense, enhance still further the sense of the instability of modal interchange. Many pairs of this sort occur in the preceding and following lists, and can easily be gathered from them. But we have, in addition separated the modal interchanges that are accompanied by tense interchanges, wherever the groups were large enough to make such a subdivision desirable. Thus, in the case of interchanges between Imperative and Subjunctive (§§151ff), and between Imperative and Injunctive (§§155ff).

§106 A number of these combined mood and tense changes will be found quite standard and typical. Thus, to illustrate the crossing of tense and mood in a few roots we may write out in full the following variants

Present stem *yacha-* aorist stem *yans-*
ādityar no aditih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)
māteväsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG *aditih śarma yaṅsat*) AV TS MS
 KS TB TA ŚG ApMB
uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS KS
sa (AV *sā*) *nah śarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV *ni yachāt*) RV AV
 MS KS TB ApŚ Here both are subjunctives

§107 More variegated are the correspondences of present imperatives of root *bhū* (occasionally also *as*) with combinations of other moods and tenses from *bhū*. The phonetic element that enters into the interchange between *av* and *uv* in several of these cases has been discussed above, §23

ula trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB Kauś

samśālo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV
samprīyah paśubhir bhava (TS ApŚ *bhuvat*) MS TB ApŚ *samprī-*
yam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat TA
tvam bhavādhipatiḥ (AV *bhūr abhūbhūtir*) *janānām* AV MS KS
śam astu tanve mama AV *śam v astu tanvaḥ tava* VS *śam u te tanve*
 (TS *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS KSA

[*śvāveśo anamāvā bhavā nah*, the Conc quotation *bhuvā* for *bhavā* in ApMB is to be deleted]

§108 More briefly we find interchange in the root *kṛ*, 'make', aor subj *karati* pres impv *kṛnotu* (§154), aor subj *karah* pres impv *kṛnotu* (and perf ind *cakāra*, §104, o), aor impv *kṛdhi* and aor subj *karat* pres impv *kṛnu* (§154) From *dā* 'give' and *dhā* 'place', aor inj *dāh* and *dhāh* pres impv *dehi* and *dhehi*, and *dhāh* *dadhātu* (§158), also *dhatta*, *datta* *dāta*, and *dattām* *dātām*, and *dhatta* *dhāntu* (§198) From *j* 'conquer', *jayata* *jeṣatha* (aor subj, §154), and *jayema* *jeṣma* (§174) From *gam* and *gā* 'go', *gamema* *geṣma*, and *gan* *gamet* (§174), each pair in this case consisting of different aorist stems From *nī* 'lead', *ninetu* *neṣat* (§154) From *pā* 'protect', *pātu* *pāsati* (§154) From *naś* 'perish', *naśyatu* *neṣat* (§158) From *vid* 'obtain', *vindatu* *vidat* (*ibidem*) and *vidanti* *vindantu* (§159) From *sthā* 'stand', *tṣtha* *sthāt* (§158) From *kram* 'stride', *krāma* *krāmāh* (§159)

§109 There are also cases in which the indicative of one tense interchanges with an oblique mood of another tense Thus from *mad* 'rejoice', *mamadan* (pres subj) *amandīṣuh* (aor ind §145, a), from *van* 'win', *vanute*, *vansate*, and *vanate* (§117), from *man* 'think', *manve* *manat* (aor subj, §119)

Of course the interchange of Precative (aorist Optative) and other moods commonly also involves change of tense, for examples, see §161

SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF MODAL INTERCHANGES

§110 We turn now to a systematic account of the modal variations As far as we can observe, the texts of different schools show no constitutional preference for any one mood as against any other On the contrary, they all seem to show complete indifference of choice between them all It is possible, of course, when a text substitutes e.g. imperative for subjunctive or precative for optative, that it approaches the passage from a slightly altered direction, or with a different quality of emotion But it is commonly the same passage, in the same connection, uttered in the midst of the same real properties At least the variants show a very strong tendency to regard the moods as interchangeable

A good deal depends on the frequency of these interchanges, the more common they are, the greater the chance that they imply indifference to modal distinction, and nothing more. We may remember the numerous cases of interchange between active and middle voices, also for the most part bare of real distinction, which we have presented above.

§111 We shall deal with the moods in the order stated above. The passages in each class involve interchange between two moods only, these may be reinforced here and there from the groups involving more than two modal varieties (above, §104), which are not repeated here.

I PRESENT INDICATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§112 This is the most frequent interchange. It includes nearly 300 cases, distributed rather unevenly between imperative, subjunctive, injunctive, and optative. It is in the main temperamental, rather than logical, philological, rather than grammatical. The Vedic mantras deal almost entirely with the praise of gods, with efforts to coax them into good humor and generosity and with all sorts of magic or hocus-pocus that is supposed to fulfil wishes. In such an atmosphere the indicative, tho by nature a *modus rectus*, is in truth a sort of *modus obliquus* (*subjunctivus*), almost everything that is stated categorically is meant modally. The indicative states things as certain, as a matter of fact these things are merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon. So, e.g., to illustrate by one of the keenest desires in every stratum of the Veda, the desire for *dakṣiṇā* (baksheesh). A poet-priest states, apparently with serene confidence, therefore in the pres. ind., that a certain god is clever (*prajānan*) in making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests

aditsantam dāpayati prajānan VS KS ŚB,
'he cleverly makes the stingy man give'. But in truth the poet is whistling in the woods. What is really meant is, that he wishes, hopes, or requests that the god may, shall, or should do so. Accordingly three other texts read impv. *dāpayatu*, 'let him make to give', for the ind. *dāpayati*, 'makes to give'.

aditsantam (AV *utāditsa*°) *dāpayatu prajānan* AV TS MS
Here we find no means for deciding which reading is the better or older.—If this were a question of logic or grammar, and not of temperament or manner of speaking, we might enrich the vocabulary of grammatical terminology by yet one more item, 'hortative indicative'.

§113 The hortative indicative is on the whole perhaps the commonest modal expression in the Veda. Its real interest for grammar is that it

varies impartially with pretty much all the oblique moods, showing indirectly that this most generalized kind of wish harbors no modal precision

§114 We present first the variants which concern principal clauses, divided according to the moods that vary with the present indicative. Afterwards are listed a considerable number of cases concerning dependent (chiefly relative) clauses, the principles at the bottom of both groups are, for the most part, much the same

Present Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

§115 This is by far the most frequent of these interchanges The first persons of the imperative are really subjunctives They involve peculiar conditions as far as the older language is concerned, we may reserve them for the next section As for the other two persons, their readiness to take the place of the indicative calls to mind the fact that thruout Sanskrit literature the impv is in a marked degree a mood of wish as well as command, as when, in contrast with Latin *vivat crescat floreat*, Sanskrit uses the imperative, *jayatu rājā*, or, often, the present indicative, which is equally frequent in the drama (e.g. *jayati jayati devah*, Śakuntala, ed Pischel, HOS 16 v 9 2), thus showing that the 'hortative indicative' is by no means limited to the Vedic language The passive imperative is a favorite means of expressing polite request Speyer, *Ved u Skt Syntax* §192 The sequel will show that the impv encroaches upon the other wish-moods to a larger extent than might be expected in a mood of command Cf Whitney, *Gram* §§572, 575, Delbruck, *AI Synt* 361, Speyer, *op cit* §§188, 192

§116 Here belong, first of all, the dozen cases of interchange between the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* which have been considered previously from the phonetic point of view (§§14-19) They are not repeated here The long list of the rest is as follows

kṣatrānām kṣatrapatir aṣi (VS ŚB KŚ *edhi*) VS TS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ 'Thou art (be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties' Prayer for a king at his coronation
syonū cāsi suṣadā cāsi VS ŚB 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat', *syonā ca me suṣadā caidhi* TB ApŚ 'be thou pleasant to me and a fair seat' Addressed to earth
[prṣṭhena dyāvōpṛthivī (MS adds *āprṇa*)] *antarikṣam ca m bādhasve* (MS *bādhasva*, TS *bādhatām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'With thy (its) back thou sunderest (sunder thou, let it sunder) heaven and earth and the atmosphere', or the like Address to one of the altar-bricks

ā rohatō (TS VS ŚB rohatam) varuna mitra gartam RV VS TS MS
KS ŚB N

(jātavedasam) adhvarānām janayathah (KS MŚ °yatam) purogām
KS TB ApŚ MŚ To the fire-sticks 'Ye beget (beget ye)
(Agni) as leading-steer of sacrifices'

abhī prayo nāsatyā vahanti (and, °tu) RV (both) See §94

somo vīram karmāyam dadāti (TB °tu) RV VS MS TB

visvam hi (KS ha) ripram pravahanti (MS °tu) devīh RV AV VS MS
KS Cf visvam asmat pra vahanti ripram TS

dhanuḥ satror apakāmam kṛnoti (MS °tu) RV VS TS MS KSA N
'The bow brings (shall bring) sorrow to the enemy'

ā devo yātu (MS MG yāti) savitā suratnah RV MS KS AB KB ŚB
TB MG AŚ ŚS

edhante asyā jñātayāh RV AV ApMB edhantām jñātayo mama
SMB PG HG MG Both in wedding rites '(let) her (my)
relations thrive'

viśvā rūpāni puṣyata (and, puṣyasi) AV (both) See §97

ekā satī bahudhoro vy uchaḥ (MS KS ucha) TS MS KS PG The
stanza is otherwise tristubh, uchaḥ is thus inconsistent metrically
'Tho single, O Uchas, shine (thou shinest) forth in many places'

bhūte havismaty asi (AV °matī bhava) AV TS TB

pryo me hṛdo (MŚ huto, v 1 huto) 'si (MŚ † bhava) TS MŚ

agnaye tvā mahyam varuno dadātu (MS °ti) VS MS ŚB ŚŚ —The same
with bṛhaspataye, yamāya, rudrāya

tasmīn devā amṛtā mādayantām (RV °te) RV AV TA

tīṣthantu hatavarasah AV 'let them stop still, their glory shattered',
tīṣthanti hatavartmanah N 'they stand still, their way blocked'

tveṣas te dhūma rnavati (AV ūrnotu) RV AV SV LŚ MŚ KŚ

prāno yajñena lalpatām (MS MŚ °te) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ
—The same with āyur, calśur, prṣṭham, brahmā, mano, yajñō,
vāg, srotram, and sva

ava bādhe pṛtanāyatah (ApŚ °tū) MS ApŚ avabādhasva pṛtanāyatah PG

indrena yujā pra mṛṇīta (TB sayujā pranītha, read with Poona ed
pramṛṇītha) satrūn AV TB Comm of TB nīrākuruta (impv)

gharmasyaikā savitāikām ni yachati (MS KS °te, PG °tu) TS MS
KS PG

pīvasvatīr jīvadhanyāh pibantu (KSA °ti) RV TS KSA

pra stomā yanty (SV yantu) agnaye RV SV

pra vām adhvaryus carati prayasvān (AV caratu payasvān) AV AŚ ŚŚ
pratīkṣante (ApMB °tām) svasuro devaras (ApMB † svasruvo devarās)

ca AV ApMB

prati svasaram upa yāti (AV *yātu*) *pīṭaye* RV AV
prajānantah prati gṛhṇantu (TS KS ApŚ °ti) *pūrve* AV TS KS ApŚ
 MŚ

yajñam hinvanty adribhīh RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV
pūrnām vivaṣṭy (SV °tu) *āśicam* RV † 7 16 11b SV MS
pumānsam jātām abhi sam rabhantām (RV °te) RV KS TB ApŚ
punāti te parīśrutam RV VS ŚB KŚ *punātu* etc TS MS KS TB
 ApŚ MŚ

brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punī-*
mahe) RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ *īdam brahma punīmahe* TB
agne dakṣaṇi punīhi nah (TB *mā*, MS *punīmahe*) RV MS TB
ā pyāyuyantu (N °ti) *bhuvanasya gopāh* AV TS MS KS ŚŚ N
sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan AV *sarvāh sarvā vi caratu pra°* MS
śvāhsutyām (MŚ *sadyahsutyām*) *indrāgnibhyām prabravīmi* (ApŚ
 also, *prabrūtāt*) ApŚ (bis) MŚ KŚ *śvāhsutyām vā eṣām*
prabravīmi AŚ It seems that *prabrūtāt* is used as 1st person, cf
 Whitney, *Grammar* §571b, quoting *jāgrtāt* AV 4 5 7 as the 'only
 case' of *tāt* as 1st person

ahāny asmar sudinā bhavanti (TB °tu) RV TB
iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG
 'Reveling in foods, lead (we lead) the cow about'
astī hi śmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuśmīnn awayāh* RV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB 'For here, O strong (Indra), is (shall be) thy conciliation'
 On *awayāh* see Neisser, *Z Wbch d RV*, s v

api pūṣā nī śīdatu (AV ŚŚ * °ti) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB HG *iha*
pūṣā nī śīdatu PG *rāyas poṣo nī°* ApŚ ApMB *vīras brātā nī°*
 AB

apah samudrād divam ud vahanti (Kauś °tu) AV Kauś
indra tvad yantu (AŚ ŚŚ *yanti*) *rālayah* SV AŚ ŚŚ
abhi (AV TB *upa*) *pra yantu* (TB AVPpp *yanti*) *naro agnirūpāh*
 RV AV AVPpp TB N

indrāpūṣnoh priyam apy eti (MS KSA *etu*) *pāthah* RV VS TS MS
 KSA ŚŚ

iyam (AB adds *vai*) *putryā* (AB AŚ ŚŚ *putre*) *rāṣṭry etv* (AB AŚ ŚŚ
ety) *agre* AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ —AVPpp agree with AŚ ŚŚ

gharmani sṛīnanti prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ ŚŚ *sṛīnanti prathamasya*
dhāseh) AV AŚ ŚŚ

utādīśantam dāpayatu prajānan AV *adīśantam dāpayati* (TS MS
 °tu) *prajānan* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ūrjo bhāgam prthivyā yāty (KS *prthvivim ety*, ApŚ °vīm *etv*) *āpṛnan* MS
 KS ApŚ

- etām sthūnām pīlaro dhārayantu* (AV °ti) *te* RV AV TA
vṛṣānam yantu (MS *yanti*) *janayah supatnāh* VS MS KS TB
indraujaskārujasvāns tvam sahasvān deveṣu edhi MS *indraujasvinn*
ojasvī (VS ŚB *indraujasṭhaujasthas*, VSK *indraujasvann ojasvāns*,
 AŚ *indra ṣodaśinn ojasvino*, Vait [read] *indra ṣodaśinn ojasvāns*)
tvam deveṣu asī VS VSK TS ŚB AŚ Vait
tiro (RV VS ŚB AG *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA Ap Ś **dadhmahe*)
parvatena RV AV VS ŚB TB TA Ap Ś (bis) AG ApMB
 'Let them block (we block, or hide, remove) death with a mountain'
vi mīmīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV *vi mīme tvā payasvatīm devānām*
 TB Ap Ś
śṛṇvantu (TS SvetU °ti) *viśve amṛtasya putrāh* (AV *amṛtāsa elat*)
 RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB SvetU
śṛṇvanty (PB °tu) *āpo adha* (PB 'dhah) *kṣarantīh* RV PB
śṛta utsnāti (M Ś °tu) *janitā matīnām* TB Ap Ś M Ś
sa no devah subhayā smṛtyā samyunaktu (MahānU °ti) TA MahānU
vi (MS KS *pra*) *parjanya* (RV °yam, TS °yāh) *srjanti* (MS KS
srjatām) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS
sam asvaparnās caranti (MS °tu, AV °parnāh *patantu*) *no narah* RV
 AV VS TS MS KSA
sa yajñīyo yajatu (AV °ti) *yajñīyān ṛtūn* RV AV
sam no mahāni sam uto mahantām KS *tesāni iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti*
 RV VS TS MS N In the same verse
sa virājam (KS °jā) *pary eti* (MS *etu*, KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS MS
 KS Cf *sanema rājā pari yāti vdvān* VS ŚB
sa smā kṛnoti (Ap Ś °tu) *ketum ā* RV Ap Ś
sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ † *adhī*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ ŚŚ Ap Ś *si-*
nantu sarve anṛtani vadantam AV
pāvamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena*
vīryena devas tvā suvitot sṛjatu (KS *vīryenoddharāmy asau*)
 TS KS
ketumad dundubhī vāvādīti (AV °tu) RV AV VS TS MS KSA
ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AŚ *harito vahantu*) TB AŚ Ap Ś
ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS
ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante (AV °tām) RV AV VS KS Ap Ś
āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG *āpo haviṣu jāgrta*
 Ap Ś *āpo jāgrta* MS KS M Ś
yamo dadāty (VS ŚB TA and v 1 of AV, see Whitney on 18 1 55,
 °tu) *avasānam asmai* RV AV VS ŚB TA cf *adād idam yamo*
 (VS KS ŚB *adād yamo*) 'vasānam pṛthwyāh VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 311

tato dadāti (TB and v 1 of MS °tu) *dāsuḥ vasūm* RV AV ArS MS TB

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ But *vanate* may be aor subj, see §§154, 191

devo devān yajatu (ApŚ °ty) *agnir arhan* RV ApŚ

dhanvanā yantu (MS KS *yantu*) *vṛṣṭayah* RV TS MS KS

devo devānām pavitrām asī TS MS KS *devo devebhyah pavasva* VS ŚB

dhruve sadasi śidatī (SV °tu) RV SV

tasmā ındrāja sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhomi*) MS KS MŚ ApŚ

patho anāktu (AV KS °tu, TS *patha ānakṭi*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV VS TS MS KS

pūtrera bhīndan sata eti (AV *etu*, v 1 *eti*) *rakṣasah* RV AV N

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB °ya) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ

pibanti (SV °tu) *varunah kavē* RV SV

madhvā yajñam mīmukṣatam (ınd, °ti) RV (both)

mayobhūr vāto abhi vātūsrah (KSA *vāty usīrah*) RV TS KSA TB ApŚ AG

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °te) *kāme asmun* (AV *kāmāyāsmar*) RV AV TS KS

matro nayatu (SV °tu) *vidvān* RV SV AB GB

yajñō devānām praty eti (MS *etu*) *sunnam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

yugo yujyante (MS *yujjantu*) *karmabhīh* VS TS MS KSA

āpura stā mā pūrayata ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ
āprno 'sī saniprṇah (ApŚ corruptly, *āprnoṣi samprṇa*) *prajayā mā paśubher ā prṇa* ŚŚ ApŚ 'Thou art (ye are, be ye) filler(s), fill me up' etc

rtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ °ya), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ °ya) TB ApŚ MŚ 'By his holy order do I (thou) return' etc

yamam ha yajñō gachati (TA °tu) RV AV TA

reto dadhāt (RV °ty) *oṣadhīṣu qarbhām* RV TB ApŚ

stṛṇanti (RV * *stṛṇāta*) *barhīr ānu-sah* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ N

vī sloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *slokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)
sūreh (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

scd agnir agnūr aty astu (TB *ety*) *anyān* RV AB TB AŚ

anv enam viprā ṛṣayo madanti (KSA °tu) RV VS TS MS KSA
adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam astu* (MS *astu*, KS *vrajanam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB
adha pra ṛṣū na upa yantu (SV *pra nūnam upa yanti*) *dhītayah* RV SV
ajīrnā twam jarayasi (MS KS *jaraya*) *sarvam anyat* TS MS KS PG
jarayasi is hypermetric 'unaging, thou makest (make thou) age every other thing' To Uṣas
agnis tad visvam (AV *mss viśvād*, so read with SPP and Whitney Transl) *āprnāti* (AV °tu) *vidvān* RV AV TS MS KS
te arṣantu te varṣantu L Ś *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV
paramena paśunā kṛiyase (MS *kṛiyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB Cf *tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyās paramena paśunā kṛīnāmī* TS
viśvasmar bhūtāyādhvaro (KS MŚ °ya *dhruvo*) *astu devāh* (TS °dhvaro 'sī) TS KS ApŚ MŚ
asvinā bhīṣajāvatah (MS °tam, TB † °ta) VS MS TB 'The Aśvins, physicians, do aid', or, 'O Aśvins (and Sarasvatī, TB), physicians, aid ye!'
rohanti (AŚ °tu) *pūrvyā ruhah* MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ Cf *tīṣṭhanti svāruho yathā* TS
somā arṣanti (SV °tu) *viṣnave* RV SV Cf *sorio arṣati vi°* RV
athāsyai madhyam ejatu (ŚŚ °tu) AŚ ŚŚ LŚ
 (pari) *mahe kṣatrāya* (and, *śrotrāya*) *dhattana* AV (pari) *mahe rāṣṭrāya* (and, *śrotrāya*) *dadhmasi* HG 'Wrap ye (we wrap) this man up unto great kingship (fame)'
kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŚB °ti) VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ
kas tvā vi muñcati sa tvā vimuñcati (KSA °tu) VS KSA ŚB
stenasyetyām anv ih taskarasya (KS °tyām *taskarasyānv ih*, TS °tyām *taskarasyānv eṣi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text, °nāh) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ *śvaśuro 'ham asmi*) TB AŚ Comm on TB, *yajamānasya sapatnāh satravah snuṣōvat svādhīnāh santu, ayam tu yajamānah śvaśuro 'stu śvaśuravat svāmā bhavatu* (!)
tayā mā sam sṛjāmasi HG ApMB *tayā mām indra sam sṛja* RVKh See §304
ud id vapatu (KS °ti) *gām avim* AV KS MS *tad ud vapati* etc VS ŚB *ud it kṛṣati gām avim* TS
tayā (ApMB *twayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °ti, v 1 °tu) ApMB HG
apa śatrūn vidhyatām (MS *vidhyatah*) *samvidāne* RV VS TS MS KSA N

traya enām mahimānah sacante (ŚG °lām) TS MS KS ŚG ApMB
triśug (AŚ *triśrud*) *gharmo vi bhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me*
ribhāti) KS TB TA AŚ *tiṣṭhūr gharṃo vibhāti* MS *gharmas*
triśug vi rājate (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ 'The triple-shining hot
 drink shines (shall shine) for me', or the like

asau yaja AŚ asau yajate LŚ

iha sūrya ud etu te AV *ut sūryo dīva eti* AV And others, see Conc
anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *joguvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ
evam garbham dadhām (ApMB *dadhātu*) *te* ŚB BṛhU ŚG ApMB
 HG And others, §302

mahī no vātū iha vāntu bhūmau AV *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV
āsthāpayata mālaram jīgatnum AV *ā mātārā sthāpayase jīgatnū* RV
rayim dhattam (and, *dhatta*, *dhatti*) *vasumantam purukṣum* (once,
satagvinam) RV (quater) The ind forms occur in relative
 clauses, but the impv *dhattam* twice in principal clauses See
 RVRep 149

anu svadhā cikīlāni (KS °te) *somo agniḥ* AV KS TB

te na ātmasu jāgrat (KS † *jāgrta*) AV KS 'They watch (watch ye)
 over ourselves' Whitney considers emendation to *jāgratu*, which
 Ppp reads

iḥava itayah santu (MS *santi sam yajurbhiḥ*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ
 LŚ

sarve devā atyāyanti (and, °tu) AV (both) See §94

iṣa ūrje pavate (MS *pīṇhi*) VS MS ŚB And others See also, in
 Conc , *adbhyah*, *oṣadhībhyah*, *vanaspatībhyah*, *brahmavarcasāya*,
dyāvāprthivībhyām, *asmar kṣātrāya*, *asmar brahmane*, *asya viśe*,
mahyam jyaṣṭhyāya, etc , *pavate*, and correspondents [But I
 question any relation here F E]

akītiḥ santu (AV *santi*) aṣṭau RVKh AV ŚŚ

dakṣinato vṛṣabha eṣi havyah (TS *edhi havyah*, MS KS *vṛṣabho havya*
edhi) AV TS MS KS

pari nah pāhi (pātu, *pari mā pāhi*) *visvatah* AV (all) *pari tvā pāmi*
sarvatah RVKh

parīdam vājy ajinam (PG °dam *vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *dhatsvāsau*)
 ŚG PG ApMB HG 'Put on, vigorous, thou yonder, this
 skin', or, 'this skin I, vigorous, put on', or the like

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV JB *emām anu sarpata* MS

anurām apa sedhati (AG *bādhātām*) AV ŚŚ AG

jaḡhanān upa jighnate (MS °tu, p p °ti) RV VS TS MS KSA

adhaspadam kṛnutām (AV * *kṛnuṣva*, TS *kṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyavah* AV
 (bis) VS TS MS KS ŚB

- devasya yanty ūtayo* (KS *yantūtayo*) *vi vājāh* RV KS
atra (ŚB *atrā*) *jahāmo 'sivā ye asan* VS ŚB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahāta*)
ye asann aśevāh (AV *asivāh*, and *asan dūrevāh*) RV AV (bis) TA
ā tvā śisur ā krandatu PG *enām śisuh krandaty ā kumārāh* ŚG
pātam (TS *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma* TS ŚŚ *pātho ghṛtasya*
guhyasya (MS KS *guhyāni*) *nāma* AV MS KS
tataś (RV *ataś*, KS *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV *cakṣāthe*, MS KŚ *cakrāthe*)
aditīm dītim ca RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
sā (KS *yā*) *no dadātu* (KS °*ti*) *śravanam pitṛnām* (TS *pitṛnām*) TS
 MS KS AŚ ŚŚ N It is significant that KS, in making the
 clause relative, substitutes an ind for the impv which is anomalous
 in relative clauses, see §§122 f
ayam (AŚ **aham*) *śatrūn* (*śatrūñ*) *jayatu* (AŚ **jayāmi*) *jarhṣānah*
 (AŚ † **jarhṣānah*'), followed in all texts by
ayam (AŚ **aham*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ **jayāmi*)
vājasūtau VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ (bis) The first
 person ind form in AŚ is a conscious *vikāra* of the other
antarā dyāvāpṛthivī riyanti (MŚ °*tu* KS MŚ add *parihānah*) TS KS
 SMB MŚ PG BDh
tāh sam dadhāmi (KS *dadhatu*, AŚ KŚ *tanomi*) *haviṣā* (MS *manasā*)
ghṛtena TS MS KS ApŚ AŚ KŚ
dīrghāyutvāya juradaṣṭi asmī (MG *astu*) PG MG On MG see §323
[susatyam id gavām asyaṣi pra khudaṣi ŚŚ suśadam id gavām asti pra
khuda AV by R-Wh's emendation, but the mss agree as to the
 verb forms with ŚŚ]
[yato bhayam abhayam tan no astu (AV ed *astu*, by misprint, see Lanman
 ap Whitney on 19 3 4) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ]
[vahiṣṭhebhīr (MS *bah*°) *viharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm and Poona
 ed text *yāsi*, so read) *tantum* RV MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ]
[grāmān sajātayo yanti HG *grāmam sajānayo gachanti* ApMB †
 (Cone quotes ApMB as *gachantu*)]

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

§117 This is a much rarer interchange than that between present indicative and imperative. It is quite impossible to feel any distinction between the two classes, we may conclude that, in this sphere of expression, impv and subj perform the same function, even if we suspect, as we do, that the impv is the milder mood of the two. The following are instances of the 2d and 3d persons

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *raym* RV SV VS
VSK TS MS KS 'Agni wins (shall win) wealth for us' Here
vanute is pres ind, *vansate* aor subj, while *vanate* is ambiguous,
either the one or the other Cf Neisser, *BB* 7 223f, Oldenberg,
Proleg 289, and above, §10, end

indro jayāti (MS *jayati*) *na parā jayātar* (MS *jayate*) AV TS MS
'Indra shall be (is) victorious, shall not be (is not) vanquished'

uta prahām atidīvyā jayāti (AV **°dīvā jayati*) RV AV (both) 'More-
over the superior gamester shall win (wins) the stake' *jayati* is
metrically inferior

tṛnam vasānā sumanā asas (HG *asī*) *tvam* AV HG '(O house,)
clothed in grass (i.e. thatched), be thou (thou art) well-disposed
(towards us)'

vaśi vaśam nayasa (AV *nayāsā*) *ekaja tvam* RV AV 'Thou, sole-born
one, bringest (shalt bring) them under control, controlling' Manyu
'wrath' is addressed

adhvājo rājasu rājayātar (TS *°ti*, MS *°yate*) AV TS MS

sa no jiveṣi ā yame AV *sa no deveṣi ā yamat* RV TA 'He furnishes
(shall furnish) us (long life) among the living (the gods)' But see
note in Whitney's AV 18 2 3, from which it appears that the true
reading of AV is *yamet*, nor opt, this variant would then belong
in §169 *yame* as 3d sing is doubly suspicious, the present *yamate*
is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from the Epic and later SPP
with many mss reads *yamet*, or rather *yamed* (followed by *d-*)

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV *rādhānsi codayate*) *mahātvanā* RV SV

rejate (SV *bhyasāt te*) *śuśmāl prthivī cid adriṣah* RV SV 'The very
earth trembles (shall be afraid) before thy might, O possessor of
the press-stone'

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūryo agre śukro agre tāh prahinomi (Ap Ś
°hinvo) MS ApŚ *prahinvah* is 2d sing subj with irregular
(weak) stem, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §701, end

samjānate manasā sam cikitre RV *sam jānāmahar manasā sam cikritvā*
AV

§118 Rather more frequent are the interchanges between the first
persons subj and indic This is obviously due to the fact that the 1st
person subj forms do duty as imperatives, at no period in the language
is there any basis for distinguishing impv and subj in the 1st person
tayānantam (MŚ *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam*) *aḥam jayāni* (MŚ
jayāmi) AŚ † ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB 'Thru this (offering) may
I win endless delight (heaven)', or, 'thru thee, Agni, I win delight'

- brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave* = °*var*) AV KŚ 'I make (let me make) the charm my inner (defense)' See §26
- (tenāham asya brahmaṇā) nī vartayāmi* (TB °*nī*, but comm and Poona ed text °*mī*) jīvase TB ApŚ MŚ 'By that charm of his I (let me) return to life' But ApŚ and the comm suggest that Poona ed of TB is right in reading an indie
- jagatyasnam* (AŚ erroneously, °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā vesayāmaḥ* (MS KS °*mī*, AŚ °*nī*) TS MS KS AŚ 'With the *jagatī* (meter) we (I, may I) settle him among the clans'
- idam aham mām kalyāṇyai kīrtyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtatvāya* (ApŚ *lokāya*) *dakṣiṇām nayāni* (ApŚ °*mī*, MŚ *dadāmi*) KB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ *idam aham mām kalyāṇyai kīrtyai tejase yasase* 'mṛtatvāyātmānam *dakṣiṇām nayāni* AŚ
- jīvan eva prati tat te* (MŚ SMB v I *pratīdatte*) *dadāmi* (MŚ *dadāmi*, SMB *dadāni*) TA SMB MŚ But Jorgensen reads *dadāmi* in SMB, his mss vary
- tam tveṇragraha prapadye* (ApŚ * *pravāsāni*) *suguh* KS ApŚ (bis) *tam tvā pra padye tam tvā pra vīsāni sarvaguh* AV
- yad aham devayajanam veḍa tasmīns tvā devayajana ā kṣiṇomi* (SB *tasmīns tvā vṛścāni*) SB ApŚ Acc to Cūlaṇḍ on ApŚ 10 2 10, the HŚ reads *āvṛścāmi*
- tau saha* (VS ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasṭṭrayāvahar* (VS ŚB °*va*, MS °*vah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ See comm on TS 7 4 19 1 (note 9 in Weber)
- sve loka vīsā* (MŚ *vīsa*) *tha* TS MŚ '(May) I enter into my own place here' The TS strangely accents the form *vīsā*
- yasmād yoner udānīthā* (KS °*tha*) *yaṇje* (MS KS *yaṇā*) *tam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
- vi sahyāni sṛjāmahe* (ŚŚ °*mahar*, MŚ *visṛjāvahar*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ PG

§119 The preceding examples still partake of that temperamental distinction between ind and the oblique moods, described above. There are, however, also plain cases of such interchange as when we say in English either 'let me eat', or 'I am going to eat'. For the present is so little of a tense as to be at times a future, again, future and subj are, especially in Sanskrit, close allies. Hence the following cases, which are of course not sharply marked off from the preceding

(om) *un nayāni* AŚ (om) *un nayāmi* KS KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'I (am going to) ladle out' And others, see Conc

nihāram nī harāmi (VS ŚB °*nī*) *te* VS VSK TS KS ŚB

dadāmīty (AŚ *dadānīty*) *agnir vadati* TB AŚ 'I (am going to) give, saith Agni'

manas nu (MS *manve nu*, TS *mandāma*) *babhrūnām aham śatam dhāmānu sapta ca* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N 'Of these brown (herbs) I (am going to) declare the hundred powers and seven' See §§10, 191

somam te krīnāmy TS KS *somavikrayin somam te krīnānu* MS *etad* (ŚŚ *īdam*) *vām tena prīnāni* (ŚŚ °mī, ApŚ °ti, read °nī, Caland on 2 20 6, n 2) TB ŚŚ ApŚ Conc quotes *prīnāti* for TB

Present Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§120 The injunctive, or 'improper subjunctive', is identical in form with augmentless preterites of all classes. The distinction between modal value and preterite value is always hard to make, especially since the Veda abounds with preterite indicatives in quasi-modal use (§§127ff). Moreover, a large part of the injunctive forms are formally identical with imperatives, and some of them with optatives, which further tends to efface the individuality of the injunctive. The present class of interchange is rare in any case. In so far as it occurs it puts the injunctive completely in line with the subjunctive. The following few cases are in a measure supported by some of the same sort in dependent clauses (§125)

pra te divo na stanayanti śuśmāh RV TS 'your lightning (fires, O Agni) thunder forth as if from heaven', *pra te divo na stanayanta śuśmāh* MS 'may (your fires) thunder forth as if from heaven with lightning'

pari śvajante (SV °ta) *janayo yathā patim* RV SV AV 'They (shall) embrace him as wives do their husbands'

ūrdhvas tasthau nem ava glāpayanti (AV °ta) RV AV 'He stands upright, verily they do not (let them not) exhaust him' [It has been argued that] this stanza has a better form in AV than in RV [See references quoted by Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128, and note. But the contrary view is set forth there by the writer. As to this particular pāda, Ppp agrees with RV on *glāpayanti*, and is followed by Whitney in his Translation. Certainly *glāpayanta* is secondary. F E]

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś *annādam annādāyādadhe* (KS *annādāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS KS *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ *agnim annādam annādāyādadhe* VS

Present Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses

§121 The optative, a rather indifferent wish mood, stands, perhaps, more in the center of the entire sphere of modality than any other mood. This accounts to some extent for its survival in the later language as the heir of most of the *modi subjunctivi*. It is, as we shall see (§169), on terms of lively reciprocity with the subj., being, however, rarer than the subj. in the metrical parts of the Veda. With the present ind it alternates only in a moderate number of cases, especially as compared with the impv., cf. our remarks on the latter mood above. The present makes here, as usual, the impression of greater certainty or insistence. An occasional precative, interchanging with an indicative, is included at the end of the following list. Noticeable to begin with are half a dozen cases in which indicatives and optatives of the root *hū* 'call' interchange.

marutwantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV † *huvemahi*) RV SV '(Indra) with the Maruts do (would) we call unto alliance'

tam (RV omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*, RV KS *johavāmi*) RV RVKh AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

agnim (AV *ukthair*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānU 'Agni (the mighty one, with songs) we (would) call from the highest seat' AV is metrically inferior
ptasya patrīm avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*) AV VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

prātarjñtam bhagam ugram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV AV VS TB ApMB N

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV AV VS TB ApMB

In these it will be noted that AV markedly prefers the form *havāmahe*. The remaining cases are

(asyed *indro madesv ā*) *grābham grbhnāti* (RV *grbhnīta*) *sānasim* RV SV 'When exhilarated by this very (soma) Indra makes (shall make) a victorious (rich) haul' *grbhnīta* may also be regarded as injunctive or augmentless preterite

so 'ham *vājam saneyam agne* (KS † *sanāmy agneh*) VS TS MS KS '(May) I here gain substance, O Agni (KS, Agni's substance)' The KS variant is interesting, changing the voc. to a gen. it makes it no longer a direct address to the god, and therefore less in tune with the optative mood

indravanto vanāmahe (PB *vanemahi*) TS PR

- viśvair viśvāṅgair saha sam bhavāmi* (AV *bhavema*) AV MŚ 'I (may we) come into being with all sound-limbed persons'
- ubhau lokau sanem* (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA ApŚ MŚ 'Both worlds (may) I obtain' *sanem* is a strange form, see Whitney, *Roots*, s v *san*
- idam pitrbhyah pra bharāmi* (TA *bharema*) *barhih* AV TA
- nābhīprāpnoti* (MŚ *pnuyur*) *nṛtīm parācāh* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ
- nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava lhyesam* (MŚ *lśesam*) TS MŚ
- nṛcakṣasam tvā nṛcakṣāh pratikṣe* ŚŚ
- haviṣmantah sadam it tvā havāmahe* RV VS SMB ŚvetU *haviṣmanto namasū vidhema te* TS MS KS TAA The final pāda of a verse to Rudra is here modulated in four YV texts, probably under the influence of the RV pāda, *haviṣmanto vidhema te*
- evam aham āyuzā samindhe* (SMB *samedhivīya*) SMB PG 'Thus (may) I become aflame (thrive) with life' etc Cf with active (causative) impv, *evam mām āyuzā samedhaya* ApMB HG 'Thus make me thrive with life' See §238
- yad agneh sendrasya aham agne saravarrato bhavāmi svāhā* AG *yad brāhmanānām tenāham saravarrato bhūyāsam* ApMB
- ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo 'mān dveṣti* etc MS *idam aham tam nīmṛnāmi yo 'mān dveṣti* etc KS 'I (would) crush (here) him that hates us'
- viśvā abhiṣtīh pṛtanā jayati* MS *viśvā hī bhūyāh pṛtanā abhiṣtīh* TS
- asmīnn aham sahasram puṣyāmi* ApMB *asmīn sahasram puṣyāsam* (Kauś *puṣyāsma*) ŚB BrhU Kauś

Interchange between Present Indicative and various modal forms in dependent (mostly relative) clauses

§122 The same interchange between present indicatives and various moods occurs on a smaller scale in dependent clauses, most of which are relative. The indicative states the fact, the modal forms assume it with various kinds or degrees of potentiality. The difference is the same as in principal clauses: bluff assumption on the one hand, prayerful uncertainty on the other. The various moods all figure, but the subjunctive is here decidedly the most frequent (see Delbruck, *AltSyntax* 317ff), approaching frequently a future value. Imperatives are rare, and 2d person imperatives seem not to occur at all, of the shift between *mādayasva svarnare* RV 8 103 14, 'delight thyself in the house of Svarnara', with *yad mādayāse svarnare*, RV 8 65 2, 'when thou

delightest thyself in the house of Svarnara', see §95, note 11 Cf further the variant *sā no dadātu* , *yā no dadātu* , §116, end

Present Indicative and Imperative in dependent clauses

§123 As we have just said, the impv in dependent clauses is rare it is to some extent supported by injunctive forms, and first person subjunctives, which may equally well be considered imperatives (see below)

(ye) *svadanti* (MS TB °tu, MS pp °ti) *devā ubhayāni havyā* (TB Poona ed absurdly, *havyāh*) RV VS MS KS TB N 'The gods who (shall) enjoy both sorts of oblations'

[*yāni* (ApMB * *tāni*) *bhadrāni bijāny* (HG *yāni prabhūni vīryāny*)] *ṛṣabhā janayanti* (HG ApMB * °tu) *nah* (AV ca, ApMB * *nau*) AV ApMB (bis) HG Only in HG is the impv found in a relative clause, ApMB has *tāni janayantu nau*, but *yāni janayanti nah* HG may be a blend of these two 'Which (these) excellent seeds (or the like) bulls (shall) produce for us'

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in dependent clauses

§124 In these cases, which are quite common, the subjunctive, as we have observed above, often approaches the sphere of the future

[*yo no maruto abhi* (AV KS *yo no maruto maruto*, TS *yo no maruto vasavo durhṛnāyus*] *tīras cittāni* (KS ms *cittā*, em by v Schroeder to *cittāni*) *vasavo jghānsati* (TS *tīrah satyāni maruto jghānsāt*) RV AV TS MS KS 'Whatever hostile mortal desires (shall desire) to slay us' etc The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*, TS makes this pāda metrically consistent with the rest

yad aham dhanena prapananś carāmi ApMB *yad vo devāḥ prapanam carāma* HG *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB °mah) RV TB O Agni, take note of the oblation which we (shall) offer thee' See §25

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS TS ŚB TB *dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati* VS TS ŚB TB *yam vayam dhvarāma tam dhvara* (KS *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS KS *dhvara dhvaran-tam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS 'Injure him whom we (may) injure', 'who (shall) injure us', or the like

yam dviṣmas tam sa ṛchatu RV *yam dviṣāma tam ṛchatu* AV

yena yamasya (AV *yamasya yena*, TB ApŚ *yamasya*, om *yena*) *nādhinā* (AV TS TB ApŚ *balinā*) *carāmi* (MS MŚ *carāvah*,

SMB † *carāni*) AV TS MS TB TA ApŚ MŚ SMB
devān yajñyān iha yān yajāmaha (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS
avasyatam muñcatam yan no asti (AV *asat*) RV AV TS MS KS
yas tā veda savituh (MahānU *sa pituh*) *pitāsāt* TA MahānU *yas*
tān veda sa pituṣ (VS *pituh*) *pitāsāt* AV VS *yas tā vjānāt sa*
pituṣ pitāsāt RV AV TA N
yathāham uttaro 'sāni (HG *vadāmi*) AV HG 'That I may be (speak)
 superior'

yo aghāyur abhidāsāt AV *yo māghāyur abhidāsati* TB
yo na indravāyū mitrāvarunāv abhidāsati bhrātṛvya idam aham
tam adharam pādayāmi TS *yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatno*
bhrātṛvyah idam etc MS 'The rival who contends (shall con-
 tend) against us him do I here lay low'

yo matasyā dīso abhidāsād agnim sā ṛchatu MS *agnim sa ṛchatu yo*
matasyai (KS † °*syā*) *dīso 'bhidāsati* KS ApŚ *agnim sadiśām*
devam ṛchatu yo 'bhidāsati TB The same with *indram*,
marutah, *mitrāvarunau*, and *somam*

yam sarve 'nujwāma TS *yam bahavo 'nujwān* MS *yam bahava upajī-*
vanti AŚ

[*yathāham asya vīrasya* (AV *eṣām vīrānām*, cf RV 10 174 5c)] *vīrājāni*
janasya (ApMB *vīrājāni dhanasya*) ca RV AV ApMB 'That
 I (may) control this man (these men) and his (their) folk (wealth)'
rayim yena vanāmaha (SV °*he*) RV SV 'Thru whom we (may)
 obtain wealth'

yena jayanti (TB *jayāni*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsa*) AV TB '(In-
 dra) thru whom men conquer (thou mayest conquer), are (be) not
 conquered'

yena bhūyaś caraty ayam, jyok ca paśyati sūryah, tena ts vapāmy āyuse
 MG *yena bhūyas carāty ayam, jyok ca paśyati sūryam, tenāsyāyuse*
vapa ApMB 'With (the razor) by which he shall live on and long
 behold (be beheld by) the sun, with that I shear thee (shear thou
 him unto long life' And others, see §§330, 337

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS °*ha*, p p °*he*) *yad*
avṛkam purā cit RV MS But *sacāvahe* may possibly be also subj ,
 see § 253 Cf Delbruck, *op cit* 278

In one not certain case we find this interchange in an interrogative
 clause which gives the effect of a conditional clause

(*apām napād āśuhemā kuṃt sa*) *supēśasas karati* (KS *karoti*, but v 1
karati) *joṣiśad dhi* RV MS KS ApS 'Will the Son of the Waters

adorn (my songs), so as to enjoy them?' That is to say, 'if he will adorn them, he will enjoy them' The present *karoti* is secondary, if not corrupt

In a *lest* clause the same variation occurs (cf Delbruck 316f, 545)
mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (MŚ °m.)
 AV † KS MŚ 'Let him not, implored, abandon me, lest I (may) abandon thee' *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ *mā no hīnsid dhīnsito dadhāmi* (some mss omit *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi* AŚ

Present Indicative and Injunctive in dependent clauses

§125 The few cases noted of this interchange all show injunctive forms which are formally indistinguishable from imperatives, and of course, as usual, they might also be construed as augmentless preterites (*hiranyayī arañī*) *yam nirmanthato āśvinā* (ŚB BrhU *yābhyām nirmanthatām āśvinau devau*) RV ŚB BrhU ApMB HG MG '(The foetus) which the Āśvins drill out with their golden drill', or 'the two golden drills with which the Āśvins shall drill out (the foetus)', etc *yā rājānā* (TS °nam) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugru* TS MS KS *yāta yātha* may be merely phonetic, see §21

ubhe yat tvā bhavato rodasī anu (SV *tvā rodasī dhāvatām anu*) RV SV

Furthermore, some variants quoted under Present Indicative and Subjunctive have forms which might be considered 1st person Injunctive as well as Subjunctive, e.g. *yam dṛṣmas* (*dveṣāma*) etc, see §124

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

§126 In one somewhat doubtful instance
yatra devaḥ sadhamādam madanti (MS TB *madema*) AV MS TB
 'Where they revel (we may revel) in common revelry with the gods' Cf *athā* (TB also *yathā*) *devaḥ sadhamādam madema* KS TB ApŚ But the comm on AV 18.4.10 reads *madema*, the isolated *madanti* is somewhat suspicious, see Whitney's note

II PRETERITES IN INTERCHANGE WITH MOODS

§127 We have used the term 'temperamental' more than once in the preceding pages, to describe the uses of the categorical indicative that really carry within them modal values of various kinds and degrees. The Vedic poets show even greater keenness of feeling in their use of pretense indicatives where they really experience moods. Especially is this true of the aorist, which is typically used to denote an accom-

plished fact within the range of the speaker's own knowledge, so that it is a favorite mode of confident assertion, especially of recent events (Delbruck, *AITempuslehre* 6, Renou 29) Altho the imperfect, perfect, and past passive participle all appear commonly enough in interchange with moods, the aorist is the commonest of all This kind of aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration, has been called with some propriety 'prophetic aorist' So some texts say

añjasā satyam upāgām MS KS 'I have speedily attained unto truth'

But the majority, nine in number, use an optative aorist

añjasā satyam upa geṣam VS TS GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ŚG 'May I speedily attain unto truth' And this variant is a valuable commentary on the aorist indicative of the other texts, it really means only that such is the speaker's earnest and insistent desire Or, again, one text says

candramā nakṣatray anu tvāvi KS (aor indic), 'The moon with the constellations has helped thee along' Another text, using the imperative, says

candramā nakṣatray anu tvāvatu TB 'Let the moon with the constellations help thee along'

§128 It is worth mentioning that sometimes the same text contains expressions with both verbal forms Thus in the reciprocal *ūha* formulas ŚB 3 4 3 9 and 3 6 3 21 *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatuḥ manyatām* (*amansta*), 'the Lord of Consecration shall favor (has favored) my consecration' Or MS 1 2 14 and 4 13 8 *prthuvīm uparena dṛnha* and *pr^o uparenādṛnhīt*, 'steady thou (it has steadied) the earth with thy (its) base' These show more definitely how close to each other are the two types of expression

§129 The considerable list which we have classed as preterites with and without augment (§§266ff) may also contain some cases in which the augmentless form is really modal, and thus belong here

As in the case of the present variants, we have separated those which occur in principal clauses from those in subordinate clauses

§130 Aorist Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

sā na āgan (AV *aitu*, KS *seyam āgād*) *varcasā samwidānā* AV TS KS TB 'She hath come (let her come) to us endowed with luster'

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ 'The eye of Sūrya I have mounted (mount thou)'

saṃ āpo adbhur agmata VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ 'Waters have commingled with waters' *saṃ āpā oṣadhābhur gachantām* MS 'Let waters commingle with plants'

syonām āśadam suṣadām āśadam LŚ *syonām āśida suṣadām āśida* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'I have seated myself (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat' See Conc under each half of the formula

viṣṇus tvākraṇṣta (VS ŚB *tvā kramatām*) VS ŚB ApŚ
śucam te (SV *ca*) *vai nam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV
ud asau sūryo agāt RV AV *ud asāv etu sūryah* TB

agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś 'Agni who obtains people hath given me this woman to wife' *agnir janitā sa me 'mūn jāyām dadātu* ŚG 'May Agni the begetter give me yonder woman to wife' Similarly with *pūsā jātvim*, and *somo vasuvim (janimān)*
ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūh (RV AG Rvidh *edhi*) RV AV TS VS MS KS ŚB TB AG Rvidh 'I have brought thee hither, thou hast entered (enter thou) within'

annapate 'nnasya (annasya) no dehi VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ PrānāGU AG ŚG MG ApMB *āsaye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kauś *annasyānnapatih prādāt* PB

akartān asvinā laḥṣṇa AV *kṛnutam lakṣmāsvinā* AV The second precedes the first in the adjoining stanza, there is this time a clearly intended difference of meaning 'O Aśvins, make (the Aśvins have made) the mark' So also in the next

aśvinā gharman pātam (MS *pibatam*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ (in the sequel) *apātām aśvinā gharman* VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ *gharman apātām aśvinā* MS TA ApŚ Deliberate modulation with change of sense, as in prec See §329

dharmanā vāyuv ā viśa (SV *āruhaḥ*) RV SV

aharam pūruṣu priyam RVKh *karotu pūruṣu priyam* IIG *pūruṣu priyam kuru* ApMB 'I have made (let it make, make thou) [me] dear among the Pūrus' See §302

punah prānah punar ātmā na (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūtam*, TA *punar ākūtam ma*, MG *punar ākūtir*) āgāt (VS ŚB āgan, AV MG *aitu*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TB TA ApŚ IIG MG

mṛdho vy āstha abhayam no astu TB *vy āsthan mṛdho abhayam te abhūt* AV

janīṣta (TS *janīṣvā*, MS *ṣva*) *hi janyo agre ahnām* RV TS MS KS 'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days'

anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām MS *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir*

- manyatām (KS °patayo manyadhvam, ŚB * °patir amansta) VS
 TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait
- idam varco (AŚ rādho) agnīnā dattam āgāt (AV āgan) AV MS TB
 AŚ ā mā varco 'gnīnā dattam etu KS
- (yam kam ca lokam agan yajñas) tato me bhādam abhūt VS ŚB (yatra
 kva ca yajñā 'gāt) tato mā dravīnam aṣṭu SB tato mā dravīnam aṣṭu
 (AB āṣṭa) VS AB SB ŚŚ See Conc under dvam tṛtīyam,
 antarikṣam tṛtīyam, and pṛthivīm tṛtīyam, with their correspondents
 '(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has
 come to me (thence let wealth reach me)'
- indra vājam ajayit TS TB indra vājam jaya VS MS KS ŚB
- annam me puriṣya pāhi (and, puriṣyājūgupah) Kauś (both) annam
 me (no) budhya (budhnyā) pāhi tan me (no) gopāyāśmākam punar
 āgamāt MS ApŚ annam me (no) budhyājūgupas (budhnyā) tan
 me (no) punar dehi MS ApŚ
- sapraṭha (MŚ °thah) sabhām me gopāya (MŚ pāhi, and 'jugupah)
 TB ApŚ MŚ (bis) sabhya sabhām me pāhi AV
- sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB masmasā) kuru VS TS ŚB sarvāns tām
 maṣmasā (MS † mṣmṣā) kuru MS KS † TA sarvān ni maṣmaṣā-
 karam AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like
- trīn samudrān samasṭpat svargān (MS °gah) VS MS ŚB samsarpa
 (KS °pan) trīn samudrān svargān (ApŚ svargān lokān) KS ApŚ
- pṛthivīm uparena dṛnha TS MS pr° uparenādṛnhih (MS TB KS *
 °hūt) VS MS KS (both) ŚB TB
- varca ā dhehi me tanvam (KS dhāyi me tanūh) AV KS 'Set luster in
 my body', 'My body has been set in luster'
- mayi dhāyi (MS dhehi) svīryam MS TB TA
- payasvān (TS TB ApMB °vān) agna āgamam AV VS TS MS KS
 JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB payasvān agna āgahi RV
- tam (TS KS tam vah) supṛitam subhṛtam akarma (KS abhārsam, VS
 babhṛta) VS TS KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made (main-
 tained, maintain ye) pleasant and well-maintained (for you)'
- abhūr gṛṣṭinām (with variants) abhiśastipāvā (AV °pā u) AV HG
 ApMB bhavā kṛṣṭinām (AV mss gr°) abhiśastipāvā (AV °pā u)
 AV PG ApMB HG
- devas te savitā hastam grhnātu AV savitā hastam agrahīt (ŚG agrabhīt)
 AV ŚG SMB savitū te hastam agrabhīt (AG °bhīd asau, MG
 agrahīt) AG ApMB HG MG
- sakhāyah saptaṭpadā abhūma TB ApŚ sakhāyau saptaṭpadān abhūva
 ApMB (corruptly, °dā babhūva) HG sakhā saptaṭpadāi (ApMB
 °dā) bhava AG ŚG Kauś ApMB SMB

paśūn me (ApŚ * *nah*) *śaṁsya pāhi* MS ApŚ MŚ *paśūn me* (ApŚ * *nah*) *śaṁsyājugupah* (ApŚ * *jūg°*) MS ApŚ MŚ And other formulas in the same passages

§131 *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

jeṣah (and, *jeṣat*, *ajah*) *svarvatīr apah* RV (all) 'Thou shalt win (he shall win, thou hast won) the waters rich in light' See *RVRep* 39

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśazr (ApMB °śīr, MG °śam) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann wa*, MG *arāyam*) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG 'With mugs of sour milk they have (shall) come', or the like

ānyāvākṣād (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāni* VS TB 'The other hath brought (shall bring) boons and treasure'

vṛṣṭva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *van* RV *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV The RV forms are counted as perfect subjunctives, see §272

sakhāya ā śiṣāmahi (AV SV °he) RV AV SV AA ŚŚ AŚ

Aorist Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§132 If the injunctive forms varying with presents (above) and with other modal forms (below) are apt to be doubtful because also interpretable as augmentless preterites, this is *a fortiori* true of such as vary with augmented past forms. There is, indeed, really nothing that can decide in such a case, whether to regard the augmentless form as a preterite or an injunctive, since, as we have now abundantly seen, the 'true' preterites may be used just as well as modal forms in any situation. Hence, we have preferred to keep most such interchanges in one group, and have classified them below under augmented and augmentless preterites (§264ff), in this place we add merely one or two instances chosen on more or less subjective grounds, which seem rather more likely than most to contain modal value.

anu (MS adds *mām*, TA *vām*) *dyāvāprthivī* (MS adds *anu me*) *aman-sātām* (TA also *mans°*, MS 'mansā°, p p *amansā°*) VS MS ŚB TA (bis) ŚŚ LŚ 'Heaven and earth have favored (shall favor) me' In adjoining passages in TA

pūṣā mādhat (AV *mā dhāt*, MS *nā ādhāt*) *sukṛtasya loke* AV TS MS KS 'Pūṣan hath placed (shall place) me in the world of pious deed'

ūrdhvo adhwaro asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS 'dhware sthāh, ApŚ *adhware sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The sacrifice has stood

straight' 'stand thou upright on the sacrifice' On ApŚ's reading see §337

pra tāry (TS *prātāry*) *agne prātaram* (TS *²rām*) *na āyuh* RV TS MS KS ApŚ 'O Agni, may our life be (our life has been) extended further'

§133 *Aorist Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses*

devasya (*devasyāham*, VSK *devasya vayam*) *saṁtuh prasave* (*save*) *ruheyam* (GB *roheyam*, VSK *ruhema*) VS VSK TS MS, KS GB ŚB TB Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ *aruham* VS ŚB *aruhāma* VSK

āditya nāvam ārukṣah (AVPpp *āruham*, SMB *ārukṣam*) AV SMB *sūrya nāvam ārukṣah* AV *imām su nāvam* (*read, sunāvam?*) *āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sunāvam āruheyam* VS 'O sun, thou hast (I have) mounted the ship', 'I have mounted (may I mount) this good ship'

upānṣunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ (ApMB *asyām*) RV VS MS KS TA MahānU ApŚ ApMB 'By the (soma) plant he hath reached (may I reach) immortality'

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau visvavedāh* TS KS PG '(Agni) the all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me', *bhūyāsmā te sumatau visvavedah* (so MS intends, by its regular sandhi, text *²dā*, followed by vowel) MS 'May we be in thy favor, O all-possessing (Agni)' Cf the item *bhūyāsmā te sumatau* in Conc

tad asya priyam abhi pātho asyām (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ 'May I attain (I have reached) that dear place of his' But Poona ed of TB, text and comm, reads *asyām*

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānsum* (ApŚ *²sunā*) KS ApŚ But von Schroeder reads in KS *grāvā vaded*, with v 1 *grāvāvādīd*

§134 *Aorist Indicative and Future in principal clauses*

agnim sve yonāv (VSK MS KS *yonā*) *abhār* (ApŚ *yonau bhariṣyaty*) *ukhā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The pot hath borne (shall bear) Agni in her own womb'

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai PG *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG *parīdam vāso adhihāh* (HG *adhīdhāh*, ApMB *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV HG ApMB The forms *-dhāsyai* (*-dhāsyē*) are uncertain, perhaps infinitives See §177

tvām eva pratyakṣam brahma vadīṣyāmi (and, *brahmāvādīṣam*) TA TU (both in each)

§135 *Aorist Indicative and Desiderative in a principal clause*

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ alapsata) AB ŚŚ 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among sūdras' alapsata, imperf desid, alapsata, 3 pl aor ind, Keith on AB 7 17 3 suggests reading alapsyata, conditional

§136 *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

mahyam āpo madhumad erayantām (KS arayanta) AV KS Kauś
'To me the waters shall send (sent) what is sweet'

prṣṭheṣv erayā (SV arayad) rayim RV SV

praty auhatām (MS ūh^a) asvinā mṛtyum asmāt (AV asmat) AV VS
TS MS KS 'The Aśvins swept (shall sweep) away death from him (us)' ūhatām may, of course, be augmentless imperfect, or injunctive

tvām gāvo 'vṛnata rājyāya TS MS tvām viśo vṛnatām rājyaya AV
'Thee the cows (clans) chose (shall choose) for kingship

pāhi (TS ApMB āvah) kṣemū uta yoge varam nah RV TS PG ApMB
MG

sam devī (KS devī) devyorvasyā paśyasva (KS °orvasyākhyata) TS KS
ApŚ

vapam te agnir iṣṭo arohat (TS iṣṭo 'va sarpatu) VS TS MS KS ŚB

vy uchā (and, aucho) duhitar divah RV SV (both in both texts)

asmān rāya uta yajñāh (KS † yajñāh) sacantām TS KS ApŚ asmān
rāyo maghavānah sacantām RV VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ yuṣmān
rāya uta yajñā asascata MS

āsan ā (SV PB āsan nah) pātram janayanta (KS °tu) devāh RV VS
TS MS KS janayanta may be, less probably, injunctive

dīkṣāpālāya vanatam (PB °pālebhya 'vanatam) hi śakrā TE AŚ But
see §266

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB GG udaken'udhi, ApMB vāyav udaken-
ehi, MG vāyur udakenet) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG
'With warm water come, O Vāyu (Vāyu came, or the like)' But
the MG reading is a more than dubious imperf, if not merely cor-
rupt, it is likely that it contains the particle id

sarasvatyā (AV °tyām) adhī manāv (AV manāv, read manāv, KS
mānā, SMB vanāva) acarkṣuh (KS acarkṣuh, SMB carkṣdhī)
AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG '(This barley) they have
plowed (plow thou) on the Sarasvatī (for Sarasvatī) in behalf of
Manu', or the like But Jorgensen, text and comm, reads manāv

acarkṛṣuh for SMB, and KS has a v l *manā acarkṛṣuh* Probably these are the true readings

§137 *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

- ā vo rohito aśṛnod abhidyavah* (AV *°tah śṛnavat sudānavah*) AV TB 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones'
- jātah prchad* (SV *prchād*) *vi mātaram* RV SV 'As soon as born he asked (shall ask) his mother' Cf *vi prchad itī mātaram* RV See §9
- pibāt somam amadann* (AV *somam mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayah* (AV *iṣṭe*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May he drink the soma, the sacrifices have exhilarated him (may it exhilarate him at the sacrifice)'
- āyann* (TB *āyann*) *arthāni kṛnavann apānsi* RV KS TB ApŚ The parallel *kṛnavan* is a guarantee of the secondariness of *āyann* (or is the preverb *ā* contained in it?)
- duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV *turas cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān* AV The latter is grossly corrupt
- yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāh* (ArS NṛpU *māvat*) ArS TB TA TU NṛpU N 'Who gives me, he verily shall help (? has helped) me' The form *avāh* or *āvāh* is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption TB comm *avṛnoti* (apparently understanding it as a 3d sing s-aor of *ā-vṛ*), TA comm *avati*, taking it from *av*, but without any suggestion as to how the form is understood A 3d person seems required

§138 *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

- apah prerayam* (SV *prarayāt*, TB *prarayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV SV TB 'Let me send (he, or they, sent) forth (songs as) water from the basin of the ocean' See §323 But *prerayam* may be indicative

§139 *Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

- ni hotāram viśvavidam dadhīdhve* RV *ni hotāram gr̥hapatim dadhīdhvam* SV 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar', 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord'
- sa nah pito* (!) *madhumān ā vivesa* Kauś (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us', *sa nah pito madhumān ā viśeḥa* KS 'O food, enter us here, honeyed' *sa no mayobhūh pito āvīsasva* (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āvi*°, AŚ *pitav āviśeḥa*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG See §69

ireva dhanvan nī jajāsa te viṣam AV 'Like fluid on a waste hath thy poison disappeared', *sarve sākam nī jasyata* RV 'Do ye all together disappear' The parallel is remote except for the use of the verbs

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dadhe*) KS ApŚ

rudra vasubhr ā cake (TS *ciketu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Rudra with the Vasus hath loved (shall attend to) us'

§140 Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

(in half the cases, the subjunctive is from a perfect stem)

sa viśvā prati cākṛpe AV *sa viśvam prati cākṛpat* AŚ ŚŚ 'He hath shaped himself into (he shall shape) everything'

vavakṣa (SV °*kṣat*) *sadyo mahī dūtyam caran* RV SV 'He (Agni) hath grown (shall grow) straightway, going upon his great mission'

But SV may be regarded as augmentless pluperfect

nādhr̥ṣa ā dadhr̥ṣate (AA *dadhr̥ṣa*, ŚŚ *dadhr̥ṣayā*) AV AA ŚŚ 'He is not to be dared against, (his might) dares (shall dare)' *dadhr̥ṣate* is perfect subjunctive *dadhr̥ṣayā* appears to be a perfect from the causative stem, used in primary sense see §241 Cf Whitney on AV 6 33 2 and Keith on AA 5 2 1 3

manhīr̥iṣṭho gīrbhr̥ ā ca yajñīyo vavartat (SV *vavarta*) RV AV SV TB 'Indra) most liberal, fit for sacrifice, (induced) by our songs, shall turn (has turned) hitherward' Poona rd of TB 'vavar̥tat, as if pluperfect

sa no nedīṣṭham (TS MS °*ṣṭhā*, VS ŚB *viśvānī*) *havanānī joṣat* (TS *joṣate*, MS *havanā joṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *joṣat* and *joṣate* are both aor subj

anyad yuṣmākam antaram babhūva (TS *bhavāti*) RV VS TS MS KS N 'Something else has arisen (shall arise) between you'

ayāsā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*, and so ApMB comm explains, KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāṣyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApMB ApŚ Kauś HG *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ 'Being nimble thou hast carried the oblation (carry the sacrifice)'

sarvam āyur vy ānase (MS *aśnavat*) MS TB ApŚ *viśvam āyur vj aśnavat* (AV mss *aśnavat*) AV VS KS TB *dirgham āyur vy aśnavat* PG In AV the vulgate reads *asnavam*, Whitney, on 19 55 6, would read *aśnavan*, the reading of the mss may be kept (subject *sabhā*) The context is different from the others

§141 *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

karnābhyām bhūri vi śruvam (PG *bhūri susruve*) TA TU PG—TA
comm *śrūyāsam* 'May I hear (I have heard, or I hear) abundantly with my ears'

§142 *Perfect Indicative and Optative in principal clauses*

stotāram id dadhiṣeya (SV *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV 'To the poet, verily, I should wish to share out wealth, O opener of wealth' *dadhiṣeya* is opt of desiderative. The SV form is very obscure, Benfey (Glossar, p 101) follows the comm in taking it as 1st person aor subj, but it seems more likely to be felt as a perfect ind, to be sure of anomalous formation (presumably quasi-desiderative). Cf *grnāṣe* of RV, treated by Whitney, *Roots*, as pres ind. Both forms must in any case be 1st person.

parāvata (MS *ātā*) *ā jaganthā* (AV *jagamyāt*, TS *jagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS *jagamyāt* is perfect opt. *indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam asyām* (RV *ānasa*) RV TB ApŚ 'Ye have obtained (may I obtain, aor opt) the friendship of Indra (and) immortality'. Different contexts, in RV in a relative clause, address to the Aṅgirasas.

Past Passive Participles interchanging with moods in principal clauses

§143 The same contrast, namely between more or less assumed confidence of statement and mere desire, is brought out by the interchange between a perfect passive participle, with or without copula, and a mood. The participle is thus pretty precisely in the place of the prophetic aorist. It is worth noting in this connection that the same participle also interchanges commonly with a present indicative (§246). For instance

yunaḥ ym vāyum antariṣṇa (PB *yukto vāto 'nta'*) *te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS PB ApŚ MŚ 'I yoke (yoked is) the wind with atmosphere for thee (or, with this atmosphere)'

Here the participle states the fact as accomplished in the strained sense of the prophetic aorist, while the present indicative has future modality of a lighter quality, optative, or the like. In essence such interchanges belong, for the most part, in the same sphere as the group now dealt with. By the same token modal value lurks often in the passages of present and past indicatives interchanging, §§221ff

§144 Following is the brief list of past participles exchanging with moods (see also §104, w), all the modal forms are imperatives but the last, an injunctive

sam barhur aklam (VS ŚB *añktām*, TB ApŚ *sam añktām barhur*)
haviṣā ghr̥tena AV VS ŚB TB ApŚ 'The barhis has been
 anointed (shall anoint itself, i.e. be anointed, see §87) with oblation,
 with ghee' And, in the same stanza

sam devair visvadevebhur aklam AV *sam indrena viśvebhur devebhū* (VS
 ŚB *indro visvadevebhur*) *añktām* VS ŚB TB ApŚ Cf *prece*
tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG *andhi*) AG HG 'By this (firewood)
 burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle)'

ghr̥tena sīlā madhunā samaktā (VS MS KS ŚB *samajyatām*) AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB 'With ghee, with honey, the furrow has been
 (shall be) anointed'

tan me rādhyatām (TB *SMB **śamrdhyatām*, VS *TS *TA **ṛādhy*,
 Kauś **śamṛddham*, and *ṛaddham*) VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ
 Kauś SMB All texts have *rādhyatām*, besides the variants as
 quoted 'May this succeed (thus has succeeded) for me'

tān sma mānūsatatkṛtāh AŚ *ete nānuvaṣatkṛtāh* Val 'Do not say
vasat after these', 'these are not followed by *vasat*'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and pro-
hibitive clauses

§145 In quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses. We have quoted above (§99) an example from the RV itself *yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā* 4.42.6, *yan mā somāsa ukthino amandukth* 10.48.4. The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in the case just quoted, it is shifted without any restriction. The present class of variants does not differ in any essential from the group of interchanges between presents and modal forms in dependent clauses, §§122ff. We have included here a few cases of interchange between augmented and augmentless preterite indicative forms, they differ from the similar cases quoted below §268 only in so far that, on subjective grounds, there seem to us to be reasons for finding injunctive force in the augmentless forms quoted here. But no clear line can be drawn between the two groups, and perhaps it would have been better not to try to separate them, at least each must be considered together with the other.

(a) *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive*

yas tvā karad ekavṛṣam janānām AV 'who shall make thee chief bull of the people', *sa tvākar ekavṛṣabham svānām* TB 'he has made thee chief bull of thy kinsmen'

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, and *yan mā somāsa ukthino aman-diṣuh* RV (both) See §99

(b) *Aorist Indicative and Injunctive*

bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta MS 'be ye more, ye who have made us more', *bhūyānso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣta* Kauś 'may we be more, and likewise ye who shall make us more' But, of course, *kārṣta* may be a mere preterite in force —The same with *annādā bhū*'

(c) *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative (? Injunctive)*

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padām*) *yopayanto yad aṭa* (TA *aṭa*, AV *yopayanta eta*, MG *lopayante yad eta*) RV AV TA MG 'When ye (we) came (come ye, AV, when ye shall come' MG) effacing the track of death' AV, which lacks the conjunction *yad*, has clearly imperative, MG is probably corrupt in *yad eta*, but *eta* may be understood as injunctive, or even anomalously as imperative, cf §123, probably, however, read *etad* in MG, see §307

(d) *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

(yam agne pṛtsu martyam) avā (TS *āvo*) *vājeṣu yam junāh* RV SV TS MS KS ŚB 'The mortal whom thou, Agni, shalt (didst) protect in battles, shalt promote in contests' Note that all texts agree on *junāh*, which may be felt either as subj or as augmentless imperfect [*yad adya hotvare* (ŚŚ 'vūrye)] *jhmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ 'tāt) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ 'What today at the choice of *hotṛ* has escaped (may escape) the crooked (= faulty) eye'

yad vāskandaḥ dhavīṣo yatra-yatra Kauś 'or what part of the oblation has dropped anywhere' *yad vā skandād ājyasyoṭa vṛno* TS KS 'moreover what part of the butter shall drop, O Viṣṇu'

ahā yad dyāvo (AV *devā*) *asunītim ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV *ayan* seems most simply to be taken as subjunctive, rather than augmentless imperfect to present *ayati*

[*tisro yad agne saradaś tvām ic*] *chucim ghṛtena sucayah saparyān* (TB 'yan) RV TB See §8

(e) *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive*

śatam yo nah sarado 'nayāt (MŚ *nayāt*) KS MŚ 'Who has brought (shall bring) us to a hundred autumns' Favorable to injunctive interpretation are the readings of the parallel texts TS has an adjective *ajlān* for (a)*nayāt*, the verb *neṣāt* occurs in the following

pāda, as it does also in SMB PG The Conc reading for SMB is *ajiyāt*, glossed *ajīyanat*, but Jorgensen's edition gives *ajiyāt*, glossed *ajyāt* (*aja gatiksepanayoh, gamayatu ity arthah*) PG has *jījān* (Stenzler 'der uns hundert Jahre schaffe') All these parallels suggest that even KS probably has distinctly modal force in its '*nayat*, and the habits of Indian mss compel us to consider the writing of *avagraha* in its text of very dubious authority, possibly *nayat*, injunctive, may be even KS's real reading

(f) *Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

yat te grāvnā cichūduh (MŚ *īchūdat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait MŚ 'What with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off of thee, King Soma' *īchūdat* is apparently pres subj made irregularly from the weak stem, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §687

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane kamicid atrīnam* RV SV KS 'Which shall (has) overcome every demon in his home'

Augmentless and Augmented Prohibitives with mā

§146 In a few cases prohibitives, normally augmentless aorists, vary with augmented forms of the same or a similar tense-system, there is no room for change of meaning Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §579e The type of augmented prohibitive lasts into Pāli, or is resumed there secondarily, see Jātaka 439 (Fausboll IV 1, line 15), *mā mam kīñci avaca*, 'do not tell me anything'

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat VīDh MDh YDh BṛhPDh AusDh

śraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ

ganān me mā vi tirṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ *ganān me mā vy arīriṣah* Vait 'Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops'

mā nah param adharam mā rajo 'naih (MŚ † *param adhanam nā rajo naih*) TA MŚ *mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih* (corrupt) MS Both editions of TA agreeing on '*naih* with *avagraha*, but little importance is probably to be attached to this, cf §265

mā no rudro (MS *agnim*, p p *agnih*) *nirṛtir mā no astū* (MS *na āstān*, followed by *m-*, p p *āsthām*) MS TA Both forms are dubious, but TA apparently understands an augmentless 3d sing mid of as 'throw' (comm *asyatu*), while MS seems to understand an augmented form of as 'attain' (or, in spite of the p p, the prefix *ā* may be contained)

§147 There is a single somewhat grotesque case of interchange between *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in prohibitive (mā) clause*

mā tvā ke cin nū (AV ke cid vi) yaman vim (SV ke cin nū yemur in, TA ke cin nyemur in [v l, and comm, as SV, so read or understand TA]) na pāsinah RV AV SV VS TA 'Let not any hold thee in check as fowlers a bird' SV and TA are corrupt yemur really belongs to a parallel categoric construction with na, rather than mā See Oldenberg, Proleg 283

INTERCHANGES BETWEEN THE MOODS PROPER

§148 We now come to interchanges between the true or 'oblique' moods themselves, after sketching in the preceding pages their relation to the various indicatives. The reference-works on Sanskrit syntax define each mood by itself, they hardly attempt seriously to mark off the territory of one mood as compared with another. And this is wise. All the authorities recognize the freedom and indefiniteness of the use of moods. The impv, e.g., is a moderate mood of request, it includes not only command but instruction, advice, wish, and prayer, thus covering most of the sphere of the other moods. It would serve no useful purpose for us here to follow in the footsteps of the syntacticians and define precisely the uses of each modal category (see in general, and most conveniently, Delbruck, *Vergl Synt d idg Sprachen* 2 346ff.) Rather do the following lists show the constancy of transition from one to another, than the peculiar function of any one of them. They represent links in a chain of modality which is scarcely broken by any peculiar use reserved for any one of them. We have also seen (§105) that tense-distinctions in the moods abound, but are totally without significance. Pres subj and aor subj are quite identical, precative (aor opt) has in the Veda purely optative value which does not in the least account for the aoristic element in its make-up. Even the prohibitive use of the injunctive with *mā* occasionally (tho very rarely) yields to that of the imperative or even optative (§§159, 174, end). Nor is the preference for aorist, rather than present (imperfect), injunctive by any means a settled fact, as far as the Veda is concerned (§211). As far as we can observe, any one of the true moods may interchange with any other, certainly in principal sentences, but also to a considerable extent in subordinate clauses.

III IMPERATIVE IN EXCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§149 The imperative, in addition to its very frequent reciprocity with indicatives (already treated), interchanges with subjunctive,

injunctive, optative, precative, future, and infinitive This order is followed in the sequel In addition, the class of mixed imperative-subjunctive forms, treated below (§173), contains cases which involve not only the proper subj, but also those mixed forms which are part impv and part subj And the second person modal forms in *si* and *se* (§§164f), themselves classed as imperatives, alternate with regular impv forms Finally the impv is used also, tho very rarely, as prohibitive with *mā*, exchanging with prohibitive injunctives (§159)

§150 The impv in *tāt* shows in these interchanges a character in no wise different from that of the ordinary impv See the relation of RV 1 48 15 to 8 9 1, described above, §100, and several examples under the heading 'Instances of more than two modal varieties', §104 Cf also the section on Imperatives in *tāt* exchanging with other Imperatives, §254

Imperative and Subjunctive

§151 It will be convenient to assort this large group into three subdivisions Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person, without change of tense but with change of person, and with change of tense, with or without change of person

§152 Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person

ādityās tad āṅgīrasasā cinwantu TB *visve devā āṅgīrasasā cinavan* KS
 ApŚ 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Āṅgīrasas pile (that),'
svāduḥ pavāte (SV *pavatām*) *atī vāram avyam* RV SV 'May the sweet
 (soma) strain itself thru the wool'
sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS MŚ *sā samnaddhā*
sanuḥ vājam emam (MG *sunuḥ bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG
sviṣṭīm naś tām (AV erroneously, *tān*) *kṛnavad* (TS *kṛnotu*) *viśvokarmā*
 (MS *tām viśvakarmā kṛnotu*) AV TS MS
sa no mṛdātīdṛṣe RV AV TS MS KS ApMB N *te no mṛdanti idṛṣe*
 AV (*vikāra* of the prec, used in same hymn) *tā no mṛdānta* (VSK
mṛl°) *idṛṣe* RV SV VS VSK TS KS
vaśīśvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV *vāśīśvānarah pavayān nah pavitrān*
 TA
te no rayim sarvavīram nī yachān (HG *yachantu*) AV HG
agnir havyam (RV KS *havih*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV
 VS TS MS KS
a sīdāti (SV *°atu*) *kalāṣam devayur nah* (SV *deva induh*) RV SV
sarvam punatha (VDh *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh VīDh

sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*)
yavā mama ViDh

ṛṣāpūrte (KS °*tam*) *kṛṇavāthāvir* (VSK ŚB *kṛṇavathāvir*, TS KS
 TB MŚ *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmāi* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS KS TB
 ŚB MŚ *ṛṣāpūrtam sma kṛṇutāvir* *asmāi* AV

punas te prāna āyāti (AŚ °*tu*, TS † *āyati*) TS TA AŚ

brahmadviṣam dyaur abhīsamtapāti AV *brahmadviṣam abhī tam śocatu*
dyauh RV

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB
bhṛjāsi, v 1 *bhojasi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB HG ApMB
 The HG reading is uncertain, see Whitney on AV 19 24 6

mama cittam cittenānvehi HG *mama cittam upāyasi* AV For other
 similar items see Conc

tābhīr vahānam (TA *vahemam*, TB ApŚ *vahāsi mā*, om *tābhīr*, KS †
vahānsi sāl [read probably *vahāsi mā*]) *sukṛtām yatra* (RV AV
 °*tām u*) *lokāh* (KS *lokah*, RV AV *lokaṁ*) RV AV KS TB TA
 ApŚ

śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah TB ApŚ *śivā ca me śagmā caudhī* TB ApŚ
jarām (AV adds *su*) *gachāsi* (AV PG *gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV
 PG ApMB HG

sa gharman invāt (AV *indhām*) *parame sadhashe* RV AV

idam me karmedam vīryam putro 'nusamltanotu VSK KŚ *idam me*
'yam vīryam putro 'nusamltanavat ŚB

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ

nīhāram ca harāsi (VSK °*ram nīharāsi*) *me* VS VSK ŚB *nīhāram in*
ni me hara (TS † *harā*) TS KS

jyok pitṛṣv āstām (and, *āsātai*) AV 'Sit she long with her fathers'

Both in the same hymn, a conscious *vikāra*

uṣā no ahna ā bhajād (and, *ahne pari dadātu*) AV (both)

śravad (and *śrutām*, *śravan*) *brahmāny āvasā gamat* (and *gatām, gaman*)
 ŚŚ (all) 'Let him (them) hear the holy words and come with aid'

Here belongs also, presumably

edhasva yamarājasu AV *edhāsam yamarājye* TA The comm on
edhāsam says, *edhasva vardhasva* (!) The Conc suggests *edhāse*,
 both versions would then mean, 'thrive thou in the kingdom of
 Yama (among those whose king is Yama)'

*Imperative and Subjunctive, without change of tense but with change of
 person*

§153 The particular interest of this subdivision is that 2d person
 imperatives vary constantly with 3d person subjunctives This alter-

nation goes back to RV itself, see §§93, 95 Metrical convenience is often associated with the shift A few examples of change of person also occur in the next subdivision

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV VS °*yātu*) RV AV VS 'Fashion (or, may he fashion) the body (bodies) according to his will' The impv *kalpayatu* would be metrically inferior

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV *bharāt*) RV SV AV VS TS MS KS 'bring (let him bring) wealth to us' Cf *sa no viśvāny ā bhara* RV The impv *bharatu* would be hypermetric

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV *bhaveha*) AV TS MS 'That he may be (be thou here) an object of attention and homage'

pavamāno vy āśnavat (SV °*na vy āśnuhi*) RV SV

indrāya pathibhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS MS KS TB

iha sphātīm sam ā vahān (and, *vaha*) AV (both)

bodhā stotre vayo dadhat (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV SV ApŚ *bodhāt sto-*
mair vayo dadhat MS There is a v l *bodhā* in MS See §§24, 341

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG *āyur no viśvato dadhat* AV

tān ādityān anu madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV MS See §315 The reading of MS is uncertain, its p p has *mada*, if this is the true reading the variant belongs here, if *madā* is 1st pers subj, but it may also be 2d sing impv (so RV p p)

nāṣṭān no apa durmatīm jahi (TS *hanat*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

pibatam soṃyam madhu RV (quinques) SV *pibāti so° ma°* RV (semel) SV

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhi*) RV ŚŚ

The following two contain corruptions

yamasya loke adhiraṣṭjur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nīdhir ajarāya*) AV MS TA AV has a clear subjunctive, TA's form may possibly be understood as a 2d impv, thematic, MS is hopelessly corrupt

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsan vadā svāhā* HG The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, as Kirste says *ad loc*

§154 Imperative and Subjunctive with change of tense

apeyam rātry uchatu AV 'let this night fade away', *aped u hāsate tamah* RV 'now may darkness slink away'

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ But *vanate* may be pres ind, see §116, 191

so *'dhvarā karati jātavedāh* AB *hṛnotu so adhvarān* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB ApŚ 'Let Jātavedas perform the

- sacrifice ' Cf *kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ, and *svadhvarā* etc in RV, §95
- prabudhe nah punas* (KS *puras*) *kṛdhi* (TS *punar dadah*) VS TS MS
KS ŚB 'Make us again awake', or the like
- sampriyah* (TA °yam *prajayā*) *paśubhir bhuvat* (MS ApŚ *bhava*) MS
TB TA ApŚ
- mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha* (ŚG *aditih śarma yansat*) AV TS MS
KS TB TA ŚG ApMB
- sammūḥlo aruḥo bhava* (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV
- sa nah pūrnena vāvanat* (AV *yachatu*) AV TS KS ApMB
- uta trālā kivo bhavā* (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB
Kauś
- rayim ca nah sarvavīram* (TS † °rām) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV TS
MS *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu* VS VSK ŚB *somo*
rayim sahavīram ni yansat KS
- uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat* (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS KS
- jayatābhīvarīm jayatābhīvaryāh* (text, corruptly, °yā) AŚ *jeṣathābhī-*
varīm jeṣathābhīvaryāh KB ŚŚ
- gārhapatyā un no neṣat* TA *gārhapatyā un ninetu* MS
- aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu* (KS *kṛdhi*, TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2 20 (omitted
in Conc) TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The version with *kṛnu* is also
found in TB 1 2 1 25d
- ādityair no aditih śarma yansat* (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)
- āyur viśvāyuh pari pāsati* (AV *pātu*) *tvā* RV AV TA
- śam astu tanve mama* AV *śam v astu tanvaḥ tava* VS *śam u te tanve*
bhuvat TS KSA
- [By a slip the Conc quotes *svāveśo anamivā bhavā nah* (Kauś °mivā *na*
edhi) RV TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB with *bhuvā* as ApMB's
reading, but it has *bhavā* like the rest]

Imperative and Injunctive

§155 The opportunity for interchange between these moods is lessened by the fact that their forms are identical at many points of their respective paradigms. Of course this means that our grammatical classifications break down at this point. Despite this, the interchanges are not much less numerous than those between Imperative and Subjunctive. We present them in four groups: first, those which involve no change of tense or person, second, those which involve change of person, third, those with change of tense, fourth, prohibitive clauses with *mā*, a small group of exceptional interest, presenting a rivalry between

these two moods which begins (practically) in the later Vedic texts (cf Whitney, *Grammar* §579c) and continues thruout classical Sanskrit

Imperative and Injunctive without change of tense or person

§156 The interchanges in the 2d singular concern in most cases presence or absence of *visarga* (e g *vaha vahah*) and in all (four) such instances happen to occur at the end of a pāda, they may to some extent be due to phonetic indistinctness of *h*, see §25

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi*) *śim aghāyata uruṣya* (TA °yah) RV TA
'Deliver him from every evil-doer (of the sky)'

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*) AV VS TS MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ
ApŚ Uncertain Poona ed of TA reads *tira* in text and comm
recording *tirah* as v l in both 'Promote farther and farther the
patron of the sacrifice'

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*) AV ŚŚ 'Bring to the far-famed'
sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ † *tapah*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ 'Heat the
heat of the sun' But perhaps the second *tapah* is felt as a noun,
for MS accents it as well as the first *tapah*

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV AV *asma-*
bhyam mahi varivah sugam kah RV See §92

indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me (and, *dadād idam me*) AV (both)

agnim nakṣanta (SV °tu) *no girah* RV SV

ā no viśva (MS °vā) *āskrā* (TB *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS °ta) *devāh*
RV MS TB AŚ

ābhur (ŚG *mātur*) *anyo 'pa* (ApMB ŚG °va) *padyatām* (ŚG °ta)
ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

śrīr me bhajatu TA *śrī me bhajata* MahānU

alakṣmā me naśyatu (MahānU °ta) TA MahānU Cf *alakṣ-nur me*
naśyatām RVKh

ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta (AV °lām) RV AV

(*ud u tvā viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS also, *bharanta*) *cittibhah* VS
TS MS (both) KS ŚB

vāyo ve (TS ApŚ *vīhi*, Kauś text, erroneously, *vāyave*) *stokānām* (KS †
ve ṣtokānām, VSK adds *juṣānah*) VS VSK TS KS 3 6 (reference
omitted in Conc) ŚB ApŚ

viśve devāh samanaso juṣanta (TS *bhavantu*) RV TS

ni vo jāmayo jihatā (ŚŚ °lām) *ny ajāmayah* KB AŚ ŚŚ 'May they
who are related or not related stoop to you' *jihatā* is 3 pl injunc-
tive But the long *ā*, followed by a nasal consonant, tempts one
to read °lām with ŚŚ

aryo naśanta (SV *nah santu*) *saniśanta* (SV † °tu) *no dhīyah* RV SV
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

§157 *Imperative and Injunctive, without change of tense but with change of person*

sam arīr (MS KS *arīr*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB 'Let the noble (or, do thou, noble) meet together'

mahyam (in MŚ this belongs to the prec *pāda*) *yajamānāya tiṣṭha* (MŚ ed *tiṣṭhatu*, but mss *tiṣṭhat*, so read) TS MŚ

aṛṣan (SV *aṛṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV SV Soma is subject in both, change to direct address in SV

§158 *Imperative and Injunctive, with change of tense* (in a few cases also with change of person)

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ 'O sacrifice, found thyself upon benevolence, well-disposed', *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ 'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence of thoughts'

marutām (MS * *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave* (VS ŚB °vena) *jaya* (TS * *jayata*, TS * TB ApŚ *jeṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ 'Conquer (may I conquer, rival-slaying) on the impulse of the Maruts'

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhāh*) KS MŚ 'May the sacrifice snugly place life (place thou snugly life, sacrifice) in the patron of the sacrifice'

The rest have no change of person

tam bhavādhīpatir (AV *bhūr abhūbhūtir*) *janānām* AV MS KS

punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (MG *artu*) TB HG MG Cf *punar manah āgāt* (*āgan*) in Conc, and next

punaś cakṣuh punaś śrotram na āgan (VSK TA SMB *āgāt*) VS VSK ŚB TA SMB *punaś cakṣuh punar asur na artu* AV Cf prec

amaśām cittam prabudhām (TS KS °dhā) *vi neśat* (KS *naśyatu*) RV AV TS KS 'Among themselves let their plan thru thy wisdom (or, the plan of the wise) fall thru' AVpp also has *naśyatu*, the two prec *pādas* in AV are *yagati*

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

prajām asmāsu dhehi VS *prajām me dāh* VS TS MS ŚB TA

ojo mayi dhehi VS TB *ojo me dāh* AV VS Similarly in items beginning *saho*, *balam*, *āyur*, *śrotram*, *cakṣur*, *vācam*, *varco*, *tejo*, *payo*, *rayim*

agne rucām pate mayi rucam dhāh (KS *dhehi*, ApŚ *rucam mayi dhāh*)
MS KS ApŚ

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhī yodhi TS *adah su madhu madhunābhī yodhīh* RV AV SV AA MŚ For *yodhi* see Whitney, *Grammar* §839, but the form is probably corrupt, see §25

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat PG *yaśo bhagasya* (read, *bhagaś ca*) *vindatu* ArS

§159 Imperative and Injunctive in Prohibitive clauses with mā

mā savyena dakṣiṇam atīkrāmīh (GG *°krāma*) GG IIG 'Do not cross the right (foot) with the left'

mā jñātāram mā pratīṣṭhām vidanta (AG † *vindantu*) AV AG 'Let them find no acquaintance, no support' It is significant that the late text AG changes the inj to impv

mā somam pātv asomapah KauŚ *mā pāt* (text, *yāt*!) *somam asomapah* LŚ 'Let the non-soma-drinker not drink the soma'

mā nah soma hvarito vīhvarasva MŚ [so probably to be read, with Conc, Knauer's text, *hario* (em for mss *hvario*, Knauer in a private letter suggested 'read *hvarito*, certainly') *vīhvaras tvam* (mss *vīhvaradhvam*, one ms *°dhva*)], 'do not, O soma, fail, having gone wrong', *mā no gharma vyathato vvyadhīh* (TA *vvyatho nah*) MS TA 'do not, O hot drink (let not the hot drink), when shaken, injure (shake) us' Somewhat uncertain, because of the bad condition of MŚ, see §332

Imperative and Optative

§160 This class is smaller than the preceding and subdivision is unnecessary There is but one case of change of tense, the first example, but change of person is frequent A certain predilection for the imperative rather than the optative in the second person is noticeable

aredatā (KS 5 3 *ahedatā* (by conjecture in ed, but read *are*° with v Schroeder on 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS KS (bis) ApŚ 'With undisturbed mind go thou (may he go) to the gods'

agnir dīkṣītah pṛthivī dīkṣā sū mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu (JB *dīkṣeta*) JB AṇŚ 'The consecrated one is Agni, the consecration is earth, let that consecration consecrate me' The same with *vāyur dīkṣītah*, *ādityo dīkṣītah*, *prajāpatir* etc, see ApŚ 10 10 6

arākṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (KS *juṣethāh*, TS MS *juṣasva*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB *gamayet*)
AB GB Gaastra on GB p 42 considers its reading corrupt and
would read as AB

svargam arvanlo jayema Vait *svargān arvanlo jayata* SV. ŚŚ *svagān*(l)
ar° jayatah AŚ (corrupt)

nutrāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (KS °*vad vidhema*) RV KS MŚ N
satyāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS KS °*vad vidhema*) TS KS TB
ApŚ

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS ApMB °*vad vidhema*) TS ŚŚ ŚG
ApMB *dhātva id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrajyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*, MŚ
gachet) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ

bharatam uddharem anuṣṛīca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣantī*?) TB ApŚ
MŚ See §304

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ
nākasya prṣṭhe sam iṣā madema AV

havyā no asya haviṣah śṛnotu (AV *haviṣo juṣeta*, TS *haviṣaś ciketu*, ŚŚ
haviṣah kṛnotu) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

āyajatām (MŚ *āyajeyātām*) *eyā iṣah* VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ MŚ

āvyaṣam jāgrīād aham AV *dvyuṣam jāgrīyād aham* RVKh So Conc ,
following Aufrecht for RVKh , but Scheftelowitz reports that his
ms reads *jāgrīāmy*, and he emends to *jāgrīām*, which seems the
only possible reading

Imperative and Precative

§161 The precative is merely an aorist optative and does not differ,
in the Veda, from the regular optative in any way It interchanges
with the imperative about a dozen times, with or without change of
person

agne tejasvī tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns*
tvam tejasvān deveṣu edhī MS 'O Agni be thou brilliant among
the gods'

dyur dātra edhī VS ŚB ŚŚ 'be thou life to the giver', *mayo dātre bhūyāt*
MS 'let there be delight to the giver' Cf next

vayo dātre (KS PB add *bhūyān*, VSK *dātra edhī*) *mayo mahyam* (TB
TA ApŚ *mahyam astu*) *prati-grahūtre* VSK KS PB. TB TA ApŚ
Cf prec

durmitrās (°*tryās*, °*tryās*) *tasmai santu* (KS * TB TA MahānU BDh
bhūyāsur) *yo 'smān* (MS *asmān*) *dveṣṭi* VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB
TB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ MahānU BDh

- druhaḥ pāśān* (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV *prati muñcatām saḥ*) RV AV TS MS KS
yo no dveṣṭy adharah sas paḍiṣṭa (MS MŚ *sa paḍyatām*) RV AV MS KS (The ms of KS *sas*, ed wrongly emends to *sa*)
yena tvam deva veda (ŚŚ *tvam veda*) *devebhyo vedo 'bhavaḥ tena mahyam* (ŚŚ *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāḥ* (VSK *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhī*) VS. VSK ŚB ŚŚ
suyame me (ApŚ *me adya ghr̥tāci*) *bhūyāstam* VS ApŚ *sūyame me 'dya stam* MS
bahvīr me bhavata (TS *bhūyāsta*) TS KS *bahvīr bhavata* MS
yathendram dāvīr viśo maruto 'nuvartmāno 'bhavann (TS *'nuvartmāna*) *evam imam yajamānam dāvīś ca viśo mānuṣīś cānuvartmāno bhavantu* (VSK *bhūyāsuh*) VS VSK TS MS KS
acudrah prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB HG *ci ariṣṭā asmākam vīrāḥ santu* ApŚ ApMB *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāśma* (text, *bhūyāḥ sma*) LŚ
śunam ma iṣtam bhūyāt MS *svam ma iṣtam astu* KS
saṃjīwā (°jīwḷā) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam anum*) *saṃjīwayata* MS AŚ ApŚ *saṃjīwā stha saṃjīvyāsam* AV
sā me satyāśīr deveṣu bhūyāt (Vait °ṣu *astu*) TS Vait

Imperative and Future

§162 The future is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbruck, *AISynt* 289), but, whenever a future form deals with an event in the future that is not considered quite certain, the barrier between it and the moods falls. And, like other indicatives, it is used in the Veda of things which the poets represent as more certain than they really are, for tactical (magical) reasons. Only a couple of interchanges between it and the imperative have been noted, but compare below the interchanges of future with subjunctive, optative, and precative *vāg ārtvījyam karīṣyati* (ApŚ *karotu*) ŚŚ ApŚ 'Speech will (shall) do the office of priest'. Unmetrical, but ŚŚ is made to simulate meter *rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvyayasva* AV HG ApMB *rayim ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayīṣye* PG MG 'Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth'.

§163 Imperative and Infinitive

dyumnam (KS also, °ne) *vr̥ṇīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'May he choose glory, that he may thrive (let him thrive)'

brāhmanāṁs tarpayātavā iti sampreṣyati ApŚ 4 16 17 *brāhmanāṁs tarpayeti preṣyati* MŚ 'He gives the order, Treat the brahmans' This use of the infinitive in direct discourse (not immediately depending on a verb of command, in which case the infin would be regular, see Delbruck, *AltSynt* 427, Speyer, *Ved u Skt Synt* §217) seems to be peculiar to ApŚ, where it occurs at least twice more *uccaiḥ samāhantavā iti sampreṣyati* 1 20 1, 'he gives the order, Beat loudly together', and *triṣ phalīkartavā iti sampreṣyati* 1 20 11, 'he gives the order, Thrice clean the grain' On the last the comm says *phalīkaranam triḥ kartavyam ity arthah* The *iti* in such phrases seems to exclude the infinitive from direct government by the verb of command Nevertheless the infin of command is doubtless the elliptical residue of an infin dependent on a verb of command [if it is not, after all, felt as governed by the following *sampreṣyati*, despite the *iti*, such illogical mixture of direct and indirect forms of speech is not unknown—F E] For the general and comparative aspects of the infin as impv see Delbruck, *Vergl Synt* 2 453ff

IV IMPERATIVE SECOND SINGULAR IN *si* AND (?) *se*

§164 In the R̥gveda occur a number of modal forms restricted to the 2d singular, they are formed by adding *si* directly to the strong form of the root without other stem or mood formative See Whitney, *Grammar* §624, Delbruck, *Altindisches Verbum* §30, *Altindische Syntax* 365, Speyer, *Ved u Skt Synt* §188, n 2, Neisser, *BB* 7 230 ff Imperative value is generally assigned to them, because they are frequently accompanied by other impv forms in the same sentence Now it is interesting to note that our repetitions do in fact, in a case or two, substitute an impv form for such a form in *si*, and further that forms in *si* are not entirely limited to passages occurring in the RV

deva somar̥ṣa te lokas tasmañ cham ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK *lokaḥ pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*, ŠBK *tasmañ cham pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*) VS VSK ŠB ŠBK Cf *sam ca vakṣi pari ca vakṣi* MS TA ApŚ 'This is thy station, god Soma, in it thrive thou well and thoroly' The verb concerned seems to be *vakṣ* 'grow', tho Mahīdhara on VS refers the form to *vah* 'carry' In either case we have a modal 2d person in *si*, exchanging with an impv in *sva*, and that in YV texts only

dhūyā na (SV *no*) *vājān upa māsi* (SV *māhi*) *śakvataḥ* RV SV Cf next

stuto yāsi (RV *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV VS TS KS ŚB LŚ 'Praised, O Indra, go after our desire' In this and the prec., of course, the forms in *si* may be construed as indicative (so Keith on TS) Yet the atmosphere of the passages, together with the unambiguous *impv* of the variant forms, seems to suggest modal value

sam indra no (no) *manasā neṣi* (AV *neṣa*) *gobhīh* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AVPPP reads *neṣi*, showing that *neṣa* (aor *impv*) is a somewhat precarious nonce-formation

Of equal interest is the substitution in TS of a form in *si* for a RV *injunctive*, it is the more remarkable because it occurs in a subordinate clause (introduced by *yad*)

pitṛn yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah* RV VS TS KS 'When he shall (thou shalt) sacrifice to the fathers who prosper the *ṛta*'

§165 We append here a couple of cases in which forms in *se* interchange with imperatives in *dhi* (*hi*) It is possible that the *se*-forms are modal (imperative, or subjunctive?) middle forms corresponding to the actives in *si*, but the forms are isolated and ambiguous Perhaps here belongs *dhiṣe*, see §219, *viśvā adhi srīyo* etc

indro vide tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuhī*) AA Mahānāmnyah 'Indra finds, him do thou praise' But *stuṣe* may mean 'I praise', so Keith

kṛṣim susasyām ul kṛṣe (KS *kṛdhi*) MS KS MŚ 'The furrow, well-grown with grain, draw thou up' The verb is problematic in form and meaning, one is almost led to suspect that both *kṛṣe* and *kṛdhi* are from *kṛṣ* 'plow' (')

V SUBJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§166 The subjunctive exchanges with the indicative (§§117ff, 124, 131, 137, 140, 145, a, d, f), the imperative (§151ff), and further with *injunctive*, *optative*, *precative*, *future*, and *desiderative* The first persons, as already remarked, do duty also as imperatives, we treat them here rather than as *impvs* In principal clauses there is no perceptible difference between the subj and its rival moods In dependent clauses the 2d person *impv* does not alternate with *subjs* (§95, note 11), but the *ind*, 3d person *impv*, *inj* and *opt* are fairly common and normal

Subjunctive and Injunctive

§167 Alternation between these moods is not very rare, particularly in principal clauses, and there are a few cases of subordinate clauses which we have classified here Included are some cases with coincident

change of tense and person, and there is a single instance of a prohibitive clause with *mā*. Some of the forms which we have classified as injunctives may, of course, be regarded perhaps equally well as preterite indicatives without augment, in that case they would belong in §§131, 137, 145

tasmai devā adhī bravan (MS KS TB [comm and Poona ed text]

ApŚ *bruvan*) VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ 'May the gods bless him'

tasmai somo adhī bravat (KS *bruvat*) RV AV KS

pra bravāma (MS *bru*°, v 1 *bra*°) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TA ApMB HG MG

upa śrvat (MS *śruvat*, p p *śrvat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV MS 'May the blessed (Sarasvatī) listen to us at this sacrifice' *śruvat*, if not merely a corruption, is a tentative and precarious formation modelled on forms like *bruvat* in the two preceding cases, see §23 where such cases are considered from the phonetic point of view

agnir havyāni nṣvadat RV *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV

iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB * *†vākṣāt*) VS MS KS TB 'Let one bring refreshment and food'

prācīnam sīdat (MS *sīdāt*) *pradīśa prthivyāh* VS MS KS TB

yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai TA *yajñapataye vāryam ā suvas* *kaḥ MS yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase* ŚŚ

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhar*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvatā bhūt* (SV *ūrdhvatā bhuvat*) RV SV So to be classed if *bhuvat* is a subjunctive from the root-aorist (a)*bhū*. But augmented forms in *-vat* occur (see Whitney, *Roots*), and both forms may be injunctive, or indeed preterite indic. Cf next

sa tvantebhyah pari dadāt (TA *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV TA N 'He shall hand thee over to these manes' Both forms ambiguous, somewhat as in the preceding

§168 In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is much commoner than the injunctive (cf §§124f), but some cases of the latter seem to occur, besides those similar forms which we have preferred to regard as preterite indicatives exchanging with subjunctives (§145)

āyusmān (AV °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭur yathāsam* (AV °*sāni*) RVKh VS AV *yathāsat* AV AG PG ApMB See Conc for similar pādas

'That I (he) may reach old age' The pāda occurs in four different verses one in RVKh VS, two different ones in AV, and a fourth in the Gṛhya texts

yad itī mām atimanyādhvam HG *yadī mām atimanyādhvāi* ApMB

'When (if) you (thus) disdain me'

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā itī bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV 'Where people may say "gods"' Of course *bruvan* may be considered indic
The single case of a prohibitive with *mā* is
sakhyāt te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ ApMB HG 'May I not be separated from thy friendship' *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh* SMB 'do not withhold thy friendship'

Subjunctive and Optative

§169 This interchange is most frequent in first-person forms, where the subj also does duty as impv. But the following examples include several of 3d person, and others, as well as one of 2d person, will be found among the interchanges of more than two modal forms, §104 above. Several cases occur in subordinate clauses. One case involves change of tense. See also §96 for a RV case.

vidād (SV *vided*) *ūrjāṃ śatakratur vidād* (SV *vided*) *iṣam* RV SV
'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtain refreshment'

imā nu kam bhuvanā sīṣadhāma (SV TA ApŚ MŚ °*dhema*) RV AV
SV VS AB KB GB AA TA MŚ ApŚ AŚ ŚŚ Vait 'Let us now bring success to these worlds'

śṛṇuyāma (TA ApMB HG *śṛṇavāma*) *śaradah satam* VS MS TA PG
MG ApMB HG

bhavāma (AV *bhavema*) *śaradah satam* AV TA ApMB HG
vibhum kāmam (VS *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśnavat* (MS *aśiya*) VS MS KS.
TB

athairnam jarimā nayet HG *yathairnam jarase nayāt* AV

In the last the subj occurs in a subordinate clause, which is made a principal clause with the opt form. In the following both forms occur in subordinate clauses.

(*bhūmyā vṛtvāya no brūhi*) *yatah khanema* (TS *khanāma*) *tam vayam*
VS TS MS KS

yasyām uśantah praharāma (AV ApMB HG °*rema*) *sepam* (AV
°*sepah*) RV AV PG ApMB HG N 'In whom (the bride) we may eagerly insert the member'

yathā pumān bhaved iha MŚ *yatheha puruṣo 'sat* (SMB *puruṣah syāt*)
VS ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś SMB

§170. *Subjunctive and Precative*

aham evedam sarvam asāni (ŚB BṛhU °*vam bhūyāsam*) ŚB BṛhU
ChU 'May I myself be (or become) this entire world'

yan madhuno tenāham madhuno 'sāni (HG *bhūyāsam*) PG ApMB
HG

§171. Subjunctive and Future

varano vārayātāz (and, *vārayiṣyate*) AV (both) 'the (amulet) made of
varana-wood shall defend' *varuno* (but Poona ed with comm
varano) *vārayāt* TA

bhavāsi putrānām mātā AV teṣām mātā bhaviṣyasi ŚG

agnau kariṣyāmi GG BDh agnau karavāmi ViDh And others, see

§41

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakhṣase (TA °*yakhṣyase*, ŚŚ
°*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ See §27

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi TS pred u havyāni vocatī RV VS KS 'Thou
shalt (he shall) announce the oblations '

§172. Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative

brahma vā yah kṛiyamānam nṛnīśāt (AV *vā yo nṛnīśat kṛiyamānam*)

RV AV 'Or whoso shall (seek to) blaspheme our holy charm as
it is being performed '

VI MIXED IMPERATIVE-SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS

§173 Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between impv and
subj is the most frequent This intimacy between the two has gained
formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-
subjunctive forms Thus *nudātu* is a blend of *nudatu*, impv, and
nudāti, subj No less certainly *karatu* is a blend of subj *karatī* and
impv *karotu* The function of this blend corresponds to its form Cf
Whitney, *Grammar* §§740, 752c In §104, p, we have quoted several
variants showing all three types, true subj, true impv, and mixed
Here we append others in which the mixed form varies with subjunctive
alone

sa dṛṣṭo mṛdayāti (MS † °*tu*, VSK *mṛlayāti*) *nah* VS VSK TS MS KS

'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us '

dirgham āyuh karatī (TA °*tu*) *jīvase vah* RV TA

viśve no devā avasā gamantu RV VS TS viśve no (KS *mā*) *devā avasā*
gamann iha RV VS MS KS ApŚ Since the thematic aorist
agamat is rare and dubious in the Samhitās, it is best to classify
the Samhitā form *gamantu* here, rather than as impv to aor *agam-*
a-t Cf however *gamat sa* (*gamema*) in §174

tapto vām gharṃo nakṣati (AV *nakṣatu*) *svahotā* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ
sa no muñcātu (RV SV *rakṣiṣad*) *duritād avadyāt* RV SV TA
ādityair indrah saha siṣadhātu (VS °t, RV AV *ciklpati*) RV AV SV
 VS TA MŚ ApŚ
 [so 'syar (MG 'syāh) *prajām muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG SMB PG
 ApMB HG MG Conc erroneously quotes *muñcātu* for SMB]

VII INJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§174 The injunctive alternates with indicative (§§120, 125, 132, 138, 141, 145, b, e), imperative (§§155ff), subjunctive (§§167f), and optative. There is one case of a prohibitive with *mā* in which one text anomalously replaces an inj with an opt, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §579b. Occasionally there is a shift of tense along with that of mood.

Injunctive and Optative

ā mā prānena saha varcasā gaṇ (AV *gamet*) AV TS MŚ KS 'May he come to me along with life-breath and strength' AV comm also *gaṇ*, MS p p *agan*

asyām ṛdhad (ŚB AŚ ṛdhed) *dhotrāyām devamgamāyām* MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ 'May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods'

tvayā (VSK TS KS TB omit) *vayam samghātam-samghātam* (TS TB omit one *samghātam*, VSK *samghāte-samghāte*) *jeṣma* (KS † once *sanyayema*, once *jayema*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB '(Thru thee) may we be victorious in every fight'

gamat sa (and *gamema*, *sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV (all) 'He (we) shall go to a stall rich in cattle' *gamat* is commonly taken as subjunctive of a root aorist, but in view of *gamema*, which can only be opt of an *a*-aorist, we class it as inj of that type

tena vayam gamema (TS MS KS *patema*, VSK *tena gamemu*) *bradh-nasya viṣlapam* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *tena geṣma suhṛtasya lokam* AV

nedīya it sṛnyah (TS † °yā) *pahvam eyāt* (TS MS KS *āyat*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

na pāpatvāya rāśīya (SV *ransīsam*) RV AV SV The SV reading is doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter

pra tad voce (TA MahānU *voce*) *amṛtasya* (VS TA MahānU *amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU In AV, 'may (the *gandharva*) knowing of the immortal proclaim that' TA comm *provāca* (3d person!) The form *voce* seems well-nigh uninterpretable, the comm seems to be thinking of the 3d sing perf mid *ūce*

The single case of prohibitive with *mā* is
mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *ghanayīd*, TS *dhvanayīd*, KSA *dhvanayed*)
dhūmagandhīh RV VS TS MS KSA 'Let not the fire, smoke-
 scented, make thee crackle', or the like On *dhvanayīd* see §285

VIII OPTATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§175 The optative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 126, 133, 142), imperative (§160), subjunctive (§170), injunctive (§174), precative, and future

Optative and Precative

The precative is itself only an aorist optative of specialized type It interchanges mostly with the present optative, less often with the aorist optative Some of the forms classed as precatives are, of course, necessarily indistinguishable from regular aorist optatives, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§568, 921ff, these interchanges might therefore be classed under §210, d

tābhyām (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukrām u lokam* (Kauś *pathy-āsmā sukrāsyā lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś 'With these two (wings) may we fly to the world of the pious'

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *badhyāt*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'Thru thee may he slay Vṛtra'

anu vīrair anu puṣyāsmā (TB ApŚ *rādhyāsmā*) *gobhīh* VS TB ApŚ 'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle'

jīveyam ŚB *jīvyāsam* AV

saṁ aham āyuṣā saṁ varcasā saṁ prajāyā (ŚŚ adds, *saṁ priyena dhāmnā*) *saṁ rāyas poṣena gṁyā* (VS ŚB ŚŚ *gṁṣīyā*) VS MS KS But, of course, *gṁṣīyā* may be considered an *is*-aorist

anīdvādyā aham devayajayā paśumān (ApŚ °*matī*) *bhūyāsam* (MŚ *paśūn vindeyam*) ApŚ MŚ Similarly with *kuhvā*, and *rākāyā*

suprajāh prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) VSK TS ApŚ ApMB HG *suprajāh prajābhīh syām* (VS and ŚB also *syāma*, ŚŚ *prajābhīr bhūyāsam*) VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

priyo dātūr dakṣīnāyā iha syām AV *priyo devānām dakṣīnāyā dātūr iha bhūyāsam* VS

bhūyāma te sumatau vājino vayam RV SV *bhūyāsmā te sumatau viśva-vedāh* MS (so read, for Conc °*vedāh*, the text has °*vedā* followed by a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS means °*vedah*)

bhūyāsmā (SB KŚ °*yāma*) *putraih paśubhīh* SB KŚ AŚ ApŚ ApMB BDh

sahasrapoṣam vah puṣyāsam (KS *puṣeyam*, MS *vo 'śīya*) TS MS KS
 HG *sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS ŚB
dyāvāprthivyor aham devayajyayobhayaḥ lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS * *devaya-*
jyayā prajāniṣeyam prajāyā paśubhiḥ, KS * MŚ *devayajyayā pra-*
janīṣīya prajāyā paśubhiḥ) KS (bis) ApŚ MŚ Note the anomalous
 (thematic) aor opt *prajāniṣeyam*
ariṣṭas tanvo bhūyāasma LŚ *ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ* RV AV TS
 KS
ā mā stulasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya*
stotram gamyāt PB
apī jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh *apī nah sa kule bhūyāt* MDh
tasya te bhaktivānsaḥ syāma (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāasma*) AV MS
 KS *tasya te vayam bhūyīṣṭhabhājo bhūyāsiḥ* ApŚ *tasyās te*
bhākṣwānaḥ syāma (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāasma*, ApŚ *°vānsa*
bhūyāasma, AŚ *bhāgam aśīmahi*) MS KS TB ApŚ AŚ
vāmī te samdṛśi vīśvam reto dheṣīya (KS *dhiṣīya*) MS KS *vīśvasya te*
vīśvāvato vṛṣṇyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi vīśvā retānsi dhiṣīya
 TS *vāmī nāma samdṛśi vīśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB All the verb-
 forms are ambiguous, and *dhīmahi* doubly so, since it might be
 injunctive, see Whitney, *Grammar* §837b

Optative and Future

tau yuñjīta (AV *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV SV 'These
 two may he (I shall) first yoke up (employ) when the conjuncture
 arrives' The AV (vulgate) mss all read *yokṣe*, Ppp *yokṣye*

IX PRECATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§176 The precative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 133),
 imperative (§161), subjunctive (§169), optative (§175), and future
 Two of the three forms here classed as precatives might, however, also
 be considered aor optative

Precative and Future

juṣṭām adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam (ŚŚ *vācam vadīṣyāmi*) ŚB ŚŚ
 ApŚ 'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods'
madhu vanśīṣīya (ŚŚ *vanīṣye*) AV ŚŚ 'May I (I shall) win honey'
 Whitney would read *vanśīṣīya* in AV Cf Bloomfield and Spieker,
JAOS 13, cxviii
madhu janīṣye (AV *janīṣīya*) AV TS TA ŚŚ *madhu kariṣyāmi*
madhu jananiṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati JB

X FUTURE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§177 The future interchanges with aorist indicative (§134), imperative (§162), subjunctive (§171), optative (§175, end), precative (just above), and desiderative, and in one doubtful case we may have a future indicative exchanging with a future subjunctive. See also under Tense for interchange of future with other indicative tenses (§234), and see §248a for verbal nouns in *tā*, simulating the later periphrastic future, exchanging with various finite verb forms

yad vādāsyān samjagārā jānebhyah TB *adāsyann agna uta samgrnāmi*
 AV *adātsan vā samjagara jānebhyah* TA 'If I promise, not intending to give, to people', or the like. Participles are here concerned

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai (MG *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē*) PG MG If the PG contains finite verb-forms, they must be future subjunctives (Whitney, *Grammar* §938). But Stenzler and Oldenberg follow the Hindu comm. in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive (and *yaśodhāsyai* as a compound). Cf §134

XI DESIDERATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§178 The desiderative—by definition modal in force—exchanges with indicative aorist (§135) and future (§177), and it forms a subjunctive of its own which varies with another subjunctive (§172)

XII INFINITIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH IMPERATIVE

§178a See §163

SUMMARY OF MODAL INTERCHANGES IN DEPENDENT AND OTHER NON-CATEGORICAL CLAUSES

§179 Starting with the observation that the subjunctive is the favorite in relative clauses, we note (§122) that the 2d sing impv is certainly excluded from that construction. This does not apply to the other numbers of the 2d person impv, which are identical in form with injunctives, as may be seen from the example in §168, *yad iti mām atimanyādhvam* HG, *yadī mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB, 'when (if) you (thus) disdain me'. The true or exclusive imperative forms, not capable of confusion with either subj or inj, are (in the active) the 2d and 3d singular and the 3d plural only. They occur, if only rarely, in prohibitive clauses (§159), and the third person also in relative clauses

(§§122f) We here use the term 'relative' in a broad sense to include clauses introduced by conjunctions derived from the stem *ya-*, as *yadī*, *yathā*, *yad*, *yatra*, *yatah* Understood in this sense we find the following

§180 *Interchanges of moods in relative clauses*

Present Indicative and Imperative, §123

Present Indicative and Subjunctive, §124

Present Indicative and Injunctive, §125

Present Indicative and Optative, §126

Preterite Indicatives and modal forms (mostly subjunctives), §145

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Subjunctive and Optative, §169

Subjunctive and Desiderative Subjunctive, §172

§181 *Interchanges of moods and tenses in prohibitive clauses with mā*

Augmented and augmentless Preterites, §146

Perfect Indicative and Injunctive, §147

Imperative and Injunctive, §159

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Injunctive and Optative, §174, end

Cf also the interchange between present and aorist prohibitive injunctives, §§209, 211

§182. To show at a glance the possible variations in prohibitive clauses with *mā*, we group examples of them here The result is a mosaic of unexpected modal variety

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat śraddhā me mā vyāgāt, §146

ganān me mā vi tīrṣah (°ṣat) *ganān me mā vy arīrṣah*, §146

mā tvā ke cin ni (cid vi) *yaman vni* (ke cin ni yemur in, ke cin nyemur in) *na pāsinah*, §147

mā savyena dakṣiṇam atikrānūh (°krānu), §159

mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (vindantu), §159

mā nah soma hvarito iḥvā asva mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhīl (vuyatho nah), §159

mā somam pātū asomapah mā pāt somam asomapah, §159

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam sakhyam te mā yoṣāh, §168

mā tvāgnar dhanayīd (dhanayīd, dhanayīd, dhanayēd) *dhūmagandhikā*, §174, end

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vepīdhvam), §211

mā tvā vṛkṣah (°ṣau) *sam bādhaṣta* (bādhaṣtām, bādhetḥām), §211

mainam agne vi daho mādhiśocah (^ośūśucah), §211

mainām arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (*mainām tapasā mārcīṣābhi*) śocīh (śocah, śūśucah), §211

§183. *Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses*

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive

(apām napād āśuhemā kuvit sa) supēśasas karati (*karoti*) *joṣīṣad dhi*

In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive

mā mā hāsīn (*hāsīt*) *nāthito net* (*nā*) *tvā jahāni* (^omi)

CHAPTER IV THE TENSES INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

§184 Tense interchange in the Vedic Variants may be treated, in its formal and functional aspects, under three heads

1 Interchanges between different formations of the same tense In general these are devoid of functional distinction This is true alike of the present and the aorist systems Except that the reduplicated aorist is associated with causative meaning (Whitney, *Grammar* §856)—and even this exception is by no means a hard and fast rule, as the variants show—the aorist, thruout the history of Sanskrit as of the other Indo-European languages, does not make any functional differentiation of its various formal types Nor do our variants throw any light on the rare and precarious instances in which different present-systems from the same root are accompanied by genuine differences of meaning, as in the perfective *bharati* 'carry to' imperfective *bibharhi* 'carry, wear', see Bloomfield, *JAOS* 11 cxxvi ff, Delbruck, *AlSynt* 274ff So far as the variants show, the interchanges between present systems are quite devoid of distinctions of meaning

2 Interchanges between identical subordinate moods of different tenses, especially present and aorist These, again, do not manifest the slightest difference in sense Thus, *patim me kevalam kṛdhi (kuru)*, 'make him solely my husband' We have encountered this tense variation as a very frequent accessory to modal variation in the chapter on moods, see above, §154, etc The cases there presented included only those in which mood as well as tense was shifted, as in *uruvyacā no mahāṣaḥ śarma yansat (yachatu)*, §154, where an aorist subjunctive varies with a present imperative In the present chapter we shall deal with instances in which the mood remains constant, while the tense changes

3 True interchange of tense, that is to say, interchange in the indicative forms, which (at least in the Veda) do have more or less clearly recognizable differences of meaning This involves interchanges between present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect, and to some extent future, altho in our view the Vedic use of the future makes it more a mood than a tense and we have accordingly treated it chiefly in the chapter on moods, but see below, §234

We begin with the first of these classes, which involves two subdivisions a Interchange between the Present systems, and b between the Aorist systems

1 INTERCHANGES BETWEEN DIFFERENT FORMATIONS OF THE SAME TENSE

a Interchanges between different Present systems

§185 Interchanges between present systems are carried on in a fairly live fashion, and without the least distinction in meaning between the correspondents To some extent they represent old established correspondences, such as between the various nasal presents This is in continuation of prehistoric conditions, largely dependent on the organic derivation of the various nasal classes from different types of 'disyllabic roots' or bases See Gustav Meyer, *Die mit nasalen gebildeten praesensstämme* (Jena, 1873), de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indoeuropéennes* 239ff, Hirt, *Ablaut* 76ff The nasal classes show also a considerable tendency to interchange with other present classes Next in importance are the transitions from non-thematic to thematic conjugation, part of a wide movement thruout the history of Hindu speech In a root or two (*mṛd*, *hū*) the accented *a*-class interchanges with ungunated *aya*-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (*hwayāmi* = Avestan *zbayemi*) Intransitive *ya*-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts, cf Delbruck, *AI Synt* 277 There are some interchanges which involve different phonetic treatment of one and the same root, producing the effect of different present systems, such as interchange between *ramnātu* and *ranvatu*, *ūruhi* and *vṛnu*, *dhvarati* and *dhūrvati* Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems *kṛno*- and *karo*-, involving tangled chronological conditions And finally there are interchanges between any one and any other system We shall treat these matters in the approximate order of their frequency or importance, beginning with *kṛno* *karo*

The stems *kṛno* (*kṛnu*) and *karo* (*kuru*)

§186 Of these two stems, *kṛno*- is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan *kərənaomī* No less certainly is *karo*- of ancient organic structure (disyllabic base **kerey*), as is shown by *-kūr-min*, *karo-ara*, and the analogous formation *tarute* See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 16 clx = *BB* 23 110, Hirt, *Ablaut* 114 The early hieratic language adopted

kṛno-, whereas *karo-* seems likely to have been the true popular form at all times. In the prevailingly hieratic parts of the RV we find, accordingly, *kṛno-*. On the other hand, however, the AV, tho fundamentally and prevailingly popular, does not favor *karo-* as we should expect. Whitney's Index to the AV shows that *kṛno-* is much the commoner stem, and this is perhaps made even more striking by the evidence of the variants, in which, even tho the other texts (largely popular) read *karo-*, the AV overwhelmingly favors *kṛno-* (in 13 out of 14 cases, only one *karo-*!). It is quite clear that in this respect, as in some others, AV, which shares many hieratic passages with RV, has come under the influence of its diction. (It is to be noted, however, that of the passages among the variants showing *kṛno-* in AV, only one is borrowed from RV. Evidently AV adopted the hieratic stem very definitely as its own. The passages are grouped just below.) Analogously, we find even in some very late texts that *kṛno-* forms are substituted for *karo-* forms of older texts, by conscious archaism. Thus Vait., certainly a late text but one with hieratic pretensions, employs the doubly archaic *kṛnuh* (*oṣasvantam mām āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuh*, see §255), against *kuru* of other and older texts. So also the very late NīlarU revives *kṛno-* over the heads of all the YV texts in *śvām gṛitra* (MS *gṛiṣa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU *kṛnu*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU. On the whole both the later hieratic texts (YV, Brāhmaṇa, and Śrauta Sūtra), as well as the popular Gṛhya Sūtras, incline to *karo-*, but frequently and very inconsistently fall back into *kṛno-*. The edition of ApŚ 7 17 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, *arāṇyantam adharam karom* (7 16 7 *kṛnom*), the hieratic form here may be due to mere desire for stylistic variation. Just so in adjoining verses of the popular ApMB we have first *karom*, then *kṛnom* with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence *syonam te saha patyā karom* 1 5 16d, and *aṣṭām tvā saha patyā kṛnom* 1 5 17d. There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use *kṛno-* in place of *karo-*. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA, HG, and RVKh lack *kṛno-* forms. The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait. poses with *kṛno-* forms three times against other texts with *karo-*, and without a single instance of the reverse.

§187 We seem to see traces of some school tendencies in this regard. Altho it would doubtless be rash to generalize confidently from these few instances, it seems hardly likely to be accidental that the Taittiriya school texts—TS, TB, TA, ApŚ, MahānU, HG, and ApMB—

uniformly prefer the popular *karo-* So does KS , while contrariwise MS and its Śrauta Sūtra, MŚ , show a majority for *kṛno-* •

§188 The capricious interplay of hieratic and popular, old and new, is further tangled by half a dozen examples in which the aorists or aorist-presents *kṛdhī* and *kṛṣva* interchange with corresponding forms of the bases *kṛno-* and *karo-*, §210, a

§189 The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants is shown conveniently in the following table

	<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>		<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>
RV	3	0	Vait	3	0
AV	13	1	ApŚ	5	7
SV	1	0	MŚ	3	2
VS	4	4	ŚG	0	1
TS	4	9	SMB	2	0
MS	8	3	GG	1	0
KS	5	9	Kauś	1	1
AB	1	0	PG	2	2
JB	1	0	ApMB	4	6
PB	0	1	HG	0	5
ŚB	3	2	MahānU	0	1
TB	2	6	NīlarU	1	0
TA	0	6	ŚvetU	0	1
AŚ	2	2	RVKh	0	5
ŚŚ	1	2	BDh	0	1
LS	0	1			

§190 The following list of about 40 passages is grouped so as to show first those which concern RV and AV by themselves

Passages involving RV

yadā śṛtam kṛnavo (TA *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV AV TA

yasmai kṛnoti (TS *karoti*) *brāhmaṇaḥ* RV VS TS

sūputrām subhagām kuru (RV *kṛnu*, SMB *kṛdhī*) RV SMB ApMB
HG

Passages involving AV

yadā śṛtam kṛnavo (TA *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV AV TA

agne medhāvinam kuru (AV *kṛnu*) AV VS RVKh

anāgasam brahmane (AV °nā) *tvā karomi* (AV *kṛnomi*) AV TB HG
ApMB

prīyam mā kuru (AV *kṛnu*) *deveṣu* (ApMB *mā deveṣu kuru*) AV
RVKh HG ApMB

prīyam rājasu mā kuru (AV *kṛnu*) AV RVKh ApMB *prīyam mā kuru rājasu* HG

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ *karave*, read °*va*) AV KŚ
mām indra bhāginam kṛnu AV *mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB
karomi (AV *kṛnomi*) *te prājāpatyam* AV ApMB HG
kṛnomi tubhyam sahapatnyai vadhu AV *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi*
 (ApMB *kṛnomi*) RV ApMB *syonam me* (ApMB *te*) *saha patyā*
karomi TS TB ApMB

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu AV *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS
 TA MāhānU

yasya kurmo grhe havih VS MS KS ŚB *yasya kurmo* (AV *kṛnmo*)
havir grhe AV TS

kṛnvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS MS KS *anyān*, KŚ °*nyān*) *adharān*
sapatnān AV TS MS KS ApŚ KŚ

dirgham āyuh kṛnotu me (vām) AV JB Kauś ApMB *āyusmantam*
karota mā (RVKh *karotu mām*, KS *kṛnota mā*) RVKh KS TA
 BDh

yābhyām karmāni kurvate (SV *kṛnvate*) AV SV This is the only variant
 in which AV shows a *karo-* form It is also the only variant
 in which SV figures at all

Passages involving all other texts

agnih prajāni bahulām me karotu (MS *kṛnotu*) VS MS KS ŚB TB
 ŚŚ ApŚ

agnih pravivān (MS KS °*vān*) *iha tat kṛnotu* (ApŚ * *karotu*, KS ApŚ *
dadhātu) MS KS ApŚ (bis)

achidram yajñam bhūrikarmā karotu (KS MŚ *bhūrīretāh kṛnotu*) KS
 TB ApŚ MŚ

arātīyantam adharam kṛnomi (ApŚ * *karomi*) TS ApŚ (both)

asya kurmo (RVKh *kurmo*) *harivo medinam tvā* RVKh TS TB *iha*
kṛnmo etc KS

ādityās tvā kṛnvantu (KS *kurvantu*) *jāgatena chandasā* VS TS MS
 KS ŚB

Similarly *rudrās tvā, vasavas tvā, viśve tvā devā*, etc

tēna suprajasaṃ kṛnu (TA *kuru*) TA Vait

tēna mā vājīnam kuru (Vait *kṛnu*) AŚ Vait LŚ

sināvālī kṛnotu (KS *karotu*) *tām* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ukhām kṛnotu (TS KS *karotu*) *śaktyā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

kṛnotu (KS *karotu*) *viśvacarṣanīh* KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG

apsu dhauḥasya te bhakṣam kṛnomi (PB *karomi*) KS PB

syonam te sadanam karomi (MŚ *kṛnomi*) TB ApŚ MŚ

- so *asmān* (MŚ *asmān*) *adhīpatiṇ karotu* TS MŚ so 'smān *adhīpatiṇ karotu* ŚŚ
- śamūtāro *yad atra sukṛtam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat* AB AŚ yo *duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś
- yena *strīyam akṛnūtam* (ŚŚ *strīyā akurūtam*) ŚŚ SMB GG yena *śrīyam akṛnūtam* PG
- yāsyām *patighnī tanūh jāraghnīm asyaṭ tām kṛnomi* ApMB yā *te patighnī tanūr jāraghnīm tv etām karomi* HG yā *te patighnī tanūr jāraghnīm tata enām karomi* PG yā *te patighny alakṣmī jāraghnīm tām karomi* ŚG
- sa *tvā manmanasām karotu* (ApMB °*manasam kṛnotu*) PG ApMB
- śvām *gṛitra* (MS *gṛīśa*) *tām kuru* (NilarU *kṛnu*) VS TS MS KS NilarU ŚvetU
- vasūni *kṛnvan* (ApŚ *kṛnvann asme*, TB *kṛnvann asmin*, read *asme* with comm and Poona ed text, MŚ *kurvan*) *naryā purūni* TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ
- yasyām *karmāni kurvate* (ApŚ *kṛnvate*) KS ApŚ
- madhu *tvā madhulā karotu* (MS *kṛnotu*) MS TA ApŚ
- prajāḥ *vikṛnvañ* (ApŚ *vikurvañ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ °*pāh*) KS ApŚ
- prajāḥ *kṛnvan janayan virūpāh* MS
- ojasvantam *mām āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait *kṛnuh*) TS MS AŚ Vait

Interchange between the various nasal classes

§191 Here we have, first, interchanges between the *no* and *nā* classes they involve the roots *stabh* and *skabh* (thrice), *kṣ* 'destroy' (twice), and *m* 'diminish' (once) The rest of the cases are stray examples of various nasal formations, they chiefly concern transfer from non-thematic nasal classes to thematic forms In principle, of course, thematic verbs of nasal classes are just as old as the non-thematic, but in Sanskrit their appearance is sporadic only The total of these cases is not sufficient to permit deductions

- āyām *uktham avyathāyaṭ* (KS °*ya*, TS *avyathayot*) *stabhnātu* (MS °*notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The same with *pravagam uktham*, *marutvatīyam uktham*, *nṣkevalyam uktham*, and *varṣvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc
- ut *te stabhnāmi* (TA *tabhnomi*) *prthwīm tvat pari* RV AV TA and (pratikas) ŚG AG Kauś
- adhvāna *skabhñāta* (VS *skabhñuvantah*) VS TS *adhvānam skabhñuvanto* MS

kṣinomi (AV *kṣināmi*) *brahmanāmitrān* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA.
idam aham amum āmuṣyāyanam prakṣināmi KS *idam aham amuṣ-*
yāmuṣyāyanam prakṣināmi MS *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyan-*
asyāyuh prakṣinomi ApŚ

pru smā mināty (ApŚ *prāsmā minoty*) *ajarah* RV KS ApŚ

bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (TS KS ApŚ ^{°tus} *tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS ApŚ *ran-*
vatu) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ The 'root' *ranv* is best ac-
 counted for as *ra-nv*-(**rm-nv*-) Whitney, *Roots*, regards it as a
 secondary formation from *ran* This and the next belong equally
 in §196

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS
 ŚB

āpas tvā sam arinan (MS *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB *āpah sam arinan* TS
 KS

agner jhivām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jhivām*, *abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*)
grnātam (AV *grnata*) AV VS TS MS KS *grnātam* is 2d dual of *nā*-
 class, *grnata* 2d plural of accented *a*-class

āñkṣvāsāv āñkṣvāsau HG *asāv abhyañkṣvāsāv añkṣva* AŚ *āñkṣva*
tatāsau ApŚ *āñjasvānulimpasva* PG The thematic present is
 practically unknown, see Whitney, *Roots*

sā mā samiddhāyusa samintām (! one ms ^{°indhatām}) TA *sā mā*
samiddhā samindhātām MS Here TA, most mss, has a regul-
 ar non-thematic present from *indh*, the anomalous appearance of
 which doubtless causes the thematic variant ^{°indhatām} MS has
 an aorist

The roots *van*, *man* and *san* may also be included here even tho the
 nasal is in their case radical, in this grouping we merely follow a custom
 which is not only well-established but eminently practical They pre-
 sent, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which
 may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives
tad agnur devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB TB
 AŚ ŚŚ

The question is, whether *vanate* is a pres of the *bhū*-class or an aor
 subj, see §§ 116, 154, and the next

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *rayim* RV SV VS
 VSK TS MS KS See under prec The question there mooted
 is here further complicated by the indubitably aor subj *vansate*
manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham, śatam dhāmāni sapta ca* RV
 VS MS KS ŚB N But *manai* is dubious as a pres subj, it is
 better taken as aorist, see §§10, 119

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA ApŚ MŚ

Interchange of nasal with non-nasal classes

§192 This rubric is rendered somewhat uncertain in outline because a number of the non-nasal forms in question may be considered as aorists, especially in the case of modal forms. Thus, the SV repeatedly reads *yuñkṣva* for *yukṣva* of the rest, the latter is structurally ambiguous, tho usually treated as present, like *yuñkṣva*. We have followed this custom, altho it seems to us that *yukṣva* might quite as well be treated as aorist. The fact is that, as we have repeatedly observed, our grammatical categories are more or less whited sepulchres, particularly as regards modal forms. The same considerations apply to some other forms classed here, notably to *-vddhi* *-vinda*, where *vddhi* might be regarded as either perfect in form (*veda*), or aorist (cf *vidanta* *vindantu*, §159), tho we group it as present.

indrānuvinda (AŚ °*vddhi*) *nas tāni* TB AŚ

agne yukṣvā (SV PB *yuñkṣvā*) *hi ye tava* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB
ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

yukṣvā (SV *yuñkṣvā*) *madacyutā harī* RV AV SV

yukṣvā (SV *yuñkṣvā*) *hi keśinā harī* RV SV VS ŚB

yukṣvā (SV *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vāḡmāvatī* RV SV

yukṣvā (SV *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vtrahantama* RV SV ŚŚ

yukṣvā (and, *yuñgdhami*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV (both)

athā mandasva (VS *madasva*) *juḡjuḡāno andhasah* RV VS

īḡe pīpīhi (MS *pīpīhi*) MS TA ApŚ *īḡe pinvasva* VS ŚB KŚ. Similarly with *ūrḡe*, *kṣatrāya*, *brahmane*, and others, see §270.

agne brahma grbhñṣva (MS MŚ *grhnṣva*, KS *grhṣva*) VS MS KS
ŚB MŚ

suśamī śamṣva (TS TB *śamī*°, KS † *śamñṣva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB

yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (HG *prati reto grhāna*) ŚG HG *vy asya yonim prati reto grhāna* ApMB. Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§722, 732.

Possibly here belongs

katáro menim prati tam mucāle (Vait *muñcāle*) RV Vait. But in §210, b, we have classified *mucāle* as aorist. See that section and the following for one or two other cases which might, less probably, be placed here.

And see further the interchanges between stems *tṛmpa* and *tṛpya*, *manu* and *mānya*, *hṛnū* and *hṛnāya*, §195.

Interchange between non-thematic and thematic presents

§193 This is one of the most extensive movements in the development of the present systems in their history thruout Hindu speech. Regularly the non-thematic form precedes the thematic form, structurally and chronologically. In the variants the priority of the non-thematic form may generally be assumed. Sometimes the thematic forms are nonce-formations, as when *ghnata* takes the place of *hata*, or in the grotesque *bodha*, 'be', which is coaxed out of *bodhi* in the example *pitā no bodhi* (*bodha*). At the head of our list come several cases in which dissyllabic non-thematic stems are replaced by thematic ones. Cf. also under nasal stems, §191

kati kṛvāḥ prānati cāpānati ca (ŚB *prānati cāpa cānati*) GB ŚB
Better meter in ŚB

yah prānati (AV *prānati*) *ya im śṛnoty uktam* RV AV

yac ca prānati (AV *prānati*) *yac ca na* AV ŚB TB BṛhU (Correct Conc)

ni śtanuḥi (AV *abhi śtana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV AV VS TS MS
KS

āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG *āpo haviṣu jāgrta*
ApŚ *āpo jāgrta* MS KS MŚ

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB *kṣeti*) *carṣanīnām* RV MS TB

agne devānām ava heda iḥṣva (ApŚ *iyakṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devānām yaja heda agne* AV. The problematic *iḥṣva* is here appraised as root-present, for *iyakṣva* see §236

maghavāno vi rapśante (ŚŚ *rapśate*) AV ŚŚ. For the 'root' *rapś* see Bloomfield, *IF* 25 192ff

prasāstah pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ ŚŚ KŚ
ApŚ MŚ. In ApŚ compound of the other readings

etān ghnataitān gṛhṇita ApMB *etān hataitān badhṇita* HG. See above *pitā no bodhi* (TA *bodha*) VS ŚB TA *bodha* is an extreme analogical formation in the spirit of the *a*-conjugation. Comm at TA 4 7 4, foolishly, = *bodhaya*

somo dadad (SMB GG PG 'dadad, HG 'dadād) *gandharvāya, gandharvo dadad* (SMB PG 'dadad) *agnaye* (HG *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*) RV AV SMB GG PG ApMB HG MG. But see §266; and cf the next four

tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS MŚ *dadat*) KS ApŚ MŚ

indrāya tvā śṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB

sa tvaitebhyah pari dadat (TA *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV TA N. Cf the prec three, next, and §§ 167, 11

datto asmbhyam (etc , §250, p 165) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ
SMB , *dadhatha no dravnam yac ca bhadram* MS

sam vasāthām (MS MŚ *vasethām*) *svarvīdā* (KS °dāu) VS TS MS KS
ŚB MŚ And

vyacasvatī sam vasāthām (MS *vasethām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Stems
vaste and *vasate* from *vas* 'clothe' [So Bloomfield wrote, but the
interpretation is very dubious No **vasate* 'clothes' is recorded
Keith on TS seems to understand *vas* 'dwell', as if from a type
**vaste*, which is equally unknown from this root Mahidhara on
VS , *āchādayatam* (apparently *vas* 'clothe') The meaning is
obscure Possibly MS understands a form of *vas* 'dwell' (*vasate*),
and the others *vas* 'clothe' (*vaste*) F E]

[*ye dadate* (JUB *dadante*) *pañca diśah sadhrīcīh* AV JUB But here
there is no real variant, all mss of AV read *dadante*, and
Whitney's Tranel restores it to the text]

Interchange between a and aya formations

§194 Aside from formations which may with more or less confidence
be called causatives, and which we treat separately as such (§§237ff),
this type includes hardly anything but forms of the two roots *mṛd*
'pity' and *hū* 'call' The popular (rather than 'late') form *hvayāmi* is
shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *zbayemi*, it is doubtless a mere acci-
dent that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in
classical Sanskrit, while *huva* and *háva*, both of which interchange with
hvaya, become extinct See Bloomfield, JAOS 21 48 In the follow-
ing small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the
passages

apasedhan (SV † °dham) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV *no mṛda*) RV SV

Here *mṛda* (should = *mīda*, and hence metrically out of place)

together with the patchword *no* are clearly inferior readings in SV
tayā no mṛda jīvase VS VSK TS MS KS NilarU *tayā no rudra*
mṛdaya TS The parallel is only vague

sa nah prajāyari haryaśva mṛdaya (AV KS *mṛda*) RV AV TS KS

te no mṛdayata (AV *mṛdata*) AV TS ApMB

te no mṛdayantu (MS *mṛdantu*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

tau no mṛdayatām (MS *mṛdatām*) TS MS ApMB

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram*
RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU

śarasvatīm sukrto ahvayanta (AV *havante*) RV AV KS Comm on AV
ahvayanta

[As to the variant quoted in Conc as *apām napātam aśvīnā huve dhryā* (TS *aśvīnā hwayantām*) AV TS, the word *hwayantām* is an error for *hayantām* (pple of *hi* 'impel') in TS]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vāḷakhilya hymns the stems *svada* and *svadaya* interchange without difference in meaning, nevertheless, *svadaya* may be considered a causative, cf §240
yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah RV (Vāl) *yam te svadhāvan svad-*
anti gūrtayah RV (Vāl)

Interchange between intransitive ya-stems and others

§195 The prevailing intransitive present formation in *ya* occasionally offers refuge to intransitives of other formation. One is inclined to regard the *ya* forms as generally secondary, cf Delbruck, *AI Synt* 277. The nasal formation *ṛmpa* (Avestan *θ rāf-*) is old, and *manve* is more organic than *manye*

hutāhutasya ṛpyatam (KS ŚŚ *ṛmpatam*) KS TB ŚŚ ApŚ
tasya ṛmpatam ahāhākuhū ŚŚ *tena ṛpyatam anahau* TB ApŚ
anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema*

Vait The Conc suggests reading *sadam* in TB but the comm has *adham*, interpreting it by *anantaram*
brahmanīd upāsvantat (MahānU *upāsyantat*) *tapah* TA MahānU But Poona ed of TA agrees with MahānU (with *v l upāsv*)
manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau ArŚ *manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī* AV Vait

lapate (or *ātapate*, so KSA acc to v Schroeder, TS both, acc to Weber, VS *tapyate*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA TA
yat te krūram tat te sudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous *hṛnīya* of SV
mā hṛnīthā abhy asmān RV *vājebhir mā hṛnīyathāh* SV The alternative would be to regard *hṛnīya* as a sort of denominative

Different treatments of the same root which produce the effect of different present systems

§196 Here and there sundry morphological processes differentiate one and the same root in such a way as to leave behind two forms which may be regarded as two roots, but which in any case manifest themselves in different present formations. The Hindu lexicons postulate a root *ūrnu* which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended *nu*-present of the root *vr* (**ueru*) 'cover'. The archaic form *ūrnuhi* inter-

changes with the conventional *vṛnu* in one case below. Similarly the roots *dhvar* and *dhūrv* are intricate precipitates of a type *dharu* (cf *tvar* and *tūrv* *taru*), as Bloomfield as shown in JAOS 16 clx = BB 23 109. Compare the relation of *ramnātu* *ranvatu*, and *rama ranva*, above, §191

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS TS ŚB TB *yam vayam dhvarāma tam dhvara* (KS *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS KS

dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati VS TS ŚB TB *dhvara dhvarantam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS

abhy enam bhūma ūrnuhi (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV AV TA

Accented and unaccented a-presents (1st and 6th class)

§197 The most conspicuous are those from the root *hū* 'call'. The presents *huva* and *hava* interchange with each other, as well as with *hvaya* (§194), the instances are gathered in §2 and are not repeated here. Most of the other cases, and indeed some of the *huva* *hava* cases, have phonetic aspects, concerning the phonetic variation of *a* *u* before *v*, see §23, where are presented three such variants concerning *brū* (stems *brava* *bruva*), and one concerning *hnu* (*hnavā* *hnuva*). The only other instance we have noted is

(*pra*) *suvirābhis tarate* (SV TS *tarati*) *vājabharmabhih* (SV TS **karmabhih*) RV SV TS KS (Correct Conc). Here *pra tarate* is superior to *pra tarati*, if for no other reason because *pra tara-* occurs but a single time in RV (10 53 8), whereas *pra tira-* is common. For the stanza as a whole cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281.

Reduplicated and other presents

§198 In two *pādas* concerning the root *vṛt*, Kauś has *vavṛtsva* (a R̥gvedic archaism, *ā-vavṛtsva* and *abhi-ā-vavṛtsva* both RV, see Grassmann) where other texts have *vartasva*

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS *abhi no nī vartasva*, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

punar ūrjā nī vartasva (Kauś *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ MŚ Kauś

The variant *īyāna* of SV for *vyāna* may be classed as a reduplicated present middle participle, there seems no ground for calling it intensive (cf Whitney, *Roots*, s v)

īyānah (SV *īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhih sahasraih* RV AV SV KS TA

stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav īyānah (SV *īy°*) RV AV SV

The remaining cases concern modal forms of roots *dā* and *dhā*, reduplicated and unreduplicated. But the unreduplicated forms may, quite as well, be considered root-aorists (cf. §210, a)

te no dhāntu (SV *dhatta*) *swīryam* RV SV

punar dātām (TA *dattāu*) *asum adyeha bhādam* RV AV TA *dattāu* is unaccented in TA and is surely to be read *dattām*, comm. *dattāu prayachātām* (understanding perfect passive ppl. with active meaning!)

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

b. Interchanges between different Aorist systems

§199 Considering the large number of available aorist systems, and their general equivalence in meaning, the number of interchanges between them is not large. The only one which can be differentiated as to meaning is the reduplicated aorist, with its well-known tendency to association with the causative. Even this difference appears but rarely among the variants, which in fact present only a few cases of reduplicated aorist forms exchanging with others, and those few are generally not distinguishable in meaning from their rivals. We may remember that other 'causative' forms are from the earliest period of the language frequently used in senses that are indistinguishable from transitive forms of the simple verb. And even intransitive reduplicated aorists are found, see the variant *ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā adidyutat* (*atidyutat*), below

§200 Otherwise the variations are purely formal, without possible semantic bearings. The old non-thematic *s*-aorist (Whitney, *Grammar* §888ff) of the type *askāntsam*, *askān*, *askān*, results in 2d and 3d singular forms which often resemble those of the root-aorist, this has yielded a rather constant interchange between the forms *askān* and *askan*, or compare again the threefold variation between *ruk*, *rok*, and *rauk* from *ruc*, below. These variations may be considered, at least in part, phonetic as much as morphological. Phonetic considerations are even more clearly involved in variations like *acārṣam* *acārīṣam* (see §286, a) which on their face are *s* and *ṣ*-aorists, but in large part are really cases of *svarabhakti* (Whitney, *Grammar* §230c). Phonetic, likewise, is the variant *āprā(h)*, *āprād*, before *dyāvā-* (see §24). On the whole the list of aorist forms is very miscellaneous and presents a rather haphazard aspect. A number of the forms are more or less doubtful as to which aorist class they belong to, or whether they are properly called aorists

at all Attention will be called to such cases specifically We number the various aorist types in accordance with Whitney

§201 Reduplicated Aorists (Class 3) and others

ganān me mā vī tīrṣah (MŚ ʔat) TS MŚ 'do not (let him not) make my troops go thirsty' *ganā me mā vī tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB 'may my troops not go thirsty' Here the proper causative sense of the 3d aor is apparent, and varies with a non-causative 2d aor

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS *ajīgrabhat*, KS *ajīgrabham* and *ajīgrbham*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 3 and 5 aor, no difference of meaning, both active, 'he has (I have) lifted up'

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīh (TS *sūśucah*, KS *śucah*, MS *hūśīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 2, 3, and 5 aor, all active, 'scorch', no difference of meaning

mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS KS *mainām tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīh* (KS *śocah*, TS *sūśucah*) VS TS MS KS As in prec 3 and 5 aor (*śocah* is imperfect injunctive)

amīmadanta pīlaro yathābhāgam (Kauś *yathābhāgam yathāloka*) *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (AŚ *āvṛṣāyīṣata*, ŚŚ *avīvrṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG Both the forms are somewhat problematic, most texts apparently have a 5 aor from a denominative (*vṛṣan*), while ŚŚ has a 3 aor from the primary root *vṛṣ*, both must mean in the last analysis something like 'they eagerly obtained each his portion' See §§243, 285

yata ścutad agnāv eva tat AŚ *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ *yatra cuścutad agnāv evatāt* MŚ *dyauṣ yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat* ApŚ Both forms intransitive, 'dropped' But the MŚ reading *cuścutad* is a very doubtful emendation of corrupt mss, in all probability *ścutad* is the real reading See further §219, end The 2 aor *aścutat* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from Hindu grammarians

ūrdhvā yasyāmātur bhū (so divide) *adidyutāt* (VSK *atidyutāt*) *savimani* AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N The VSK reading is obviously secondary, and phonetic in character, but it is worth noting that the 3 aor form is here (like the substituted 2 aor) intransitive ('shone')

Sigmatic Aorists varying with non-sigmatic

§202 1st and 4th Aorists

askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ *askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA ApŚ

askann (ŚŚ *askān*) *adhita prājani* ŚB ŚŚ KŚ *askān ajan prājani*
TB TA. ApŚ

askan parjanyah prthvivim KŚ *askān dyauh prthvivim* TB TA ApŚ

askān (GB *askan*) *somah* KS GB

brahman somo 'skan (KS ApŚ '*skān*) KS GB Vait ApŚ

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

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc cha*^o) *payasā sameti* (TB *sametya*) TB Vait
ahāh is 3d person, 'he hath quitted his body' etc

āprā (AV **āprād*) *dyāvūprthivī antarikṣam* RV AV (both) ArS VS
TS MS KS ŚB TB AA TA N *āprā(h)* is 3d sing, the AV form
is certainly secondary, it has phonetic aspects, see §24

bhūyānso bhūyāśma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣṭa Kauś *bhūyānso bhūyāsta*
ye no bhūyaso 'karta MS Same with *annādā bhū*^o

asmaddviṣah sunītho mā parā dah MS *dviṣā sunīte mā parādāh* TA
The MS form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor, cf Whitney,
Grammar §894c, for the closest known parallels *dāh* might also,
tho less probably, be classed as 4 aor

api panthām aganmahī (TS ApŚ *agasmahī*) RV TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ
ŚG

rasena sam aganmahī (RV *agasmahī*) RV KS IŚ

adarśus (ŚŚ *adrākṣus*) *tvā śāsahastam* AB ŚŚ *adarśus* is altogether
irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from *adrākṣus*

mā bheh VS TS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ *mā bhaih* MS KS MŚ Best
taken as 1 and 4 aor

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim*
canāmamat VS VSK TS ŚB *mā bhaih mā ruñ mo ca* (KS *rauñ*
mā) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS *rauñ* (*rauḥ*) is clearly 4 aor, *roñ*
and *ruñ* seem both to be best classed as 1 aor

§203 1st and 5th Aorists

mā prnan pūrtiā v rādhiṣṭa (TS *rādhi*) TS MS KS *rādhi* is of course
passive, see §87 and Whitney §843

vāṣam ūrjam sam agrabham (TS *agrabhīm*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Ob-
viously *agrabhīm* is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhūt*, see §262, d

§204 2d and 4th Aorists

āpo malam va prānaukṣīt (ApŚ *prānījan*) AV ApŚ

§205 2d and 5th (and, once, 7th) Aorists

bahu hāyam (MS *ha vā ayam*) *avarṣid* (TS *avṛṣād*, KS *avṛṣad*) *iti* TS
MS KS But this variant is only very doubtfully placed here
avṛṣād (see Keith on TS 2 4 7 2) can only be an error for *avṛṣad*,
which may perhaps better be regarded as imperfect than as 2 aor

āditya nāvam ārukṣah (SMB *ārokṣam*) AV SMB *īmām su nāvam* (read *sunāvam*) *āruham* TS KS ApŚ Cf §§276, 133 *ārukṣah* is a regular 7 aor, *ārokṣam* may be considered 5 aor with irregular guna-vowel

§206 *Interchanges of various Sigmatic Aorist forms*

vratānām vratapate (Kauś *°patayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS TA Kauś See under next

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (MS and MŚ v 1 *acārṣam*) VS TS MS KS† ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG 4 and 5 aorists For other variants which simulate the same interchange, but are really cases of *svarabhakti* or the reverse in all probability, see §286

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV *ichāt*, TB *achāt*) RV AV KS TB *achān* is of course 4 aor from *chand* (*chad*) AV evidently intended *achāt*, like TB, the form is anomalous (Whitney's Translation adopts the RV *achān*), but is doubtless felt also as a 4 aor from the same root in its denasalized form

mā no dyāvāprthivī hīdiṣethām (thematic stem from 5 aor, *hīdiṣa-*, cf *janīṣeyam*, Whitney, *Grammar* §907, end) MS 'be not angry with us, heaven and earth' *mā dyāvāprthivī hīdiṣātām* TA 'may h and e not be angry' See §332, end

pitur va nāmāgrabhīṣam (ApMB *°bhaiṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG ApMB HG *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh *jagrabham* may best be called augmentless 'pluperfect', cf Whitney, *Grammar* §818a The others are 5 aor (ApMB anomalous)

vardhiṣīmahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣīmahi (MS MŚ *pyāyīṣīmahi ca*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG 5 and 6 aor

vācam paśūn mā nṛ mārjīh MS MŚ *vācam prānam cakṣuh śrotam prajāṁ yonim mā nṛ mṛlṣam* TS 5 and 7 aor Others, see §302

§207 *Interchanges of 1st and 2d aorists*

śraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ *śraddhā ca no mā vyagamāt* ViDh MDh YDh BrhPDh AuśDh

ā mā prānena suha varcasā gan (AV *gamet*) AV TS MS KS

2 INTERCHANGES BETWEEN IDENTICAL MOODS OF DIFFERENT TENSES

§208 The general aspects of this relation are discussed in §105, where it is shown that tense variation as an accessory to modal change plays no functional rôle whatever The cases there referred to are properly a part of the present paragraph The additional examples of interchange in the present rubric are between the same modal form in differ-

ent tenses, the value of such pairs is *a fortiori* identical. Modal forms from stems other than present or aorist are rare in all periods, so it happens that all the correspondences of this rubric are between present and aorist. Non-sigmatic aorists are, moreover, frequently indistinguishable from formally identical present system forms. This introduces into the group pairs which may be judged, and have been judged in grammars and lexicons, to be merely corresponding forms of different present systems, such as *kṛdhī* and *kṛṣva* in relation to *kṛnu* (*kuru*) and *kṛnuṣva*, or *pātām* to *pibatām*, or *srotā* to *śṛnōta*. Contrariwise, some modal pairs rubricated as coming from two different present stems, such as *yukṣva* *yuñkṣva* (§192), may be construed as aorists, such items should, perhaps, be listed in both places. We are inclined to regard the doubtful forms in such pairs as aorists, tho we have followed scholarly tradition in classing *yukṣva* as present. See our discussion §10ff.

§209 In Classical Sanskrit the prohibitive with *mā* is regularly an augmentless aorist. In the Veda augmentless imperfects are commoner, and this has produced a group of variants in which augmentless forms of the two tenses vary with each other, in addition to the general instability of the prohibitive moods as summarized in §§181f. The following two rubrics list the tense interchanges in connection with the same mood, first in categorical and then in prohibitive clauses.

§210 *Interchanges of the same mood in different tenses in categorical clauses*

(a) *Imperatives*

tato na abhayam kṛdhī (ŚŚ **kuru*) RV AV SV VS AB PB TB TA

AS ŚŚ (both) ApŚ MŚ MahānU

suputrām subhagām kuru (RV *kṛnu*, SMB *kṛdhī*) RV SMB ApMB HG

patim ekādaśam kṛdhī (SMB HG *kuru*) RV SMB ApMB HG In same stanza as prec. Note that all texts vary the form, except HG which has *kuru* both times.

patim me kevalam kuru (AV ApMB *kṛdhī*) RV AV ApMB

parācīnā mukhā kṛdhī (KS *kuru*) AV VS TS MS KS

vi jhīṣva lokam kṛnu AV *vi jhūrṣva lokān kṛdhī* TA

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva RV † *adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛnuṣva* AV (poor meter)

vivasva ādityarṣa te somapīthas tena (KS *tasmin*) *mandasva* TS KS

vivasvann (VSK °*vān*) *ādityarṣa te somapīthas tasmin matsva* VS

VSK ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, *Roots*, we regard *matsva* as 4 aor rather than present.

āśvinā gharmam pātam (MS *pibatam*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ
pātam may be present
divam gacha svar vinda yajamānāya mahyam MŚ *devān gacha suvar*
vinda (ApŚ *vinda*) etc TB ApŚ
rayam gr̥natsu dūdhṛtam (and *dhāraya*) RV (both) See RVRep 271,
 528

śṛnota (VS ŚB *śrotā*) *grāvāno viduṣo nu* (VS ŚB *na*) *yajñam* VS TS
 MS KS

devīr āpah śuddhā yūyam devān yuyudhvam (KS *yūdhvam*) MS KS
 Cf *āpo devīh śuddhāyuvah śuddhā yūyam devān ūdhvam* TS *devīr*
āpah śuddhā vodhvam suparvīṣtā deveṣu VS ŚB

tasmin (Vait MŚ *tasmīns*) *tad eno vasavo ni dhetana* (Vait *dhattana*)
 RV TAA Vait MŚ

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS ŚB *vasūnām rudrānām ādityā-*
nām sadasi sīda TS TB ApŚ

sā mā samiddhāyusā samintām (one ms *samindhatām*) TA *sā mā*
samuddhā samindhīṣatām MS

See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between
 root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplicating presents, *datta*
dāta, *dhāntu dhata*, *dātam dattam*

(b) *Subjunctives*

sa (AV *sā*) *nah śarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV *ni yachāt*) RV AV
 MS KS TB ApŚ

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait *muñcāte*) RV Vait *muñcāte* is
 metrically inferior But *mucāte* may, less probably, be regarded
 as present, § 192

(c) *Injunctives*

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *pr̥thivī mā ni bādhatāh* (TA *vi bādhi-*
thāh) RV AV TA

(d) *Optatives*

yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhah RV *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhah*
 TB ApŚ

pari vo heṭi rudrasya vṛjyāh (TB *vṛñjyāt*) RV TB Other versions of
 this ancient formula §104, u The RV form is archaic

devasya (*devasyāham*) *savituh save* (*prasave*) *nākam ruheyam* (GB
roheyam) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB GB Vait MŚ ApŚ LŚ
marito vurita (TS *vṛñita*, KS *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 See next

dyumnam (KS *^one) *vṛñita puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB *vṛñita* might be called injunctive, but the parallels
 make it preferable to class it as optative

§211 *Prohibitive Injunctives (augmentless preterites)**Imperfect (one 'pluperfect') and aorist*grhā mā bībhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepīdhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ
ŚG HGmā tvā vrkṣah (TA *vrkṣau*) sam bādhiṣta (TA *bādhiṣtām*, and *bādhetām*)
AV TAmānam agne vi daho mābhi socah (AV *śūsucāh*) RV AV TA AŚ In
a triṣṭubh stanzamānām arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (VS KS *mānām tapasā mārcīṣābhi*)
śocīh (KS *śocah*, TS *śūsucāh*) VS TS MS KSmā bhairīr (RVKh AV *bībher*) na marīṣyasi RVKh AV SMB GG
ApMB na mar^o mā bībheh AVūrdhvas tīṣṭhan mā dvā svāpsīh Kauś mā dvā suṣupthāh (SMB GG
HG *svāpsīh*) ŚG SMB GG PG HG mā suṣupthāh ŚB ApMB
dvā mā svāpsīh AG *suṣupthāh* is augmentless preterite perfect, or
pluperfect injunctive

3 TRUE INTERCHANGES OF TENSE

INDICATIVES OF VARIOUS TENSES VARYING WITH EACH OTHER (ALSO A
FEW PARTICIPLES)

[§212 These may be called 'true interchanges of tense' in the sense that, in the Veda at any rate, the several tense-forms are commonly understood to carry differences of function To be sure, as between what we call 'present' and 'preterite', for instance, or between the various types which serve, or may serve, as preterites, the distinctions are not always 'temporal' in a narrow sense And we shall find here again an elasticity of function quite similar to that which we met in our study of the moods, tho conditioned, of course, by somewhat different circumstances We shall discuss the examples under three heads a Interchanges between the Preterites, b Interchanges between Present and the Preterites, and c Interchanges between Future and the other tenses We may remind the reader that the list of Interchanges between more than two modal varieties (§104) contains several variants which should be added to the following lists

a *Interchanges between the Preterites*

§213 The recent work of Renou (*La Valeur du Parfait dans les hymnes védiques*, Paris, 1925) has absorbed and largely superseded most previous

work on the Vedic tenses Chapter III of that book, more especially pages 29-52, is devoted to a searching study of the preterite use of the perfect and its relation to the corresponding uses of the imperfect and aorist The work is carried out with great learning, diligence, and acumen, and its results are not likely to be overthrown in any important respects (cf the review published in *JAOS* 49 64 ff) Of special interest to us are the remarks on page 41, towards the bottom, where, referring to Bloomfield's article 'On the instability in the use of moods', *AJP* 23 1ff, Renou says 'la variation dans les temps n'est pas moins manifeste' Such indeed seems from the variants to be the case The aorist was shown long ago by Delbrück *AI Tempuslehre*, 5ff, *Vgl Synt* 2 240 f to be specially appropriate to facts falling within the experience of the speaker, of which he knows personally, consequently, to recent events, and facts about which special confidence exists or is claimed Hence what we have referred to as the 'prophetic aorist', which is a special favorite, as we saw, in expressing as already accomplished things which the speaker ardently desires (cf Renou 26f, calling attention to its frequency in magic charms) Hence its variation with the modal forms, described above, and with the present indicative, below The imperfect and perfect are often used more or less interchangeably referring to events of the remoter past (Renou 30 ff), such difference as is discernible between perfect and imperfect as narrative tenses appears often in this, that the perfect expresses facts of greater permanence (Renou 49) or importance (65), and is frequently used in standing formulas (64), as distinguished from the normal imperfect of simple narration Meter often plays a part in the choice of tense-form (Renou 45 f), thus in the RV itself we find the variant

ava tmanā dhṛṣatā (bṛhatah) sambaram bhīnat (7 18 20 *bhet*), 1 54 4 and 7 18 20,

where *bhīnat*, imperfect, and *bhet*, aorist, are merely *jagati* and *ṛiṣṭubh* forms of precisely the same idea It would be pedantry to try to find any real difference here Metrical convenience certainly plays a part in a number of other variants, tho it is not always as clear as here

§214 Even the 'prophetic aorist' is paralleled by equally 'prophetic' uses of the other preterites One evidence of this is the general fact that, as we saw (§§127 ff), they vary with modal forms only less frequently than the aorist But further, the aorist appears in direct and apparently unstrained exchange with other preterites, and that too occasionally in places which seem to cry out for a 'prophetic' form Thus,

trīny āyūṅṣi te 'karam AV, 'I have made three lives for thee' What could be more 'prophetic' than this aorist, more in keeping with the medicine man's confident blarney of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubtless later) form of the same pāda, JUB reads

trīny āyūṅṣi me 'kṛnoh, 'thou hast made three lives for me', with imperfect instead of aorist

§215 Again, a formula where our sense demands a perfect, because it refers to Indra's mythic conquests, appears in the RV itself with perfect and aorist interchanging

vy āsa (ānad) indrah pṛtanāh svojāh, 'Indra hath conquered all battles, in his great strength'

Can the aorist here possibly be justified as picturing the event as coming within the certain knowledge of the speaker? It seems doubtful. Compare also below, §219, *yena sūryam tamaso nīr amoci (mumoca)*, where aorist and perfect interchange in a pāda for which the imperfect seems demanded by the usual rules

§216 It is, of course, evident that the mere appearance of the same formula with now one preterite tense, now another, does not prove that both have precisely the same meaning. For it is not difficult to slip from one psychological attitude into another, while still envisaging the same event. And we shall show below (see, e.g., the pāda *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā ahinvan* etc., §217) that sometimes the alteration is eminently suited to a changed situation. Yet, when all is said and done, and when allowance has been made for the fact that the variants are far less numerous here than in the case of the moods, they seem to show conclusively that there is no very great wrench in substituting one preterite for another, and so furnish presumptive evidence in favor of great laxity in their use —F. E.]

§217 Imperfect and Aorist

ava tmanā dhṛṣṭatā (and, *bṛhatah*) *sambaram bhīnat* (and, *bhet*) RV (both)

See above

trīny āyūṅṣi te 'karam (JUB *me 'kṛnoh*) AV JUB See above

tābhīh samrābham anv avindan (TB *samrābho avidat*) *ṣad urvīh* AV

TB The TB improves the meter.

avindac charyanāvati (MS *°dañ śar°*) MS KS *tad vidac charyanāvati*
RV AV SV TB

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB *akṛnoh sūryatvacam* RV AV JB
avakṛnot sūryatvacam MG

yadī vṛkṣād abhyapaptat (HG *vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat*) *phalam* (AV

phalam tat) AV HG (*yadī vrkṣād yady antarīkṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat* ApMB

apām stoko abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB °*paptac chivena*, HG °*patac chivāya*) AV ApMB HG

ulūkhalā (ApMB *aulū*°, AV *vānaspatyā*) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) AV ApMB HG MG *akurvata* is shown by the meter to be secondary, the MG substitutes the ordinary narrative imperfect for the archaic aorist

ṛtasya yonau (RV *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV *ahēṣata*) RV TS KS ApMB The aorist is 'the normal tense to describe the operations of the sacrifice' (Renou 31), and so is appropriate to this description of the soma-pressing in RV 9 86 25d. In fact the YV pāda is a blend of this pāda with RV 10 45 3d *apām upasthe mahiṣā avarḍhan*, and preserves the imperfect which is appropriate to that verse, in a mythic narrative relating to Agni

pari śya svāno akṣāh RV (*akṣār*, 3d sing 4 aor) *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV The SV has a later and simpler form, which also eases the meter See next

pavitre somo akṣāh (SV *akṣarat*) RV SV As prec

asapatnā kilābhvam (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB Cf *asapatnah kilābhvam* RV In this and the next four variants phonetic considerations are involved, and help to explain the variation if they do not completely account for it, see §23

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

nemiś cakram vābhavat (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

apasyam (and, *adṛśan*) *tvāvarohantam* NilarU (both) The second (aor) is a conscious modification of the first (imperf), several stanzas before it, with change of person and number No more than stylistic reasons can have dictated the change (variety for its own sake, perhaps)

savitā vy akalpayat ŚG *snīwāly aciklpat* AV The imperfect is clearly secondary, cf *akarāt akr̥noh* above, to which this is quite similar

yad vāto apo (MS MŚ 'po) *aganīgan* (TS KS ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS MS KSA ApŚ MŚ The imperf intensive is better than the aorist, as Keith observes on TS 7 4 20 1, mythic events are referred to

yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāh (ArS NrpU *māvāt*) ArS TB TA TU NrpU N The comm on TB *āvāh* = *āvṛnoti*, *svīkaroti* *āvāh*

seems indeed to be 4 aor 3d sing of $\bar{a} + vr$ But Deussen, 60 Up 240 and 765 'wer mich austeilt, der labt mich eben damit'
[*abhi tvā varcasāśīṇcan* (KS TB °*sīcam*) AV KS TB But the true AV reading is °*sīcan*, see Whitney's note on 4 8 6]

§218 Imperfect and Perfect

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV * VS ŚB *mahiṣā avardhan*) RV (both) AV SV VS ŚB TA 'In the lap of the waters the mighty one (Agni) throve (thrives)', a statement of permanent truth, in the imperfect version Agni is the object, and the verb is narrative of mythical events, 'the mighty ones increased (Agni)'

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV *vi yo rajānsy amamāta sukratuh* RV *agnir hotā nī śasādā yajīyān* RV TS MS KS *hotā mandro nī° ya°* RV MS KS TB *agnir hotā ny asīdad yajīyān* RV MS KS AB AŚ

ṛṣir hotā ny asīdat (TS † *nī śasādā*) *pitā nah* RV VS TS MS KS *tvam ā tatanthorv* (ArS *tanor urv*) *antarikṣam* RV ArS VS MS KS TB *ny anyā arkam abhito vivīśre* (AV °*visanta*, JB *viviśyuh*) RV AV JB ŚB AA

yā akr̥ntann avayan yā atanvata (AV *yāś ca tatnre*) AV SMB PG ApMB HG *yā akr̥ntan yā atanvan* MG Note the precisely parallel verbs, imperf and perf, in AV, apparently the older form, in the others tense-assimilation

anavas te ratham aśvāya takṣan (SV *takṣuh*) RV SV TS MS KS But *takṣuh* is regarded by some scholars as aorist, see Renou 56, Wackernagel, I 1, p XV

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpah TB *vi rohito amṛsad viśvarūpam* AV *abhi pra nonuvur* (SV *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV SV *nonuvur* perf (Whitney, Grammar §1018a), *nonavur* augmentless imperf But see §23

aḥam viveca (KS *astabhnām*) *pr̥thivīm uta dyām* AV KS *yena tvābadhnāt* (KS *mā°*, TS ApMB * *yam abadhnīta*, MŚ MG *yaj jagrantha*) *śavitā susevah* (AV °*vāh*, TS ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ MG *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB MG *prajā ha tisro* (AV JB *tisro ha prajā*) *atyāyam īyuh* (AV *āyan*) RV AV JB ŚB AA

kim svīd vanam ka u sa vr̥kṣa āśīt (RV VS *āsa*) RV VS TS MS KS TB Cf Renou 43, and next

āpo bhadrā (MS KS *devīr*) *ghṛtam id āpa āsan* (TS *āsuh*, MS *ghṛtam-īnvā ū āpah*) AV TS MS KS Cf pree

indrāvathuh (VSK °*vadhuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*vatam*) *kāvyaṛ* (TB ApŚ *karmanā*) *dansanābhuh* RV AV VS VSK MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ

yena devā amṛtam anv avindan AV *yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ* RV
asya made aḥim indro jaghāna RV *asya made jaritar indro 'hīm ahan*
 ŚŚ

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV MS KS Kāuś SMB GG KhG *yā*
prathamā vyauchat TS PG HG *arhanā putravāsasā* (read, *putra*
uvāsa sā, see Jorgensen on SMB 2 8 1) SMB GG.

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vīdvīr yāmān avardhayan* (TB *vīdvīr*
yāman vavardhayan) VS TB If correct, *vavardhayan* would be a
 nonce-blend of imperf and perf, but Poona ed of TB reads *yā-*
mann avar°, and this is doubtless the true reading

§219 Aorist and Perfect

vy ānad (and, āsa) *indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ* RV (both) See above, §215
yena śravāṅsy ānaśuḥ (SV *āsata*) RV SV Reference is to ancient
 events, the aor is inappropriate

viśvam id dhītam (MS *dhītam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV *āsata*) RV AV SV MS
 ApŚ As prec

narāṅsanse (VS *nārā*°) *somapītham ya āśuḥ* (KS *ānasuḥ*) VS MS KS
 TB But *āśuḥ* may also, and perhaps preferably, be taken as perfect
 The sense certainly does not suggest the aorist

naro yat te duduhur dakṣinena TB *naro yad vā te hastayoḥ adhukṣan*
 Vait Reference is to pressing of the soma, most naturally felt in
 Vait as that which has just taken place, the aor is more appropriate

yena sūryam tamaso nr amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS TA 'By which (Trit.)
 freed (of old) the sun from darkness' An instructive case Accord-
 ing to our feeling the imperfect would be required, since reference
 is to a mythic event Yet TA has the perfect, and MS the (wholly
 inappropriate) aorist!

na śīm adeva āpat (SV *āpa tat*) RV SV ŚŚ. 'No godless man has (ever)
 attained (or attains, sc wealth)' A most general statement, to
 which it would seem that the perfect would be appropriate, yet it
 is found only in the secondary SV, which may have been influ-
 enced by a desire to improve the meter

achidrośijah kavayah padānutaḥṣiṣuḥ (so emended, ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*)
 KS *achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuḥ* TS Cf the variant *anavas te*
 etc., §218

īṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS ApŚ *ādade*, MS KS MŚ *ādī*) VS
 TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS † *nah*) *pitābhūt* (VSK *pitāsa*) VS VSK
 TS MS ŚB

vrajam gomantam uśijo vi vavruh (KS *uśijo apa vran*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ApMB 'The eager (fathers, of old) opened the stall of cows' Aorist seems out of place, unless KS feels the act as brought down into the immediate past

viśvā adhi śriyo dadhe RV 'dhita RV KS TB *dhise* (present) RV The aor 'dhita (10 127 1) has Night for subject, 'she has (just now) assumed all glories' The perfect *dadhe* (2 8 5) is said of Agni, and is a general and more or less permanent statement, and substantially equivalent is the present of 10 21 3, of which the subject is also Agni Is *dhise* possibly modal? Cf §165

vāk patamgāya sisriye TS *vāk patamgo aśśriyat* (KS *gā aśśrayuh*) AV KS See note in Whitney on AV 6 31 3, and cf Conc

pitur va nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB *°bhaṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG ApMB HG *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh See §§206, 267 *jagrabham* is pluperfect

dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat ApŚ (*dyaur* belongs to the prec *pāda*, and probably *yata ścutad* is the true reading) *prthwyām avacuscotantat* TB ApŚ *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ *yatra ruścutad agnāv evatit* MŚ (so emended, but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss, would be *yatra scutad*) The aorist *aścutat* is quoted only from grammarians in Whitney's *Roots*

§220 Pluperfect and other Preterites

pitur va nāmāgrabhiṣam (*°bhaṣam*, *nāma jagrabham*), *pitur nāmeva jagrabha*, see just above

prīyām yamas tanvam prārīrecīt (classed as anomalous plup, AV *tanvam ā rīreca*) RV AV

punsah kartur mātary āviśikta JB *punsā kartrā mātari mā nīṣiñca* (read *nīṣiñcata*?) KBU Acc to Deussen, 60 *Up* 25, three mss of KBU read *mā aśiṣikta*

indrāya suṣuvur (MS KS *indrāyāsuvur*) *madam* VS MS KS TB But see §267

ayam dhrūvo raṣinām ciketa yat (SV *ciketaḍ ā*) RV SV *ciketaḍ* could, of course, be considered modal, but the sense of the passage suggests that it is better taken as augmentless plup (cf Whitney, *Grammar* §820)

yāś ca (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* (AV *antān*, PG *devīs tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (SMB † *'tatantha*, PG *tatantha*) AV ApMB SMB PG The form *'tatantha* is a corruption, evidently felt as 3 plur

plup mid , for 'ta (so Stonner, PG comm reads *tatantha* and takes it as 2 sing perf act , despite the impossible sandhi)

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (so¹ TA *vya ca sarja*, comm v 1 *vyasasarja*)
bhūmyām TA MahānU The text reading of TA is a mere corruption, the variant, an anomalous augmented perfect Hardly belongs here, see §267

Cf also the interchange between Present and Pluperfect, §233

b *Interchanges between Present and the Preterites*

§221 The entire business of tense in the mantras is emasculated, as it were, or at least confused, because these texts are in the main sentimental rather than narrative or historical Legends and legendary allusions are, of course, narrative, implying some precision in time statements They occur often enough in the mantras Indra slew Vrtra, or the Aśvins saved the son of Tugra from the machinations of his father, both in the past In such cases present or future is unimaginable But Indra also hath aided, did aid, aids, shall, and will aid him that calls upon him (We are again, a large part of the time, in the domain of modality, either belief, wish, or demand, rather than in the domain of genuinely statable fact Fixation in point or quality of time becomes precarious, because the thing can be and is supposed to happen in any time Some of the cases of interchange between present and perfect may concern the 'old' use of the perfect, to express something regarded as permanently established (Renou 7 and *passim*), this is specially suited to such psychological spheres.) Thus in

agnim naras tṛṣadhasthe sam idhire (SV TS *indhate*) RV SV TS KS 'men have kindled (i.e. regularly do kindle, or, SV TS, simply kindle) Agni on his three seats', the action described is applicable to any situation and time, RV conceives it as a quasi-cosmic fact But, as Renou has shown, even the perfect is normally a preterite tense in the RV, and it is doubtful to what extent we should allow its variation with the present to seduce us into assuming the old, non-preterite function for it For the other preterites exchange about as commonly with the present as it does, and often it seems clear that whatever difference in meaning exists is purely sentimental, a matter of the way the poet looks at things, rather than factual So that the line of demarcation between even such tenses as are ordinarily differentiated in Hindu speech is a good deal effaced In the RV itself we meet the pāda

ud vām prkṣāso madhumanto asthuh (4 45 2 *madhumanta īrate*) RV 4 45 2, 7 60 4, MS, 'your honeyed steeds (O Aśvins) have started

up (rush forth) ' We take it that what is really meant in both cases is, 'let them start or rush forth ' Similarly,

yam āchāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ, whom we craved (I crave), he hath come ' The craving is good for all time, a view which would see in the imperfect its regular sense of 'craved of old' is of course neither demonstrable nor refutable .

§222 In the sphere of charms and exorcisms especially, where desire hovers before the eye of the speaker, and all results are imaginary, the tenses indifferently lapse into moods, if sounded to the bottom The formal tense distinction between the prophetic aorist and the present is merged into a substantially identical modal value for both, as in

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah VS etc , 'we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain', and *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS etc , 'I drive off this demon ' Both really mean that the speaker eagerly wants to accomplish the result stated Naturally, therefore, all the preterites, as well as the present, freely interchange with moods, as we have seen above

§223 For the rest, even in the quasi-narrative sphere of mythology the tenses intermingle because many myths are not sufficiently stable to keep them from doing so Even the RV is the final precipitate of ideas and compositions which had a long past, more so the other Vedic texts Mythic ideas, such as the freeing of the light cows from the demonic Panis, are thrown forward into the present, as if to be performed over again at the moment, where they mean extracting *dakṣiṇā*-cows from grudging non-sacrificers Many other mythic ideas refer not only to definite events in the past, but to habitual performances in harmony with the subject or character of the myth Thus the pious, sacrificing sages of the Aṅgiras or Uśij character figure primarily in the past, but easily reproduce themselves in the present

sarasvatīm sukrto ahvayanta (AV *havante*) RV AV KS, 'the pious called (call) upon Sarasvatī ' To be sure, AV comm reads *ahvayanta*

tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudisyāyajanta (v l and p p °*dīśyā*) MS *tām dhīrāso anudīśya* (VSK °*dīśya*) *yajante* (KS † *anudīśyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB *tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante* VS ŚB , 'her (earth) looking after (pointing to) the sages worship(ped) '

§224 Even an epithet like *prathama* is not sufficient to prevent this transfer to the present, if we may trust Knauer's quotation from an undated part of MŚ

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ °*māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ *āsate*) PB TB

ApŚ MŚ, 'the all-creators of yore performed (perform) a *sattra*-session'

§225 In these cases the presents are logically inferior, in two at least, and probably in all three, they represent secondary readings. But no great wrench is required in order to use them. Similarly in *oṣadhayah sam vadante* (VS *avadanta*) RV VS VSK TS, 'the plants confer(red) together'

yatrauṣadhīh samagmata RV VS *yad oṣadhayah samgachante* (KS *samagmata*) TS MS KS 'where (when) the plants have come (come) together'

These passages allude to slender, myth-like conceptions which may just as well be conceived in the present as in the past

§226 (It may also be remembered that occasionally a present, at all periods of the language, is 'historical', that is used of past events to add liveliness to the narrative. All these considerations, together with the instability of oral tradition, which at times doubtless introduces really faulty variants, account sufficiently for the considerable number of interchanges between present and all sorts of preterites

§227 We have alluded above to the special position of the perfect, the use of which has recently been made the object of Renou's study. We may conclude these introductory remarks by mentioning a few variants in which perfect forms seem either certainly or very probably to have no preterite value whatever

anu vām ekah pavir ā vavarta (TB *vavarti*) RV MS TB 'one wagon-tire rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuna)'. The present of TB, tho secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on *vavarta*. *prajāh puṣa purudhā vi rājati* RV VS *prajāh pīpari bahudhā vi rājati* SV ArS MS KS ApŚ 'he prospers (further) our offspring manifoldly' etc

sam sūryena rocate (SV *didyute*, VS **didyutat*) RV SV VS (both) MS ŚB TA Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 345. Of course *didyutat* may be modal

nindati tva anu tva grnāti (MS *vavanda*) MS KS *pīyati tva anu tva grnāti* RV VS TS ŚB N 'some blame, others praise'. Here the perfect *vavanda*, replacing the present *grnāti* and matching the present *nindati*, can be put down with almost mathematical certainty as non-preterite

§228 The variants are divided into four groups. Present and Imperfect, Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect respectively. We have not thought it worth while to burden our lists with such a ritual litany as

MS 4 9 23-24, where, first, ritual situations are approached anticipatorily, with verbs in the present or future indicative, or in various moods, and then, after the completion of the rite, the same litany is repeated practically verbatim with change of the verbs to preterites, as e.g. *agne vratapate vratam carisyāmi acārṣam* A close parallel to this passage in TA 4 41 1-6

§229 *Present and Imperfect*

ulūkhālā (ApMB *aul*^o) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) ApMB HG MG *aulūkhālāḥ sampravadanti grāvānaḥ* SMB *vānaspatyā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* AV Aorists also concerned here
catuṣpadīm anv emi (AV *aitad*) *vratena* RV AV On the anomalous form *aitat* see Whitney-Lanman on AV 18 3 40
yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ
sarasvatīm sukrto ahvayanta (AV *havante*) RV AV KS But AV comm *ahvayanta*
tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudisyāyajanta etc, see §223
prasnāpayanty ūrminam (SV *ayanta ūrmayah*) RV SV Note hiatus in SV
sam bāhubhyām dhamatī (MS *°yām adhamat*) *sam patatrāḥ* RV VS MS MahānU ŚvetU And others, see §50
yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam (and, *śikṣathah*) RV (both)
uro vā padbhir (Kauś *padbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB *°ta*, but Jorgensen *°te*) TS ŚŚ KS MŚ Kauś SMB
śrīnānā apsu mṛṇjata (SV *vr̥ṇjate*) RV SV
yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV ApMB HG MG *yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB BrhU
uta gāva vādanti (TB *vādan*) RV TB
viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ *°māḥ*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ *āsate*) PB TB ApŚ MŚ
surayā mūtrāj janayanti (VS † *°ta*) *retah* VS TB *surayā mūtrāj janayanta* (KS † *°ti*) *retah* MS KS
oṣadhayah sam vadante (VS *sam avadanta*) RV VS VSK TS
gāvau te sāmānāv itah (AV *aitām*) RV AV
asurās tvā nyakhanan AV *nīcaḥ kṣananty asurāḥ* AV
andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA *°si*) AV TA
sapta svasāro abhi sam navante (AV *navanta*) RV AV The AV form may be considered injunctive
adhīyata (ŚŚ *°te*) *devarātah* AB ŚŚ
rathītamau rathinām ahva (KS *°nām huva*) *ūtaye* TS MS KS

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV Phonetic corruption in SV , see §23, end

āśūn va suyamān ahva ūtaye AV *āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS MS KS
mano nv ā hūvāmahe (Vait °*hi*, VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hūvāmahe*) RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS AB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ LŚ ApS Vait Kauś
 See §2

§230 Present and Aorist

ulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata, etc , see §229

ud vām prkṣāso etc , see §221

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

dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vr bhāti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB

gāyatrena chandasā prthwīm anu vi krame TS *prthivyām* (KS °*vīm*)
viṣnur (MS *viṣnuh prthivyām*) *vyakransta gāyatrena chandasā* VS
 MS KS ŚB ŚŚ And the same with *traistubhena antarikṣam*,
 and *jāgatena dvam*

yad rātriyāt (and, *ahnāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA *yad rātriyā* (MahānU
 TA v 1 *rātriyā*, also, *ahnā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v 1 *akārīṣam*)
 TA MahānU See §30

prānasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB *asmī*, HG *abhūr asau*) AG ApMB
 HG MG

brahmacaryam āgām (MG *upemasi*, Kauś text *āgam*, unnoted in Conc ,
 perhaps misprint) ŚB Kauś SMB GG PG ApMB ApG HG
 MG A metrical pāda is produced in MG out of what is prose
 in the others, the context is different

yadā tnam abhvarṣasi PrsU *yadā prāno abhyavarṣit* AV

pra vā eṇdūr indī asya niṣkṛtini AV *pro ayāśid indūr indrasya niṣkṛtam*
 RV SV PB

gṛhān aamī (LŚ HG *emi*, ApŚ *āgām*) *manasā modamānah* (AV *sumanā*
vandamānah, ApŚ **modamānah suvarcāh*, LŚ *manasā dāwena*) AV
 VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV *āsata*) RV SV

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah (VSK *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā ba-*
dhāyāmum abadhiṣma) VS VSK ŚB KŚ *avadhiṣma rakṣah* TS
 MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ MŚ

ye sarpāh tebhya imam balim āhārṣam AG *ye pārthivāh sarpās tebhya*
imam balim harāmi HG

rūpam vo rūpenābhyem (KS *rūpenābhyāgām*) *vayasā vayah* MS KS
MŚ *rūpena vo rūpam abhy āgām* (TS ApŚ *aimi*) VS VSK TS.
ŚB ApŚ

sam ākūṭir (RVKh erroneously, *ākūṭir*) *namāmasi* (MS *anarīsata*)
RVKh AV MS

pra vām ratho manojavā asarj (and, *iyarti*) RV (both)
samāvaratī (MS MŚ *samāvṛtat*) *prthivī* VS MS KS TB KŚ ApŚ
MŚ

devā madhor vy āsnate (SV *āsata*) RV SV
yasmād bhīlā (and, *bhīto*) *nīṣḍasī* MŚ *yasmād bhīṣā nīṣḍasī* (TB ApŚ
nyasadah, ŚŚ *nyasadah*) AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ 'Thru fear of
which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down)'

Participles

trpat (SV *trmpat*) *somam apībad viṣṇunā sutam yathāvaśat* (SV †° *śam*)
RV AV SV TB

§231 Present and Perfect

yasyām karmāni kurvate (ApŚ *kṛnvate*) KS ApŚ *yāni karmāni cakrīre*
AV

na hi te nāma jagrāha AV *na hy asyā* (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma grbhnam*
RV ApMB

catustrinsat tantavo ye vi tatnire VS *trayastrinsat tantavo ye vi tatnire*
(MS *yam vitanvate*, KS AŚ *yān vitanvate*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

atra śravānsi dadhre RV *tatra śravānsi kṛnvate* SV

purūvasur hi maghavan babbhūvitha (RV *sanād asi*) RV SV

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ *vicaranty*
apaluvratā ŚG MDh (Pres pple in the last) The parallel verb
in the preceding pāda is perfect in all, ApŚ assimilates the tense
in this pāda

yasmāj jātā na parā nāva kim canāsa (VS *jātam na purā kim canava*)
VS TA *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ *yasmād*
anyo na paro asti jātah PB *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti*
Vait *yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti* (NrpU 'sti) VS TB KŚ
ApŚ MahānU NrpU *yasmāt param nāparam asti kim cit* TA
MahānU N *tasmād dhānyan na parah kim canāsa* RV TB
tasmād vai nānyat param asti tejah AV *yasmān nānyat param asti*
bhūtam AV

ād it prthivī ghṛtair vy udyate TS *ād id ghṛtēna prthivī vy udyate* (AV
prthivīm vy ūduh) RV AV MS KS N

ye prthivyās samājagmur iṣam ūrjam vasānāh KS *samāgachantīṣam*
ūrjam vasānāh (ApŚ *duhānāh*) MS ApŚ

agnim naras triṣadhasṭhe sam ṛdhire (SV TS *indhate*) RV SV TS KS
agnim indhe (RV *ṛdhe*) *vivasvabhīh* RV SV
anu vām ekah pavir ā vavarta (TB °*ti*) RV MS TB
nahī tad dṛśyate divā (ApŚ *tad dadṛṣe divā*, HG *tad divā dadṛṣe divah*)
 AV ApŚ HG

manye (KS *mene*) *bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi* AV TS MS KS
yac cham ca yos ca manur āyeje (TS *āyaje*) *pitā* RV TS KS The TS
 reading is anomalous in form and meaning, and is obviously due to
 metrical considerations (better cadence)

yadī vāham anṛtadeva āsa (AV °*devo asmi*) RV AV
prajāh pṛpartī bahudhā (RV VS *pupoṣa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV SV ArS
 VS MS KS ApŚ

eṣu vānaspatyeṣu ye 'dhi tasthuh AV *eṣu vṛkṣeṣu vānaspatyeṣu āsate*
 ApMB

pṛyati (MS KS *nindati*) *two anu two grnāhi* (MS *vavanda*) RV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB N

apām napātām pari tasthur (ArS °*tam upa yanty*) *āpah* RV ArS TS
 MS KS

sam tvā tatakṣuh (LŚ °*kṣnuh*) Vait LŚ KŚ If *tatakṣnuh* is entitled
 to standing, it is a nonce blend of perfect and present (*takṣnuvantī*)
indrasya tvā jathare sādāyāmī (AŚ *dadhāmī*) VSK KB GB AŚ ŚŚ
 LŚ ApŚ Kauś *brahmana indrasya tvā jathare dadhuh* MŚ † See
 §315

dāsyann adāsyann uta sam grnāmi (TA *uta vā karīṣyan*, and so AVPpp ,
 Barret, JAOS 30 213) AV TA *adāsyann agna uta samgrnāmi*
 AV *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA *dhīpsyam vā samcakara*
janebhyah MS *yad vādāsyam samjagārā janebhyah* TB

§232 Present and other Participles

Since Renou has shown (121-38) that participles in the Veda often
 appear to be independent of the finite stems with which they are for-
 mally connected, we list the participial variants in a separate list. The
 first six variants all occur in the same context, soma is referred to

yamah sūyamānah VS *yamo 'bhaṣutah* TS KS
rudra āhutah TS *rudro hūyamānah* VS KS
pitaro nārāśansāh sannah (VSK *sādyamānah*) VS VSK *pitṛnām nār-*
āśansah TS

viṣnuh śipivīṣṭa ūrāv (VSK † *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS † VSK *śipivīṣṭa āsādītah*
 (KS † °*vīṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS

asurah krīyamānah (KS *krītah*, VS *panyamānah*) VS TS KS

viśve devā anśuṣu nyuptah (VSK *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK
uttīṣṭhans (ŚŚ *utthulas*) *tretā bhavati* AB ŚŚ
yajñānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV SV See §238, end
atirātram varṣan pūrta āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS *vavṛṣvān*
pūta rāvat) *svāhā* TS MS KS
tepāno (SV *tapāno*) *deva rakṣasah* RV SV
samākurvānah (TB *samācakrānah*) *praruho ruhaś ca* AV TB
dhṛṣānam (AV °no, read °nam acc to Whitney, AA *dādṛṣānam*)
dhṛṣṭam (AV °taḥ, Whitney em °tam) *śavah* AV AA ŚŚ †
harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB °atā) *marutvāḥ* RV TB N *dhṛṣṭā* is an ad-
 verbial instr of the pres act pple
[viśvasyām viś pravṛṣvānsam (KS °vṛṣvānam, quoted in Conc as
pravṛṣānum) *īmahe* TS MS KS See §§69, 273]

§233 Present and Pluperfect

rudrān devān yajñenāpīpreṃ ApŚ *rudrān prīnāmi* Vait

c Future and other Tenses

§234 (The future is rare in the Mantras, its place being taken by the moods, especially the subjunctive. Its own modal value comes to the fore notably in its interchanges with the moods (§177), and in the rare instances where it interchanges with preterite indicative forms, it is rather as a mood than as a tense (§134). For this reason the few scattering finite futures varying with preterite tenses are treated above. Here are gathered, first, a couple of variants between present and future indicatives, and between present and future participles, and then a group of variations between future participles on the one hand and aorist and perfect participles on the other. Some of the future-aorist cases, concerning sigmatic forms on either side, have obvious phonetic bearings which have been dealt with in §§27f. The present-future cases need no comment, since the present designates not a point of time but a quality of action, it is always ready for use as a future. See also §104, e.

Below, in §248a, we shall find a few cases of verbal nouns in *tar* (nominative, *tā*) varying with finite verb-forms, attention may be called to them here, because they are forerunners of the later periphrastic future (Whitney §946).

(a) Present and Future

tebhya imam balim harṣyāmi *tebhya imam balim ahārṣam* ApMB
tebhya namo 'stu balim ebhya harāmi PG *tebhya balim puṣṭikāmo*

harāmi (AG *dadāmi*) TAA MahānU AG Cf *balīm ebhya*
harānāmam PG

agne vratapate vratam ālapsye (KS *ālabhe*) MS KS MŚ Cf *agne*
vratapate vratam carīṣyāmi VS etc, see Conc

(b) *Participles, Present and Future*

agnim kṣananta (TS *kṣaṇiyanta*) *upasthe asyāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB
bhūtam asī bhavad asī Kauś *bhūtam asī bhaviṣyad asī* ŚŚ 8 21 3

(c) *Participles, Aorist and Future*

ratho na vājam sanīṣyann (SV *sanīṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV SV See §28, and
Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 418

(*net tvā*) *dadhrg vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV *vidhakṣan parīñkha-*
yātai) RV AV *net tvā dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TA
See §27 The AV reading was probably *vidhakṣyan*

samhānāya svāhā VS MS *samhāsyate svāhā* TS KSA

(d) *Participles, Perfect and Future*

(*suṣvānāsa indra stumasi tvā*) *sasavāṇsaś ca* (SV *sanīṣyantaś cit*)
tuvinṛmna vājam RV SV 'We praise thee, O Indra, strong in
manhood, after we have pressed (the soma) and after we have
gained (or, about to gain) booty'

vājam tvāgne jṛṣvāṇsam sasanvāṇsam (and, *jeṣyantam sanīṣyantam*)
sammārjmi Vait (both)

CHAPTER V THE SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

§235 Of the conjugations included by Whitney under this heading, one, the Passive, has been treated above in the chapter on Voice, where it naturally belongs. Another, the Desiderative, is patently a mood in function, and appears in the Variants only in a very few cases where it interchanges with other moods, it has been treated in that connexion (§178). This leaves the Intensive, Causative, and Denominative. The interchanges concerning them are not numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, do they mark any very important conditions or tendencies in the language of the mantras.

1 INTENSIVE

§236 As the intensive is a fairly frequent form in the Veda, the natural affinity between such ideas as 'lead forth' 'drag out', 'call' 'clamor', 'kill' 'slaughter', etc., manifests itself in corresponding interchanges between intensive and primary verb. Occasionally the interchange is promoted by another, outside locution, thus in the example *tam sarasvantam avase huvema* (*havāmahe, johavīmi*), we detect contamination with RV 1 34 12 *śṛṇvantā vām avase johavīmi*, or RV 3 62 2 *śaśvattamam avase johavīti*. —In two examples, the last of our list, the form of the intensive itself is varied. —Of course all intensive forms are reduplicated, most of the alternative forms in the list are not reduplicated, but in the first four they likewise show reduplication: *pavamānasya jañghnatah* (SV PB *jighnatah*) RV SV PB *indro vrtrāni jighnate* (ŚŚ *jañghanat*) RV AV ŚŚ. The ŚŚ passage is in a different context.

aundrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nīdīdhyat (TS *nī dedhyat*, VSK *nīdītah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB. See §248.

sarasvatyā (AV *°tyām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v 1 *manā*, AV erroneously *manāv*, SMB *vanāva*, corrected in Jorgensen to *manāv*) *acar-kṛṣuh* (KS *acarkṛ°*, v 1 *acarkṛ°*, SMB *car-kṛdhī*, but Jorgensen *acarkṛṣuh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG. See §136. Jorgensen assumes that *acarkṛṣuh* is a phonetic variant of *acarkṛ°*, by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*, KS *johavīmi*) RVKh AV TS etc., see §78.

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG yūdhvam) ApŚ MŚ HG mā no 'to
 'nyat pitaro yuñgdhvam AŚ mā vo 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuata Kauś
 dakṣinam (and, savyam) pādām avanenije AB SMB GG imau pādāv
 avaniktau Kauś
 upaveṣopaviddhi nah TB ApŚ cf veṣo 'sy upaveṣo dviṣato grīvā upa
 veiddhi VSK
 yam tvām ayam (TS KS tvāyam) svadhitis tejāmānah (TS KS tetjānah,
 MS tigmatejāh) RV TS MS KS
 yad vāto apo (MS MŚ 'po) aḡanāḡan (TS KSA ApŚ aḡamat) VS TS
 MS KSA ApŚ MŚ
 ava devānām yaja heda agne AV agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS
 ikṣva) KS ApŚ Both iyakṣva and ikṣva are problematic, see §193
 pra bādhamānā (RV and p p of MS prabābadhānā) rathyeva yāti RV
 MS

Variant forms of Intensive

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB ni jalgulīti (KSA † ed jalgalīti by em, ms
 jalgalīti) dhānākā TS KSA Cf Whitney, Grammar 1002d, gal-
 galīti is irregularly reduplicated
 kanīkhudad va sāpayan TB canīkhudad yathāsapam AŚ Unintelli-
 gible stuff

2 CAUSATIVE

§237 The interchanges of the causative are grouped under four heads

a Perhaps the most frequent and typical are those in which a neuter verb with subject expressed or implied is transposed to causative verb with another subject. The nominative subject of the first form then becomes accusative object in the second form. Thus in one and the same text (AV), *vedar bhūmā akalpata*, 'the earth shaped itself into a vedi' *vedim bhūmim kalpayitvā*, 'he having shaped the earth into a vedi'. Or, in different texts, *apām sadhīṣi sīda* TS *apām tvā sadhīṣi* (MS † *sadhīṣu*) *sādayāmu* VS MS KS ŚB

b In a few cases, not all of them clear in their bearings, the causative still has causative meaning, being thus distinguished from the primary verb, but the subject and object remain the same, so that there is a more or less definite variation in the sense of the passage

c In a considerable number of cases, perhaps nearly as many as in the first group, causative and primary appear indifferently with the same meaning, these are, in other words, early examples of the fading out of the distinctive causative meaning of verb-forms in *aya*, which in

the later language becomes so noticeable, and which led in the Pāli-Pra-krit languages to the vast extension of the *-paya-* type, as a more clear and unmistakable causative formation

d Different forms of the causative

a *Causatives and primary verbs with transfusion of construction, resulting in equivalence of meaning in both clauses*

§238 There may be discovered in some of these cases a flavor of greater assurance or certainty in the causative form of expression, which would possibly bring these variants into the general sphere of modal variations. Nevertheless it seems to us that in general they are hardly more than mechanical equivalents. Besides the two cases mentioned above, we find

viśvāsu tvā dīkṣu sādāyāmi KS ApŚ *viśvāsu sīda* MS ApŚ MŚ
arnave tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB *arnave sadane sīda* TS

ApŚ

sarīre (MS *salile*) *tvā sadane sādāyāmi* VS MS KS ŚB *salile sadane sīda* TS

samudre tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB *samudre sadane sīda* TS
apām tvā kṣaye sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB *apām kṣaye sīda* TS

apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi samudrasyodmann avatas chāyāyām MS
MŚ *apām tvodman sādāyāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB *apām gam-bhan sīda* VS ŚB

prthivyā mūrdhan sīda yajñīye loke KS *prthivyās tvā mūrdhan sādāyāmi yajñīye loke* ApŚ

un nambhaya prthivīm TS MS KS ApŚ 'split open the earth' *pra nabhasva prthivi* AV 'burst open, O earth' AVPPP agrees with the others

evam aham āyusā medhayā varcasā samedhīṣīya SMB *evam mām āyusā samedhaya* ApMB HG Cf *brahmavarcasenānnādyena samedhaya* AG HG 'May I prosper (make me to prosper) with life' etc

brahmavarcasam māgamayāt TS 'let holy splendor come to me' *brahmavarcasam mā gamayet* Vait 'let him make holy splendor come to me'

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB ŚŚ *nā cakrā avṛtsata* MS † *apa cakrāni var-taya* TB ApŚ

dṛṇhantām davīr viśah kalpantām manuṣyāh KS † *kalpayatam davīr viśah kalpayatam mānuṣīh* TB ApŚ

ṛṣayah (sc *trpyantu*) AG ŚG (om) *ṛṣīns tarpayāmi* BDh Also with *nakṣatrāni*, etc

agnas tṛpyatu ŚG (om) *agnam tarpayāmi* BDh
brahmā (sc *tṛpyatu*) AG ŚG (om) *brahmānam tarpayāmi* BDh Also
 with *prajāpatiḥ*, *viṣṇuḥ*, *vāyuh*, etc
saṃjīvā (ApŚ AŚ **vikā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam amum*) *saṃjīva-*
yata MS AŚ (bis) ApŚ *saṃjīvā stha saṃjīvyāsam* AV
uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS
 MS KS ŚB *rohayamnam*, TA *rohemam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TA The TA version may be rendered at a pinch, 'ascend thou
 this highest heaven' But the meter, and text-chronology, show
 that it is really a corruption, phonetic in character (*aya*, *aye e*)
jaṇānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkah* RV SV 'Born, thou
 didst swell the sun (begetting the sun, thou didst swell him) with
 light'

We may add one similar case in which the reduplicated (causative)
 aorist figures, cf §201

ganān me mā vi tīṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ 'do not make my troops go
 thirsty' *ganā me mā vi tīṛṣan* VS TS ŚB 'may my troops not go
 thirsty'

§239 b *Causative and primary verbs with corresponding change of
 meaning*

te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛnvantu LŚ 'they (waters) shall flow, shall rain,
 shall perform' *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV 'they rain, they cause
 to rain'

mandūkyā su saṃgamah (TA *gamaya*) RV † TA *mandūky apsu śam*
bhuvah AV 'Unite (thyself, or, unite it, sc the ominous funeral
 fire) with the female frog' Addressed to the water-plant (or
 plants) which are spoken of in the preceding pādas The AV has
 a mere corruption TA comm reads *mandūkyāsu* (= *mandūka-*
plavanayogyāsu apsu) *saṃgamaya* (= *imam pretadeham prāpaya*,
 which is unintelligent)

(*vi na indra mṛdho jahī*) *kanīkkhunad va sūpayan* (AŚ *canīkkhudad yath-*
āsapam) TB AŚ Dubious, TB comm connects *kanīkkhunad* with
khan, cf Whitney, *Roots*, s v *khud*

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ See §30

Participles

viṣṇuḥ sipivṛṣta ūrāv (VSK *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS VSK *śipivṛṣta āsādītah*
 (KS °*vṛṣta ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS Both forms may be ren-
 dered by the English 'seated', yet the sense is not quite the same,
 since *sannah* is neuter (intransitive), 'having taken his seat', while
 the other forms mean 'having been (or being) seated, given a seat'

rucito gharmah MS KB ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ *rucito gharmo*
rucīya TA
deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā MS *rucitas tvam deva gharma deveṣu*
asī TA

c *Causative and primary verbs, both in the same sense*

§240 The line between this and the last group is not always easy to draw, but in most of the following instances, at any rate, there seems to be no real difference in meaning between the causative verb-form and the non-causative, while in the preceding we seem to find at least a shade of difference. The meaning is, of course, always transitive, unless middle, and generally the primary verb is capable of an intransitive meaning too, which may often be suspected of being the older. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether we should speak of 'causative in primary sense' or of 'primary in causative sense'. In the RV itself we find such pairs as

mādayasva (and, *mandasvā su*) *svarnare*, 'enjoy thyself at Svarnarū's sacrifice', or,

mitro janān yātayati *bruvānah*, 3 59 1, and *janam ca mitro yātati* *bruvānah*, 7 36 2 'calling himself Mitra, he orders (sets in order) the folk' (somewhat differently Geldner, *Ved St* 3 15ff). To find a difference in these cases would seem to us like hearing the grass grow. And, if possible even more surely, there cannot be the slightest difference in the following

ud vandanam arayatam svar dṛše 1 112 5, *ud vandanam aratam dansanābhik* 1 118 6, 'ye (Aśvins) brought forth Vandana' etc

In the Vāṅkhilya passages *yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah*, and, *yam te svadhāvan svadanti gūrtayah*, the form *svadayanti* may not be causative, see §194

§241 In the following list the approximation of the causative stem *janaya* to its primary correspondent is worthy of note. In the RV already it is practically impossible to differentiate these two forms in the active, as in 3 31 15, *indro ajanad sūryam* 9 110 3, *ajijano hi pavamāna sūryam*

tāsām stasṛ ajanayat (MS *sva ajanan*, KS † *stasṛ* [ms *stasūr*] *ajanan*)
pañca-pañca TS MS KS The TS is poor metrically
madhu janīṣye (AV *janīṣīya*) AV TS TA ŚŚ 'I shall (may I) generate honey' *madhu karīṣyāmi* *madhu janayīṣyāmi* *madhu bhavīṣyati*
 JB

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*, TS ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

arejetām (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV TB The meter shows that TB has a mere blunder, phonetic in character (hyper-Sanskritic *aya* for *e*, as a reaction against dialectic *e* for *aya*, our Phonetic Variants will show a considerable number of analogous cases) It is more or less the reverse of what has happened in the variant *uttamam nākam* etc, §238

ūrdhvām enām (VS ŚB LŚ also, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS ŚB also, *uc chrāpayā*, MS *uñ chrāpayā*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ Both forms (in adjoining verses in VS etc) mean simply 'lift her (him) up'

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ *°yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ *nākasya pr̥sthe sam iṣā madema* AV

nādhr̥ṣa ā dadhr̥ṣate (AA *dadhar̥ṣa*, ŚŚ *dadhar̥ṣayā*) AV AA ŚŚ See §140

ud dhar̥ṣantām maghavan vājīnānī AV *ud dhar̥ṣaya maghavanī* (AV *satvanām*) *āyudhānī* RV AV SV VS TS See §30 This variant properly belongs here since the difference in meaning between the verbs is obviously due to the difference of voice, not to that between causative and primary

prānam me tarpayata (ŚŚ *tṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

satyena tvābhīghārayāmī (AŚ *°bhīghharma*) TS MS AŚ MŚ 'I sprinkle thee with truth' Cf *satyābhīghṛtam* (KS *°tam asī*) *satyena tvābhīghārayāmī* MS KS

atharte dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva HG *atho yatheme dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read *°ntām*) AG *punar agnayo dhiṣṇyā* (ŚŚ *°yāso*) *yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva*, ŚŚ *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*) AV ŚB BrhU ŚŚ Cf *yathāsthānam kalpayadhvam* ApŚ

sūcībhīḥ samyantu (TS KSA *śmyantu*, MS *samayantu*) *tvā* VS TS MS KSA

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both *samyantu* and *samayantu* seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill' For *śmyantu* see Keith on TS 5 2 11 1

vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV 'Vaiśvānara the purifier shall purify me' *vaiśvānarah pavayān nah pavitrān* TA 'Vaiśvānara shall purify us with purifiers'

[*nama uccarighoṣāyākrandayate* VS TS *nama ākrandayata uccarighoṣāya* MS KS† The Conc quotes *ākrandata* for KS]

d *Different forms of the Causative*

§242 In a few cases the grade of the root varies between the *guna* and *vr̥ddhi* stages (Whitney, *Grammar* 1042e, g), and in one the stems *sūdaya* and *svadaya* interchange, but the 'causative' value is here somewhat dubious

yavayārātīh VS TS ŚB *yavayārātīm* (KS and MS p p *yāv°*) MS
KS Kauś

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS *yavayāsmad dveṣah* TS VS ŚB Kauś
yavaya (v 1 *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TS
vasoṣpate ni ramaya (N and 2 mss of AV *rām°*) AV N *vasupate ni*
ramaya MS

agnir havyam (RV KS *havīh*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV
VS TS MS KS The AV reading is metrically poor

[*tatra havyānu gāmaya* (KS Conc *gamaya*, but von Schroeder reads
gām° with one of three mss) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ]

3 DENOMINATIVE

§243 The variants under this head are few. Most of them concern different vocalism before the denominative sign *ya* *a*-stems appearing with *a* or *ā* (Whitney §1059 a, b), and variations between *i* and *ī*, zero and *ī*, in this position. These changes were possibly rhythmic in origin, compare §§259ff. below, and see our volume on Phonetics, which will deal more systematically with such cases.

devān devayate (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV
SV KS TB ApŚ MŚ

agne prehī prathamā devayātām (AV *devatānām*, MS KS *devāyatām*)
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV *amitrā°*) RV AV TS KS

janīyanti nāv agravaḥ AV *janīyanto nāv agravaḥ* RV SV AŚ ŚŚ

putrīyanti (AV *putrīyanti*) *sudānavah* RV AV SV. In the same stanza as the prec., the *ī* (*i*), in place of stem-final *a* (*putra*), is probably suggested by the *ī* (*i*) of *janīya-* (stem *jani*, *jani*), cf. however Whitney §1059d.

devā devebhyo (MS *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuh* VS
TS MS KS ŚB

apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan (TS *kavīyan*) RV SV TS KSA

The remaining variants are unclassifiable. In the next following, both *a*- and *aya*-stems are best regarded as denominatives (*dikṣā*)—*agnir dikṣataḥ pṛthivī dikṣā sāmā dikṣā dikṣayatu* (JB *dikṣeta*) JB
ApŚ. And others, see §§79, 160.

In a single case a sigmatic aorist from a denominative interchanges with a problematic reduplicated aorist made from a primary root
amāmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś °gam yathālokaṁ) *āvṛṣāyṛṣata*
 (AŚ °yṛṣata, ŚŚ *avīṛṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Kauś SMB
 GG KhG See §§201, 285

The stem *hṛnūya*, in *vājebhir mā hṛnūyathāh* SV *mā hṛnūthā abhy asmān* RV, is considered a denominative by some authorities, but see §195

CHAPTER VI INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

(In a broad sense, including participles, gerunds, etc.)

§244 We have previously dealt, as part of the chapter on modal variations, with a number of instances in which a perfect passive participle with or without copula interchanges with a modal form (§§143f). Those cases are to be regarded as part of this chapter also. Additional interchange between finite verbs and verbal nouns is found on a considerable scale, and is here treated under three aspects. First, a finite form interchanges with a verbal noun without copula, most commonly a past participle, which performs the same function as a finite verb. Second, the finite form exchanges with a periphrastic combination of verbal noun plus copula or similar verbal form. Thirdly, in a combination of two coordinate finite verb forms, one exchanges with an attributive verbal noun which leans on the other verb in syntactic dependence.

1 *Interchange between predicative finite verbs and independent predicative verbal nouns without copula*

§245 Such cases are quite numerous. The older grammar was in the habit of defining this type of verbal noun as the elliptic residue of a combination of verbal noun and copula, the copula being 'understood' or 'supplied'. These correspondences support the now generally accepted theory that the verbal nouns in question perform rather the function of predicate verbs, directly and of themselves. They are far more frequent than the cases in which the copula is expressed (see 2, below), the copula is quite superfluous and originally was, no doubt, expressed only for emphasis or for some special reason. A good example of the perfect equivalence of such finite verbs and verbal nouns, without copula, is seen in the opening pādas of RV 10.17.12 and 13 respectively: *yas te drapsa skandati yas te anśuh*, and *yas te drapsa skanno yas te anśuh*.

§246 In many of these cases the finite verb is active, the participle passive. These belong not only in this group, but also in the larger class of Active and Passive, see §§80ff. We begin with them: *yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya* PB *yunaṣṣu tisro vimṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *tisro vimṛtah sūryah sava* [iti]) TS ApŚ MŚ

- yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ
- manyunā kṛtam* BDh *manyur akārṣīt* TAA MahānU ApDh
śirasā dhārayiṣyāmi (MahānU *dhāritā devī*) TA MahānU
caritrāns te kundhāmi VS ŚB *śuddhāś caritrāh* TS ApŚ
stomasya dhāman nikitam (KS *nyadhām*) *purīṣyam* MS KS
āpāma manasā VS ŚB KŚ (VS comm *prāptavantah*) *āptam manah*
 TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ
- upasṛjāmi* ApŚ MŚ *upasṛṣṭah* ŚB
- yasmīn devā adhi viśve viśeduh* (Mbh *viśaktāh*) RV AV TB TA Ma-
 hānU ŚvetU NṛpU N Mbh (ed Sukthankar, 1 3 65c)
- hato me pāpmā* AG MG *pāpmā me hatah* AG *pāpmānam te 'pahan-*
mah KS *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś 'pa jahī) MG Kauś And
 others, see Conc under *pāpmānam me*
āhatam (VS ŚB *āhanti*) *gabhe pasah* VS TS KSA ŚB TB *āhatam*
paso nicalcalīti MS
- hataś te atrinā krimah* (GG *kṛ*) SMB GG KhG *atrinā tvā krime han-*
mi TA ApŚ *atrivad vah krimayo hanmi* AV 'Slain is thy worm by
 Atri', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (like) Atri'
- atharīṣām bhinnakah kumbhah* SMB 'then their receptacle has been
 miserably smashed' (imprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous,
 diminutive) *bhinnadmi te kuṣumbham* AV (for which Ppp has,
atko bhinnadmi tam kumbham)
- ghanena hanmi vṛścikam* RVKh AV *hatam vṛścika te viṣam* Mahābh
apiśīrnā u prṣṭayah and, *prṣṭūr api śrñimasi* AV (both)
- nithunam karnayoh kṛdhi* (SMB *kṛtam*) AV SMB 'Mark the pair (of
 calves, or, the pair is marked) on the ears'
- śraddhāyām prāne nivīṣyāmṛtam hutam* (TAA *nivīṣto 'mṛtam juhomi*)
 TA TAA MahānU BDh VHDh *amṛtam ca prāne juhomi* Prā-
 nāgU Also with *apāne, udāne, vyāne, samāne*, and the same with-
 out the word *śraddhāyām*, see Conc
- [*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhrato*) *jāta-vedāh* AV KS *yatra-yatra jāta-*
vedah sambabhūtha (TB Bibl Ind ed 'va, Poona ed correctly 'tha)
 TB ApŚ But both AV (most mss *bibhṛto* or *bibhrato*) and KS
 (v 1 *bibhṛto*) are very obscure, it is questionable whether the
 variant belongs here]

§247 In a smaller group the finite verb is middle (reflexive) with active value. Again the interchange is in effect the same as between active and passive, to be regarded in connexion with those treated in §80ff

teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh *yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS ApMB *sadah*)
kṛtam VS TS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *ye apsu śadānsi* (KS 'psu
sadānsi) *cakṛire* MS KS 'Their (whose) seat was made in the
 waters' 'who made their (own) seats in the waters'
tvam yajñeṣv idyah RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *tvām yajñeṣv idate*
 RV

antar dadhe parvatāḥ HG ApMB 'I interpose with the mountains'
antarhātā girayah ŚG 'the mountains have been interposed'
antar dadha ṛtubhīḥ HG ApMB *antarhātā ma ṛtavah* ŚG As prec
rocate VADh *rocitam* MDh
dakṣinam (and, *savyam*) *pādām avanenīje* AB SMB GG KhG 'I scrub
 the right (left) foot' *īmau pādāv avanīktau* Kauś (in different
 connection), 'these two feet have been washed'

§248 In the majority of cases, however, the verbal remains upon the same plane with the finite verb, whether active or middle, that is, both predicates, whatever their forms, express the predicative idea in the same voice. The difference between this and the class just listed will be made clear by contrasting the variant *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam*, etc., above, in which the middle with active meaning exchanges with a passive participle, with the following

nānā hi vām devahitam sadas (TB ApŚ *sadah*) *kṛtam* (TB * ApŚ * *sado*
mītam) VS MS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *nānā hi devaś cakṛe*
sado vām KS Here *cakṛe* (see Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, December 1906, p. 10) is passive in force, like *kṛtam* 'variously by the gods a seat has been made for you'

pūrvo ha (TA MahānU *hi*) *jātah* (JUB *yajñe*) *sa u garbhe antah* VS
 TA ŚvetU MahānU ŚīrasU JUB *prathamō jātah* etc AV
 'he was the first born (of old), and he is yet within the womb'

yo agnir agner adhyaṣṭyāyata (TS MS KS *agnes tapaso 'dhi jātah*) VS
 TS MS KS ŚB

yas ta ātmā paśuṣu pravīṣtah TB ApŚ MŚ *yas te prānah paśuṣu pra-*
viṣtah KŚ VSK *yā te tanūḥ pītṛṣv āviveṣa* AV Here the participle, tho passive in form, is active in meaning, since the verb is intransitive

ya āvīṣto rayasū yo mṛgeṣu AV *vayānsi ya āviveṣa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS
 ApŚ

dīkṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanah MS MŚ *dīkṣito 'yam brāhmanah* ŚB
adīkṣiṣṭāyam brāhmanah TS ApŚ

andṛa udāno aṅge-aṅge nīdhātah (VSK *nīdhīhe*) VS VSK ŚB *andṛo*
 'pāno (and, *vyāno*) *aṅge-aṅge vibobhuvat* (MS † *ni bo*°, KS *nīdhīhyat*)

TS MS KS This and the following item are full of morphological and etymological problems. Perhaps render 'Udāna (etc.) from Indra has been sucked (?) into every limb'. On the active *nīdīdhyat* cf. the next.

andrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nīdīdhyat (TS *nī dedhyat*, VSK *nīdhītah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Cf. prec. The active is anomalous, Mahidhara, *nīhītah*, Keith, 'may be set'. It seems that it cannot be transitive.

yatrā (MS **yatra*) *nah pūrve pītarah paretāh* (RV MS **pareyuh*) RV AV MS (both) *yenā te pūrve pītarah paretāh* AV

yasmād bhīṣā samajñaptāh (ApŚ *samajñāsthāh*) ŚŚ ApŚ 'from fear of which thou (the animal victim) hast been slain (from that make us exempt)'

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś *rāddham*) VS TS TA Kauś *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ MŚ GG v 1 °*rātsam*, the correct reading) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG See §§28, 85. As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first group above.

om svadhocyatām AG *astu svadhetī vaktavyam* Vait *prakṛtebhyah svadhocyatām* YDh

ṛtubhih prabhuh (KS *prābhavat*) TS KS

samvatsarena paribhūh (KS *paryabhaval*) TS KS

somāya vaca udyatam (SV *ucyate*) RV SV

bāhū rājanyah kṛtah (AV °*nyo 'bhavat*) RV AV VS TA VāDh

tapasā ye svar yayuh (TA *suvar gatāh*) RV AV TA

amṛtalwāya ghosayah (SV °*yan*) RV SV. The subject is soma, there is no finite verb in the passage with the SV reading (nom sg act pple). Cf. next.

bradhnah samīcīr uṣasah sam arayat (AV °*yan*) AV SV ApŚ MŚ. With the AV reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whitney reads *arayat* with the rest, but cf. prec.

vācaspatē 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham hotrām arayat (KS °*yant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ omits) ŚB TA ŚŚ KS

vavakṣa (3 sg perf mid) *ṛṣvo asṛtah* RV AV *vavakṣur* (adj, desiderative) *ugro asṛtah* TB ApŚ

vaśāyā dugdham apīban, and (next vs) *va° dugdham pītā*, AV

patnī yīyapsyate (ŚŚ *yīyapsyamānā*) *jaritah* AŚ ŚŚ

varebhir varān abhi śu pra sīdatah (ApMB °*ta*) RV ApMB. In RV a gen sg pple, agreeing with Indra, *varebhir* applies to the Maruts, is *sīdata* of ApMB addressed to them?

[*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS MS ŚB *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* TA 4 7 2 and 5 6 6 So Poona ed in both places Conc with Bibl Ind ed quotes *gatah* for 4 7 2, this is read by one ms and comm in Poona ed]

Anticipations of the Periphrastic Future in -tā

§248a We group separately a few variants in which the verbal noun which varies with a finite verb is the nominative of a *nomen agentis* in -*tar*. These forms are, of course, interesting as precursors of the later periphrastic future, cf Whitney §946. They are found varying with the present indicative, imperative (including that in *tāt*), optative, and injunctive (? subjunctive), the copula is not used with them.

yo dāśuṣaḥ sukrto havam eti (TS MS KS *havam upa gantā*) AV TS MS KS

somah punānah kalaśeṣu sīdati (and, *sattā*) RV (both)
yantā no avrkam chardih, pra no yachatād (*prāsmar yachatam*) *avrkam prthu chardih* RV (all)

gamat sa (*gamema, sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV (all). On *gamat*, commonly regarded as subj but taken by us as *a-aor* injunctive because of *gamema*, see §174.

2 *Interchange between finite form and periphrasis of verbal noun and copulative verb*

§249 We have drawn attention above to the rarity of this construction compared with the use of the verbal noun without copula as predicate. In the first two of the following brief list we have variation between active and passive constructions, as in §246 above.

ahnā yad enah kṛtam asti kim cit (ŚŚ *enaś cakṛmeḥ kim cit*, ApŚ MŚ ApMB *asti pāpam*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

ayam vai tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhijāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayam jāyatām punah* VS ŚB TA KŚ Kar-map *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhi jāyatām asau* (AG *asau svargāya lokāya*) *svāhā* AG Kauś *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatām* JB

kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt (SV *paricakṣi nāma*) RV SV TS MS N *devo devebhyah pavaśva* VS ŚB *devo devānām pavitram asi* TS MS KS *viśvā rūpāni pari tā babhūva* (AV *paribhūr jajāna*) AV VS ŚB

tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyumānaś ca ApMB *vardhiṣimahi ca vayam ā ca pyāyīṣimahi* (MS MŚ *pyāyīṣimahi*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG

prathasva VS ŚB *pratho* 's TS MS KS ApŚ

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham paśubhiś ca brāhmaṇavarcaśena ca ruciṣīya (MS *tvam rucyā rocasa evam aham rucyā rociṣīya*) AV MS

And similarly *sa yathā tvam bhrājatā* etc, see §57

rociṣīyāham manuṣyeṣu TA *surucitam mām devamānuṣyeṣu kuru* MS
kuru is a sort of causative copula

3 Interchange between one of two coordinate verbs and a verbal noun dependent on the other verb

§250 These cases are much commoner than either of the two preceding groups. The verbal noun, whether participle, gerund, or other non-finite form, takes the place of a finite form in cases where there is another finite verb upon which the verbal noun may lean as an attributive, and vice versa. Or, stated otherwise, two correlative finite verbs exchange with a finite verb and a dependent verbal noun. We might antecedently have expected that there would appear a tendency for later texts to tend to prefer the dependent verbal noun, but we are unable to discover any clear evidence for such a tendency among the variants.

varcayā mukham mā na āyuh pramoṣih HG 'make lustrous our face, do not steal our life' *śundhi śro māsyāyuh pra moṣih* AG PG ApMB MG 'purify his head, do not steal his life' *śumbham mukham mā na āyuh pra moṣih* AV 'purifying our face, do not steal our life'. In AV Whitney proposes to read with one ms. and Ppp *śumbhan*, he calls *śumbham* unintelligible, but it seems to us interpretable as a gerund (Whitney, *Grammar*, §995) SPP *śubham*.

(*manāṣibhiḥ pavate pūrvyah kavir, nṛbhir yataḥ pari kośān acikradat,*) *tritasya nāma janayan madhu kṣarad,* (*indrasya vāyoh sakhyāya kartave*) RV 9 86 20, 'thru the wise (sacrificers) the sage of yore (Soma) purifies himself, held by men he bath shouted thru the vessels. Begetting the name of Trita he shall make flow honey in order to procure the friendship of Indra and Vāyu'. In SV 2 172c the participle *kṣaran*, 'flowing', replaces the finite verb *kṣarat*, 'shall make flow', the construction is equally easy either way, because *kṣaran* leans on the finite verb of the first line. This type of interchange between RV and SV will be found several other times below.

(*ā tvā vatso gamed ā kumāra*) *ā dhenavaḥ sāyam āsyandamānāḥ* AV (*enām śiśuḥ krandatv ā kumāra*) *ā syandantām dhenavo nityavatsāḥ* ŚG (*ā tvā śiśur ā krandatv*) *ā gāvo dhenavo vāśyamānāḥ* PG

vājino vājajito 'dhvana skabhnuvanto yojanā mumānāh kāṣṭhām gachata
 VS ŚB *adhvānam skabhnuvanto yojanā mumānāh kāṣṭhām gachata*
 MS *vi yojanā mumādhvam adhvana skabhnūta kāṣṭhām gachata* TS
 Here two participles, dependent on a following finite verb, vary
 with two finite verbs correlative with the latter

ghnantō (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāny apratī* AV TS MS KS ApŚ The
 interchanging forms are preceded by finite verbs

[*indra va vṛtrahā tiṣṭha* (MS *dasyuhā bhava*),] *apah kṣetrāni samjayan*
 (MS °*ya*) MS TB ApŚ

āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (MS KS °*tā*) *anhrutam* RV SV ArS VS
 MS KS LŚ ApŚ *āyur yajñapatāv adhāt* (JB *ayām*) AB JB ŚB
 TB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ Each is the 2d pāda of its stanza, but
 the two stanzas are otherwise wholly different However, each has
 a parallel finite verb in pāda a, on which the pple *dadhat* depends
pari dyāvāpṛthivī sadya āyam (VS *itvā*) AV VS Followed by (different)
 finite verbs

tam tvābhūh suṣṭutibhir vājayanta, ājīm na jagmur gurvāho aśvāh RV
tam tvā guraḥ suṣṭutayo vājayanty, ājīm na gurvavāho jiggyur aśvāh SV
anavahāyāsmān (KS adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS *patheta*,
 KS *pathā yati*) *sukṛtām loke sidata* (KS *sida*) TS MS KS

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakubhi* (TB Poona ed also °*bhi*,
 but comm and Bibl Ind ed °*bhūh*, comm gloss *uttamāṅge*, MS
kakubbhūh, AV *kakudī*) *śisriyānah* (AV TB *śrayasva*) AV TS
 MS TB Followed in all by *talo na ugro vi bhajā vasūni*

viśvāvasur abhi tan no grnātu, divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānah, yad vā
ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhīyo hinvāno dhīya in no avyāh RV
 TA *vīrebhur adhi tan no grnāno, rajaso vimāno, yad vā ghā satyam*
uta yan na vidma, dhīya invāno dhīya in no avyāt MS (apparently
 defective and corrupt)

[*upa no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS *utā no mitrāvarunā ihāgatam*)]
anvādīdhyaṭhām iha (MS *manmā dīdhyanā utā*) *nah sakhyā* MS
 TB TA

dāsyann adāsyann uta samgrnāmi (TA *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV TA
dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyyah MS *yad vādāsyann samjagārā*
janebhyyah TB Ppp also reads *vā kariṣyan* for *samgrnāmi* of AV
 6 71 3 For others, see §231

uśasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat (so read with Poona ed of TB) TB
 ApŚ *uśām-uśām śreyasīm dhehy asmai* AV Joined in TB ApŚ to
 what in AV is the next verse, ending *rāyaspoṣam iṣam ūrjam*
asmāsu dhehi TB ApŚ, *aśām ūrjam rayim asmāsu dhehi* AV

tīrah purū cid arnavam jagannvān (SV °vān jagamyāh) RV AV SV
Preceded in RV AV by *vavṛtyām* (SV *vavṛtyuh*)

[*vyarti dhūmam aruṣam* (MS KS °ṣo) *bharibhṛad*] *uc chukrena śociṣā dyām inakṣan* (TS ApMB °kṣat) RV VS TS KS MS ApMB
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 299

upasṛjan (AŚ °jam, ŚG *upa sṛjam*) *dharunam mātṛe* (AB AŚ omīṭ mātṛe) *dharuno mātaram* (AB AŚ LŚ MŚ *mātaram dharuno*, ApŚ *mātarā dharuno*) *dhayan* (followed by, *rāyas poṣam asmāsu dīdharat*) VS AB ŚB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG But the reading -*sṛjam* is doubtful, perhaps -*sṛjan* is to be read everywhere 'Loosing (I have loosed) the suckling (to his dam), the suckling as he milks his dam—may he maintain growth of wealth among us'

[*rdhad yas te sudānave*] *dhayā martah śasamate*, [ūti śa brhato divo, divo anho na tarati] RV 'der mann gedeihet welcher dir dem reichen dienet andachtsvoll, er durch des grossen himmels schutz durchsetzt den feind wie eine schlucht' (Grassmann) [*sa ghā yas te divo nara*] *dhayā martasya samatah*, [ūti sa brhato divo, divo anho na tarati] SV (very corrupt, hardly deserves citation under this rubric, *śamatah* gen sg pple with *martasya*)

sahasraṇaṣam puṣyanti paramena paśunā krīyasva (KS *krīyase*) MS KS *paramena paśunā krīyase sahasraṇaṣam puṣeyam* VS ŚB *tasyās te sahasraṇaṣam puṣyantiyās paramena paśunā krīnāmi* TS *saha jarāyūnāva sarpatu* (ApMB °yūnā niṣkramya) HG ApMB Prec by *ejatu* in both For other forms of the variant see §329

[*hinvāno vācam یشyasī*, *paramāna vidharmanī*] *akrān devo na sūryah* RV [*jayāno vācam یشyasī*, *pavamāna vidharmanī*] *krādam devo na sūryah* SV

tā devīr devatremam yajñam nayata (KS *krtvā*, TS MS *dhatta*), followed by *upahūtāh somasya pibata*, VS TS MS KS ŚB

dīrgham āyur yajamānāya kṛnvan (MŚ *vinda*) TB ApŚ MŚ, followed in TB ApŚ by *aṅgdhi*, in MŚ by *āśīdasva*

te (masc plur) *no nakṣatre havam āgamiṣthāh* ('most coming', followed by *juṣantām*) TB 3 1 1 6c *te* (fem dual) *no nakṣatre havam ā gametam* (2 dual opt) TB 3 1 3 1d

svargān (AŚ text *svagān*, Vait *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ °tah, Vait *jayema*) SV AŚ ŚŚ Vait Preceded by *agman* AŚ, if not corrupt, understands *ayatah* as nom plur pple, cf §306

avimuktacakra (sc *tīre*) *āsīran* PG *vivṛttacakra* (sc *prajāh*) *āsīnāh* ApMB HG (here preceded by *āhuh*)

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc charīram*) *payasā sameti* (TB *sametya*) TB Vait Followed by *bhavati*

- patyur anuvratā bhūtvā* AV *agner anuvratā bhūtvā* TS KS TB MŚ
ApMB *mām anuvratā bhava* HG The first two versions are followed by finite verbs
- sarāh patatrīnīh sthāna* (KS *stha*) TS MS KS *sarā patatrīnī bhūtvā* AV (here followed by *ehi*) *sīrāh patatrīnī sthāna* RV VS
- abhyarṣan* (SV *abhy arṣa*) *stotṛbhya vīravād yaśah* RV SV In both *pavate* precedes
- (*ā te yatante rathyo yathā pṛthak*) *chardhānsy agne ajarāni* (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV SV MS ApŚ See §27
- tīṣṭhann* (GB *caratv*) *āśīno yadi vā svapann api* ŚB GB Prec in both by *śramād anyatra parivartamānah* (not °nāh as Conc reads)
- (*vi yat pavitram dhṛṣṇān atānvata*) *gharmam śocantah* (AŚ *śocanta*, ŚŚ °tam) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bībhṛatah* AB AŚ ŚŚ We have no confidence in the edition of AŚ on such a reading as *śocanta*
- abandhv eke dadatah prayachanto, dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva* AV 'some without relatives, giving, bestowing—if they be able to give, that is very heaven' (Whitney) *abandhv eke dadata prayachād, dātum cec chaknuvānsah svarga eṣām* TA Both forms are poor and probably corrupt In TA read *dadatah* with comm and Poona ed text, probably also *chaknavān* (or better °vān) *sa* with Poona ed text, which notes v l *chaknuvānsah*, the comm explains *prayachāt* as *prayachanti*, which suggests that *prayachān* is to be read with AVPpp
- caratv ananuvratā* ApMB HG *vicaranty apatavratā* ŚG MDh Both preceded by finite *pralulubhe* or *pralulobha*
- trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān* (MS °gah) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS °pan) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ °gān l lokān) KS ApŚ Followed by *gacha* See §130
- yajāno* (or *yajā no*, so Garbe's ed of ApŚ, followed by Caland's Transl, the others all *yajāno*, MS p p *yajānah*, some mss *yajamāno*, TB comm interprets as pple) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajarah svīrah* (associated with *gopāya nah*) MS TB AŚ ApŚ It is questionable whether *yajā no* has any standing
- datto* (= *datta u*) *asmabhyam* (KS *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB *dattāśma*°) *dravneha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravnam yac ca bhadram* MS Followed by sundry finite verbs
- sa īm vṛṣājanayat* (KS *vṛṣā janayans*) *tāsu garbham, sa īm śīśur dhayati tam rihanti* RV KS The Conc suggests emendation of KS to *-janayat*, but von Schroeder keeps his text, which is no doubt interpretable if somewhat harsh

śatam jīvantu (AV °*tah*) *śaradah purūcīh* RV AV VS ŚB TB TA
ApŚ ApMB Followed by *antar* (tiro) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (dadhmahe)
parvalena

āprīnānu vījahatā arātīm (TB ApŚ *saṃjānānu vījahatām arātīr*), *dvi*
(KS *dive*) *jyohir uttamam* (TB ApŚ *ajaram*) *ārabhethām* (TB
ApŚ °*tām*) MS KS TB ApŚ *vījahatā(u)*, dual pple, °*tām*, 3 dual
impv

prajāṃ ajaryām nah kuru, rāyas poṣena sam sṛpa SMB *prajāṃ suvī-*
rām (PG *suwīryām*) *krtvā, visvam* (PG *dīrgham*) *āyur vy āśnavat*
(PG °*vai*) TS PG

ahar-ahar (AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*, MS KS ŚB * *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayā-*
vam bharantah AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *ahar-ahar balim it te*
harantah AV *visvāhā te sadam id bharema* AV Followed by
finite verb

(*upakṣaranti juhvo ghṛtena*) *prīyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayanti* (sc *srucah*)
TB *abhakṣaranti juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā parūṅsi tava vardhayanti* (one
ms °*tī*, pointing also to °*tīh*) Vait

sa pūrvavaj janāyañ (TA ApŚ °*yaj*) *janāve dhanam* RV PB TA ApŚ
Followed by *pary eti* (*pari yāti*) in next pāda The secondary char-
acter of *janāyaj* (so!) in TA is emphasized by its retention of the
accent of *janāyan*

tat tvam ārohaṣa medhyo bhava TA (Poona ed *bhavam*, but v 1 and
comm *bhava*), 'do thou, O spirit, ascend, become sacrificial' *tad*
ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan AV 'ascend that, O man, becoming
sacrificial' See Whitney's Transl and note Most mss do not
accent *bhavan*

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB °*yet*) AB
GB Gaastra considers GB corrupt

dyumnām vṛṇīta puṣyase (KS *varela puṣyatu*) RV VS TS MS KS
ŚB *dyumne varela puṣyatu* KS Cf §163 *puṣyase* is infinitive
tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG *cendhi*) AG HG The word *indhi*
(*iddha*) is better taken, with Oldenberg, as part of the following
phrase, *vardhaya cāsmān* (in both)

ahīnś ca sarvāñ jambhaya, sarvāś ca yātudhānyo, 'dharācīh parā suva' KS
ahīns ca sarvāñ (TS °*vāñ*) *jambhayan, sarvāś ca yātudhānyah* (VS
MS °*dhānyo*, 'dharācīh parā suva') VS TS MS

dhvāntam vātāgram anvasamcarantau (PB *abhasam*°) TS PB TB PG
ApMB *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss *vātāgnim*, both texts) *abhi ye sam*
caranti MŚ MG The principal verb follows in the last pāda

sāhyāma (RV *sāhvānsa*) *dasyum avratam* RV SV Prec in both by 1
plur finite verbs

samānam yonim anu samcarantī (AV MS °carete) RV AV TS MS KS ApMB Followed by *caratah* The ed of KS reads °carete also, but the single ms °carante, which as the editor observes might quite as well stand for °carantī

ādityam garbhām payasā sam añgdhī (TS KS *samañjan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *parivṛñgdhī*

ubhāyor lokayor ṛddhvā (MŚ ṛdhnoma) TB TAA ApŚ MŚ Followed by (*ati*) *larāmi*

[*punāno vāram pary ety* (SV *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam*] *śyeno na yonim ghṛtavantam āsadam* (SV °dat) RV SV ApŚ *āsadam* is infin, 'to sit', SV makes it a finite verb, 'he has sat', which goes very ill with the 2d person *eṣi* which SV substitutes for RV *eti* Compare the pāda *śyeno na yonim āsadat*, RV etc, which seems to have influenced SV

janīyanti nāv agravah, putriyanti sudānavah AV *janīyanto nā agravah, putriyanti sudānavah* RV SV (followed by *havāmahe*)

[*vṛṣṭim dvah pavasva rītim apām* (SV *apo*)] *janvā* (SV *janvan*) *gaviṣṭaye dhīyah* RV SV

gyok ca sūryam dṛṣe (LŚ *dṛṣeyam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA LŚ Kauś ApMB HG

(*parārciṣā mūradevāñ chrñīti*) *parāsutṛpāh koṣucatah ṣṇñīti* (RV °tṛpo *abhiṣoṣucānah*) RV AV

devā amuñcann (AV *muñcanto*) *asṛjan vy* (AV *nir*) *enasah* AV TB HG ApMB

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ See Keith, AA 285, note 7

(*yo*) *hṛdārātīyād* (KS °yann) *abhiḍāsad agne* KS TB ApŚ Caland on ApŚ not unnaturally thinks of reading *abhiḍāsād*, to match *arātīyād*, but KS is against it

marmṛjyante (SV *marjayantīr*) *dvah śisum* RV SV Prec by *abhy anūśata*

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣtam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS KS *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim āviśanti* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

ut tiṣṭha (VS ŚB KŚ *utthāya*) *bṛhatī* (TA *bṛhan*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA KŚ MŚ

(*yad dha krānā vivasvati*) *nābhā samdāya navyasī* (*adha pra sū na upa yantu dhītayah*) RV (*yad dha krānā vivasvate*) *nābhā samdāya navyase* (*adha pra nūnam upa yantu dhītayah*) SV

stuṣeyyam puruvarpasam ṛbhvam RV AV N *stuṣa varṣman puruvart-*

mānam samṛbhvānam AV *stuṣeṣya* is a gerundive formation, 'him that should be praised', dependent on a verb of the prec stanza. In the other form a different stanza precedes, and the finite *stuṣva* (which, as impv, transfuses the same idea into other words) is therefore substituted

venas tat paśyat paramam guhā yat (VS *paśyan nihatam guhā sat*, TA MahānU *paśyan viśvā bhuvanāni vidvān*) AV VS TA MahānU
Here there is no verb on which the participle *paśyan* can depend, TA comm lamely supplies *variate*

[*bradhnaḥ samīr uśasah samairayat* (AV °*yan*) AV SV ApŚ MŚ
Again there is no finite verb here on which the pple might depend, and Whitney adopts the SV reading]

[*ariṣṭair nah pathibhah pārāyantā* (GB °*tu*) RV TS MS KS AB GB
But GB is merely corrupt Gaastra reads with one ms °*tā* (dual pple)]

[*dansanābhīr aśvinā pārāyantā* (TB °*tām*) RV TB Poona ed also °*tām*, but comm °*tā*, dual pple, which is the only possible form, a plural verb being uninterpretable]

CHAPTER VII INTERCHANGES BETWEEN EQUIVALENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

§251 The variants avail themselves freely of the possibilities of equivalent personal verb endings. The ranging of these interchanges covers nearly all the grammatical territory concerning this matter. We deal with them as follows:

1 *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*

2 Subjunctive endings in *si* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *ta*, *vahe* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*

3 Imperatives in *tāt* interchanging with other imperatives

4 Presence or absence of imperative 2d singular *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*

5 Second plural active endings with or without final *na*

6 Endings in *a* sometimes rhythmically lengthened to *ā*

7 Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

1 *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*

§252 There are two variations between *ram* and *ran* with wavering chronological indications (RV *adṛśram*, AV *adṛśran*, but also RV *aṣṭgran*, SV *aṣṭgram*). On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in *re* and *rīre*, (Whitney, *Grammar* §550d) the more archaic forms in *re*, *duduhre* and *dadṛśre*, belong to RV, *duduhrīre* and *dadṛśrīre* to later texts. Unexpectedly, archaizing *r*-endings replace the normal 3 sing imperfect middle *adhata* (RV AV) in *adhadrāh* (SV), *adadhrām* (KS), and *athadrām* (TA, corrupt). Very anomalously the form *adṛśran* seems to be used as an active in several YV texts, only TS NīlarU having the regular *adṛśan*. And the 3 plural present middle *duhate* varies with *duhate*, not only once in the RV itself, but also once between RV and AV, the AV showing the more archaizing *duhate ghṛtam duhrata* (and, *duhata*) *āśīram* RV (both). See *RVRep* 137, 562, and next.

te dakṣinām duhate (AV *te duhate dakṣinām*) *saptamātaram* RV AV

See prec

aṣṭgran (SV *ram*) *devavītaye* RV SV

adṛśram (AV * ArS MS KS MŚ °rann) *asya ketavah* RV AV (both)
ArS VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ

trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh °hrīre) RV SV Svidh
Here the SV smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an
otherwise jagati stanza, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 287

śrīgānāvec chrīgānām sam dadṛśre (TB ApŚ °srīre) RV KB TB ApŚ
Here the stanza is *triṣṭubh*

śerate (AB šere) 'sya sarve *pāpmānah* AB ŚŚ On these forms see Whitney,
Grammar §§550d, 629 The AB, in an *anuṣṭubh* stanza, has
better meter, Hillebrandt suggests deletion of 'sya in ŚŚ

apa snehātīr (SV *snīhātīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhadrāh*, KS *adadrām*)
RV AV SV KS *upa stuhī* (Poona ed *snuhi*) *tam nṛmnām atha-*
drām TA In RV, 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the
enemies' The *r*-forms of even SV and KS are highly problem-
matic, as to TA, the only certain thing about it is that it is badly
corrupted, and this applies to more than the one word *athadrām*
(the comm has a v l *athodrām*, its gloss is *adhodravanāsilam*!)

utainam gopā adṛśran (TS *adṛśan*) VS TS MS KS *uta tvā gopā*
adṛśan NīlarU The anomalous *adṛśran* is obviously felt as 3
plural with active meaning, Mahīdhara, *paśyantī* It might, per-
haps, be included under variations between active and middle
without change of meaning, §38ff This variant is followed in
VS TS by *adṛśrann* (TS † *adṛśann*) *udahāryah* VS TS

2 Subjunctive endings in *sī* and *s*, *tī* and *t*, *te* and *taī*, *vahe* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*

§253 These optional endings of the subjunctive interchange, in
general without chronological indications, but metrical criteria are
sometimes involved, since the shorter endings *s* and *t* help to produce
shorter lines As to the *e* and *ai* endings the phonetic relations between
these two sounds must be considered, as set forth in §26, and further-
more some of the *e*-forms may be considered indicatives, cf §§118, 124
yathā nah subhagāsasī (AV *sumanā asah*) RV AV TA

yathā nah suphalāsasī (AV *suphalā bhuvah*) RV AV TA

subheṣajam yathāsati (AV °sī, LŚ °sat) AV TS MS KS LŚ (the last
secondary and metrically poor)

viprā gātham gāyata yaj juṣṣatī (AA °ṣat) AA ŚŚ *viprāya gātham*
gāyata yaj juṣṣate SV

sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat (and once, *havanāni joṣat*) KS (ter)
sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS *havanā juṣṣa*) TS MS *sa no*
vīśvāni havanāni joṣat VS ŚB

teṣām yo ajyānīm ('jyānīm) *ajītim āvahāt* TS SMB † (in Jorgensen as TS) PG BDh *teṣām ajyānīm* (MŚ °nam) *yatamo na āvahāt* (AV *yatamo vahāti*) AV KS MŚ

anu nau śūra mansate (TS °tai) RV TS KSA

yā na ūrū uśatī vīśrayāte (AV °ti, ApMB HG *vīśrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG

pari śvajāte (AV °tai) *libujeva vṛkṣam* RV AV N

pra yah satrācā (TB *sa vācā*) *manasā yaajāte* (TB °tai) RV TB

(*net tvā*) *dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TA (*net tvā*) *dadhr̥g vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV AV See §§234c, 27

yam jīvam aśnavāmahaḥ (MS °he) RV AV VS TS MS KS

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV °hai) RV SV

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS °hai) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV MS But in §124 we have treated *sacāvahe* as indicative

3 Imperatives in tāt exchanging with other imperatives

§254 On this interchange see §150 It begins in the RV itself, in the first of the following list, where there is reason to regard the form in *tāt* as the older, see §100

pra no yachātād avṛkam pṛthu chardih RV 1 48 15 *prāsmāi yachatam avṛkam pṛthu chardih* RV 8 9 1

vīśūcīnān (VSK °nā) *vīśasyatām* (VSK °tāt) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *ūrdhvām enām* (or, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS *ŚB * MS *chrāpaya*) VS (both) TS MS KSA ŚB (both) TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ

nir anhasah pipṛtā (TB °tān) *nir avadyāt* RV VS MS TB Is TB (both editions, text and comm) reliable? Comm *pipṛtāt pālayata punar māviśatād* (MŚ °tāni) *rayih* VS TS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

sā (HG *sa*) *mām āviśatād iha* (MG *āviśatām ihaiva*) ApMB HG MG *sā medhā viśatād u mām* RVKh 10 151 3d (correct reference in Cone) For RVKh Scheftelowitz reads exactly as ApMB

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmṛāgyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*, MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ

etam jānātha (TB *jānītāt*, KS *jānīta*) *parame vyoman* VS KS ŚB TB *jānīta smānam* (TS MŚ *jānītād enam*) *parame vyoman* AV TS MŚ See §104, s

īstāpurte kṛnavāthāvir (VSK ŚB *kṛnavāthāvir*, TS TB MŚ *kṛnutād āvir*) *asmar* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB MŚ *īstāpūrtam* (AV °tam *smā*) *kṛnutād āvir* (AV *kṛnutāvir*) *asmar* AV KS The patchword *smā* in AV suggests that its reading is likely to be secondary

jastrāyā (ApMB HG °tryāyā) *visatād u mām* (ApMB °lām mām, HG °lām mām) RVKh VS ApMB HG

4 Presence or absence of imperative 2 sing ending *dhī* (*hī*), and interchange between *dhī* and *hī*

§255 As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with *dhī* or *hī* should be anterior to those without ending, and *dhī* anterior to *hī*, and the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, *kṛnuhī* of Vait is hyper-archaic as regards the stem *kṛnu-* §186. And in the second, *tanuhī* of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological deductions. On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, *MSL* 23 176, he regards *hī* (rather than *dhī*) as the regular ending with polysyllabic bases, and explains *śṛnudhī* (as in our fourth example) as due to the analogy of *śṛudhī* from a monosyllabic base.

abhy enam bhūma ūṛnuhī (TA *bhūma vṛnu*) RV AV TA

asāv (asā) anu mā tanu (LŚ *tanuhī* [printed in text as *tanu hī*] *jyotiṣā*)

MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ

ojasvantam mām āyusmantam varcasvantam (MS *mām sahasvantam*)

manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait *āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhī*) TS MS

AŚ Vait

nṛñh (MS *nṛñṣ*) *pāhī śṛnudhī* (SV °*hī*) *gīrah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB

5 Second plural endings with or without *na*

§256 The endings *tana* and *thana* contain an extra syllable, as compared with *ta* and *tha*. The longer forms are suitable for even syllable cadences (— — —, iambic dipody), the shorter forms for the corresponding catalectic cadence (— — —). The RV itself uses this correspondence to construct otherwise identical *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* pādas *asmabhyam śarma bahulam vi yantana* 5 55 9, and *yanta* 6 51 5, *adhā stotrasya sakhyasya gātana* 5 55 9, and *gāta* 10 78 9.

See *RVRep* 530, 563, where these appear among similar metrical and grammatical devices for procuring practically identical or very similar pairs of *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* lines. At times the use of the shorter form is accompanied by the introduction of a patch-word as metrical compensation, or the longer form replaces such a patch-word, as in *tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah* (TB *śṛnotana*) RV TB N.

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ *somyāh*) TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ, which doubtless read originally *paretana pitarah somyāsah*.

We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind.

§257 Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical

tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana RV 10 37 11d *athā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS °tana) RV VS MS KS N *adhā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* AV *athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dadhāta* TS
In MS the p p reads *dadhāta*, the longer form disturbs the meter of the (*triṣṭubh*) stanza Yet, most interestingly, one AV ms also has *dadhātana* This reading is obviously due to the influence of RV 10 37 11d, which occurs in a *jagatī* stanza, and where °tana is therefore in order

paretana (*pareta*) etc., see above, the two RV repetitions quoted above are likewise not repeated here

athā rayīm sarvavīram dadhātana RV VS TS MS KS *rayīm ca nah sarvavīram dadhāta* AV 18 3 14d, 44d All texts except AV 18 3 14 have the pāda in an entirely *jagatī* stanza, where *dadhātana* is therefore appropriate, and so the AV comm reads on 18 3 44 AV 18 3 14 is *triṣṭubh*, and so has properly *dadhāta*

amī ye vvratā (MS °tāh, KS °tās) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV MS KS The form *stha* is metrically poor

sarāh patatrinih sthana (KS *stha*) TS MS KS *sīrāh patatrini sthana* RV VS Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary

svāveśā nā āgata MS *anamivā upetana* AV

ye ke ca bhrātaraḥ sthana (ŚŚ *sthāh*?) AB ŚŚ The form of ŚŚ 15 26c is difficult Tho it is written *sthā* and followed by a vowel, Hillebrandt (Index) understands it (doubtfully) as = *stha* + *ā* (rather than *sthāh* as given by Conc) It is in any case secondary

§258 Passages in which the short form is filled out with a patch-word

srucā juhuta no (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havih* TB ŚŚ ApŚ

ramadhvam mā bibhūta mat (Kauś *bibhūtana*) AV Kauś

grh mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepīdhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ

ŚG HG Cf *grhā māsmad bibhūtana* AV HG

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śrnotu nah (TB *śrnotana*) RV TB N Sec §365

Here, of course, the shorter form, in *-tu*, not *-ta*, is not the equivalent of the longer one, the variant is quoted as showing a similar trend

6 Endings in -a sometimes rhythmically lengthened to -ā

[§259 These cases do not concern primarily the Verb Variants, but rather the Phonetic Variants, and we shall reserve a full treatment of them for that section of our work, contenting ourselves here with a very brief summary and a bare list of the instances. The forms in ā are not regarded by the texts themselves as variant endings, but merely as phonetic forms of the endings in short a, on a level with the alterations required by sandhi. This is evidenced by the facts that all the pada-pāṭhas regularly substitute the form in short a for ā, that the ā is not allowed to stand at the end of a pāda, and that in TS it is not allowed at the end of a *kandikā* (cf. Wackernagel 1 §265a, note). For this last reason, in two variant pādas, where all other texts have final ā, the TS has short a, for the sole reason that the word in question happens to come at the end of that purely mechanical division of its text

vīrebhar aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS *bhava*) *nak* RV VS TS MS KS

bṛhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS

There is among the variants one case where some texts have the ā at the end of a pāda, namely

vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS *sṛja*) AV VS TS MS KS

Here KS alone has the short a which is required at the end of a pāda. The case is however peculiar, and it is by no means certain that AV means to end the pāda here. Indeed, all the mss., both editions, and the Anukramanī add to this pāda the next following word, *rarānah*, after which the text proceeds, *īmanā devebhyo agnir havyam śamitā svadayatu*. Whatever may have been the real intent of AV, there is no doubt that the YV texts end the pāda with *sṛjā*. However, the whole stanza is a bungling reminiscence of RV 3.4.10ab, *vanaspate 'va sṛjopa devān, agnir havih śamitā sūdayāti* (in the last pāda the YV texts agree with RV). And there is obviously a connection between the ā of *sṛjā* and the fact that in the oldest form (in RV) the word did not end the pāda, as indeed it does not, according to the unanimous tradition, in AV.

§260 The lengthening of the final a is rhythmic, not metrical. See Wackernagel 1 §266a. The poets, to be sure, make free use of the license to lengthen the final a in syllables where the meter requires ā long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements, but of sentence rhythm. It occurred, originally, in places where the next word began with a single consonant, so that the syllable would be otherwise short (be it remembered that it *never* occurred before a pause!), and regularly where the following syllable was short, perhaps in the beginning when the preceding syllable was also short. That is, it was due to

avoidance of a succession of short syllables unrelieved by a long In the variants clear traces of this fact will appear, we shall show, in our section on Phonetics, that the following word almost invariably begins with a single consonant, and that the following syllable is usually short The preceding syllable, however, is short only about half the time, among the cases occurring in the variants That it is not a matter of metrical requirements is shown by the fact that the lengthening occurs most often (among the variants) in syllables where metrical length is not required, it is much commoner in the first part of the pāda than in the cadence

§261 All these matters will be duly set forth, along with other precisely similar cases of rhythmically lengthened final *a* in other than verb forms, in our section on Phonetics The variant pādas which show it in verbal endings are the following, in addition to the above The reader may be reminded of the somewhat similar variations between long and short vowels in the interior of causative (§242) and denominative stems (§243) and in reduplicating syllables (§271), these are probably also rhythmic in character F E]

lam ā prṇa (TB *prṇā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV TB
ā juhōtā (TB ApŚ °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV ŚB TB (ApŚ ,Pratīka)
prāñico ugāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV TA
apo devir upa sṛja (MS *sṛjā*) *madhumatih* VS TS MS KS ŚB
agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS KS ŚB
aditsan vā (MS *dhipsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyan*) *saṃjagara* (TB °*ja-*
gārā, MS °*rakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS TB TA
sapta yonīr (KS *yonīnr*) *ā prṇasva* (TS KS TB °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB

varivasya mahāmaha (SV °*syā mahonām*) RV SV
indra somam imam piba RV ŚŚ *indra somam pibā imam* RV AV SV
 MS The p p of both RV and MS *piba*, not *pibāḥ*, see Oldenberg,
 RVNoten, on 8 17 1

vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS KS °*mā*, TS and MS p p *jāgryāma*)
purohitāḥ VS VSK TS MS KS

vidma te svapna janitram AV *vidma* (text °*mā*, read °*ma*?) *te svapna*
 (pratīka) Kauś

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB ApMB

hinva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ
gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °*tā*, MS °*trā*) *vāt* (MS *vet*, TA *vat*)
 VS MS ŚB TA It is not likely to be accidental that TA, the
 only text which has a short syllable following, lengthens the final *ā*

idam me prāvata vacah RV VS TS KS TB *oṣadhayah prāvata vācam*
me MS *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś
juhota (AV °tā) *pra ca tṣṭhata* RV AV VS TA
ut tṣṭhata (AV Kauś °tā) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV AV VS ŚB TA
 Kauś
pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV °vā) *vājasātaye* RV AV SV KS AB ŚB
yasmād yoner udārithā (KS °tha) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB
ud irayathā (MS MŚ °tā, AV KS °ta) *marutah samudratah* RV AV
 TS MS KS AŚ and *pratika* MŚ
dyumantam śuśmam ā bharā (SV *bhara*) *svarindam* RV SV
vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā dadhiṣo* (MS *dadhiṣo*, but most mss *di*)
haviṇṣi MS KS TB N
januṣṭa (TS *januṣvā*, MS °ṣva) *hṛ jenyo agre aḥnām* RV TS MS KS
 ApŚ
ramayata (KS °tā) *marutah śyenam āyinaṃ* (MŚ *marutah pretam*
vāyinaṃ) TS KS ApŚ MŚ Three mss of KS also read *ramayata*
pretā jayatā narah RV AV SV VS *upa preta jayatā narah* TS
yatrā naś cakrā (KS Conc *cakra*, with one ms, but ed *cakrā*) *jarasam*
tanūnām RV VS MS KS GB ŚB ApŚ ApMB HG

7 Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

§262 Here are grouped various sporadic cases of interchanges concerning endings

(a) Precatives 3d singular in *yās* and *yāt*

See Whitney, *Grammar* §838

pari no hetī rudrasya vrjyāh (VSK °yāt) RV VSK *pari vo hetī rudrasya*
vrjyāh (TB *vrjyāt*) RV TB See §104, u, and *RVRep* 573
indras te soma sutasya peyāh (SV *peyāt*) RV SV
narāśanso gnāspatir no avyāt (RV *avyāh*) RV MS TB
dhryo hinvāno dhrya in no avyāh (TA *avyāt*) RV TA *dhrya invāno*
dhrya in no avyāt MS

(b) s-aorist 3d singular in older and later forms

The older non-thematic type of conjugation of s-aorists calls for a 3d singular active ending *s*, for *st*, and after a consonant even the *s* is lost (Whitney, *Grammar* §888) This form exchanges twice with 3d singulars of the later type in *sīt* With these may be compared the forms which we have classified §202 as root-aorists from roots in *ā* (*ahāt*, *aprat*) which vary with s-aorists from the same roots (*ahās*, *apras*, 3d sing), the *t*-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category

agnis te tanuam mātī dhāk TS TB ApŚ *agnis te tejo mā prati dhākṣīt* JB

yan me 'dya retah pṛthwīm askāntṣīt (TA *askān*) ŚB TA BṛhU

(c) Confusion of 1st plural *mas* and *ma*

Aside from cases which may be considered different tenses, we find the following small group, on which cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§548a, 636d, 795a. They have of course a phonetic aspect, the final *visarga* was lightly pronounced, see §25 above. It is noteworthy that all occur at the end of *pādas*, or practically so (followed by a particle of interjection only)

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ

abhīratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BṛhPDh

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG

prati bhāgam na dādīma (SV °mah) RV AV SV VS N Whitney,

Roots, s v dhī, regards both forms as 1 plur perfect

iśānam tvā śuśrumo (KS °mā) *vayam* KS ApŚ

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra°*) *saścima* (RV *saścīre*, TA *saścimah*) RV

VS MS ŚB TA 1st plural perfect of *sac*. But in TA *saścima* should be read, with Poona ed text and comm (v l one ins °mah)

(d) 1st singular preterites active in *am*, exchanging with *m*

In a case or two the preterite 1st singular active ending *am* is replaced by *m*, preceded by another vowel (that of the 2d and 3d persons), by analogy with the 2d and 3d persons. Thus, we have in the RV itself thus repeated *pāda*

vadhīd vṛtram vajrena mandasānah 4 17 3, *vadhīm* etc., 10 28 7, where *vadhīm* is certainly made in direct imitation of *vadhīd*, see *RV Rep* 220, 564. Cf also

tveṣam vaco apāvadhāt (TS TB °dhīm, MS °dhīh) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB. As (a) *vadhīm* is a blend of *avadham* and *avadhāt*, so *agrabhīm* in the following is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhāt*, and *abhūm* of *abhūvam* and *abhūt*

iṣam ūryam sam agrabham (TS °bhām) VS TS MS KS ŚB

abhyāṣkṣi rājābhūm (MS v l °bhūt, ApŚ °bhūvam) MS ApŚ *abhiśikṣa rājābhuvam* (v l °bhūvam) MŚ. Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §830a.

The MŚ passage is quoted on Knauer's authority from unedited MSS

(e) Subjunctive sign *ā* interchanging with *a* in non-thematic forms

The forms with short *a* are, of course, morphologically at least, the primary ones, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§560e, 701

yathā jyok sumanā asat (ApMB *asāh*) ApMB HG

yathāso mitravardhanah AV KS *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanah* TB (no need to read *yathāso* as suggested in Conc)

yat sanavatha (MS KS °*vātha*) *pīruṣam* RV VS TS MS KS

iṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvīr (VSK ŚB °*vathāvīr*, TS TB MŚ *kṛnutād āvīr*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ

punas te prāna āyati (so TS † TA *āyāti*, AŚ *āyātu*) TS TA AŚ

(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of *babhūtha* and *babhūva*
tvaṃ hi hotā prathamō babhūtha (MŚ SMB MG *babhūva*, and so 2 mss of Kauś) TS KS MŚ Kauś SMB MG Comm at SMB *babhūva*, *babhūtha*

patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA °*va*) RV AV TA 'Thou hast entered into the relation of wife to husband' The comm on TA, which reads *babhūva* in both edd, glosses *samyak prāpnuhi*. These two cases suggest interesting reflections on commentators' psychology, but they are not really as bad as they look, *babhūva* is probably due to a blend construction, with thought of *bhavān* or *bhavatī* understood. Such constructions are not unknown in the later language. See Bloomfield, JAOS 43 297, and below, §332—A third interchange between *babhūtha* and *babhūva* is rectified in the Poona ed of TB, see §342

(g) The endings *masi* and *mas*

A single time, in late texts, these interchange, the form in *masi* being apparently the original, or certainly metrically superior

yatra vāyam vadāmasi (HG °*mah*) ApMB HG

(h) 3d plural *ūh* for *ūh*

upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB 3d plural root-
aor of *gā*, TB (both edd) anomalous, comm *gachanto tartante*

(j) *ire* for *ire* in 3d plur perfect middle (passive)

tāh prācya (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhure* (KŚ † °*hīre*, Vait *sam-
jigāhure*, all mss) KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīs cojjagāhure* ApŚ

(k) Preceptive 2d plural with primary *tha* for secondary *ta*

ye 'tra pitarah bhūyāstha AV ŚŚ *ya etasmun loke bhūyāsta* TS
TB The form in *tha* is of course wholly anomalous, but appears to be read by all mss of both AV and ŚŚ, see Whitney on AV 18 4 86, and §17

CHAPTER VIII MATTERS PERTAINING TO AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION

§263 This chapter is concerned with two topics presence or absence of augment in preterite forms, and various changes in the form of reduplication

PRETERITES WITH AND WITHOUT AUGMENT

§264 Augmentless forms are ambiguous, being either preterites or injunctives, the functional relation of augmentless forms to corresponding augmented forms is therefore indeterminate This uncertainty is increased by the frequent correspondence otherwise between preterites and all sorts of definite modal forms which we have met as one of the established features of the variants Just as those correspondences take place both in principal clauses (§§130 ff) and in dependent clauses (§145), so the interchanges between augmented and augmentless preterites may be conveniently divided into the same two groups The following list rests on the assumption that both are preterites But in the circumstances of Vedic diction there is nothing to prevent one or another of them from harboring interchange between preterite and modal (injunctive) force Thus,

bhargo me 'vocaḥ bhargam me vocaḥ, might be respectively, 'thou hast bespoken for me luster', and, 'bespeak for me luster' Such a case would then have to be transferred to the rubric Aorist and Injunctive, §132 And, conversely, various of the forms which we have tentatively grouped under Preterites and Injunctives might perhaps equally well be placed here See also §146 for a few cases of augmented and augmentless prohibitives

§265 When the word preceding the variant verb-form ends in *e* or *o*, we must further remember that the following augment *a* is usually (and especially in late texts) represented, if at all, only by the *avagraha* in our manuscript tradition, and the presence or absence of this *avagraha* in our edited texts is often a matter of editing only, since the manuscripts are apt to be very undependable Thus, in the above-mentioned example *bhargo me 'vocaḥ*, the Conc records MŚ 5 2 15 2 as '*vocaḥ*, and Knauer's text reads so, but his note tells us that his mss omit the *avagraha*, both here and generally In such cases, therefore, little im-

portance is to be attached to this seeming variation. Hence we have separated in the following list the cases in which the verb is preceded by *e* or *o* from the rest.

Preterites with or without augment in principal clauses

- §266 a Preceded by a word ending in *e* or *o*
indrāya tvā śmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB Cf
 §193 Oldenberg regards *dadat* as modal, which is of course possible
tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS MŚ *dadat*) KS ApŚ MŚ Again *dadat*
 may be modal
somo dadad (SMB GG PG '*dadad*, HG '*dadād*) *gandharvāya, gan-*
dharvo dadad (SMB '*dadad*) *agnaye* (HG *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*)
 RV AV SMB GG PG ApMB HG MG See the preceding
 two items
bhargo me 'vocah (PB text *vocah*, comm *avocah* = *uktavān asī*, on MŚ
 see above) PB ApŚ MŚ AG *bhargam me vocah* ŚŚ Also with
bhadram, bhūtm, yaśo, etc
ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS TS TB '*yāṭ*) VS TS KS ŚB
 TB *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS KS Here both forms
 seem to be preterites, 'I have (thou hast) sacrificed away', no modal
 force is likely
(agnīś ca viśno tapa uttamam maho) dikṣāpālebhya 'vanatam (AŚ *dikṣā-*
pālāya vanatam) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ So the Bibl Ind ed of TB reads,
 in text and comm, but the comm treats (*a*)*vanatam* as modal, and
 the Poona ed, text and comm, reads *vanatam*. Probably no real
 variant
 [*satyam ṛte* (and, *ṛtam satye*) *dhāyī* (ApŚ '*dhāyī*, TS KSA '*dhām*) TS
 KSA TB ApŚ But Poona ed of TB reads '*dhāyī*. See §85
 Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved]
 §267 b Not preceded by *e* or *o*
ā gharṃ agnir ṛtayann asādī (TA °*dūt*) RV TA *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto*
na sādī MS
uktham avācīndrāya ŚŚ *uktham vācīndrāya* TS AB GB AŚ Vait
 ApŚ MŚ *ukthyam vācīndrāya sṛvate tvā* AŚ
pitur va nāmāgrabhaṣam (ApMB °*bhaṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG
 ApMB HG *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh Stenzler renders
 PG 1 13 1 'moge ich den Namen eines Vaters erlangen' But
 three preterites besides *jagrabham* make the construction of the
 latter (pluperfect, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §818a) as preterite more
 likely. See §§206, 219f

turīyenāmanvata (ŚŚ *turīyena manvata*) *nāma dhenoh* AV ŚŚ
ulem anamnamuh (KB ŚB KŚ ŚŚ *uteva namnamuh*) TS MS AB KB
 ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayam punāna uśaso vi rocayat (SV *uśaso arocayat*) RV SV The RV form is clearly preterite, cf. the parallel *abhavat* in the next pāda
pary abhūd (RV *uśarbhud bhūd*) *atithir jātavedāh* RV MŚ
indrāya suśuvur (MS KS *indrāyāsusuvur*) *madam* VS MS KS TB
 Cf. §220 The form *asusuvuh*, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to *suśuvuh*, MS p p *indrāya suśuvuh* — Yet more anomalous is the next

toyena jīvan vi sasarja (TA *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA Mahān U The TA has a monstrosity, see §220
grhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ *grhān* (MŚ *grhān*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS MŚ Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with *grhān gopāyatam yuvam*, see Conc

§268 Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses

iyam eva sā yā prathamā iyauchat (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV TS MS KS TB
 ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

ūrdhvā asyāmatir bhā adidyutat (VSK *atidyutat*) *savīman* AV SV VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N The variation is really phonetic (*t d*, surd sonant)

(*yam*) *svādhyo* (TB *svādhyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv ajījanan*)
 RV TB

anūdhā yadi jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid ā*)
 RV SV

yad enam dyaur ajanayat (RV *janayat*) *suretāh* RV VS TS MS KS
 ŚB ApMB Clearly the RV form is archaic, see Oldenberg, *Proleg* 306, 313

yenāpāmṛsatam (SMB v 1 *ṛsatam*) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvamṛsatām*
surām PG In a series of preterite formulas PG comm explains the lack of augment as Vedic license

yame va yatamāne yad aitam (TA *etam*, but Poona ed *aitam*) RV AV
 AB KB TA AŚ 'When like two twins in step ye went' Probably no real variant

INTERCHANGES CONCERNING REDUPLICATION

§269 Many of these concern the quantity of the reduplicating vowel, and belong to the class of Rhythmic Changes in Quantity (cf. §§259–261),

they belong really to the section on Phonetics. Obscuration of the original principles of the rhythmic change has resulted in great irregularity, however

§270 In a series of formulas *pīpīhi* of MS exchanges with *pīpīhi* of TA (and ApŚ), we thus have forms presenting the aspect of a double or compensating rhythmic shift of quantity. [It seems to me likely that MS understands *pīpīhi* as 'drink', root *pā*, while *pīpīhi* certainly means 'swell', root *pyā*. F E]

subhūtāya pīpīhi (TA *pīpīhi*) MS TA. And so with *brahmavarcasāya*, *iṣe*, *ūrje*, *asyai viśe* (TA omits these) *mahyam jyaiṣṭhyāya*, *asmai* (TA omits) *brahmane*, and *kṣatrāya*. ApŚ also has *iṣe*, and *ūrje*, *pīpīhi*. See §192

§271 The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in character

udgrābhenod aṅgrabhat MS *aṅgrabham*, and *aṅgrbham*, KS *yuyapsyala* (AŚ *yī*) *wa te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ *imam agne camasam mā vi jīhvarah* (TA *jī*) RV AV TA AG *grhān ajūgupatam yuвам* AŚ *grhān* (MŚ *grhān*) *jugupatam yuвам* MS MŚ

prajān me (ApŚ also, *no*) *naryājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ v 1 °*jūgupah*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ. Also

paśūn me (*nah*) *śansyājugupah* (ApŚ °*jūgupah*) MS ApŚ MŚ. And similar formulas in the same passage

śucanto agnim vavṛdhanta (AV *vā*) *indram* RV AV KS. Whitney, *Grammar* §786a

trīta enam (read, *trīta enan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* AV *trīta etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* TB. The AV form is the more usual, but that of TB is metrically better. See Whitney, l c

§272 There is, next, a small group showing confusion between the reduplicating vowels *i* (characteristic of the present) and *a* (perfect), which marks a certain blurring of the regular tense distinction between these types. Cf the item in the Conc *hastagrābhasya didhīṣos* (AV *dadhīṣos*) RV AV TA

pra bhānavah śasrate (SV *sasrate*) *nākam acha* RV AV SV VS TS MS

Here *sasrate* is anomalous, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281

vṛṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV. The forms *cakradat* (°*das*) are counted perfect subjunctives, Whitney, *Grammar* §810

tāh prācyu (Vait °*yah*, MŚ °*cīr*) *ujjūgāhire* (KŚ † °*īre*, Vait *saṃjūgāure*)

KŚ Vait MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhure* ApŚ Perfect forms, 1 is anomalous

§273 The rest are odds and ends which concern reduplication in various ways, they are mostly problematic There are a couple of apparent perfect active participles with unreduplicated stems, one obviously due to haplogy, the other perhaps corrupt

viśo-viśah pravivśwānsam īmahe AV *viśvasyām viśi pravivivśwānsam* (KS † *pravivśwānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§790, 803a, and on AV 4 23 1

viśām vavarjuśīnām (AV *viśām avarj°*) RV AV See Whitney on AV 7 50 2

Once the reduplicated *sasṛjmahe* exchanges with *samsṛjmahe*, the preposition *sa* replacing the reduplicating syllable *sa*
agne sasṛjmahe (MS *samsṛ°*) *gīrah* RV SV MS KS

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious
saṁ tvā tatakṣuh (LŚ *tatakṣnuh*) Vait LŚ KŚ See §231, end We have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vīdvīr yāmann avarḍhayan* (TB *vīdvīr yāman vavarḍhayan*) VS TB See §218, end, read probably *avarḍhayan* in TB

[*jajanad* (TB *prajanad*, but Poona ed correctly *jajanad*) *indram indriyāya svāhā* (MS om) MS TB TA ŚŚ]

CHAPTER IX VARIATIONS IN GRADE OR QUANTITY OF STEMS AND ALLIED MATTERS

§274 The matters included in this chapter are more or less homogeneous in that they all deal with verbal stems or bases which present, in alternative readings, both quantitatively fuller and less full forms. We have found it convenient to subdivide them as follows, without very much regard for conventional grammatical categories, but so as to bring together forms which seem to us really to belong together.

1 Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak

2 Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems)

3 Strong and weak Perfect forms

4 Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *r* (*ra*, *ari*), and other variants of *r*

5 Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*

6 Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables

7 Long and short 'intermediate *i*' (in *seṭ* roots)

8 Presence or absence of intermediate *i*

9 Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms

1 Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak

§275 As compared with the almost complete rigidity of Classical Sanskrit in regard to the separation of strong and weak stems in non-thematic presents, the Vedic language shows remarkable fluidity on this point, see Bloomfield's article 'On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives', *AJP* 5 16ff. This is particularly the case in the 5th and 9th classes, and it usually manifests itself in encroachment of the strong stem on the weak. The variants, at least, show no case of the converse spread of the weak stem at the expense of the strong, whereas they repeatedly show the normal *kṛnuta* or *punāhi* or the like replaced by *kṛnata* or *punāhi*. In one formula, *barhi stṛnāhi* or *stṛnāhi*, ApŚ shows both forms. Of course the strong forms are to be regarded, at least morphologically, as secondary, and due to analogical spread from forms where the strong stem is regular. But it frequently happens that the chronology of the variants runs counter to this, that is, an older text

has the 'secondary' or analogical form, which is replaced by the regular form in a later text. Meter sometimes seems to have been concerned in the choice of the irregular form

nu no

kṛṇota (AV *kṛnuta*) *dhūmam vṛṣanam* (AV °*nah*) *sakhāyah* RV AV
urvā rodasī varīvas (TS KS °*vah*) *kṛnotam* (KS *kṛnutam*) TS MS KS

Here KS is metrically inferior, we may guess that metrical considerations dictated the use of the analogical *kṛnotam*

sunuta ā ca dhāvatah RV *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV Cf *sunoty ā ca dhāvati* RV. The form *sunota* is well-known in RV
yunakta sīrā vi yugā tanudhvam (AV TS MS KS *tanota*) RV AV VS
TS MS KS ŠB

nā nā, and analogous forms

jātavedah punīhi (MS *punāhi*) *mā* RV VS MS KS
pavitrena punīhi (MS *punāhi*) *mā* VS MS KS TB ŠŠ
punihindrāya (SV VS *punāhi*°) *pātave* RV SV VS Vait
asmān punīhi cakṣase AV *mām punīhi* (MS *punāhi*) *vśvatah* RV VS
MS KS
barhi (MS MŚ *barhih*) *stṛnīhi* (TS MS [text *stṛnāhi*!]) MŚ ApŚ
[once] *stṛnāhi*) TS MS GB ŠB Vait KŚ ApŚ (quarter) MŚ
sviṣtam agne abhi tat pṛnāhi (PG *pṛnīhi*, KS *tad gṛnīhi*) KS TB ApŚ
PG HG

vivasvadāte abhi no gṛnīhi (TS *gṛnāhi*) TS MS KS AŚ
etam jānātha (KS *jānāta*, TB *jānātāt*) *parame vyoman* VS KS ŠB TB

In one case the root *hā*, whose present inflection is analogous to that of the 9th class (cf Whitney, *Grammar* 661a), presents a similar variation

atrā jahāma (AV *jahāta*) *ye asann asevāh* (AV *aśvāh*, and *asan durevāh*)
RV AV (bis) TA *atra* (ŠB *atrā*) *jahāmo 'śvā ye asan* VS ŠB

2 Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems)

§276 Owing to the considerable mix-up between the various aorist systems, there is sporadic interchange between their stem-grades, a stem-grade appropriate to one formation is analogically transferred to another. In some cases there is doubt as to which aorist formation we are dealing with, and the variation in the form of the stem is itself often taken as evidence for the fact that different formations are concerned, it is indeed, not infrequently the only such evidence available. See §§202 ff for such examples. But the line between them and the class now under consideration is by no means always clear. Thus, in the first

example, it is customary to regard *bheh* and *bhaih* as respectively 1st and 4th aorists, and we have so treated them above, while *rok* and *ruk* are placed in this group as being both, apparently, root-aorists

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS *rauñ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS

§277 Similarly in several cases of *s*-aorists active, the *vrddhi* vowel alternates with the *guna* (Whitney, *Grammar* §887a), sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original

abhyarakṣid (AŚ *°rākṣid*) *āsmākam punar āgamāt* (AŚ *āyanāt*) MS AŚ *iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat* (TB **vākṣit*) VS MS KS TB (both) N See §167

pra sakṣati pratimānam prthivyāh AV *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV AV N

ud akramād dravimodā vājy arvā VS TS MS KS ŚB *ud akrāmīl* (pratikā) ApŚ

mā (VS ŚB *add vāyam*) *rāyaspoṣena vi yauṣma* VS MS ŚB *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS KS TA ApŚ

ihauva stam mā vi yauṣtam (ApMB *yoṣtam*) RV AV ApMB

§278 In two cases the dissyllabic stems *grabhai* and *śarai* interchange with their reduced forms *grabhi* and *śari*, see Whitney, *Grammar* §904b, Bloomfield, *ZDMG* 48 574ff

pitur wa nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB *°grabhaiṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG ApMB HG *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh

indra enam (TB ApŚ *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV TB ApŚ cf *indro vo 'dya parāśarait* AV But for this last SPP with most mss and Ppp reads *°śarīt*, the regular form

§279 In a similar manner the 1st singular middle forms of the *s* and *iṣ* aorists show variation between reduced vowel and *guna*, in four variants These forms may also be considered precatives, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§567a, 568, 923

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham pasubhiś ca brāhmanavarcasena ca ruciṣīya (MS *tvam rucyā rocasa evam aham rucyā rociṣīya*) AV MS

The MS has the regular form, Whitney, *Grammar* §899b, cf §907, where these forms are called precatives

vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS *dhiṣ°*) MS KS *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇīyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya* TS The *i*-form is regular, Whitney, *Grammar* §879b, cf §884

somasyaḥam devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ *dheṣīya*) TS ApŚ MŚ *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā suretodhā reto dhiṣīya* KS

taḍ adya vācaḥ prathamam māsiya (N *maṛsiya*) RV AŚ ApŚ N The N reading is not worthy of trust, tho formally regular enough, the meter is against it See Roth's note, p 28 of *Erläuterungen* For aorists in radical *ṛ* varying with *ra* or *ar*, see below, §281

3 Strong and weak Perfect forms

§280 The root *sah* 'be strong', exhibits interchange between *a* and *ā* in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist (see the item *pra sakṣati* or *sākṣate*, etc, under the preceding rubric) Long *ā* appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (*sāhati*, *sāhyāma*, *sādha*, *sādhvā*, *sādhṛ*, see Whitney's *Roots* s v), in some of these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated, possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms *bībheda valam* (AV AŚ *balam*, but SPP *valam* for AV) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atrinam* RV SV KS

Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges

krūram ānanśa (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV KS ApŚ

Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root *aś*, *anś*, *naś*

nṛjaganwān (TS *ṇjagmwān*) *tamaso jyotiṣāgāt* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Alternative perfect participles, Whitney §805a

svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanuvam*) *piṇṇayasva* (AV *piṇṇā*) RV AV TA MahānU Both forms are anomalous, they are classed as perfect imperatives Whitney on AV 6 110 1 would read *piṇṇayasva*, but we do not see that this is a particularly better form than the other

ād id antā adadṛhanta pūrve KS *yaded antā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛhanta*) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS Pluperfects

4 Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *ṛ* (*ra*, *ari*), and other variants of *ṛ*

§281 Here we group a few cases, mostly aorists (and therefore belonging also with No 2, §§276 ff above), in which we suspect that the variation between strong and weak *r*-forms is more due to phonetic change or corruption The three cases of *grbh* *grabh* are part of a tendency to reduce *r* + vowel to *ṛ*, they will be treated along with similar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on *Samprasāraṇa* in our section on Phonetics The solitary case of *jāgrlāya* for the more

normal *jāgaritāya* is best accounted for as due to the same tendency. In the sixth example, *bhartam bhṛtam*, we have root-aorist forms, analogous to *ruk rok* above (§276). Somewhat similar to the variation between *r* and *ra*, *ar*, is that between *r* and *ri* in two variants presently to be quoted, viz *vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (jāgrīyāma)* etc., and *āpaprvān (āpaprvān)* etc., §287.

agrbbhāt VSK *agrabbhāt* VS AŚ ŚŚ

agrbbhīṣata VS *agrabbhīṣata* KS

udgrābhenod agrabbhāt (MS *ajīgrabhat*, KS *ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgrbbham*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB

jāgaritāya (KSA *jāgrtāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA

śṛtas tvam śṛto 'ham ApŚ *śṛtas tvam sṛto 'ham* KS. Apparently pples from monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms of the same base.

bhartam (VS ŚB *bhṛtam*) *agnim purīṣyam* VS TS MS KS ŚB. Whitney, *Grammar* §831a.

5 Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*

§282 Before suffixal *y*, final radical *i* appears alternatively as *ī* in a couple of variants:

sarvān patho anṛnā ā kṣīyema (AV *kṣī°*) AV TB TA ApŚ. The *ī* is bad metrically as well as formally.

yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrūhi (MŚ *°cchrīya°*) ApŚ MŚ. But most mss of MŚ read *°chrīya°*, and as this is (before the *ya* of the passive) the grammatically regular form, it should probably be read.

§283 Somewhat similar to these variants, which are really phonetic in character and will be dealt with in our Phonetics section, are the two variants showing *i* or *ī* in denominative stems (§243, *janīyanti* and *janīyanto*, *putrīyanti* and *putrīyantah*), and likewise, from another standpoint, the variant *vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (jāgrīyāma)* etc., §287, where influence of the following *y* may be suspected in the form with *ri* for *r*.

6 Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables

§284 A miscellaneous list, as follows:

avāmba (VS ŚB KŚ *ava*) *rudram adīmahī* (VS ŚB KŚ *adī°*, and so v l of MS KS MŚ, with MS p p) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

KŚ ApŚ MŚ. Aorist from *dā* 'share'. The meter favors *ī*.

prati śma (SV *sma*) *deva rīṣatah* (SV *rīṣ°*, and so RV p p) RV SV MS KS TB

vājno vājato vājam sasṛvāṇso (KS *jigvāṇso*, TS *sasṛvāṇso vājam jigvāṇso*) VS TS KS ŚB Roots *ji* and *jyā, jī*? Cf next
ajūtāh (TA *aṣṭāh*, ApMB and one ms of HG *ajūtā*) *syāma saraḍaḥ śatam* TA ApMB HG Cf prec TA comm paraphrases by
ajūtāh
samāṅgayati (ŚB *samāṅg*^o) *sarvataḥ* RV ŚB BrhU The true reading of BrhU is that of ŚB, ^o*īṅg* is Boethlingk's emendation
praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ ŚŚ KŚ
 ApŚ MŚ *sūhi* looks like a blend of *sūhi* and *suva*
mā hrīṣiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB *ūh*^o) AV ApMB

7 Long and short 'intermediate i'

§285 There are a few cases of unstable quantity in the *i* which may be called, broadly speaking, the Sanskrit representative of the schwa-vowel in the second syllable of dissyllabic (*set*) roots, we include here *i* and *ī* before the *s* of the aorist, since that originally belonged in this category. Among the latter, it is noteworthy that we find both instances of 3d singular forms with short *i* where it should be long, and plural or dual forms with long *ī* where it should be short. The cases are very few in number, and probably analogical in both instances
suśamī śamīṣva (TS TB *samīṣva*, KS † *samniṣva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TB

sa idam devebhyo havih (*havyam*) *śamīṣva* (TS TB omit) *suśamī śamīṣva* (TS TB *śamīṣva*) VS VSK TS KS TB *devebhyo havyam śamīṣva* MS

amāmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś ^o*gam yathālokaṁ*) *āvṛṣāyṣata* (AŚ *āvṛṣāyṣata*, ŚŚ *avīṛṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG See §§201, 243

tato no mitrāvarunāv aviṣṭam TB *tēna no mitrāvarunāv* (MS ^o*nā*) *aviṣṭam* RV MS *aviṣṭam* doubtless analogous to *avīl*

mā tvāgnir dhanayīd (TS ^o*yīd*, KSA ^o*yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhah* RV VS TS MS KSA See §174, Whitney, *Grammar* §1048, and cf *indro vājam ajayit*, TS 1 7 8 1, TB

8 Presence or absence of 'intermediate i'

§286 The principal group under this head consists of aorist forms in *-ṛṣ-* or *-riṣ-*, from roots in *r*. Only the first two variants concern a root (*car*) which regularly forms both *s* and *iṣ* aorists, on these see §206. Otherwise the variants are apparently rather phonetic than morphological in character, they concern *svrabhakti*, on which cf Wackernagel

1 §§49-53, they will be dealt with in our chapter on Insertion and Expulsion of Vowels, in the section of this work on Phonetics. They are of two sorts. Some concern roots which form aorists of the simple *s* type (Whitney's 4th aorist), in which an *i* is alternately inserted before the *s*. The others concern roots of the *iṣ* type (Whitney's 5th aorist), from which the *i* is sometimes dropped by a kind of 'hyper-Sanskritism', the pronunciation *-riṣ-* seems to have been sometimes felt as dialectic and vulgar, and is occasionally 'restored' to *-ṛṣ-* by late texts in forms where *-riṣ-* is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś reading *tārṣat* for *tāriṣat*, below. There are thus three divisions of these variations between *-ṛṣ-* and *-riṣ-*.

(a) From roots which form aorists in both *s* and *iṣ*

agne vratapate vratam acārīṣam (MS and MŚ v 1 *acārṣam*) VS TS MS
KS † ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG
vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*patayo*) *vratam acārīṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS
TA Kauś

(b) From roots regularly forming only *s* aorist

dakṣam te bhadrām ābhārṣam RV *dakṣam ta ugram ābhārīṣam* AV
Most mss of AV agree on *ābhārīṣam*, tho the comm reads *ābhār-ṣam*, which the meter supports. No *iṣ* aorist of *bhṛ* is recorded.
dateh putrānām adāter akārṣam (MS *akārīṣam*) AV MS. The verse is otherwise *jagatī*, so that probably *akārīṣam* is to be read in AV with many mss and SPP, Ppp, however, has *akārṣam*, and if *akārīṣam* is the true reading it is a matter of phonetics rather than morphology, no 5th aorist from *kṛ* is recorded.
yad rātriyā (MahānU and v 1 of TA °*tryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v 1 *akārīṣam*, not recorded in Poona ed) TA MahānU Cf prec
The meter supports the regular form *akārṣam*.
tan nah parṣad (MS *parīṣad*) *atī dviṣah* TS MS KS TB (Read *parīṣad* twice in MS, in 2 7 12c von Schroeder reads *parṣad* against all his *samhitā* mss. Acc to his note 1 c KapS also has *parīṣad*). The form *parīṣad* is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV has *pārīṣat*).

(c) From roots regularly forming only *iṣ* aorist

pra na (SV MS PB *na*) *āyūnṣi tāriṣat* (Kauś *tārṣat*) RV AV SV VS
VSK TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ Kauś N. The isolated form of Kauś (all mss) can only be an ignorant attempt to 'correct' the supposedly dialectic pronunciation with *i*. This is shown not only by the meter, but by the fact that a 4th aorist from

the dissyllabic root *tr* is monstrous and unheard of Cf Wackernagel, 1 §53c end

āchettā te (TB ApŚ **vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS *mārṣam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ In MŚ also *mārṣam* should be read, with all Knauer's mss But the form is monstrous Strictly speaking it is a 2d (thematic) aorist, from the root *riṣ*, the *s* as well as the *i* being radical But it belongs here as being an instance of hyper-Sanskritic pronunciation or *rṣ* for *riṣ*

§287 There remain only a few cases, more or less dubious in character, which present the aspect of alternative loss or insertion of an 'intermediate *i*' in other cases than when preceded by *r* and followed by *ṣ*

puru tvā dāśvān (SV *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV N Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §803a *dāśvāns* is frequently trisyllabic in RV, Grassmann and Oldenberg assume that the *v* is vocalic The SV here presents a secondary attempt to improve the meter

āpaprivān (MS °*privān*, but p p °*privān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB These may be regarded as from by-forms of the same root, *āpaprivān* is connected with *prā*, while the dubious nonce-form of MS, if correct, harks back to *pr*, which has no perfect active The variation, if real, resembles the cases of Samprasāraṇa mentioned §281

vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (KS MS °*mā*, TS and p p of MS *jāgryāma*) *purohūtāḥ* VS VSK TS MS KS The regular form of the opt of *jāgr* is *jāgryāma* This recalls not only the Samprasāraṇa variants, like the preceding item, but also (since the following sound *y* may be suspected of being concerned in the insertion of the vowel *i*) the variants mentioned under 5, §§282f

[*utkransyate* (KSA *utkrāṁṣyate*) *svāhā* TS KSA So Conc, but the sole ms of KSA reads *utkrāmyate*, which von Schroeder properly emends to *utkransyate*]

9 Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms

§288 Three cases which fall in nowhere else

madhvā yajñān nahṣati (VS TS *nahṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prai*°) AV VS TS MS KS Ppp has *prīnānah* with the rest

agne yat te tejas tena tam atejasam kṛnu (KS *tam pratī tityagdhi*, MS ApŚ *tam pratī titigdhī*) AV MS KS ApŚ The strange *tityagdhi* of KS 6 9 (p 59, l 20) is supported by the present *prati-tyakti*, KS 7 6 (p 68, l 11) It is an adventurous formation, on

the pattern, say, of *vidh vyadh*, possibly, however, a thought of the root *tyaj* may have helped to form it

ajīapata (TS TB *ajīipata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS KS TB MŚ Re-duplicated (causative) aorists from the root *ji* 'conquer', both, but especially *ajīapata*, are highly anomalous

Cf also the variant causative stems listed §242, and denominatives, §243

CHAPTER X PERSON AND NUMBER

Introductory remarks

§289 The very numerous variations in person and number of verb forms are superficially quite different in character from the other verbal variants. Yet fundamentally they resemble them more than appears at first sight. Like the rest, broadly speaking, they mark and illustrate temperamental fluidity, or shifts in psychological attitude. Thus, to begin with, an activity to be performed or a result to be obtained by the ritual action of a priest or sacrificer may be expressed by a verb in either first, second, or third person, and either singular or plural number. For many variants alternatively conceive the result accomplished, or the action performed, either by the priest or sacrificer (who may be identified with the speaker, the verb being in the first person, or addressed in the second person as being an associate of the speaker), or by some natural or supernatural potency, agency, or implement, in which power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which may be addressed in the second person or spoken of in the third. For instance, as the priest cleans various sacrificial implements, he says, addressing the implement 'do not wipe off (from me) speech or cattle', *vācam pasūn mā nir mājīh* MS MŚ. But other texts, in precisely similar contexts, say 'may it not wipe off, or 'may I not (by this action) wipe off', etc. *rūpād varnam mā nir mṛkṣat* MŚ *vācam prānam mā nir mṛkṣam* TS *rūpam varnam pasūnām mā nir mṛkṣam* ApŚ. The real meaning is essentially identical in all. A very considerable proportion of the variations between first person verbs, on the one hand, and second or third (or both) on the other, belong to this category in which the matter is credited now to the medicine-man or priest himself, now to an agency or potency, whether human, divine, or merely instrumental, which is associated with him and thru which he operates. See §§302, 304, 312.

§290 As between first and second person, another important group contains variations in which the subject of the verb is really the same in either case, namely the priest or priests and his or their associates, who may be spoken of indifferently in the first or second person. See §307. Thus, in *mitrāya (satyāya) havyam ghṛtāvaj juhota* (*°vad vidhema*), 'to Mitra (the true one) offer ye (let us offer) oblation with ghee', it makes not the slightest real difference whether the persons who are to offer

oblation are called 'we' or 'ye', both forms of the pāda occur in precisely the same stanza. Moreover, either or both of the verbs may in such cases be either singular or plural. 'I' or 'we', 'thou' or 'ye'. Indeed, nearly all variations between first person singular and first person plural are cases of precisely this sort, see the long list in §345, of which the following may serve as an example *yad dhasṭābhyām cakara* (AV *cakṛma*) *kilbīṣāni* AV MS TB TA, 'if I (we) have committed sins with the two hands'. In such cases it is often impossible to say whether the plural expression really thinks of a group of individuals of whom the speaker is one, or whether it is 'editorial', referring really to none but the speaker himself. In many cases, undoubtedly, the latter is true, nor is it at all necessary to suppose then that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in the plural form, altho such may occasionally be the case. See §344 for a few instances where first plural verbs are certainly used referring to the single speaker alone, e.g. *śatam jīvema* (PG *ca jīvāma*) *śaradah purūcīh* PG MG, which is spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil 'may we (which means 'I', as in PG) live a hundred numerous autumns'. Even MG has first singular verbs in the rest of the stanza where this pāda occurs — For a few similar cases of second person singular and plural, referring to associates of the priestly speaker, see §347, and for mixed cases (first singular and second plural, or vice versa) see §307, end, e.g. *tasmā indrāja sutam ā juhota* (*juhomi*), 'to him, Indra, offer ye (I offer) the pressed drink'.

§291 Another class of variations, involving both person and number, consists of generalizing statements, in which the subject is really indefinite, 'people' in general, 'one' (French *on*, German *man*). Such expressions are usually third person, most commonly plural, but sometimes also singular, as in *brahmayāyeyam itī* (AV *°jāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV *°cat*) RV AV, 'if they (indefinite) have (one has) said, she is a brahman's wife'. See §359 for others of this type. Such generalizing third persons also vary with 1st or 2d person forms, which are sometimes definite (as are some of the third person singulars which vary with indefinite third plurals), but sometimes also indefinite. Thus we have a 1st plural indefinite varying with a 3d plural, also indefinite, in *yathā kalām yathā śapham yathā ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*), *evā duṣvapnyam sarvam āptye* (AV *apṛiye*, or *duṣṣate*) *samayāmasi* RV AV (bis), 'as we (= people in general, or, they) load up a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trīta) Āptya (or, the enemy)'. And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may be used in this indefinite sense *tam tvā bhaga sarva 13 johanīmi* (RV VS

^{ta}) RV AV VS TB ApMB, 'on thee, Bhaga, every one calls lustily', or, 'on thee, Bhaga, do every I call' Whitney on AV 3 16 5 renders mechanically 'do I call, entire', but obviously it can only mean 'do I and every one like me call', or the like, the surrounding pādas have 1st person verbs, and have influenced this The TB comm glosses *johavīmi* by *āhvayati*, which is by no means as foolish as it might seem at first sight, indeed, it may be called rather exceptionally acute—On the other hand it is commoner for definite 1st or 2d person forms to exchange with indefinite 3d persons, whether singular or (more often) plural, as in *vacānsy āsā* (SV *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV *takṣuh*) RV SV, 'I (they = people in general) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (for this mighty one)' Or, 2d person *yenendrāya samabharah* (MS KS ^{ran}) *payānsi* AV TS MS KS, 'by which thou (= Agni) didst (or, they, indefinite, did) collect milk for Indra' See §§314, 360

§292 Among the variations concerning Person, interchanges between 1st and 2d person are relatively rare, those between 1st and 3d are somewhat commoner, but by far the most numerous are those between 2d and 3d The great majority of these last do not present any very startling features Most commonly they simply concern shifts from direct address to a person or thing to indirect reference, in contexts where both are equally suitable See §§327 ff Not infrequently an entire stanza, containing several clauses, and several verb-forms, is remodelled in this way, so that we have a series of 2d person verbs varying with a series of 3d persons, as in

navo-navo bhavati (AV JUB ^{si}) *jāyamānah*, *ahnām ketur uṣasāṃ ety* (AV † *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV ^{sy}) *āyan*, *pra candramās tirate* (TS ^{ti}, AV † ^{mas tirase}) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N, first pāda also TB AŚ HG BDh JUB VHDh, 'Ever new he becomes (thou becomest) born, as banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at the head of the dawns, arriving he shares (thou sharest) out fortune to the gods, the moon lengthens (thou, O moon, lengthenest) out long life'

§293 It will be noted that, consistently with the verbs, the subject here shifts from nominative to vocative when 2d person replaces 3d, and that the change is made with all verbs in the stanza In the majority of cases the syntax is thus consistent in both 2d and 3d person passages There remain, however, a good many passages where the change results in more or less inconsistency Not seldom we find a third person verb with vocative subject This occurs three times in the same stanza in the PG version of the following

yena śrīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛnutam* (PG **lām*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatam* (PG **vamṛśatām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ **kṣām*, PG **kṣyāv*) *abhyasīñcatam* (PG **tām*), *yad vām tad aśvinā yasah* ŚŚ PG SMB Here the direct address to the Aśvins (note the 2d person pronoun *vām*, showing that *aśvinā* can only be vocative) in the fourth pāda makes the 3d person verbs unconstructable by strict syntax. Naturally there is a temptation to emend in such cases. But the thrice repeated 3d person forms of PG seem to prove that such a temptation should not be yielded to lightly. Stenzler quite properly keeps the 3d persons in his text of PG, altho he translates them as if they were 2d persons. The comm. supplies *bhavantau* as subject. Harsh as the construction seems to us, it was clearly the reading intended, and it is supported by many similar cases, listed §332. In the same pages we find also cases of the converse condition, namely, 2d person verbs with nominative subjects, as in

tā enam pravīdvānsau śrapayātām MS *tāv imam pasum śrapayātām* *pravīdvānsau* TB

Here only the TB is syntactically consistent, not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects of *śrapayātām* in the preceding, are nominative in MS.

§294 A milder form of inconsistency is found in the long list of passages found §33ff, where we find no internal inconsistency of the type just mentioned, as between subject and verb within the same clause, but rather a shift from direct address to third-person reference (or vice versa) in parallel and adjoining passages. This produces an effect of more or less harshness. It is not always, to our feeling, so intolerable as it seems in the SV reading of the following

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhaḥ*) RV SV

This is followed by the pāda *bhūry aspasta kartvām* 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor'. The SV appears to say, 'When thou (Indra) didst mount from peak to peak and he (Indra) beheld much labor', unless, indeed, we may suppose that SV understands *āruhaḥ* as an anomalous verbal noun or adjective, depending on the subject of *aspasta* ('when, mounting etc., he beheld etc.'). But the occurrence of very many other cases where the parallelism is broken almost or quite as harshly justifies us in supposing that the shift in person was not too much for SV to tolerate.

§295 Attention may be called here to a curious detail which crops out among the variants between 2d and 3d person. When the SV repeats a RV mantra containing a verb of which the subject is Soma, it shows a marked tendency to replace a third-person indirect reference

by a second-person direct address to Soma. For example, this occurs in each of the four pādas of the following stanza, the subject being appropriately made vocative instead of the nominative of the RV

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV °*si*), *agre nāco agrīyo goṣu gachati* (SV °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV °*se mahad dhanam*), *svāyudhah sotrbhīh pūyate vṛṣā* (SV °*bhīh soma sūyase*) RV SV

And so in practically every case found among the Variants as between RV and SV in which the subject of the verb is Soma. In seven other cases besides the stanza just quoted the accompanying text is syntactically consistent in both cases, these are listed §328. But in another half-dozen cases, listed §334, the second-person forms of SV are more or less inconsistent with the context, which presents parallel third-person verbs even in SV. The reverse change of 2d to 3d person in verbs of which Soma is the subject is extremely rare in SV, and due to special reasons, see §335.

§296 Among the variants concerning number, perhaps the most interesting are those in which a verb with singular subject is made dual or plural by a simple process of multiplication of the subject, or by inclusion within the subject of another entity or entities, or vice versa in either case. The instances of the first type are grouped in §348 ff. They call for no comment: the following will serve as an example.

sundhantām lokāḥ pitṛsadanāḥ VS MS KS ŚB MŚ *sundhalām lokah pitṛsadanah* TS ApŚ, 'let the worlds (or, world) where the fathers sit be purified.'

For the second type see §§353 ff., the cases are somewhat less numerous, but still common enough, for example

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV SV VS TB

Followed by *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*. The real subject in RV is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples, *Sāyana, yo mitro dūvo yas cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah devāḥ* etc. The plural is here the original form, and the alteration is a case of subtraction or division rather than addition or multiplication of the subject. Both SV and TB were troubled by the seeming disagreement between verb and subject (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the construction, SV by making the verb singular, agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro*, and TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three subjects instead of two for the plural verb, in defiance of the meter.

§297 Of great interest, tho of equally great rarity, are the cases (§358) in which a grammatically plural or dual subject (either a *plurale*

tantum, or more than one noun felt as constituting a single unit) is alternatively construed with a singular verb, because the subject is thought of collectively as a unit

drupadād va muñcatām (TB °*tu*, so read with Poona ed.) AV TB The subject is found in the preceding pāda, *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca*, 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post' It would be mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of TB as agreeing with the nearer subject *bhavyam*, as under the type mentioned last. Rather, the two subjects are felt in TB as forming a single unitary concept

§298 There remain, finally, a rather considerable number of shifts in either person or number, or both, which are due to real syntactic reconstructions of the passage involving change of subject. Either the mantra may be applied in a different connexion, with a different subject for the verb, or the context may remain the same, but owing to an internal reconstruction the subject may be different and may require a different person or number. The following examples may serve to illustrate these two types, as between second and third person, and between the various numbers, they are hardly capable of further subdivision, and will be found grouped in §§338-41, 361-71. Most of the variants between first and second person, and between first and third, naturally involve change of subject, in so far as they include recognizable groupings, attention has already been called to them.

§299 First, cases in which the formula appears in different contexts. The first example is a pāda occurring in the RV itself in no less than four different stanzas, three of which are repeated in other texts, in three of the four the verb is second person, the varying subject being directly addressed in each, while in the fourth the subject is referred to indirectly and the verb is therefore third person. The anomalous form (*bhūtu*) of this last version shows that it is a secondary adaptation of one of the others

asmākam edhy antā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV MS TB TA MahānU *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV AV TA, 'be thou (let him be) aider of our chariots (our persons)'

Or, a case in which all three numbers, as well as second and third persons, appear, each form being appropriate to its special context

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV, 'he presses and adds water', *sunuta ā ca dhāvatah* RV, 'they two press and add water', *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV 'press ye (plural) and add water'

§300 Secondly, cases in which the context is essentially the same, but an internal reconstruction furnishes the verb with a different subject, requiring different person or number or both

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU SMB , 'the day has brought us across'
ahar mātīyapīparah AV , 'thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day'
pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ
iṣṭayah) AV AŚ ŚŚ , 'let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at
the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him)'

ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī ā prnethām (MS MŚ *prna*, LŚ *pīnāthām*) TS
MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O heaven and earth, be filled (glatified) with
ghee', or, 'fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee'

nīṣkam va prati muñcata (°tām) AV (both) 'Fasten ye on (another)
like a necklace', or 'let him fasten on himself like a necklace' Here,
and not infrequently, a change of voice goes with the change of person
and number, see §30 Somewhat similarly, but without a change of
voice, the verb is used in a different meaning in the following

indram samatsu bhūṣata SV *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV Pre-
ceded by *ā no viśvāsu havyah* (SV °yam) 'Let Indra associate himself
with us (SV , praise ye Indra), (Indra) who is to be invoked (of us) in
every conflict'

§301 After these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to list the
variants concerning Person and Number As usual thruout this work,
we have followed the lines of practical convenience in classifying them,
without being too much bound by formal and external schemes Thus,
in the case of the Person variants, we have found it practicable to divide
them first into the four natural groups of those which show (1) all three
persons, (2) first and second persons, (3) first and third, and (4) second
and third Cross-references from one group to another will enable the
reader to bring together such subdivisions of each group as belong
together But as regards the Number variants, such a primary division
has seemed to us inadvisable, and our first division has been psychologi-
cal rather than formal We begin with variations between first and
second persons singular and plural as referring to the priests and their
associates Next come cases in which the same subject appears as
singular, dual, or plural, with accompanying change in number of the
verb, and, following this, those in which a more inclusive subject varies
with a less inclusive one (§296) After this we place the very few varia-
tions in which a singular verb goes with a subject felt as collective, tho
formally dual or plural, and next the cases of generalizing plural and
singular Then come the variations in number due to change of subject

within the same context, then those due to change of subject involved in a change of context, and finally a few cases which seem to involve errors and corruptions with which little or nothing can be done. Within each of these groups, however, we have separated the variants which occur into the natural formal subdivisions of singular and plural, dual and each of the other numbers, and variations of all three numbers. Occasionally, and in so far as it seems desirable, we have also recognized accompanying changes of person in our subdivisions.

A. VARIANTS CONCERNING PERSON

1. *Variants between all three Persons*

§302 (a) Most of these are of the sort mentioned in §289 above. Namely, they concern cases in which a result is conceived as accomplished either by the priest or sacrificer (first person), or alternatively by some god, potency, agency, or implement, in which magic power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which is either addressed (in second person), or merely referred to (in third person). The considerable number of such variants, swelled by a still larger number in which only first and second persons appear (§304), or only first and third (§312), illustrates very interestingly this aspect of Vedic sacrificial psychology. Thus

tvēsam vaco apāvadhīt (TS TB °dhīm, MS °dhīh) VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB Preceded in all by *yā te agne 'yāsāyā* ('yahsāyā')
tanūr 'That form of thine, O Agni has driven away harsh words' or, ' (by it) I have driven away' or 'thou hast driven away' etc. Also *ugram vaco* etc., see Cone.

Here the real agency is the same in either case, the practitioner operates thru an implement or a force which he controls, and it makes no difference whether the activity is attributed to the one or the other. Similarly

vācam pasūn mā nir mārjīh MS MŚ *vācam prānam mā nir mṛkṣam*
 TS *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ *rūpam varnam pasūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ. And other similar formulas in the same context [*tam mā hṛanyavaracasam* (RVKh *tena mam sūryatvacam*)] *karotu* (RVKh *akaram*) *pūruṣu priyam* (ApMB *pūruṣu priyam kuru*) ApMB HG RVKh '(O name,) make me here of golden luster, beloved among the Pūrus' or, 'let it (the name) make me' etc. or, 'by it (the name) I have made myself sun-colored' etc.

evam garbham dadhāmi (ApMB °tu) te ŚB BrhU ŚG ApMB HG

and (in different but related context) *evam tam* (ApMB *tvam*) *garbham ādhehi* (ApMB *ādhatva*) RVKh ApMB MG, *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV 'Thus I fix (let him fix) the germ for thee', or, 'fix thou this germ' In the second version of ApMB, but only there, the woman is addressed 'Receive thou the germ' Note the middle voice, and see §30 In all the others the subject is either the practitioner (1st person) or some divine or magical potency (addressed in RVKh MG, referred to in 3d person in the first version of ApMB)

mā devānām muthuyā karma (TS *muthuyā kar*, MS *yūyupāma*, AŚ *momuhad*, AVPpp *yūyavad*, for *mī*° *karma*) *bhāgam* (AVPpp TS MS AŚ *bhāgadheyam*) AV AVPpp TS MS TB AŚ So to be read, see Whitney on AV 4 39 9 'May we (he, mayst thou) not cheat the share of the gods' or the like TS *kar* is 2d person, with subject Agni who is addressed in the preceding *pāda* Agni is also the subject of the 3d person forms of AVPpp AŚ, which have 3d person references to him in the preceding *pāda*

pari nah pāhi (also *pātu*, and *pari mā pāhi*) *visvatah* AV (all) *pari tvā pāmi sarvatah* RVKh 'Protect us (me, let him protect us, I protect thee) on all sides' In several different contexts

brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ *mā*, KS VS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punīmahe*) RV VS MS KS TB LŚ *idam brahma punīmahe* TB 'The charm (O Agni, that is in thy light), by that purify us (me, may we be purified)' The first person is here due to shift to middle (passive) value, see §30 The subject of the 3d person in VS KS can only be Agni, tho the vocative remains in these texts, VS comm *bhāvān punātu* Cf §332

§303 (b) The rest are of different sorts, and can hardly be classified except as *vikāras* of one another adapted to different situations, the real, as well as the grammatical, subject is generally different, and to a large extent the formulas are used in different contexts At most two of the three persons may refer to the same subject, as in the 1st and 2d person forms of the following, where the same individual speaks in one form of the variant and is addressed in the other (cf §308)

śatam jīvantu (AV *°*tah*, TB *ApŚ° MG *jīvena*, AV *SMB PG *ApMB *HG *ca jīva*, PG **ca jīvāmi*) *saradaḥ purūciḥ* (*suvarcāḥ*) RV AV VS ŚB TB TA ApŚ SMB PG ApMB HG MG Somewhat complicated are the variations of this oft-repeated *pāda*, occurring in several texts more than once It occurs in three stanzas, at least, which may be considered quite distinct from one

another In one all texts read *jīvantu* and *purūcīh* except AV which has the correlative participle *jīvantah* A second, reading *jīvema* and *purūcīh*, is found only in TB ApŚ The remaining occurrences seem all to concern variant forms of what is essentially the same stanza, sometimes two forms of it occurring in juxtaposition in the same text (as in ApMB 2 2 7 and 8) It is used variously, at the marriage ceremony, at the *upanayana*, at the ceremony marking the close of studentship, and the verb is always 2d person (addressed to the bride or to the *brahmacārīn*) except in PG 2 6 20 and MG 1 9 27, where it is put into the mouth of the *brahmacārīn*, see §308

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ *nākasya prṣthe sam iṣā madema* AV Same context In all but AV the subject is *devāh* in the preceding (voc in MŚ, nom in TS TB ApŚ, see §329) In AV it is replaced by *devaīh*, the subject being 'we' 'let (the gods) revel (O gods, revel ye) here in the highest heaven', or 'may we revel together (with the gods) with food on the back of heaven'

viśvam āyur vy āsnavat RV TS MS TB Kauś *asnavat* (AV °*vam*) AV VS MS KS TB *asnulah* RV *asnutam* (AV * °*tām*) RV AV ApMB In several different contexts, which account fully for the variations of both person and number

suprajāh prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) VSK TS ApŚ HG ApMB *suprajāh prajābhi(h) syām* (VS ŚB also *syāma*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ *supośah pośas* *suprajāh prajāyā syām* JB *supośah pośaīh syāt* MS KS TB MŚ In several different contexts

yad vo 'suddhah (VSK °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *jaghānataḥ*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS VSK ŚB *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad va etena śundhantām* KS *yad vo 'suddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS See §30

mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā sarvāni bhūtāni samīkṣantām mitrasyāham cakṣuṣā samīkṣe, *mitrasya cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe* VS (all, in same passage, the subject of *samīkṣāmahe* is reciprocal and includes *sarvāni bhūtāni*) *mitrasya vas cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe*, and *samīkṣadhvam* MS (in same passage) And others, see Conc under *mitrasya vaś*, *mitrasya tvā*

tena tvāyusāyusmantam karomi TS PG ApMB *tasyāyam* (and, *teṣām ayaṃ*) *āyusāyusmān asu asau* KS *tenāyusāyusmān edhi* MS

2 *Variants between First and Second Person*

§304 (a) We find under this head, first, a considerable group of the type described above in §§289, 302, in which the action or result is conceived as brought about sometimes by the priest or sacrificer (first person), sometimes by a divine or natural or supernatural agency or implement, which is addressed in the second person. Thus

ṛtenāśya nīvartaye (MŚ °ya), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ °ya) TB ApŚ MŚ 'By his divine order do I (thou, addressing the razor) return, by his truth do I (thou) move about' Spoken in the shaving ceremony, while wielding the razor

The potency address or referred to is not always clearly indicated, we have seen this illustrated in some of the similar variants of all three persons, and shall find the same in not a few of the following ones, as for instance in this

(*pari*) *mahe kṣatrāya* (also *śrotrāya*) *dhattana* AV (*pari*) *mahe rāṣṭrāya* (also *śrotrāya*) *dadhmaṣi* HG 'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like In AV apparently address to undefined gods

vi mīmīṣva payasvatīm ghr̥tācīm AV *vi mīme tvā payasvatīm devānām* TB ApŚ 'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be address) the milk-rich, ghee-full (cow)', or 'I measure thee out, the milk-rich (cow) of the gods'

payo divy antarīkṣe payo dhāh (TS *dhām*) VS TS MS KS 'Milk do thou place (sc for me, acc to VS comm Agni is address) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (TS KS TB 'yāt) VS TS KS ŚB TB 'yāsiṣam VS ŚB LŚ *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS 'I have (thou—[O bath]—hast) removed by sacrifice the god-wrought sin by the gods' Similarly (but in different context) *ava devānām yaja hedo agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like

vācam te mā hinsiṣam KS *vācam asya mā hinsiḥ* MS And so with *caḥṣuh*, *caritrān*, *śrotam*, and others At the slaughtering of an animal 'may I not harm thy voice etc', or 'harm not his voice etc', addressing the animal, or the instrument of slaughter

garbhān (sc *prīnāmi*) Vait *garbhān prīnāhi* ApŚ 'I gratify (, or, gratify thou—address to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos'

ava bādhe pṛtanayatah (ApŚ °iā) MS ApŚ *ava bādhasva pṛtanāyatah* PG

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūryo agre śukro agre tāh prahinomi (ApŚ °hinvō) MS ApŚ 'These I send forth', or 'these send thou forth' (addressed to the sun? see Caland on ApŚ 10 12 4)

apāraram adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ *apāraram pṛthivyaḥ devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Drive away (I would drive away) Araru' etc

śucum te (SV *ca*) *varnam adhi goṣu didharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV In SV addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV also

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tām maṣmaṣā* (MS † *mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS KS † TA *sarvān nī maṣmaṣā-karam* AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like
manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB *manasaspata imam no divi deveṣu yajñam*, *svāhā divi svāhā pṛthivyām svāhāntarikṣe svāhā vāte dhām svāhā* AV *manasaspata imam no deva deveṣu yajñam svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāh* TS *manasaspate sudhātva imam yajñam divi deveṣu vāte dhāh svāhā* MS The AV version is harsher, the voc *manasaspate* requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV

stotāram id didhīṣya (SV *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV SV Similar to prec, here SV has a lectio facilior

With change of number as well as person

pra tvā (KŚ *mā*) *muñcāmī* (RV * *pra no muñcatam*) *varunasya pāsāt* RV (both) AV AŚ KŚ AG ApMB Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra
tam (TS KS add *vah*) *supṛitam subhṛtam akarma* (KS *abhārṣam*, VS °*tam bibhṛta*) VS TS KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you', or 'maintain ye' etc

nīh kravyādām nudāmasi (MS *nudasya*) AV MS *nīh kravyādām sedha* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ In AV, 'we drive out the flesh-eating (fire)', in YV addressed to Agni Different contexts

bharatam uddharem anuṣṇīca (MŚ *uddharēma vanuṣanti?* doubtful text) TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the cake (*puṛodāsa*) at the *darśapūrnamāsa* TB comm understands *uddhara im* (= *imam*), and Caland on ApŚ follows him, *bharatam* means the *yajamāna* according to comm, according to Caland possibly Agni Both variants are doubtful

tayā mā samsṛjāmasi HG ApMB *tayā mām indra sam sṛja* RVKh 'With it (*lakṣmī*) we unite me', or 'with it unite me, O Indra'

tābhīr ā vartayā punah TS ApMB *tābhya enā nī vartaya* RV † *tābhyas tvā vartayāmasi* KS 'By (from) them bring them (we bring thee) back'

§305 Sometimes the change between first and second person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a change between active and middle or passive voice, or between causative and primary verb-forms. These will be found easily from the lists recorded above in §§30, 83ff, 238f, it is hardly necessary to repeat them here, as examples we may quote *agne dakṣaṁ punīhi nah* (TB *mā*, MS *punīmahe*) RV MS TB 'O Agni, purify us (me, may he become pure) by thy power'
saṁjīvā (AŚ * ApŚ *°vīkā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam amum*) *saṁjivayata* MS AŚ ApŚ *saṁjīvā stha saṁjivyaśam* AV 'Ye are enlivening (by name), do ye make this man live', or 'may I live'

§306 In some other cases we find essentially the same psychology, but with a slightly different turn in formal expression, as when a phrase of MS,

bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta, 'be ye more, who have made us more',

is (as it were) glossed by the variant of Kauś,

bhūyānso bhūyāśma ye ca no bhūyasaḥ kārṣta, 'may we be more, and likewise ye who have made us more' (Also the same texts with *an-nāda bhūyāsta* etc)

The real point is, 'may we be more' in both cases alike, but this is definitely stated in only one form of the variant, while in the other (MS) the desired result is nominally wished upon the agency used. Cf. with 1st and 3d persons, §313 below. Similarly in the next subject and indirect object exchange places, without real difference of meaning.

trīny āyūṁśi te 'karam (JUB *°śi me* 'kṛnoh) AV JUB Addressed to an amulet 'Three lives have I made for thee', or ' hast thou

made for me', the last is, of course, the real intention even in AV *āditya nāvam āruḥṣah* (SMB *āroḥṣam*) AV SMB *imām su nāvam ānuham* TS KS ApŚ *sūrya nāvam āruḥṣah* AV *sunāvam āruheyam* VS 'O Sun, I have mounted (may I mount, mount thou) fairly upon a ship', or the like.

The isolated AV reading (even Ppp has 1st person forms both times) is curious, and can hardly mean anything fundamentally different from the others, it is explained by the other variants in this section. The comm. on AV optionally allows the 2d person to be interpreted as 1st person (!)

sannān māvagām (ApŚ *°gāta*) MS ApŚ MŚ 'May I not go (go ye not) to those that are sunk' Addressed to the sacrificial posts

śūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
'I have mounted (mount thou) the eye of the sun'

payasvān (^o*vān*) *agna āgamam* (RV *āgahī*) RV AV VS TS MS KS
JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB 'With milk, O Agni, I have come (come
thou)' The context is the same, and the 'milk' is in either case
for the benefit of the speaker

deva tvaṣtar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB

svargān (AŚ corruptly *svagān*, Vait *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (Vait
jayema, AŚ *jayatah* [!]) SV AŚ ŚŚ Vait 'Conquer ye, swift
(steeds, *vājino*, pāda a) heaven' or 'may we swiftly conquer heaven'
Vait is obviously secondary but probably gives the real sense of
the other, original reading On AŚ see §250 In AŚ follows an
alternative form of the pāda, *svargān arvato jayati*, which the comm
says is designed to indicate that either *arvanto* or *arvato* may be read,
he does not notice the difference in the last word In fact, *jayati*
and (dual) *jayatah* are equally unconstruable

§307 (b) We come next to a quite different group of first and second
person variants, namely those in which both forms alike refer really to
the same individuals, viz the priests or their associates, including the
yajamāna with whom they frequently and naturally identify themselves
in speech See §290 above As is well known, the ritualists may say
either 'we' or 'you', about equally well, in speaking of themselves and
their fellows Singular forms, especially of the first person, are also
not rare, cf below, §§344ff, 347, for variants between first singular and
plural, and second singular and plural, in this sense In this place we
list such of these variants as concern either person alone, or both person
and number, beginning with those between first and second person
plural

mitrāya (TS KS * TB ApŚ *satyāya*) *havyam ghṛtavaj juhota* (TS KS
^o*vad vidhema*) RV TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ N See §290 The
next is really a mere *vikāra* of this

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavad vidhema (ŚŚ ŚG ^o*vaj juhota*) TS ŚŚ ŚG
ApMB *dhātā id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ *Dhātā* is meant
by *tasmai*

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV
KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS 'Then may we be
(be ye) fragrant in the house' AV has different context from the
others

atra (ŚB *atrā*) *jahīmo 'śivā ye asan* VS ŚB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahīta*) *ye*

- asann aśevāh* (AV *aśvāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV AV (bis) TA 'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious'
- mṛtyok padam* (MG *padāni*) *yopayanāto yad ata* (TA *ama*, AV *yopayanta eta*, MG *lopayante yad eta*) RV AV TA MG (Read probably *etaḍ* in MG)
- yathā me bhūrayo* 'sata AV *yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayah* TA The AV form is very doubtful, mss 'satah, both edd 'sata, comm also 'sata, glossing *syāta*, as if the form were *asatha*, 2d plural subj
- pāpmānam te* 'pahanmah KŚ *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś 'pa jahi) MG Kauś
- anadvāham* anv *ārabhāmahe* VS VSK TA *anadvāham plavam* anv *ārabhadhvam* AV MG In different contexts
- işam madantah pari gām nayadhvam* (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV, MG
- First and second person singular
- hṛdā matim janaye* (VS KS TB 'ya) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ 'I produce (produce thou) with the heart a lovely hymn to Agni'
- tena te vapāmy āyuse* MC *tenāsyayuse vapa* ApMB See §124 The first form is addressed to the boy who is shaved, the second to the officiating priest who shaves This might be classed with the following subdivision
- sakhyāt te mā yoṣam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh* SMB See §168 A reciprocal relation is here expressed in both cases 'may I not be separated from thy friendship', or 'do not withhold thy friendship (from me)'
- indro vide tam u stuṣe* (Mahānāmnyah *stuhī*) AA Mahānāmnyah See §165 To be classed here if *stuṣe* is first person, as Keith takes it
- With change of number
- tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Followed by
- tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota* (ApŚ *juhomi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ
- visvān devāns tarpayata* (BDh *tarpayāmi*) TB BDh
- Somewhat similar is the following variant between first dual and second singular
- sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva* (ApMB corruptly, 'padā babhūva, cf Winternitz, p xvi f) ApMB HG *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB 'dā) bhava AG ŚG Kauś ApMB SMB The first is spoken by the bridegroom, referring to himself and the bride, the second is addressed to the bride alone See §367

§308 (c) We come next to a group in which the same person is the

subject of both 1st and 2d personal forms, but in one he is represented as speaking, while in the other he is spoken to We have met this type already, §303, and a similar interchange is found between 1st and 3d persons, below, §316f Thus

purīdam vājy ajnam (PG °dam vājnam) *dadhe* 'ham (HG *ajnam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG HG ApMB 'I put (put thou) on this skin with vigor' or the like In HG spoken by the *guru* to his pupil, in the others, by the pupil himself

prānasya brahmacāry asī (ApMB *asmī*, HG *abhūr asau*) AG HG ApMB MG Exactly like preceding, here spoken by the pupil only in ApMB

marutām (MS *sapatnahā ma*°) *prasave jeṣam* (MS *jaya*) TS MS TB ApŚ 'On the impulse of the Maruts may I conquer (conquer thou)' The subject is the king at the *rājasūya*, who speaks in TS etc, while in MS he is spoken to In a way this might be classed with the preceding group, the king being the *yajamāna*, cf the variant *tena te vapāmy āyuse*, *tenāsyaāyuse vapa*, quoted above, which may be said equally to belong here Other forms, see §§158, 370

syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam LŚ *syonām āsīda suṣadām āsīda* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'I have sat (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat' Apparently addressed to, or spoken by, the king at the *rājasūya*

śatam jīvāmi (MG *jivema*, AV ApMB HG *ca jīva*) *saradaḥ purūcīḥ* AV ApMB PG HG MG (and others similar, see §303), followed directly in PG MG and once in AV by the following, which occurs in a similar context in the others also

rāyas ca poṣam upasamvyayasva AV HG ApMB *rayam ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayisyē* PG MG In the PG MG form of these two pādas, the graduate brahman-pupil speaks in person, in the others he is addressed

samātam samkalpethām VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *sam ayāva sam kalpāvaharī* ApMB Here a formula belonging originally to the *śrauta* sphere (addressed to two fires, cf Keith on TS 4 2 5 1) is secondarily applied in two *gṛhya* texts, MG and ApMB In the former it is addressed without change to the bride and groom by the officiating priest in the marriage rite, while in ApMB it is spoken by the bridegroom, of himself and the bride

samnahye (KS °hya) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ ApMB *samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV The bride (AV ApMB) or the sacrificer's wife (the others) speaks or is addressed 'I gird myself (gird thyself) unto goodness (immortality)' On KS, see §30

§309 (d) Of the few remaining first and second person variants little need be said. For the most part they are simply cases in which a phrase is adapted to a wholly new context, and provided therefore with a wholly different subject. In the first pair of variants we have in one form a deliberate *vikāra* of the other, in adjoining passages

atī dhanveva tān ihi RV AV SV VS *dadhanveva tā ihi*, followed by *nidhanveva tān imi* TA 1 12 2d (both). And in the same stanza *yāhi* (TA also *yāmi*) *mayūraromabhīh* RV AV SV VS TA. The second version (in 1st person) of TA is deliberately modelled on the first (in 2d person). Note the anomalous form *imi*, for *emi* (which the meter forbids), under the influence of *ihi*.

No less surely, in the following variant, is the MS form secondarily adapted from the original (as in RV) to fit its wholly new context, while TA, altho it has the same new context as MS, retains or restores the original form of the verb as in the different context of RV.

atārisma (MS *°ṣta*) *tamavas pāram asya* RV MS KS TA ApŚ. In MS TA the preceding pāda is *vimucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA *°niyā*) *devayānāh* 'be released, () cattle, going to the gods, ye (TA we, under the influence of the original form) have crossed to the farther shore of this darkness'. In RV KS the context is wholly different.

§310 In the next we are reminded of the cases listed in the preceding subdivision, but here the subject is changed, the context being a different one, a god speaks of himself in one variant, while two gods are addressed in the other. See on this point Bloomfield's important observation, *RV Rep* 384 'We may perhaps accept it as a general principle, that in hymns in which a god speaks for himself, repeated pādas, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the 2d or 3d person, are secondary and epigonal'. If this is so, the 1st person form in the following would be secondary.

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣathah (*śikṣam*) RV (both)

§311 Of the rest it is unnecessary to speak in detail, they contain changes of person to suit very miscellaneous contexts.

vajro 'si (MŚ *hāsmi*) *sapatnahā* Kauś MŚ

sūryasyāvṛtam anvāvarte (SMB GG *anvāvartasvāsau*) AV VS KS ŚB
SMB GG

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV *ānasa*) RV TB ApŚ 2d pl perf in RV

saṣṭātānām madhyamasthā edhi (AV *madhyameṣṭhāh*, MS KS *°meṣṭhe-yāya*) AV VS TS MS KS *saṣṭ° madhyameṣṭhā yathāśāni* AV

3 *Variants between First and Third Person*

§312 (a) Here again we find a considerable number of cases in which the statement of something effected by the speaker (expressed in 1st person) varies with a statement of the same thing as effected by the potency on which he relies, which in this case is expressed in the third person, the potency being not addressed directly, cf above, §§289, 302, 304

udgrābhenod agrabhāt (MS *ajgrabhat*, KS *ajgrabham*, and *ajgrbham*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB 'With elevation he (Indra) has elevated me', or ' I have elevated myself' The context is the same, and Indra's instrumentality is implied also in KS

tāh sam tanomī (TS MS ApŚ *dadhāmi*, KS *dadhātu*) *haviṣā* (MS *manasā*) *ghṛtena* TS MS KS AŚ KŚ ApŚ 'These (offerings) I unite (let him, in KS Viśvakarman, unite) with oblation, with ghee' The passages are similar, tho not exactly identical, and 1st or 3d would go well enough in all

tau yuñjīta (AV *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV SV 'Them (Indra's arms) let him (I shall) yoke first' etc

preto muñcāmi (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu*, PG *muñcau*, ApMB *muñcātī*) *nāmutah* (ŚG MG SMB † *māmutah*, PG *mā pateh*)
RV AV AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG Two different contexts one in RV AV ApMB, followed by

subaddhām amutas karam (ApMB *karat*) RV AV ApMB 'I release (he, i e some god, shall release) her (the bride) from here, not from there, I have (he has) made her well-fastened there' In the other (GS) texts, the subject of the verb is Aryaman or Pūṣan, previously mentioned, so, perhaps, ApMB is to be interpreted A related but still different formula, *ito mukṣīya māmūtah* (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ, is spoken (in a different context) by the bride herself, hence medio-passive, see §30

īdam asmākam bhūje bhogāya bhūyāt (MŚ *bhūyāsam*) KS ApŚ MŚ 'May this be (may I be here) for enjoyment and feasting unto us' MŚ doubtless secondary

abhi tvā varcasāśīcam (AV [°]*siñcan*, read [°]*siñcan*, see Whitney on 4 8 6)
AV KS TB Followed in AV by *āpo divyāh payasvatīh*, in KS TB by *divyena* (KS *yaññena*) *payasā saha*, Ppp agrees with TB The preceding stanza ends in all *abhiṣiñcāmi varcasā*, perhaps KS TB have altered the original under the influence of this, but the Ppp version makes it doubtful whether the AVŚ can contain the original form of the pāda 'I have (the waters have) poured out upon thee' etc

nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŚ ApŚ *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV AV VS 'Let (the herbs) free me from the (effect) of the curse' 'I free myself from the curse'

mama vrate te hṛdayam (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te dadhāmu* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB PG MG 'In my power I set (let him, sc some god, set) thy heart' See Conc for other, vaguer, parallels *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś annādam annādāyāyādadhe* (KS *annādāyāyānnapatyāyāyādadhe*) TS KS *annādam agnum annapatyāyādadhe* MS *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ *agnim annādam annādāyāyādadhe* VS The subject in Kauś is apparently Aditi, who is addressed in the others also, they all have 1st person verbs, of which the priestly speaker is of course the subject

pāvamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu* (KS *vīryenoddharāmy asau*) TS KS

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena vīryenod dhare (KS *vīryenotsṛjāmy asau*) MS KS *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena savitot sṛjatu* TS *prajām asyaṛ jaradaṣṭim kṛnotu* (and, *kṛnomi*) SMB (both) Subject of *kṛnotu* is Agni

sa pūrvyo nūtanam āvuvāsat (SV *ājigīṣam*) AV SV Subject of the 3d person is the sun, Conc suggests that sV should read *ājigīṣat*, and this would certainly be simpler

sam ākūṭir namāmasi (MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS

garbham sravantam agadam akah (AŚ *akarma*) TB ApŚ AŚ *ukhām* (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantam agadām akarma* (KS *aganma*) KŚ MŚ ApŚ Followed in next pāda by a series of names of gods, in most texts in the nominative (e g *agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam* AŚ ApŚ *, *agnir indras tvaṣṭā bṛhaspatih* TB ApŚ *) *akah* is 3d sing, the subject being the following *agnir* (not all the following nouns collectively, as TB comm says) The reading with *akarma* may be rendered 'We have made whole the slipping embryo (fire-pot, or, her that drops the embryo),—(and also) Agni, Indra, etc (have made it, or her, whole)' Culand on ApŚ 9 18 12 assumes, apparently, that *akarma* corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither necessary nor likely

rūpād varnam (ApŚ *rūpam varnam paśūnām*) *mā nirmṛkṣat* (ApŚ **kṣam*), [see §302.] followed by

vāṇi tvā sapatnasāham sam mārṣti (ApŚ *mārymu*) ApŚ MŚ After these two formulas comes the command *iti sammārṣti*, in MŚ 1 2 5 7, see Knauer's note Knauer speaks of 'stellvertretende Spruchrecita-

tion', that is, he supposes that the formulas are recited by another priest than the one who does the cleansing. The simple command *utī sammārṣti* seems to make this improbable, and we prefer to think that it is spoken by the same priest, but that, as in so many other similar formulas, he attributes the effect to the instrument of cleansing, instead of to himself. 'It shall not wipe off' etc. So in the following, where MŚ (altho its mss vary, and in one case they read 1st person) seems to have regularly had a 3d person (or at least so Knauer thinks)

agne vājagād sam mārjmi VS ŚB TB ApŚ Vait *ājīm tvāgne sammārṣti* MŚ (two formulas, see Conc.) In one case all MŚ mss agree on **mārṣti*

§313 As in the case of 1st and 2d persons (§306), this group is swelled by some cases in which the activity or result is, in one variant, nominally attributed to the instrumental potency rather than the speaker

so *'mṛtatvam asīya* (VSK *asyāt*) VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ 'May I (he) attain immortality'. The subject in VSK is apparently understood as Varuna

upānṣunā sam amṛtatvam ānat (ApMB *asyām*) RV VS MS KS TA AŚ ApMB MahānU 'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality'. The original subject is *ūrmar madhumān*, the ApMB has a facile and slipshod alteration

pañca (AV *trīni*) *padāni rūpo* (AV *rūpo*) *anv aroham* (AV **hat*), *catuṣ-padīm anv emi* (AV *aitad*) *vratena, akṣarena pīati mima etām* (AV *mimāte arham*), *ṛtasya nūbhāv adhi* (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV **ti*) RV AV. An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV in the *havyrdhāna*, in AV in the funeral rites, see Oldenberg, RV *Noten*, ad 10 13 3. In RV the subject is probably the *hotar* (Oldenberg), at any rate the same as in the first-person verbs of the preceding verse, in AV it is probably Yama as in the following verse *gāyatreṇa chandasā prthivīm anu vi krame* TS *prthivyām* (KS **vīm*) *viṣnur* (MS *viṣnuh prthivyām*) *vyakransta qāyatreṇa chandasā* VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ. And the same with *traṣṭubhena antarikṣam* etc., and *jāgatena divam* etc.

Here would belong the following, if the TA version were to be accepted as a 1st person form

pra tad vocē amṛtasya (VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU. In AV 'may he (Gandharva), knowing of the immortal, proclaim'. On *voce* see §174. It seems that only a 3d person form can be intended here, so the TA comm., *provāca*, evidently thinking of *ūce*, 3d sing perfect middle

§314 (b) We referred above (§291) to the fact that third personal forms, either plural or (less often) singular, are frequently used in a generalizing sense, equivalent to French *on*, German *man*, and to the further fact that first person plurals sometimes vary with them in this same sense (and even, once, a first person singular). In the first cases about to be presented both 1st and 3d persons seem to be generalizing or indefinite

[*yathā kalām yathā śapham*] *yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*), [*evā duṣvapṛṇyam sarvam āptye* (AV *apṛiṇye*, or *duṣate*) *samnayāmasi*] RV AV (bis) See §291

[*yat kim cedam varuna daivye jant*] *abhidīḥam manuṣyāś carāmasi* (AV *caranti*) RV AV TS MS KS 'Whatever here, O Varuna, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk' AV is less appropriate metrically

yām (PG *yā*, KS MG *ye*) *tvā* (PG *tām*) *rātry* (PG MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* (AV PG *upāśmahe*, SMB *rātri yajāmahe*) AV TS KS SMB PG MG Preceded by *sambatsarasya pratimām* (PG *°mā*) 'Thee whom, O night, we (they, both indefinite) revere as the image of the year', or the like

Perhaps here belongs the following

pra tve havīṇsi juhure (KS *juhūmas*) *samiddhe* (MS *tve samiddhe juhure havīṇsi*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The form *juhure* (see §77) may be taken as middle with indefinite subject, 'they offer oblations in thee when kindled' (so Keith on TS), or as passive with *havīṇsi* as subject, 'oblations are offered', much less likely as a 1st sing with Ludwig. The KS reading, 'we offer oblations', favors the first interpretation

And, once at least, even singular forms are used in the same way
tam tvā bhaga sarva ŋ jōhavīmi (RV VS *°ti*) RV AV VS TB ApMB
See §291

§315 The rest are generalizing only in the 3d person form, while the 1st person (always singular) is perfectly definite. In the first couple of variants the indefinite 3d person is singular, in all the rest plural

tān ādityān aru madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV MS If *madā* is 1st singular subjunctive 'I will (one shall) revel (? revel thou) to the Ādityas unto welfare' But MS p p reads *mada* (2d sing impv), 'revel thou', which would make this variant belong in §307, or §261, according as RV *madā* be taken as 1st or 2d person

[*yadi jāgrad yadi svapann*] *ena enasyo 'karam*, [*bhūtām mā tasmād bhavyam ca drupadād va muñcatām*] AV [*yadi divā yadi naktam*] *ena enasyo*

'*karat*, [*bhūtam muñcatu*] (so read with Poona ed) TB 'If waking or sleeping I, sinful, have committed sin (if by night or day a sinful person has committed sin), may what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a log' TB comm *kṛtavān asmi* for *akarāt*! Note also *mā* in TB, there is no doubt that TB like AV really means to refer to the speaker's own sin. But by a touch of sly squeamishness the TB dodges the incriminating first-personal verb, and speaks of himself as if he didn't know who was meant, 'some one or other'!

yat tvā (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (KS ms °*vāpa*, 3d person, which may be kept', AV *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ 'If I, angry (if an angry man, or angry men) have thrown thee out' *na vi jānāmi* (AB *jānanti*) *yatarat* (AV °*rā*) *parastāt* AV AB JB 'I (they = people in general) do not know which is superior' (In AV different context from the others)

apām rasam udayansam (TA °*san*) KS TA Comm on TA *sarve lokā udgatāh*

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV *prācīm avācīm ava yann arṣṣṭyan* TA The 3d plural of TA can only be indefinite, comm *vayam avaimo jānīmah*!

vacānsy āsā (SV *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV *takṣuh*) RV SV 'I (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (or, for this mighty one)'

atrā te rūpam uttamam apasyam (VSK °*yan*) RV VS VSK TS KSA 'Here I (they = people) have beheld thy highest form' To the sacrificial horse in YV In the stanza before this

śiro apasyam (VSK °*yan*) *pathibhih sugebhih*, same texts—But the VSK reading is suspicious here, since if Weber's ed can be trusted, it reads 1st person *ajānām* like all the others in the first pāda of the same stanza. Furthermore Weber records no variant for VSK on *apaśyam* in the preceding, precisely similar stanza (*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam*)

yam tvā somenādītīrpāma (TS °*pam*, MŚ °*pan*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ And, in same stanza

yam tvā somenāmādam (MŚ °*dan*) TS MŚ

ghṛtam mīmukṣe (TA °*kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yonih* RV VS TA MahānU *sam u vām* (vo) *yajñam mahayam* (°*yan*) *namobhih* RV (both) Grassmann, 'man schmucket' for *mahayan*

apo devīr (VS ŚB *devā*) *madhumatīr agrbhnam* (TS ApŚ *agrhnan*, VS ŚB *agrbhnan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'I (they) have taken

the sweet divine waters', the subject is indefinite in TS ApŚ, in VS ŚB it is made definite, 'the gods have taken the sweet waters'
indrasya tvā jathare sādāyāmi (AŚ *dadhāmi*) VSK KB GB AŚ ŚŚ
 LŚ ApŚ Kauś *brahmana indrasya tvā* (Conc omits *tvā*) *jathare dadhuh* MŚ As one eats (*prāśnāti*), he says 'I place (they, indef, have placed) thee in the belly of (Brahman, of) Indra' The parallel formulas are all 1st singular even in MŚ, and this is certainly an easier reading, one wonders how the 3d plural indefinite crept in to MŚ

ratham na dhīrah svapā atakṣam (RV * *atakṣiṣuh*) RV (both) TB The 3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding, even tho a subject (*āyavah*) is here expressed in the preceding pāda. The first person has priority, see *RVRep* 133f

§316 (c) In a number of cases first and third person forms are used referring, in one way or another, to the same individual as subject. Some of these remind us of the subdivision (b) under First and Second Person variants (§307), in that the subject is both times an associate in the ritual performance, a priest or the *yajamāna*, who either speaks or is indirectly referred to, as

anuṣā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text, °*nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ 'ham *asmī*) TB AŚ See §116 The subject is the *yajamāna* both times

sarve vrātā varunaśjābhūvan (MS °*bhūma*) TS MS KS TB Spoken by the *yajamāna* at the *rājasūya* 'They (we) all have become the hosts of Varuna' In either case the associates of the *yajamāna* are meant

havante vājasālaye RV *huvema vā°* RV SV MS KS *huvaya vā°* RV AV The contexts are different (see *RVRep* 255f), but the variant may properly be classified here, since in the 3d person form the subject, *janāśah* or *kanvāh*, is really identical with the speaker and his associates

§317 Again, there are cases reminding us of subdivision (c) under First and Second Persons (§308), in that the change is conditioned by the fact that the same person speaks himself in one variant, while in the other he is spoken of

anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse MŚ (spoken by the *yajamāna*)
anuvatsarīnām svastim āśāste TB ApŚ (said of the *yajamāna* by the *hotar*) The same with *parivatsarīnām* etc, *samvatsarīnām* etc

§318 As will be seen from this illustration the dividing line between these different types is not clear. The majority of the variants in this

subdivision are perhaps best described by saying that in one form a statement is couched in more or less general terms, the subject being not clearly identified with the speaker, while in the other (with first person) this identification is definitely made. In a way, therefore, these cases resemble those listed under the preceding sub-section, §315. The difference, which is not by any means sharp or clear, is that in the cases listed here the subject of the third person form is not so indefinite as in those mentioned above, it could not be rendered by German *man* or French *on*, since in fact a subject is expressed, or at least very clearly understood. But this subject is clearly identified with the speaker only in the first-person form of the variant. Thus

śinanāṁ pākam atī (ŚŚ † *adhī*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emī*) AŚ ApŚ ŚŚ, followed in the first two by

ṛtaśya paṇhām anv emī (ApŚ *eti*) *hotā* AŚ ApŚ 'They (fetters) bind the simple, the wise passes over them (I, being wise, pass etc.), along the path of holy order goes (I go as) the *hotar*' Spoken by the *hotar*

āchettā te (vo) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS *mārṣam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'Let (me) your cutter not suffer harm'. Even in the 3d person form the subject is really identical with the speaker

yad devayantam avatah śacībhiḥ, pari ghransam omanā vām (TB *parighransa vām manā vām*) *vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N 'When you (Aśvins) aid the pious man mightily, then he (I) shall go to refreshment, passing over heat by your aid', or the like. TB is badly corrupted, and the comm.'s explanations are mostly worthless, but his *gachatu* for *gām* is at least interesting, and not far wrong. The speaker identifies himself with the 'pious man', as to *gām* TB, while undoubtedly secondary, need not be considered corrupt

yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS *yam bahava upajīvanti* AŚ 'On whom many (we all) may depend'

tiro (RV VS ŚB AG *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA ApŚ * *dadhmahe*) *parvatena* RV AV VS ŚB TA ApŚ (his) AG ApMB 'Let them block (hide, or remove, or, 'we hide') death by a mountain'. After the funeral, the living are separated from the dead by a barrier, the subject of *dadhatām* is 'the living'

§319 If the first-person form is textually sound, the following belongs here, the verb occurs in a relative clause, in one form of which the subject is identified with the speaker, and the verb put in the first person, presumably even the other form really refers to the speaker or his associates

mā yah somam imam pibāt (KŚ *pibā*, KS *somam pibād imam*) KS TB
KŚ ApŚ See §331

§320 Once a speaker is represented as quoting some one else's words about himself, in the included quotation the subject of the verb, referring to the speaker of the main clause, should logically be third person, but in just half the texts it is made first person, by a natural laxity
abhy aṣṭhām (MS MŚ *asthām*, TS KS ApŚ *asthād*) *visvāḥ pṛtanā arāṇi* AV TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ 'I have (he has, referring to the speaker) conquered all battles and hostilities' [thus spake Agni, etc, sc of me]

§321 In a way the converse of this is found in the next variant, in which in one out of three texts the speaker is made to refer to himself in the third person, because the poet thinks of him in the third person
upamañkṣyati syā (ŚŚ *upamañkṣye 'ham*, AB *nīmañkṣye 'ham*) *salilasya madhye* AB ŚB ŚŚ 'I shall (she, the earth, will) plunge into the middle of the ocean' The earth is the speaker

§322 In a still more strange passage both forms refer to the same subject, so far as we can see, which ought to be first person, no justification for the third person is apparent

prajāpateḥ prajā abhūma (KS *abhūvan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
Preceded or followed in all by *svar devā* (TS TB *devān*) *aganma* (MS *agāma*), and, *amṛtā abhūma* 'We have gone to heaven as gods (or, to the gods), we (KS they) have become creatures of Prajāpati, we have become immortal' In KS, as in most texts, this is the order, with first-person expressions flanking the variant formula on either side Unless 'the gods' is felt as the subject in KS, which seems unlikely, we cannot explain the 3d person

§323 (d) The remaining cases concern miscellaneous changes of subject, either in the same context (in about half the cases, those which are listed first), or conditioned by a change of context, a few definite *ūhas* or *vikāras* are included towards the end, and the section concludes with a few corruptions or errors First, change of subject in what remains essentially the same context

viśvāvasum namasā girbhīr īde (ApMB *ītte*) RV ApMB 'I worship (she, the bride, worships) Viśvāvasu with homage and songs' The gandharva Viśvāvasu is banished from the bride All mss of ApMB agree, see Winternitz, Introduction, p xiv

dīrghāyutvāya jaradaṣṭir asmi (MG *astu*) PG MG In MG *jaradaṣṭir* is understood as a *tatpuruṣa* while in PG it is a *bahuvrīhi*, both mean the same thing 'I am one that attains old age unto long life,' or, 'let there be (for me) attainment of old age' etc

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*, MS *bhūyāśma te*) *sumatau visvavedāh* (MS † °*dah*, so text intends with its reading °*dā*, followed by initial vowel)
TS MS KS PG 'Viśvavedas is in good-will towards me (us)',
or, 'may we be in thy good-will, O Viśvavedas'

nahī te nāma jagrāha AV *nahy asyā* (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhnamī*
RV ApMB See Whitney on AV 3 18 3

vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu SV *vande dārum* (read *vandārur*, or
vandār-vā?) *vandamāno vivakmī* RV See Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, p 1062, Ludwig, 4 367, Oldenberg, *KVNoten*,
on 7 6 1

apah prerayam (SV *prarayāt*, TB *prarayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV
SV TB Preceded in all by *indrāya giro anāśitasargāh* Only
the RV version is really sensible, the others are careless distortions.
Benfey is forced to take the preceding pāda as a separate sentence,
making Indra the subject of *prarayāt* TB comm gives *giro*
as the subject and *apah* as the object of *prarayan* Cf §138

yad ahnāt (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA (followed by *tad ahnāt*,
or *rātriyāt*, *pratimucyate*) *yad ahnā* (and, *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam*
TA MahānU The form *kurute* is evidently felt as passive
'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc

o cū sakhāyam sakhya vavṛtyām RV AV (Yami speaks to Yama) ā
tvā sakhāyah sakhya vavṛtyuh SV (unintelligent revamping of the
same pāda, Benfey, 'dich mochten Freunde zu Freundschaft
gewinnen')

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*, and once *svadam*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS
MS ŚB 'Let thy oblations taste sweet' or the like If *svadam*
is right, it must be transitive, 'I have enjoyed thy oblations' But
probably *svadan* should be read

§324 In some of the above it will be noticed that number as well as
person varies in one form of the variant Likewise the now following
list of variants, in which change of subject is conditioned by a change
of context, contains cases with change of both person and number

[*apa dveṣo apa hvaro*] *'nyavratasya* (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV
saścire TA *saścimah*, but read °*ma* with Poona ed) RV VS MS
ŚB TA In a different context in RV from the others

āyusmān (°*mān*, °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭr yathāsat* (RVKh VS °*dam*, AV also
°*sān*) AV (both) RVKh VS AG PG ApMB Used in no less than
four different stanzas, two in AV, one in RVKh VS, and one in
the GS texts

yatra devaḥ sadhamādam madema (AV *madanti*) AV MS TB In

three different contexts, no two alike But AV *comin* reads *madema*

ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB *kṛnomi*) RV ApMB *ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS Similar stanzas, but extensively recast 'I set thee (let him set me, may I be) uninjured with thy (my) husband' In the last two forms the woman speaks

saṃjānate manasā sam cikitre RV *saṃjānāmahar manasā sam cikitvā* AV

sarvam āyur vy ānaṣe (MS *aśnavai*) MS TB ApŚ *viśvam āyur vy aśnavai* (AV mss °vat) AV VS KS TB *dirgham āyur vy aśnavai*

PG The vulgate text of AV emends to °vam, unnecessarily, subject is *sabhā* The context is different from the rest

Deliberate *ūhas* or *vikāras*

ayam (AŚ **aham*) *śatrūn jayatu* (AŚ **jayāmi*) *jarhṣānah* (AŚ **jarhṣānah*), *ayam* (AŚ **aham*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ **jayāmi*) *vājasātau* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ (bis)

In AŚ 2 11 8c we have a *vikāra* of the other passage

dīnyam dhāmāsāste (and, *ūha*, *āsāse*) ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

adṛṣan (and, *apaśyam*) *tvāvarohantam* NilarU (both) The first is a *vikāra* of the other

tvā parameṣṭhīn pari rohita (*pary agnir*, *pary aham*) *dadhātu* (*dadhāmi*) AV 13 1 17d 18d, 19d

jyotiṣe tantava āsīṣam āśāse (KS 7 2 °ste) KS 7 2, 9 (so, correct Conc)

If these are the correct readings, we have another case of *ūha* But the sole ms used by the ed for 7 2 reads *āsāste* also in 7 9, if corrupt in one passage, it is likely to be corrupt in the other too The better reading seems to be *āsāse*, probably read so both times, with ms D on 7 9 and KapS (see editor's note)

gamat sa (*gamema*, *sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV (all)

jyok pasyema (RV also *pasyāt*, and *pasyema nu*, omitting *jyok*) *sūryam uccarantam* RV (all) AV

§325 Corruptions or errors

idam vāni tena prīnāmi ŚŚ *etad vāni tena prīnāti* TB ApŚ So Conc, and so Garbe reads in ApŚ But TB (both edd) has *prīnāni*, and this is to be read also in ApŚ, see Caland on 2 20 6, note 2

vājino me yajñam vahān (MŚ text *vahāni*, followed by *iti*, probably read *vahān* with v 1) MS KS MŚ

rāyas poṣāyotsrje (MS erroneously °jet) MS MŚ

tām te vācam āśya ādatte (read *ādade*) PG 3 13 6 (see Stenzler's critical note) *ā te vācam āśyā* (*āśyām*) *dade* HG ApMB

sthāmny aśvān atīṣṭhupam AV *sthāmna vṛkkāv atīṣṭhupan* AV vulgate, misprint for °*pam*, see Whitney on 7 96 1

Under *prānena vācā manasā bibharmi*, Conc quotes TB 2 5 8 7 as reading *bibharti*, this is an error, there is no variant

4 Variants between Second and Third Person

§326 These are much more numerous than those between first and either second or third person. Nor are they by any means lacking in interest. But little comment is needed on most of them. The great majority are simply cases in which the same subject is alternatively addressed in second person or indirectly referred to in third, and the most interesting feature of this large class is that sometimes one or the other form is inconsistent with its context. This inconsistency may be of two kinds: either the subject of the second person may be a nominative or that of the third person a vocative, or parallel expressions in the surrounding context may be of the opposite type (direct address by the side of third-personal reference) in one form. Examples of all these types have been quoted above, §293f, they will form the basis of the following classification. We shall conclude with the smaller, but still not inconsiderable, number of cases in which the change of person is associated with a real change of subject, either in the same context, or owing to the use of the phrase in a different context.

§327 (a) First, then, variations between direct address and third-personal indirect reference to the same subject, in which there is no inconsistency with the context in either variant. The subject, if expressed, is nominative with the 3d person and vocative with the 2d, and if there are parallel expressions associated, they present no inconsistencies. In not a few instances, as we shall presently see, a whole stanza, containing several parallel verbs, is recast, each verb being changed from 2d to 3d person or vice versa.

§328 Attention must first be called to the little group of cases in which Soma is referred to in the 3d person in RV, but directly addressed in the 2d person in a repetition in SV, see §295, and for cases in which the context is inconsistent, §334

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV °*si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati* (SV °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV °*se mahad dhanam*), *svāyudhah sotṛbhīh pūyate vṛṣā* (SV °*bhīh soma sūyase*) RV SV

Here an entire stanza is recast, note that the nominative subject of RV becomes a vocative in SV

[*ayā somah* (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā*,] *mahaś cid abhy avardhata* (SV *ma-*

hānt sann abhy avaradhathāh), *mandāna ud* (SV ^{id}) *vr̥ṣāyate* (SV ^{se}) RV SV
te no dhāntu (SV *dhatta*) *sv̥r̥yam* RV SV There is no expressed subject, nor other finite verb, in the stanza, Soma is understood as subject
pavitre pari śicyate (SV ^{se}), *krandan devān ajījanat* (SV ^{nah}) RV SV
 The (unexpressed) subject is Soma
pavamāno vy āśnavat (SV ^{na} *vy āśnuhi*) RV SV
nadayann elī (SV *eṣi*) *pṛthvīm ula dyām*, and, in same stanza *pracelayann arṣatī* (SV *pracodayann arṣasi*) *vācam emām* RV SV
 In this and the rest the unexpressed subject is Soma
vājān abhi pra gāhate (SV ^{se}) RV SV
harīh san yonim āśadat (SV ^{dah}) RV SV

§329 The rest are miscellaneous, and need no subdivision At the beginning of the list are placed a number of instances of entire stanzas, or series of formulas, varying in this way

navo-navo bhavati (AV JUB ^{si}) *jāyamānah, ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV [†] *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV ^{sy}) *āyan, pra candramās tīrate* (TS ^{ti}, AV [†] ^{mas} *tīrase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N, the first pāda also TB AŚ HG BDh JUB VHDh

ihi (AV *etu*) *tisrah parāvatah, ihi* (AV *etu*) *pañca janān atī, ihi* (AV *etu*) *tisro 'ti rocanāh* (AV ^{nā}, despite gender of *tisro*!) RV (first two pādas only) AV TB ApŚ Address to, or said of, a rival
ye rātrīm (KS ^{īm}) *anutiṣṭhanī* (KS [†] ^{atha}), *ye ca bhūteṣu jāgratī* (KS ^{gr̥tha}), *pasūn ye sarvān rakṣanti* (KS ^{atha}), *te na ātmasu jāgratī* (KS [†] *jāgr̥ta*) AV KS

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmūd duritād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*), *druhaḥ pāsān nīṛṭyai codamoci* (AV *pāsād grāhyās codamukthāh*), *ahā uvarīm* (AV *arāhm*) *avdat* (AV ^{dah}) *syonam, apy abhūd* (AV *abhūr*) *bhadre sukṛtasya loke* AV TB ApMB The two verse-halves are secondarily separated in AV but obviously belong together, see Whitney on AV 2 10 2 The verb *ahā*(s) may be either 2d or 3d person, and this ambiguity may be responsible for the alteration in the others Probably AV with its second persons is secondary (*ahās* seemed to call for them!), for Ppp has all verbs in the same form as TB ApMB (Barret, JAOS 30 193)

yad asarpat (KS ^{pas}) *tat sarpir abhavat* (KS ^{vah}, MS omits), *yan navam aśī* (KS *aśī*) *tan navanūtam abhavat* (KS ^{vah}), *yad aghr̥iyata* (KS ^{thās}, TS *adhr̥iyata*) *tad ghṛtam abhavat* (KS ^{vah}, MS omits) TS MS KS The butter is referred to or address

hato (SV TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV TB *aprahi*) RV AV SV TB followed in RV SV by

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatā*, *hato* (SV *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣah* RV SV In SV the entire stanza is changed to a direct address The first pāda is used in AV TB in a different stanza, addressed however to the same gods (Indra and Agni), who are directly addressed in the 2d person, as Whitney remarks, only *hatho* (as in TB) is construable, yet all AV mss, followed by both edd, read *hato* This AV reading belongs to §332 below It seems clear that it is a very ancient perversion, due to recollection of the R̥gvedic form of the pāda

pitṛn yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah*, preceded by, *yo agnih* (TS *yad agne*) *kavyavāhanah* (TS °*na*, RV *kravya*°), and followed by *pred u* (TS *pra ca*) *havyāni vocatī* (TS *vakṣyasi*) RV VS TS KS *uttame nāka iha mādayantām* (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ See above, §303

akartām asvinā lakṣma AV *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvinā* AV See §130 *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SB *agne gr̥hapata upa mā hvayasva* KS ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait

agnināgniḥ samvadatām TA *agne agninā samvadasva* TA ApŚ

iha rama MS AB AŚ ApŚ *iha ramah†* HG 1 12 2 (not *rama*, construe as noun) *iha ramatām* VS ŚB HG Used in various connexions, but in VS and MS in precisely the same set of formulas The immediately preceding formula in both is addressed to gods, referring (in 3d person) to the sacrificial horse, but just before this the horse is directly addressed in a series of formulas, hence it is easy for MS to address *iha rama* directly to the horse, no harshness is felt VS, however, is equally natural in referring to the horse in the third person, the prayer in *iha ramatām* may quite as well be addressed to the gods just mentioned Mahidhara, however, thinks the horse must be addressed, and supplies *bhavān* with *ramatām* — There seems to be nothing inconsistent with the person in the other texts

dyām (VSK *divam*) *agrenāspṛkṣa āntarikṣam madhyenāprāh pṛthwīm uparenādṛnhīh* VS VSK (for which read in Conc °*āspṛkṣah*) KS ŚB (address in all to the *yūpa*), *devo vanaspatir* (sc *yūpo*) *varṣapṛāṇā ghṛtanirniḡ dyām agrenāspṛkṣad āntarikṣam madhyenāprāh pṛthwīm uparenādṛnhīt* MS KS TB Note that *aprās* may be either 2d or 3d person, and that KS has both forms of the variant *uṣo dadṛkṣe* (PB *ūṣā*, read *uṣā*, *dadṛkṣe*) *na punar yañiva* RV PB

- īvena mā* (ApMB *tvā*) *caḥṣuṣā paśyatāpah* (ApMB *paśyantv āpah*),
śvayā tanvopa sprśata tvacam me (ApMB *sprśantu tvacam te*) AV
 TS MS AB ApMB *āpah* nom in ApMB, voc in the rest
stego na kṣām aty eti prthvīm (AV *eṣi prthvīm*) RV AV In a riddle-
 some verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form,
 there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context
svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait, *svarge* (TS TB *svarge*) *loke*
prornuvāthām (TS KSA † TB *sampror°*, VSK TS TB *°rnvā°*, MS
°lām) VS VSK TS KSA MS TB ŚB Address to (in MS said of)
 the queen and the horse in the *aśvamedha*
ghṛtena (Kauś *vapayā*) *dyāvāprthivī prornuvāthām* (VS TS ApŚ
prornvātham, MS MŚ *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
 ApŚ MŚ Kauś The subject, *dyāvāprthivī*, is nom in MS MŚ
sam arir (MS KS *arir*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB The
 formula is obscure, see Eggeling on ŚB 3 9 4 21 No basis for
 preference as to person
kurvato me mā kṣeṣṭa (GB Vait *kṣeṣṭhāh*) MS GB Vait *mopadasat*
 TS KS TB ApŚ And *sadato me mā kṣāyī* (GB *me mopadasah*,
 MS *°sat*), same texts
aśvinā pibatam (VS KŚ *°lām*) *madhu* (TB ApŚ *sutam*) RV VS TB
 ApŚ MŚ and (pratika) KŚ *aśvinā* nom or voc
ity adadāh (ŚB *°dāt*) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The subject is the *yajamāna*,
 who is praised either in direct address or indirect reference by
 singers 'Thus thou didst (he did) give!' Similarly *ity ayajathāh*
 (ŚB *°ta*), and *ity ayudhyathāh* (ŚB and, as quoted in Conc,
 MŚ *°ta*), and *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ *ajayathāh*, ŚB
ajayat), same texts [I question the quotation from MŚ 9 2 2
ayudhyata, since it is inconsistent with all the others, it was fur-
 nisht by Knauer from mss for the Conc, and has not been pub-
 lished even yet F E]
īdam vātena sagarena rakṣa (MS *rakṣatu*) TS MS KS AŚ Subject in
 prec pāda, *indra* (MS *indrah*) *stomera* Note that *indra* before
st- might be understood as = *indrah* The MS makes this single
 pāda (in a *triṣṭubh* verse) *jagatī*, and is clearly secondary
devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB *śrayadhvam*), *prathamā dvitīyeṣu śrayantām*
 (TB *śrayadhvam*), *dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB *°dhvam*) KS
 TB Subj *devāh*, voc or nom
no asmin ramate jane (AV *ramase patau*) RV AV ApMB Subject is
 a rival wife
mahyam (this goes with prec pāda in MŚ) *yajamānāya tṛṣṭha* (MŚ
tṛṣṭhatu, mss *tṛṣṭhat*) TS MŚ

- yato na punar āyasyi* (AV °ti) AV TB ApŚ Address to, or spoken of, a rival AV Ppp agrees with TB ApŚ
- ślakṣṇam evāva gūhātī* (ŚŚ °si) AV ŚŚ And (prec vs)
- tiṣṭhantam ava gūhātī* AV *tiṣṭhann evāvagūhasi* ŚŚ (but here the mss of AV have *gūhasi*) Unintelligible stuff
- sam revatīr jagatibhīh prcyantām sam* (VSK om *pr° sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatibhīh prcyantām* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ *sam revatīr jagatibhīr madhumatīr madhumatibhīh sṛjyadhvam* TS TB The adjectives are nouns even in TS TB, but no noun subject is expressed, so that this cannot be called a syntactic inconsistency
- yadā prāno abhyavarṣit* AV *yadā tvam abhivarṣasi* PraśU *tvam* refers to *prāna*, the stanza is identical
- kāmam duhātām iha sakvaribhīh* AV *rāṣṭram duhātām iha revatibhīh* TB The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, is nom in AV, despite which most of its mss read *duhātām* (but Ppp °tām) In TB it is made voc
- gām copasṛṣṭām vihāram cāntarena mā samcārīṣta* ApŚ (followed by *iti samprēṣyati*) *vihāram ca gām copasṛṣṭām antarena mā samcārīṣuh* MŚ (followed by *iti brūyāt*) '(He orders, or he shall say) "Do not (they, the people, shall not) step between the cow and the *vihāra*"'
- agnir āyus tenāyusāyusmān edhi* MS *agnir āyusmān tasyāyam āyusāyusmān astv asau* KS And others, see Conc
- agne vīhi* AB ŚB AŚ MŚ *agnir hotā vetu* TB AŚ ŚŚ
- agnis tām asmāt pra nunottu lokāt* MŚ *agnis tām* (VS *tām*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātv*, SMB *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ApŚ SMB *agne tām asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ
- athemā viśvāh pṛtanā jayāsi* (RV * °ti) RV (both) SV AB TB The subject is Indra both times, tho the context varies, *jayātī* is probably secondary See *RVRep* 397
- aditih keśān vapatu* AG MG ApMB *aditih śmaśru vapatu* AV MG *adite keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG
- antar mahānś carati* (and, °si) *rocanena* RV (both) Agni is the subject both times, tho the context varies
- annapate 'nnasya* (annasya) *no dehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *PrānāḡU* AG ŚG MG ApMB *annasyānnapatih prādāt* PB cf *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kaus
- abhi prayānsi sudhītāni hi khyah* (and, *khyat*) RV (both) Agni is the subject both times
- ararur* (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptat* MS KS ApŚ *araro dwam mā paptah* VS ŚB Vait

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB ApŚ *avasānam me 'vasānapatir vinda* MŚ

avāṣṛjat (RV *^o*jah*) *sartave sapta sindhūn* RV (both) AV JUB

avyo (SV PB ^o*yam*) *vāram vi dhāvati* (RV *^o*si*) RV (both) SV PB

avyo vāram vi pavamāna dhāvati (subject is here *rasa*) RV

aśvināv eha gachātām RV AB AŚ ŚŚ *gachātām* (TS TB ^o*lam*, in the same stanza) RV TS TB N The subject is nom with 3d person, voc with 2d

asmabhyam citram vṛṣanam rayim dāh RV SV MS TB *dāt* (but so only p p in MS, its *samhitā* mss *dāh*!) MS TB Indra is the subject in both, but the stanzas are otherwise different, in the first direct address, in the second indirect reference The *samhitā* mss of MS were influenced by recollection of the other form of the *pāda*

kṣeme tiṣṭhātī (ŚG *tiṣṭha*, PG *tiṣṭhatu*, HG *tiṣṭhatī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānā* AV ŚG PG HG The subject is a house (*śālā*), which is directly addressed in the sequel even in AV Nevertheless the 3d person is logical and natural, since the house is indirectly referred to in the preceding

(*prṣṭhena dyāvāprthivī* (MS adds *āprna*)) *antarikṣam ca vi bādhasa* (MS *bādhasva*, TS *bādhatām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §116 Addressed to, or said of, one of the altar-bricks The preceding contains an address to Indra-Agni, the sudden shift to a direct address to the brick may have seemed harsh to the redactor of TS, hence his (evidently secondary) change to third person

asmāsu nṛmnam dhāt MS TA ŚŚ *asmāsu nṛmnam dhāh* KB Same context, but KB's version is fragmentary, it contains nothing inconsistent with the 2d person

svāttam cit sadevam havyam āpo devīh svadatainam TS ApŚ *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu* MS *āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK *sad*°) *svāttam cit sad devahavih* VS VSK ŚB Subject *āpo devīh*, voc or nom

dyātu varadā devī TAA TA MahānU *āyāhu viraje devī* MG

(*abaddham mano*) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS KŚ BDh (*adabdhām cakṣur*) *dikṣen* (sc *dikṣā-īd*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ The KŚ reading, with voc subject and 3d person verb, belongs in the next subdivision, but is doubtless corrupt, read probably *dikṣen* in KŚ Cf however Keith's AA 237, note

(*indrāh*, SV *indra*) *kratum punīta* (SV ^o*ṣa*) *ukthyam* RV SV *indro vājam ajayit* TS TB *indra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB GG *udakenaidhi*, ApMB *vāyav udakenehi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG On the very dubious form of MG see §136

apātām aśvinā gharman VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ *gharman apātām aśvinā* (accented in MS¹ but not in TA, TA adds *hārdvānam*) MS TA ApŚ *aśvinā gharman pātām hārdvānam* (MS *pibatam hārdvānam*, TA *pātām hārdvānam*, LŚ *pātām aharvyānam*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ (in the last *aśvinā* is voc in all, this precedes the other form of the variant in all) The MS form of the first-quoted formula is inconsistent (if not corrupt) and belongs in the next subdivision

devān ā sādāyād (TB ApŚ °yā) *īha* RV VS KS TB ApŚ Agni is the subject in both, but the contexts are otherwise different

nṛmnā punāno arṣasi RV SV *nṛmnā vasāno* (SV *punāno*) *arṣati* RV SV Subject is Soma Pavamāna both times Contrast §328

punāno vācam iṣyati (and, °si) RV (both) As in preceding *sāvitṛm bho anu brūhi* AG ŚG ApG MG *sāvitṛm me bhavān anu bravitu* GG

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prai*°) AV VS TS MS KS Followed by *narāśanso agnih* (VS TS KS *agne*) All are consistent except KS, which belongs with the next subdivision

syūtā devebhīr amṛtenāgāh (MS KS °gāt) TS MS KS ApŚ The stanza is radically reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same *prthivi mātā mā mā hnsih* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ *mā mām mātā prthivi hnsih* TS MS

bhavaṭi bhikṣām dehi Kauś *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG

yudhendro mahnā varuṣ cakūra RV AV *yudhā devebhyo varuṣ cakārtha* RV AV The subject of *cakārtha* is Indra in one (and that probably the older one) of the two occurrences in RV, see RVRep 87

svayam pibantu (TS *juhudhvam*) *madhuno ghṛtasya* VS TS MS KS ŚB

śṛnotu (RV * *rakṣā ca*) *no damyebhīr anīkasi* RV (both) AB See RVRep 110

rājā pavitraratho vājam āruhaḥ (and, °hat), followed by

sahasrabhṛṣṭir jayasi (and, °ti) *śravo bṛhat* RV (both) Subject is Soma Pavamāna

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta *evam mahyam pitre* 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG °tah) *svadhā bhava* (HG *bhavalām*) ApMB HG And the same

with *yathā vāyur* , *yathādityo* Subject is *ūrmih* (waters offered to the manes), either directly addressed or indirectly referred to

viśvedevāso adhī vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* AV KS † 'O All-gods, bless us (me)', or 'let the All-gods protect (attend) us' The All-gods are not otherwise mentioned in the stanza, nevertheless the direct address to them seems rather harsh, hence, no doubt, the change to 3d person in AV KS , and hence, perhaps, Keith's presumably accidental translation (of TS 4 7 14 2d) as 3d person ('may the all-gods be-friend me', 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of *adhī-vocatā*)

vy antarikṣam atirah RV AV *atirat* RV AV SV AB GB AŚ Vait Subject is Indra, in different stanzas, both consistent

śyeno na vaṁsu śidati RV SV *syeno na vikṣu śidati* RV SV *śyeno na vamsu kalaṣeṣu śidasi* RV Soma Pavamāna is the subject in all *sam devī* (KS *devī*) *devyorvasyā pasyasva* (KS *°drvaśyāṅkhyata*) TS KS ApŚ

sa yajñam pāhi (ŚŚ *pātu*) *sa* (AŚ *om*) *yajñapatim pāhi* (ŚŚ *omits*) *sa mām pāhi* (ŚŚ *pātu*) TB GB AŚ Vait ŚŚ ApŚ

yajña pratitṛṣṭha sumatau susevāh TB ApŚ *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ See §158

mātevdsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG *aditih śarma yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

sahāvantu jarāyunā ŚB BṛhU *saha jarāyunāva sarpatu* (ApMB *°yunā nṣkrāmya*) HG ApMB *sahāvehi jarāyunā* RV *sākam jarāyunā pata* AV The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent

indrīyam me vīryam mā nṛ vadhīh (MŚ *vadhīṣṭa*) TS MŚ The subject is soma in either case The variant belongs here if *vadhīh* is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS 3 1 8 3, but since MŚ has a 3d person, *vadhīh* may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* 153 (Keith's objection, l c , is not valid)

yathāvasam tanvam (AV *°vah*) *kalpayāti* (RV *°yasva*) RV AV VS Context contains *svarād*, nom (in apposition to subject), even in RV , this is doubtless responsible for the lectio facilior of AV VS , no subject is formally expressed in RV

vājino vājayito vājam sarīṣyanto (TS ApŚ add, *vājam jeṣyanto*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata* VS TS ŚB ApŚ *vājinau vājayitau vājam jṛtvā bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighratam* (KS *°tām*) MS KS MŚ The same noun forms, alternatively taken as noms or vocs So also in next

vājino vājayito vājam sasṛvānso (KS *ṣṛvānso*, TS *sasṛvānso vājam ṣṛvānso*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāh* (KS *bhāge ni mṛjatām*, TS *bhāge ni mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB *vājinau vājayatau vājam jivā bṛhaspater bhāge nimṛjyethām* MS MŚ

aram aśvāya gāyati (SV °ta) RV SV Subject is the n pr Śrutakakṣa in next pāda, nom in RV, voc in SV Note plural verb despite singular subject in SV

asme dhārayatam (MŚ °tām) *rayim* RV MŚ *asmar dhārayatam rayim* AV Subject *agnīṣomā*, originally voc, felt as nom in MŚ

om utṣṛjata (MG °tu) TA ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ApG HG MG *utṣṛja* (LŚ °jata) *gām* LŚ SMB GG See §347

ṛtunā somam pibatam (KS °tu, MŚ † °tām) KS MŚ ApŚ Subject Aśvins in ApŚ MŚ (nom or voc), in KS a priest

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (KS °na) AV KS MŚ *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ *mā no hānsīd dhīnsito na tvā jahāmi* AŚ The subject, in prec, is nom in all, but the rest of the verse, including the latter part of this variant (note *tvā*), is thrown into a direct address in 2d person, and MŚ assimilates its *hāsīs* to this, instead of *hāsīt* Neither form can therefore be called inconsistent with the context

asau yaja AŚ asau yajate LŚ

bhuvad usvam abhy ādevam ojasā RV *bhuvo viśvam abhy adevam ojasā* SV Subject is Indra Preceded by direct address in 2d person, but followed by reference in 3d person, thus neither form is inconsistent with surroundings

aśvinā bhīṣajāvatah (MS °tam, TB † °ta) VS MS TB See §116

yā (AV TS *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °tho, AV *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (KS † AV °thah) AV TS MS KS Followed in same texts by

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °tuh) These are pādas b and c of a verse in which the subjects, Vāyu and Savitar, are in all texts referred to in 3d person in a, and directly address in d Therefore no text is completely consistent in the verse, and the variant pādas are in every case consistent with a part of the context

śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °tha, MG °ntu) *yajñīyāsah* RV TA MG Also in pāda a MG recasts the expression to make the verb 3d person instead of 2d, it is internally consistent, altho secondary and poor

imam no yajñam vihave juṣasva (AV *śṛnotu*) RVKh AV TS KS TB

The AV is consistent with the prec half verse (3d person), the others, with the following pāda (direct address in all) Subject Indra
rāyas poṣam (KS *twastah poṣāya*) *vi śyatu* (AV MS KS *vi śya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV *asya*) AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ The subject, Tvaṣtar, is nom with 3d person, voc with 2d On the dual form of the variant (*viśyatām*) see §368

§330 With accompanying change in number

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *ādya*) AV TR AG ŚG PG HG ApMB *tena brāhmano vapatu* MG *tenāsyāyūṣe vapa* ApMB 'By that (razor), O priests, shave his (head) here' or 'by that let the priest shave (him)', or (a kind of *ūha* in ApMB) 'by that shave thou his (head) unto long life'

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatām (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *sambharetām*) TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ address to god Agni (2d sing), in AŚ MŚ subject is two fires (3d dual)

rājānam sangāyala (PG *°gāyethām*) ŚG PG Stenzler renders PG as a direct address, as if *°gāyethām* were the reading, tho he quotes no such reading There seems to be no reason why the two lute-players should not be referred to in the 3d person 'let them sing of the king' In ŚG a plurality of lute-players is directly address

salakṣmā (MS KS *°ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB *°pam*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS See §104, h In the YV texts used of the animal victim, who is addressed in the sequel, hence the change to 2d person in TS, which is however evidently secondary
anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām MS *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām* (KS *°patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB * *°patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait See §130

§331 There are a few variants in which a verb in a relative clause is alternatively made 3d person, because of the relative pronoun serving as subject, tho the person referred to is still directly address This psychological shift is familiar in other languages

yā tiraści nṛpadyase (AŚ ŚŚ SMB *°te*) ŚB BrhU AŚ ŚŚ SMB ApMB HG The same person is directly address in all 'thou who hest (lies) down across'

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N '(O gods) who have come' etc, gods are directly address in all Only N makes verb 3d person, because of the relative

yad aṁṣi manasā dūram PG *ya eti pradīśah sarvāh* ApMB The subject is addressed in the 2d person (pronoun *tvā*) in the sequel even in ApMB, the third person is due to the relative 'Who goest (or, if thou goest) to all directions (to a distance with thy mind)' is the real meaning of both

yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS '(O Mitra-Varuna,) who go, two kings, mighty, against the (warrior) with his chariot (or, who go, mighty, against the king with his chariot)'—[do ye free us from sin]

Possibly the following also belongs here

mā yah somam imam pibāt (KŚ *pibā*, KS *somam pibād imam*) KS TB KŚ ApŚ See §319 The next pāda begins with *s*, possibly *pibāh* (if not even *pibāt*) is to be read in KŚ If the text is correct, of course *pibā* is 1st person, not 2d

§332 (b) There remain a number of cases of this same sort in which one form of the variant is more or less inconsistent with its own context Thus, first, there are cases in which third-person verbs are used altho the subject is vocative, or is referred to with second-person pronouns, pointing to direct address These cases, naturally, tempt to emendation, but probably the temptation should usually be resisted, as it certainly should in the following verse of PG Such third-person verbs occur no less than three times in it, and are translated by Stenzler as second-persons, altho he very properly did not venture to emend his text in view of the insistent tradition The comm supplies *bhavantau*, and this familiar classical third-personal expression for what is really a direct address is, no doubt, influential in many of these expressions in later texts Cf *bhavati bhikṣām dehi* (*bhavān bhikṣām dadātu*), §329

yena strīyam (PG *sṛiyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *strīyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṣatam* (PG °*vamṣatām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ °*kṣām*, PG °*kṣyāv*) *abhyasīñcatam* (PG °*tām*), *yad vām tad asvīnā yasah*, ŚŚ PG SMB The first pāda also GG (reading as SMB), the third also AV, reading *yenākṣā abhyasīcyanta* (the dice are made the subject of the now passive verb) See §293

Or, conversely, one form of the variant has a 2d person verb with a nominative subject, as

tā enam pravṛtvānsau śrapayataṃ MS *tāv imam paśum śrapayatām pravṛtvānsau* TB Not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects in the prec, are nom in MS

mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhāt (TA *vivyatho nah*) MS TA *mā nah soma hvarito vihvarasva* MŚ (so read, see §159), followed in same verse by

mo śvatvam asmān tarādhat (so read with p p) MS *mā sv* (Poona ed *mo śv*) *asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh* TA *mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt* (mss *ādāt*) MŚ In view of the voc *gharma* (*soma*), it would appear that MS MŚ must understand the subject to be indefinite, but it can hardly be anything else than the *gharma* The formula is a *prāyaścitta* spoken upon ominous performance of the *gharma* or *soma*-offering

adabdhō gopāh (KS † *gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu vīsvatah*) RV TS KS *tvam no gopāh pari pāhi vīsvatah* AV The subject (in prec pāda) is *agne* RV AV, *agnir* TS KS TS is inconsistent (2d person with subject nom)

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapesāh* RV TS The subject being *agnir*, TS is inconsistent, but note the following *dr-*, and cf §24

srjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV *srjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han* RV N The subject is *indra*, voc, even in SV, and the prec parallel verbs are 2d person

kadā sutam trṣāna oka ā gamah (SV *gamat*) RV SV AV The subject is the voc *indra*, followed by *sv-* and perhaps felt as nom (for *indrah*) in SV? Benfey baldly translates 3d person verb with voc subject

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *Vait MŚ Kauś MG devebhyo havyam vaha nah* (Kauś omits *nah*) *prajānan* TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś There are three different contexts here, one with the second variant, and two with the first All are consistent with their contexts except that MŚ alone has the form *vahatu* with a preceding voc subject

patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA *babhūva*) RV AV TA See §262, f The subject is *tvam*, and TA comm glosses *babhūva* with a 2d person

pitā mātariśvāchudrā padā dhāh (KS AŚ *dhāt*) TS KS AB AŚ 5 9 1 In TS AB nom subject with 2d person verb, KS AŚ are consistent

vy astabhñā (VS ŚB *aṣka°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS *aṣṭa°*, TS *askabhñād*, TA *aṣṭabhñād*) *rodasī viṣnav* (VS MS KS *viṣna*, TS *viṣnur*) *ete* followed by

dādhartha (TS *dādharā*) *pṛthwīm abhato mayūkhaḥ* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The prec half verse is address to Heaven and Earth, hence, no doubt, TS changes these *pādas* to a 3d person reference to Viṣṇu, which seems less harsh than a direct address to him TA has a blend, being internally inconsistent, or at least harsh, despite the voc subject and the 2d person verb retained in *pāda d*, it joins TS in having a 3d person verb in *pāda c*

tasya na iṣṭasya prīṭasya dravinehāgameh, etc (see § 104, u) Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom with 3d person, voc with 2d) except MS, which has *dravināgamayāt*, its pp reads *drāvina* (accented'), is this form possibly felt as a nom pl neuter, with sing verb? The following parallel formulas in MS have 3d person verbs with nom subjects

yamasya dūtas ca vāg vidhāvati (TA *dūtah svapād vidhāvasi*), followed by

grāhrah suparnah kunapam niṣevati (TA † *niṣevase*) MS TA The TA comm regards the *grāhrah* as address, despite the nom form

[*mśvasya devī mṛṣayasya* (ŚŚ *mṛṣayasya*) *janmano*] *na yā roṣāti na grabhat* (ŚŚ *grabhaḥ*) AB AŚ ŚŚ 'The goddess of the imperishable (?) kind, who shall not be angry, shall not (or, do not) seize us' Keith takes *grabhat* as part of the relative clause, which leaves no main verb in the passage, it seems better to regard *grabhat* as the main verb, with subject *devī* It may be that the original reading was *devi* (voc), followed by *grabhaḥ*, and that *grabhat* is due to secondary form assimilation to *roṣāti*, whose 3d personal form is justified by the relative (cf §331) As it stands, ŚŚ is inconsistent, since the only possible subject for its 2d person verb is nominative *ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu* TS MS AŚ *ajātasatrus suhavo na edhi* KS The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all noms, KS is harsh

yajamānāya dravinam dadhātu (VS ŚB KS * *dadhāta*) AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The subject is nominative, and parallel clause 3d person, in all On the plural see § 355

hato (SV TB *halho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV TB *apṛati*) RV AV SV TB The AV variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb, see §329

sa no mayobhūh pito (*pitav*) *āviśasva* (*āviśeḥa*, MŚ *pitur āviśeḥa*) TS TB

AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG *sa nah pīto madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś
Voc with 2d person verb in all but MŚ Kauś, in MŚ nom with
3d person (equally consistent), in Kauś, however, if the text is
right, we have voc with 3d person verb! See §69

madhvā yajñam nakṣatī (°se) *prīnānah* (prā°) AV VS TS MS KS
See § 329 KS is inconsistent

īmau vīryam (TB *rayīm*) *yajamānāya dhattām* (TB *dhattam*) MS TB
The 2d person of TB is inconsistent with its nom subject, *āśvīnā*
(accented) The comm finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent
and taking it as voc But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb
raṁṣatām, with the same subject Even this does not disturb the
comm, who calmly interprets it as if it were 2d person (*sarvato*
bhayāt pālayatam) In truth, of course, it is rather *dhattām* which
must be an error for 3d person *dhattām*

śarad dhemantah svite dadhāta (MŚ °tu) KS MŚ *śarad varṣāḥ*
svitām (ŚG *sukṛtam*) *no astu* (AV *svite no dadhāta*) AV TS ŚG
SMB In AV KS the six season-names which precede are directly
addressed in 2d person, tho they are nom in form, not voc Doubt-
less for this reason MŚ substitutes a 3d person, and since the 3d
plural would not fit metrically, makes it singular, agreeing with the
nearest of the six subjects, see § 355 The other texts dodge the
difficulty by making *svitām* the subject of a copulative verb, *astu*

deveṣu nah sukrto (VSK *deveṣu mā sukrtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ
brūyāt) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukrtam brūtāt* (ŚB
with ūha, voceh) VS ŚB *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 2d person
is required, and PB comm reads *brūtāt*, probably MŚ (in an un-
published part of the text) is likewise to be read *brūtāt*

videt (VS KS ŚB *videt*) *agnir* (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS MŚ *agne*)
nabho nāma VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚBK MŚ See Keith on
TS 1 2 12 1, note 2 The TS is inconsistent (2d person verb
with nom subject) The others all rectify the syntax by one
change or another

mā no dyāvāprthuī hādīṣethām MS *mā dyāvāprthuī hādīṣātām* TA In
MS as well as TA *dyāvāprthuī* is nom (accented), and the pre-
ceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB *akṛnoh sūryatvacam* RV AV JB *avakṛ-*
not sūryatvacam MG The subject, in the preceding pāda, is
indra (voc) in all but MG, even ApMB 1 1 9 reads so, despite 3d
person verb, cf Winternitz, Introduction, p xvi And indeed even
MG, tho it makes the subject nom, *indras*, to agree with the 3d

person verb, still retains the voc epithet *śatakrato* in pāda b, agreeing with it! Only RV AV JB are really grammatical
brahma tena punāhi nah (mā, *punātu mā, punīmahe*), *idam brahma punīmahe*, see §302
 (abaddham mano) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsīt*, corrupt?) TS KŚ
 BDh (*adabdhām cakṣur*) *dikṣen mā mā hāsīt* MŚ The KŚ is inconsistent

§333 (c) In a very large number of other cases, while there is no inconsistency between the case of the subject and the person of the verb, we note more or less inconsistency between the person of the verb and the surrounding context, in one form of the variant (See §294) That is, for instance, in a passage containing several parallel verbs with the same subject, one is suddenly shifted from 2d to 3d person, or vice versa Or, a 3d person verb is found when in an adjoining passage direct address to the subject is indicated by a 2d person pronoun, or the like The result is a more or less harsh anacolouthon This condition is not by any means always secondary, indeed, it happens very frequently that the anacolouthic syntax appears to characterize the older form of the variant, and a later text smoothes it out by a change of person in one verb

§334 In half a dozen cases, however, of verbs of which Soma is the subject, and which in the RV are third person, and occur in the context of other (parallel) third-person expressions, the SV changes the 3d person to 2d, producing a direct address to Soma which is inconsistent with the context (cf above §§295, 328)

adhi tripr̥stha uśaso v rājati (SV °sī) RV SV The subject, soma, is spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV

āpr̥chyam dharunam vāḡy ar̥ṣati (SV °sī) RV SV The subject, soma, is referred to in the 3d person in the prec pāda

punāno vāram pary ety (SV *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam* RV SV ApŚ The subject, soma, is referred to in 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse

viśvā yad rūpā pariṣyāty (SV °sy) *ṛkvaḥh* RV SV Otherwise 3d person in the verse

vṛthā pājānsi kṛnute (SV °ṣe) *nadīṣv ā* (RV † once omits *ā*) RV (bis) SV Otherwise 3d persons in the verse

ar̥ṣan (SV *ar̥ṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmānā* RV SV Parallel verb in the preceding is 3d person in both

§335 In two cases, however, the reverse change takes place in SV in verbs of which Soma is the subject, there are special reasons for both

vr̥ṣo acikradad vane SV 2 430b, 480b *vr̥ṣāva cakradad* (9 107 22b *cakrado*) *vane* RV 9 7 3b, 9 107 22b In SV 2 430b = RV 9 107 22b Soma is addressed in the latter part of the stanza, yet he is here referred to in the 3d person in SV, probably under the influence of the parallel passage 2 480b = RV 9 7 3b, which has 3d person in both texts

pr̥ṣṭheṣu erayā (SV *arayad*) *raym* RV SV Here RV is inconsistent, the subject, Soma, is the subject of a 3d person verb in the next pāda In SV this is smoothed out

§336 We may note that it is only Soma for which SV seems to feel this urge towards direct address, e.g., in the following, where the Maruts are the subject, SV changes secondarily a 2d person address to a 3d person reference, despite direct address to the Maruts in the preceding *viśve pibata* (SV *pibantu*) *kāminah* RV SV

§337 The long list of remaining cases is as follows
yat sānoh sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhah*) RV SV The subject is Indra, who is otherwise spoken of in the 3d person even in SV, the next pāda is *bhūry aspasta kartvam* 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor' A 2d person verb here is intolerably harsh, one is tempted to guess that SV felt *āruhah* as a verbal noun, dependent on *aspasta* (!) This would perhaps be no worse than other forms of which SV is guilty But probably it merely shifts to direct address to Indra, see § 294

yena bhūyas (PG *bhūris*) *arāty ayam* (AG *arātryam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *carā divam*), *jyoh ca pasyāti* (PG °*si*, MG °*yati*) *sūryam* (MG °*yah*) AG PG ApMB MG The subject is the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG makes it *sūryah* in the 2d pāda, perhaps also in the first? doubtful), he is address in the 2d person in the rest of the verse in AG PG MG, spoken of in the 3d in ApMB As to persons, PG and ApMB are consistent, AG flagrantly inconsistent MG patches together a makeshift reading, keeping 3d person but changing the subject

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thām*) and (in same verse) *divi* (KS *divē*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam*) *ārabhctām* (MS KS °*tham*) MS KS † TB ApŚ In prec pāda both MS and KS have the 3d person *gacchātām*, both are therefore inconsistent On *abhūtām* (middle!) see §§21, 56

an'as carati (MahānU PrānāgU °*si*) *bhūleṣu* TA TAA MahānU PrānāgU LVyāsaDh ŚaṅkhaDh The subject (*paramātmā*, TA comm.) is address in the second person in the 2d half of the verse

samprīyah paśubhir bhava (TB ApŚ *bhuvat*) MS TB ApŚ *samprīyam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA The subject (Agni) is referred to in the 3d person even in MS in the preceding

viśvo (TS *viśve*) *rāya iśudhyati* (TS °*si*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Both variations in TS are corrupt, see Keith (p 21, n 3), who translates the RV reading As K remarks, the 2d person is apparently intended to match *puṣyase* in the next line, but this is an infinitive, not a finite form

mā no hṛnītām atithir (SV *hṛnīthā atithum*) *vasur agnih* RV SV The subject can only be Agni in SV, which seems to understand the last two words as a separate sentence 'Be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni!)', Agni is good'

ūrdhvo adhvare asthāt (VS ŚB '*dhvare asthāt*', KS '*dhvare sthāh*', ApŚ '*adhvare sthāt*') VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The offering has stood upright', or (KS) 'thou (Agni) hast stood upright at the offering', or (ApŚ) 'he (Agni, who is directly address in both the preceding and following) has stood' etc Caland assumes '*sthāh*' as the true reading of ApŚ

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva*, MS *duhe*, SMB *duhā*?) RV AV TS MS KS SMB PG The subject (*ekāṣṭakā*) is spoken of in the 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse even in TS PG, which here address it directly For the doubtful reading of MS SMB see §104, b

subheṣajam yathāsatī (AV °*si* LŚ *yathāsat*) AV TS MS KS LŚ Different contexts, but, as Whitney remarks *ad loc*, the 3d person would suit better in AV

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah (MŚ † °*lah*), *vīram janayīṣyathah* (MŚ °*lah*), *te mat prātah prajanayīṣyethe* (MŚ °*te*), *te mā prajāte prajanayīṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah prajāyā paśubhir*) TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded, even in MŚ, by a direct address in 2d person

(*indraś ca nah sunāsīrāv*) *imam yajñam mīmukṣatam* (ŚŚ °*lām*) TB ŚŚ Followed by *garbham* (ŚŚ °*ān*) *dhattam svastaye*, so that ŚŚ is inconsistent Its reading is evidently a reminiscence of the form of the pāda which occurs elsewhere, in a different context, with *mīmukṣatām*, see §341

arākṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (TS MS *juṣasva*, KS *juṣethāh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §160 In the following 2 pādas Agni is referred to in 3d person

imam yajñam abhi grñīta viśve RV VS *idam no havir abhi grñantu viśve* AV The subject is the *pitṛs*, who are address in the next line in the 2d person even in AV, and AV comm reads *grñīta* here

nātārīd (TB °rīr) *asya samṛtum vadhānām* (TB *ba°*) RV TB The parallel verbs are all 3d person, TB comm glosses *na prāptavān nāśīdan no apa durmatim jahī* (TS *hanat*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The subject is understood as Agni The first part of the verse refers to him in 3d person and is directly address to plants, the majority of the texts change to a 2d person address to Agni, while TS alone, more consistently but presumably secondarily, continues the indirect reference

parāvata ā jaganthā (AV *jagamyāt*, TS *jagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV AV SV VS MS KS Subject Indra, who in the following is address in 2d person in all

ṭarāh ṭitāmahāh pare 'vare tatās talāmahā iha māvata (PG *māvantu*) TS PG The last of a series of similar formulas, the preceding ones are 3d person in both texts

purā ṛdhrād araruṣah pibātah (TB *pibāthah*) RV MS TB In the following TB also has 3d person verb

prādāh (SMB *prādāt*) *ṭṭṛbhyah svadhayā te akṣan* RV AV VS TS ApŚ SMB Subject Agni, address in 2d person thruout the verse in most texts, but in SMB only in the last pāda, in this (the 3d) pāda, and in the 1st (which is a different one from that of the other texts), it has 3d person forms, in the 2d pāda the form is ambiguous (either 2d or 3d)

mā mā hinsīt (VS † KS ŚB *hinsīh*) VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Prec by *mā tvā hinsīt* (KS *ms hinsīh*) In the Tait school texts the verb-form is mechanically assimilated to the preceding, just as in the one *ms* of KS the form of the prec verb is assimilated to the following (properly emended by von Schroeder, since the object *tvā* makes 2d person verb obviously impossible) Subject *kṛṣṇājina* (Mahidhara on VS)

yathā jyok sumanā asāh (HG *asat*) ApMB HG The prec formula addresses the boy in 2d person even in HG

yad ūrdhvas tṛthā (KS °thād) *dravineha dhattāt* RV MS KS AB TB N In KS inconsistent with context, see §24

vākpā vācam me pāhi (MS *pātu*) TS MS AB AŚ And the same with *śrotapāh śrotam*, *cakṣuṣpāh* etc *vākpāh* is nom, which makes 3d person at least easier, and the prec is a 3d person statement in TS *viśvasmā id iṣudhyate* (TB °se) RV TB Followed by

devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (RV *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV (bis) SV TB On the relation of the RV forms see *RVRep* 131f The SV occurrences repeat RV 8 19 1 (which has *ohire*) but seem influenced by RV

- 1 128 6 (*ohiṣe*) TB repeats RV 1 128 6 but makes it more natural, *ohiṣe* (p p *ā ūhiṣe*) is surrounded by 3d person verbs referring to the same subject (Agni), so that attempts have even been made to explain *ohiṣe* as an infinitive (see *RVRep* loc cit, and Oldenberg's *RVNoten* ad loc) In TB the whole passage is made a direct address to Agni—a much easier reading
- śarma varātham āsadat svah* (TS *āsadah svah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where Agni is directly address in all Tho more consistent, it is doubtless secondary
- jayanta upaspr̥satu* HG *jayantopa spr̥sa* ApMB Only HG is consistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB, are 3d person
- upasadyo namasyo yathāsāt* (AV *bhaveha*) AV TS MS Subject is a king, equated with Indra, in 1st half verse all texts refer to him in 3d person, here AV changes to direct address (AV 3 4 1 has the same pāda in a different context)
- anu* (AV **prati*) *dyāvāprthivī ā tatantha* (AV **viveśa*, AV *TS *TB *tatāna*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB Occurs in two different verses one (A) is address to Soma, with verbs in 2d person, the other (B) refers to Agni, with verbs in 3d person Only A occurs in RV, only B in AV TB, both occur in VS TS MS KS, but VS MS KS read in B the 2d person form taken from, and appropriate to, A, while only TS keeps the distinct forms appropriate to each
- andhena yat* (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA °*āsī*) AV TA The subject (acc to both comms a cow, but see Whitney's note on AV 18 3 3) is referred to in the 1st half verse in 3d person in both texts
- āṣṭa* (MS KS *āṣṭhāh*) *pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi* (MS *ando hi*, KS *avido nu*) *gādham* TS MS KS PG So the Conc The subject, Viśvavedas, is referred to in the prec pāda in the 3d person in TS KS (while in MS he is directly address) If, as we believe, the Conc presents the true text of KS, it alone of the texts is inconsistent with its surroundings The matter is, however, not certain The single ms of KS is quoted as reading *āṣṭhāh* and *avide*, which seem most likely to represent *āṣṭhāh* and *avido*, but von Schroeder (doubtless for the sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it seems, to *āṣṭa* and *amdan*
- ganān me nā vī tīṛśah* (MŚ °*śat*) TS MŚ 'Do not (let him not) make my troops thirsty' Only the 2d person is proper, referring to Indra,

to whom the whole verse is address Knauer on MŚ 2 4 1 35b defends "śat of all his mss by supposing it to refer to Vāyu, understood In the same context *ganān me mā vy arīṛṣaḥ* Vait In different contexts *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TB ŚB , *ganaur mā mā vi tīṛṣata* MS 'Let not my troops be thirsty' or 'make me not thirsty with my troops', shift between causative and simple verbs, with consequent inversion of subject and object

abhi no vīro arvaṭi kṣameta RV TB *tvam no vīro arvaṭi kṣamethāḥ* AB In a repetition of the RV stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) is address with 2d person verbs in the preceding pādas, AB makes this pāda consistent with them

ā yantu pītarō manojavasah ApŚ *eta pītarō manojavāḥ*, and *āganta pītarō manojavāḥ* MŚ (in same sūtra) *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ *pareta*) *pītarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ *somyāḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ MŚ ApŚ (in different context from the above in ApŚ, but in the same context, separated by one sūtra, from *eta* etc in MŚ, in the next sūtra but one MŚ has a 3d person reference to the same subject, *śundhantām pītarah*, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person)

ṛtūr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaḥ jāyate punah* (AV *jāyase navah*) RV AV MS TB Preceded by the correlate *visvānyo bhuvanā vīcāste* (so AV, the others similarly) Said of the sun and moon respectively The change to direct address in AV is harsh and is pretty surely a mere corruption, the comm reads *jāyate*

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV The waters seem to be addressed in RV, they are referred to in 3d person in the preceding The AV reading is uncertain, SPP adopts *śumbhatu*, and so Whitney's Translation, see §360

divo jyote (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya āsuvadhvam* KS *devajūte vivasvann āditya āsuvadhvam* MS *vivasvān aditir devajūts viyantu* TS Two parallel pādas preceding have *viantu* with nom subject in MS KS also

yo devānām carasi prānathena VS MS KS ŚB *devānām yaś carati prā°* TS Here, paradoxically, it is the 2d person of most texts which is inconsistent with the 2d (not 3d) person verb of the preceding line, for the subjects of the two must be different, being masc and fem respectively Doubtless this is the reason for TS's change to 3d person here, and for its further change in the next pāda (*devi* for *deva*), which makes the entire stanza address to the feminine entity mentioned in the first half TS is, of course, secondary *yasmād bhūta udavāsiṣta* (and, *udavepiṣta*) MŚ *yasmād bhīṣāvāsiṣthāḥ*

(and, *bhīṣāvepiṣṭhāh*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ Surrounding and parallel formulas (address to the animal victim) are 2d person even in MS

aśvināv eha gachatām (TS TB *‘tam*) RV TS TB N *aśvināv* is voc in TS TB, *aśvināv* nom in RV The same pāda with *‘tam* (and *aśvināv*) in RV and other texts, in a direct address to the Aśvins, who are here (in RV) referred to in the 3d person, the stanza being address to a priest (the *adhvaryu* according to comm on RV, the *hotar* according to that on TB) The preceding pāda in TB as well as RV is *prātaryujā* (= *aśvinau*) *vi bodhaya* TS changes this to *‘yujau vi mucyethām*, making it also a direct address to the Aśvins TB is inconsistent in that the first pāda is address to a priest and refers to the Aśvins in 3d person, while the second addresses them directly TS by its further change in the first pāda restores consistency No doubt the 2d person form of the second pāda is due to influence of the other form of the variant with *gachatām*, in a different stanza in RV

vyaty agra āsīt (KS TA ApŚ *āsīh*) VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MS In two different stanzas (used in similar connexions), one in KS ApŚ, the other in the remaining texts The KS ApŚ stanza is consistently in the 2d person, according to ApŚ address partly to a lump of earth, partly to pebbles The other stanza likewise refers to a lump of earth, which is address directly in the next pāda in MS at any rate (with vocative *devi*), and according to Mahidhara also in VS, M thus interprets the pronoun *te*, as referring to the earth, with *āsīt* Mahidhara supplies *bhavatī*, taking the whole as direct address There is, then, inconsistency between the two pādas in VS MS In TA, which has the same context as VS MS, this inconsistency is removed by changing *āsīt* into a 2d person

ṛṣam tokāya no dadhat (KS *dadhat*) RV SV KS, and AVPpp in its version of AV 7 20 2, see Whitney's note on this The RV SV passage is not pertinent since *dadhat* is a participle, the context is different But both KS and AVPpp have finite verb forms, the stanza in them is otherwise a direct address, and AVPpp is therefore inconsistent In both the next pāda reads

pra na (MS *na*) *āyūnṣi tāriṣah* (AVPpp MS KS mss *‘ṣat*) AVPpp VS TS KS ŚŚ N See preceding (In all but AVPpp KS MS the preceding pāda is different) This pāda, with *tāriṣat*, is found repeatedly in other contexts (see Conc), in most of which the 3d person is appropriate Doubtless the reading with *tāriṣat* here

(and probably in AV 4 10 6e, where a 2d person also seems required) is due to contamination with that form of the phrase
ṛdhag ayā (TS MS KS *ayād*) *ṛdhag utāsamiṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*śamiṣṭa*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB N *dhruvam ayā dhruvam utāsamiṣṭhāh* RV
dhruvam ayo dhruvam utā śaviṣṭha AV The forms *ayā(s)* and
ayād are both 2d persons, but because the latter looks more like a
 3d person, MS KS secondarily make the following verb 3d person,
 despite direct address in the preceding and following pādas On the
 corrupt version of AV see Whitney on 7 97 1

citrebhur abhrav upa tiṣṭatho (MS °*to*) *ravam* RV † MS Followed by
dyām varṣayatho (MS °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV MS The preceding
 pādas speak of the subject (*mitrāvarunau*) in the 3d person, hence
 the change to 3d person in MS, which makes the syntax smoother
 Nevertheless MS p p reads *varṣayathah*

dhartā dīvo rajasō vibhātī dhartā (TA *dīvo vibhāsi rajasah*, VS ŚB *dīvo*
vibhātī tapasas prthivyām) VS MS ŚB TA The context has a
 parallel verb *yacha*

dhīuaidhī poṣyā (PG °*ye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB *mameyam*
astu poṣyā AV The AV is inconsistent, for the woman referred to
 by *iyam* is addressed in 2d person in the rest of the stanza

aredatā (cfe°, see §160) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS KS ApŚ
 Parallel verbs are 3d person in all

janīṣṭa (TS °*svā*, MS °*sva*) *hi jenyō agre ahnām* RV TS MS KS The
 subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB °*yet*) AB
 GB Direct address in the preceding in both Gastra considers
 GB corrupt

māya wa yuvatibhīh sam arṣati (AV *wa yōṣāh sam arṣase*) RV SV AV

Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all

namo viśvakarmane sa u pātū asmān TS MŚ *viśvakarman namas te*
pāhy asmān AV Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV

muñcatu (KS *muñcemam*) *yajñam* (ApŚ *yajñō*, KS adds *muñca*)
yajñapatim anhasah svāhā MS KS ApŚ 3d person forms are used
 in parallel formulas in KS

meṣa wa var sam ca vi corv aryase AV *meṣa wa yad upa ca vi ca carvati*
 (ApŚ erroneously, *carvari*) KS ApŚ 3d person forms in the rest of
 AV, but the stanza is very obscure

vaptā (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasī* (PG °*ti*) *keśaśmaśru*
 (AG PG MG *keśān*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG The fourth
 pāda has 2d person verb in all the 3d person of PG is evidently due

to the nom *vaptā*, felt as subject, tho in the original form (AV) it is merely appositional to the subject. Note that HG MG also feel this as inconsistent, and try to smooth out the syntax by the converse change of *vaptā* to voc *vaptar*, while ApMB has an instrumental *vaptrā*

sam gachatām (RV * *gachasva*) *tanvā* (TA *tanuvā*) *suvarcāh* (RV * TA *jātavedah*) RV (bis) AV (bis) TA. In AV 18 3 58 is repeated RV 10 14 8, with change in this pāda of *gachasva* to *gachatām*, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly address. The change is obviously due to the influence of the very similar pāda RV 10 16 5d = AV 18 2 10d (this also in TA), which has, consistently, *gachatām*. Note that conversely AV substitutes *suvarcāh* of 18 3 58d = RV 10 14 8d for *jātavedah* of RV 10 16 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike

sam (ApMB *sam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV ApMB. See Winternitz, p. xx of ApMB Introduction, *hathah* is senseless. *sarvam tad asmān mā hinsih* (HG *hinsit*) ApŚ HG. Parallel verbs are 3d person, there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ, which Caland translates by a 3d person.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*, MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ. The subject is Soma, who is address directly in the preceding formulas

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargān* lokān) KS ApŚ. The subject is address in 2d person (*gacha*) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ, secondarily no doubt, makes *samsarpa* consistent with this. Mahidhara on VS understands even *samasṛpat* as direct address (*he kūrma yo bhavān samasṛpat*), but the only express subject is nom in all (*apām patir vṛṣabha iṣṭakānām*)

viśvā †deva prtanā abhiṣya TB ApŚ HG *viśvās ca deva* (PG *devah*) *prtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG † °*syach*) KS PG. 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts' *abhiṣyak* for *abhiṣyat*, 3d sing. injunctive, see Stenzler's Critical Note on PG 3 1 3b. The 'god' is Agni, who is address directly in the preceding pāda even in PG (*svṛṣṭam agne abhi tat prnāhi*)

§338 (d) We come next to a group of variants in which the change of person is due to a change of subject, while the general context remains essentially the same. Thus

tvo mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB AŚ

- ApŚ *tvo me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (one ms *hāsīt*) MŚ † The subject of the 2d person forms is Agni, who is address in the prec, that of the 3d persons is *āyuh*
- kāmam* (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*, KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ 'Desire has entered the ocean' or the like, 'enter thou the ocean (of) desire' (TA comm *he dakṣiṇe samudrasamam kāmam pravīśa*)
- ūrdhvo adhwaro asthāt* etc, see §337
- ahar no atyapīparat* MahānU SMB *ahar mātīyapīparah* AV 'The day has brought us across' 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day'
- pra yam rāye nniśasi* RV *pra yo rāye nniśati* N 'Whom thou (Agni) wilt lead to wealth' 'who will lead (thee, Agni) to wealth'
- mā hīnśīh puruṣam jagat* VS TS MS KS ŚvetU *mā hīnśīt puruṣān mama* NilarU The entire verse is address to Rudra, who is the grammatical subject of this verb except in NilarU, where the subject is his weapon
- rarātam ud va vidhyati* (IIG °si) HG ApMB Prec by *yat ta etan mukhe* 'matam (IIG *matam*) 'If thou shootest up this thought in thy face' 'if this bad thought shoots up'
- devi vāg yat te vāco tasmin mā dhāh* (KB ŚŚ *no adya dhāt*) TS KB GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ The subject in KB ŚŚ is Vācaspati, mentioned in the prec
- vācaspatē* 'chidrayā vācōchidrayā juhvā dīvi devāvr̥dham (ŚŚ erroneously, *devā vr̥dhan*) *hotrām arayat* (KŚ *arayan*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ omits) ŚB TA ŚŚ KŚ The passage is troublesome, see Eggeling's note in SBE 44 122 Sīyana interprets *arayat* as equivalent to a 2d person, and refers the whole passage to Vācaspati, if he is right, this variant would belong with those listed in §332 But Eggeling translates *arayat* as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the *yajamāna*, the formula is used under certain conditions at his consecration (*dikṣā*), and this seems likely to be correct The 2d person form of the variant is, of course, address to Vācaspati
- yo devayānah panthās tena yajño devān apy etu* (KS *tena devān gacha*) TS KS Subject in KS is *idā*
- āyur dātra edhi* VS ŚB ŚŚ *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS *vayo dātre* (VSK *dātra edhi*, KS PB *dātre bhūyān*) *mayo mahyam* (TB TA ApŚ *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahitre* VSik KS PB TB TA ApŚ 'Be thou (potency address) life (or the like) to the giver' etc, or, 'may there

be strength (or the like) to the giver' etc The meaning, of course, is virtually the same Cf next

śāntir no astu MS *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA *sā mā śāntir edhī* VS Mahidhara on VS *mā, mām prati, edhī, astu, purusavyatyayah* (text by error, °*vyatyamah*) But this is, of course, a pedantic and unnecessary assumption, the 2d person is of the same sort as in the preceding variant

dyaṃ nah pītā pītryāc (TA *pītryāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA °*si*) AV TA In AV the subject is *dyaṃ*, in TA the comm takes it as the *yajamāna*, no doubt correctly, but the entire stanza is obscure

viśvasmai bhūtāyādīhvaro °*si* (ApŚ °*ro astu devāh*, KS MŚ *bhūtāya dhrūvo astu devāh*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ The subject in TS is Soma, in the others *yajña*, all refer to *yajña* in the 3d person in the preceding

sūryam (TA adds *te*) *cakṣur gachatu* (AV *cakṣuṣā gacha*) °*ātām ātmā* (AV *ātmanā*) RV AV TA 'Let thy eye go (or, go with thy eye) to the sun' etc In the following *pādas* the dead man is addressed with *gacha* in all, AV makes this *pāda* consistent with them, but the others are not syntactically inconsistent, since *cakṣuh* is the grammatical subject in them

sūryasya rasmīn anu ātatāna (MŚ *ātatantha*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam* (*prahītam, nihītam*) *padam hi te* In MŚ the subject is Agni, in the others, his *padam*

svīṣṭakṛd indrāya devebhyo bhava MS KS ApŚ *svīṣṭakṛd devebhya indra ājyena haviṣā bhūt svāhā* VS ŚB The subject in most texts is Agni, in VS ŚB it is (obviously secondarily) changed to Indra

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhāh*) KS MŚ See §158

yat te krāram *tat te sudhyatu* (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ 'Let that of thee become pure (by this)', or, 'as to that become thou pure by this'

§339 We think it unnecessary to list here cases in which the change of person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a shift of voice, as between active and middle or passive, such a shift naturally involves very often a change of person, and the instances can easily be found from the lists in §§30, 83 ff., to these should be added the variant *tās tvā devīr* (*devyo*) *jarase* (°*sā*) *sam vyayantu* (*vyayasva*), §70

§340 For cases of this sort in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §365, and for a couple of cases in which a 2d person singular of direct address varies with an indefinite 3d plural, see §360

§341. (e) We come now to cases in which the 2d and 3d persons appear in different contexts, with different subjects, each appropriate and consistent. We may begin with a pāda which occurs in the RV itself in no less than four different verses

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV AV SV VS TS
MS KS *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV *as° bodhy av° tanūnām*
RV MS TB TA MahānU *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV AV TA The last, with its anomalous form *bhūtv*, is obviously a secondary adaptation to a new context with change of person

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG † (corrupt, read as ApMB, as Kirste and Oldenberg both assume) *adho vadādharo vada* HG The last, which is the only genuine variant, is a conscious imitation of the other, with change of person to suit different context

te devāso (TS *devā*) *yaṇīam imam juṣadhvam* (AV *juṣantām*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *te devāso havir idam juṣadhvam* AV It is the last-quoted form of AV which appears in the same context with the others, AV 7 28 1, which reads *juṣantām*, is in a wholly different context

trptā mā tarpayata (MG *mām tarpayantu*) KS MG Contexts only vaguely similar

antaś carasy (MS °*ty*) *arnave* AV MS Different contexts

adhaspadam kṛnutām (AV * *kṛnuṣva*, TS *kṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyavah* AV (bis) VS TS MS KS ŚB

bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat MS *bodhā stotre vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV SV ApŚ See §§24, 153 The contexts are different, and MS is interpretable as it stands but it has a v 1 *bodhā*

mā nah prajāṃ rīṛṣo (TB 3 1 1 3 *rīṛṣan*) *mota vīrān* RV VS ŚB TB (bis) TA TAA ApŚ SMB HG MG N One case in TB uses the pāda in a quite different context, found nowhere else, the person of the verb is consistent with its surroundings

san me bhūyāh (Kauś °*yāt*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś Different contexts

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhi*) RV ŚŚ

yathāsthānam kalpantām (ApŚ *kalpayadhvam*) ŚB BrhU ApŚ *yathāsthāma kalpayantām iharva* AV *yathāsthānam dhārayantām iharva* ŚŚ Hardly comparable See §241

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG cf *āyus te* (AV *āyur no*) *visvato dadhat* AV etc Hardly comparable

nyaññ uttānām anv eti (and, eṣi) *bhūmim* RV (both) Subjects Indra Agni

- agnī rakṣānsi sedhati* RV AV MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś
apa ra° sedhasi (PrānāgŪ *cātayati*) AV PrānāgŪ
- jeṣah* (and, *jeṣat*, *ajarah*) *sarvatīr apah* RV (all) Indra is the subject each time, but the contexts are different See *RVRep* 39 *ajarah* is 2d person The original is *jeṣah*, RV 1 10 8
- abhy arṣanti* (and, *arṣati*) *suṣtutim* RV (both) *abhy arṣata suṣtutim gavyam ājīm* RV VS KS ApŚ The addition in the latter indicates that it is secondary, but it is consistent with its context
- aśmā bhavatu nas* (AV *te*) *tanūh* RV AV VS TS MS KSA *aśmeva tam sthira* (MG ApMB * *sthira*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB HG MG Cf also *aśmā bhava paraśur bhava*, see Conc The AV context is related to that of the GS texts, and Ppp reads *asmeva tam sthira bhava*, the vulgate AV has an interesting contamination with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV etc
- ā barhiḥ sīdatam sumat* RV *sīdatām barhiḥ ā sumat* RV Subjects Aśvins Night and Dawn
- ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi* TB *ado yad avadhāvati* AV *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG ApMB (see Winternitz, Introduction, p xxvi, he supposes that *avadhāvata* is intended, while Kirste and Oldenberg assume *avadhāvanti* for HG) *asau yo 'vasarpati* VS TS MS KS Four different contexts with different subjects
- imam yaṣṇam munikṣatām* (TB °*tam*) RV VS TS MS KS JB TB ŚB ŚŚ LŚ Quite different context in TB ŚŚ from the others, see §337
- jusethām* (and, °*tām*) *yaṣṇam istaye* RV In three different contexts, two with direct address, one 3d person, different subjects each time
- punar no naṣtam ākṛdhi* (RV AV *ājati*) RV AV VS TS MS KS MŚ
- yat sīm āgas cakṛmā tat su mṛdatu* (and, *mṛda*) RV (both)
- viśvam ā bhāsi* (RV * *bhāti*) *rocanaṁ* (AV * *rocana*) RV (tris) AV (bis) ArŚ VS TS MS KS TA MahānU Subjects Uśas, Sūrya, and Indra
- viśvā adhi śrīyo dadhe* RV °*dhita* RV KS TB *dhise* RV
- viśve devāḥ iha vīrayadhvam* (AV *mādayadhvam* VS ŚB Vait LŚ *mādayantām*) RV AV VS TS ŚB Vait LŚ ApMB *viśve devā iha mādayantām* (KS *vīrayadhvam*) TS KS TB Two different contexts, with appropriate persons of verbs in each
- sam sūryena rocate* RV VS MS ŚB TA *roca e* RV AV Subjects Soma Pavamāna Uśas

vi mucyantām usriyāh VS ŚB *vi mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA ApŚ *aghnyā*) *devayānāh* VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ Hardly variants of each other

sa cakārārasam viṣam AV *sā cakarthārasam viṣam* AV

sajātānām asad (AV *aso*) *vakī* AV (both) VS TS MS KS

sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (and, *babhūva*) RV (both) Subjects Agni Indra

sa visvā bhuva ābhavaḥ RV AV *sa visvā bhuvo* (AV *sa idam visvam*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV TS TB

stṛnantī (RV * *stṛnāta*) *barhīr ānusak* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ N

viṣe viṣam aprkthāh (and, *aprāg api*) AV (both)

madhu tvā (AV *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV *karah*, RV *cakāra*, MS *kṛnotu*) RV AV MS TA ApŚ

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV *bharāt*) RV SV AV VS TS MS KS Different context in SV

aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu (KS *kṛdhi*, TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2 20 (omitted in Conc.) TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ In the last two texts the context is different

For other cases in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §371

§342 (f) Finally, some instances which include either gross corruptions or errors of various kinds. Others, involving number as well as person, will be found below, §372

ihava kṣemīya edhi mā prahāsīr mām amum (ApŚ *prahāsīn māmum*) *āmusyāyanam* (AŚ *mā prahāsīr amum māmūsyāyanam*) MS AŚ ApŚ MŚ The true reading of ApŚ can hardly be anything but *prahāsīr*, as Caland assumes

yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha (TB *bhūva*, but Poona ed text and comm correctly *tha*) TB ApŚ *yatra-yatra vibhrato* (KS *bibhrato*) *jātavedaḥ* AV KS See §262, f

samjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt AB *samjñānāneṣu vai brūyāh* ŚŚ Several mss of ŚŚ read *brūyāt*. But Aufrecht 387, conjectures *brūyāh* for AB, and this is approved by Keith, *HOS* 25 307, who so translates *mā tvā vṛkṣau* (TA *vṛkṣau*) *saṃ bādhiṣta* (TA once *tām*, once *bādhetām*) AV TA The form *bādhetām* can hardly be anything but a corruption for *tām*, *vṛkṣau* is accented, and a 3d person is required, comm *sambādhitam mā kurātām*. But perhaps this might be placed in §332

aśrīram (TB † *aślīlam*) *cat kṛnuthā supratākam* RV AV TB Conc quotes *kṛnuyāt* for TB, Bibl Ind ed reads in fact *kṛnuthāt*, but its comm and Poona ed text have the correct *kṛnuthā*
teṣāṃ yo aṇyānam (PG 'jyā') *aṇīm ā vahāt* (SMB Conc *aṇīm āvahāh*, but Jorgensen as the others) TS SMB PG BDh
nivarto yo ny avīrtat (HG *avīrdhah*) ApMB HG The HG form is corrupt, Oldenberg adopts *avīrtat*
madhye poṣasya tṛmpatām (MG *puṣyatām*) ŚG MG *madhye poṣasva tisthantīm* AG For *poṣasva* read *poṣasya* (Stenzler, Transl)
yamasya loke adhiraṇjur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nādhir ajarāya*) AV MS TA See §153 TA is probably corrupt, MS is still worse
adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, see §153
barhi (*barhih*) *stṛnāhi* (TS MS MŚ ApŚ * *stṛnāhi*) TS MS GB ŚB Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ The text of MS reads *stṛnāti*, presumably by misprint
nir ā yachasi madhyame AV ŚŚ The vulgate of AV reads *yachati*, by Roth's emendation

B VARIANTS CONCERNING NUMBER

§343 We have explained above (§§289–301, especially 301) the principles of classification adopted for the Number variants, and quoted examples of the principal types. We now proceed to give the lists in full, beginning with—

1 First Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates

§344 In many—possibly even in most—of these (see §290) the first person plural is only formally plural, and actually refers to a single person, the speaker, alone. That is, we have a kind of 'editorial we'. It is not necessary to suppose that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in such cases, tho one or the other may at times be suspected. We begin with a few cases where the 'editorial we' seems particularly clear, but in general we have made no attempt to sift out such instances from the general run of variants in which the priest says 'I' or 'we' in referring to himself and his associates. For it seems to us practically impossible to do so in the large majority of instances. This lies in the very nature of the case, there is as a rule nothing to show whether the priestly 'we' means the speaker alone, or includes others of his class

But in the first three variants, at least, it seems clear that it means the single speaker

idam vatsyāmo bhoh AG *om aham vatsyāmi bhoh* ŚG *idam vatsyāvah* HG In AG ŚG alike spoken by the brahman-pupil when about to leave his teacher on a journey In HG spoken by the teacher at the *upanayana*, the dual includes the boy

brahmacaryam āgām (MG *upemaṣi*, Kauś text† *āgam*, 'misprint?') ŚB Kauś SMB GG PG ApMB ApG HG MG Again spoken by the *brahmacārīn* The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical, MG makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose

śatam ca jīvāmi (MG *śatam jivema*) *śaradaḥ purūcāḥ* PG MG In the same verse, spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil, MG otherwise has 1st singular verbs For other forms of the variant see Conc and §103 The other texts which show plural verb (*jīvantu*) have a different context

Once this 'editorial we' varies with a definite first-person dual *punśam bahūnām mātara syāma* (HG *rau syāva*) ApMB MG In a verse spoken by wife to husband, the dual includes the two spouses, while the plural is evidently 'editorial'

§345 The remaining long list is as follows

yad aham dhanena (AV *yena dhanena*, HG *yad vo devāḥ*) *prapanam* (ApMB *nanā*) *carāmi* (HG *ma*) AV ApMB IIG

vairūpe sāmāni iha (MS *adhi*, KS *vairūpena sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema*, MS *tañ śakeyam*) TS MS KS AŚ Followed by *jagatyajnam* (AŚ *tyenam*) *vikṣva āvesayāmi* (AŚ *ni*, TS *mah*), same texts

mā mā (TB AŚ ApŚ *no*) *hāsīn* (MŚ *hāsīr*, AŚ *hinsīd*) *nāthuto* (TB ApŚ *metthuto*, AŚ *dhinsito dadhāmi*, some mss omit *dadhāmi*) *net* (AŚ MŚ *nā*) *tvā jahāmi* (AV KS *ni*, TB ApŚ *ma*) AV KS TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

idam patrbhyah pra bhārāmi (TA *bharema*) *barhih* AV TA Followed by

jīvam devebhyā uttaram stṛnāmi AV *devebhyo jīvanta uttaram bharema* TA TA spoils the meter

yad dhastābhyām cakara (AV *cakṛma*) *kūbīṣāni* AV MS TB TA

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ

samānena (TB *saṁjñānena*) *vo havīṣā juhomi* (TB *yajāmah*) RV AV MS TB

emam panthām arukṣāma AV *sugam panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB

tena tvā pari dadhmaṣi (PG *dadhāmy āyufe*) AV PG Different contexts, only vaguely parallel

bhūpate bhuvanapate tvā vṛnīmahe (MŚ *vṛne*) TB Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ *pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG Note the metathesis of the syllable *syā*!

abadhiṣma rakṣo VS VSK ŚB *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *avadhiṣma rakṣah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ
Hardly true variants

apasyam yuvalim nīyamānām AV *apaśyāma yu' ācarantīm* TA
achūdrah prajāyā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB HG cf *ariṣṭā asmākam vīrāḥ* (*santu*), *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāśma*, etc., see Conc Hardly true variants

tasya doham aśimahi (KS *aśiya*, AŚ *aśiya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA
AŚ ŚŚ

tām adya gāthām gāsyāmi (MG °mah) PG MG

te yam dvīṣmo yas ca no dveṣti tam eṣām (TS ApMB **vo*) *jambhe dadhmah* (TS KS ApMB **dadhāmi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB (both)

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*) TS MŚ But most mss of MŚ read *yajeha* (*yaja iha*), which would make *yaja* a 2d person address to Agni like *anu manyasva*

asman sahasram puṣyāsam (Kauś *puṣyāśma*) ŚB BṛhU Kauś
ugram sahodām iha tam huvema (MS *huve*) RV VS TS MS KS TB
ŚB Bad meter in MS

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApMB *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG *abhūma*) AV HG

gātrānām te gātrabhūjo bhūyāśma (KS °bhāg *bhūyāsam*) TS KS Prose
pṛchāmi (LŚ °mas) *tvā param antam pṛthivyāḥ*,
pṛchāmi (LŚ °mo) *yatra* (TS KSA 'TB *tvā*, AV *vīśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīḥ* (AV TS KSA TB °*im*),

pṛchāmi (LŚ °mas) *tvā* (AV omits) *vṛṣno asvasya retah*,
pṛchāmi (LŚ °mo) *vācaḥ paramam vyoma* RV AV VS TS KSA TB
LŚ, and the first pāda in ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait

brahman prasthāsyāmah (GB ŚB KŚ ŚŚ °mi) TS KB GB ŚB AŚ
ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

brahmann apah praneṣyāmi AŚ Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ *brahman praneṣyāmah* KB

yasmai ca tvā kṣanāmy aham (Kauś *kṣanāmasi*) VS Kauś *yasmai cāham kṣanāmi vah* RV VS TS

vācaḥ satyam aśimahi (VS ŚB *aśiya*) RVKh VS ŚB TB Bad meter in VS ŚB

- vaśvānarūya prati vedayāmah* (AV °mī) AV TA BDh
agnim indram (TB *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB *vām*, MS °hanam *huvema*) AV MS TB
etam yuvānam patim (TS *pari*) *vo dadāmi* TS ŚG PG ViDh *etam vo yuvānam prati dadhmo atra* AV
sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N °nam) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) AV VS TS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś ApŚ N *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS
jīvā (TB ApŚ *jīvo*) *jīvantir upa vah sadema* (TB ApŚ *sadeyam*) AV KS TB MŚ ApŚ
tam (RV omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*, RV KS *johavīmi*) RV RVKh AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ
brhaspatim vah havāmahe GB Vait *brhaspatim visvān devān aham huve* RV It is doubtful whether these are really related
marutām pilas tad aham grnāmi (MS *grne te*, KS *pitar uta tad grnīmah*) TS MS KS
mā (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣena vi yausma* VS MS ŚB *māham rā° vi yaśam* TS KS TA ApŚ
mitrasya (MS adds *vas*) *caḥṣuṣā samikṣāmahe* VS MS cf *mitrasyāham caḥṣuṣā samikṣe*, etc, see Conc and §303
rudrasya sūnum havasā grnīmasi (and, *vivāse*) RV (both) The change is metrical, *triṣṭubh* and *jagati* verses
vājasyedam (AV VS ŚB *vājasya nu*) *prasava ābabhūva* (AV °ve *sam babhūvima*) AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
visvair visvāṅgair saha sam bhavema (MŚ *bhavāmi*) AV MŚ
sam jyotiṣābhūma (TS °bhūvam) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ *sam sūryasya jyotiṣāganma* AV In most texts, but not in TS, juxtaposed with formulas containing 1st plural expressions
tasmīn pāśān pratimuñcāmo etān MS KS *yam dṛiṣmas tasmīn prati-muñcāmi pāśam* TS ApŚ
suprajāh prajāyā (*prajābhūh*) *bhūyāsam* (*syām*, *syāma*, *bhūyās*) See Conc, an intricate tangle of formulas, it is doubtful to what extent they are true variants of each other The plur *syāma* only in VS ŚB, which elsewhere have the sing form too, VSK has sing in the passage corresponding to the plur of VS
yam tvā somenātītrpāma (TS °pam, MŚ °pan) VS TS ŚB MŚ
ena enasyo 'karam (TB 'karat) AV TB (see §315) *enān* (TS KS * TB * *enaś*) *cakrma vayam* AV VS TS MS KS * TB * And others, see Conc In adjoining stanzas of AV
huvema vājasātaye RV SV MS KS *huveya vā°* RV AV Cf *harante vā°*, §316

anu tvendrārabhāmahe AV *anu tvā rabhe* AV etc (see Conc) The latter is prose, the former is made metrical
ava (RV *abhi*, MS *ā vah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṣāmasi*, VS ŚB *ava nayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
āganta pitarah pitrman aham yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsam TS *āganta pitarah supitaro vayam yuṣmābhīr bhūyāśma* MŚ
tāni te pari dadmasi AV *tām* (ApŚ * *tāns*) *te paridādāmy aham* (TA omits *aham*) TA ApŚ In different contexts
tebhīś chidram api dadhmo yad atra MS AŚ *teṣām chidram pratrī dadhmo yad atra* KS *teṣām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam imam*, TS *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS TS ŚŚ
devasyāham (VSK MS KS MŚ *devasya vayam*) *savituh pravase* (save) *jeṣam* (VSK MS KS MŚ *jeṣma*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save aruham* (VSK *aruhāma*) VS VSK ŚB Other texts have *ruheyam*, see §133
vājīnam tvā vājīno 'vanayāmah (MS *vājīny avanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ
teṣv (ŚG *anyeṣv*) *aham sumanāḥ sam vīśāmi* (AŚ °ni, MG *vasāma*, ŚG *vīśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB MG See §104, c
adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayer*) *grheṣu* AV KS ApŚ The ApŚ reading is worthless
jagṛhmā (RV °*bhmā*, TB °*bhnā*) *te dakṣīnam indra hastam* RV SV MS TB The TB form may be felt as 1st person sing (subj), but see Ludwig on RV 10 47 1

[*agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam*, for this Conc quotes KS as *acāriṣma*, by error]

§346 In the following, one form or the other is more or less at variance with the context This does not necessarily mean that the consistent form is more original

śvam prajābhyo 'hinsantam agnim kṣanāmah (TS KS °mi) VS TS MS KS ŚB A parallel formula just before this has *kṣanāmi* in all texts

īdam śreyo (AV *īdam uc chreyo*) *'vasānam āgām* (ApMB *āganma devāḥ*, ApŚ °*nam yad āgām*) AV ApŚ ApMB Even in ApMB (tho it has a different context) first-singular verbs occur in the preceding line of the stanza

yac cāham eno vidvānś cakāra VS ŚŚ *yac cāham eno vidvānsaś cakṛma* MahānU The latter is obviously and flagrantly inconsistent with its context The comm lamely supplies a separate verb, *akārṣam*, with *aham*

indrasya manmahe śaśvad id asya manmahe AV *indrasya manve prathamasya pracetasah* TS MS KS In the following pāda all have the sing pronoun 'me'

tam tvā juṣāmahe VS MS KS ŚB *tam tvā juṣe* TS ApŚ The preceding and parallel formula is 1st sing in all, presumably TS has secondarily changed this to be consistent with it

anhomuce pra bharemā (AV *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV TS MS KS Hap-logy naturally suggests itself to us, as it did to Lanman ap Whitney on AV 19 42 3, the meter, and the Ppp reading *bharemā*, seem to confirm the suggestion Yet the curious fact is to be noted that at the end of the next pāda MS has the singular participle *āvṛnānah* as in AV (while yet reading *bharemā*'), TS KS consistently show plural participles

śarman (MS **mans*) *te syāma* (VS *tava syāma sarman*, TS *tava syām sarman*) *trvarūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhut*) VS TS MS KS TA Note that VS is hypermetric, TS, with the same order and non-enclitic *tava* for *te*, corrects the meter with its *syām*, it is however clearly secondary, plural pronouns referring to 'us' occur in all texts in the preceding pāda

adveṣe (MS **ṣye*) *dṛāvāpīthvī huvema* (MS *huve*) RV VS MS The MS reading is not only bad metrically but inconsistent with the pronoun *asme* in the next pāda

edho 'sy *edhīṣimahi* (AV **ṣīya*) AV VS etc etc Not only in AV, but also in several texts showing plural verb, the same verse contains the phrase *tejo mayi dhehi*, with sing pronoun

sarvān agnīnr (AV *svān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS *huve*, AV *havāmahe*) AV TS MS AB The AV is inconsistent with *mayi* of the next pāda, but it probably has the original reading, 'corrected' in the others We infer this from the bad meter of MS and the fact that TS AB use the 'patch-word' *vah* to correct the meter *sutarmānam adhi nāvam rukema* (KS *ruheyam*) RV TS MS KS The KS reading is inconsistent with *tarema* of the preceding pāda But to call it 'absurd' and 'a mere blunder' (Keith on TS 1 2 2 2) is an exaggeration Keith would probably not have used such strong language if he had seen the evidence of the Variants as to the frequency of such things

tam vah supṛītam subhṛtam akarma (KS *abhārṣam*) TS KS In the next formula KS also has *nah*

vāmī te samdṛśi vīśvam reto dheṣīya (KS *dhiṣīya*) MS KS *vīśvasya te vīśvāvato vṛṣṇīyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi vīśvā retānsi*

dhṛīṣya TS *vāmī nāma samdṛśi viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB The last is inconsistent

For a few similar variants between first plural and second singular, see §307, end

2 *Second Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates*

§347 As we found above (§307, cf. §290) the 2d person varying with the first in reference to the *yajamāna* or priest, the participant in or beneficiary of the rite, so we have here a few cases of 2d person verbs, singular and plural, used variously in reference to such persons. But the instances are very rare compared to the corresponding ones in the first person

tad anu preta sukr̥tām u lokam VS ŚB *tam anu prehi sukr̥tasya lokam* TS KS Mahīdhara says, *he rtvjah*. In TS KS presumably the *yajamāna* is meant

yamam rājānam haviṣā duvasya (TA *syata*, AV *saparyata*) RV AV MS TA The priest here addresses either himself or an associate Sāyana, *he madīyāntarātman yajamāna vā*. The plural of TA AV is a lect fac

ut sṛjata (SMB GG *sṛja*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG *om utsṛjata* (MG *tu*) TA ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ApG HG MG (But Jorgensen reads in SMB with comm—his text mss omit the formula—*om ut sṛjata*!) The object (generally understood) is the cow at the Arghya rite. 'Let it loose' is spoken by the recipient if he does not wish it killed. Address to the person(s) holding the cow, or the giver of it—Some texts have in the same context various forms of the following variant (meaning 'do it', i.e. 'kill the cow', if he wishes it killed). But the word occurs also in various other connexions

om kuruta kuru kuruta kuruṣva kurudhvam. See Conc. Only in part belonging to related contexts and variants of one another, see under prec

pāpmānam me hata (Kauś. *'pa jahi*) MG Kauś

abhi (AV *pari*) *stṛñīhi pari dhehi vedim* AV TB ApŚ *paristṛñīta pari-dhattāgnum* TB ApŚ *stṛñīta barhih pari dhatta vedim* KS MŚ. The second occurrence of TB ApŚ is in a different verse, but one modelled on the other and in the same vicinity. The comm. on AV and also that on TB (both times) regard *darbha*-grass (sing. or plur.) as addressee. But ApŚ introduces the formula with *sampreṣyati*, indicating that it is a command to an associate priest. The

ApŚ comm remarks that, since no other priest than the *adhvaryu* (who speaks here) 'strews', the *adhvaryu* addresses himself with this command' (cf Sāyana on *yamam rājānam* etc above)
That priests, or at least a priest, and not *darbha*-grass, are addrest seems clear from the KS MŚ variant, where *barhih* is the object *agnāñ jyotiṣmatah kuruta* (MŚ *kuru*) ApŚ MŚ 'Light the fires' Address to priest(s) or attendant(s), not clearly specified

3 Subject pluralized or dualized, varying with the same subject in the singular

§348 We have referred (§296) to the variants in which a singular verb with singular subject is, as it were, multiplied to a dual or plural. They fall naturally into two groups. The first, with which we are here concerned, includes those in which the same subject, in the same or at least a very similar context, and without the inclusion of any different entity, is pluralized or dualized, the number of the verb changing with it. The second group (§§353 ff.), in which the dual or plural is formed by the inclusion of another entity or entities than the singular subject, will be treated in the next subdivision. Instances of the converse, that is substitution of a singular for plural in the like circumstances, are equally common and are included in the list which follows. We begin with cases of

§349 Singular and Plural

vi parjanyaṃ (TS °yāh) *srjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyah srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS. In RV the subject is the Maruts, in the others, Parjanya, singular or plural. The RV form in relation to the others belongs in §361 below, q v

agne grhapata upa mā hvayasi KS ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait, cf *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SB 'O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me'

ārtavo 'dhīpatir āsī TS *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS ŚB *rtavo 'dhīpataya āsan* MS KS 'The season(s, or the like) was (were) overlord(s)'

dviṣan me bahu socatu TB ApŚ *dviṣantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ. In the preceding *pāda* all texts refer to a singular 'hater'

upahūtopahvayasva, upahūtā upahvayadhvam MŚ (both)

ekasapham asrjyata MS *ekasaphāh paśavo 'srjyanta* VS TS KS ŚB

Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural 'one-hoofed (animals) were created'

dhiṣanās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatih (MS MŚ *dhiṣanā tvā devīr viśvadevyā-*

vati) *abhīndhatām* (MS once *abhīnddhām*, once *abhīndhātām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB and (*pratīka*) MŚ Since a dual form cannot be construed, it seems that the form *abhīndhātām* (if not corrupt) is a bastard subjunctive-imperative blend, intended to be 3d singular (like *abhīnddhām*, the proper form)

manojavās tvā pītṛbhīr (KS *pītarō*) *dakṣīnatah pātu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS KS ŚB *manojavaso vah pītṛbhīr dakṣīnata upa dadhatām* TA *pītaras tvā manojavā dakṣīnatah pāntu* MS In the same passage The form *manojavās* is plural in MS KS, singular in the others *śundhantām lokāh pītṛṣadanāh* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ *śundhātām lokah pītṛṣadanah* TS ApŚ 'Let the world(s) where the fathers sit be purified'

dūrvā rohanu puṣpīnīh (AV *rohatu puṣpīnī*) RV AV 'Let flowering *dūrvā*-plant(s) grow' Some mss of AV, followed by comm and SPP, read as RV, and Whitney reports Ppp likewise

māham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV *māhī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmanu* AV

indrāghoṣas (KS °*śās*) *tvā vasubhīh* (KS † *vasavah*) *purastāt pātu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne AV *mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS TS MS KS

īmanī yaṇīnam avatu yā (AŚ no) *ghṛtācī* (TS *avantu no ghṛtācīh*) TS MS KS AŚ Subject is the *śakvarī*-verse(s), singular or (TS) plural *śunam kīnāsā abhi* (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaih* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

vāk patamgo asisriyat (KS °*gā asisriyuh*) AV KS The same *pāda* is read *vāk patamgāya dhīyate* (TS *sisriye*, MS *hūyate*), with middle or passive verb and different subject, in RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS ŚB

anavahāyāsmān (KS adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS *patheta*, KS *pathā yati*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS *sīda*) TS MS KS Plural in TS MS because the *dakṣiṇās* there addrest are plural, in KS they are considered collectively, or (better) as a personified abstraction, and hence singular In the same context, and due to the same circumstances

asmadrātā (TS *asmaddātrā*, MS ŚŚ add *madhumatīr*, KS *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*, TS adds *madhumatīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ And

pradātāram ā vīśata (KS *vīśa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

Quite similar to the preceding three variants is the group of the next three, all in the same passage in the YV Samhitās

raudrēnānīkena pāhi māgne (VS *pāta māgnayah*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ

Followed by

pṛpṛhi mā (KS *māgne*) TS MS KS ŚŚ *pṛpṛta māgnayah* (PB ŚŚ *mā*) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait And —

mā mā hnsīh (*hnsīṣṭa*), see Conc (This last occurs very frequently, and in other connexions) In these three cases either various altars are address, or Fire collectively, or the same personified, as Agni(s)

yad asuddhah parājaghāna KS *yad vo 'suddhāh parā jaghnur* (VSK *'suddhah parā jaghānataḥ*) VS VSK ŚB See §30

pracetās tvā rudraih paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB *pracetā* (here felt as plural) *vo rudraih paścād upa dadhatām* TA *rudrās tvā pracetasaḥ paścāt pātu* MS

yat pasur māyūm akṛta TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG *yad vaśā māyūm akrata* Kauś In Kauś *vaśā(h)* is plural, all mss *akrata*

ye no dvesty anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dvesti tanūm rabhasva* MŚ *yo no dvesty anu tam ravaśva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ

varūtīayo janayas tvā paśantūkhe TS *varūtī* (and, *varu*?) *tvā paśatām ukhe* MS *janayas tvā paśantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB

vi sloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

anu me dīksām dīksāpatir manyatām (KS *°patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB * *°patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait

ā me graho bhavatu (KSA *grahā bhavantu*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA

abhy arṣati (and, *arsanti*) *sustutim*, *pavamānā abhy arsanisustutim* RV (all) Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing or plur, see RVRep 437

aido me bhagavo 'janisthā maitrāvarunah MS *aidū me bhagavanto 'janidhvam maitrāvarunāh* MŚ And, in same passage, *ūrjā me bhagavah saha janisthāh* (MŚ *bhagavantaḥ saḥajanidhvam*) MS MŚ *jñātam me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*), *sanvidam me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*) MS MŚ *punṛyā punyam* (and, *°yām*) *asūt*, and *citṛā citram* (and, *°rāni*) *asūt* MS, *punṛyāh* (and, *citṛās*) *punṛyān* (*°yā*, and *citṛān*, *citṛā*) *asuvan* MŚ

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG
ApMB *tena brāhmano vapatu* MG *tenāsyaūyuse vapa* ApMB
See §330

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS *tenatu yajamānah svasti* (KS * ApŚ
svastyā) TS KS ApŚ The real motive for MS's change may have
been metrical, the plural may be understood as one of respect but
for plurality and duality of *yajamānas* see in Conc under *agnim*
adya hotāram (*avṛnītām*)

āyusmatyā (°*tya*) ṛco mā gāta (Vait *māpagāyā*, Kauś *mā satṣi*) TS
AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś One or more priests are address Caland on
Vait would read °*gāyata*, presumably because the surrounding
parallel phrases are plural, but the sing is supported by Kauś
ud rathānām (AV *vīrānām*) *jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ* (AV TS °*tām etu*
ghoṣāḥ) RV AV VS SV TS

upantu mām devasakhah RVKh Rvidh *upa yantu mām devaganāḥ* MG
nīṣaṅgīna upa sprśata HG *nīṣaṅgīnn upa sprśa* ApMB Rudra is
meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the
context of IIG, we may understand the plural to refer to the Rud-
ras, or Rudra's 'hosts'

pavanitām āntarikṣyā RV SV *pavatām ā* °RV And
pavante vāre avyaye RV SV *pavate v* ° *a* ° RV The subject is soma,
singular or plural The plural occurrences are found in the midst
of *tṛcas* with singular soma referred to, see Bloomfield, *RVRep* 427

atho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asī*) *nīṣṛtīḥ* (TS *samk* °,
MS *samkṛtīḥ*, KS *nīṣṛtīḥ*) RV VS TS MS KS Address to
herbs, or (MS KS) to an herb, but the singular reading is incon-
sistent with the rest of the verse, both prec and following *pādas*,
where even MS KS have plural

trāyatām marutām ganah RV *trāyantām marutām ganāḥ* AV

bhaga (s) *stha bhagasya vo lapsīya* KS ApŚ *bhago* 'sī bh° la° MŚ Ad-
dressed to cakes, one of which is taken by each of the participants
in the rite Plur thinks of the plurality of cakes, sing thinks of
each person addressing his own cake 'Ye are (thou art) luck' etc
idā (p p *idāḥ*, MS *idāḥ*, KS *idās*) *stha* TS MS KS *ilāsi* ŚŚ

§350 Singular, Dual, and Plural

asā (*asāv*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ *tanuḥi jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ And
vikāras in MŚ *amū anu mā tanutam, amī anu mā tanuta*

§351 Singular and Dual

tatra rayiṣīhām anu sambharatām (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *sambharetām*)
TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ See §330

nīlalohitam bhavati (ApMB °*te bhavatah*) RV AV ApMB The bridal garment, which is made dual (i.e. of two pieces) in ApMB, 'becomes blue-red'

viśvakarmāṁś tanūpā asī ŚB *viśvakarmāṁsau tanūpau me sthah* ŚŚ Followed in both by a series of formulas address to two sacred fires, in ŚŚ this formula is assimilated to them, *viśva*° being made an epithet of the fires

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthah (Kauś also, *pūtam asī*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś (both) GG KhG Strainers are referred to, two are mentioned in Kauś in the sūtra just preceding the one which has the singular form

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA °*tām*, and *bādhetām*) AV TA (bis) The TA refers to two pieces of wood

so'dhvarā karatī jātavedāh AB *kṛnotu so adhvarāṇ* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB ApŚ *kṛnotām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ §352 Dual and Plural

ahorātrās (KS TA °*trāni*) *te kalpanām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night' *rājānam saṁgāyata* (PG °*gāyetām*) ŚG PG Subject, lute-players, two in PG, more than two in ŚG, who are commanded to 'sing of the king'

agner jīhvām abhi (MS *jīhvābhi*, p p *jīhvām*, *abhi*, AV KS *jīhvayābhi*) *grñitam* (AV *grñata*) AV VS TS MS KS The subject is certain 'divine *hotar*s', plural in AV, dual in the others, according to Mahīdhara on VS they are Agni and Vāyu, acc to Griffith on VS, Agni with Āditya or Varuna, or Agni celestial and terrestrial The AV comm is missing, Griffith on AV understands 'priests of the gods', Ludwig omits the verse in his translation, and Weber omits the entire hymn

samprca (°*ah*, °*as*) *stha saṁ mā bhadrena prñkta* VS VSK KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *samprcau sthah saṁ mā bhadrena prñklam* VS ŚB And, in same passage

viprca (°*ah*, °*as*) *stha vi mā* (MŚ omits *mā*) *pāpmanā* (VSK *pāpena*) *prñkta viprcau stho vi mā pāpmanā prñklam*, same texts VSK has plural in place of the dual of VS Address to *grahas*, in the dual passage only two in VS ŚB (*soma^uurāgrahau*, comm), but in the preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is address in these texts also

vājino vājayito vājam sarīṣyanto etc, and *vājinau vājayitau vājam jīvā* etc, also

vājino vājayito vājam sasṛvānso etc., and *vājinau vājayitau vājam jīvā* etc., both VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ For the various readings see §329 Either two horses of the racing team, or the entire team, are alternatively address or referred to in this ritual formula *agnim adya hotāram (avṛṇītām, and avṛṇata)* ŚŚ, see Conc under this item

4 *Subject pluralized or dualized by the inclusion of a different entity or entities from that designated in the singular form*

§353 Here the dual or plural goes with a subject which includes both the subject of the singular form and some other entity or entities, referred to in the context It differs from the preceding class in that the 'multiplication' is accomplished by including a disparate person or thing As before, the process works both ways, sometimes addition or multiplication, sometimes subtraction or division Very frequently this manifests itself in the following way a series of coordinate nouns is the joint subject of a plural verb, while in another form of the same formula the verb is made singular, agreeing nominally with the nearest subject alone There is, of course, no real difference in the sense in such cases All three numbers occur in the first variant, which is somewhat complicated

§354 Singular, Dual and Plural

indram karmasv āvatam (MS VS *^{ta}) RV AV VS (both) MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *indram karmasv avatu* MS *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (see below) All in essentially the same stanza, with sometimes extensive modifications The original (RV) subject is the Aśvins, who are meant by the dual verb The plural includes Sarasvatī, named (in this version) in the preceding pāda, or Sarasvatī and Indra, in the variant reading *indra* (voc) In the singular form the subject is Sarvasvatī alone, as nearest subject (MS) The TB, if the reading were correct, would be interpretable with Indra as subject, but the Poona ed text and comm, and the comm of the Bibl Ind ed, read *indra 'vata*, like the second version of VS KS

§355 Singular and Plural

āśidantu (SV *āśidatu*) *barhisi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV SV VS TB Followed by *prātaryāvāno adhvaram* The real subject in RV is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples (Sāyana *yo mitro devo yas cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah devās* etc) But both SV and TB were troubled by the seeming disagreement (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the

construction—SV by making the verb singular (agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro*), TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three subjects

mā vo riṣat (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanitā* RV VS TS Kauś The rest of the verse reads in Kauś *yasmai ca tvā khaṇāmasi, dvipāc catuṣpād asmākam mā riṣad devy oṣadhe* The plural in a is awkward, but is evidently conditioned by thought of the other subjects in b, c 'may they (all) not be harmed, (namely) thy digger, he for whom we dig thee, our bipeds and quadrupeds' etc Perversely, Kauś has a singular in d (*mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*) where a plural would be simpler, it is to be explained as a collective, see under §358 The others have a different pāda d

samvatsaraś (a *kalpatām* (most mss of TA *kalpantām*) TA MahānU Preceded by *ardhamāsā māsā ṛtavah* The TA comm knew both readings, after explaining *kalpatām*, with subject *samvatsarah*, he goes on *kalpantām itī bahuvacanapāthe sarve 'pi kālamsesāḥ itī yojyam*—The formulas *samvatsaro me kalpatām* and *samvatsaras te ka* (see Conc) have no real connexion with this one

apūm garbham vy adadhāt (MS °*dhuḥ*) *purutrā* VS TS MS KS The subject in VS TS KS is *pitā*, mentioned in the prec pāda, in MS it either includes the three personages mentioned in pādas a-c (Viśvakarman, gandharva, and *pitṛ*), or possibly it is a generalizing plural (cf §359)

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah TB *ṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS TA In the prec two pādas first *dvāvāpṛthivī* are address, then *sarasvatī* The verb agrees with the nearer subject in MS TA, while in TB it includes both

savitā varca ādadhāt (MG °*dhuḥ*) TB MG Preceded by *tubhyam indro* (MG adds *varuno*) *bṛhaspatih* In MG the subject is made to include the gods mentioned in the prec pāda, while in TB it agrees with *savitā* alone

rucam no dhatta (MS *dhehi*) *bṛhaspate* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *indrāgnī tābhīh savābhīh* The plural verb includes *indrāgnī* as well as *bṛhaspate* as subject

ūrdhwayā disā (ŚŚ *disā saha*, TS AŚ *ūrdhwayām disā*) *yajñah samvat'aro* (TS ŚŚ add *yajñapatir*, AŚ °*rah prajāpatir*) *mājayantām* (MS AŚ °*yatām*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ—KS is unsyntactical in that it has a plural verb with only two subjects In MS AŚ the verb is made singular, agreeing with the nearest subject only

yajamānāya dravinam dadhātu (VS ŚB KS * *dadhāta*) AV VS VSK TS MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ A long series of gods named in the preceding, in the majority of texts the verb is sing agreeing with only the last On the change of person see §332

śraddhā *prajā* (read *prajñā*?) *ca medhā ca tilāh sāntim kurvantu svāhā* MahānU śraddhāmedhe *prajñā tu jātavedah samdadātu svāhā* TAA In the latter the verb agrees with *prajñā*, the nearer subject *sūryah* (also, *somah*) *pavitram sa mā punātu* ApŚ *vāyuh somah sūrya indrah pavitram te mā punantu* N

hotā yajṣad aśvinau (°nā) *sarasvatīm indram surāmnām somānām pibatu madantām vyantu* (KS *indram sutrāmnām somunām surāmnām juṣantām vyantu pibantu somān surāmnah*, AŚ *indram* [as KS] *pibantu madantu somān* etc) MS KS AŚ In MS subject of *pibatu* is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god, he is more-over the soma-drinker par excellence), while all the gods named are the subjects of the other verbs in MS, and in KS AŚ of *pibantu* likewise

dūrgham āyuh kṛnotu me etc, see §365

śarad dhemantah suvite dadhāta (°tu), etc, see §332

§356 Singular and Dual

tasya nāmnā vṛśāmi (MŚ *vṛśāvo*) *yo 'smān* (MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭi* ApŚ MŚ 'By its name I (we two, i e I and the fireplace addressed) cleave him who hates us'

yena yamasya (AV *yamaḥ ya yena*, ApŚ TB omit *yena*) *nidhina* (*balinā*) *carāmi* (MS MŚ *carāvah*, SMB † *carāni*) AV TS MS TB TA ApŚ MŚ SMB 'With what treasure (tribute) of Yama I (we two) go about' The dual cunningly draws the god Agni (addressed in the context) into partnership with the sinner!

punar ātman dadhātu me ApŚ *punar me jathare dhātām* GB Vait Preceded in the latter by *agnis ca tat savitā ca*, in ApŚ by *agnisṭ tat somah pṛthivī* (verb agrees with last subject)

sam yuyjāva (TS *babhūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV TS *sam sanuyjāva varīṣv ā* KSA Preceded in all by *aham ca tvam ca vṛtrahan* The dual is the natural form, TS (excluding *tvam* from the subject) is bizarre

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB *prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā* AV Inclusive dual in TB, two separate singulars, each with subject *anyā*, in AV That is, two separate actions are performed by the members of the pair, one apiece, in AV, both actions are done by both together in TB

samjajñāne rodasī sambabhūvatuh TB ApŚ *samānam yonim abhisambabhūva* MŚ Preceded by *yad idam* (MŚ *ado*) *divo yad adah* (MŚ *idam*) *prthivyāh* In MŚ the real sense implies a dual subject, but the verb agrees syntactically with the nearer of the two, note that it has no dual noun referring to the subject, as have the others *saha dharmam cara* (GDh *dharmas caryatām*) GDh NāradaDh *sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh

ayād (ŚŚ *ayāl*) *agnir* (MŚ *ayāstām agnīvarunāv*) *agneh priyā dhāmāni* MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ MŚ And, in the same passage *ayāt* (MŚ *ayāstām*) *somasya*, *ayād* (*ayāstām*) *devānām*, *yakṣad agner hotuh* (*yakṣato* 'gnīvarunayor hotroh'), *yakṣat svam mahimānam* (*yakṣatah svau mahimānau*), *āyajatām* (*āyajeyātām*) *ejyā vṣah*, *kṛnotu so adhvarān* ('rā) *jātavedāh* (*kṛnotām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau*), *jūṣatām* (*jūsetām*) *havih* Duals all in MŚ, singulars (subject Agni) in various of the others, see Conc

mā mā (KS *mām*, AB *mainam*) *hinsīstam svam* (AB *svām*, KS *yat svam*) *yonim āviśanta* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS KS AB *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS *svam*) *yonim āviśanti* (KS TB ApŚ *āvisan*) VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The dual is addressed to soma and *surā* together (both are mentioned in the preceding), the singular to *surā* and soma, respectively, alone

§357 Dual and Plural

aśvinā bhīṣajāvatah (MS °tam, TB °to) VS MS TB 'O Aśvins, physicians, aid', or, 'let the Aśvins etc In TB the plural is due to the inclusion of Śuśavyāti (mentioned in the preceding) along with the Aśvins in the subject

vi sakhyāni vījāmahe (ŚŚ °mahai, MŚ *vījyāmahai*) AŚ ŚŚ V ut ApŚ MŚ PG The formula is used in dissolving the ritual bond between *yajamāna* and priests, and dual pronouns occur in the preceding the dual of MŚ is therefore quite rational But the other texts think of the plurality of priests, together with the *yajamāna* *agnīsomau tam apa nudatām* (Conc quotes °tam) VS ŚB *agnī agnīsomau tam apanudantu* ŚŚ Very simple case of 'addition to the subject

[*āyush ṛd ayuṣpatnī svadhāvantau*], *gopā me stam*, *gopāyatam mām*, *ātmasadanu me stam mā mā hinsīstam* AV 5 9 8 [*āyustad āyupatnī* (ms °nih, read *āyush ṛd āyupatnī*) *svadhāvo*] *gopā nah stha* KS 37 15 [*āyuk ṛd ayuhpatnī svadhā vo* (so text, and so Calind interprets, not as voc *svadhāvo*)] *gopī yo me stha*, *gopāyata mā*, *rakṣata mātmasado me stha* ApŚ 6 21 1 The dual verbs of AV are apparently

address to the *svadhāvantau* (note masculine predicates) KS has plural with masc predicates, the masc being really common gender, inclusive of *āyuspatnī*, fem, ApŚ has fem plural, presumably including the sing *āyukṛd* (understood as fem ?) and the dual fem *āyuhpatnī* as subjects, if Garbe and Caland are right in dividing *svadhā vo*, ApŚ has no unmistakably masc subject

5 *Singular verb used alternatively with plural or dual subject felt collectively*

§358 As we mentioned above, §297, a plural or dual verb, justified by strict grammar, may be replaced by a singular verb because the subject is felt collectively as a unit. In the first instance the plural is a *plurale tantum*, *āpah* 'waters', which is unquestionably construed with a singular verb here

āpo 'mṛtam stha (PrānāgU *°tam asī*) Kaus PrānāgU 'O waters, ye are (thou art) nectar' We believe the context makes it clear that PrānāgU really feels *āpah* as a collective singular in sense, to explain the form *asī* as attracted to the number of the predicate noun *amṛtam* would be, in our opinion, a mechanical and uninspired interpretation of the passage

Singular and Dual

drupadā na nuñcatām (TB *°tu*, so read with Poona ed.) AV TB Preceded by *bhūtam mā tasmād bharyam ca* 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post'. The singular in TB might, possibly, be explained as under (c), that is as agreeing with the nearer of the two subjects alone, but this seems to us false and mechanical. Rather, the two subjects are taken together as forming a single unitary concept

See also the Kaus reading, 33 9d, quoted under *mā vo riṣat* etc., §355

6 *Generalising forms, with subject indefinite*

§359 We saw above (§291), that the commonest Vedic form used to express an indefinite subject (French *on*, German *man*) is the third plural. This varies frequently with a third singular, which is often likewise indefinite, but sometimes has a definite subject. Indefinite third person forms, either singular or more often plural, likewise vary with first and second person, generally with definite subjects. Such variations between first and third person have been listed above §314 f., the rarer cases of third plural varying with second singular, with one somewhat similar case of second plural and indefinite third singular, are

listed below. The great majority of cases concern only third person forms, in which the 3d plural is indefinite, while the third singular is either definite or indefinite.

agnaye sam anamat prthivya sam anamad TS KSA *prthivyām agnaye sam anaman sa ādhnōt* AV (And the like with *antarikṣāya sam* etc., see C'one and others) 'To Agni, to the earth, one (they) made obeisance, he (it) thrived'. Both singular and plural are indefinite. In the sequel of the same formula, however, TS has a definite 3d singular, with subject Agni, while the 3d plural of AV is still indefinite.

yathāgnih prthivyā sam anamad TS *yathā prthivyām agnaye sam anamann* AV 'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on the earth they made obeisance to Agni'.

na yac chūdrasv alapsata (ŚŚ *alapsata*) AB ŚŚ 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among *sūdras*'. 3d plural aor. 3d sing. desiderative both indefinite. See §135.

svastī nah pūrnāmukhaḥ paṇi krāmatu (HG °*mukham paṇi krāmantu*) ApMB HG. As the priest (only one, even in HG) walks around (cows etc. used in the ritual) he says 'With luck may one (they) walk around full-faced (or, around our full face)'. The plural, at least, seems to be generalizing and indefinite in character.

nālhi prāpnoti (MŚ °*nuyur*) *nirṛtim parācariḥ* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ *na tat prāpnoti nirṛtim parācariḥ* (KŚ *nirṛtiḥ parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ. The isolated reading of MŚ is probably a mere blunder, the passage is otherwise corrupt in the MŚ mss., see Knauer's note. But it can at a pinch be interpreted as generalizing, 'they' = 'people', 'man'.

brahmayāgyam iti (AV °*yāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV °*cat*) RV AV. Both sing. and plur. are indefinite. 'If they have (one has) said, She is a brahman's wife'.

yat te grāmā vichiduh (MŚ *vichandat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait MŚ. Both sing. and plur. generalizing. 'what with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off, O King Soma'.

yat te gāvā bahucyuto acū yavuh (Vait *acucyot*) TB Vait. In a stanza which immediately follows the preceding. The plural of TB is really uninterpretable (comm. *acyāvayat*), it must be rendered 'what of thee (soma) the press-stone, arm-dropped, has let fall. But it seems to be felt vaguely as a generalizing plural, no doubt in mechanical imitation of the plural verb in the preceding and similar passage, just quoted.

yebhīr vācam puṣkalebhīr aryayan (TB °yat) KS TB The plur is certainly generalizing, and acc to TB comm also the sing (*sarvo jantuh* is supplied as subject), altho it might be understood as having sūrya of the prec pāda as subject, cf next

yebhīr vācam viśvarūpebhīr auyayan (TB °iūpām samaryayat) KS TB In the same passage as the prec Agnī the plur is certainly generalizing, and the sing may be considered so with as much right as in the prec, altho this time TB comm supplies Prajāpati from the prec pāda

vāyuh paśur āvīt tenayajanta (KSA °jata) VS TS KSA ŚB And the same with *agnih*, and with *ādityah* (*sūryah*) Both forms are generalizing 'therewith they (= people, or, one) sacrificed'

tāsām svasṛr ajanayat (MS *svar ajanan*, KS † *svasṛr* [ms *svasūr*] *ajanān*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS In TS the subject is *dhātā* of preceding pāda in the others there is no definite subject (generalizing plural)

pururā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*) *viśthitam jagat* RV AV VS TS MS KSA N The subject in AV can only be indefinite, 'they', if the reading is correct, the comm reads *vanutām* In the others *jagat* is the subject

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ In the latter the subject is indefinite, in AV it is *yah* = Agnī (who is referred to by *yena* in the others)

§360 For variations between indefinite 3d plural and definite 1st singular, see §315 above In a few cases we find the same indefinite 3d plural varying with a definite 2d singular, and once or twice, in the first two variants, a somewhat similar variation between a generalizing 3d singular (subject once a relative pronoun used as indefinite) varying with a definite 2d plural

śamitāro yad atia sukṛtam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat AB AŚ *yo duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kaus

tena mā saha sundhata (AV *vulgate sambhantu*, but SPP *sambhatu*, adopted by Whitney on 18 3 56) RV AV In RV apparently the waters are addresst, in AV the plural form (which is read by some mss) might also refer to them (and then concerns §337), the singular, if correct, can only be indefinite (Whitney, 'one')

yenendrāya samabharah (MS KS °ran) *payāmsi* AV TS MS KS In AV TS the subject is Agnī, in MS KS indefinite 'By which thou didst (they did) collect milk for Indra'

nayanto garbham vanām dhvyam dhuḥ RV *nayantam gūrbhir vanā dhvyam dhāḥ* SV The subject in RV is indefinite 3d plural, in SV it is Agni, to whom the hymn is address See Oldenberg, *hVNoten*, on 10 46 5

yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsi*) AV TB 'By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered'

ranan (SV *ranā*) *gāvo na yavase* RV SV 'May they (indefinite, Ludwig 'man', in SV, 'do thou') rejoice as cows do in pasture' Subject Soma in SV

[*sarasvatyā* (*tyām*) *adhī manāv* (with variants) *acarkṣuh* (*acarkṣuh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG See §§136, 236 The SMB is quoted in the Cone, following the older edition, as *sa*° *adhī vanāra carḥadhī*, the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not address) in the sequel But the true reading is no doubt *manāv acarkṣuh*, as given by Jorgensen]

7 Change of Number due to Change of Subject, in the same context

§361 In many cases the shift in verbal number is due to a rearrangement of the syntax of the passage, involving a change of subject Cf above, §§ 323, 338 Naturally, there is often a change of person as well as number We begin with cases in which number alone is changed, and first cases of

Third Person, Singular and Plural

brahma devā avīrḍhan (MS *devan*, KS *devān*, MS KS *avīrḍhat*) VS MS TS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The gods have increased brahman', or, 'brahman has increased the gods'

catustomam adadhād (TS *ṣtomo abhavad*) *yā turīyā* TS MS KS *agnīsomāv adadhur yā turīyāsīt* AV Subject in AV must be *ṛṣayah* in the sequel if the text is correct, but Whitney on 8 9 14 would emend to *adadhād*

apām upasthe mahiso vavardha (RV * VS ŚB *mahiṣā avardhan*) RV (both) AV SV VS ŚB TA *vavardha*, intrans, subject Agni, who is the object of *avardhan* (trans, subject *mahiṣāḥ*)

tayā devāḥ sutam ā babhūnuḥ TS KSA TB *sū no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS MS See Keith on TS 4 1 2 1, note 6

yathāmāsām (AV *yathasām*, SV *yathateṣām*, VS *yathāmī*) *anyo anyam na jānāt* (VS *jānan*) RVKh AV SV VS The plural in VS is due to the fact that *amī* is made the subject 'So that one of them may not know another', or, 'so that they may not know one the other'

ekapādī dvīpādī bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā TS *ekapādam dvīpādam tripādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS *ekapādīm catuṣpādīm aṣṭāpādīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS ŚB The TS form is intrans, 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds', the others have a trans verb with indefinite subject, 'let them spread her out' etc This might be grouped under the preceding subdivision, but for the change of subject

asvam madhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ See §30, end
tābhīḥ samrabdham anv avindan (TB *samrabdho avidat*) *śad urvīh* AV
 TB In AV *śad urvīh* is the subject, in TB it is made the object, the subject being *samrabdho* (= Rohita)

anvātānsīt twayi (MS *anvātānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases, Mahīdhara on VS understands *ṛṣayah*, despite singular verb! MS seems to take the subject to be *pitaraḥ* in the preceding pāda (the others have *pitaraḥ* or *°ram*)

apochatu (AV *°chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV AV
 In RV the subject of the (transitive) verb is doubtless Indra, who is mentioned in the preceding verse, 'let him shine away the paired *kimīdins*' In AV the verb is intransitive, and the subject *kimīdinah* 'let the *kimīdins* fade away'

achāyam yantu śavasā ghṛtārīh KS *achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtārit*) AV TS VS MS Keith on TS 4 1 8 1 not unfairly calls the KS reading 'absurd', but the psychology of it is plain, it is thinking of *śrucaḥ* in the next line In the others the subject is Agni

āvīr bhuvad (ArS *bhuvann*) *arunīr yasa-ā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV ArS
 The subject is changed from *arunīh* (singular in RV) to *gāvah*, no doubt because ArS feels *arunīh* to be a plural adjective

pibāt somam mamadad (AS ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May it (soma) exhilarate him at the sacrifice', 'may the sacrifices exhilarate him'

aryamno agnim pariṣ etu pūsan (ApMB *pari yantu kṣipram*) AV ApMB
 The subject is the bride in AV, the kinsfolk (or priests') in ApMB
āpo malam va pīṇanākṣīt (ApŚ *pīṇījan*) AV ApŚ Subject is a plant in AV, in ApŚ waters, the verb being drawn into the simile

tam rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhat TS *tam rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan* MS 1 2 13 22 12, VS 5 39, KS 3 1 (in Cone quoted under the two parts separately, but this is the true parallel to the TS passage, instead of *tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan*, to which Cone gives a

cross-reference but which is an unrelated passage) *rakṣasva* is address to Savitar, *rakṣadhvam* to the gods in general (cf Keith on TS 1 3 4 2) *taṁ* refers to soma, which in TS is made the subject of *dabhat*, 'may it not fail you', the others understand *dab-* in a different sense 'may they (indefinite, acc to Mahīdhara, the asuras) not injure thee (Savitar)'

nṛkṛitah sa (TS °*kṛito 'yam*, KS MŚ °*kṛitās te*) *yajñīyam bhāgam etu* (KS MŚ *bhāgam yantu*) AV TS KS MŚ The subject varies from the *pasupati* to cattle

ṛi parjanyaṁ (TS °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyah srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS In RV the subject is the Maruts, in the others Parjanya, sing or (TS) plural (cf §349)

sūro aktusv ā yaman (SV *yamat*) RV SV Preceded by *mā na indrābhy ādisah* RV 'O Indra, let not (evil) intentions aim at us in the light of the sun (or, intentions of the sun by night)' cf Neisser, *Zum Wbch des RV s v aktu*, Oldenberg, *RV Noten* 2 144 In SV *sūro* is evidently conceived as nom subject of *yamat*, presumably with *ādisah* object

§362 Second Person, Singular and Plural

evo ṣv asman muñcatā vy anhaḥ RV MS KS ApŚ *evā tvam asmat pra muñcat vy anhaḥ* TS The Vasus are address, even in TS, in the preceding half verse, TS here changes rather lamely to an address to Agni, who is address in the following pāda

ihehaṣām kṛnuhi (TS MS KS TB *kṛnuta*) *bhojanāni* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB Subject in RV is doubtless Indra, to whom the hymn is address, but no subject is mentioned in this verse (Mahīdhara on VS understands Soma) several texts make the verb plural, referring presumably to gods in general

annam paṇo reto asmāsu (ŚB °*smāsu*) *dhatta* (MS ApŚ *dhehi*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ All texts have adjoining formulae where Agni is spoken of in the third person, in this, MS ApŚ obviously regard Agni as address directly, while the other (and presumably more original) reading addresses it to some plural concept (TB comm gods, VS comm priest(s))

sam pra cyavadhvam upa (TS *anu*) *sam pra yāta* VS TS MS KS ŚB *agne cyavasva sam anu pra yāhi* MS Followed by

agne (MS *āis*) *patho devayānān kṛnudhvam* (MS * *kṛnuṣva*) VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB *agne pathah kalpaya devayānān* AV In MS both forms are consistent with the context, since they are address (in adjoining stanzas) to Agni and to *devāh* respectively

In the others only AV is grammatically 'correct', since no other subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational, Mahidhara on VS blithely takes *kṛnudhvam* as meaning *kṛnuṣva*, but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV texts, and they, like *kṛnudhvam*, are evidently address to the gods in general

revati predhā yajñapatim āviśa MS KS *revati yajamāne priyam dhā āviśa* VS ŚB *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS ApŚ Acc to the Tait ritual texts (see Keith 45 n 5), address to the *vapāśra-vanās*, the two *darbha*-stalks and the *plakṣa*-twig, but acc to TS comm, to the members of the sacrificial animal Acc to VS comm, Vāc is address

vrataṁ kṛnuta (VSK adds *vrataṁ kṛnu vrataṁ kṛnuta*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Acc to Mahidhara on VS 4 11 and KŚ, the formula *vrataṁ kṛnuta*, 'prepare the fast-food', is to be repeated thrice The comm on KŚ says it is address to the *adhvaryu* etc, i.e. the *adhvaryu* and his assistants The three-fold repetition is actually found in VSK, but the second time with singular instead of plural, we may no doubt assume that this form (if textually sound) was address to a single priest (the *adhvaryu*?)

anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *jogvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ On this obscure verse see Edgerton, *AJP* 40 188, 192 Four other parallel verbs, before and after this one in the same stanza, are all singular, address to Agni The subject of *vayata* is doubtful KS makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily

ā mātaraḥ sthāpayase jigatnū RV AV *ā sthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV Followed by

ata inoṣi karvarā purūm RV AV *ata invata karvarāni bhūr* AV In an obscure hymn to Indra, who is the subject in RV, in one AV passage there is a sudden change of subject (to whom?) in the second half of the stanza, the first half of which is still addressed to Indra, here also

§363 Singular and Dual

dhattam rayam sahavīram (ApMB *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV ApMB *rayam dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam* AV Dual address to the Aśvins, who are address in the next pādas also in AV The singular must be understood as address to the bride, but it is not unfairly described as 'senseless' (Whitney)

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādatah AV *yad apsaraḍṛor uparasya* (so Conc, but KS ed *°drūr upaś*, see note in text, ApŚ *apsaraṛūpara-*

syā) *khādati* KS ApŚ In AV the subject is apparently the two *arāṇis*, in the others it must be Agni, but the passage is so obscure that Caland in his translation of ApŚ makes no attempt to render it

atha jwīr (ApMB *athā jīwī*, RV *adhā jwī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB (The true AV reading seems to be *jwīr*, see Whitney's note) In RV address to the married couple, altho in the preceding pāda the bride alone is address For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this pāda to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding

ṛtunā somam pibatam (KS °tu, MŚ °tām) KS MŚ ApŚ Subject Aśvins in ApŚ MŚ (*aśvinādhvaryū* MŚ), an unnamed priest in KS

ghṛtena dyāvāprthwī ā prnethām (MS MŚ *prna*, LŚ *prnāthām snāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ 'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (address to the post)

varunasya śkambhasarjanam asī (KS °ny asī, VS ŚB °nī *sthah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MahānU See Keith on TS 1 2 8 2, note 7

§364 Dual and Plural

tāv imā upa sarpatāh SV JB *imām anu sarpatā* MS In SV said of a pair of horses

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāu*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB °ṣiñ *atam*, PG °tām) AV ŚŚ SMB PG In AV the expression is made passive, with *akṣā(h)* as subject, see §§332, 293

§365 Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3a person forms, singular and plural, interchange A few stray cases of 1st person interchanging with 2d and 3d, with shift of number, will be found above, §§302, 304, 312, 323

svar (TS *suvar*) *na sukram usaso vi didyutuh* (RV °tak) RV TS MS 'Like bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth)'

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS ŚB *vasūnām rudrānām ādityānām sadasi vīda* (KS *sadanam asī*, MS *sado 'sī srucām yonh*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ

paktaudanasya sukrām etu lokam AV (in next stanza) *imam paktvā sukrām eta lokam* AV Subject of *eta* is the grains composing the porridge (*odana*), that of *etu* is *paktā*, the cooker of the *odana* Conscious *vikāra*

hr̥do astv antaram taḥ juḡṣat (TA *tad yuyota*) RV KS TA 'Let (our song) be within (Parjanya's) heart, may he enjoy it' TA comm regards *yuyota* as addressed to the priests 'unite it (viz our song, to Parjanya's heart)' But the reading is hardly more than a corruption, it has phonetic aspects (j y)

deveṣu nah sukr̥to (mā *sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (*brūta*, *brūyāt*), and others, see §104, t The 3d person *brūyāt* is probably corrupt

yās ca (*yā*) *devīr* (*devyo*) *antān* (with variants) *abhito* 'dadanta (*tatantha*), see §220 The form *tatantha* is corrupt, and may not even be intended for a 2d person

naṣkam va prati muñcata (°*tām*) AV (both) 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc

indrām samatsu bhūṣata SV *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV Preceded by *ā* no *viśvasu havyah* (SV °*yam*) 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV praise ye Indra),—who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict'

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad msurūpam* (RV AV °*pā*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viśvūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS In RV AV of Yama (and Yamī), in YV different context, and scarcely interpretable 'when what is (ye that are) different become(s) similar'

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV TB N 'Bring ye (a hymn) to him of sharp weapons, may he hear us (hear ye)'

In TB the verb is assimilated mechanically to *bharatā*, its secondariness is attested by the strong form of the stem

ā sve yonau naṣīdatu (KS °*ta*) RV TS MS KS AB 'May he (the god) sit (or, sit ye—priests) in his (your) own home'

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (MŚ °*tām*, ApŚ *jusātām*) *haviḥ svāhā* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

indrāya pathibhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS MS KS TB Original subject is Aśvins and Sarasvatī, in MS awkwardly changed to a priest *yānti śubhrā rinann apah* RV *śubhā yāsi rinann apah* AV Subject Maruts in RV, in AV Rohita

ud dharsaya maghavann (AV *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* RV AV SV VS TS *ud dharśantām magharan vājīnāni* AV 'Let the energies be aroused, O Maghavan' or, 'arouse the weapons, O M (the weapons of the warriors)'

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °*sā*) *sam vyayantu* (PG °*yasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG *tās tvā jarase sam vyayantu* AV 'Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age', or, 'wrap thyself up' etc

śvā nah samitamā bhava (TA also *bhavantu*) AV AA TA (both)
AŚ LŚ TA by an addition in one form of the variant introduces a
different subject, see Whitney on AV 7 68 3

svadhābhar yajñam sukṛtam juṣasva (TB *yajñam prayatam juṣantām*)
RV VS TB In the original the subject is Agni, in TB it is made
the *puṛṣ*, obviously because in Brāhmana times *svadhā* belongs
particularly to them

dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me (AV * ApMB *vām*) AV JB Kauś ApMB
āyusmantam karota mā (RVKh *karotu mām*, KS *kṛnota mā*)
RVKh KS TA BDh *sarvam āyur dadhātu me* ApŚ Occurs in
several contexts in AV, one of these (7 33 1) is the same which
occurs in all the other texts except Kauś and ApMB, the others are
quite different In the one verse found in the majority of texts,
this pāda is found at the end, in the prece various gods (last, Agni)
are invoked in the 3d person for blessings on 'me' ('you' KS ApŚ),
here Agni alone is invoked, likewise in the 3d person, in all but
KS TA BDh, where we have instead a 2d person address to
the plurality of gods mentioned before Note that the strong stem-
forms *karota* and *kṛnota* are poor This variant might be classed
in §355

8 Change of Number due to Change of Context, with different Subject

§366 In a large number of cases, as in the case of variations in
Person, the shift of number is due to the use of the formula in a different
context, involving change of the verb's subject In some cases, as in
the preceding subdivision, both person and number are changed, we
list these cases at the end of this subdivision in so far as they concern
shifts between second and third persons along with shift of number A
few cases of the same sort showing first person in variation with second
or third, and accompanying shift of number, will be found among
the Person variants, above, §§303, 304, 310, 324 Included are some
ritualistic *ūhas* and *rūkāras*

§367 Singular, Dual, and Plural

akṣans tām VS KS TB *aghaṣtām tām* MS TB *aghat tam* VS All
aorists from root *ghas* Contexts are different tho related, and
with different subjects See also under *akṣan* in Conc
tayā devatayāñgīrasvad dhruvā sīda VS TS etc (see Conc) *dhruvāh*
sīda VS ŚB TA *dhruve sīdatam* VS *dhruvāh sīdata* TS
Also *tena brahmanā dhruvāh sīdata* (and, *dhruvā sīdu*) KS.
(both), *tena chandasā and tenarsinā*, see Conc

sa no mṛdātīdṛṣe RV AV TS MS KS ApMB N *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK *mṛt*^o) *īdṛṣe* RV SV VS VSK TS KS *te no mṛdāntv* *īdṛṣe* AV The last is a *vikāra* of the singular form, used in the same hymn in AV

maḥo jyāyo 'kṛta ('*krata*, '*krātām*) all three in MS (4 13 9 212 4-9), TB AŚ ŚŚ *Vikāras*, same formula modulated with different subjects Cf *akrata*, and *akrātām*, AŚ In the same connexion, *avīṛdhata* (^o*dhanta*, ^o*dhetām*) The formula begins *agnir* (*indrāgnī*, *devā ājyapā*, etc) *īdam havir* (also *ājyam*, etc) *ajusa* (^o*śanta*, ^o*śetām*)

īdam vatsyāmo bhoh etc, see §344

āsadyāsmīn barhiṣi mādayadhvam RV AV VS TS MS ŚB TB *mādayasva* RV ^o*yethām* RV AV The three RV occurrences concern different subjects, *Viśve devāḥ*, *Satyaśvatī*, and *Indra-Varuna* respectively On the AV occurrences (two of which repeat RV 10 17 8, which has *mādayasva*, but awkwardly substitute *mādayadhvam*, changing the subject to *pitarah*) see *RVRep* 298

sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma TB ApŚ *sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva* (ApMB † ^o*padā babhūva*, see Winternitz, p xvif) ApMB HG *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB ^o*dā*) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB ApMB MG The singular and dual are used in the wedding-rites, address to bride alone, or spoken by the groom of himself and the bride The plural form is said by the *yajamāna* as the *adhvaryu* steps in the seventh footstep of the soma-purchase cow, it is followed by parallel formulas in the 1st person sing, as *sakhyaṃ te gameyam*, 'may I go to thy (= the cow's) friendship' In our pāda we might expect a dual, including cow and *yajamāna*, 'we have become friends with seven steps', but it may be the ordinary plural referring to the *yajamāna* alone (§344), or, perhaps better, it may include the whole sacrificial *entourage*, note that the actual stepping is done not by the *yajamāna* who speaks, but by the *adhvaryu* On the change of person see §307

gopāyata (MS *gopāya*, AV *gopāyatam*) *mā* AV VS MS Vait ApŚ

Different contexts, hardly proper variants

premam sunvantam yajamānam avatu (^o*tām*, ^o*ntu*) ŚŚ (all) And *śravat* (^o*van*, *śrutām*) *brahmāny āvasā gamat* (^o*an*, *gatām*) ŚŚ (all)

Vikāras, with subjects *Indra*, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, *Rbhus*

§368 Singular and Dual

tasmān nah pāhy (Kauś *pātām*) *anhasah* RV Kauś

prānāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB *prānāpānābhyaṃ me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ In MŚ address to Upānśu and Antaryāma cups, in the others to Upānśu alone

ā no yātam (yāhy) upaśruti RV (both) Address to the Aśvins or to Indra

mdhṛtir asī TA ŚŚ *vidhṛti sthah* MS Different contexts

du as ca gmaś ca rājathah (rājasī) RV (both) See *RVRep* 59

rayim gr̥natsu didhṛtam (dhāraya) RV (both) See *RVRep* 271, 528

rāyaspoṣam yajamāneṣu dhattam (dhehi, dhāraya) RV (all)

sutānām pītim arhathah (arhasī) RV (both) *somānām pīⁿ arhathah* RV SV See *RVRep* 137

mā mā sam tāptam (ApŚ *tāpsih*) VS TS KS TB PB ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ ApMB HG MG *mā modosiṣtam* (ŚŚ *modosiḥ*) MS ŚB ŚŚ The contexts are quite different and the formulas are only in part related to each other. E.g. in TS Indra-Viṣṇu are the subject, in ŚB two fires, in ApŚ Agni, in ŚŚ *pṛthivī*

viśvurūpe ahanī dyaur vāsī (TA * *iva sthah*) RV SV TS MS KS TA (thrice) N In one TA passage address to *dyāvāpṛthivī*, in the rest to a single deity. Followed in same passage by

viśvā hi māyā avasī svadhāvah (SV * *van*, TA * *avathah svadhāvantau*), same texts

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś † *muñcatam*) AV Kauś In Kauś address to the Aśvins, in AV probably to an amulet Cf *apriyah prati muñcatām*, §30

pā indra (and, *pātam narā*) *pratibhṛtasya madhvah* RV (both) Dual address to Indra-Vāyu

āre bādhetām (MS * KS * *bādhasva*) *nṛṛtim parācah* RV TS MS (both) KS (both) *bādhasva* (AV *bādhetām*) *dūre* (AV *dūram*, TS *dueṣo*) *niⁿ paⁿ* RV AV TS There are three different contexts, the sing. is addressed to Varuna, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-varuna. In some cases this is followed by

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV TS * *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS *asmāt*) RV AV TS (both) MS KS See preceding

ā modṛcah pātam (KS * *pāhi*) MS KS (both) *te mā pātam āsya yaj-ñasyodṛcah* VS TS ŚB The sing. form of KS is a *vikāra* of the other (in close proximity)

rāyas poṣam (KS *tvaṣtah poṣāya*) *vi śyatu* (AV MS KS *śya*) *nābhim asme* (AV *asya*) AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ *r p vi śyatām n a* RV MS TB Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūṣan, of the sing. *Tvaṣtar* (nom. or voc., see §329, end)

ehy aśmānam ā tiṣṭha AV ŚG Kauś MG *ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam*
 ApMB HG *ā rohemam aśmānam* PG *imam aśmānam ā roha*
 AG SMB GG *etam aśmānam ā tiṣṭhatam* MG Followed by
aśmeva tām sthīrā (MG ApMB * AVPpp *sthīro*) bhava AVPpp (for
 AV vulgate 2 13 4b *asmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG SMB PG
 ApMB HG MG *aśmeva yuvām sthīrau bhavatam* MG The 2d
 (dual) version of MG in a *vikāra* of the other
asmān su jigyuṣas kṛdhi (*kṛtam*) RV (both) Subjects Indra Indra-
 Varuṇa
asme (AV * *asyai*) *rayīm sarvavīram nī yachatam* (AV * *yacha*) RV AV
 (both)
bādhatām (TB °*etām*) *dveṣo abhāyam* (AV * adds *nah*) *kṛnotu* (TB *kṛnu-*
tām) RV AV VS TS MS KS TB Subjects Indra Tīṣya and
 Bṛhaspati

§369 Dual and Plural

sumnyāya sumninī sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ *sumne sthah sumne*
mā dhattam VS ŚB *sumnyāyuvah* (KS °*yavah*) *sumnyāya sumnam*
 (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS The plural occurs in a different
 context from the dual
anu tvā visve devā avantu (KS *visve avantu devāh*) KS TB *anu mām*
mūhāvarunāv dhāvatām AA
śansāmo AB ApŚ *sansāvom, sansāvo* AB 3 12 1 GB Vait
 And other forms, see Conc Sacrificial exclamations, based upon
 verb-forms (dual referring to *hotar* and *adhvaryu*, plural to priests
 as a group?)
te māvantu AV TS PG *te* (and, *tau*) *māvatām* AV (in same hymn,
vikāras) See further in Conc under *tān no 'vantu*
pṛa na spārhābhīr ūtibhis tīreta (°*tam*) RV (both) Maruts Indra-
 Varuṇa
rayīm dhattam (*dhattha, dhattho*) *vasumantam puruṣam* (*satagvīnam*)
 RV (all) See RVRep 149
śarma ca stho varma ca sthah VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ *śarma ca*
stha varma ca stha KS ApŚ Quite different contexts and subjects
sapatnīm sahisīmahi AV 3 6 4d, sa° *sahisīvahi* AV 19 32 5d, *sapat-*
nīm me sahāvahai RV AV 3 18 5d ApMB So the AV vulgate,
 but *sahisīvahi* is an emendation (see Whitney's note), the mss of
 19 32 5 read °*mahi* This stanza is a repetition, with modifications
 to suit the new context, of 3 18 5, the dual is there proper, as the
 subject is *ubhe sahasvatī* of pāda c, referring to the amulet and the
 speaker of the charm (there a woman, in 19 32 5 changed to

ubhau sahasvantau because the speaker is a man) The dual is equally required by the sense in 19 32 5 Yet the vulgate Atharvan reading here is clearly *sahṣīmahi* (all mss and comm, altho Ppp has the correct **vahi*, Barret, JAOS 46 42), which should be retained, obviously the entire pāda 3 6 4d, which belongs to a quite different context where the plural is required, has been mechanically imported without change into 19 32 5

etā asadan suhṛtasya loke TS TB *pratikas, etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etā asadatām*, ApŚ

§370 Singular and Plural

marutām prasave (VS ŚB **vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS address to the horses, in the others to the chariot Different contexts

tasmā u rādhah kṛnuta praśastam (AV *kṛnuhī supraśastam*) RV AV *anu mā rabhadhvam* (ŚŚ *rabhasva*) KS ApŚ ŚŚ Hardly to be called variants, different contexts

indrasya bhāga stha AV *1° bhāgo 'sī* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also *devasya savitūr bhāga* etc and others

durīṣatām (AV *durītāt*) *pāṇi anhasah* RV AV *durītāt pāntv anhasah* (LŚ *visvatah*) AV LŚ Two different contexts, verb appropriate in both In AV we may suspect a mutual *rapprochement* in phraseology

edam barhar nī śīdata (AŚ ŚŚ *śīda nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Different contexts

caḥṣur me tarpayata (PG *tarpaya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Applied to a different context in PG Similarly with *śrotram*, *apānam*, *prānāpānau*, etc, and likewise

prānam me tarpayata (ŚŚ *trmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

mohayitvā nīpadyate (RVKh *prapadyante*) RV 10 162 6b (correct ref), AV RVKh MG

visvābhya mā nāṣṭī ābhyah (VS ŚB **bhya*s, MS *danstrābhya*s) *pāhī* (TS TB *pāta* PG *paripāhī sarvatah*) VS TS MS ŚB TB TA PG In TS address to the arrows used in the *rājasūya*, in VS acc to Mahīdhara to *mahāvīradakṣinabhūmī*

vaiśo asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhckī*) AV AŚ *1ar1o mayi dhehī* etc, see Cone Numerous items in different contexts, hardly to be considered variants

apo (TS *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhintta* (or *bhinta*) VS TS MS KS *udno dehy udadhīm bhindhī* KS † There are two different contexts, both of which occur in TS MS KS In one the plural is appropriate,

gods being the subject. In the other (TS 4 7 13 2, MS 2 12 3, KS 18 15) only a singular is appropriate, the subject required being Agni, altho KS is the only text that has the proper sing form. Apparently MS TS copied mechanically from the other passage where the plur is required. VS has the formula only in this latter (properly sing) context, but nevertheless has like TS MS plur forms, blandly interpreted by Mahīdhara as singulars (*datta dehī, bhīnta bhīndhī'*)—At the end of the same passages occurs the following formula

tato no (KS *mā*) *vr̥tyāvata* (VS † and KS once, °*āva*) VS TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ. Again KS varies consistently according to the subject, and is this time joined by VS (not noted in Conc), leaving only Tait and Maitr texts with inconsistent plurals where singulars are required.

yām indrena (AV adds *samdhām*) *samadadhvam* (TS *samadhadhvam*, AV *samadhatthāh*) AV TS MS KS (so correct Conc), see also Conc under *iyam vah sā*, *eṣā vas sū*. The contexts are different, and both verbs are appropriate.

āyātu (TB * *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣānah* (TB * °*nāh*) VS MS KS TB (both). Different contexts, subjects Indra. Ādityas.

apa jahi (*hata*) *pariṣham* ChU (both). Address to singular and plural deities respectively.

āyur me yacha (ApŚ * *yachata*) MS KS ApŚ (both) MŚ.

ūrjam no dhehī (MS KS each once, *dhatta*) *dvīpade catuṣpade* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AG ŚG ApMB PrānāgU. Occurs frequently, in several different contexts, sing number is appropriate in all but one which is address to *agnayah*, plur, the prec pāda being *te virājam* (KS *samrājam*) *abhasamyantu sarve* (correct Conc for MS), MS 1 6 2d 88 2 and 89 7, KS 7 14d. Here KS, and once MS, have the correct form *dhatta*. In MS 88 2 the *samhūtā* mss have incorrectly *dhehī* (note that this form of the variant occurs, in another context which requires the singular, in the same section of MS 86 19) the p p *dhatte* (!), pointing to the correct *dhatta*, which should probably be read here.

yasyauśadhīh prasarpatha RV VS *yasyāñjana prasarpasi* AV. Followed in same verse by

tato yakṣmam vi bādhadhve (AV *bādhasē*) RV AV VS.

tatremam yajñam yajamānam ca dhehī (MŚ 5 2 16 14d *dhatta*, correct Conc) Vait KŚ MŚ (both) ApŚ Kauś. In one of the two

occurrences in MŚ the verb is made plural because several priests are addrest, in the others only one is addrest
mayi ramasva (LŚ *ramadhvam*) SMB GG LŚ Hardly to be considered variants

karat AŚ *karan* (ūha of *karat*) AŚ

gātum vuttvā gātum ihi MS ApŚ *devā gātuvido gātum vuttvā* (VSK °*tum vtvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB In the sing form secondarily addrest to the animal as it is slaughtered

tasyāgne bhājayeha mā TB *tasya bhājayateha nah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS TA ApMB The plural is addrest to waters

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

mama cittam upāyasi AV *mama cittam cittenānvehi* HG *mama cittam anu cittbhīr eta* AV Hardly variants

pranaya Vait MŚ *pranayata* AŚ To plurality of priests in AŚ Hardly variants'

mā me prajāyā (correct Cone) *prasrpa motsrpa* (also, °*pata*, °*pata*) TA I 14 2-4 (each thrice) Modulations of the same formula with different subjects

yuksvā (*yugdhvam*) *hy arusi rathe* RV (both) Subject Agni Maruts
rayim a nah saravāram ni yachata MS KS AŚ SMB *ni yacha* AV (see Cone for other sing parallels) As between singular and plural, quite different contexts and subjects

rāṣṭham amuṣmar datta VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *rā° am° dehi* VS ŚB The latter in stanza preceding the former, modulation with change of subject

sar ma yacha catuspade AV *sarma yachata dvipade catuspade* RV
sindhōr ūrmā vy aksaran (SV °*rat*) RV SV Different contexts, subject in RV *indavah*, in SV *ayani* (= *somah*) *sa yah*

sukṛtām loke sīdata (AV *sīda*) AV TS MS Subjects *dakṣmāh odanah*

svadanti (*svadāti*, °*tu*) *havyam (yajñam) madhunā ghṛtana* Different contexts and subjects plural form RV AV VS MS KS TB N, sing VS MS KS TB The form *svadātu*, MS only, seems to be a blend of the other two

yaśah stha yasasvī bhūyāsam ApŚ (subject waters) *yaśo 'si yaso 'ham trayi bhūyāsam* (ApMB adds *asau*) ApMB HG (subject a man)
viśvā rūpāni puyata (°*yasi*) AV (both)

lokani me yajamānāya vinda (and, ūha, *vindata*) ChU (both) Subjects Agni or Vāyu Ādityas

yajñam nah pātu (TB *pāntu*) *rajasah* (TB *vasavah*) *parasmāt* (TB ApŚ. *purastāt*) MS KS TB ApŚ

agna ājyasya vyantu vauḥ, *agnim ā° vetu vau°*, *agninājyasya vyantu vau°*, *agnir ā° vetu vau°*, all ŚB 2 2 3 19

apām oṣadhīnām rasa stha TS TB (not MŚ !) *apām puṣpam asy oṣadhīnām rasah* PB TB LŚ ApŚ

āpura stā mā pūrayata ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ *āprno 'sṛ samprnah* (ApŚ corruptly, *āprnoṣi samprna*) *ā prna* ŚŚ ApŚ Four quite different contexts with different subjects

imam me agadam kṛta (AV *kṛdhi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB To one or more herbs, different contexts

kratum punāta (and, *punata*) *ānuṣak* RV (both) 3d sg and pl impf mid

divas (SV *divah*) *prsthāny āruhan* (AV * °*hat*) AV (both) SV Subjects Añgrasas Agni

§371 Change of Person (between 2d and 3d) with Change of Number
(a) Singular, Dual, and Plural

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV *sunuta ā ca dhāvatah* RV *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV Cf RVRep 315 Verbs are all appropriate to the respective contexts

(b) Singular and Dual

chinttam sṛno apṛ prsthī sṇitām AV *prsthī vo 'pṛ sṇātu yātudhānāh* AV Subjects are Aśvins and Rudra, hardly comparable

pibatam soṃyam madhu RV (quinques) SV *pibāti so° ma°* RV (semel) SV

madhū yajñam mimikṣatām (and, °*te*) RV (both)

śam no bhūtam dvipade sam catuṣpade RV MS KS *śam no bhava* etc , *śam na edhi* etc , *śam no astu* etc , in many texts and different connexions, see Conc

(c) Dual and Plural

madhve divah svadhayā mādayante (RV * °*yethe*) RV (both) AV VS See RVRep 118

ye kilālana tarpayatho (and, *tarpayanti*) *ye ghṛtena* AV (both) Subjects Heaven and Earth Maruts

indravantaḥ (ŚŚ °*tā*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB ApŚ ŚŚ *indravanto ha°* °*juṣantām* TB ApŚ *Vikāra*, subjects *sunāśirau pitarah*

(d) Singular and Plural

ganān me mā vi tīṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ *ganān me mā vy arīṛṣah* Vait *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB *ganair mā mā vi tīṛṣata* MS See §337

- rāyaś ca poṣair abhi nah sacadhvam* (and, *sacatām*) AV (both)
juṣasva havām āhutam RV AV VS TS MS KS *juṣantām* TS
 MS KS The last occurs in the same stanza as in RV 3 22 4 =
 VS 20 90, both of which read *juṣantām yajñam adruhaḥ* Con-
 tamination between the two pādas is obvious
svām yonim api gachata (TB ApŚ *^otu) TB ApŚ (both) AŚ ApMB
 HG
iha sphātum sam ā vahān (vaha) AV (both) The second is a *vikāra*
 of the first
ārār cid dvesaḥ sanutar yuyotu (RV *^ota) RV (both) AV VS TS MS
 KS N *ārāc cid dveso vṛsano yuyota* RV
iṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehī (Vait *dattuā*, AV *duhrām*) AV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB Vait Three different contexts, in AV, Vait, and
 YV texts respectively
mamāmtrān vi vidhyata (and, ^otu) AV (both) Cf also *amitān no*
vi vidhyatām AV
vśvam puṣyanti vāryam RV AV *vi^o puṣyasī vā^o* RV AV SV See
Rl Rep 99
svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG ^otu nah) RV KS AB MG Knauer
 assumes that *maruto* is understood as a nom sing and made the
 subject of *dadhātu* (perhaps for *māruto*) Certainly no 3d person is
 construable, Knauer's suggestion is hardly more than one of despair
 But all his mss read thus, and the Baroda ed (GOS 35, 1926) agrees.

9 Corruptions and Errors

§372 The following are merely corruptions or errors of one kind or another Some involve variants of person as well as number

(a) Singular and Dual

antas tisthatu (MG ^oto) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh* SMB HG MG All
 mss of MG read ^oto, and the Baroda ed agrees The form cannot
 be interpreted grammatically It must be either a phonetic
 variant (*u o*) or a mere corruption See Knauer's note

śrotṛāya me varcodā (TS ^odau) *varcase* (MŚ omits) *pavasva* (TS *pave-*
thām) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ So the Conc wrongly supplies in
 TS 3 2 3 2, after the abbreviation *śrotṛāya* which is all that the
 text reads It is address to a soma-cup (*graha*), and clearly a
 singular expression, not a dual, is understood No variant exists
 Similarly under *aṅgebhya me*

(b) Dual and Plural

supippalā osadhīh kartanāśme (AV *kartam asmar*, VSK *kartam asme*)
 AV VS VSK MS Subject is *Śunāsirā* (dual) Mahidhara can find nothing to say except that the plural form *kartana* is used in the sense of the dual It is, indeed, hard to imagine who else may be included in the subject (gods in general?)

viśvāh pinvathah (TB °*tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB The TB form is to be taken as intending *pinvathah*, dual (sandhi before s+ cons)

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA *apsara-sām anudattānṛnāni* MS The MS reading is badly corrupt, *anudatta* is uninterpretable, p p *anu*, *dattāni*, *ṛnāni*, which is just as bad

indrāvathuh (VSK °*dhuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*tam*) *kāryair* (TB ApŚ *karmanā*) *daṁsanābhuh* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ The VSK reading is only a corruption, phonetic in character (sonant for surd), and yet a 3d person (dual!) seems required in all texts, see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 131 5

(c) Singular and Plural

punsah kartur mātary āsisikta JB *punsā kartrā mātari mā n śiñca* KBU The Conc says 'read *śiñcata*' for KBU In any case a 2d plural form must be read, according to Deussen, *60 Up* 25, three mss read *mā asiṣikta*, nearly as in JB

mātā jaghanyā sarpatī (HG *gachanti*, read *gachati*, Kīrste) ApMB HG *pibā somam indra mandatu* (Svidh erroneously *mandantu*) *tvā* RV AV SV TS AB KB PB AA AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh

hastacyutī (SV °*tam*) *janayanta* (SV † °*yata*) *prasaṣtam* RV SV KS KB ApŚ MŚ N Subject is *nara*, in preceding *pāda*, unless this is felt in SV as singular, from the later stem *nara*, the verb-form is uninterpretable Benfey translates as plural, regarding the form as anomalous

aram asvāya gāyati (SV °*ta*) RV SV Subject is the n pr Śrutakakṣa in the next *pāda* (nom in RV, voc in SV) The plural verb in SV is anomalous, it is perhaps vaguely felt as including the associates of Ś (cf §§353 ff), or as a plural of respect (? unlikely)

agnihotrenedam havir ajuṣatāvṛdhata (AŚ °*vṛdhanta*) *māho jyāyo 'kṛta* TS AŚ Read in both texts (with TB Poona ed) *agnir hotrenedam* °*vṛdhata* AŚ is doubly corrupt In the same passage, just before this, the same formula with *devā ājyapā(h)* as subject, read in AŚ (1 9 5) *māho jyāyo 'kṛta* (text 'kṛta, this section is listed as a separate formula in Conc, see §367)

tam te duścakṣā māva khyan TS 3 2 10 2 (so Conc, but the reading is *khyat*, followed by *m-*, hence *n* by sandhi) *duścakṣās te māva kṣat* (*khyat*, *kṣat*) MS KS

sarasvatyā ([°]*tyām*) *adhī manāv* (with variants) *acarkṣuh* (KS *acarkṣ°*, SMB *carkṣdhī*, but Jorgensen *acarkṣuh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG See §§136, 236

adārasṛd bhavata (AV [°]*tu*) *deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bhavata* is apparently assimilated mechanically to *mṛdatā* of the next pāda, of which *maruto* is the subject. Here *soma* is addressed, and the subject is *adārasṛd*, *bhavata* makes no sense, Caland renders *bhavatu* in ApŚ. Yet *bhavata* is read in both edd. of TB, and was clearly the Tait school reading. TB comm. fatuously makes *bhavata* equivalent to *bhava*.

ā pīlaram vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh*, comm. *kah* = *kuru*) PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ. Perhaps only a misprint in PB.

divodāsāya randhayah (SV [°]*yan*) RV SV. Tho Benfey keeps *randhayān* in his text, he translates 'du ubergabst', as if [°]*yah*, so the comm., *samūṭai ān asi*, *randhayān* is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom. sg. pl. ?).

svasti caratād iha (SMB *ayam*, MG *caratā disah*) Kauś SMB ApMB HG MG. Spoken by the *guru* at the *upanayana*, *caratād* is 3d person, subject is the boy. In MG *caratā* is only a corruption, phonetic in character, note the following *d-*, and compare the extensive section on 'False Divisions' which will appear in our volume on Phonetics.

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