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VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES — Volume I, 1930

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

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AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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VEDIC VARIANTS

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

BY

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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 *ś* 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: *satyaṁ vadiṣyāmi* (TA.* *vadiṣye*) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG. MG. This means that TA. has the pāda in both forms, namely, *satyaṁ vadiṣyāmi*, and *satyaṁ vadiṣye.*

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance. For instance: *tat satyaṁ yad vīraṁ bibhṛthaḥ* (MŚ.† °*taḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This means that the reading of MŚ. is wrongly quoted in the Concordance (it fails to note the variant *bibhṛtaḥ*).

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. *hvayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

sarasvatīṁ sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante;* comm. *ahvayanta*) RV. AV. KS.

sarvāṅ agnīṅr apsuṣado huve vaḥ (MS. om. *vaḥ*) TS. MS. AB.: *śivān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV.

marutvantaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. *huvemahi*) RV. SV.

taṁ (RV. om.) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe;* RV. KS. *johavīmi*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agniṁ (AV. *ukthair;* MahānU. *ugraṁ*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA. MahānU.

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

prātarjitaṁ bhagam ugraṁ huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.

prātaḥ somam uta rudraṁ 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.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS. °*nāṁ huva*) *ūtaye* TS. MS. KS.: *āśūn huve* (AV. *iva*) *suyamān* (AV. °*mān ahva*) *ūtaye* AV. TS. MS. KS.

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

bṛhaspatiṁ vaḥ prajāpatiṁ vo. . . . viśvān vo devān viśvataḥ pari havāmahe GB. Vait.: cf. *bṛhaspatiṁ viśvān devāṅ ahaṁ 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

taṁ 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 johavīti*, 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 *jagatī* cadence in

otherwise *triṣṭubh* stanzas: 3. 16. 2; 7. 6. 2; 7. 40. 1; 16. 1. 13.[1] 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 texts[2]:

huve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

sarasvatīṁ sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KS.[3]

§6. For interchange in this group between moods, tenses, augmented and augmentless forms, and so forth, see the respective rubrics. 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: *agniṁ* (AV. *ukthair*, MahānU. *ugraṁ*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA. MahānU.

[2] See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 21. 48; *The Atharvaveda* 50, n. 5.

[3] Here, to be sure, the AV. comm. reads *ahvayanta* with the rest. The variant quoted by the Conc. as *apāṁ napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS. *aśvinā hvayantām*) is a slip; TS. reads *hayantam* 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

prācīnaṁ sīdat (MS. *sīdāt*) *pradiśā pṛthivyāḥ* 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 *sīdat* and its apparent interpreter *sīdāt* 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

kāmaṁ (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, KS. *kāmas*) *samudram 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 naḥ*) *pātraṁ janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāḥ* 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 Kāṭhakas, if we may trust their tradition, evidently conceived the passage reasonably enuf. Next,

tisro yad agne śaradas tvām ic, chucim ghṛtena śucayaḥ saparyān (TB. *saparyan*), *nāmāni cid dadhire yajñiyāni* 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 pṛchad (SV. *pṛchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV.

(cf. *vi pṛchad 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 enuf 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,

marto vurīta (TS. *vṛṇīta;* KS. *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dyumnaṁ (KS. also °*ne*) *vṛṇīta puṣyase* (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

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

forms *vurīta* (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 *vṛṇīta*, 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 *kṛṇu* and *kuru* (once *kṛṇuṣva*). 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); *śrotā*, *śṛṇota* (ibidem); *manai*, *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*, *yuñkṣvā* (§192); *madasva* (probably present), *mandasva* (*ibidem*). Various cases of ambiguity spring from thematic *a:* is it present sign or subjunctive sign on the body of a non-thematic form? Thus in *karati*, *karoti* (§124, end), cf. *karati*, *kṛṇotu* (§154), and *karaḥ*, *kṛṇotu* (§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 *vaṅsate* (§117), or, again, with *vanutām* (§§116, 154, 191).

§11. In the perfectly clear expression

sa tvaitebhyaḥ pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyaḥ* RV. AV. TA. N.

'he shall hand thee over to these manes', both forms, though grammatically ambiguous, are treated as respectively subjunctive and injunctive (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 *stuhi* 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:

taṁ sma jānīta (VSK. °*tha*) *parame 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 kindred formula: *etaṁ jānātha* (KS. *jānīta;* TB. *jānītāt*) *pa° vy°* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.; cf. *jānīta smainaṁ* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enaṁ*) *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 niṣ 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*) *suprāyaṇāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

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

śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñiyāsaḥ* RV. TA. MG.

tena krīḍantīś (ŚG. *krīl*°) *carata* (ŚG. °*tha*) *priyeṇa* (AV. *vaśāṁ anu*) AV. TS. ŚG. PG. ViDh.

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

datto asmabhyaṁ (etc., see §250, p. 165) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS.

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

ye 'tra pitaraḥ . . . . bhūyāstha AV. ŚŚ.: *ya etasmiṅ loke . . . . bhūyāsta* TS. TB. Of course a precative 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 udabhir yathā*, has of course no standing.

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

payasvatīḥ kṛṇuthāpa (TS. °*tāpa*) *oṣadhīḥ śivāḥ* (TS. om. *śi*°) AV. TS.

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

yūyaṁ (MS. *divo*) *vṛṣṭiṁ varṣayathā* (MS. °*tā*) *purīṣiṇaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.

§19. Doubtful as to precedence are:

aulaba (HG. °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. °*ta*) ApMB. HG.

saputrikāyāṁ jāgratha PG.: *yajamānāya jāgṛta* 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*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *aprati*) RV. AV. SV. TB. Followed in RV. SV. by the next two:

hato (SV. *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī*, and: *hato* (SV. *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣaḥ* 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 romaśaṁ hataḥ* (ApMB. *hathaḥ*) RV. ApMB. The form *hathaḥ* is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap. tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p. xx.

purā gṛdhrād araruṣaḥ pibātaḥ (TB. °*thaḥ*) 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:

citrebhir abhrair upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. °*to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by:

dyāṁ varṣayatho (MS. °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. The p.p. of MS. has °*thaḥ*. See §337.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇvāthām;* MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.; cf. *vapayā* etc. Kauś.; and see Conc. under *svarge* (°*geṇa, suvarge*) *loke*(*-na*) *prorṇuvāthām* etc. (only MS. °*tām;* VS. VSK. TS. KSA.† [which reads *saṁprorṇuvāthām*] ŚB. TB. Vait. °*thām*).

yā (AV. TS. *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS.† °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS. *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† °*tuḥ*) KS. TS.

yā rājānā (TS. °*naṁ*) *sarathaṁ yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS.

tat satyaṁ yad vīraṁ bibhṛthaḥ (MŚ.† °*taḥ*); and, in same passage:

vīraṁ janayiṣyathaḥ (MŚ. °*taḥ*); and:

te mat prātaḥ prajanayiṣyethe (MŚ. °*te*), *te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. °*yāv*) *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. *abhūthām* is anomalous; see §§56, 337.

kāmaṁ duhātām iha śakvarībhiḥ AV.: *rāṣṭraṁ duhāthām iha revatībhiḥ* 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, 3d singular 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 ṇonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *giraḥ* RV. SV.

ṇonuvur 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.

saṁmiślo aruṣo bhava (SV. *bhuvaḥ*) . . . *dhenubhiḥ* RV. SV.

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV. SV. KS.

nemiś cakram ivābhavat (SV. MS. °*bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

yat some-soma ābhavaḥ (SV. *ābhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ (SV °*bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.

saṁpriyaḥ (TA. °*yaṁ prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB. TA. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

asapatnā (RV.* °*naḥ*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. (bis) ApMB.

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

tasmai devā adhi bruvan (VS. TS. *bravan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

pra bravāma (MS. *bruvāma*, v.l. *bra*°) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB. HG. MG.

tad ahaṁ nihnave (ŚŚ. *nihnuve*) *tubhyam* AB. ŚŚ.

upa śravat (MS. *śruvat*, p.p. *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* 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*) *draviṇaṁ vīrapeśāḥ* RV. TS. P. p. of TS *dāḥ*; this form occurs several times in the context, and no doubt flitted 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*) *draviṇeha dhattāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. P. p. of RV. *tiṣṭhāḥ*: 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou standest erect.' All texts have as next pāda, *yad vā kṣayo mātur asyā upasthe*, showing up the extreme reprehensiblenss 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*.

tāṅ ādityāṅ 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. *vayovṛdhaḥ*) 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* (*ḥ*), 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 *yodhīḥ* of other texts at the end of a stanza (Whitney, *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 somaṁ mamadad* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*), AV. AŚ. ŚŚ., §137, where it occurs in noun forms.

pra-pra yajñapatiṁ tira (TA *tiraḥ*; but Poona ed. *tira*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §156 for this and the next three.

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS. MŚ. *tapaḥ*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ.

viśvasmāt (TA. *divo vi°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. *uruṣyaḥ*) RV. TA.

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS. See §116.

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB. *°maḥ*) RV. TB. See §124, where also, but in the interior of the passage, *dhvarāma: dhūrvāmas*, in the item *taṁ dhūrva* etc.

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

prati bhāgaṁ na dīdhima (SV. *°maḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

viratāḥ smaḥ (ŚG. *sma bhoḥ*) ŚG. PG.

abhiratāḥ smaḥ (YDh. *sma ha*) ViDh. YDh. BṛhPDh.

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smaḥ (MŚ. *sma*) TB. MŚ.

tau saha (VS. ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturaḥ padaḥ saṁ prasārayāvahai* (VS. ŚB. *°yāva*, MS. *°yāvaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.

viśvāḥ pinvathaḥ (TB. *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāḥ* RV. MS. TB. (comm. Bibl. Ind. ed. *°thaḥ*, 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 *asmai*:

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsme (AV. *kartam asmai*; VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS.

In the item *brahmāham antaraṁ kṛṇve* (KŚ. *karave*) AV. KŚ., the Conc. suggests the more proper *karavai* for KŚ.

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. *°mahai*; MŚ. *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG.

yaṁ jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS. *°he*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

devān yajñiyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS. *havāmahe*) TS. MS. KS.

rayiṁ yena vanāmahai (SV. *°he*) RV. SV.

kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ, sacāvahe (MS. *°hai*, p.p. *°he*) *yad avṛkaṁ 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 āgataḥ TS.: *bhakṣaḥ pītaḥ* VSK.: *bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ* (KS. *bhakṣa°*) VS. KS. So the single ms. of KS. (at that time unedited)

reads; but the now printed text quite properly emends to *bhakṣyamāṇaḥ*, matching VS. Similarly,

(*net tvā...*) *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV.: *net tvā...dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* 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.

vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa saṁbhṛtatamenāyakṣase (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 pṛthak, śardhāṅsy agne ajarāṇi (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. *dhakṣataḥ* 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 *ścy* is reduced, secondarily:

ā vṛścyantām (AV. *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāḥ* RV. AV. See §87.

In one instance *ṣy* is secondarily reduced to *ṣ*:

ratho na vājaṁ saniṣyann (SV. *saniṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. 'He hath come like a chariot about to win (that hath won) booty.' *saniṣyan* is a common form, *saniṣan* 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. l. °*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.

apriyaḥ 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.'

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

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

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ (VSK. °*aḥ*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idaṁ vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. 'whatever of yours the impure have (has) polluted, that do I here cleanse for you'; *yad aśuddhaḥ 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 śundhadhvam* 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 krūraṁ...tat te śudhyatu (TS. ApŚ. *tat ta etena śundhatām;* MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. See prec., and cf. §§71, 82, 338 end.

sa viśvā prati cākḷpe AV. 'he hath shaped himself into all things'; *sa viśvaṁ prati cākḷpat* AŚ. ŚŚ. 'he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe.'

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

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

āpo devīḥ śundhata mā...devayajyāyai MS.: *daivyāya karmaṇe śundhadhvaṁ devayajyāyai* VS. ŚB.: *śundhadhvaṁ daivyāya karmaṇe* (TS. TB. add *devayajyāyai*) TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.

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

agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ (TB. *mā;* MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. 'Purify us'; '(may) we become pure.' And similarly:

brahma tena punīhi naḥ (LŚ. *mā;* VS. KS. *punātu mā;* MS. TB. *punīmahe*) RV. VS. KS. MS. TB. LŚ.: *idaṁ brahma punīmahe* TB.

evaṁ taṁ (ApMB. *tvaṁ*) *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 janayiṣyāmi...JB.: *madhu janiṣye* (AV. °*ṣīya*) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ. 'I shall produce honey (for myself).'

ud dharṣantāṁ maghavan vājināni AV.: *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (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, *śrayainaṁ*) AV. (both). 'Spread thou (him) out upon the third heaven.'

saṁnahye (KS. °*hya*, 2d sing. act.) *sukṛtāya kam* TS. KS. TB ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *saṁnahyasvāmṛtāya 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.

aśvaṁ 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.

parāsutṛpaḥ śośucataḥ śṛṇīhi AV. 'destroy the fiercely burning (demons) that delight in (taking) life'; *parāsutṛpo abhi śośucānaḥ* (sc. *śṛṇīhi*) RV.' destroy (the demons) that delight in (taking) life, burning fiercely against them.' Cf. Renou 128.

viśvasmād īṣataḥ (MS. *īṣamāṇaḥ*)...*paridhiḥ* 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.'

jajñānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV. SV. In RV. *jajñānaḥ* 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:

tasmai tvaṁ stana pra pyāya ApMB. 'do thou, O breast, swell for him'; *tasmai stanaṁ 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 variṇā (VS. ŚB. *varimṇā*) *prathasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā variṇā* (VS. *varimṇā*) *prathantu* VS. MS. KS. 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself in breadth'; 'the sages of yore . . . shall extend thee in breadth.'

dṛṁha pṛthivīm PB., and *pṛthivīṁ dṛṁha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. JB. MG. 'make firm the earth': *dṛṁhasva pṛthivyām* VS. KS. ŚB. 'be firm upon earth.'

iṣe pinvasva, ūrje pinvasva VS. ŚB.: *iṣaṁ pinva, ūrjaṁ pinva* MG.

vācaṁ me tvayi dadhāni; (response,) *vācaṁ te mayi 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 fügt überall die bekannte reflexive Bedeutung hinzu.' BR. s.v. cite the scholiast to Pāṇ. 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 yājakāḥ, yajamāno yajate*). However, both BR. and Delbrück[8] 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 aprkthāḥ* 7. 88. 1,... *aprāg api* 10. 4. 26b: 'in poison thou hast (he has) mixed poison.'[9] 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:

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meaning represented in the voice distinction. Even in essentially the same pāda, active and middle may be equivalent as early as RV.: *ajasreṇa śociṣā śośucac chuce* 6. 48. 3, *ajasreṇa śociṣā śośucānaḥ* 7. 5. 4. The needs respectively of *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* are deferred to; see *RVRep.* 294, 531. Cf. Renou 121ff. (participles and voice).

[8] *AISyntax* 248; so also Renou 106, 110. Delbrück 241, observes that *ci* 'pile' (bricks of the altar) exhibits regularly the same distinction, the middle being used of the sacrificer, the active of the priest.

[9] [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.]

syonaṁ patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatuṁ kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG.N.

marutāṁ pitas tad ahaṁ gṛṇāmi (MS. *gṛṇe te*) TS. MS.: *marutāṁ pitar uta tad gṛṇīmaḥ* KS.

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*) TS. MŚ.

ni no rayiṁ subhojasaṁ yuvasva (TS. *yuveha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

sa no mayobhūḥ pito āviśasva (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] *pitav āviśasva*, AŚ. *pitav āviśeha*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG. See §69.

huve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

taṁ manyeta (ViDh. *vai manyet*) *pitaraṁ mātaraṁ ca* SaṁhitopaniṣadB. 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. Delbrück, *AISyntax* 228ff., has collected considerable material for the use of the voices in Brāhmaṇa 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.

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

ji 'conquer'
juṣ 'enjoy'
tan 'extend'
tar 'cross'
dah 'burn'
dā 'give'
dī 'shine'
dī 'fly'
dīkṣ 'consecrate'
dyut 'shine'
dharṣ+*ā* 'dare'
dhā 'set'
dhāraya 'hold'
nam 'bend'
naś 'perish'
naś 'obtain'
nī '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'
rakṣ '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. *aś* 'obtain' (D. 229)

viśvam āyur vy aśnavai (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 aśnutaḥ* and *aśnuvat*, and on the other hand with middle, *dīrgham āyur*...and *sarvam āyur*...in Conc. See §140.

viśvam id dhītam (MS. *dhitam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

yena śravāṅsy ānaśuḥ (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

vy aśema (SV. VS. *aśemahi*) *devahitaṁ yad āyuḥ* RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. NṛpU. NṛuU. MG. The active is usual with prepositions, and *vy aśema* obviously prior to °*mahi*; Delbrück, *l. c.*: Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 278.

tenāmṛtatvam aśyām (KS. PB. *aśīya*) KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ.: *so 'mṛtatvam aśīya* (VSK. *aśyāt*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *tayāmṛtatvam* (and, *tair amṛ*°) *aśīya* PB.

tato mā draviṇam aṣṭu (AB. *āṣṭa*) VS. AB. ṢB. ŚŚ. See §130.

§40. *īr* 'arouse'

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdhaṁ (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.: *svāṁ yat tanūṁ tanvām airayata* MS. AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA.: *svāyāṁ yat tanvāṁ* (TS. *tanuvāṁ*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ. But *airayata* is the reading of most mss. also in AV. 7. 3. 1; see Whitney.

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

tāṁ naḥ pūṣañ chivatamām erayasva HG.: *tāṁ pūṣañ* (AV. °*aṁ*) *chivatamām erayasva* RV. AV. ApMB.: *sā naḥ pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG.

§41. *kar* 'make' (D. 238)

ugraṁ cettāram adhirājam akran (AV. *akrata*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. *akrata* collides with the *triṣṭubh* meter of the stanza as a whole, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 37. 264) reads *akran*.

dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe (AV. *kṛṇmasi*) RV. AV.

agnau kariṣye karavai karavāṇi (with reply: *kriyatām kuruṣva kuru*) AG. *agnau karaṇaṁ kariṣyāmi* MŚ.: *agnau kariṣyāmi* GG. BDh.: *agnau karavāṇi* ViDh. Cf. Stenzler's note on AG. 4. 7. 18, Transl.

syonaṁ patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatuṁ kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N. Besides the patch-word (cf. §36),

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

kuru AG. GG. ViDh.: *kuruṣva* AG. YDh. AuśDh. BṛhPDh.

kuruta MS. MŚ. LŚ. ŚG. Kauś. GG. KhG. PG. HG.: *oṁ kuruta* ŚŚ. AG. MG.: *kurudhvam* PG.

kṛṣiṁ suśasyām ut kṛṣe (KS. *kṛdhi*) MS. KS. MŚ. See §165.

yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsaṁskarase ŚŚ.: *yajñapataye vāryam ā svas kaḥ* MS.: *yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai* TA.

Participles (cf. §31):

punaḥ kṛṇvānā (KS. *kṛṇvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS. KS. ŚB.: *punaḥ kṛṇvantaḥ pitaro yuvānaḥ* MS.: *punaḥ kṛṇvaṁs tvā pitaraṁ yuvānam* TS.

§41a. *gam* 'go'

juṣṭe juṣṭiṁ te gameyam (ŚŚ. °*ya;* TS. *'śīya*) TS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ.

nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam AV.: *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* TB.

§42. *gup* 'protect'

tad gopāyata (KŚ. °*yadhvam*) KŚ. ApŚ.

tan me gopāya (Kauś. °*yasva*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

taṁ gopāya (KS. ŚG. °*yasva*) KS. AG. ŚG. ApMB.: *tāṁ gopāyasva* TA.

asvapnaś ca mānavadrāṇaś cottarato gopāyetām (KS. MG. *ca dakṣiṇato gopāyatām*) KS. PG. MG.: *asvapnaś ca tvānavadrāṇaś ca rakṣatām* AV. See also Conc. under *gopāyaṁś ca, jāgṛviś 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. *ātmani*) *pari gṛhṇīmahe vayam* (MS. *gṛhṇīmasīha*) TS. MS. KS.

(*asyed indro madeṣv ā*) *grābhaṁ gṛbhṇīta* (SV. *gṛbhṇāti*) *sānasim* RV. SV.

§44. *jan* 'beget'

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

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

dyāvāpṛthivyor ahaṁ devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS.* *devayajyayā .prajaniṣeyaṁ prajayā paśubhiḥ;* KS.* MŚ. *devayajyayā prajaniṣīya prajayā paśubhiḥ*) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. See §175.

§45. *juṣ* 'enjoy' (D. 229)

sa no nediṣṭhaṁ (TS. MS. °*ṭhā,* VS. ŚB. *viśvāni*) *havanāni joṣat* (TS. *joṣate;* MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On perfect active and present middle cf. Renou 14, 144ff.

†*viprā* (SV. *viprāya*) *gāthaṁ gāyata yaj jujoṣati* (AA. °*ṣat;* SV. *yaṁ jujoṣate*) SV. AA. ŚŚ.

§46. *tan* 'extend' (D. 242)

bṛhaspatir yajñam imaṁ tanotu VS. ŚB. LŚ.: *bṛhaspatis tanutām imaṁ naḥ* TS. TB.

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yāś ca tatnire*) 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*.

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

§47. *tar* 'cross'

pra candramās tirate (TS.† °*ti;* AV.† °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.

†*suvīrābhis tirate vājabharmabhiḥ* (SV. TS. *tarati vājakarmabhiḥ*) RV. SV. TS. KS. See §197.

§48. *dā* 'give' (D. 242)

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS. ApŚ. *ādade;* MS. KS. MŚ. *ādi*) 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. Delbrück.

na me tad (ApŚ. *ma idaṁ*) *upadambhiṣar dhṛṣir* (ApŚ. °*bhiṣag ṛṣir* [once, erroneously, *udaṁbhi*°]) *brahmā yad dadau* (ApŚ. *dade*) MS. ApŚ.

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

ajasreṇa 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.)

aṅgirasāṁ tvā devānāṁ (ApŚ. *devānāṁ vratapate;* Kauś. *devānām ādityānāṁ*) *vratenā dadhe* (ApŚ. *dadhāmi*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *bhṛgūṇāṁ tvāṅgirasāṁ* (ApŚ. *tvā devānāṁ*) *vratenā dadhāmi* TB. ApŚ. And similarly under *ādityānāṁ tvā devānāṁ, indrasya tvā* etc., *manos tvā* etc., see Conc.

asmin rāṣṭra indriyaṁ dadhāmi AB.: *asmin rāṣṭre śriyaṁ dadhe* SMB.

parīdaṁ vāso adhithāḥ (HG. *adhidhāḥ,* ApMB. *adhi 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 annādyāyādadhe* (KS. *annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS. KS.: *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS.: *annādaṁ tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ.: *agnim annādam annādyāyādadhe* VS.

garbhaṁ dadhāthāṁ te vām ahaṁ dade TB. ApŚ.: *reto dhattaṁ puṣṭyai prajananam* MŚ.

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhā (MS. p.p. *dadhe*, TS. *dadhāv*) *idaṁ 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 ākūtīr namāmasi (MS. *anaṁsata*, 3 pl. mid.) RVKh. AV. MS.

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

saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. °*bhyām adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

§51. *nī* 'lead' (D. 244)

agnis te 'graṁ nayatu TS.: *agniṣ ṭe agraṁ nayatām* MŚ.

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

devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṁ pūṣṇo hastābhyām upa nayāmy asau (HG. *naye 'sau*) ŚG. HG. And others; see Conc.

iṣaṁ madantaḥ pari gāṁ nayadhvam (AV. *nayāmaḥ*) RV. AV. MG.

§52. *nud* 'expel' (D. 244)

niḥ kravyādaṁ nudāmasi (MS. *nudasva*) AV. MS.

agniṣ ṭān asmāt pra ṇunottu lokāt MŚ.: *agniṣ ṭāṁ* (VS. *ṭān;* AŚ. *tāl*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (AŚ. *ṇudātv;* SMB. *ṇudatv*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agne tān asmāt pra ṇudasva lokāt* ApŚ.

§53. *pac* 'cook' (D. 245)

ity apacaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *ity apacathāḥ* 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 padi badhnātu (VS. ŚB. *badhnītām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ. *māba*°; TS. ApMB*. *yam abadhnīta*) *savitā suśevaḥ* (AV. °*vāḥ;* TS. ApMB.* *suketaḥ*) RV. AV. TS. ApMB. (bis) KŚ.

aśvaṁ medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB. ŚŚ.: on this see §30, end.

§55. *bhar* 'bear' (D. 230)

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu saṁbharaitam (MŚ. °*retām*, 3 du. impv. mid.) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (In TB. ApŚ. *saṁbhara—etam.*)

(*ud u tvā viśve 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 evaṁ mahyaṁ pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG. °*taḥ*) *svadhā bhava* (HG. *bhavatām*) ApMB. HG. And the same with *yathā vāyur...*, *yathādityo...* See §329.

§57. *bhrāj* 'shine'

sa yathā tvaṁ bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy evāhaṁ bhrājatā bhrājyāsam AV.: *sa yathā tvaṁ bhrājyā bhrājasa evam ahaṁ bhrājyā bhrājiṣīya* MS.

mahi bhrājante (TS. MS. KS. °*ty*) *arcayo vibhāvaso* 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...somānāṁ pibatu madantāṁ vyantu MS.:... *vyantu pibantu madantu* (form-assimilation) AŚ. The KS. parallel lacks any form of *mad.*

pibantu madantu (MS. °*tāṁ*) *vyantu* (TB. *viyantu somam*) VS. MS. TB. Cf. prec.

yatrā (TA. *yatra*) *suhārdaḥ sukṛto madanti* (TA. °*te*) AV. TA.

§59. *muc* 'release' (D. 247)

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

Participles (cf. §31):

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

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

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS. TS. TB. *'yāṭ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.; *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS. KS. See §266.

agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīḍyāni;* MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ. Cf. *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB. ApŚ.

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

asau yaja AŚ.: *asau yajate* LŚ.

mahyaṁ yajantu (AV. KS. °*ntāṁ*) *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. °*tha*) *yaje* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§61. *yam* 'hold' (D. 248)

yachantāṁ pañca VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *yachantu pañca* MS.: *yachantu tvā pañca* KS.

gharmasyaikā savitaikāṁ 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. *yūḍhvam*) ApŚ. MŚ. HG.: *mā vo* (AŚ. *no*) *'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ. *yuñgdhvam*) AŚ. Kauś.

ni no rayiṁ subhojasaṁ yuvasva (TS. *yuveha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. Delbrück, *l. c.*, and §36 above.

§63. *rakṣ* 'protect' (D. 250)

agne havyaṁ rakṣasva (VS. ŚB. *rakṣa*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

viṣṇo havyaṁ rakṣasva (VS. ŚB. *rakṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

vrataṁ rakṣanti viśvahā 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.

avapatantīr avadan RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *avayatīḥ sam avadanta* VSK.: *pippalyaḥ samavadanta* AV. Here the preposition *sam* is, of course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps better be placed in §30.

satyaṁ vadiṣyāmi (TA.* *vadiṣye*) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG. MG.

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

antar evoṣmāṇaṁ vārayadhvāt (MS. TB. *vārayatāt*, but most mss. and p.p. of MS. °*dhvāt*) MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

varaṇo vārayātai AV.: *varaṇo vārayiṣyate* AV.: *varuṇo* (Poona ed. *varaṇo*) *vārayāt* TA. See §171.

§66. *vart* 'turn' (D. 235)

ime jīvā vi mṛtair āvavṛtran (TA. *āvavartin*!) RV. AV. TA. AG. The monstrous form is found in both edd. of TA., text and comm.;

comm. glosses by *āvṛttāḥ*. It can only be felt as a wholly anomalous 3d plural impf. act.

ṛtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ. °*ya*), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ. °*ya*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §116.

§67. *vah* 'carry' (D. 253)

ta ā vahanti (MS. *tayāvahante*) *kavayaḥ purastāt* TS. MS. TB.

jātavedo vahemaṁ (ŚŚ. *vahasvainaṁ*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokaḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ. The reading of ŚŚ. is obviously secondary.

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, and so ApMB. comm. explains; KS. *ayās san;* Kauś. *ayāsyaṁ*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayā no yajñaṁ 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.

brāhmaṇam adya videyam (VSK. °*ya*)...VS. VSK. ŚB.

tat puruṣāya (MahānU.* °*ṣasya*) *vidmahe* MS. KS. TA. MahānU.: *puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya* TA. (immediately preceding the other form).

tasya vittāt (MS. *vitsva*) TS. MS. KS.: *etasya vittāt* VS. ŚB. 'Take note of that.'

mā jñātāraṁ mā pratiṣṭhāṁ vidanta (AG.† *vindantu*) AV. AG.

§69. *viś* 'enter' (D. 253)

ny anyā arkam abhito viviśre (AV. *'viśanta;* JB. *viviśyuḥ*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

sa no mayobhūḥ pito āviśasva (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] *pitav āviśasva;* AŚ. *pitav āviśeha;* MŚ. *pitur āviveśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.: *sa naḥ pito* (!) *madhumāṅ ā viveśa* Kauś.: *sa naḥ pito madhumāṅ ā viśeha* KS. See §§139, 332; on perfect active and present middle, Renou 14, 144ff.

Participles (cf. §31):

viśo-viśaḥ praviśivāṅsam īmahe AV.: *viśvasyāṁ viśi praviviśivāṅsam* (KS.† *praviviśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS. See §273.

§70. *vyā* 'envelop' (D. 254)

tasmai devā amṛtāḥ (AV. °*taṁ*) *saṁ vyayantām* (AV. °*ntu*) AV. TS. MS. ApMB.

tās tvā devīr (SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB. HG. °*sā*) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG. *vyayasva*) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.: *tās tvā jarase saṁ 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

thyself 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 krūraṁ...tat te śudhyatu (TS. ApŚ. *tat ta etena śundhatām;* MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) 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 pataṁgāya śiśriye TS.: *vāk pataṁgo aśiśriyat* (KS. *°gā aśiśrayuḥ*) 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)

tisro devīr barhir edaṁ sadantu (AV. *°tām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS.

sarasvatī (AV. *°tīḥ*) *svapasaḥ sadantu* (AV. *°tām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

§74. *sarj* 'loosen' (D. 255f.)

tena mām indra saṁ sṛja (MŚ. *sṛjasva*) TS. TB. MŚ.

rāyas poṣeṇa saṁ sṛja (MG. *sṛjasva*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. MG. In this and the prec. *sṛjasva* in the cadence is bad.

vi (MS. KS. *pra*) *parjanyaḥ* (RV. *°yaṁ*, TS. *°yāḥ*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS. *sṛjatāṁ*) *rodasī anu* RV. TS. MS. KS.

pāvamānasya tvā stomena...vīryeṇot sṛje MS.: *pāvamānena tvā stomena ...vīryeṇa devas tvā savitot sṛjatu...* TS.

§75. *stu* 'praise' (D. 257)

indravanta (AB. *°taḥ*) *stuta* (AB. *studhvam*) AB. GB. Vait.

stuta Vait. MŚ.: *oṁ stuta* ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *studhvam* AŚ.: *oṁ studhvam* AŚ.

indro vide tam u stuhi (AA. *stuṣe*) AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. 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 vitasthire (TS. *°tasthuḥ*) TS. VS.: *yāvat sapta sindhavo vitaṣṭhire* AV.

yenaiṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU. *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU.

kṣuttṛṣṇābhyāṁ taṁ yo gāṁ vikṛntantaṁ māṁsaṁ bhikṣamāṇa upatiṣṭhate TB.: *kṣudhe yo gāṁ vikṛntantaṁ bhikṣamāṇa upatiṣṭhati* VS.

caus. *sthāpaya* 'place' (cf. D. 257)

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV. AV.: *āsthāpayata mātaraṁ jigatnum* AV.

§77. *hu* 'sacrifice'

pra tve havīṁṣi juhure (KS. *juhumas*) *samiddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīṁṣi*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But *juhure* may be passive, with *havīṁṣi* as subject; so Grassmann.

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (ApŚ. *juṣatām;* MŚ. *juhutāṁ*) *haviḥ svāhā* PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§78. *hū* 'call' (D. 261)

huve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

taṁ sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe;* KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *sarasvantam avase johavīmi* RV. The AV. reading introduces a *jagatī* 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.)

agniṁ (MahānU. *ugraṁ*, 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*.

prātarjitaṁ bhagam ugraṁ huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N. As in prec., *triṣṭubh* stanza.

prātaḥ somam uta rudraṁ huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. Here, on the contrary, the rest of the stanza is *jagatī*, 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*

arṣ 'move' (D. 233): *marya iva yuvatibhiḥ sam arṣati* (AV. *iva yoṣāḥ sam arṣase*) RV. SV. AV. The AV. reading is bad in meter and sense.

as 'throw' (D. 237): *ayaṁ yajamāno mṛdho vyasyatām* (AŚ. *vyasyatu*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

ās + *upa* 'revere' (cf. D. 233): *brahmaitad upāsvaitat* (MahānU. *upāsyaitat*) *tapaḥ* TA. MahānU. But Poona ed. of TA. as MahānU., v. l. *upāsvai°*. See §195.

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

i + *palā* 'flee': *palāyiṣyamāṇāya svāhā* TS.: *palāyiṣyate 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 carkṛṣa* (3d sing. pres. intensive mid.) *ā* RV.: *sadā va indraś carkṛṣad ā* SV. See Grassmann s. v. *kir*, and Oldenberg *RVNoten* 2. 325.

kalp, caus. *kalpaya* 'shape' (cf. D. 234): *yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ* (AV. °*vaḥ*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS. *kalpayāti*) RV. AV. VS.

gar 'praise': *marutāṁ pitar uta tad gṛṇīmaḥ* KS.: *marutāṁ pitas tad ahaṁ gṛṇāmi* (MS. *gṛṇe te*) TS. MS.

gai 'sing' (D. 240): *rājānaṁ saṁgāyata* (PG. °*gāyetām*) ŚG. PG.

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

cat, caus. 'drive off' (cf. D. 231): *ghoṣeṇāmīvāṅś cātayata* (PB. °*mīvāṅ cātayadhvam*) PB. TB. ApŚ.

ci 'observe': *cakṣuṣā ni cikīṣate* (MS. °*ti*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ji 'conquer' (D. 241): *ity amuṁ saṁgrāmam ahan* (MŚ. *ajayathāḥ*, ŚB. *ajayat*) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

dah 'burn' (D. 242): *ā te yatante rathyo yathāpṛthak, śardhāṅsy agne ajarāṇi* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See §§27, 250.

dī 'fly': *parṇavīr iva dīyati* (SV. °*te*) RV. SV.

dīkṣ 'consecrate' (D. 234): *agnir dīkṣitaḥ pṛthivī 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* following in both texts.

dyut 'shine': *saṁ sūryeṇa rocate* (SV. *didyute*) RV. SV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: *saṁ sūryeṇa didyutad udadhir nidhiḥ* VS.

dhar, dhāraya 'hold': *soma* (MS. *somā*) *indro varuṇo mitro agnis te devā dharmadhṛto dharmaṁ dhārayantu* (KS. °*tāṁ te 'smai vācaṁ suvantām*) MS. KS.

dharṣ 'dare': *nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate* (AA. *dadharṣa;* ŚŚ. *dadharṣayā*)... *śavaḥ* AV. ĄV. 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': *alakṣmī me naśyatu* (MahānU. °*ta*) TA. MahānU.: cf. *alakṣmir me naśyatāṁ*... RVKh. See under *bhaj*, below.

naś 'attain': *madhvā yajñaṁ nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

parc 'mix': *viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ* (and, *aprāg api*) AV. (both). See §36.

palāya 'flee': see *i* + *palā*.

pū 'purify' (D. 234, 245): *tat punīdhvaṁ* (and, *punīdhvaṁ ca*) *yavā mama* ViDh.: *sarvaṁ punatha me yavāḥ* BDh.: *sarvaṁ punatha* (ViDh. *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh. ViDh.

bhaj 'share' (D. 246): *śrī me bhajata* MahānU.: *śrīr me bhajatu* TA. Comm. on MahānU.: *lakṣmīr mahyaṁ bhajatv ity arthaḥ*. See *naś* 'perish', above.

majj 'dive' (D. 232): *upamañkṣyati syā* (ŚŚ. °*mañkṣye 'haṁ*) *salilasya madhye* ŚB. ŚŚ.: *nimañkṣye 'haṁ salilasya madhye* AB.

man 'think' (D. 234): *taṁ manyeta* (ViDh. *vai manyet*) *pitaraṁ mātaraṁ ca* SaṁhitopB. 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 rāsīya* (SV. *raṁsiṣam*) RV. AV. SV. See §174.

rājaya (denom.) 'be king' (cf. D. 232): *adhirājo rājasu rājayātai* (TS. °*ti*, MS. *rājayate*) AV. TS. MS. See §117.

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

rej 'tremble': *arejetām* (TB. *arejayatāṁ*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV. TB. See §241.

lubh 'desire' (D. 232): *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB. HG.° *lulobha;* ApŚ. °*mamāda*) ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. HG. MDh.

vakṣ 'grow': *deva somaiṣa te lokas tasmiñ chaṁ ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva* (VSK. *lokaḥ pari ca vakṣi śaṁ ca vakṣi;* ŚBK. *tasmiñ chaṁ pari ca vakṣi saṁ ca vakṣi*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚBK. See §164.

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

vadh 'slay' (D. 232): *indriyaṁ me vīryaṁ mā nir vadhīḥ* (MŚ. *vadhiṣṭa*) TS. MŚ.

van 'win': *daivyā hotāro* (TS. °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°) *pūrve* (KS.† *vaniṣan na etat*) RV. TS. KS. Cf. *daivā hotāraḥ saniṣan na etat* AV.

vap 'throw' (D. 252): *pratiprasthātaḥ savanīyān nir vapa* (MŚ. *vapasva*) ApŚ. MŚ.

vardh 'grow' (D. 253): *avīvṛdhat* (VSK. *avīvṛdhata*) *puroḍāśena* (VSK. *purol*°) VS. VSK. Cf. *avīvṛdhanta* etc. in Conc.

valh 'ask a riddle': *etad brahmann upavalhāmasi* (AŚ. *apa°;* LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

śikṣ 'help': *indro yajvane pṛṇate ca śikṣati* (AV. *gṛṇate ca śikṣate*) RV. AV. TB.

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

san 'be effective' (D. 233): *aryo naśanta sanişanta* (SV.† *nas santu sanişantu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.

sar 'move' (caus.): *tā ubhau* (TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. *tau saha*) *caturaḥ padaḥ saṁ prasārayāva* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *°yāvahai;* MS. *°yāvaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.

sah 'be able': *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV.: *pra sakṣati pratimānaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* AV.

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

sev 'be devoted to': *gṛdhraḥ suparṇaḥ kuṇapaṁ ni şevati* (TA.† *şevase*) MS. TA.

stan 'thunder' (D. 232): *pra te divo na stanayanti śuşmāḥ* (MS. *°yanta śuşmaiḥ*) RV. TS. MS.

snā 'bathe', caus. (D. 232): *prasnāpayanty ūrmiṇam* RV.: *prasnāpayanta ūrmayaḥ* SV. Benfey, Transl. 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma). The SV. passage is thoroly secondary; its comm., as quoted by Benfey, suggests that *ūrmayaḥ* stands for acc. sing. *ūrmim*, the subject being preempted by *svasāraḥ*. 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?—*svadaṁ;* KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svap 'sleep' (D. 236): *ūrdhvas tişṭhan mā divā svāpsīḥ* Kauś.: *mā divā suşupthāḥ* (SMB. GG. HG. *svāpsīḥ*) ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG.: *mā suşupthāḥ* ŚB. ApMB.: *divā mā svāpsīḥ* AG.

han 'slay' (D. 259): *jaghanāṅ upa jighnate* (MS. *°tu;* p.p. *°ti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

hā 'leave' (D. 234): *ni vo jāmayo jihatā* (ŚŚ. *jihatāṁ*) *ny ajāmayaḥ* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

hi 'incite': *ṛtasya yonau* (RV. *yonā*) *mahişā ahinvan* (RV. *aheşata*) 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 Delbrück, *AISyntax* 268ff., who quotes many instances of passive construction where we should expect the active.

§81. The passive finite forms are originally medio-passive; 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 form.[10] 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.† °*si*) SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.

But SMB. has a v. l. °*se*.

yat te krūraṁ . . . 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 adrivaḥ, parā śulkāya deyām RV. 'not would I, even for a high price, sell thee, O (Indra) to whom belong the press-stones!': *mahe ca na tvādrivaḥ, parā śulkāya dīyase* SV., where *tvā* and *dīyase* together make nonsense. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 278.

§84. On the other hand, in

ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate (AV.† *pṛthivīṁ vy ūduḥ*) RV. AV. MS.

[10] It is to be noted that the well-known 3d person in *i* (Whitney, *Grammar* §§ 842ff.), 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 *yena sūryaṁ tamaso nir amoci* (*mumoca*), §59. Cf. further Neisser, *BB.* 30. 305, and the variant *ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi* etc., §84.

KS.: *ād it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS.: cf. *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī vy undhi* (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 gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA. *asādīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* 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 *asādi* as a middle; cf. our footnote 10 above, which shows that the middle interpretation 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.

rajatā hariṇīḥ sīsā (MS. *rajatāḥ sīsā hariṇīr*), *yujo yujyante* (MS. *yuñjantu*) *karmabhiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

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

stṛṇanti (RV.* *stṛṇīta*, RV.* AV. *tistire*) *barhir ānuṣak* RV. (all three) AV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. N. *tistire* is passive.

yenākṣā (ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām;* SMB. *yenākṣān;* PG. *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyaṣiñcatam*, PG. *°tām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. See §332. Subject is Aśvins, except in AV., where the verse is addrest to them too, but turned into passive construction with subject *akṣāḥ*.

varca ā dhehi me tanvam (KS. *dhāyi me tanūḥ*) AV. KS.

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

ṛtaṁ satye 'dhāyi (TB., see prec.; TS. KSA. *'dhām*), same texts.

mayi dhāyi (MS. *dhehi*) *suvīryam* MS. TB. TA.

abhiramantu bhavantaḥ ViDh.: *abhiramyatām* (MŚ. *°thām*) MŚ. ŚG. YDh. BṛhPDh.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī pūryethām VS. ŚB.: *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛṇethām* (MS. MŚ. *pṛṇa;* LŚ. *prīṇāthāṁ svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

maiṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana* AV.: *māmīṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS.: *māmīṣāṁ moci kaś cana* AV.

parameṇa paśunā krīyase (MS. *krīyasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyāś carameṇa paśunā krīṇāmi* TS.

pra tve havīṁṣi juhure (*juhumas*)..., *see* §77. *juhure* either mid. or pass.

tat striyām anu ṣicyate (ŚG. *ṣiñcatu*) AV. ŚG.

saha dharmaṁ cara (GDh. *dharmaś caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh.: *sahobhau caratāṁ dharmam* MDh.

asmin goṣṭha upa pṛñca naḥ AV.: *āsu goṣūpa 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. MŚ. GG. °*rātsam*) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. See §248.

dadato me mā kṣāyi (GB. Vait. *me mopadasaḥ*, MS. °*sat*) TS. MS. KS. GB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajann agniḥ*) *pūrvaḥ pūrvebhyaḥ pavamānaḥ pāvakaś śucir* (ApŚ. *śuciḥ pāvaka*) *īḍyaḥ* 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:

tantuṁ tanvan (KS. *tataṁ*) *rajaso bhānum anv ihi* RV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. HG.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N. *dhṛṣatā* 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 mediopassive value of *ātmanepada* forms, quite clear by themselves, is, as it were, glossed by corresponding passive forms. Thus, twice, the mediopassive *amukthāḥ* varies with *amoci;* or *bhakṣyamāṇaḥ* (*bhakṣamāṇaḥ*) with *bhaktaḥ*. 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 *vṛścantām* and *vṛścyantām*, the former of which may in reality be equal to *vṛścyantām;* cf. §§27, 28.

mā pṛṇan pūrtyā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS. *rādhi*) TS. MS. KS.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

Followed by:

druhaḥ pāśān nirṛtyai codamoci TB. ApMB.: *druhaḥ pāśād grāhyāś*

codamukthāḥ AV. Cf. Delbrück, op. cit. 266. Both here and in the prec. Ppp. has *amoci;* but see §329.

saṁ barhir aktaṁ (VS. ŚB. *añktāṁ*) *haviṣā ghṛtena* AV. VS. ŚB.: *sam añktāṁ ba° ha° ghṛ°* TB. ApŚ. See §144.

vājino vājajito vājaṁ...bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāḥ (KS. *bhāge nimṛjatām;* TS. *bhāge ni mṛḍḍhvam*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *vājinau vājajitau vājaṁ jitvā bṛhaspater bhāge nimṛjyethām* 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 vṛścyantām (AV. *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāḥ* RV. AV. See §28.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā prṇethām (MS. MŚ. *prṇa;* LŚ. *prīṇāthāṁ svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī pūryethām* VS. ŚB. The contrast between *prṇethām* and *pūryethām* brings this variant in here; cf. §85.

svāhā marudbhiḥ (MS. MŚ. *°bhyaḥ*) *pariśrayasva* (VS. ŚB. *°śrīyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. TA. KŚ.: *marudbhiḥ pariśrīyasva* ŚB. 'Hail, be encompassed (encompass thyself) with (for) the Maruts.'

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

Participles:

bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ (KS. ms. *bhakṣa°*) VS. KS. Cf. *bhakṣaḥ pītaḥ* VSK.: *bhakṣa āgataḥ* TS. See §27.

jajñānā (SV. *yā jātā*) *pūtadakṣasā* RV. SV.

nirṛtyai parivividānam (TB. *parivittam*); and, *ārtyai parivittam* (TB. *parivividānam*) VS. TB. Exchange between the two equivalent participles.

[*saṁjihānāya svāhā* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes *saṁjihitāya* 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. Imperatival forms in *si* 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 aditiḥ śarma yaṅsat 1. 107. 2; 4. 54. 6;

ādityair no aditiḥ śarma yachatu 10. 66. 3;

'Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection.' *yaṅsat* is aorist subjunctive, *yachatu* present imperative; cf. 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 *yaṅs* in general. The motive of the variation is metrical. The first verse is *triṣṭubh*, the second *jagatī*. 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 *kṛdhi*, aorist imperative, and *kaḥ*, aorist injunctive in the two RV. pādas:

asmabhyam indra varivaḥ sugaṁ kṛdhi 1. 102. 4,

asmabhyaṁ mahi varivaḥ sugaṁ kaḥ 6. 44. 18.

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

vācaspatir vācaṁ naḥ svadatu 15. 11,

vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti naḥ 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 vasū kṛdhi RV. 7. 32. 25,

suvedā no vasū karat RV. 6. 48. 15.

'Make (let him make) wealth easy for us to get.' *kṛdhi* is aor. impv., *karat* aor. subj.; there is no reason why the poet of 7. 32. 25 should not have used *karaḥ* 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. *kṛṇotu* 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:

jeṣaḥ svarvatīr apaḥ 1. 10. 8c,

jeṣat svarvatīr apaḥ 8. 40. 10,

ajaiḥ svarvatīr apaḥ 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,

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

jyok pitṛṣv āsātai,

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 dissimilation, 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 kṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ RV. 3. 6. 6; 7. 17. 3;
svadhvarā karati jātavedāḥ 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. *kṛṇuhi* 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. *paśyet* in 4. 25. 4.

§97. In AV. 6. 122. 5, 11. 1. 27 *indro marutvān sa ṭadātu tan me* (11. 1. 27 *dadād idaṁ me*), 'Indra with the Maruts, may he give that to me!', a slight and apparently unnecessary change between *tad* and *idaṁ* 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 tubhyaṁ vibhāvari,* '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 dadātv, ahas tubhyaṁ vibhāvari.* 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 rūpāṇi puṣyata*, 'prosper ye in all forms', is adapted to the cosmogonic Rohita in 13. 2. 10 *viśvā rūpāṇi puṣyasi*, 'thou prosperest in all forms.' The Ppp. in the latter passage has *prajāḥ 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 śaradaḥ śatam*, appearing secondarily with change of person in 10. 85. 39 as *jīvāti* 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 *jīvāti* 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 śiśāmi dāśuṣe, yan mā somāsa ukthino amandiṣuḥ 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; Delbrück, *AISyntax* §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 avṛkaṁ pṛthu chardiḥ 1. 48. 15,

prāsmai yachatam avṛkaṁ pṛthu chardiḥ 8. 9. 1,

'Do thou furnish us (do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies.' (Cf. further RV. 8. 27. 4, *yantā no avṛkaṁ chardiḥ*, 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 *kṛdhi* and *kuru* in ŚŚ. *tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi* 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.: *durmitrās tasmai santu* (38. 5 *bhūyāsur*) *yo 'smān dveṣṭi* 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. *jīvāti*, impv. *jīva*, mixed impv.-subj. *jīvātu*, opt. *jīvema*, subj. (or impv.) 1st pers. *jīvāni* and *jīvāva*; and, finally, present indic. *jīvāmi.* Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance; see e.g. *jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam.* And compare with these the closely related *triṣṭubh* pāda, *śataṁ jīvantu* (*jīvantaḥ, jīvema, jīvāmi, ca jīva*) *śaradaḥ purūcīḥ* (*suvarcāḥ*), '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 māmutaḥ (ApŚ. *mā pateḥ*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *preto muñcāmi* (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG. *muñcātu*; PG.† *muñcatu;* ApMB. *muñcāti*) *nāmutaḥ* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *māmutaḥ*, PG. *mā pateḥ*) 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 patyuḥ*). See §312.

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānaḥ (TA.† *°mahaṁ bibharat pinvamāne*) AV. TA.: *svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ. 'It supports (shall support) our great-grandfathers, swelling' or the like.

sā naḥ payasvatī duhām (TS. PG. *dhukṣva;* MS. SMB. *duhā*, followed by vowel, but SMB. once, 2. 2. 1c, *duhām* acc. to Jörgensen, and so v. l. 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 saṁ caranti (AŚ. *tarantu*) TA. AŚ.: *yajñāyur anu saṁ carān* TB. ApŚ. 'Let them (they do) follow along the life of the sacrifice!'

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

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

teṣv (ŚG. *anyeṣv*, read *yeṣv* with Oldenberg, *ISt.* 15. 73, note) *ahaṁ sumanāḥ saṁ viśāmi* (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 bhrājiṣṭha bhrājiṣṭhas (with variants) *tvaṁ* (MS. adds *varcasvān*) *deveṣv asi* (MS. *edhi*, TS. *deveṣu bhūyāḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'O brilliant sun, thou art (be thou) brilliant among the gods.'

ariṣṭāṁ tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB.: *ariṣṭāṁ mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ. MŚ. MG.: *ariṣṭāhaṁ saha patyā bhūyāsaṁ* 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 idaṁ karomi (ŚG. *kariṣyāmi*) *bhūyasīnām uttarāṁ* (ŚG. *°māṁ*) *samāṁ kriyāsam* MS. MŚ. ŚG.: *yāvatīnāṁ-yāvatīnāṁ va aiṣamo lakṣaṇam akāriṣaṁ bhūyasīnāṁ-bhūyasīnāṁ va uttarām-uttarāṁ samāṁ kriyāsam* SMB.†

(f) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Imperative:

vācaspatiḥ somam apāt MS. TA. ŚŚ.:...*pibatu* TA. ŚŚ.:...*pibati* TA. All in same context. 'The lord of speech has drunk (drinks, shall drink) the soma.'

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

kṛṇomi, KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni 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*) *varuṇasya pāśān mucye* (KS. *mukṣīya*, MS. *pāśād amukṣi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I am (have been; may I be) released from Varuṇa's fetter.'

(h) Present Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Subjunctive:

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

varuṇeṭi śapāmahe (MS.† °*hai;* AV. *yad ūcima*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

kāmaṁ (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, 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 viviśre (AV. *'viśanta*, JB. *viviśyuḥ*) 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 amṛtaṁ na āgan (PG. *āgāt*) TB. TAA. ApŚ. PG. HG.: *paraitu mṛtyur amṛtaṁ na aitu* (ŚŚ. SMB. *amṛtaṁ ma 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, aghastāṁ 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:

subhūtakṛtaḥ subhūtaṁ naḥ kṛṇuta ŚŚ.: *suhutakṛtaḥ stha suhutaṁ karişyatha* (and, *akārṣṭa*) AŚ.

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

madhu tvā (AV. *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV. *karaḥ*, RV. *cakāra*, MS. *kṛṇotu*) 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 vājaṁ svadatu VSK.: *vācaspatir vācaṁ* (VS. ŚB.† also *vājaṁ*) *naḥ svadatu* (TS. KS.* *vācam adya svadāti naḥ*, TB... *svadāti te* [but Poona ed. *naḥ*], MS...*svadātu naḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. TB. SMB. 'May the Lord of Speech sweeten our (thy) speech (food).'

svadantu havyaṁ madhunā ghṛtena RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.: *svadāti* (MS. °*tu*) *havyaṁ* (VS. KS. *yajñaṁ*) *madhunā ghṛtena* VS. MS. KS. TB.

agniṣ ṭān (AŚ. *ṭāl*, for *ṭāṅl*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (AŚ. *ṇudātv*, SMB. *ṇudatv*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agniṣ* (ApŚ. *agne*) *ṭān 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 †*deva pṛtanā abhiṣya* TB. ApŚ. HG.: *viśvāś ca deva* (PG. *devaḥ*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ* (PG.† °*ṣyak*) KS. PG. 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts.' On *abhiṣyak* see §337, end.

maṇḍūkyā su saṁ gamaḥ (Conc. *gama*, by error; TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu śaṁ bhuvaḥ* AV.

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

mahyam id vaśam ā nayāt ApMB.: *mahyaṁ punar udājatu* HG.: *mahyaṁ muktvāthānyam ānayet* PG.

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

etaṁ jānātha (KS. *jānīta*, TB. *jānītāt*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *jānīta smainaṁ* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enaṁ*) *parame vyoman* AV. TS. MŚ. 'Acknowledge him in the highest heaven.' Cf. *taṁ sma jānīta* (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:

chandonāmānāṁ (with variants) *sāmrājyaṁ 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 naḥ sukṛto (VSK. *mā sukṛtaṁ*) *brūtāt* (KS. *brūta;* PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *devebhyo mā sukṛtaṁ brūtāt* (ŚB. with ūha, *vocaḥ*) VS. ŚB.: *sukṛtaṁ 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 prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ VS. 'Wealth of this en-

joyed sacrifice, come here to us!': *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya draviṇehāgamyāt* MS. (see §332): *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* (KS. *draviṇehāgamyāḥ;* ApŚ. *draviṇehāgameḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya draviṇaṁ māgachatu* KS. (so read in both 5.4 and 32.4, with ms. at 32.4; v. Schroeder wrongly emends to *draviṇam āga°*).

pari ṇo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāḥ (VSK. *°yāt*) RV. VSK.: *pari ṇo rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* TS. KS.: *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* VS. MS. 'May Rudra's missile avoid us.' Cf. *pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* AV. KS., and *pari vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāḥ* (TB. *vṛñjyāt*) 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. *aśīya*, TA. *ayāṇi*, ŚB. *ihi*) AV. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. Cf. *sa° ā° asi* TB. ApŚ.

(w) Imperative, Precative, and Past Passive Participle:

apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai (also, *°vyā adevayajanaḥ*, and, *°vyai devayajanyai*) TS. ApŚ.: *apārarum adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā devayajanā* (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ.: *apāraruṁ pṛthivyai 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*) *vāṁ jihvā ghṛtam ā caraṇyat* MS. KS. KB. ŚŚ.: *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caraṇyat* (TS. *°yet*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *prati vāṁ jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV. TS.† also, *ā*) *caraṇyat* (AV. *°yāt*, TS. *°yet*) AV. TS. MS. KS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May your tongue move up to meet the ghee', or the like.

kṣetrasya patnī adhi no bruvāthaḥ (TS. *brūyātam*, KS. *adhi vocataṁ naḥ*) TS. MS. KS. 'Ye two mistresses of the field, bless us!' On the meaning of *adhi-vac* and *adhi-brū*, see Gehman, *JAOS.* 36. 213 ff.

yad adya hotṛvarye (ŚŚ. *°vūrye*), *jihmaṁ cakṣuḥ parāpatat* (ŚŚ. *°tāt*), *agniṣ ṭat punar ābharāt* (ApŚ.† *°rat*, ŚB. *ābhriyāt*) 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:

cāruṁ adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam ApŚ.: *madhumatīṁ* (ŚŚ. *°tīm adya*) *devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ŚŚ. *vācaṁ vadiṣyāmi*) TS. TA. ŚŚ.: *madhumatīṁ vācam udeyam* AV.: *indriyāvatīm adyāhaṁ 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 *yaṅs-*

ādityair no aditiḥ śarma yaṅsat (and, *yachatu*) RV. (both).

mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditiḥ śarma yaṅsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

uruvyacā no mahiṣaḥ śarma yaṅsat (AV. *yachatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

sa (AV. *sā*) *naḥ śarma trivarūtham vi yaṅsat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS. KṢ. 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:

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

saṁmiślo aruṣo bhava (SV. *bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

saṁpriyaḥ paśubhir bhava (TS. ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *saṁpriyaṁ prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA.

tvaṁ bhavādhipatir (AV. *bhūr abhibhūtir*) *janānām* AV. MS. KS.

śam astu tanve mama AV.: *śam v astu tanvai tava* VS.: *śam u te tanve* (TS. *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS. KSA.

[*svāveśo anamīvā bhavā naḥ;* 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. *kṛṇotu* (§154), aor. subj. *karaḥ:* pres. impv. *kṛṇotu* (and perf. ind. *cakāra*, §104, o), aor. impv. *kṛdhi* and aor. subj. *karat:* pres. impv. *kṛṇu* (§154). From *dā* 'give' and *dhā* 'place', aor. inj. *dāḥ* and *dhāḥ:* pres. impv. *dehi* and *dhehi*, and *dhāḥ: dadhātu* (§158); also *dhatta, datta: dāta*, and *dattām: dātām*, and *dhatta: dhāntu* (§198). From *ji* '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: nešat* (§158). From *vid* 'obtain', *vindatu: vidat* (*ibidem*) and *vidanta: vindantu* (§159). From *sthā* 'stand,' *tiṣṭha: sthāt* (§158). From *kram* 'stride', *krāma: krāmīḥ* (§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.): *amandiṣuḥ* (aor. ind. §145, a); from *van* 'win,' *vanute, vaṅsate*, and *vanate* (§117); from *man* 'think', *manve: manai* (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:

aditsantaṁ 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':

aditsantaṁ (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 devaḥ*, 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; Delbrück, *AISynt.* 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:

kṣatrāṇāṁ kṣatrapatir asi (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.

syonā 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.

[*pṛṣṭhena dyāvāpṛthivī* (MS. adds *āpṛṇa*)] *antarikṣaṁ ca vi bādhase* (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. Addrest to one of the altar-bricks.

ā rohatho (TS. VS. ŚB. *rohataṁ*) *varuṇa mitra gartam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

(*jātavedasam*) *adhvarāṇāṁ janayathaḥ* (KS. MŚ. °*yataṁ*) *purogām* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. To the fire-sticks: 'Ye beget (beget ye) (Agni) as leading-steer of sacrifices.'

abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti (and, °*tu*) RV. (both). See §94.

somo vīraṁ karmaṇyaṁ dadāti (TB. °*tu*) RV. VS. MS. TB.

viśvaṁ hi (KS. *ha*) *ripraṁ pravahanti* (MS. °*tu*) *devīḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. Cf. *viśvam asmat pra vahantu ripram* TS.

dhanuḥ śatror apakāmaṁ kṛṇoti (MS. °*tu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. 'The bow brings (shall bring) sorrow to the enemy.'

ā devo yātu (MS. MG. *yāti*) *savitā suratnaḥ* RV. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB. TB. MG. AŚ. ŚŚ.

edhante asyā jñātayaḥ RV. AV. ApMB.: *edhantāṁ jñātayo mama* SMB. PG. HG. MG. Both in wedding rites: '(let) her (my) relations thrive.'

viśvā rūpāṇi puṣyata (and, *puṣyasi*) AV. (both). See §97.

ekā satī bahudhoṣo vy uchasi (MS. KS. *ucha*) TS. MS. KS. PG. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh; uchasi* is thus inconsistent metrically. 'Tho single, O Uṣas, shine (thou shinest) forth in many places.'

bhūte haviṣmaty asi (AV. °*matī bhava*) AV. TS. TB.

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) *'si* (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS. MŚ.

agnaye tvā mahyaṁ varuṇo dadātu (MS. °*ti*) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.—The same with *bṛhaspataye, yamāya, rudrāya.*

tasmin devā amṛtā mādayantām (RV. °*te*) RV. AV. TA.

tiṣṭhantu hatavarcasaḥ AV. 'let them stop still, their glory shattered'; *tiṣṭhanti hatavartmanaḥ* N. 'they stand still, their way blocked.'

tveṣas te dhūma ṛṇvati (AV. *ūrṇotu*) RV. AV. SV. LŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

prāṇo yajñena kalpatām (MS. MŚ. °*te*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. —The same with *āyur, cakṣur, pṛṣṭhaṁ, brahmā, mano, yajño, vāg, śrotraṁ,* and *svar.*

ava bādhe pṛtanyataḥ (ApŚ. °*tā*) MS. ApŚ.: *avabādhasva pṛtanāyataḥ* PG.

indreṇa yujā pra mṛṇīta (TB. *sayujā praṇītha*, read with Poona ed. *pramṛṇītha*) *śatrūn* AV. TB. Comm. of TB. *nirākuruta* (impv.).

gharmasyaikā savitaikāṁ ni yachati (MS. KS. °*te*, PG. °*tu*) TS. MS. KS. PG.

pīvasvatīr jīvadhanyāḥ pibantu (KSA. °*ti*) RV. TS. KSA.

pra stomā yanty (SV. *yantv*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān (AV. *caratu payasvān*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

pratīkṣante (ApMB. °*tāṁ*) *śvaśuro devaraś* (ApMB.† *śvaśruvo devarāś*) *ca* AV. ApMB.

prati svasaram upa yāti (AV. *yātu*) *pītaye* RV. AV.

prajānantaḥ prati gṛhṇantu (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*ti*) *pūrve* AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yajñaṁ hinvanty adribhiḥ RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayaḥ* SV.

pūrṇāṁ vivaṣṭy (SV. °*ṭv*) *āsicam* RV.† 7. 16. 11b. SV. MS.

pumāṅsaṁ jātam abhi saṁ rabhantām (RV. °*te*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

punāti te parisrutam RV. VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *punātu* etc. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

brahma tena punīhi naḥ (LŚ. *mā;* VS. KS. *punātu mā;* MS. TB. *punīmahe*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *idaṁ brahma punīmahe* TB.

agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ (TB. *mā;* MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB.

ā pyāyayantu (N. °*ti*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. N.

sa vaḥ sarvāḥ saṁ carati prajānan AV.: *sarvaḥ sarvā vi caratu pra*° MS.

śvaḥsutyām (MŚ. *sadyaḥsutyām*) *indrāgnibhyāṁ...prabravīmi* (ApŚ. also, *prabrūtāt*) ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. KŚ.: *śvaḥsutyāṁ vā eṣāṁ... prabravīmi* AŚ. It seems that *prabrūtāt* is used as 1st person; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §571b, quoting *jāgṛtāt* AV. 4. 5. 7 as the 'only case' of *tāt* as 1st person.

ahāny asmai sudinā bhavanti (TB. °*tu*) RV. TB.

iṣaṁ madantaḥ pari gāṁ nayadhvam (AV. *nayāmaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. 'Reveling in foods, lead (we lead) the cow about.'

asti hi ṣmā (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'For here, O strong (Indra), is (shall be) thy conciliation.' On *avayāḥ* see Neisser, *Z. Wbch. d. RV.*, s. v.

api pūṣā ni ṣīdatu (AV. ŚŚ.* °*ti*) AV. ŚŚ. (bis) LŚ. SMB. HG.: *iha pūṣā ni ṣīdatu* PG.: *rāyas poṣo ni*° ApŚ. ApMB.: *vīras trātā ni*° AB.

apaḥ samudrād divam ud vahanti (Kauś. °*tu*) AV. Kauś.

indra tvad yantu (AŚ. ŚŚ. *yanti*) *rātayaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

abhi (AV. TB. *upa*) *pra yantu* (TB. AVPpp. *yanti*) *naro agnirūpāḥ* RV. AV. AVPpp. TB. N.

indrāpūṣṇoḥ priyam apy eti (MS. KSA. *etu*) *pāthaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚŚ.

iyaṁ (AB. adds *vai*) *pitryā* (AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *pitre*) *rāṣṭry etv* (AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *ety*) *agre* AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.—AVPpp. agree with AŚ. ŚŚ.

gharmaṁ śrīṇantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śrīṇanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

utāditsantaṁ dāpayatu prajānan AV.: *aditsantaṁ dāpayati* (TS. MS. °*tu*) *prajānan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ūrjo bhāgaṁ pṛthivyā yāty (KS. *pṛthivīm ety;* ApŚ. °*vīm etv*) *āpṛṇan* MS. KS. ApŚ.

etāṁ sthūṇāṁ pitaro dhārayantu (AV. °*ti*) *te* RV. AV. TA.

vṛṣāṇaṁ yantu (MS. *yanti*) *janayaḥ supatnīḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

indraujaskāraujasvāṅs tvaṁ sahasvān deveṣv edhi MS.: *indraujasvinn ojasvī* (VS. ŚB. *indraujiṣṭhaujiṣṭhas;* VSK. *indraujasvann ojasvāṅs;* AŚ. *indra ṣoḍaśinn ojasvino;* Vait. [read] *indra ṣoḍaśinn ojasvāṅs*) *tvaṁ deveṣv asi* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. AŚ. Vait.

tiro (RV. VS. ŚB. AG. *antar*) *mṛtyuṁ dadhatāṁ* (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 mimīṣva payasvatīṁ ghṛtācīm AV.: *vi mime tvā payasvatīṁ devānām* TB. Ap Ś.

śṛṇvantu (TS. ŚvetU. °*ti*) *viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ* (AV. *amṛtāsa etat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

śṛṇvanty (PB. °*tv*) *āpo adha* (PB. *'dhaḥ*) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. PB.

śṛta utsnāti (M Ś. °*tu*) *janitā matīnām* TB. Ap Ś. MŚ.

sa no devaḥ śubhayā smṛtyā saṁyunaktu (MahānU. °*ti*) TA. MahānU.

vi (MS. KS. *pra*) *parjanyaḥ* (RV. °*yaṁ*, TS. °*yāḥ*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS. *sṛjatāṁ*) *rodasī anu* RV. TS. MS. KS.

sam aśvaparṇāś caranti (MS. °*tu;* AV. °*parṇāḥ patantu*) *no naraḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

sa yajñiyo yajatu (AV. °*ti*) *yajñiyāṁ ṛtūn* RV. AV.

saṁ no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām KS.: *teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti* RV. VS. TS. MS. N. In the same verse.

sa virājaṁ (KS. °*jā*) *pary eti* (MS. *etu;* KS. *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS. MS. KS. Cf. *sanemi rājā pari yāti vidvān* VS. ŚB.

sa smā kṛṇoti (Ap Ś. °*tu*) *ketum ā* RV. Ap Ś.

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ.† *adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ. *emi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *sinantu sarve anṛtaṁ vadantam* AV.

pāvamānasya tvā stomena . . . vīryeṇa sṛje MS.: *pāvamānena tvā stomena . . . vīryeṇa devas tvā savitot sṛjatu . . .* (KS. *vīryeṇoddharāmy asau*) TS. KS.

ketumad dundubhir vāvadīti (AV. °*tu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AŚ. *harito vahantu*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu* KS.

ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante (AV. °*tām*) RV. AV. VS. KS. ApŚ.

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG.: *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG.: *āpo haviḥṣu jāgṛta* ApŚ.: *āpo jāgṛta* MS. KS. MŚ.

yamo dadāty (VS. ŚB. TA. and v. l. of AV., see Whitney on 18. 1. 55, °*tv*) *avasānam asmai* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.: cf. *adād idaṁ yamo* (VS. KS. ŚB. *adād yamo*) *'vasānaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 311.

tato dadāti (TB. and v. l. of MS. °*tu*) *dāśuṣe vasūni* 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 yajatv (ApŚ. °*ty*) *agnir arhan* RV. ApŚ.

dhanvanā yanti (MS. KS. *yantu*) *vṛṣṭayaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.

devo devānāṁ pavitram asi TS. MS. KS.: *devo devebhyaḥ pavasva* VS. ŚB.

dhruve sadasi sīdati (SV. °*tu*) RV. SV.

tasmā indrāya 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 anaktu (AV. KS. °*ti;* TS. *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

pātreva bhindan sata eti (AV. *etu*, v. l. *eti*) *rakṣasaḥ* RV. AV. N.

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

pibanti (SV. °*tu*) *varuṇaḥ kave* RV. SV.

madhvā yajñaṁ mimikṣatam (and, °*ti*) RV. (both).

mayobhūr vāto abhi vātūsrāḥ (KSA. *vāty usrāḥ*) RV. TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. AG.

mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatāṁ (KS. °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmai*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

mitro nayatu (SV. °*ti*) *vidvān* RV. SV. AB. GB.

yajño devānāṁ praty eti (MS. *etu*) *sumnam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yujo yujyante (MS. *yuñjantu*) *karmabhiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

āpura stā mā...pūrayata ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata...* TS. AŚ.: *āpṛṇo 'si saṁpṛṇaḥ* (ApŚ. corruptly, *āpṛṇoṣi saṁpṛṇa*) *prajayā mā paśubhir ā pṛṇa* ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thou art (ye are; be ye) filler(s), fill me up' etc.

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

yamaṁ ha yajño gachati (TA. °*tu*) RV. AV. TA.

reto dadhātv (RV. °*ty*) *oṣadhīṣu garbham* RV. TB. ApŚ.

stṛṇanti (RV.* *stṛṇīta*) *barhir ānuṣak* RV. (both). SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. N.

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti;* TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

sed agnir agnīṁr aty astv (TB. *ety*) *anyān* RV. AB. TB. AŚ.

anv enaṁ viprā ṛṣayo madanti (KSA. °*tu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

adha sma (MS. *smā*) *te vrajanaṁ kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu;* KS. *vrajanam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

adha pra †*sū na upa yantu* (SV. *pra nūnam upa yanti*) *dhītayaḥ* RV. SV.

ajīrṇā tvaṁ jarayasi (MS. KS. *jaraya*) *sarvam anyat* TS. MS. KS. PG. *jarayasi* is hypermetric: 'unaging, thou makest (make thou) age every other thing.' To Uṣas.

agniṣ ṭad viśvam (AV. mss. *viśvād*, so read with SPP. and Whitney Transl.) *āpṛṇāti* (AV. °*tu*) *vidvān* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

te arṣantu te varṣantu L Ś.: *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV.

parameṇa paśunā krīyase (MS. *krīyasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. *tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyāś carameṇa paśunā krīṇāmi* TS.

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro (KS. MŚ. °*ya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °*dhvaro 'si*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

aśvinā bhiṣajāvataḥ (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 ruhaḥ* MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. *tiṣṭhanti svāruho yathā* TS.

somā arṣanti (SV. °*tu*) *viṣṇave* RV. SV. Cf. *somo arṣati vi*° RV.

athāsyai madhyam ejatu (ŚŚ. °*ti*) 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 ihi taskarasya (KS. °*tyāṁ taskarasyānv ihi;* TS. °*tyāṁ taskarasyānv eṣi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

snuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text, °*nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. *śvaśuro 'ham asmi*) TB. AŚ. Comm. on TB., *yajamānasya sapatnāḥ śatravaḥ snuṣāvat svādhīnāḥ santu, ayaṁ tu yajamānaḥ śvaśuro 'stu śvaśuravat svāmī bhavatu*(!).

tayā mā saṁ sṛjāmasi HG. ApMB.: *tayā mām indra saṁ 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. *tvayā*) *prattaṁ svadhayā madaṇtu* (ApMB. °*ti*, v. l. °*tu*) ApMB. HG.

apa śatrūn vidhyatāṁ (MS. *vidhyataḥ*) *saṁvidāne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N.

traya enāṁ mahimānaḥ sacante (ŚG. °*tām*) TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB.

triśug (AŚ. *triśrud*) *gharmo vi bhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ.: *tisṛbhir gharmo 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 diva eti* AV. And others, see Conc.

anulbaṇaṁ vayata (KS. *vayasi*) *joguvām apaḥ* RV. TS. KS. AB. ApŚ.

evaṁ garbhaṁ dadhāmi (ApMB. *dadhātu*) *te* ŚB. BṛhU. ŚG. ApMB. HG. And others; §302.

mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV.: *mihaṁ na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.

āsthāpayata mātaraṁ jigatnum AV.: *ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū* RV.

rayiṁ dhattaṁ (and, *dhattha, dhattho*) *vasumantaṁ purukṣum* (once, *śatagvinam*). RV. (quater). The ind. forms occur in relative clauses, but the impv. *dhattaṁ* twice in principal clauses. See *RVRep.* 149.

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

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

ihaiva rātayaḥ santu (MS. *santi saṁ yajurbhiḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ.

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

iṣa ūrje pavate (MS. *pipīhi*) VS. MS. ŚB. And others. See also, in Conc., *adbhyaḥ, oṣadhībhyaḥ, vanaspatibhyaḥ, brahmavarcasāya, dyāvāpṛthivībhyāṁ, asmai kṣatrāya, asmai brahmaṇe, asyai viśe, mahyaṁ jyaiṣṭhyāya*, etc., *pavate*, and correspondents. [But I question any relation here. F.E.]

aśītiḥ santv (AV. *santy*) *aṣṭau* RVKh. AV. ŚŚ.

dakṣiṇato vṛṣabha eṣi havyaḥ (TS. *edhi havyaḥ*, MS. KS. *vṛṣabho havya edhi*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

pari ṇaḥ pāhi (*pātu; pari mā pāhi*) *viśvataḥ* AV. (all): *pari tvā pāmi sarvataḥ* RVKh.

parīdaṁ vājy ajinaṁ (PG. °*daṁ vājinaṁ*) *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 sarpataḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS.

anirām apa sedhati (AG. *bādhatām*) AV. ŚŚ. AG.

jaghanāṅ upa jighnate (MS. °*tu*, p. p. °*ti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

adhaspadaṁ kṛṇutāṁ (AV.* *kṛṇuṣva*, TS. *kṛṇute*) *ye pṛtanyavaḥ* AV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devasya yanty ūtayo (KS. *yantūtayo*) *vi vājāḥ* RV. KS.

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'sivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. *aśivāḥ*, and *asan durevāḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) TA.

ā tvā śiśur ā krandatu PG.: *enāṁ śiśuḥ krandaty ā kumāraḥ* ŚG.

pātaṁ (TS. *vītaṁ*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma* TS. ŚŚ.: *pātho ghṛtasya guhyasya* (MS. KS. *guhyāni*) *nāma* AV. MS. KS.

tataś (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. *cakṣāthe*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*) *aditiṁ ditiṁ ca* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sā (KS. *yā*) *no dadātu* (KS. °*ti*) *śravaṇaṁ pitṝṇām* (TS. *pitṛṇām*) 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.

ayaṁ (AŚ. **ahaṁ*) *śatrūn* (*śatrūñ*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ* (AŚ.† **jarhiṣāṇaḥ*!); followed in all texts by:

ayaṁ (AŚ. **ahaṁ*) *vājaṁ* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *vājasātau* 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 viyanti (MŚ. °*tu*; KS. MŚ. add *panthānaḥ*) TS. KS. SMB. MŚ. PG. BDh.

tāḥ saṁ dadhāmi (KS. *dadhātu*, AŚ. KŚ. *tanomi*) *haviṣā* (MS. *manasā*) *ghṛtena* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. AŚ. KŚ.

dīrghāyutvāya jaradaṣṭir asmi (MG. *astu*) PG. MG. On MG. see §323.

[*susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ.: *suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. by R-Wh's emendation; but the mss. agree as to the verb forms with ŚŚ.]

[*yato bhayam abhayaṁ tan no astu* (AV. ed. *asti*, by misprint; see Lanman ap. Whitney on 19. 3. 4) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.]

[*vahiṣṭhebhir* (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.: *grāmaṁ sajānayo gachanti* ApMB.† (Conc. 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. *vaṅsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. 'Agni wins (shall win) wealth for us.' Here *vanute* is pres. ind., *vaṅsate* 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 jayātai* (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). 'Moreover the superior gamester shall win (wins) the stake.' *jayati* is metrically inferior.

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

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

adhirājo rājasu rājayātai (TS. °*ti;* MS. °*yate*) AV. TS. MS.

sa no jīveṣv ā yame AV.: *sa no deveṣv 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*, aor. 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. *rādhāṅsi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV. SV.

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

yāḥ paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāḥ sūryo agre śukro agre tāḥ prahiṇomi (ApŚ. °*hiṇvo*)...MS. ApŚ. *prahiṇvaḥ* is 2d sing. subj. with irregular (weak) stem; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §701, end.

saṁjānate manasā saṁ cikitre RV.: *saṁ jānāmahai manasā saṁ cikitvā* 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.

tayānantaṁ (MŚ. *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ. *lokam*) *ahaṁ 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 antaraṁ kṛṇve (KŚ. *karave* = °*vai*) AV. KŚ. 'I make (let me make) the charm my inner (defense).' See §26.

(*tenāham asya brahmaṇā*) *ni vartayāmi* (TB. °*ni;* but comm. and Poona ed. text °*mi*) *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 indic.

jagatyainaṁ (AŚ. erroneously, °*tyenaṁ*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmaḥ* (MS. KS. °*mi;* AŚ. °*ni*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'With the *jagatī* (meter) we (I; may I) settle him among the clans.'

idam ahaṁ māṁ kalyāṇyai kīrtyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtatvāya (ApŚ. *lokāya*) *dakṣināṁ nayāni* (ApŚ. °*mi;* MŚ. *dadāmi*) KB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *idam ahaṁ māṁ kalyāṇyai kīrtyai tejase yaśase 'mṛtatvāyātmānaṁ dakṣiṇām nayāni* AŚ.

jīvann eva prati tat te (MŚ. SMB. v. l. *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (MŚ. *dadāmi*, SMB. *dadāni*) TA. SMB. MŚ. But Jörgensen reads *dadāmi* in SMB.; his mss. vary.

taṁ tvendragraha prapadye (ApŚ.* *praviśāni*) *saguḥ*...KS. ApŚ. (bis): *taṁ tvā pra padye taṁ tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguḥ*...AV.

yad ahaṁ devayajanaṁ veda tasmiṁs tvā devayajana ā kṣiṇomi (ṢB. *tasmiṁs tvā vṛścāni*) ṢB. ApŚ. Acc. to Caland on ApŚ. 10. 2. 10, the HŚ. reads *āvṛścāmi*.

tau saha (VS. ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturaḥ padaḥ saṁ prasārayāvahai* (VS. ŚB. °*va*, MS. °*vaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. See comm. on TS. 7. 4. 19. 1 (note 9 in Weber).

sve loke viśā (MŚ. *viśa*) *iha* TS. MŚ. '(May) I enter into my own place here.' The TS. strangely accents the form *viśā*.

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS. °*tha*) *yaje* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. °*mahai;* MŚ. *visṛjāvahai*) 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.

nihāraṁ ni harāmi (VS. ŚB. °*ṇi*) *te* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

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

manai nu (MS. *manve nu*, TS. *mandāmi*) *babhrūṇām ahaṁ śataṁ dhāmāni 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.

somaṁ te krīṇāmy...TS. KS.: *somavikrayin somaṁ te krīṇāni*...MS.

etad (ŚŚ. *idaṁ*) *vāṁ tena prīṇāni* (ŚŚ. °*mi*, ApŚ. °*ti*, read °*ni*, Caland on 2. 20. 6, n. 2) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Conc. quotes *prīṇāti* 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 śuṣmāḥ RV. TS. 'your lightning (fires, O Agni) thunder forth as if from heaven'; *pra te divo na stanayanta śuṣmaiḥ* MS. 'may (your fires) thunder forth as if from heaven with lightning.'

pari ṣvajante (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 annādyāyādadhe* (KS. *annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS. KS.: *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS.: *annādaṁ tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ.: *agnim annādam annādyāyādadhe* 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:

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

taṁ (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*, RV. KS. *johavīmi*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agniṁ (AV. *ukthair*, MahānU. *ugraṁ*) *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.

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

prātarjitaṁ bhagam ugraṁ huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.

prātaḥ somam uta rudraṁ 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 madeṣv ā*) *grābhaṁ gṛbhṇāti* (RV. *gṛbhṇīta*) *sānasim* RV. SV. 'When exhilarated by this very (soma) Indra makes (shall make) a victorious (rich) haul.' *gṛbhṇīta* may also be regarded as injunctive or augmentless preterite.

so 'haṁ vājaṁ saneyam agne (KS.† *sanāmy agneḥ*) 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 viśvāṅgaiḥ saha saṁ 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*.

idaṁ pitṛbhyaḥ pra bharāmi (TA. *bharema*) *barhiḥ* AV. TA.

nābhiprāpnoti (MŚ. °*pnuyur*) *nirṛtiṁ parācaiḥ* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāt*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

nṛcakṣasaṁ tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ. *kśeṣam*) TS. MŚ.: *nṛcakṣasaṁ tvā nṛcakṣāḥ pratīkṣe* ŚŚ.

haviṣmantaḥ sadam it tvā havāmahe RV. VS. SMB. ŚvetU.: *haviṣmanto namasā 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 āyuṣā...samindhe (SMB. *samedhiṣīya*) SMB. PG. 'Thus (may) I become aflame (thrive) with life' etc. Cf. with active (causative) impv., *evaṁ mām āyuṣā...samedhaya* ApMB. HG. 'Thus make me thrive with life.' See §238.

yad agneḥ sendrasya...aham agne sarvavrato bhavāmi svāhā AG.: *yad brāhmaṇānāṁ...tenāhaṁ sarvavrato bhūyāsam* ApMB.

ny ahaṁ taṁ mṛdyāsaṁ yo 'smān dveṣṭi etc. MS.: *idam ahaṁ taṁ nimṛṇāmi yo 'smān dveṣṭi* etc. KS. 'I (would) crush (here) him that hates us.'

viśvā abhiṣṭīḥ pṛtanā jayati MS.: *viśvā hi bhūyāḥ pṛtanā abhiṣṭīḥ* TS.

asminn ahaṁ sahasraṁ puṣyāmi ApMB.: *asmin sahasraṁ puṣyāsam* (Kauś. *puṣyāsma*) ŚB. BṛhU. 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 Delbrück, *AISyntax* 317ff.), approaching frequently a future value. Imperatives are rare, and 2d person imperatives seem not to occur at all; cf. the shift between *mādayasva svarṇare* RV. 8. 103. 14, 'delight thyself in the house of Svarṇara', with *yad...mādayāse svarṇare*, RV. 8. 65. 2, 'when thou

delightest thyself in the house of Svarṇara'; see §95, note 11. Cf. further the variant *sā no dadātu...*, *yā no dadāti...*, §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. p.p. °*ti*) *devā ubhayāni havyā* (TB. Poona ed. absurdly, *havyāḥ*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. 'The gods who (shall) enjoy both sorts of oblations.'

[*yāni* (ApMB.* *tāni*) *bhadrāṇi bījāny* (HG. *yāni prabhūni vīryāṇy*)] *ṛṣabhā janayanti* (HG. ApMB.* °*tu*) *naḥ* (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 naḥ*. 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 marto maruto;* TS. *yo no marto vasavo*) *durhṛṇāyus*] *tiraś cittāni* (KS. ms. *cittā*, em. by v. Schroeder to *cittāni*) *vasavo jighāṅsati* (TS. *tiraḥ satyāni maruto jighāṅsāt*) 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 ahaṁ dhanena prapaṇaṅś carāmi ApMB.: *yad vo devāḥ prapaṇaṁ carāma* HG.: *yena dhanena prapaṇaṁ carāmi* AV.

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

taṁ dhūrva yaṁ vayaṁ dhūrvāmaḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhūrva taṁ yo 'smān dhūrvati* VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *yaṁ vayaṁ dhvarāma taṁ dhvara* (KS. *vayaṁ dhūrvāmas taṁ ca dhūrva*) MS. KS.: *dhvara dhvarantaṁ yo asmān dhvarāt* MS. 'Injure him whom we (may) injure', '...who (shall) injure us', or the like.

yaṁ dviṣmas taṁ sa ṛchatu RV.: *yaṁ dveṣāma tam ṛchatu* AV.

yena yamasya (AV. *yamasya yena*, TB. ApŚ. *yamasya*, om. *yena*) *nidhinā* (AV. TS. TB. ApŚ. *balinā*) *carāmi* (MS. MŚ. *carāvaḥ*,

SMB.† *carāṇi*) AV. TS. MS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.

devān yajñiyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS. *havāmahe*) TS. MS. KS.

avasyataṁ muñcataṁ yan no asti (AV. *asat*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

yas tad veda savituḥ (MahānU. *sa pituḥ*) *pitāsat* TA. MahānU.: *yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS. *pituḥ*) *pitāsat* AV. VS.: *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ pitāsat* 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 mitrāvaruṇāv...abhidāsati bhrātṛvya...idam ahaṁ tam adharaṁ pādayāmi TS.: *yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsāt sapatno bhrātṛvyaḥ...idam* etc. MS. 'The rival who contends (shall contend) against us...him do I here lay low.'

yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsād agniṁ sā ṛchatu MS.: *agniṁ sa ṛchatu yo maitasyai* (KS.† °*syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. ApŚ.: *agniṁ sadiśāṁ devaṁ...ṛchatu yo...'bhidāsati* TB. The same with *indraṁ, marutaḥ, mitrāvaruṇau,* and *somaṁ.*

yaṁ sarve 'nujīvāma TS.: *yaṁ bahavo 'nujīvān* MS.: *yaṁ bahava upajīvanti* AŚ.

[*yathāham asya vīrasya* (AV. *eṣāṁ vīrāṇāṁ*, cf. RV. 10. 174. 5c)] *virājāni janasya* (ApMB. *virājāmi dhanasya*) *ca* RV. AV. ApMB. 'That I (may) control this man (these men) and his (their) folk (wealth).'

rayiṁ yena vanāmahai (SV. °*he*) RV. SV. 'Thru whom we (may) obtain wealth.'

yena jayanti (TB. *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB. *jayāsai*) AV. TB. '(Indra) thru whom men conquer (thou mayst conquer), are (be) not conquered.'

yena bhūyaś caraty ayaṁ, jyok ca paśyati sūryaḥ, tena te vapāmy āyuṣe MG.: *yena bhūyaś carāty ayaṁ, jyok ca paśyāti sūryam, tenāsyāyuṣe 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 babhūvuḥ*) *sacāvahe* (MS. °*hai*, p.p. °*he*) *yad avṛkaṁ purā cit* RV. MS. But *sacāvahe* may possibly be also subj.; see § 253. Cf. Delbrück, *op. cit.* 278.

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

(*apāṁ napād āśuhemā kuvit sa*) *supeśasas karati* (KS. *karoti;* but v. l. *karati*) *joṣiṣad 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. Delbrück 316f., 545): *mā mā hāsīn* (MŚ. *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ. °*mi*) 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 hiṅsīd dhiṅsito 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: (*hiraṇyayī araṇī*) *yaṁ nirmanthato aśvinā* (ŚB. BṛhU. *yābhyāṁ nirmanthatām aśvinau devau*) RV. ŚB. BṛhU. ApMB. HG. MG. '(The foetus) which the Aśvins drill out with their golden drill', or 'the two golden drills with which the Aśvins shall drill out (the foetus)', etc.

yā rājānā (TS. °*naṁ*) *sarathaṁ yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* 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. *yaṁ dviṣmas* (*dveṣāma*) etc.; see §124.

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

§126. In one somewhat doubtful instance:

yatra devaiḥ sadhamādaṁ madanti (MS. TB. *madema*) AV. MS. TB. 'Where they revel (we may revel) in common revelry with the gods.' Cf. *athā* (TB. also *yathā*) *devaiḥ sadhamādaṁ 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 preterite 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 (Delbrück, *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 nakṣatrair anu tvāvīt KS. (aor. indic.), 'The moon with the constellations has helped thee along.' Another text, using the imperative, says:

candramā nakṣatrair 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 dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatir manyatām* (*amaṁsta*), 'the Lord of Consecration shall favor (has favored) my consecration.' Or MS. 1. 2. 14 and 4. 13. 8 *pṛthivīm upareṇa dṛṁha* and *pṛ° upareṇādṛṁhīt*, '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 saṁvidānā* 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).'

sam āpo adbhir agmata VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Waters have commingled with waters:' *sam āpā oṣadhībhir gachantām* MS. 'Let waters commingle with plants.'

syonām āsadaṁ suṣadām āsadam LŚ.: *syonām āsīda suṣadām āsīda* 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 tvākraṁsta (VS. ŚB. *tvā kramatām*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

śuciṁ te (SV. *ca*) *varṇam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV. *dhāraya*) RV. SV.

ud asau sūryo agāt RV. AV.: *ud asāv etu sūryaḥ* TB.

agnir janavin mahyaṁ jāyām imām adāt Kauś. 'Agni who obtains people hath given me this woman to wife': *agnir janitā sa me 'mūṁ jāyāṁ dadātu* ŚG. 'May Agni the begetter give me yonder woman to wife.' Similarly with *pūṣā jātivin*, and *somo vasuvin* (*janimān*).

ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūḥ (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. PrāṇāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kauś.: *annasyānnapatiḥ prādāt* PB.

akartām aśvinā lakṣma AV.: *kṛṇutaṁ lakṣmāśvinā* 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 gharmaṁ pātaṁ (MS. *pibatam*) . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.: (in the sequel) *apātām aśvinā gharmam* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *gharmam apātam aśvinā* MS. TA. ApŚ. Deliberate modulation with change of sense; as in prec. See §329.

dharmaṇā vāyum ā viśa (SV. *āruhaḥ*) RV. SV.

akaraṁ pūruṣu priyam RVKh.: *karotu pūruṣu priyam* HG.: *pūruṣu priyaṁ kuru* ApMB. 'I have made (let it make; make thou) [me] dear among the Pūrus.' See §302.

punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na (MS. TB. ApŚ. HG. *punar ākūtam*, TA. *punar ākūtaṁ ma*, MG. *punar ākūtir*) *āgāt* (VS. ŚB. *āgan*, AV.MG. *aitu*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. HG. MG.

mṛdho vy āsthad abhayaṁ no astu TB.: *vy āsthan mṛdho abhayaṁ te abhūt* AV.

janiṣṭa (TS. *janiṣvā*, MS. °*ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. 'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days.'

anu ma idaṁ vrataṁ vratapatir manyatām MS.: *anu me dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatir*

manyatām (KS. °*patayo manyadhvam;* ŚB.* °*patir amaṁsta*)... VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. (bis) Vait.

idaṁ varco (AŚ. *rādho*) *agninā dattam āgāt* (AV. *āgan*) AV. MS. TB. AŚ.: *ā mā varco 'gninā dattam etu* KS.

(*yaṁ kaṁ ca lokam agan yajñas*) *tato me bhadram abhūt* VS. ŚB.: (*yatra kva ca yajño 'gāt*) *tato mā draviṇam aṣṭu* ṢB.: *tato mā draviṇam aṣṭu* (AB. *āṣṭa*) VS. AB. ṢB. ŚŚ. See Conc. under *divaṁ tṛtīyaṁ*, *antarikṣaṁ tṛtīyaṁ*, and *pṛthivīṁ tṛtīyaṁ*, with their correspondents. '(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has come to me (thence let wealth reach me).'

indro vājam ajayit TS. TB.: *indra vājaṁ jaya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

annaṁ me purīṣya pāhi (and, *purīṣyājugupaḥ*) Kauś. (both): *annaṁ me* (*no*) *budhya* (*budhnya*) *pāhi tan me* (*no*) *gopāyāsmākaṁ punar āgamāt* MS. ApŚ.: *annaṁ me* (*no*) *budhyājugupas* (*budhnyā*°) *tan me* (*no*) *punar dehi* MS. ApŚ.

sapratha (MŚ. °*thaḥ*) *sabhāṁ me gopāya* (MŚ. *pāhi*, and *'jugupaḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (bis): *sabhya sabhāṁ me pāhi* AV.

sarvaṁ taṁ bhasmasā (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāṁs tān maṣmaṣā* (MS.† *mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS. KS.† TA.: *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV. 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like.

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS. °*gaḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *saṁsarpa* (KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. *svargāṅl lokān*) KS. ApŚ.

pṛthivīm upareṇa dṛṁha TS. MS.: *pṛ*° *upareṇādṛṁhīḥ* (MS. TB. KS.* °*hīt*) VS. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB.

varca ā dhehi me tanvam (KS. *dhāyi me tanūḥ*) AV. KS. 'Set luster in my body'; 'My body has been set in luster'.

mayi dhāyi (MS. *dhehi*) *suvīryam* MS. TB. TA.

payasvān (TS. TB. ApMB. °*vāṅ*) *agna āgamam* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.: *payasvān agna āgahi* RV.

taṁ (TS. KS. *taṁ vaḥ*) *suprītaṁ subhṛtam akarma* (KS. *abhārṣam*, VS. *bibhṛta*) VS. TS. KS. 'This (embryo) we (I) have made (maintained; maintain ye) pleasant and well-maintained (for you).'

abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (with variants) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB.: *bhavā kṛṣṭīnām* (AV. mss. *gṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG.

devas te savitā haṣtaṁ gṛhṇātu AV.: *savitā hastam agrahīt* (ŚG. *agrabhīt*) AV. ŚG. SMB.: *savitā te hastam agrabhīt* (AG. °*bhīd asau;* MG. *agrahīt*) AG. ApMB. HG. MG.

sakhāyaḥ saptapadā abhūma TB. ApŚ.: *sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva* ApMB. (corruptly, °*dā babhūva*) HG.: *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. °*dā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. ApMB. SMB.

paśūn me (ApŚ.* *naḥ*) *śaṁsya pāhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *paśūn me* (ApŚ.* *naḥ*) *śaṁsyājugupaḥ* (ApŚ. °*jūg*°) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. And other formulas in the same passages.

§131. *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

jeṣaḥ (and, *jeṣat*, *ajaiḥ*) *svarvatīr apaḥ* RV. (all). 'Thou shalt win (he shall win; thou hast won) the waters rich in light.' See *RVRep.* 39.

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB. °*śīr*; MG. °*śam*) *aguḥ* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*; ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'With mugs of sour milk they have (shall) come', or the like.

ānyāvākṣīd (VS. *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāṇi* VS. TB. 'The other hath brought (shall bring) boons and treasure.'

vṛṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* 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 *māṁ*, TA. *vāṁ*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* (MS. adds *anu me*) *amaṁsātām* (TA. also *maṁs*°; MS. *'maṁsā*°, p.p. *amaṁsā*°) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. (bis) ŚŚ. LŚ. 'Heaven and earth have favored (shall favor) me.' In adjoining passages in TA.

pūṣā mādhāt (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 adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS. *'dhvare sthāḥ*, ApŚ. *adhvare 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 prataraṁ* (TS. °*rāṁ*) *na āyuḥ* 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 (*devasyāhaṁ*, VSK. *devasya vayaṁ*) *savituḥ 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 ārukṣaḥ (AVPpp. *āruham;* SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB.: *sūrya nāvam ārukṣaḥ* AV.: *imāṁ 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.'

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

abhūn mama (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG. '(Agni) the all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me'; *bhūyāsma te sumatau viśvavedaḥ* (so MS. intends, by its regular sandhi; text °*dā*, followed by vowel) MS. 'May we be in thy favor, O all-possessing (Agni).' Cf. the item *bhūyāsma te sumatau*...in Conc.

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (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 *aśyām.*

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyāṁśum* (ApŚ. °*śunā*) KS. ApŚ. But von Schroeder reads in KS. *grāvā vaded*, with v. l. *grāvāvādīd.*

§134. *Aorist Indicative and Future in principal clauses*

agniṁ 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.: *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye* MG.: *parīdaṁ vāso adhithāḥ* (HG. *adhidhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB. The forms *-dhāsyai* (*-dhāsye*) are uncertain; perhaps infinitives. See §177.

tvām eva pratyakṣaṁ brahma vadiṣyāmi (and, *brahmāvādiṣam*) TA. TU. (both in each).

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

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ. *alipsata*) AB. ŚŚ. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among śūdras.' *alipsata*, 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. *airayanta*) AV. KS. Kauś. 'To me the waters shall send (sent) what is sweet.'

pṛṣṭheṣv erayā (SV. *airayad*) *rayim* RV. SV.

praty auhatām (MS. *ūh*°) *aśvinā 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.

tvāṁ gāvo 'vṛṇata rājyāya TS. MS.: *tvāṁ viśo vṛṇatāṁ rājyāya* AV. 'Thee the cows (clans) chose (shall choose) for kingship.'

pāhi (TS. ApMB. *āvaḥ*) *kṣema uta yoge varaṁ naḥ* RV. TS. PG. ApMB. MG.

saṁ devi (KS. *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS. °*orvaśyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

vapāṁ te agnir iṣito arohat (TS. *iṣito 'va sarpatu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divaḥ* RV. SV. (both in both texts).

asmān rāya uta yajñāḥ (KS.† *yajñaḥ*) *sacantām* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *asmān rāyo maghavānaḥ sacantām* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS.

āsann ā (SV. PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātraṁ janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *janayanta* may be, less probably, injunctive.

dīkṣāpālāya vanataṁ (PB. °*pālebhyo 'vanataṁ*) *hi śakrā* TB. AŚ. But see §266.

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB. GG. *udakenaidhi*, ApMB. *vāyav udakenehi*, 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 corrupt, it is likely that it contains the particle *id*.

sarasvatyā (AV. °*tyām*) *adhi manāv* (AV. *maṇāv*, read *manāv;* KS. *mānā;* SMB. *vanāva*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS. *acakṛṣuḥ;* SMB. *carkṛdhi*) 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 Jörgensen, text and comm., reads *manāv*

acakṛṣuḥ 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 aśṛṇod abhidyavaḥ (AV. °*taḥ śṛṇavat sudānavaḥ*) AV. TB. 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones.'

jātaḥ pṛchad (SV. *pṛchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV. 'As soon as born he asked (shall ask) his mother.' Cf. *vi pṛchad iti mātaram* RV. See §9.

pibāt somam amadann (AV. *somaṁ mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayaḥ* (AV. *iṣṭe*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he drink the soma, the sacrifices have exhilarated him (may it exhilarate him at the sacrifice).'

ayann (TB. *āyann*) *arthāni kṛṇavann apāṁsi* RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. The parallel *kṛṇavan* is a guarantee of the secondariness of *āyann* (or is the preverb *ā* contained in it?).

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV. The latter is grossly corrupt.

yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāḥ (ArS. NṛpU. *māvat*) ArS. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. 'Who gives me, he verily shall help (? has helped) me.' The form *avāḥ* or *āvāḥ* is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption. TB. comm. *āvṛṇoti* (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*

apaḥ prerayaṁ (SV. *prairayat*, TB. *prairayan*) *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 *prerayaṁ* may be indicative.

§139. *Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

ni hotāraṁ viśvavidaṁ dadhidhve RV.: *ni hotāraṁ gṛhapatiṁ dadhidhvam* SV. 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar'; 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord.'

sa naḥ pito (!) *madhumāṁ ā viveśa* Kauś. (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us'; *sa naḥ pito madhumāṁ ā viśeha* KS. 'O food, enter us here, honeyed': *sa no mayobhūḥ pito āviśasva* (ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] *pitav āvi*°, AŚ. *pitav āviśeha*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG. See §69.

ireva dhanvan ni jajāsa te viṣam AV. 'Like fluid on a waste hath thy poison disappeared'; *sarve sākaṁ ni 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.

rudro vasubhir 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 cākḷpe AV.: *sa viśvaṁ prati cākḷpat* AŚ. ŚŚ. 'He hath shaped himself into (he shall shape) everything.'

vavakṣa (SV. °*kṣat*) *sadyo mahi dūtyaṁ caran* RV. SV. 'He (Agni) hath grown (shall grow) straightway, going upon his great mission.' But SV. may be regarded as augmentless pluperfect.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA. *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ. *dadharṣayā*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. 'He is not to be dared against; (his might) dares (shall dare).' *dadhṛṣate* is perfect subjunctive: *dadharṣayā* 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.

maṁhiṣṭho gīrbhir ā ca yajñiyo vavartat (SV. *vavarta*) RV. AV. SV. TB. '(Indra) most liberal, fit for sacrifice, (induced) by our songs, shall turn (has turned) hitherward.' Poona ed. of TB. *'vavartat*, as if pluperfect.

sa no nediṣṭhaṁ (TS. MS. °*ṣṭhā*, VS. ŚB. *viśvāni*) *havanāni joṣat* (TS. *joṣate;* MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *joṣat* and *joṣate* are both aor. subj.

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

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, and so ApMB. comm. explains; KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyaṁ*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB. ApŚ. Kauś. HG.: *ayā no yajñaṁ vahāsi* KŚ. 'Being nimble thou hast carried the oblation (carry the sacrifice).'

sarvam āyur vy ānaśe (MS. *aśnavai*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *viśvam āyur vy aśnavai* (AV. mss. *aśnavat*) AV. VS. KS. TB.: *dīrgham āyur vy aśnavai* PG. In AV. the vulgate reads *aśnavam;* 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*

karṇābhyāṁ bhūri vi śruvam (PG. *bhūri śuśruve*) 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 didhiṣeya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV. AV. SV. 'To the poet, verily, I should wish to share out wealth, O opener of wealth!' *didhiṣeya* 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. *gṛṇīṣe* of RV., treated by Whitney, *Roots*, as pres. ind. Both forms must in any case be 1st person.

parāvata (MS. °*tā*) *ā jaganthā* (AV. *jagamyāt*, TS. *jagāmā*) *parasyāḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *jagamyāt* is perfect opt.

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV. *ānaśa*) 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, addrest to the Aṅgirases.

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:

yunajmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa (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, optatival, 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:

saṁ barhir aktaṁ (VS. ŚB. *añktāṁ;* TB. ApŚ. *sam añktāṁ barhir*) *haviṣā ghṛtena* 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:

saṁ devair viśvadevebhir aktam AV.: *sam indreṇa viśvebhir devebhir* (VS. ŚB. *indro viśvadevebhir*) *añktām* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG. *cendhi*) AG. HG. 'By this (firewood) burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle!).'

ghṛtena sītā 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.* *samṛdhyatāṁ;* VS.* TS.* TA.* *'rādhi;* Kauś.* *samṛddham,* and *rāddham*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. All texts have *rādhyatām,* besides the variants as quoted. 'May this succeed (this has succeeded) for me.'

tān sma mānuvaṣaṭkṛthāḥ AŚ.: *ete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtāḥ* Vait. 'Do not say *vaṣaṭ* after these'; 'these are not followed by *vaṣaṭ.*'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and prohibitive 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 amandiṣuḥ* 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 ekavṛṣaṁ janānām AV. 'who shall make thee chief bull of the people'; *sa tvākar ekavṛṣabhaṁ svānām* TB. 'he has made thee chief bull of thy kinsmen.'

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā; and: *yan mā somāsa ukthino amandiṣuḥ* RV. (both). See §99.

(b) *Aorist Indicative and Injunctive:*

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

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

mṛtyoḥ padaṁ (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto yad aita* (TA. *aima;* 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 yaṁ junāḥ* 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 *junāḥ,* which may be felt either as subj. or as augmentless imperfect.

[*yad adya hotṛvarye* (ŚŚ. °*vūrye*)] *jihmaṁ cakṣuḥ parāpatat* (ŚŚ. °*tāt*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'What today at the choice of *hotṛ* has escaped (may escape) the crooked (=faulty) eye.'

yad vāskandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra Kauś. 'or what part of the oblation has dropped anywhere': *yad vā skandād ājyasyota viṣṇo* 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 śaradas tvām ic*] *chuciṁ ghṛtena śucayaḥ saparyān* (TB. °*yan*) RV. TB. See §8.

(e) *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive:*

śataṁ yo naḥ śarado 'nayat (MŚ. *nayat*) 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 *ajītān* for (*a*)*nayat;* the verb *neṣat* occurs in the following

pāda, as it does also in SMB. PG. The Conc. reading for SMB. is *ajījāt*, glossed *ajījanat;* but Jörgensen's edition gives *ajīyāt*, glossed *ajyāt* (*aja gatikṣepaṇayoḥ;...gamayatv ity arthaḥ*). 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 grāvṇā cichiduḥ (MŚ. *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB. Vait. MŚ. 'What with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off of thee, King Soma.' *vichindat* is apparently pres. subj. made irregularly from the weak stem, cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §687.

yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS.† *sāsāhat*) *sadane kaṁcid atriṇam* 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 (Fausböll IV. 1, line 15), *mā maṁ kiñci avaca*, 'do not tell me anything.'

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh. MDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. AuśDh.: *śraddhā me mā vyāgāt* ApŚ.

gaṇān me mā vi tīṭṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*) TS. MŚ.: *gaṇān me mā vy arīriṣaḥ* Vait.: 'Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops.'

mā naḥ param adharaṁ mā rajo 'naiḥ (MŚ.† *param adhanaṁ mā rajo naiḥ*) TA. MŚ.: *mā na āyuḥ param avaraṁ mānadonaiḥ* (corrupt) MS. Both editions of TA. agreeing on *'naiḥ* with *avagraha*, but little importance is probably to be attached to this; cf. §265.

mā no rudro (MS. *agniṁ*, p.p. *agniḥ*) *nirṛtir mā no astā* (MS. *na āṣṭān*, followed by *m-*, p.p. *āṣṭhāṁ*) 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 *aś* '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 ni (AV. *ke cid vi*) *yaman viṁ* (SV. *ke cin ni yemur in*, TA. *ke cin nyemur in* [v. l., and comm., as SV.; so read or understand TA.]) *na pāśinaḥ* 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, Delbrück, *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 aṅgirasaś cinvantu TB.: *viśve devā aṅgirasaś cinavan* KS. ApŚ. 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Aṅgirases pile (that).'

svāduḥ pavāte (SV. *pavatām*) *ati vāram avyam* RV. SV. 'May the sweet (soma) strain itself thru the wool.'

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ. *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ.: *sā saṁnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam* (MG. *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV.† MG.

sviṣṭiṁ nas tāṁ (AV. erroneously, *tān*) *kṛṇavad* (TS. *kṛṇotu*) *viśvakarmā* (MS. *tāṁ viśvakarmā kṛṇotu*) AV. TS. MS.

sa no mṛḍātīdṛśe RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.: *te no mṛḍantv īdṛśe* AV. (*vikāra* of the prec., used in same hymn): *tā no mṛḍāta* (VSK. *mṛl°*) *īdṛśe* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu AV.: *vāiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ* TA.

te no rayiṁ sarvavīraṁ ni yachān (HG. *yachantu*) AV. HG.

agnir havyaṁ (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ā sīdāti (SV. *°atu*) *kalaśaṁ devayur naḥ* (SV. *deva induḥ*) RV. SV.

sarvaṁ punatha (VDh. *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh. ViDh.

sarvaṁ punatha me yavāḥ BDh.: *tat punīdhvaṁ* (and, *punīdhvaṁ ca*) *yavā mama* ViDh.

iṣṭāpūrte (KS. °*taṁ*) *kṛṇavāthāvir* (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇavathāvir*, TS. KS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. MŚ.: *iṣṭāpūrtaṁ sma kṛṇutāvir asmai* AV.

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

brahmadviṣaṁ dyaur abhisaṁtapāti AV.: *brahmadviṣam abhi taṁ śocatu dyauḥ* RV.

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

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

tābhir vahainaṁ (TA. *vahemaṁ;* TB. ApŚ. *vahāsi mā*, om. *tābhir;* KS.† *vahāṁsi sā*! [read probably *vahāsi mā*]) *sukṛtāṁ yatra* (RV. AV. °*tām u*) *lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*, RV. AV. *lokam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

śivaḥ śagmo bhavāsi naḥ TB. ApŚ.: *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB. ApŚ.

jarāṁ (AV. adds *su*) *gachāsi* (AV. PG. *gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* AV. PG. ApMB. HG.

sa gharmam invāt (AV. *indhāṁ*) *parame sadhasthe* RV. AV.

idaṁ me karmedaṁ vīryaṁ putro 'nusaṁtanotu VSK. KŚ.: *idaṁ me 'yaṁ vīryaṁ putro 'nusaṁtanavat* ŚB.

saputrikāyāṁ jāgratha PG.: *yajamānāya jāgṛta* ApŚ.

nihāraṁ ca harāsi (VSK. °*raṁ niharāsi*) *me* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *nihāram 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: *śrutāṁ, śravan*) *brahmāṇy āvasā gamat* (and: *gatāṁ, gaman*) ŚŚ. (all). 'Let him (them) hear the holy words and come with aid.' Here belongs also, presumably:

edhasva yamarājasu AV.: *edhāsaṁ yamarājye* TA. The comm. on *edhāsaṁ* 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.

yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ (AV. °*vaḥ*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS. °*yāti*) 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 aśnavat (SV. °*na vy aśnuhi*) RV. SV.

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

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

bodhā stotre vayo dadhat (ApŚ. *vayovṛdhaḥ*) RV. SV. ApŚ.: *bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat* MS. There is a v. l. *bodhā* in MS. See §§24, 341.

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

tāṁ ādityāṁ 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.).

niṣīdan no apa durmatiṁ jahi (TS. *hanat*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pibataṁ somyaṁ madhu RV. (quinquies) SV.: *pibāti so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV.

sameddhāram aṁhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ. *aṁhasaḥ pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ.

The following two contain corruptions:

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya;* MS. *loke nidhir 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 vadāsau 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*

apeyaṁ rātry uchatu AV. 'let this night fade away'; *aped u hāsate tamaḥ* 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 jātavedāḥ AB.: *kṛṇotu so adhvarāñ* (VS. TB. °*rā*) *jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Let Jātavedas perform the

sacrifice.' Cf. *kṛṇutāṁ tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ., and *svadhvarā* etc. in RV., §95.

prabudhe naḥ punas (KS. *puras*) *kṛdhi* (TS. *punar dadaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Make us again awake', or the like.

saṁpriyaḥ (TA. °*yaṁ prajayā*) *paśubhir bhuvat* (MS. ApŚ. *bhava*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditiḥ śarma yaṅsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

saṁmiślo aruṣo bhava (SV. *bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

sa naḥ pūrṇena vāvanat (AV. *yachatu*) AV. TS. KS. ApMB.

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

rayiṁ ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ (TS.† °*rāṁ*) *ni yachatu* (AV. *yachāt*) AV. TS. MS.: *sa no rayiṁ sarvavīraṁ ni yachatu* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *somo rayiṁ sahavīraṁ ni yaṅsat* KS.

uruvyacā no mahiṣaḥ śarma yaṅsat (AV. *yachatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

jayatābhītvarīṁ jayatābhītvaryāḥ (text, corruptly, °*yā*) AŚ.: *jeṣathābhītvarīṁ jeṣathābhītvaryāḥ* KB. ŚŚ.

gārhapatya un no neṣat TA.: *gārhapatyā un ninetu* MS.

aviṣaṁ naḥ pituṁ kṛṇu (KS. *kṛdhi;* TB. ApŚ. *karat*) VS. 2. 20 (omitted in Conc.) TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The version with *kṛṇu* is also found in TB. 1. 2. 1. 25d.

ādityair no aditiḥ śarma yaṅsat (and, *yachatu*) RV. (both)

āyur viśvāyuḥ pari pāsati (AV. *pātu*) *tvā* RV. AV. TA.

śam astu tanve mama AV.: *śam v astu tanvai tava* VS.: *śam u te tanve bhuvat* TS. KSA.

[By a slip the Conc. quotes: *svāveśo anamīvā bhavā naḥ* (Kauś. °*mīvā 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: vahaḥ*) 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 *ḥ*, see §25.

viśvasmāt (TA. *divo vi°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. *°yaḥ*) RV. TA. 'Deliver him from every evil-doer (of the sky).'

pra-pra yajñapatiṁ tira (TA. *tiraḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Uncertain: Poona ed. of TA. reads *tira* in text and comm. recording *tiraḥ* as v. l. in both. 'Promote farther and farther the patron of the sacrifice.'

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ. 'Bring to the far-famed.'

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS. MŚ.† *tapaḥ*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Heat the heat of the sun.' But perhaps the second *tapaḥ* is felt as a noun; for MS. accents it as well as the first *tapaḥ*.

asmabhyam indra varivaḥ (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugaṁ kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyaṁ mahi varivaḥ sugaṁ kaḥ* RV. See §92.

indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me (and, *dadād idaṁ me*) AV. (both).

agniṁ nakṣanta (SV. *°tu*) *no giraḥ* RV. SV.

ā no viśva (MS. *°vā*) *āskrā* (TB. *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS. *°ta*) *devāḥ* 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.

alakṣmī me naśyatu (MahānU. *°ta*) TA. MahānU. Cf. *alakṣmir me naśyatām* RVKh.

ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta (AV. *°tām*) RV. AV.

(*ud u tvā viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS. also, *bharanta*) *cittibhiḥ* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB.

vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ. *vīhi;* Kauś. text, erroneously, *vāyave*) *stokānām* (KS.† *ve ṣṭokānām;* VSK. adds *juṣāṇaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. 3. 6 (reference omitted in Conc.) ŚB. ApŚ.

viśve devāḥ samanaso juṣanta (TS. *bhavantu*) RV. TS.

ni vo jāmayo jihatā (ŚŚ. *°tāṁ*) *ny ajāmayaḥ* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May they who are related or not related stoop to you.' *jihatā* is 3 pl. injunctive. But the long *ā*, followed by a nasal consonant, tempts one to read *°tāṁ* with ŚŚ.

aryo naśanta (SV. *naḥ santu*) *sanişanta* (SV.† *°tu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.

§157. *Imperative and Injunctive, without change of tense but with change of person*

sam arīr (MS. KS. *arir*) *vidām* (KS. *vidaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Let the noble (or, do thou, noble) meet together.'

mahyaṁ (in MŚ. this belongs to the prec. pāda) *yajamānāya tişṭha* (MŚ. ed. *tişṭhatu*, but mss. *tişṭhat*, so read) TS. MŚ.

arşan (SV. *arşā*) *mitrasya varuṇasya dharmaṇā* 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 pratitişṭha sumatau suśevāḥ TB. ApŚ. 'O sacrifice, found thyself upon benevolence, well-disposed'; *yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ. 'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence of thoughts.'

marutāṁ (MS.* *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave* (VS. ŚB. *°vena*) *jaya* (TS.* *jayata*, TS.* TB. ApŚ. *jeşam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'Conquer (may I conquer, rival-slaying) on the impulse of the Maruts.'

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ.† *yajñaṁ*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāḥ*) 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:

tvaṁ bhavādhipatir (AV. *bhūr abhibhūtir*) *janānām* AV. MS. KS.

punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (MG. *aitu*) TB. HG. MG. Cf. *punar manaḥ...āgāt* (*āgan*) in Conc., and next.

punaś cakşuḥ punaḥ śrotraṁ na āgan (VSK. TA. SMB. *āgāt*) VS. VSK. ŚB. TA. SMB.: *punaś cakşuḥ punar asur na aitu* AV. Cf. prec.

amaişāṁ cittaṁ prabudhāṁ (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.' AVPpp. also has *naśyatu;* the two prec. pādas in AV. are *jagatī*.

tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (AŚ. *dāḥ*) AV. AŚ.

prajām asmāsu dhehi VS.: *prajāṁ me dāḥ* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.

ojo mayi dhehi VS. TB.: *ojo me dāḥ* AV. VS. Similarly in items beginning *saho, balaṁ, āyur, śrotraṁ, cakşur, vācaṁ, varco, tejo, payo, rayiṁ.*

agne rucāṁ pate. . .mayi rucaṁ dhāḥ (KS. *dhehi;* ApŚ. *rucaṁ mayi dhāḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ* 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 atikrāmīḥ (GG. °*krāma*) GG. HG. 'Do not cross the right (foot) with the left.'

mā jñātāraṁ mā pratiṣṭhāṁ 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 somaṁ pātv asomapaḥ Kauś.: *mā pāt* (text, *yāt!*) *somam asomapaḥ* LŚ. 'Let the non-soma-drinker not drink the soma.'

mā naḥ soma hvarito vihvarasva MŚ. [so probably to be read, with Conc.; Knauer's text, *harivo* (em. for mss. *hvarivo;* Knauer in a private letter suggested 'read *hvarito*, certainly') *vihvaras tvam* (mss. *vihvaradhvam*, one ms. °*dhva*)], 'do not, O soma, fail, having gone wrong'; *mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhīt* (TA. *vivyatho naḥ*) 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.

areḍatā (KS. 5. 3 *aheḍatā* (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 dīkṣitaḥ pṛthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu (JB. *dīkṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. 'The consecrated one is Agni, the consecration is earth; let that consecration consecrate me.' The same with *vāyur dīkṣitaḥ, ādityo dīkṣitaḥ, prajāpatir* etc.; see ApŚ. 10. 10. 6.

arakṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (KS. *juṣethāḥ;* TS. MS. *juṣasva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pratiṣṭhāṁ gacha (GB. *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhāṁ mā gamaya* (GB. *gamayet*) AB. GB. Gaastra on GB. p. 42 considers its reading corrupt and would read as AB.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait.: *svargāṅ arvanto jayata* SV. ŚŚ.: *svagāṅ*(!) *ar° jayataḥ* AŚ. (corrupt).

mitrāya havyaṁ ghṛtavaj juhota (KS. *°vad vidhema*) RV. KS. MŚ. N.

satyāya havyaṁ ghṛtavaj juhota (TS. KS. *°vad vidhema*) TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

tasmā u havyaṁ ghṛtavaj juhota (TS. ApMB. *°vad vidhema*) TS. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB.: *dhātra id dhavyaṁ ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ.

chandonāmānāṁ (with variants) *sāmrājyaṁ gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*, MŚ. *gachet*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*?) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §304.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ. *°yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV.

havyā no asya haviṣaḥ śṛṇotu (AV. *haviṣo juṣeta*, TS. *haviṣaś ciketu*, ŚŚ. *haviṣaḥ kṛṇotu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

āyajatām (MŚ. *āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. MŚ.

āvyuṣaṁ jāgṛtād aham AV.: *dvyuṣaṁ jāgriyād aham* RVKh. So Conc., following Aufrecht for RVKh.; but Scheftelowitz reports that his ms. reads *jāgṛyāmy*, and he emends to *jāgryām*, 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 tejasvin tejasvī tvaṁ deveṣu bhūyāḥ TS.: *agna āyuḥkārāyuṣmāṅs tvaṁ tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS. 'O Agni...be thou brilliant among the gods.'

āyur dātra edhi 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 edhi*) *mayo mahyaṁ* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahītre* VSK. KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

durmitrās (*°triyās*, *°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. *pāśaṁ*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV. *prati muñcatāṁ saḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

yo no dveṣty adharaḥ sas padīṣṭa (MS. MŚ. *sa padyatām*) RV. AV. MS. KS. (The ms. of KS. *sas*; ed. wrongly emends to *sa.*)

yena tvaṁ deva veda (ŚŚ. *tvaṁ veda*) *devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyaṁ* (ŚŚ. *tenāsmabhyaṁ*) *vedo bhūyāḥ* (VSK. *bhava*, ŚŚ. *veda edhi*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

suyame me (ApŚ. *me adya ghṛtācī*) *bhūyāstam* VS. ApŚ.: *sūyame me 'dya stam* MS.

bahvīr me bhavata (TS. *bhūyāsta*) TS. KS.: *bahvīr bhavata* MS.

yathendraṁ daivīr viśo maruto 'nuvartmāno 'bhavann (TS. *'nuvartmāna*) *evam imaṁ yajamānaṁ daivīś ca viśo mānuṣīś cānuvartmāno bhavantu* (VSK. *bhūyāsuḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

achidraḥ prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: cf. *ariṣṭā asmākaṁ vīrāḥ santu* ApŚ. ApMB.: *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* (text, *bhuyāḥ sma*) LŚ.

śunaṁ ma iṣṭaṁ...bhūyāt MS.: *svaṁ ma iṣṭam astu...* KS.

saṁjīvā (°*jīvikā*) *nāma stha tā imaṁ* (AŚ. *imam amuṁ*) *saṁjīvayata* MS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *saṁjīvā stha saṁjīvyāsam* AV.

sā me satyāśīr deveṣu bhūyāt (Vait. °*ṣv 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 ārtvijyaṁ karişyati (ApŚ. *karotu*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Speech will (shall) do the office of priest.' Unmetrical; but ŚŚ. is made to simulate meter.

rāyaś ca poṣam upasaṁvyayasva AV. HG. ApMB.: *rayiṁ ca putrān anusaṁvyayasva* PG.: *rāyas poṣam abhi saṁvyayişye* PG. MG. 'Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth.'

§163. *Imperative and Infinitive*

dyumnaṁ (KS. also, °*ne*) *vṛṇīta puṣyase* (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'May he choose glory, that he may thrive (let him thrive).'

brāhmaṇāṅs tarpayitavā iti saṁpreṣyati ApŚ. 4. 16. 17: *brāhmaṇāṅs 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 Delbrück, *AISynt.* 427, Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Synt.* §217) seems to be peculiar to ApŚ., where it occurs at least twice more: *uccaiḥ samāhantavā iti saṁpreṣyati* 1. 20. 1, 'he gives the order, Beat loudly together!'; and *triṣ phalīkartavā iti saṁpreṣyati* 1. 20. 11, 'he gives the order, Thrice clean the grain.' On the last the comm. says *phalīkaraṇaṁ triḥ kartavyam ity arthaḥ.* 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 *saṁpreṣyati*, 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 Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.* 2. 453ff.

IV. Imperative second singular in *si* and (?) *se*

§164. In the Rigveda 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; Delbrück, *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 somaiṣa te lokas tasmiñ chaṁ ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK. *lokaḥ pari ca vakṣi śaṁ ca vakṣi*; ŠBK. *tasmiñ chaṁ pari ca vakṣi saṁ ca vakṣi*) VS. VSK. ŠB. ŚBK. Cf. *śaṁ 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.

dhiyā na (SV. *no*) *vājāṅ upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śaśvataḥ* RV. SV. Cf. next.

stuto yāsi (RV. *yāhi*) *vaśāṅ 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 (*ṇo*) *manasā neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhiḥ* 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*):

pitṝn yakṣad (TS. *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* 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 śriyo* etc.

indro vide tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyaḥ *stuhi*) AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. 'Indra finds, him do thou praise.' But *stuṣe* may mean 'I praise'; so Keith.

kṛṣiṁ susasyām ut 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 adhi bravan (MS. KS. TB. [comm. and Poona ed. text] ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'May the gods bless him.'

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

pra bravāma (MS. *bru°*, v. l. *bra°*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB. HG. MG.

upa śravat (MS. *śruvat*, p.p. *śravat*) *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 siṣvadat RV.: *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.

iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB.* †*vākṣīt*) VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Let one bring refreshment and food.'

prācīnaṁ sīdat (MS. *sīdāt*) *pradiśā pṛthivyāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai TA.: *yajñapataye vāryam ā svas kaḥ* MS.: *yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsaṁskarase* ŚŚ.

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdhvadhā bhuvat*) RV. SV. So to be classed if *bhuvat* is a subjunctive from the root-aorist (*a*)*bhūt*. But augmented forms in *-vat* occur (see Whitney, *Roots*), and both forms may be injunctive, or indeed preterite indic. Cf. next.

sa tvaitebhyaḥ pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyaḥ* 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):

āyuṣmān (AV. *°māṅ*) *jaradaṣṭir 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 iti mām atimanyadhvam HG.: *yadi mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB. 'When (if) you (thus) disdain me.'

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti 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': *sakhyaṁ te mā yoṣāḥ* 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*) *ūrjaṁ śatakratur vidād* (SV. *vided*) *iṣam* RV. SV. 'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtain refreshment.'

imā nu kaṁ 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*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. PG. MG. ApMB. HG.

bhavāma (AV. *bhavema*) *śaradaḥ śatam* AV. TA. ApMB. HG.

vibhuṁ kāmaṁ (VS. *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśnavai* (MS. *aśīya*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

athainaṁ jarimā nayet HG.: *yathainaṁ 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*) *yataḥ khanema* (TS. *khanāma*) *taṁ vayam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

yasyām uśantaḥ praharāma (AV. ApMB. HG. °*rema*) *śepam* (AV. *śepaḥ*) 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. *puruṣaḥ syāt*) VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. SMB.

§170. *Subjunctive and Precative*

aham evedaṁ sarvam asāni (ŚB. BṛhU. °*vaṁ bhūyāsam*) ŚB. BṛhU. ChU. 'May I myself be (or become) this entire world.'

yan madhuno...tenāhaṁ madhuno...'sāni (HG. *bhūyāsam*) PG. ApMB. HG.

§171. *Subjunctive and Future*

varaṇo vārayātai (and, *vārayiṣyate*) AV. (both): 'the (amulet) made of *varaṇa*-wood shall defend': *varuṇo* (but Poona ed. with comm. *varaṇo*) *vārayāt* TA.

bhavāsi putrāṇāṁ mātā AV.: *teṣāṁ mātā bhaviṣyasi* ŚG.

agnau kariṣyāmi GG. BDh.: *agnau karavāṇi* ViDh. And others, see §41.

vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa saṁbhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA. °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. See §27.

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi TS.: *pred u havyāni vocati* RV. VS. KS. 'Thou shalt (he shall) announce the oblations.'

§172. *Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative*

brahma vā yaḥ kriyamāṇaṁ ninitsāt (AV. *vā yo nindiṣat kriyamāṇam*) 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. *karati* 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 mṛḍayāti (MS.† °*tu;* VSK. *mṛlayāti*) *naḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. 'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us.'

dīrgham āyuḥ karati (TA. °*tu*) *jīvase vaḥ* 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 Saṁhitās, it is best to classify the Saṁhitā form *gamantu* here, rather than as impv. to aor. *agam-a-t*. Cf. however *gamat sa* (*gamema*)...in §174.

tapto vāṁ gharmo nakṣati (AV. *nakṣatu*) *svahotā* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

sa no muñcātu (RV. SV. *rakṣiṣad*) *duritād avadyāt* RV. SV. TA.

ādityair indraḥ saha sīṣadhātu (VS. *°ti;* RV. AV. *cikḷpāti*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. MŚ. ApŚ.

[*so 'syai* (MG. *'syāḥ*) *prajāṁ 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 prāṇena saha varcasā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'May he come to me along with life-breath and strength.' AV. comm. also *gan;* MS. p.p. *agan.*

asyām ṛdhad (ŚB. AŚ. *ṛdhed*) *dhotrāyāṁ devaṁgamāyām* MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods.'

tvayā (VSK. TS. KS. TB. omit) *vayaṁ saṁghātaṁ-saṁghātaṁ* (TS. TB. omit one *saṁghātaṁ;* VSK. *saṁghāte-saṁghāte*) *jeṣma* (KS.† once *saṁjayema*, once *jayema*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Thru thee) may we be victorious in every fight.'

gamat sa (and: *gamema, sa gantā*) *gomatı vrajẹ* 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 vayaṁ gamema (TS. MS. KS. *patema;* VSK. *tena gamema*) *bradhnasya viṣṭapam* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokam* AV.

nedīya it sṛṇyaḥ (TS.† *°yā*) *pakvam eyāt* (TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

na pāpatvāya rāsīya (SV. *raṅsiṣam*) RV. AV. SV. The SV. reading is doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter.

pra tad voced (TA. MahānU. *voce*) *amṛtasya* (VS. TA. MahānU. *amṛtaṁ 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. *dhanayīd;* TS. *dhvanayid;* KSA. *dhvanayed*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. 'Let not the fire, smoke-scented, make thee crackle', or the like. On *dhvanayid* 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.

tābhyāṁ (MS. KS. add *vayaṁ*) *patema sukṛtām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. 'With these two (wings) may we fly to the world of the pious.'

tvayāyaṁ vṛtraṁ vadhyāt (VSK. *badhyāt;* VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Thru thee may he slay Vṛtra.'

anu vīrair anu puṣyāsma (TB. ApŚ. *rādhyāma*) *gobhiḥ* VS. TB. ApŚ. 'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle.'

jīveyam ŚB.: *jīvyāsam* AV.

sam aham āyuṣā saṁ varcasā saṁ prajayā (ŚŚ. adds, *saṁ priyeṇa dhāmnā*) *saṁ rāyas poṣeṇa gmīya* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *gmiṣīya*) VS. MS. KS. But, of course, *gmiṣīya* may be considered an *iṣ*-aorist.

sinīvālyā ahaṁ devayajyayā paśumān (ApŚ. °*matī*) *bhūyāsam* (MŚ. *paśūn vindeyam*) ApŚ. MŚ. Similarly with *kuhvā*, and *rākāyā*.

suprajāḥ prajayā bhūyāsaṁ (ApMB.* *bhūyās*)...VSK. TS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *suprajāḥ prajābhiḥ syāṁ* (VS. and ŚB. also *syāma;* ŚŚ. *prajābhir bhūyāsaṁ*)...VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

priyo dātur dakṣiṇāyā iha syām AV.: *priyo devānāṁ dakṣiṇāyai dātur iha bhūyāsam* VS.

bhūyāma te sumatau vājino vayam RV. SV.: *bhūyāsma te sumatau viśvavedaḥ* MS. (so read, for Conc. °*vedāḥ;* the text has °*vedā* followed by a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS. means °*vedaḥ*).

bhūyāsma (ṢB. KŚ. °*yāma*) *putraiḥ paśubhiḥ* ṢB. KŚ. AŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. BDh.

sahasraposaṁ vaḥ puṣyāsam (KS. *puṣeyam;* MS. *vo 'śīya*) TS. MS. KS. HG.: *sahasraposaṁ puṣeyam* VS. ŚB.

dyāvāpṛthivyor ahaṁ devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS.* *devayajyayā prajanişeyaṁ prajayā paśubhiḥ;* KS.* MŚ. *devayajyayā prajanişīya prajayā paśubhiḥ*) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Note the anomalous (thematic) aor. opt. *prajanişeyam.*

ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma LŚ.: *ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ* RV. AV. TS. KS.

ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt* PB.

api jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh.: *api naḥ sa kule bhūyāt* MDh.

tasya te bhaktivāṅsaḥ syāma (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasya te vayaṁ bhūyiṣṭhabhājo bhūyāsma* ApŚ.: *tasyās te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma,* ApŚ. *°vāṅso bhūyāsma,* AŚ. *bhāgam aśīmahi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

vāmī te saṁdṛśi viśvaṁ reto dheşīya (KS. *dhişīya*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu saṁdṛśi viśvā retāṅsi dhişīya* TS.: *vāmī nāma saṁdṛśi viśvā 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. *yokşye*) *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 *yokşe;* Ppp. *yokşye.*

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

juşṭām adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam (ŚŚ. *vācaṁ vadişyāmi*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods.'

madhu vaṅśişīya (ŚŚ. *vanişye*) AV. ŚŚ. 'May I (I shall) win honey.' Whitney would read *vaṅsişīya* in AV. Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS.* 13, cxviii.

madhu janişye (AV. *janişīya*) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ.: *madhu karişyāmi madhu janayişyāmi madhu bhavişyati* 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 vādāsyan saṁjagārā janebhyaḥ TB.: *adāsyann agna uta saṁgṛṇāmi* AV.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. 'If I promise, not intending to give, to people', or the like. Participles are here concerned.

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai (MG. *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye*) 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 atimanyadhvam* HG., *yadi 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 *yadi, yathā, yad, yatra, yataḥ*. 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
gaṇān me mā vi tīṭṛṣaḥ (°*ṣat*): *gaṇān me mā vy arīriṣaḥ*, §146
mā tvā ke cin ni (*cid vi*) *yaman viṁ* (*ke cin ni yemur in; ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinaḥ*, §147
mā savyena dakṣiṇam atikrāmīḥ (°*krāma*), §159
mā jñātāraṁ mā pratiṣṭhāṁ vidanta (*vindantu*), §159
mā naḥ soma hvarito vihvarasva: mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhīt (*vivyatho naḥ*), §159
mā somaṁ pātv asomapaḥ: mā pāt somam asomapaḥ, §159
sakhyāt te mā yoṣam: sakhyaṁ te mā yoṣāḥ, §168
mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (*dhanayīd; dhvanayid; dhvanayed*) *dhūmagandhiḥ*, §174, end
gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (*vepiḍhvam*), §211
mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (°*ṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (*bādhiṣṭām; bādhethām*), §211

mainam agne vi daho mābhiśocaḥ (°*śūśucaḥ*), §211
mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (*maināṁ tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīḥ* (*śocaḥ; śūśucaḥ*), §211

§183. *Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses*

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:
(*apāṁ napād āśuhemā kuvit sa*) *supeśasas karati* (*karoti*) *joṣiṣad dhi.*

In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:
mā mā hāsīn (*hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (*na*) *tvā jahāni* (°*mi*).

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 *bibharti* 'carry, wear'; see Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 11. cxxvi ff.; Delbrück, *AISynt.* 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, *patiṁ me kevalaṁ 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 mahiṣaḥ śarma yaṅsat* (*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 'dissyllabic 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 (*mṛḍ*, *hū*) the accented *a*-class interchanges with unguṇated *aya*-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (*hvayāmi* = Avestan *zbayemi*). Intransitive *ya*-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts; cf. Delbrück, *AISynt.* 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 *ramṇātu* and *raṇvatu*, *ūrṇuhi* and *vṛṇu*, *dhvarati* and *dhūrvati*. Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems *kṛṇo-* 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 *kṛṇo : karo*.

The stems kṛṇo (kṛṇu) and karo (kuru)

§186. Of these two stems, *kṛṇo-* is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan *kərənaomi*. No less certainly is *karo-* of ancient organic structure (dissyllabic base **kereu̯*), as is shown by *-kūr-min*, *karv-ara*, and the analogous formation *tarute*. See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 16 clx = *BB.* 23. 110; Hirt, *Ablaut* 114. The early hieratic language adopted

kṛṇo-, 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, *kṛṇo-*. 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 *kṛṇo-* 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 *kṛṇo-* (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 *kṛṇo-* 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 *kṛṇo-* 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 *kṛṇuhi* (*ojasvantaṁ mām āyuṣmantaṁ manuṣyeṣu kṛṇuhi*, see §255), against *kuru* of other and older texts. So also the very late NīlarU. revives *kṛṇo-* over the heads of all the YV. texts in: *śivāṁ giritra* (MS. *giriśa*) *tāṁ kuru* (NīlarU. *kṛṇu*) 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 *kṛṇo-*. The edition of ApŚ. 7. 17. 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, *arātīyantam adharaṁ karomi* (7. 16. 7 *kṛṇomi*); 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 *karomi*, then *kṛṇomi* with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence: *syonaṁ te saha patyā karomi* 1. 5. 16d, and *ariṣṭāṁ tvā saha patyā kṛṇomi* 1. 5. 17d. There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use *kṛṇo-* in place of *karo-*. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA., HG., and RVKh. lack *kṛṇo-* forms. The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait. poses with *kṛṇo-* 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 Taittirīya 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 *kṛṇo-*.

§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 *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* interchange with corresponding forms of the bases *kṛṇo-* and *karo-*, §210, a.

§189. The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants is shown conveniently in the following table:

	kṛṇo-	*karo-*		*kṛṇo-*	*karo-*
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 śṛtaṁ kṛṇavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV. TA.

yasmai kṛṇoti (TS. *karoti*) *brāhmaṇaḥ* RV. VS. TS.

suputrāṁ subhagāṁ kuru (RV. *kṛṇu;* SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG.

Passages involving AV.

yadā śṛtaṁ kṛṇavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV. TA.

agne medhāvinaṁ kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV. VS. RVKh.

anāgasaṁ brahmaṇe (AV. °*ṇā*) *tvā karomi* (AV. *kṛṇomi*) AV. TB. HG. ApMB.

priyaṁ mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) *deveṣu* (ApMB. *mā deveṣu kuru*) AV. RVKh. HG. ApMB.

priyaṁ rājasu mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV. RVKh. ApMB.: *priyaṁ mā kuru rājasu* HG.

brahmāham antaraṁ kṛṇve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV. KŚ.

mām indra bhaginaṁ kṛṇu AV.: *mām agne bhāginaṁ kuru* ApMB.

karomi (AV. *kṛṇomi*) *te prājāpatyam* AV. ApMB. HG.

kṛṇomi tubhyaṁ sahapatnyai vadhu AV.: *ariṣṭāṁ tvā saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB.: *syonaṁ me* (ApMB. *te*) *saha patyā karomi* TS. TB. ApMB.

svasti na indro maghavān kṛṇotu AV.: *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS. TA. MahānU.

yasya kurmo gṛhe haviḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yasya kurmo* (AV. *kṛṇmo*) *havir gṛhe* AV. TS.

kṛṇvāno (KS. *kurvāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. MS. KS. *anyāṅ*, KŚ. *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. KŚ.

dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me (*vām*) AV. JB. Kauś. ApMB.: *āyuṣmantaṁ karota mā* (RVKh. *karotu mām*, KS. *kṛṇota mā*) RVKh. KS. TA. BDh.

yābhyāṁ karmāṇi kurvate (SV. *kṛṇvate*) 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

agniḥ prajāṁ bahulāṁ me karotu (MS. *kṛṇotu*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

agniḥ pravidvān (MS. KS. °*vāṅ*) *iha tat kṛṇotu* (ApŚ.* *karotu;* KS. ApŚ.* *dadhātu*) MS. KS. ApŚ. (bis).

achidraṁ yajñaṁ bhūrikarmā karotu (KS. MŚ. *bhūriretāḥ kṛṇotu*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

arālīyantam adharaṁ kṛṇomi (ApŚ.* *karomi*) TS. ApŚ. (both).

asya kurmo (RVKh. *kulmo*) *harivo medinaṁ tvā* RVKh. TS. TB.: *iha kṛṇmo* etc. KS.

ādityās tvā kṛṇvantu (KS. *kurvantu*) *jāgatena chandasā*...VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

Similarly *rudrās tvā, vasavas tvā, viśve tvā devā*, etc.

tena suprajasaṁ kṛṇu (TA. *kuru*) TA. Vait.

tena mā vājinaṁ kuru (Vait. *kṛṇu*) AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

sinīvālī kṛṇotu (KS. *karotu*) *tām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ukhāṁ kṛṇotu (TS. KS. *karotu*) *śaktyā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

kṛṇotu (KS. *karotu*) *viśvacarṣaṇiḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG.

apsu dhautasya te...*bhakṣaṁ kṛṇomi* (PB. *karomi*) KS. PB.

syonaṁ te sadanaṁ karomi (MŚ. *kṛṇomi*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

so asmāṅ (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn kṛṇotu* ŚŚ.

śamitāro yad atra sukṛtaṁ kṛṇavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat AB. AŚ.: *yo duṣkṛtaṁ karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś.

yena striyam akṛṇutam (ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB. GG.: *yena śriyam akṛṇutām* PG.

yāsyāṁ patighnī tanūḥ...jāraghnīm asyai tāṁ kṛṇomi ApMB.: *yā te patighnī tanūr jāraghnīṁ tv etāṁ karomi* HG.: *yā te patighnī... tanūr jāraghnīṁ tata enāṁ karomi* PG.: *yā te patighny alakṣmī... jāraghnīṁ tāṁ karomi* ŚG.

sa tvā manmanasāṁ karotu (ApMB. °*manasaṁ kṛṇotu*) PG. ApMB.

śivāṁ giritra (MS. *giriśa*) *tāṁ kuru* (NīlarU. *kṛṇu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. ŚvetU.

vasūni kṛṇvan (ApŚ. *kṛṇvann asme;* TB. *kṛṇvann asmin*, read *asme* with comm. and Poona ed. text; MŚ. *kurvan*) *naryā purūṇi* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

yasyāṁ karmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ. *kṛṇvate*) KS. ApŚ.

madhu tvā madhulā karotu (MS. *kṛṇotu*) MS. TA. ApŚ.

prajā vikṛṇvañ (ApŚ. *vikurvañ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ. °*pāḥ*) KS. ApŚ.: *prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāḥ* MS.

ojasvantaṁ mām āyuṣmantaṁ...manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait. *kṛṇuhi*) 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), *kṣi* 'destroy' (twice), and *mi* '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.

ājyam uktham avyathāyai (KS. °*ya*, TS. *avyathayat*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *praügam uktham, marutvatīyam uktham, niṣkevalyam uktham*, and *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc.

ut te stabhnāmi (TA. *tabhnomi*) *pṛthivīṁ tvat pari* RV. AV. TA. and (pratīkas) ŚG. AG. Kauś.

adhvana skabhnīta (VS. *skabhnuvantaḥ*) VS. TS.: *adhvānaṁ skabhnuvanto...*MS.

kṣiṇomi (AV. *kṣiṇāmi*) *brahmaṇāmitrān* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

idam aham amum āmuṣyāyaṇam...prakṣiṇāmi KS.: *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇam...prakṣiṇāmi* MS.: *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāyuḥ prakṣiṇomi* ApŚ.

pra smā mināty (ApŚ. *prāsmā minoty*) *ajaraḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ.

bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramṇātu* (TS. ApŚ. *raṇvatu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. The 'root' *raṇv* is best accounted for as *ra-nv-*(**rṇ-nv-*). Whitney, *Roots*, regards it as a secondary formation from *ran*. This and the next belong equally in §196.

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇa*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āpas tvā sam ariṇan (MS. *ariṇvan*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *āpaḥ sam ariṇan* TS. KS.

agner jihvām abhi (MS. *jihvābhi*, p.p. *jihvāṁ, abhi;* AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) *gṛṇītam* (AV. *gṛṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *gṛṇītam* is 2d dual of *nā*-class, *gṛṇata* 2d plural of accented *a*-class.

āṅkṣvāsāv āṅkṣvāsau HG.: *asāv abhyaṅkṣvāsāv aṅkṣva* AŚ.: *āṅkṣva tatāsau* ApŚ.: *āñjasvānulimpasva* PG. The thematic present is practically unknown; see Whitney, *Roots*.

sā mā samiddhāyuṣā...samintām (! one ms. °*indhatām*) TA.: *sā mā samiddhā...samindhiṣatām* MS. Here TA., most mss., has a regular 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 present, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives:

tad agnir 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. *vaṅsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See under prec. The question there mooted is here further complicated by the indubitably aor. subj. *vaṅsate*.

manai (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām ahaṁ, śataṁ 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 *-viddhi: -vinda*, where *viddhi* might be regarded as either perfect in form (*:veda*), or aorist (cf. *vidanta: vindantu*, §159), tho we group it as present:

indrānuvinda (AŚ. °*viddhi*) *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 vājinīvati* RV. SV.

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vṛtrahantama* RV. SV. ŚŚ.

yukṣvā (and, *yuñgdhaṁ*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV. (both)

athā mandasva (VS. *madasva*) *jujuṣāṇo andhasaḥ* RV. VS.

iṣe pīpihi (MS. *pipīhi*) MS. TA. ApŚ.: *iṣe pinvasva* VS. ŚB. KŚ. Similarly with *ūrje, kṣatrāya, brahmaṇe*, and others, see §270.

agne brahma gṛbhṇīṣva (MS. MŚ. *gṛhṇīṣva*, KS. *gṛhīṣva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

suśami śamīṣva (TS. TB. *śami*°; KS.† *śamnīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

yasya yoniṁ patireto gṛbhāya (HG. *prati reto gṛhāṇa*) ŚG. HG.: *vy asya yoniṁ prati reto gṛhāṇa* ApMB. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§722, 732.

Possibly here belongs:

kataro meniṁ prati taṁ mucāte (Vait. *muñcāte*) RV. Vait. But in §210, b, we have classified *mucāte* 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 *manya, hṛṇī* and *hṛṇīya*, §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 kṛtvaḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca (ŚB. *prāṇiti cāpa cāniti*) GB. ŚB. Better meter in ŚB.

yaḥ prāṇiti (AV. *prāṇati*) *ya īṁ śṛṇoty uktam* RV. AV.

yac ca prāṇiti (AV. *prāṇati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. (Correct Conc.)

ni ṣṭanihi (AV. *abhi ṣṭana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG.: *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG.: *āpo haviḥṣu jāgṛta* ApŚ.: *āpo jāgṛta* MS. KS. MŚ.

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV. MS. TB.

agne devānām ava heḍa ikṣva (ApŚ. *iyakṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne* AV. The problematic *ikṣva* 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.

praśāstaḥ pra suhi (KŚ. *sūhi*, MŚ. *suva*, ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In ApŚ. compound of the other readings.

etān ghnataitān gṛhṇīta ApMB.: *etān hataitān badhnīta* 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 sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB.

sa tvaitebhyaḥ pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyaḥ* RV. AV. TA. N. Cf. the prec. three, next, and §§ 167, 11.

datto asmabhyaṁ (etc., §250, p. 165) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.; *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS.

saṁ vasāthāṁ (MS. MŚ. *vasethāṁ*) *svarvidā* (KS. °*dāu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. And:

vyacasvatī saṁ 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. Mahīdhara on VS., *ācchādayatam* (apparently *:vas* 'clothe'). The meaning is obscure. Possibly MS. understands a form of *vas* 'dwell' (*vasate*), and the others *vas* 'clothe' (*vaste*). F. E.]

[*yè dadate* (JUB. *dadante*) *pañca diśaḥ sadhrīcīḥ* AV. JUB. But here there is no real variant; all mss. of AV. read *dadante*, and Whitney's Transl. 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 *mṛḍ* 'pity' and *hū* 'call'. The popular (rather than 'late') form *hvayāmi* is shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *zbayemi;* it is doubtless a mere accident that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in classical Sanskrit, while *huvá* and *háva*, both of which interchange with *hvaya*, become extinct. See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 21. 48. In the following small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the passages:

apasedhan (SV.† °*dhaṁ*) *duritā soma mṛḍaya* (SV. *no mṛḍa*) RV. SV. Here *mṛḍa* (should = *mṛḍa*, and hence metrically out of place) together with the patchword *no* are clearly inferior readings in SV.

tayā no mṛḍa jīvase VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.: *tayā no rudra mṛḍaya* TS. The parallel is only vague.

sa naḥ prajāyai haryaśva mṛḍaya (AV. KS. *mṛḍa*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

te no mṛḍayata (AV. *mṛḍata*) AV. TS. ApMB.

te no mṛḍayaṅtu (MS. *mṛḍantu*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tau no mṛḍayatām (MS. *mṛḍatām*) TS. MS. ApMB.

huve nu (RV. VS. KS. MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram* RV. AV .SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

ṣarasvatīṁ sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KS. Comm. on AV. *ahvayanta.*

[As to the variant quoted in Conc. as: *apāṁ napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS. *aśvinā hvayantām*) AV. TS., the word *hvayantām* is an error for *hayantam* (pple. of *hi* 'impel') in TS.]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vālakhilya hymns the stems *svada* and *svadaya* interchange without difference in meaning; nevertheless, *svadaya* may be considered a causative, cf. §240:

yaṁ te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ RV. (Vāl.): *yaṁ te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayaḥ* 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. Delbrück, *AI Synt.* 277. The nasal formation *tṛmpa* (Avestan *θ rąf-*) is old, and *manve* is more organic than *manye*.

hutāhutasya tṛpyatam (KS. ŚŚ. *tṛmpatam*) KS. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tasya tṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū ŚŚ.: *tena tṛpyatam aṅhahau* TB. ApŚ.

anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema TB: *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁkṣiyema* Vait. The Conc. suggests reading *sadam* in TB.: but the comm. has *adham*, interpreting it by *anantaram*.

brahmaitad upāsvaitat (MahānU. *upāsyaitat*) *tapaḥ* TA. MahānU. But Poona ed. of TA. agrees with MahānU. (with v. l. *upāsv°*).

manye vāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau ArS.: *manve vāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī* AV. Vait.

tapate (or *ātapate*, so KSA. acc. to v. Schroeder; TS. both, acc. to Weber; VS. *tapyate*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. TA.

yat te krūraṁ...tat te śudhyatu (TS. ApŚ. *tat ta etena śundhatām;* MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous *hṛṇīya* of SV.:

mā hṛṇīthā abhy asmān RV.: *vājebhir mā hṛṇīyathāḥ* SV. The alternative would be to regard *hṛṇīya* 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 *ūrṇu* which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended *nu*-present of the root *vṛ* (**ɣeru*) 'cover'. The archaic form *ūrṇuhi* inter-

changes with the conventional *vṛṇu* 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 clxi = *BB.* 23. 109. Compare the relation of *ramṇātu: raṇvatu*, and *rama: raṇva*, above, §191.

taṁ dhūrva yaṁ vayaṁ dhūrvāmaḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *yaṁ vayaṁ dhvarāma taṁ dhvara* (KS. *vayaṁ dhūrvāmas taṁ ca dhūrva*) MS. KS.

dhūrva taṁ yo 'smān dhūrvati VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhvara dhvarantaṁ yo asmān dhvarāt* MS.

abhy enaṁ bhūma ūrṇuhi (TA. *bhūmi vṛṇu*) 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* (*hnava:hnuva*). The only other instance we have noted is:

(*pra...*) *suvīrābhis tirate* (SV. TS. *tarati*) *vājabharmabhiḥ* (SV. TS. °*karmabhiḥ*) RV. SV. TS. KS. (Correct Conc.) Here *pra tirate* 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 Rigvedic archaism; *ā-vavṛtsva* and *abhi-ā-vavṛtsva* both RV., see Grassmann) where other texts have *vartasva:*

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva;* KS. *abhi no ni vartasva;* MS. *abhi māvartasva;* Kauś. *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

punar ūrjā ni vartasva (Kauś. *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

The variant *īyāna* of SV. for *iyāna* may be classed as a reduplicated present middle participle; there seems no ground for calling it intensive (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, s.v.):

iyānaḥ (*SV. īy*°) *kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav iyānaḥ (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*) *suvīryam* RV. SV.

punar dātām (TA. *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. *dattāv* is unaccented in TA. and is surely to be read *dattām;* comm. *dattau prayachatām* (understanding perfect passive pple. with active meaning!).

devīr āpo apāṁ napād...taṁ 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*: *acārişam* (see §286, a) which on their face are *s* and *iṣ*-aorists, but in large part are really cases of *svarabhakti* (Whitney, *Grammar* §230c). Phonetic, likewise, is the variant *āprā(ḥ); 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*

gaṇān me mā vi tūtṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °ṣat) TS. MŚ. 'do not (let him not) make my troops go thirsty': *gaṇā me mā vi 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.

udgrābheṇod agrabhīt (MS. *ajigrabhat;* KS. *ajīgrabham* and *ajīgṛbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 3 and 5 aor.; no difference of meaning; both active, 'he has (I have) lifted up.'

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīḥ (TS. *śūśucaḥ;* KS. *śucaḥ;* MS. *hiṅsīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 2, 3, and 5 aor.; all active, 'scorch'; no difference of meaning.

mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS. *maināṁ tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīḥ* (KS. *śocaḥ;* TS. *śūśucaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. As in prec.: 3 and 5 aor. (*śocaḥ* is imperfect injunctive.)

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś. *yathābhāgaṁ yathālokam*) *āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŚ. *āvṛṣāyīṣata;* ŚŚ. *avīvṛṣata*) 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 evaitat* MŚ.: *dyaur 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 yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK. *atidyutat*) *savīmani* 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 gāḥ* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askann (ŚŚ. *askān*) *adhita prājani* ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ.: *askān ajani prājani* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askan parjanyaḥ pṛthivīm KŚ.: *askān dyauḥ pṛthivīm* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askān (GB. *askan*) *somaḥ* KS. GB.

brahman somo 'skan (KS. ApŚ. *'skān*) KS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.

drapsas te dyāṁ mā skan (KS. ApŚ. *skān;* MS. *te divaṁ mā skān*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

ahāḥ śarīraṁ (TB. *ahāc cha°*) *payasā sameti* (TB. *sametya*) TB. Vait. *ahāḥ* is 3d person; 'he hath quitted his body' etc.

āprā (AV. **āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV. AV. (both) ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N. *āprā(ḥ)* is 3d sing.; the AV. form is certainly secondary; it has phonetic aspects, see §24.

bhūyāṁso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasaḥ kārṣṭa Kauś.: *bhūyāṁso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta* MS. Same with *annādā bhū°*.

asmaddviṣaḥ sunītho mā parā daiḥ MS.: *dviṣā sunīte mā parādāḥ* TA. The MS. form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor.; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §894c, for the closest known parallels. *dāḥ* might also, tho less probably, be classed as 4 aor.

api panthām aganmahi (TS. ApŚ. *agasmahi*) RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

rasena sam aganmahi (RV. *agasmahi*) RV. KS. LŚ.

adarśus (ŚŚ. *adrākṣus*) *tvā śāsahastam* AB. ŚŚ. *adarśus* is altogether irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from *adrākṣus*.

mā bheḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *mā bhaiḥ* MS. KS. MŚ. Best taken as 1 and 4 aor.

mā bher mā roṅ (VSK *mo roṅ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣāṁ*) *kiṁ canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruṅ mo ca* (KS. *rauṅ mā*) *naḥ kiṁ canāmamat* MS. KS. *rauṅ* (*rauk*) is clearly 4 aor.; *roṅ* and *ruṅ* seem both to be best classed as 1 aor.

§203. *1st and 5th Aorists*

mā pṛṇan pūrtyā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS. *rādhi*) TS. MS. KS. *rādhi* is of course passive; see §87 and Whitney §843.

iṣam ūrjaṁ sam agrabham (TS. *agrabhīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Obviously *agrabhīm* is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt;* see §262, d.

§204. *2d and 4th Aorists*

āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣīt (ApŚ. *prāṇijan*) AV. ApŚ.

§205. *2d and 5th (and, once, 7th) Aorists*

bahu hāyam (MS. *ha vā ayam*) *avarṣīd* (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 ārukṣaḥ (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB.: *imāṁ su nāvam* (read *sunāvam*) *āruham* TS. KS. ApŚ. Cf. §§276, 133. *ārukṣaḥ* is a regular 7 aor.; *ārokṣam* may be considered 5 aor. with irregular guṇa-vowel.

§206. *Interchanges of various Sigmatic Aorist forms*

vratānāṁ vratapate (Kauś. °*patayo*) *vratam acārīṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś. See under next.

agne vratapate vratam acārīṣam (MS. and MŚ. v. l. *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 dyāvāpṛthivī hīḍiṣethām (thematic stem from 5 aor., *hīḍiṣa-*, cf. *janiṣeyam*, Whitney, *Grammar* §907, end) MS. 'be not angry with us, heaven and earth!': *mā dyāvāpṛthivī hīḍiṣātām* TA. 'may h. and e. not be angry.' See §332, end.

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (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. *pyāyiṣīmahi ca*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG. 5 and 6 aor.

vācaṁ paśūn mā nir mārjīḥ MS. MŚ.: *vācaṁ prāṇaṁ cakṣuḥ śrotraṁ prajāṁ yoniṁ mā nir mṛkṣam* TS. 5 and 7 aor. Others, see §302.

§207. *Interchanges of 1st and 2d aorists*

śraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ.: *śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat* ViDh. MDh. YDh. BrhPDh. AuśDh.

ā mā prāṇena saha 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 *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* in relation to *kṛṇu* (*kuru*) and *kṛṇuṣva;* or *pātam* to *pibatam;* or *śrotā* to *śṛṇota.* 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 no abhayaṁ kṛdhi (ŚŚ. **kuru*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. (both) ApŚ. MŚ. MahānU.

suputrāṁ subhagāṁ kuru (RV. *kṛṇu;* SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG.

patiṁ ekādaśaṁ kṛdhi (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.

patiṁ me kevalaṁ kuru (AV. ApMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. AV. ApMB.

parācīnā mukhā kṛdhi (KS. *kuru*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

vi jihīṣva lokaṁ kṛṇu AV.: *vi jihīrṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA.

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva RV.†: *adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṇuṣva* AV. (poor meter).

vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tena (KS. *tasmin*) *mandasva*...TS. KS.: *vivasvann* (VSK. °*vāṅ*) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tasmin matsva* VS. VSK. ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, *Roots*, we regard *matsva* as 4 aor. rather than present.

aśvinā gharmaṁ pātam (MS. *pibatam*)..VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *pātam* may be present.

divaṁ gacha svar vinda yajamānāya mahyam MŚ.: *devān gacha suvar vida* (ApŚ. *vinda*) etc. TB. ApŚ.

rayiṁ gṛṇatsu didhṛtam (and *dhāraya*) RV. (both). See *RV Rep.* 271, 528.

śṛṇota (VS. ŚB. *śrotā*) *grāvāṇo viduṣo nu* (VS. ŚB. *na*) *yajñam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

devīr āpaḥ śuddhā yūyaṁ devān yuyudhvam (KS. *yūḍhvam*) MS. KS. Cf. *āpo devīḥ śuddhāyuvaḥ śuddhā yūyaṁ devāṅ ūḍhvam* TS.: *devīr āpaḥ śuddhā voḍhvaṁ suparivīṣṭā deveṣu* VS. ŚB.

tasmin (Vait. MŚ. *tasmiṅs*) *tad eno vasavo ni dhetana* (Vait. *dhattana*) RV. TAA. Vait MŚ.

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu VS. ŚB.: *vasūnāṁ rudrāṇām ādityānāṁ sadasi sīda* TS. TB. ApŚ.

sā mā samiddhāyuṣā...samintām (one ms. *samindhatām*) TA.: *sā mā samiddhā...samindhiṣatām* MS.

See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplicating presents, *datta: dāta, dhāntu: dhatta, dātam: dattam.*

(b) *Subjunctives*

sa (AV. *sā*) *naḥ śarma trivarūthaṁ vi yaṅsat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

kataro meniṁ prati taṁ 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*) *pṛthivi mā ni bādhathāḥ* (TA. *vi bādhithāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

(d) *Optatives*

yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhaḥ RV.: *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhaḥ* TB. ApŚ.

pari vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāḥ (TB. *vṛñjyāt*) RV. TB. Other versions of this ancient formula §104, u. The RV. form is archaic.

devasya (*devasyāhaṁ*) *savituḥ save* (*prasave*)...*nākaṁ ruheyam* (GB. *roheyam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ. LŚ.

marto vurīta (TS. *vṛṇīta*, KS. *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See next.

dyumnaṁ (KS.* °*ne*) *vṛṇīta puṣyase* (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *vṛṇīta* 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

gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA. *bādhiṣṭām*, and *bādhethām*) AV. TA.

mainam agne vi daho mābhi śocaḥ (AV. *śūśucaḥ*) RV. AV. TA. AŚ. In a triṣṭubh stanza.

mainām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS. *maināṁ tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīḥ* (KS. *śocaḥ;* TS. *śūśucaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

mā bhaiṣīr (RVKh. AV. *bibher*) *na mariṣyasi* RVKh. AV. SMB. GG. ApMB.: *na mar° mā bibheḥ* AV.

ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan mā divā svāpsīḥ Kauś.: *mā divā suṣupthāḥ* (SMB. GG. HG. *svāpsīḥ*) ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG.: *mā suṣupthāḥ* ŚB. ApMB.: *divā mā svāpsīḥ* AG. *suṣupthāḥ* 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 29–82, 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 (bṛhataḥ) śambaraṁ bhinat (7. 18. 20 *bhet*), 1. 54. 4 and 7. 18. 20,

where *bhinat,* imperfect, and *bhet,* aorist, are merely *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* 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,

trīṇy 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 blah of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubtless later) form of the same pāda, JUB. reads

trīṇy āyūṅṣi me 'kṛṇoḥ, '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 (ānaḍ) indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ, '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 sūryaṁ tamaso nir 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 dhṛṣatā (and, *bṛhataḥ*) *śambaraṁ bhinat* (and, *bhet*) RV. (both). See above.

trīṇy āyūṅṣi te 'karam (JUB. *me 'kṛṇoḥ*) AV. JUB. See above.

tābhiḥ saṁrabdham anv avindan (TB. *saṁrabdho avidat*) *ṣaḍ urvīḥ* AV. TB. The TB. improves the meter.

avindac charyaṇāvati (MS. °*dañ śar*°) MS. KS.: *tad vidac charyaṇāvati* RV. AV. SV. TB.

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB.: *akṛṇoḥ sūryatvacam* RV. AV. JB.: *avakṛṇot sūryatvacam* MG.

yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat (HG. *vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat*) *phalam* (AV.

phalaṁ tat) AV. HG.: (*yadi vṛkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat*...ApMB.

apāṁ stoko abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB. °*paptac chivena;* HG. °*patac chivāya*) AV. ApMB. HG.

ulūkhalā (ApMB. *aulū°;* AV. *vānaspatyā*) *grāvāṇo 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. *aheṣata*) 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 avardhan,* and preserves the imperfect which is appropriate to that verse, in a mythic narrative relating to Agni.

pari ṣya suvāno akṣāḥ 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 akṣāḥ (SV. *akṣarat*) RV. SV. As prec.

asapatnā kilābhuvam (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB. Cf. *asapatnaḥ kilābhuvam* 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 ivābhavat (SV. MS. °*bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

yat some-soma ābhavaḥ (SV. *ābhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ (SV. °*bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.

apaśyaṁ (and, *adṛśan*) *tvāvarohantam* NīlarU. (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.: *sinīvāly acīkḷpat* AV. The imperfect is clearly secondary; cf. *akarat: akṛṇoḥ* 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 māvāḥ (ArS. NṛpU. *māvat*) ArS. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. The comm. on TB. *āvāḥ* = *āvṛṇoti, svīkaroti. āvāḥ*

seems indeed to be 4 aor. 3d sing. of *ā* + *vṛ*. But Deussen, *60 Up.* 240 and 765 'wer mich austeilt, der labt mich eben damit.'

[*abhi tvā varcasāsiñcan* (KS. TB. °*sicam*) AV. KS. TB. But the true AV. reading is °*sican;* 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 rajāṅsy amimīta sukratuḥ* RV.

agnir hotā ni ṣasādā yajīyān RV. TS. MS. KS.: *hotā mandro ni*° *ya*° RV. MS. KS. TB.: *agnir hotā ny asīdad yajīyān* RV. MS. KS. AB. AŚ.

ṛṣir hotā ny asīdat (TS.† *ni ṣasādā*) *pitā naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

tvam ā tatanthorv (ArS. *tanor urv*) *antarikṣam* RV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. TB.

ny anyā arkam abhito viviśre (AV. *'viśanta;* JB. *viviśyuḥ*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yāś ca tatnire*) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yā akṛntan 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. *takṣuḥ*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. But *takṣuḥ* is regarded by some scholars as aorist; see Renou 56; Wackernagel, I. 1, p. XV.

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpaḥ TB.: *vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpam* AV.

abhi pra ṇonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. *ṇonuvur* perf. (Whitney, *Grammar* §1018a); *nonavur* augmentless imperf. But see §23.

ahaṁ viveca (KS. *astabhnāṁ*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām* AV. KS.

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ. *mā*°; TS. ApMB.* *yam abadhnīta;* MŚ. MG. *yaj jagrantha*) *savitā suśevaḥ* (AV. °*vāḥ;* TS. ApMB.* *suketaḥ;* MŚ. MG. *satyadharmā*) RV. AV. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ApMB. MG.

prajā ha tisro (AV. JB. *tisro ha prajā*) *atyāyam īyuḥ* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

kiṁ svid vanaṁ ka u sa vṛkṣa āsīt (RV. VS. *āsa*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. Renou 43, and next.

āpo bhadrā (MS. KS. *devīr*) *ghṛtam id āpa āsan* (TS. *āsuḥ;* MS. *ghṛtam-invā ū āpaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec.

indrāvathuḥ (VSK. °*vadhuḥ;* KS.* TB. ApŚ. °*vataṁ*) *kāvyair* (TB. ApŚ. *karmaṇā*) *daṅsanābhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

yena devā amṛtam anv avindan AV.: *yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ* RV.

asya made ahim indro jaghāna RV.: *asya made jaritar indro 'him ahan* ŚŚ.

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV. MS. KS. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG.: *yā prathamā vyauchat* TS. PG. HG.: *arhaṇā putravāsasā* (read, *putra uvāsa sā*, see Jörgensen on SMB. 2. 8. 1) SMB. GG.

(*devīr dvāra indraṁ saṁghāte*) *vīḍvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB. *viḍvīr yāman vavardhayan*) VS. TB. If correct, *vavardhayan* would be a nonce-blend of imperf. and perf.; but Poona ed. of TB. reads *yāmann avar°*, and this is doubtless the true reading.

§219. *Aorist and Perfect*

vy ānaḍ (and, *āsa*) *indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ* RV. (both). See above, §215.

yena śravāṁsy ānaśuḥ (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV. Reference is to ancient events; the aor. is inappropriate.

viśvam id dhītam (MS. *dhitam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ. As prec.

narāśaṁse (VS. *nārā°*) *somapīthaṁ ya āśuḥ* (KS. *ānaśuḥ*) 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 dakṣiṇena TB.: *naro yad vā te hastayor 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 sūryaṁ tamaso nir amoci (TA. *mumoca*) MS. TA. 'By which (Trita) freed (of old) the sun from darkness.' An instructive case. According 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 sīm 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 influenced by a desire to improve the meter.

achidrośijaḥ kavayaḥ padānutakṣiṣuḥ (so emended; ms. *padāni takṣiṣvat*) KS.: *ȧchidrā uśijaḥ padānu takṣuḥ* TS. Cf. the variant *anavas te* etc., §218.

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS. ApŚ. *ādade;* MS. KS. MŚ. *ādi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yad antarikṣaṁ tad u me (MS.† *naḥ*) *pitābhūt* (VSK. *pitāsa*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB.

vrajaṁ gomantam uśijo vi vavruḥ (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.:. . .*dhiṣe* (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 *dhiṣe* possibly modal? Cf. §165.

vāk pataṁgāya śiśriye TS.: *vāk pataṁgo aśiśriyat* (KS. *°gā aśiśrayuḥ*) AV. KS. See note in Whitney on AV. 6. 31. 3, and cf. Conc.

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB. *°bhaiṣam*, 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): *pṛthivyām avacuścotaitat* TB. ApŚ.: *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ.: *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ.: *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat* MŚ. (so emended; but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss., would be *yatra ścutad*). The aorist *aścutat* is quoted only from grammarians in Whitney's *Roots*.

§220. *Pluperfect and other Preterites*

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (*°bhaiṣam, nāma jagrabham*); *pitur nāmeva jagrabha*, see just above.

priyāṁ yamas tanvaṁ prārirecīt (classed as anomalous plup.; AV. *tanvam ā rireca*) RV. AV.

puṁsaḥ kartur mātary āsiṣikta JB.: *puṁsā kartrā mātari mā niṣiñca* (read *niṣiñcata*?) KBU. Acc. to Deussen, *60 Up.* 25, three mss. of KBU. read *mā asiṣikta*.

indrāya suṣuvur (MS. KS. *indrāyāsuṣuvur*) *madam* VS. MS. KS. TB. But see §267.

ayaṁ dhruvo rayīṇāṁ ciketa yat (SV. *ciketad ā*) RV. SV. *ciketad* 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. *antāṁ*; 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 Stönner; PG. comm. reads *tatantha* and takes it as 2 sing. perf. act., despite the impossible sandhi).

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (so!: TA. *vya ca sarja*, comm. v. l. *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 Vṛtra, 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 triṣadhasthe sam īdhire (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 pṛkṣāso madhumanto asthuḥ (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 aichāma (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 hataḥ VS. etc., 'we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain', and: *idam ahaṁ 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 Paṇis, 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:

sarasvatīṁ sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KS., 'the pious called (call) upon Sarasvatī.' To be sure, AV. comm. reads *ahvayanta*.

tāṁ dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta (v. l. and p. p. °*dṛśyā*°) MS.: *tāṁ dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK. °*diśya*) *yajante* (KS.† *anudṛśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *tām u dhīrāso anudiśya 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 unedited part of MŚ.:

viśvasṛjaḥ prathame (TB. ApŚ. °*māḥ*) *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:

oṣadhayaḥ saṁ vadante (VS. *avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS., 'the plants confer(red) together.'

yatrauṣadhīḥ samagmata RV. VS.: *yad oṣadhayaḥ saṁgachante* (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 ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. *vavarti*) RV. MS. TB. 'one wagon-tire rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuṇa).' The present of TB., tho secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on *vavarta*.

prajāḥ pupoṣa purudhā vi rājati RV. VS.: *prajāḥ piparti bahudhā vi rājati* SV. ArS. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'he prospers (furthers) our offspring manifoldly' etc.

saṁ sūryeṇa rocate (SV. *didyute*, VS.* *didyutat*) RV. SV. VS. (both) MS. ŚB. TA. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 345. Of course *didyutat* may be modal.

nindati tvo anu tvo gṛṇāti (MS. *vavanda*) MS. KS.: *pīyati tvo anu tvo gṛṇāti* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. N. 'some blame, others praise.' Here the perfect *vavanda*, replacing the present *gṛṇāti* 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 vrataṁ cariṣyāmi...acārṣam.* A close parallel to this passage in TA. 4. 41. 1–6.

§229. *Present and Imperfect*

ulūkhalā (ApMB. *aul°*) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) ApMB. HG. MG.: *aulūkhalāḥ saṁpravadanti grāvāṇaḥ* SMB.: *vānaspatyā grāvāṇo 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.

sarasvatīṁ sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KS. But AV. comm. *ahvayanta.*

tāṁ dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta etc., see §223.

prasnāpayanty ūrmiṇam (SV. *°yanta ūrmayaḥ*) RV. SV. Note hiatus in SV.

saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati (MS.° *yām adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* RV. VS. MS. MahānU. ŚvetU. And others, see §50.

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam (and, *śikṣathaḥ*) RV. (both).

uro vā padbhir (Kauś. *paḍbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś. SMB. *°ta;* but Jörgensen *°te*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.

śrīṇānā apsu mṛñjata (SV. *vṛñjate*) RV. SV.

yaṁ nirmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yābhyāṁ nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BṛhU.

uta gāva ivādanti (TB. *ivādan*) RV. TB.

viśvasṛjaḥ prathame (TB. ApŚ. *°māḥ*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ. *āsate*) PB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

surayā mūtrāj janayanti (VS.† *°ta*) *retaḥ* VS. TB.: *surāyā mūtrāj janayanta* (KS.† *°ti*) *retaḥ* MS. KS.

oṣadhayaḥ saṁ vadante (VS. *sam avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.

gāvau te sāmanāv itaḥ (AV. *aitām*) RV. AV.

asurās tvā nyakhanan AV.: *nīcaiḥ khananty asurāḥ* AV.

andhena yat (TA. *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA. *°si*) AV. TA.

sapta svasāro abhi saṁ navante (AV. *navanta*) RV. AV. The AV. form may be considered injunctive.

adhīyata (ŚŚ. *°te*) *devarātaḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS. *°nāṁ huva*) *ūtaye* TS. MS. KS.

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV. Phonetic corruption in SV.; see §23, end.

āśūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye AV.: *āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS. MS. KS.

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait. °*hi;* VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. *hvāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ. ApS. Vait. Kauś. See §2.

§230. *Present and Aorist*

ulūkhalā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata, etc., see §229.

ud vāṁ pṛkṣāso etc., see §221.

yad oṣadhayaḥ (RV. VS. *yatrauṣadhīḥ*) *samagmata* (TS. MS. *saṁgachante*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV. KS. *urviyā,* MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

gāyatreṇa chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi krame TS.: *pṛthivyāṁ* (KS. °*vīṁ*) *viṣṇur* (MS. *viṣṇuḥ pṛthivyāṁ*) *vyakraństa gāyatreṇa chandasā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. And the same with *traiṣṭubhena...antarikṣam,* and *jāgatena...divam.*

yad rātriyāt (and, *ahnāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA.: *yad rātriyā* (MahānU. TA. v. l. *rātryā;* also, *ahnā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akāriṣam*) TA. MahānU. See §30.

prāṇasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB. *asmi,* 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 tvam abhivarṣasi PraśU.: *yadā prāṇo abhyavarṣīt* AV.

pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtim AV.: *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV. SV. PB.

gṛhān aimi (LŚ. HG. *emi;* ApŚ. *āgāṁ*) *manasā modamānaḥ* (AV. *sumanā vandamānaḥ;* ApŚ.* *modamānaḥ suvarcāḥ;* LŚ. *manasā daivena*) AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hataḥ (VSK. *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *idam ahaṁ rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

ye sarpāḥ...tebhya imaṁ balim āhārṣam AG.: *ye pārthivāḥ sarpās tebhya imaṁ baliṁ harāmi* HG.

rūpaṁ vo rūpeṇābhyemi (KS. *rūpeṇābhyāgāṁ*) *vayasā vayaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *rūpeṇa vo rūpam abhy āgām* (TS. ApŚ. *aimi*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

sam ākūtīr (RVKh. erroneously, *ākūtir*) *namāmasi* (MS. *anaṁsata*) RVKh. AV. MS.

pra vāṁ ratho manojavā asarji (and, *iyarti*) RV. (both)

samāvavartti (MS. MŚ. *samāvṛtat*) *pṛthivī* VS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

devā madhor vy aśnate (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

yasmād bhītā (and, *bhīto*) *niṣīdasi* MŚ.: *yasmād bhīṣā niṣīdasi* (TB. ApŚ. *nyaṣadaḥ;* ŚŚ. *nyasadaḥ*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thru fear of which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down).'

Participles:

tṛpat (SV. *tṛmpat*) *somam apibad viṣṇunā sutaṁ yathāvaśat* (SV.† *śam*) RV. AV. SV. TB.

§231. *Present and Perfect*

yasyāṁ karmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ. *kṛṇvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yāni karmāṇi cakrire* AV.

na hi te nāma jagrāha AV.: *na hy asyā* (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhṇāmi* RV. ApMB.

catustriṁśat tantavo ye vi tatnire VS.: *trayastriṁśat tantavo ye vi tatnire* (MS. *yaṁ vitanvate;* KS. AŚ. *yān vitanvate*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

atra śravāṁsi dadhire RV.: *tatra śravāṁsi kṛṇvate* SV.

purūvasur hi maghavan babhūvitha (RV. *sanād asi*) RV. SV.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ.: *vicaranty apativratā* 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 naiva kiṁ canāsa (VS. *jātaṁ na purā kiṁ canaiva*) VS. TA.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmād anyan na paraṁ kiṁ canāsti* Vait.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. *'sti*) VS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.: *yasmāt paraṁ nāparam asti kiṁ cit* TA. MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kiṁ canāsa* RV. TB.: *tasmād vai nānyat param asti tejaḥ* AV.: *yasmān nānyat param asti bhūtam* AV.

ād it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate TS.: *ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate* (AV. *pṛthivīṁ vy ūduḥ*) RV. AV. MS. KS. N.

ye pṛthivyās samājagmur iṣam ūrjaṁ vasānāḥ KS.: *samāgachantīṣam ūrjaṁ vasānāḥ* (ApŚ. *duhānāḥ*) MS. ApŚ.

agniṁ naras triṣadhasthe sam īdhire (SV. TS. *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS.
agnim indhe (RV. *īdhe*) *vivasvabhiḥ* RV. SV.
anu vām ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. *°ti*) RV. MS. TB.
nahi tad dṛśyate divā (ApŚ. *tad dadṛśe divā*, HG. *tad divā dadṛśe divaḥ*) AV. ApŚ. HG.
manye (KS. *mene*) *bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi* AV. TS. MS. KS.
yac chaṁ ca yoś 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).
yadi vāham anṛtadeva āsa (AV. *°devo asmi*) RV. AV.
prajāḥ piparti bahudhā (RV. VS. *puposa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.
eṣu vānaspatyeṣu ye 'dhi tasthuḥ AV.: *eṣu vṛkṣeṣu vānaspatyeṣv āsate* ApMB.
pīyati (MS. KS. *nindati*) *tvo anu tvo gṛṇāti* (MS. *vavanda*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
apāṁ napātaṁ pari tasthur (ArS. *°tam upa yanty*) *āpaḥ* RV. ArS. TS. MS. KS.
saṁ tvā tatakṣuḥ (LŚ. *°kṣṇuḥ*) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. If *tatakṣṇuḥ* is entitled to standing, it is a nonce blend of perfect and present (*takṣṇuvanti*).
indrasya tvā jaṭhare sādayāmi (AŚ. *dadhāmi*)...VSK. KB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.: *brahmaṇa indrasya tvā jaṭhare dadhuḥ* MŚ.† See §315.
dāsyann adāsyann uta saṁ gṛṇāmi (TA. *uta vā kariṣyan*, and so AVPpp., Barret, *JAOS.* 30. 213) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna uta saṁgṛṇāmi* AV.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyaḥ* TA.: *dhipsyaṁ vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ* MS.: *yad vādāsyan saṁjagārā janebhyaḥ* 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 formally connected, we list the participial variants in a separate list. The first six variants all occur in the same context; soma is referred to:
yamaḥ sūyamānaḥ VS.: *yamo 'bhiṣutaḥ* TS. KS.
rudra āhutaḥ TS.: *rudro hūyamānaḥ* VS. KS.
pitaro nārāśaṁsāḥ sannaḥ (VSK. *sādyamānaḥ*) VS. VSK.: *pitṛṇāṁ nārāśaṁsaḥ* TS.
viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭa ūrāv (VSK.† *ūrā*) *āsannaḥ* VS.† VSK.: *śipiviṣṭa āsāditaḥ* (KS.† *°viṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānaḥ*) TS. KS.
asuraḥ krīyamāṇaḥ (KS. *krītaḥ*, VS. *paṇyamānaḥ*) VS. TS. KS.

viśve devā aṅśuṣu nyuptaḥ (VSK. *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS. VSK.
uttiṣṭhaṅs (ŚŚ. *utthitas*) *tretā bhavati* AB. ŚŚ.
jajñānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV. SV. See §238, end.
atirātraṁ varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ;* KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.
tepāno (SV. *tapāno*) *deva rakṣasaḥ* RV. SV.
samākurvāṇaḥ (TB. *samācakrāṇaḥ*) *praruho ruhaś ca* AV. TB.
dhṛṣāṇaṁ (AV. °*ṇo*, read °*ṇaṁ* acc. to Whitney; AA. *dādhṛṣāṇaṁ*) *dhṛṣitaṁ* (AV. °*taḥ*, Whitney em. °*taṁ*) *śavaḥ* AV. AA. ŚŚ.†
harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N. *dhṛṣatā* is an adverbial instr. of the pres. act. pple.
[*viśvasyāṁ viśi praviviśivāṅsam* (KS. °*viviśānam*, quoted in Conc. as *praviśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS. See §§69, 273.]

§233. *Present and Pluperfect*

rudrān devān yajñenāpiprem ApŚ.: *rudrān prīṇāmi* 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 imaṁ baliṁ hariṣyāmi tebhya imaṁ balim ahārṣam ApMB.: *tebhyo namo 'stu balim ebhyo harāmi* PG.: *tebhyo baliṁ puṣṭikāmo*

harāmi (AG. *dadāmi*) TAA. MahānU. AG. Cf. *balim ebhyo harāmīmam* PG.

agne vratapate vratam ālapsye (KS. *ālabhe*) MS. KS. MŚ. Cf. *agne vratapate vrataṁ cariṣyāmi* VS. *etc.*, see Conc.

(b) *Participles, Present and Future*

agniṁ khananta (TS. *khaniṣyanta*) *upasthe asyāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

bhūtam asi bhavad asi Kauś.: *bhūtam asi bhaviṣyad asi* ŚŚ. 8. 21. 3.

(c) *Participles, Aorist and Future*

ratho na vājaṁ saniṣyann (SV. *saniṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. See §28, and Bloomfield, *SBE.* 42. 418.

(*net tvā...*) *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV.: *net tvā...dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TA. See §27. The AV. reading was probably *vidhakṣyan.*

saṁhānāya svāhā VS. MS.: *saṁhāsyate svāhā* TS. KSA.

(d) *Participles, Perfect and Future*

(*suṣvāṇāsa indra stumasi tvā*) *sasavāṁsaś ca* (SV. *saniṣyantaś 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.'

vājaṁ tvāgne jigīvāṁsaṁ sasanvāṁsaṁ (and, *jeṣyantaṁ saniṣyantaṁ*) *saṁmārjmi* 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 *taṁ 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 jaṅghnataḥ (SV. PB. *jighnataḥ*) RV. SV. PB.

indro vṛtrāṇi jighnate (ŚŚ. *jaṅghanat*) RV. AV. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. passage is in a different context.

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat;* VSK. *nidhītaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §248.

sarasvatyā (AV. °*tyām*) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā;* AV. erroneously *maṇāv;* SMB. *vanāva*, corrected in Jörgensen to *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS. *acakṛ*°, v. l. *acarkṛ*°*;* SMB. *carkṛdhi*, but Jörgensen *acakṛṣuḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. See §136. Jörgensen assumes that *acakṛṣuḥ* is a phonetic variant of *acark*°, by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

taṁ sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*, KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh. AV. TS. etc., see §78.

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG. *yūḍhvam*) ApŚ. MŚ. HG.: *mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yuñgdhvam* AŚ.: *mā vo 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* Kauś.

dakṣiṇaṁ (and, *savyaṁ*) *pādam avanenije* AB. SMB. GG.: *imau pādāv avaniktau* Kauś.

upaveṣopaviḍḍhi naḥ TB. ApŚ.: cf. *veṣo 'sy upaveṣo dviṣato grīvā upa veviḍḍhi* VSK.

yaṁ tvām ayaṁ (TS. KS. *tvāyaṁ*) *svadhitis tejamānaḥ* (TS. KS. *tetijānaḥ;* MS. *tigmatejāḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ. *'po*) *aganīgan* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *agamat*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. MŚ.

ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne AV.: *agne devānām ava heḍa 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. *jalgalūti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 1002d; *galgalīti* is irregularly reduplicated.

kanīkhunad iva sāpayan TB.: *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. Unintelligible 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.), *vedir bhūmir akalpata*, 'the earth shaped itself into a vedi': *vediṁ bhūmiṁ kalpayitvā*, 'he having shaped the earth into a vedi.' Or, in different texts, *apāṁ sadhiṣi sīda* TS.: *apāṁ tvā sadhiṣi* (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* 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-Prakrit 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 dikṣu sādayāmi KS. ApŚ.: *viśvāsu dikṣu sīda* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

arṇave tvā sadane sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *arṇave sadane sīda* TS. ApŚ.

sarire (MS. *salile*) *tvā sadane sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *salile sadane sīda* TS.

samudre tvā sadane sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *samudre sadane sīda* TS.

apāṁ tvā kṣaye sādayāmi VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *apāṁ kṣaye sīda* TS.

apāṁ tvā gahman sādayāmi samudrasyodmann avataś chāyāyām MS. MŚ.: *apāṁ tvodman sādayāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *apāṁ gambhan sīda* VS. ŚB.

pṛthivyā mūrdhan sīda yajñiye loke KS.: *pṛthivyās tvā mūrdhan sādayāmi yajñiye loke* ApŚ.

un nambhaya pṛthivīm TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. 'split open the earth': *pra nabhasva pṛthivi* AV. 'burst open, O earth!' AVPpp. agrees with the others.

evam aham āyuṣā medhayā varcasā...samedhiṣīya SMB.: *evaṁ mām āyuṣā...samedhaya* ApMB. HG. Cf. *brahmavarcasenānnādyena samedhaya* AG. HG. 'May I prosper (make me to prosper) with life' etc.

brahmavarcasaṁ māgamyāt TS. 'let holy splendor come to me': *brahmavarcasaṁ mā gamayet* Vait. 'let him make holy splendor come to me.'

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB. ŚŚ.: *mā cakrā āvṛtsata* MS.†: *apa cakrāṇi vartaya* TB. ApŚ.

dṛṁhantāṁ daivīr viśaḥ kalpantāṁ manuṣyāḥ KS.†: *kalpayataṁ daivīr viśaḥ kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ* TB. ApŚ.

ṛṣayaḥ (sc. *tṛpyantu*) AG. ŚG.: (*om*) *ṛṣīṁs tarpayāmi* BDh. Also with *nakṣatrāṇi*, etc.

agnis tṛpyatu ŚG.: (*om*) *agniṁ tarpayāmi* BDh.

brahmā (sc. *tṛpyatu*) AG. ŚG.: (*oṁ*) *brahmāṇaṁ tarpayāmi* BDh. Also with *prajāpatiḥ, viṣṇuḥ, vāyuḥ,* etc.

saṁjīvā (ApŚ. AŚ.* °*vikā*) *nāma stha tā imaṁ* (AŚ. *imam amuṁ*) *saṁjīvayata* MS. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ.: *saṁjīvā stha saṁjīvyāsam* AV.

uttamaṁ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rohayainam;* 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*).

jaj̃ñānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* 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:

gaṇān me mā vi tīṭṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*) TS. MŚ. 'do not make my troops go thirsty': *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣan* 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 kṛṇvantu LŚ. 'they (waters) shall flow, shall rain, shall perform': *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV. 'they rain, they cause to rain'.

maṇḍūkyā su saṁgamaḥ (TA. *gamaya*) RV.† TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu śaṁ bhuvaḥ* 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 *maṇḍūkyāsu* (= *maṇḍūkaplavanayogyāsv apsu!*) *saṁgamaya* (= *imaṁ pretadehaṁ prāpaya,* which is unintelligent).

(*vi na indra mṛdho jahi*) *kanīkhunad iva sāpayan* (AŚ. *canīkhudad yathāsapam*) TB. AŚ. Dubious; TB. comm. connects *kanīkhunad* with *khan;* cf. Whitney, *Roots,* s. v. *khud.*

aśvaṁ medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB. ŚŚ. See §30.

Participles:

viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭa ūrāv (VSK. *ūrā*) *āsannaḥ* VS. VSK.: *śipiviṣṭa āsāditaḥ* (KS. °*viṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānaḥ*) TS. KS. Both forms may be rendered by the English 'seated'; yet the sense is not quite the same, since *sannaḥ* is neuter (intransitive), 'having taken his seat', while the other forms mean 'having been (or being) seated, given a seat.'

rucito gharmaḥ MS. KB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *rocito gharmo rucīya* TA.

deva gharma rucitas tvaṁ deveṣv ā MS.: *rocitas tvaṁ deva gharma deveṣv asi* 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 Svarṇara('s sacrifice)'; or,

mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇaḥ, 3. 59. 1, and *janaṁ ca mitro yatati bruvāṇaḥ*, 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 airayataṁ svar dṛśe 1. 112. 5; *ud vandanam airataṁ daṁsanābhiḥ* 1. 118 6, 'ye (Aśvins) brought forth Vandana' etc.

In the Vālakhilya passages *yaṁ te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ*, and, *yaṁ te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayaḥ*, 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, *ajījano hi pavamāna sūryam:*

tāsāṁ svasṝr ajanayat (MS. *svar ajanan*, KS.† *svasṝr* [ms. *svasūr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS. The TS. is poor metrically.

madhu janiṣye (AV. *janiṣīya*) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ. 'I shall (may I) generate honey': *madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayiṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātaraḥ śundhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu;* TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

arejetāṁ (TB. *arejayatāṁ*) *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 *uttamaṁ nākam* etc., §238.

ūrdhvām enām (VS. ŚB. LŚ. also, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS. ŚB. also, *uc chrāpaya;* MS. *uñ chrāpaya*) 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 pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA. *dadharṣa;* ŚŚ. *dadharṣayā*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See §140.

ud dharṣantāṁ maghavan vājināni AV.: *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV. *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* 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.

prāṇaṁ me tarpayata (ŚŚ. *tṛmpa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

satyena tvābhighārayāmi (AŚ. °*bhijigharmi*) TS. MS. AŚ. MŚ. 'I sprinkle thee with truth.' Cf. *satyābhighṛtaṁ* (KS. °*tam asi*) *satyena tvābhighārayāmi* MS. KS.

athaite dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānaṁ kalpantām ihaiva HG.: *atho yatheme dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānaṁ kalpayantām ihaiva* MG.: *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) AG.: *punar agnayo dhiṣṇyā* (ŚŚ. °*yāso*) *yathāsthānaṁ kalpantām* (AV. *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva;* ŚŚ. *yathāsthānaṁ dhārayantām ihaiva*) AV. ŚB. BṛhU. ŚŚ. Cf. *yathāsthānaṁ kalpayadhvam* ApŚ.

sūcībhiḥ śamyantu (TS. KSA. *śimyantu;* MS. *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both *śamyantu* and *śamayantu* seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill'. For *śimyantu* see Keith on TS. 5. 2. 11. 1.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu AV.: 'Vaiśvānara the purifier shall purify me': *vāiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ* TA. 'Vaiśvānara shall purify us with purifiers.'

[*nama uccairghoṣāyākrandayate* VS. TS.: *nama ākrandayata uccair ghoṣāya* 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 guṇa and vṛddhi stages (Whitney, *Grammar* 1042e, g); and in one the stems *sūdaya* and *svadaya* interchange, but the 'causative' value is here somewhat dubious:

yavayārātīḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: *yavayārātim* (KS. and MS. p. p. *yāv*°) MS. KS. Kauś.

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS.: *yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ* TS. VS. ŚB. Kauś.: *yavaya* (v. l. *yā*°) *dveṣo asmat* MS.: *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣāṅsi* TS.

vasoṣpate ni ramaya (N. and 2 mss. of AV. *rām*°) AV. N.: *vasupate vi ramaya* MS.

agnir havyaṁ (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading is metrically poor.

[*tatra havyāni 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 prehi prathamo devayatām (AV. *devatānām;* MS. KS. *devāyatām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. *amitrā*°) RV. AV. TS. KS.

janiyanti nāv agravaḥ AV.: *janīyanto nv agravaḥ* RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

putrīyantaḥ (AV. *putriyanti*) *sudānavaḥ* 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, janī*); cf. however Whitney §1059d.

devā devebhyo (MS. *deveṣv*) *adhvaryanto* (KS. *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

apo vṛṇānaḥ pavate kavīyan (TS. *kavyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

The remaining variants are unclassifiable. In the next following, both *a-* and *aya*-stems are best regarded as denominatives (:*dīkṣā*)—

agnir dīkṣitaḥ pṛthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu (JB. *dīkṣeta*)...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: *amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam* (Kauś. °*gaṁ yathālokam*) *āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŚ. °*yīṣata;* ŚŚ. *avīvṛṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 285.

The stem *hṛṇīya*, in *vājebhir mā hṛṇīyathāḥ* SV.: *mā hṛṇīthā 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 aṅśuḥ*, and *yas te drapsa skanno yas te aṅśuḥ*.

§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 vimṛjaḥ sūryasya PB.: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *tisro vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ sava* [*iti*]) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha PB.: *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa te* (MŚ. *tena*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

manyunā kṛtam BDh.: *manyur akārṣīt* TAA. MahānU. ApDh.

śirasā dhārayiṣyāmi (MahānU. *dhāritā devi*) TA. MahānU.

caritrāṅs te śundhāmi VS. ŚB.: *śuddhāś caritrāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

stomasya dhāman nihitaṁ (KS. *nyadhāṁ*) *purīṣyam* MS. KS.

āpāma manasā VS. ŚB. KŚ. (VS. comm. *prāptavantaḥ*): *āptaṁ manaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

upasṛjāmi ApŚ. MŚ.: *upasṛṣṭaḥ* ŚB.

yasmin devā adhi viśve niṣeduḥ (Mbh. *viṣaktāḥ*) RV. AV. TB. TA. Mahān U. Śvet U. Nṛp U. N. Mbh. (ed. Sukthankar, 1. 3. 65c).

hato me pāpmā AG. MG.: *pāpmā me hataḥ* AG.: *pāpmānaṁ te 'pahanmaḥ* KŚ.: *pāpmānaṁ me hata* (Kauś. *'pa jahi*) MG. Kauś. And others, see Conc. under *pāpmānaṁ me.*

āhataṁ (VS. ŚB. *āhanti*) *gabhe pasaḥ* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB.: *āhataṁ paso nicalcalīti* MS.

hatas te atriṇā krimiḥ (GG. *kṛ°*) SMB. GG. KhG.: *atriṇā tvā krime hanmi* TA. ApŚ.: *atrivad vaḥ krimayo hanmi* AV. 'Slain is thy worm by Atri', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (like) Atri.'

athaiṣāṁ bhinnakaḥ kumbhaḥ.SMB. 'then their receptacle has been miserably smashed' (imprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous, diminutive): *bhinadmi te kuṣumbham* AV. (for which Ppp. has, *atho bhinadmi taṁ kumbham*).

ghanena hanmi vṛścikam RVKh. AV.: *hataṁ vṛścika te viṣam* Mahābh.

apiśīrṇā u pṛṣṭayaḥ: and, *pṛṣṭīr api śṛṇīmasi* AV. (both)

mithunaṁ karṇayoḥ kṛdhi (SMB. *kṛtam*) AV. SMB. 'Mark the pair (of calves; or, the pair is marked) on the ears.'

śraddhāyāṁ prāṇe niviśyāmṛtaṁ hutam (TAA. *niviṣṭo 'mṛtaṁ juhomi*) TA. TAA. MahānU. BDh. VHDh.: *amṛtaṁ ca prāṇe juhomi* Prāṇāg U. Also with *apāne, udāne, vyāne, samāne;* and the same without the word *śraddhāyāṁ*, see Conc.

[*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS.: *yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ saṁbabhūtha* (TB. Bibl. Ind. ed. *°va*, Poona ed. correctly *°tha*) TB. ApŚ. But both AV. (most mss. *bibhṛto* or *bibhrato*) and KS. (v. l. *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. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. TS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *ye apsu ṣadāṅsi* (KS. *'psu sadāṅsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS. 'Their (whose) seat was made in the waters': 'who made their (own) seats in the waters.'

tvaṁ yajñeṣv īḍyaḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tvāṁ yajñeṣv īḍate* RV.

antar dadhe parvataiḥ HG. ApMB. 'I interpose with the mountains': *antarhitā girayaḥ* ŚG. 'the mountains have been interposed.'

antar dadha ṛtubhiḥ HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā ma ṛtavaḥ* ŚG. As prec.

rocate VADh.: *rocitam* MDh.

dakṣiṇaṁ (and, *savyaṁ*) *pādam avanenije* AB. SMB. GG. KhG. 'I scrub the right (left) foot': *imau pādāv avaniktau* 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 vāṁ devahitaṁ sadas (TB. ApŚ. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* (TB.* ApŚ.* *sado mitam*) VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *nānā hi devaiś cakṛpe sado vām* KS. Here *cakṛpe* (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*) *jātaḥ* (JUB. *jajñe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS. TA. ŚvetU. MahānU. ŚirasU. JUB.: *prathamo jātaḥ* etc. AV.: 'he was the first born (of old), and he is yet within the womb.'

yo agnir agner adhyajāyata (TS. MS. KS. *agnes tapaso 'dhi jātaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yas ta ātmā paśuṣu praviṣṭaḥ TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *yas te prāṇaḥ paśuṣu praviṣṭaḥ* KŚ. VSK.: *yā te tanūḥ pitṛṣv āviveśa* AV. Here the participle, tho passive in form, is active in meaning, since the verb is intransitive.

ya āviṣṭo vayassu yo mṛgeṣu AV.: *vayāṅsi ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS. KS. ApŚ.

dīkṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyaṇaḥ MS. MŚ.: *dīkṣito 'yaṁ brāhmaṇaḥ* ŚB.: *adīkṣiṣṭāyaṁ brāhmaṇaḥ* TS. ApŚ.

aindra udāno aṅge-aṅge nidhītaḥ (VSK. *nidīdhe*) VS. VSK. ŚB.: *aindro 'pāno* (and, *vyāno*) *aṅge-aṅge vibobhuvat* (MS.† *ni bo°;* KS. *nidīdhyat*)

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 *nidīdhyat* cf. the next.

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nidhītaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. The active is anomalous; Mahīdhara, *nihitaḥ*; Keith, 'may...be set'. It seems that it cannot be transitive.

yatrā (MS. **yatra*) *naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ paretāḥ* (RV. MS.* *pareyuḥ*) RV. AV. MS. (both): *yenā te pūrve pitaraḥ paretāḥ* AV.

yasmād bhīṣā saṁjñaptāḥ (ApŚ. *samajñāsthāḥ*) 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. l. °*rātsam*, the correct reading) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. See §§28, 85. As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first group above.

oṁ svadhocyatām AG.: *astu svadheti vaktavyam* Vait.: *prakṛtebhyaḥ svadhocyatām* YDh.

ṛtubhiḥ prabhuḥ (KS. *prābhavat*) TS. KS.

saṁvatsareṇa paribhūḥ (KS. *paryabhavat*) TS. KS.

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛtaḥ (AV. °*nyo 'bhavat*) RV. AV. VS. TA. VāDh.

tapasā ye svar yayuḥ (TA. *suvar gatāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

amṛtatvāya ghoṣayaḥ (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.

bradhnaḥ samīcīr uṣasaḥ sam airayat (AV. °*yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. With the AV. reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whitney reads *airayat* with the rest; but cf. prec.

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācācchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdhaṁ hotrām airayat (KŚ. °*yant;* TA. *erayasva;* ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KŚ.

vavakṣa (3 sg. perf. mid.) *ṛṣvo astṛtaḥ* RV. AV.: *vavakṣur* (adj., desiderative) *ugro astṛtaḥ* TB. ApŚ.

vaśāyā dugdham apiban, and (next vs) *va° dugdhaṁ pītvā*, AV.

patnī yīyapsyate (ŚŚ. *yīyapsyamānā*) *jaritaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ.

varebhir varāṅ abhi ṣu pra sīdataḥ (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 *gataḥ* 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 sukṛto havam eti (TS. MS. KS. *havam upa gantā*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

somaḥ punānaḥ kalaśeṣu sīdati (and, *sattā*) RV. (both)

yantā no avṛkaṁ chardiḥ; pra no yachatād (*prāsmai yachatam*) *avṛkaṁ pṛthu chardiḥ* 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 copulaic 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 enaḥ kṛtam asti kiṁ cit (ŚŚ. *enaś cakṛmeha kiṁ cit;* ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. *asti pāpam*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

ayaṁ vai tvām ajanayad ayaṁ tvad adhijāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ.: *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayaṁ jāyatāṁ punaḥ* VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmap.: *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayaṁ tvad adhi jāyatām asau* (AG. *asau svargāya lokāya*) *svāhā* AG. Kauś.: *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatām* JB.

kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyaṁ bhūt (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV. TS. MS. N.

devo devebhyaḥ pavasva VS. ŚB.: *devo devānāṁ pavitram asi* TS. MS. KS.

viśvā rūpāṇi pari tā babhūva (AV. *paribhūr jajāna*) AV. VS. ŚB.

tayāhaṁ vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca ApMB.: *vardhiṣīmahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣīmahi* (MS. MŚ. *pyāyiṣīmahi*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG.

prathasva VS. ŚB.: *pratho 'si* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

sa yathā tvaṁ rucyā roco 'sy evāhaṁ paśubhiś ca brāhmaṇavarcasena ca rucişīya (MS. *tvaṁ rucyā rocasa evam ahaṁ rucyā rocişīya*) AV. MS. And similarly *sa yathā tvaṁ bhrājatā* etc., see §57.

rocişīyāhaṁ manuşyeşu TA.: *surucitaṁ māṁ devamanuşyeşu 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 mukhaṁ mā na āyuḥ pramoşīḥ HG. 'make lustrous our face, do not steal our life': *śundhi śiro māsyāyuḥ pra moşīḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG. 'purify his head, do not steal his life': *śumbhaṁ mukhaṁ mā na āyuḥ pra moşīḥ* AV. 'purifying our face, do not steal our life.' In AV. Whitney proposes to read with one ms. and Ppp. *śumbhan*; he calls *śumbhaṁ* unintelligible, but it seems to us interpretable as a gerund (Whitney, *Grammar*, §995). SPP. *śubhaṁ*.

(*manīşibhiḥ pavate pūrvyaḥ kavir, nṛbhir yataḥ pari kośāṅ acikradat,*) *tritasya nāma janayan madhu kşarad,* (*indrasya vāyoḥ sakhyāya kartave*) RV. 9. 86. 20, 'thru the wise (sacrificers) the sage of yore (Soma) purifies himself; held by men he hath 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 *kşaran*, 'flowing', replaces the finite verb *kşarat*, 'shall make flow'; the construction is equally easy either way, because *kşaran* 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.: (*enāṁ śiśuḥ krandaty ā kumāra*) *ā syandantāṁ dhenavo nityavatsāḥ* ŚG.: (*ā tvā śiśur ā krandatv*) *ā gāvo dhenavo vāśyamānāḥ* PG.

vājino vājajito 'dhvana skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāḥ kāṣṭhāṁ gachata VS. ŚB.: *adhvānaṁ skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāḥ kāṣṭhāṁ gachata* MS.: *vi yojanā mimīdhvam adhvana skabhnīta kāṣṭhāṁ gachata* TS. Here two participles, dependent on a following finite verb, vary with two finite verbs correlative with the latter.

ghnanto (MS. ApŚ. *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāṇy aprati* AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. The interchanging forms are preceded by finite verbs.

[*indra iva vṛtrahā tiṣṭha* (MS. *dasyuhā bhava*),] *apaḥ kṣetrāṇi saṁjayan* (MS. °*ya*) MS. TB. ApŚ.

āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (MS. KS. °*tā*) *avihrutam* 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.

taṁ tvābhiḥ suṣṭutibhir vājayanta, ājiṁ na jagmur girvāho aśvāḥ RV.: *taṁ tvā giraḥ suṣṭutayo vājayanty, ājiṁ na girvavāho jigyur aśvāḥ* SV.

anavahāyāsmān (KS. adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS. *patheta*, KS. *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtāṁ loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS. MS. KS.

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakubhi* (TB. Poona ed. also °*bhi*, but comm. and Bibl. Ind. ed. °*bhiḥ*; comm. gloss *uttamāñge*; MS. *kakubbhiḥ*; AV. *kakudi*) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS. MS. TB. Followed in all by *tato na ugro vi bhajā vasūni*.

viśvāvasur abhi tan no gṛṇātu, divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāḥ RV. TA.: *vīrebhir adhi tan no gṛṇāno, rajaso vimāno, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhiya invāno dhiya in no avyāt* MS. (apparently defective and corrupt).

[*upa no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. *utā no mitrāvaruṇā ihāgatam*)] *anvādīdhyāthām iha* (MS. *manmā dīdhyānā utā*) *naḥ sakhāyā* MS. TB. TA.

dāsyann adāsyann uta saṁgṛṇāmi (TA. *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV. TA.: *dhipsyaṁ vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ* MS.: *yad vādāsyan saṁjagārā janebhyaḥ* TB. Ppp. also reads *vā kariṣyan* for *saṁgṛṇāmi* of AV. 6. 71. 3. For others, see §231.

uṣasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr dadhat (so read with Poona ed. of TB.) TB. ApŚ.: *uṣām-uṣāṁ śreyasīṁ dhehy asmai* AV. Joined in TB. ApŚ. to what in AV. is the next verse, ending: *rāyaspoṣam iṣam ūrjam asmāsu dhehi* TB. ApŚ., *aiṣām ūrjaṁ rayim asmāsu dhehi* AV.

tiraḥ purū cid arṇavaṁ jaganvān (SV. °*vāṁ jagamyāḥ*) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV. AV. by *vavṛtyām* (SV. *vavṛtyuḥ*).

[*iyarti dhūmam aruṣaṁ* (MS. KS. °*ṣo*) *bharibhrad*] *uc chukreṇa śociṣā dyām inakṣan* (TS. ApMB. °*kṣat*) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ApMB. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 299.

upasṛjan (AŚ. °*jaṁ*; ŚG. *upa sṛjaṁ*) *dharuṇaṁ mātre* (AB. AŚ. omit *mātre*) *dharuṇo mātaraṁ* (AB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. *mātaraṁ dharuṇo*; ApŚ. *mātarā dharuṇo*) *dhayan* (followed by, *rāyas poṣam...asmāsu dīdharat*) VS. AB. ŚB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. But the reading *-sṛjaṁ* 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.'

[*ṛdhad yas te sudānave*] *dhiyā martaḥ śaśamate*, [*ūtī ṣa bṛhato divo, dviṣo aṁho 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 naro*] *dhiyā martasya śamataḥ*, [*ūtī sa bṛhato divo, dviṣo aṁho na tarati*] SV. (very corrupt; hardly deserves citation under this rubric; *śamataḥ* gen. sg. pple. with *martasya*).

sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantī parameṇa paśunā krīyasva (KS. *krīyase*) MS. KS.: *parameṇa paśunā krīyase sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣeyam* VS. ŚB.: *tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyāś carameṇa paśunā krīṇāmi* TS.

saha jarāyuṇāva sarpatu (ApMB. °*yuṇā niṣkramya*) HG. ApMB. Prec. by *ejatu* in both. For other forms of the variant see §329.

[*hinvāno vācam iṣyasi, pavamāna vidharmaṇi*] *akrān devo na sūryaḥ* RV.: [*jaṁñāno vācam iṣyasi, pavamāna vidharmaṇi*] *krandaṁ devo na sūryaḥ* SV.

tā devīr devatremaṁ yajñaṁ nayata (KS. *kṛtvā*, TS. MS. *dhatta*), followed by *upahūtāḥ somasya pibata*, VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dīrgham āyur yajamānāya kṛṇvan (MŚ. *vinda*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.; followed in TB. ApŚ. by *aṅgdhi*, in MŚ. by *āsīdasva*.

te (masc. plur.) *no nakṣatre havam āgamiṣṭhāḥ* ('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.

svargāṅ (AŚ. text *svagāṅ*; Vait. *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ. °*taḥ*; Vait. *jayema*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Preceded by *agman*. AŚ., if not corrupt, understands *jayataḥ* as nom. plur. pple.; cf. §306.

avimuktacakra (sc. *tīre*) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā* (sc. *prajāḥ*) *āsīnāḥ* ApMB. HG. (here preceded by *āhuḥ*).

ahāḥ śarīraṁ (TB. *ahāc charīraṁ*) *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.

sarāḥ patatriṇīḥ sthana (KS. *stha*) TS. MS. KS.: *sarā patatriṇī bhūtvā* AV. (here followed by *ehi*): *sīrāḥ patatriṇī sthana* RV. VS.

abhyarṣan (SV. *abhy arṣa*) *stotṛbhyo vīravad yaśaḥ* RV. SV. In both *pavate* precedes.

(*ā te yatante rathyo yathā pṛthak*) *chardhāṅsy agne ajarāṇi* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See §27.

tiṣṭhann (GB. *caratv*) *āsīno yadi vā svapann api* ŚB. GB. Prec. in both by *śramād anyatra parivartamānaḥ* (not °*nāḥ* as Conc. reads).

(*vi yat pavitraṁ dhiṣaṇā atanvata*) *gharmaṁ śocantaḥ* (AŚ. *śocanta*, ŚŚ. °*taṁ*) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. We have no confidence in the edition of AŚ. on such a reading as *śocanta*.

abandhv eke dadataḥ prayachanto, dātuṁ 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, dātuṁ cec chaknuvāṅsaḥ svarga eṣām* TA. Both forms are poor and probably corrupt. In TA. read *dadataḥ* with comm. and Poona ed. text; probably also *chaknavāṅ* (or better °*vān*) *sa* with Poona ed. text, which notes v. l. *chaknuvāṅsaḥ*; the comm. explains *prayachāt* as *prayachanti*, which suggests that *prayachān* is to be read with AVPpp.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *vicaranty apativratā* ŚG. MDh. Both preceded by finite *pralulubhe* or *pralulobha*.

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS. °*gaḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *saṁsarpa* (KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. °*gāṅl 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. *yajānaḥ*; some mss. *yajamāno;* TB. comm. interprets as pple.) *devāṅ* (MS. *devo*) *ajaraḥ suvīraḥ* (associated with *gopāya naḥ*) MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. It is questionable whether *yajā no* has any standing.

datto (= *datta u*) *asmabhyaṁ* (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsma*°, SMB. *dattāsma*°) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS. Followed by sundry finite verbs.

sa īṁ vṛṣājanayat (KS. *vṛṣā janayaṅs*) *tāsu garbham, sa īṁ śiśur dhayati taṁ 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.

śataṁ jīvantu (AV. °*taḥ*) *śaradaḥ purūcīḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. Followed by *antar* (*tiro*) *mṛtyuṁ dadhatāṁ* (*dadhmahe*) *parvatena.*

āprīṇānau vijahatā arātiṁ (TB. ApŚ. *saṁjānānau vijahatām arātīr*), *divi* (KS. *dive*) *jyotir uttamam* (TB. ApŚ. *ajaram*) *ārabhethām* (TB. ApŚ. °*tām*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *vijahatā*(*u*), dual pple.; °*tām*, 3 dual impv.

prajām ajaryāṁ naḥ kuru, rāyas poṣeṇa saṁ sṛpa SMB.: *prajāṁ suvīrāṁ* (PG. *suvīryāṁ*) *kṛtvā, viśvam* (PG. *dīrgham*) *āyur vy aśnavat* (PG. °*vai*) TS. PG.

ahar-ahar (AV. TS. *rātriṁ-rātrim;* MS. KS. ŚB.* *rātrīṁ-rātrīm*) *aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ahar-ahar balim it te harantaḥ* AV.: *viśvāhā te sadam id bharema* AV. Followed by finite verb.

(*upakṣaranti juhvo ghṛtena*) *priyāṇy aṅgāni tava vardhayantīḥ* (*sc. srucaḥ*) TB.: *abhikṣaranti juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā parūṁṣi tava vardhayanti* (one ms. °*tī*, pointing also to °*tīḥ*) Vait.

sa pūrvavaj janayañ (TA. ApŚ. °*yaj*) *jantave dhanam* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Followed by *pary eti* (*pari yāti*) in next pāda. The secondary character of *janáyaj* (so!) in TA. is emphasized by its retention of the accent of *janáyan.*

tat tvam ārohāso medhyo bhava TA. (Poona ed. *bhavam*, but v. l. 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.*

pratiṣṭhāṁ gacha (GB. *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhāṁ mā gamaya* (GB. °*yet*) AB. GB. Gaastra considers GB. corrupt.

dyumnaṁ vṛṇīta puṣyase (KS. *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *dyumne vareta 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).

ahīṅś ca sarvāṅ jambhaya, sarvāṅś ca yātudhānyo, 'dharācīḥ parā suva KS.: *ahīṅś ca sarvān* (TS. °*vāṅ*) *jambhayan, sarvāṅś ca yātudhānyaḥ* (VS. MS. °*dhānyo, 'dharācīḥ parā suva*) VS. TS. MS.

dhvāntaṁ vātāgram anusaṁcarantau (PB. *abhisaṁ*°) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss. *vātāgnim*, both texts) *abhi ye saṁ caranti* MŚ. MG. The principal verb follows in the last pāda.

sāhyāma (RV. *sāhvāṁso*) *dasyum avratam* RV. SV. Prec. in both by 1 plur. finite verbs.

samānaṁ yonim anu saṁcarantī (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*.

ādityaṁ garbhaṁ payasā sam añgdhi (TS. KS. *samañjan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *parivṛṅgdhi*.

ubhayor lokayor ṛddhvā (MŚ. *ṛdhnomi*) TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by (*ati*) *tarāmi*.

[*punāno vāraṁ pary ety* (SV. *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam*] *śyeno na yoniṁ 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.

janiyanti nāv agravaḥ, putriyanti sudānavaḥ AV.: *janīyanto nv agravaḥ, putrīyantaḥ sudānavaḥ* RV. SV. (followed by *havāmahe*).

[*vṛṣṭiṁ divaḥ pavasva rītim apāṁ* (SV. *apo*)] *jinvā* (SV. *jinvan*) *gaviṣṭaye dhiyaḥ* RV. SV.

jyok ca sūryaṁ dṛśe (LŚ. *dṛśeyam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. LŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

(*parārciṣā mūradevāñ chṛṇīhi*) *parāsutṛpaḥ śośucataḥ śṛṇīhi* (RV. °*tṛpo abhiśośucānaḥ*) RV. AV.

devā amuñcann (AV. *muñcanto*) *asṛjan vy* (AV. *nir*) *enasaḥ* AV. TB. HG. ApMB.

puṣyema (AA. *puṣyanto*) *rayiṁ dhīmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV. AA. ŚŚ. See Keith, AA. 285, note 7.

(*yo . . .*) *hṛdārātīyād* (KS. °*yann*) *abhidāsad agne* KS. TB. ApŚ. Caland on ApŚ. not unnaturally thinks of reading *abhidāsād*, to match *arātīyād;* but KS. is against it.

marmṛjyante (SV. *marjayantīr*) *divaḥ śiśum* RV. SV. Prec. by *abhy anūṣata*.

mā mā (KS. *māṁ*) *hiṁsiṣṭaṁ svaṁ* (KS. *yat svaṁ*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS. *āviśāthaḥ*) MS. KS.: *mā mā hiṁsīḥ svāṁ* (KS.† *svaṁ*) *yonim āviśantī* (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 krāṇā vivasvati*) *nābhā saṁdāyi navyasī* (*adha pra sū na upa yantu dhītayaḥ*) RV.: (*yad dha krāṇā vivasvate*) *nābhā saṁdāya navyase* (*adha pra nūnam upa yanti dhītayaḥ*) SV.

stuṣeyyaṁ puruvarpasam ṛbhvam RV. AV. N.: *stuṣva varṣman puruvart-*

mānaṁ samṛbhvāṇam AV. *stuṣeyya* 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 paramaṁ guhā yat (VS. *paśyan nihitaṁ 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 *vartate.*

[*bradhnaḥ samīcīr uṣasaḥ 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 naḥ pathibhiḥ pārayantā* (GB. °*tu*) RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. But GB. is merely corrupt. Gaastra reads with one ms. °*tā* (dual pple.).]

[*daṁsanābhir aśvinā pārayantā* (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 *tai*, *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. *asṛgran*, SV. *asṛgram*). On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in *re* and *rire*, (Whitney, *Grammar* §550d) the more archaic forms in *re*, *duduhre* and *dadṛśre*, belong to RV., *duduhrire* and *dadṛśrire* to later texts. Unexpectedly, archaizing *r*-endings replace the normal 3 sing. imperfect middle *adhatta* (RV. AV.) in *adhadrāḥ* (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 *duhrate*, not only once in the RV. itself, but also once between RV. and AV., the AV. showing the more archaizing *duhrate:*

ghṛtaṁ duhrata (and, *duhata*) *āśiram* RV. (both). See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and next.

te dakṣiṇāṁ duhate (AV. *te duhrate dakṣiṇāṁ*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See prec.

asṛgran (SV. °*raṁ*) *devavītaye* RV. SV.

adṛśram (AV.* ArS. MS. KS. MŚ. °*rann*) *asya ketavaḥ* RV. AV. (both) ArS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV. Svidh. °*hrire*) RV. SV. Svidh. Here the SV. smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an otherwise *jagatī* stanza; cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 287.

śṛñgāṇīvec chṛñgiṇāṁ saṁ dadṛśre (TB. ApŚ. °*śrire*) RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. Here the stanza is *triṣṭubh.*

śerate (AB. *śere*) *'sya sarve pāpmānaḥ* 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 snehitīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhadrāḥ*, KS. *adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmṇām athadrām* TA. In RV., 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the enemies.' The *r*-forms of even SV. and KS. are highly problematic; 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 *adhodravaṇaśīlam*!).

utainaṁ 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, *paśyanti.* It might, perhaps, be included under variations between active and middle without change of meaning, §38ff. This variant is followed in VS. TS. by: *adṛśrann* (TS.† *adṛśann*) *udahāryaḥ* VS. TS.

2. *Subjunctive endings in* si *and* s, ti *and* t, te *and* tai, 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 furthermore some of the *e*-forms may be considered indicatives, cf. §§118, 124:

yathā naḥ subhagāsasi (AV. *sumanā asaḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

yathā naḥ suphalāsasi (AV. *suphalā bhuvaḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

subheṣajaṁ yathāsati (AV. °*si;* LŚ. °*sat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. (the last secondary and metrically poor).

viprā gāthaṁ gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA. °*ṣat*) AA. ŚŚ.: *viprāya gāthaṁ gāyata yaṁ jujoṣate* SV.

sa no nediṣṭhaṁ havanāny āgamat (and once, *havanāni joṣat*) KS. (ter): *sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS.: *sa no viśvāni havanāni joṣat* VS. ŚB.

teṣāṁ yo ajyānim (*'jyānim*) *ajītim āvahāt* TS. SMB.† (in Jörgensen as TS.) PG. BDh.: *teṣām ajyāniṁ* (MŚ. °*naṁ*) *yatamo na āvahāt* (AV. *yatamo vahāti*) AV. KS. MŚ.

anu nau śūra maṁsate (TS. °*tai*) RV. TS. KSA.

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV. °*ti;* ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

pari ṣvajāte (AV. °*tai*) *libujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV. N.

pra yaḥ satrācā (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*) RV. TB.

(*net tvā...*) *dadhad vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayātai* TA.: (*net tvā...*) *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīṅkhayātai*) RV. AV. See §§234c, 27.

yaṁ jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS. °*he*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV.

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ*) *sacāvahe* (MS. °*hai*) *yad avṛkaṁ 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 yachatād avṛkaṁ pṛthu chardiḥ RV. 1. 48. 15: *prāsmai yachatam avṛkaṁ pṛthu chardiḥ* RV. 8. 9. 1

viṣūcīnān (VSK. °*nā*) *vyasyatām* (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 aṁhasaḥ pipṛtā (TB. °*tān*) *nir avadyāt* RV. VS. MS. TB. Is TB. (both editions, text and comm.) reliable? Comm. *pipṛtāt pālayata.*

punar māviśatād (MŚ. °*tāṁ*) *rayiḥ* 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 Conc.) For RVKh. Scheftelowitz reads exactly as ApMB.

chandonāmānāṁ (with variants) *sāmrājyaṁ gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt,* MŚ. *gachet*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

etaṁ jānātha (TB. *jānītāt,* KS. *jānīta*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *jānīta smainaṁ* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enaṁ*) *parame vyoman* AV. TS. MŚ. See §104, s.

iṣṭāpurte kṛṇavāthāvir (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇavathāvir;* TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.: *iṣṭāpūrtaṁ* (AV. °*taṁ sma*) *kṛṇutād āvir* (AV. *kṛṇutāvir*) *asmai* AV. KS. The patchword *sma* in AV. suggests that its reading is likely to be secondary.

jaitrāyā (ApMB. HG. °*tryāyā*) *viśatād u mām* (ApMB. °*tān mām;* HG. °*tāṁ mām*) RVKh. VS. ApMB. HG.

4. *Presence or absence of imperative 2 sing. ending* dhi (hi), *and interchange between* dhi *and* hi

§255. As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with *dhi* or *hi* should be anterior to those without ending, and *dhi* anterior to *hi;* and the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, *kṛṇuhi* of Vait. is hyper-archaic as regards the stem *kṛṇu-* §186. And in the second, *tanuhi* of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological deductions. On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, *MSL* 23. 176; he regards *hi* (rather than *dhi*) as the regular ending with polysyllabic bases, and explains *śṛṇudhi* (as in our fourth example) as due to the analogy of *śrudhi* from a monosyllabic base.

abhy enaṁ bhūma ūrṇuhi (TA. *bhūmi vṛṇu*) RV. AV. TA.

asāv (*asā*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ. *tanuhi* [printed in text as *tanu hi*] *jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ojasvantaṁ mām āyuṣmantaṁ varcasvantaṁ (MS. *māṁ sahasvantaṁ*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait. *āyuṣmantaṁ manuṣyeṣu kṛṇuhi*) TS. MS. AŚ. Vait.

nṝṁḥ (MS. *nṝṁṣ*) *pāhi śṛṇudhī* (SV.°*hī*) *giraḥ* 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: *asmabhyaṁ śarma bahulaṁ vi yantana* 5. 55. 9, and . . . *yanta* 6. 51. 5.; *adhi stotrasya sakhyasya gātana* 5. 55. 9, and . . . *gāta* 10. 78. 8.

See *RV Rep.* 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 śṛṇotu naḥ* (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N.

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in: *paretana* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *pareta*) *pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *somyāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ., which doubtless read originally *paretana pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ.*

We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind:

§257. Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical:

tad asme śaṁ yor arapo dadhātana RV. 10. 37. 11d: *athā naḥ śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *adhā naḥ śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* AV.: *athāsmabhyaṁ śaṁ 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 rayiṁ sarvavīraṁ dadhātana RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *rayiṁ ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ 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 vivratā (MS. °*tāḥ,* KS. °*tās*) *sthana* (MS. *stha*) AV. MS. KS. The form *stha* is metrically poor.

sarāḥ patatriṇīḥ sthana (KS. *stha*) TS. MS. KS.: *sīrāḥ patatriṇī sthana* RV. VS. Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary.

svāveśā nā āgata MS.: *anamīvā upetana* AV.

ye ke ca bhrātaraḥ sthana (ŚŚ. *sthāḥ?*) 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 *sthāḥ* 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*) *haviḥ* TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ramadhvaṁ mā bibhīta mat (Kauś. *bibhītana*) AV. Kauś.

gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. Cf. *grhā māsmad bibhītana* AV. HG.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N. See §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 *kaṇḍikā* (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:

vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS. *bhava*) *naḥ* 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 Anukramaṇī add to this pāda the next following word, *rarāṇaḥ;* after which the text proceeds, *tmanā devebhyo agnir havyaṁ 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 haviḥ 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.]

tam ā pṛṇa (TB. *pṛṇā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

ā juhotā (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. (ApŚ. ,Pratīka)

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

apo devīr upa sṛja (MS. *sṛjā*) *madhumatīḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS. *bhavā*) *tvaṁ naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aditsan vā (MS. *dhipsyaṁ vā;* TB. *yad vādāsyan*) *saṁjāgara* (TB. °*jagārā*; MS. °*cakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS. TB. TA.

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīṁr*) *ā pṛṇasva* (TS. KS. TB. °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. °*syā mahonām*) RV. SV.

indra somam imaṁ piba RV. ŚŚ.: *indra somaṁ pibā imam* RV. AV. SV. MS. The p.p. of both RV. and MS. *piba*, not *pibāḥ*; see Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 8. 17. 1.

vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma (MS. KS. °*mā;* TS. and MS. p.p. *jāgriyāma*) *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*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

hinva (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā;* MS. °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS. *veṭ*, TA *vaṭ*) 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*.

idaṁ me prāvatā vacaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācaṁ me* MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś.

juhota (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA.

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* 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 īrayathā (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. and pratīka MŚ.

dyumantaṁ śuṣmam ā bharā (SV. *bhara*) *svarvidam* RV. SV.

vahā (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadhiṣo*, but most mss. *dī*°) *havīṁṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

janiṣṭa (TS. *janiṣvā*, MS. °*ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

ramayata (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretaṁ vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. also read *ramayata.*

pretā jayatā naraḥ RV. AV. SV. VS.: *upa preta jayatā naraḥ* TS.

yatrā naś cakrā (KS. Conc. *cakra*, with one ms., but ed. *cakrā*) *jarasaṁ 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 ṇo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāḥ (VSK. °*yāt*) RV. VSK.: *pari vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāḥ* (TB. *vṛñjyāt*) RV. TB. See §104, u, and *RV Rep.* 573.

indras te soma sutasya peyāḥ (SV. *peyāt*) RV. SV.

narāśaṁso gnāspatir no avyāt (RV. *avyāḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāḥ (TA. *avyāt*) RV. TA.: *dhiya invāno dhiya 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, aprāt*) which vary with *s*-aorists from the same roots (*ahās, aprās*, 3d sing.); the *t*-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category.

agnis te tanuvaṁ māti dhāk TS. TB. ApŚ.: *agnis te tejo mā prati dhākṣīt* JB.

yan me 'dya retaḥ pṛthivīm askāntsīt (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 smaḥ (MŚ. *sma*) TB. MŚ.

abhiratāḥ smaḥ (YDh. *sma ha*) ViDh. YDh. BṛhPDh.

viratāḥ smaḥ (ŚG. *sma bhoḥ*) ŚG. PG.

prati bhāgaṁ na dīdhima (SV. °*maḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N. Whitney, *Roots*, s. v. *dhī*, regards both forms as 1 plur. perfect.

īśānaṁ tvā śuśrumo (KS. °*mā*) *vayam* KS. ApŚ.

anyavratasya (TA. *anyad vra*°) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimaḥ*) 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 ms. °*maḥ*).

(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 this repeated pāda:

vadhīd vṛtraṁ vajreṇa mandasānaḥ 4. 17. 3; *vadhīṁ* etc., 10. 28. 7, where *vadhīm* is certainly made in direct imitation of *vadhīd;* see *RV Rep.* 220, 564. Cf. also:

tveṣaṁ vaco apāvadhīt (TS. TB. °*dhīṁ*, MS. °*dhīḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As (*a*)*vadhīm* is a blend of *avadham* and *avadhīt*, so *agrabhīm* in the following is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt*, and *abhūm* of *abhūvam* and *abhūt:*

iṣam ūrjaṁ sam agrabham (TS. °*bhīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

abhyaṣikṣi 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. *asāḥ*) ApMB. HG.

yathāso mitravardhanaḥ AV. KS.: *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanaḥ* TB. (no need to read *yathāso* as suggested in Conc.)

yat sanavatha (MS. KS. °*vātha*) *pūruṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (VSK. ŚB. °*vathāvir;* TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MŚ.

punas te prāṇa āyati (so TS.†: TA. *āyāti;* AŚ. *āyātu*) TS. TA. AŚ.

(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of *babhūtha* and *babhūva*

tvaṁ hi hotā prathamo 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 saṁ 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 vayaṁ vadāmasi (HG. °*maḥ*) ApMB. HG.

(h) 3d plural *ūḥ* for *uḥ*:

upo ha yad vidathaṁ vājino guḥ (TB. *gūḥ*) RV. MS. TB. 3d plural root-aor. of *gā;* TB. (both edd.) anomalous; comm. *gachanto vartante.*

(j) *īre* for *ire* in 3d plur. perfect middle (passive):

tāḥ prācya (Vait. °*yaḥ;* MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °*hīre;* Vait. *saṁjigāire,* all mss.) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

(k) Precative 2d plural with primary *tha* for secondary *ta.*

ye 'tra pitaraḥ...bhūyāstha AV. ŚŚ.: *ya etasmiṅ 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: bhargaṁ 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 sṛmo '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, gandharvo dadad* (SMB. *'dadad*) *agnaye* (HG. *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. See the preceding two items.

bhargo me 'vocaḥ (PB. text *vocaḥ*, comm. *avocaḥ* = *uktavān asi;* on MŚ. see above) PB. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *bhargaṁ me vocaḥ* ŚŚ. Also with *bhadraṁ, bhūtiṁ, 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.

(*agniś ca viṣṇo tapa uttamaṁ maho*) *dīkṣāpālebhyo 'vanataṁ* (AŚ. *dīkṣāpālāya vanataṁ*) *hi śakrā* TB. AŚ. So the Bibl. Ind. ed. of TB. reads, in text and comm.; but the comm. treats (*a*)*vanataṁ* as modal; and the Poona ed., text and comm., reads *vanataṁ*. Probably no real variant.

[*satyam ṛte* (and, *ṛtaṁ satye*) *dhāyi* (ApŚ. *'dhāyi;* TS. KSA. *'dhām*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. reads *'dhāyi*. See §85. Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved.]

§267. b. Not preceded by *e* or *o*.

ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA. °*dīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* MS.

uktham avācīndrāya ŚŚ.: *ukthaṁ vācīndrāya* TS. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ukthyaṁ vācīndrāya śṛṇvate tvā* AŚ.

pitur iva ṅāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB. °*bhaiṣam;* PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG.: *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh. Stenzler renders PG. 1. 13. 1 'möge 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.

turīyeṇāmanvata (ŚŚ. *turīyeṇa manvata*) *nāma dhenoḥ* AV. ŚŚ.

utem anaṁnamuḥ (KB. ŚB. KŚ. ŚŚ. *uteva naṁnamuḥ*) TS. MS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ayaṁ punāna uṣaso vi rocayat (SV. *uṣaso arocayat*) RV. SV. The RV. form is clearly preterite; cf. the parallel *abhavat* in the next pāda.

pary abhūd (RV. *uṣarbhud bhūd*) *atithir jātavedāḥ* RV. MS.

indrāya suṣuvur (MS. KS. *indrāyāsuṣuvur*) *madam* VS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. §220. The form *asuṣuvuḥ*, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to *suṣuvuḥ*; MS. p.p. *indrāya suṣuvuḥ*.—Yet more anomalous is the next:

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (TA. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. Mahān U. The TA. has a monstrosity; see §220.

gṛhān ajūgupataṁ yuvam AŚ.: *gṛhān* (MŚ. *gṛhāñ*) *jugupataṁ yuvam* MS. MŚ. Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with *gṛhān gopāyataṁ yuvam*, see Conc.

§268. *Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses.*

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG. *vyuchat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā adidyutat (VSK. *atidyutat*) *savīmani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The variation is really phonetic (*t: d*, surd: sonant).

(*yam...*) *svādhyo* (TB. *svādhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajījanan*) RV. TB.

anūdhā yadi jījanad (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV.

yad enaṁ dyaur ajanayat (RV. *janayat*) *suretāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Clearly the RV. form is archaic; see Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 306, 313.

yenāpāmṛśataṁ (SMB. v. l. °*ṣataṁ*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛśatāṁ surām* PG. In a series of preterite formulas. PG. comm. explains the lack of augment as Vedic license.

yame iva 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 *pipīhi* of MS. exchanges with *pīpihi* 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 *pipīhi* as 'drink!', root *pā*, while *pīpihi* certainly means 'swell!', root *pyā*. F. E.]

subhūtāya pipīhi (TA. *pīpihi*) MS. TA. And so with *brahmavarcasāya; iṣe; ūrje; asyai viśe* (TA. omits these) *mahyaṁ jyaiṣṭhyāya; asmai* (TA. omits) *brahmaṇe*, and *kṣatrāya*. ApŚ. also has *iṣe*, and *ūrje, pīpihi*. See §192.

§271. The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in character:

udgrābheṇod ajigrabhat MS.:...*ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgṛbham*, KS.

yiyapsyata (AŚ. *yī*°) *iva te manaḥ* (AŚ. *mukham*) AŚ. ŚŚ.

imam agne camasaṁ mā vi jihvaraḥ (TA. *jī*°) RV. AV. TA. AG.

gṛhān ajūgupataṁ yuvam AŚ.: *gṛhān* (MŚ. *gṛhāñ*) *jugupataṁ yuvam* MS. MŚ.

prajāṁ me (ApŚ. also, *no*) *naryājugupaḥ* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. l. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Also:

paśūn me (*naḥ*) *śaṁsyājugupaḥ* (ApŚ. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. And similar formulas in the same passage.

śucanto agniṁ vavṛdhanta (AV. *vā*°) *indram* RV. AV. KS. Whitney, *Grammar* §786a.

tṛta enaṁ (read, *trita enan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* ĄV.: *trita 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 didhiṣos* (AV. *dadhiṣos*)...RV. AV. TA.

pra bhānavaḥ sisrate (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.

tāḥ prācya (Vait. °*yaḥ;* MŚ. °*cīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °*īre;* Vait. *saṁjigāire*)

KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ. Perfect forms; *i* 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 haplology, the other perhaps corrupt:

viśo-viśaḥ praviśivāṅsam īmahe AV.: *viśvasyāṁ viśi praviviśivāṅsam* (KS.† *praviviśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§790, 803a, and on AV. 4. 23. 1.

viśāṁ vavarjuṣīṇām (AV. *viśām avarj°*) RV. AV. See Whitney on AV. 7. 50. 2.

Once the reduplicated *sasṛjmahe* exchanges with *saṁsṛjmahe*, the preposition *saṁ* replacing the reduplicating syllable *sa*:

agne sasṛjmahe (MS. *saṁsṛ°*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. MS. KS.

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious:

saṁ tvā tatakṣuḥ (LŚ. *tatakṣṇuḥ*) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. See §231, end. We have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ.

(*devīr dvāra indraṁ saṁghāte*) *vīḍvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB. *viḍvīr yāman vavardhayan*) VS. TB. See §218, end; read probably *avardhayan* 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 *kṛṇuta* or *punīhi* or the like replaced by *kṛṇota* or *punāhi*. In one formula, *barhi stṛṇīhi* or *stṛṇāhi*, 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. *kṛṇuta*) *dhūmaṁ vṛṣaṇaṁ* (AV. °*ṇaḥ*) *sakhāyaḥ* RV. AV.

urvī rodasī varivas (TS. KS. °*vaḥ*) *kṛṇotam* (KS. *kṛṇutam*) TS. MS. KS. Here KS. is metrically inferior; we may guess that metrical considerations dictated the use of the analogical *kṛṇotam*.

sunuta ā ca dhāvataḥ 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. ŚB.

nī: nā, and analogous forms

jātavedaḥ punīhi (MS. *punāhi*)*mā* RV. VS. MS. KS.

pavitreṇa punīhi (MS. *punāhi*) *mā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ.

punīhīndrāya (SV. VS. *punāhī*°) *pātave* RV. SV. VS. Vait.

asmān punīhi cakṣase AV.: *māṁ punīhi* (MS. *punāhi*) *viśvataḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS.

barhi (MS. MŚ. *barhiḥ*) *stṛṇīhi* (TS. MS. [text *stṛṇāti!*] MŚ. ApŚ. [once] *stṛṇāhi*) TS. MS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. (quater) MŚ.

sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛṇāhi (PG. *pṛṇīhi;* KS. *tad gṛṇīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

vivasvadvāte abhi no gṛṇīhi (TS. *gṛṇāhi*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

etaṁ jānātha (KS. *jānīta*, TB. *jānītāt*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. 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. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. *aśivāḥ*, and *asan durevāḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) TA.: *atra* (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'śivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.

2. *Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including ṛ-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 *bheḥ* and *bhaiḥ* 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 roṅ (VSK. *mo roṅ;* TS. *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣāṁ*) *kiṁ canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruṅ mo ca* (KS. *rauṅ mā*) *naḥ kiṁ canāmamat* MS. KS.

§277. Similarly in several cases of *s*-aorists active, the *vṛddhi* vowel alternates with the *guṇa* (Whitney, *Grammar* §887a); sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original:

abhyarakṣīd (AŚ. °*rākṣīd*) *āsmākaṁ punar āgamāt* (AŚ. *āyanāt*) MS. AŚ.

iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB.* *vākṣīt*) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N. See §167.

pra sakṣati pratimānaṁ pṛthivyāḥ AV.: *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

ud akramīd draviṇodā vājy arvā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ud akrāmīt* (pratīka) ApŚ.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayaṁ*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māhaṁ rā° vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

ihaiva staṁ mā vi yauṣṭam (ApMB. *yoṣṭam*) 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 iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB. °*grabhaiṣam;* PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG.: *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh.

indra enaṁ (TB. ApŚ. *eṇaṁ*) *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 guṇa, in four variants. These forms may also be considered precatives; see Whitney, *Grammar* §§567a, 568, 923.

sa yathā tvaṁ rucyā roco 'sy evāhaṁ paśubhiś ca brāhmaṇavarcasena ca ruciṣīya (MS. *tvaṁ rucyā rocasa evam ahaṁ rucyā rociṣīya*) AV. MS. The MS. has the regular form; Whitney, *Grammar* §899b; cf. §907, where these forms are called precatives.

vāmī te saṁdṛśi viśvaṁ reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣ°*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu saṁdṛśi viśvā retāṁsi dhiṣīya* TS. The *i*-form is regular; Whitney, *Grammar* §879b, cf. §884.

somasyāhaṁ devayajyayā suretā (MŚ. *viśvaṁ*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ. *dheṣīya*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *somo retodhās tasyāhaṁ devayajyayā suretodhā reto dhiṣīya* KS.

tad adya vācaḥ prathamaṁ masīya (N. *maṅsīya*) 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, sāḍha, sāḍhvā, sāḍhṛ*, 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.

bibheda valaṁ (AV. AŚ. *balaṁ*, but SPP. *valaṁ* for AV.) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā;* KS.† *sāsāhat*) *sadane kaṁ cid atriṇam* RV. SV. KS.

Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges:

krūram ānaṅśa (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS.† *martaḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root *aś, aṅś, naś.*

nirjaganvān (TS. °*jagmivān*) *tamaso jyotiṣāgāt* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Alternative perfect participles; Whitney §805a.

svāṁ cāgne tanvaṁ (TA. *tanuvaṁ*) *piprayasva* (AV. *piprā*°) RV. AV. TA. MahānU. Both forms are anomalous; they are classed as perfect imperatives. Whitney on AV. 6. 110. 1 would read *piprayasva*, 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. *adadṛṅhanta*) *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 *gṛbh: grabh* are part of a tendency to reduce *r* + vowel to *r*; they will be treated along with similar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on Saṁprasāraṇa in our section on Phonetics. The solitary case of *jāgṛtāya* 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 *ṛ* and *ra, ari*, is that between *ṛ* and *ri* in two variants presently to be quoted, viz. *vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma* (*jāgriyāma*) etc., and *āpaprivān* (*āpapṛvān*) etc., §287.

agṛbhīt VSK.: *agrabhīt* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agṛbhīṣata VS.: *agrabhīṣata* KS.

udgrābheṇod agrabhīt (MS. *ajigrabhat;* KS. *ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgṛbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

jāgaritāya (KSA. *jāgṛtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

śṛtas tvaṁ śṛto 'ham ApŚ.: *śrītas tvaṁ śrīto 'ham* KS. Apparently pples. from monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms of the same base.

bhartam (VS. ŚB. *bhṛtam*) *agniṁ 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 anṛṇā ā kṣīyema (AV. *kṣi*°) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The *ī* is bad metrically as well as formally.

yūpāyocchrīyamāṇāyānubrūhi (MŚ. °*cchriya*°) 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; *janiyanti* and *janīyanto*..., *putriyanti* and *putrīyantaḥ*...); and likewise, from another standpoint, the variant *vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma* (*jāgriyāma*) etc., §287, where influence of the following *y* may be suspected in the form with *ri* for *ṛ*.

6. *Other long and short* i *and* u *in radical syllables*

§284. A miscellaneous list, as follows:

avāmba (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (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 ṣma (SV. *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV. *riṣ*°, and so RV. p. p.) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

vājino vājajito vājaṁ sasṛvāṅso (KS. *jigīvāṅso;* TS. *sasṛvāṅso vājaṁ jigivāṅso*)...VS. TS. KS. ŚB. Roots *ji* and *jyā, jī*? Cf. next.

ajitāḥ (TA. *ajītāḥ;* ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *ajītā*) *syāma śaradaḥ śatam* TA. ApMB. HG. Cf. prec. TA. comm. paraphrases by *ajitāḥ.*

samiñgayati (ŚB. *samīñg°*) *sarvataḥ* RV. ŚB. BṛhU. The true reading of BṛhU. is that of ŚB.; *°iñg°* is Boehtlingk's emendation.

praśāstaḥ pra suhi (KŚ. *sūhi;* MŚ. *suva;* ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *suhi* looks like a blend of *sūhi* and *suva.*

mā hiṅsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB. *ūh°*) 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 (*seṭ*) 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.

suśami śamīṣva (TS. TB. *śamiṣva;* KS.† *śamnīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sa idaṁ devebhyo haviḥ (*havyaṁ*) *śamīṣva* (TS. TB. omit) *suśami śamīṣva* (TS. TB. *śamiṣva*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *devebhyo havyaṁ śamīṣva* MS.

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś. *°gaṁ yathālokam*) *āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŚ. *āvṛṣāyīṣata;* ŚŚ. *avīvṛṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 243.

tato no mitrāvaruṇāv avīṣṭam TB.: *tena no mitrāvaruṇāv* (MS. *°ṇā*) *aviṣṭam* RV. MS. *avīṣṭam* doubtless analogous to *avīt.*

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS. *°yid,* KSA. *°yed,* MS. *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* 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 *-rṣ-* 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 *svarabhakti,* 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 *-rṣ-* by late texts in forms where *-riṣ-* is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś. reading *tārṣat* for *tārişat*, below. There are thus three divisions of these variations between *-rṣ-* and *-riṣ-*:

(a) From roots which form aorists in both *s* and *iṣ:*

agne vratapate vratam acārişam (MS. and MŚ. v. l. *acārṣam*) VS. TS. MS. KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

vratānāṁ vratapate (Kauś. °*patayo*) *vratam acārişam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

(b) From roots regularly forming only *s* aorist:

dakṣaṁ te bhadram ābhārṣam RV.: *dakṣaṁ ta ugram ābhārişam* AV. Most mss. of AV. agree on *ābhārişam*, tho the comm. reads *ābhārṣam*, which the meter supports. No *iṣ* aorist of *bhṛ* is recorded.

diteḥ putrāṇām aditer akārṣam (MS. *akārişam*) AV. MS. The verse is otherwise *jagatī*, so that probably *akārişam* is to be read in AV. with many mss. and SPP.; Ppp., however, has *akārṣam*, and if *akārişam* 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. l. of TA. °*tryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akārişam*, not recorded in Poona ed.) TA. MahānU. Cf. prec. The meter supports the regular form *akārṣam.*

tan naḥ parṣad (MS. *parişad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. (Read *parişad* twice in MS.; in 2. 7. 12c von Schroeder reads *parṣad* against all his *saṁhitā* mss. Acc. to his note l. c. KapS. also has *parişad.*) The form *parişad* is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV. has *pārişat*).

(c) From roots regularly forming only *iṣ* aorist:

pra ṇa (SV. MS. PB. *na*) *āyūṁṣi tārişat* (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 *tṛ* 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. *dāśivāṅ*) *voce* RV. SV. N. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §803a. *dāśvāṅs* 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. °*pṛvān*, 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 *pṛ*, which has no perfect active. The variation, if real, resembles the cases of Saṁprasāraṇa mentioned §281.

vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma (KS. MS. °*mā;* TS. and p. p. of MS. *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The regular form of the opt. of *jāgṛ* is *jāgṛyāma*. This recalls not only the Saṁprasāraṇa 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.

[*utkraṁsyate* (KSA. *utkramiṣyate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. So Conc., but the sole ms. of KSA. reads *utkrāmyate*, which von Schroeder properly emends to *utkraṁsyate*.]

9. *Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms*

§288. Three cases which fall in nowhere else:

madhvā yajñaṁ nakṣati (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Ppp. has *prīṇānaḥ* with the rest.

agne yat te tejas tena tam atejasaṁ kṛṇu (KS. *taṁ prati tityagdhi;* MS. ApŚ. *taṁ prati titigdhi*)...AV. MS KS. ApŚ. The strange *tityagdhi* of KS. 6. 9 (p. 59, l. 20) is supported by the present *pratitityakti*, 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.

ajījapata (TS. TB. *ajījipata*) *vanaspatayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. Reduplicated (causative) aorists from the root *ji* 'conquer'; both, but especially *ajījapata*, 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!', *vācaṁ paśūn mā nir mārjīḥ* 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 varṇaṁ mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ.: *vācaṁ prāṇaṁ. . .mā nir mṛkṣam* TS.: *rūpaṁ varṇaṁ paśūnāṁ mā nirmṛkṣam* 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) havyaṁ ghṛtavaj 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 dhastābhyāṁ cakara* (AV. *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāṇi* 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. *śataṁ jīvema* (PG. *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradaḥ purūcīḥ* 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 indrāya 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: *brahmajāyeyam iti* (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 kalāṁ yathā śapharn yatha ṛṇaṁ saṁnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṇaṁ saṁnayanti*), *evā duṣvapnyaṁ sarvam āptye* (AV. *apriye*, or *dviṣate*) *saṁnayāmasi* RV. AV. (bis), 'as we (= people in general; or, they) load up...a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trita) Āptya (or, the enemy).' And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may be used in this indefinite sense: *taṁ tvā bhaga sarva ij johavīmi* (RV. VS.

°*ti*) 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: *vacāṅsy āsā* (SV. *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuḥ*) 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 samabharaḥ* (MS. KS. °*ran*) *payāṅsi* 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*) *jāyamānaḥ, ahnāṁ ketur uṣasām ety* (AV.† *eṣy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*), *bhāgaṁ devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tirate* (TS. °*ti*; AV.† °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuḥ* 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 striyam (PG. *śriyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*; ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśataṁ* (PG. °*vamṛśatāṁ*) *surām, yenākṣān* (ŚŚ. °*kṣām*, PG. °*kṣyāv*) *abhyasiñcatam* (PG. °*tām*), *yad vāṁ tad aśvinā yaśaḥ* 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 unconstruable 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 enaṁ pravidvāṅsau śrapayatam MS.: *tāv imaṁ paśuṁ śrapayatāṁ pravidvāṅsau* 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 *śrapayatam* in the preceding, are nominative in MS.

§294. A milder form of inconsistency is found in the long list of passages found §333ff., 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 aspaṣṭa kartvam.* '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 *aspaṣṭa* ('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 sindhūnāṁ pavamāno arṣati (SV. °*si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati* (SV. °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. °*se mahad dhanam*), *svāyudhaḥ sotṛbhiḥ pūyate vṛṣā* (SV. °*bhiḥ 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:

śundhantāṁ lokāḥ pitṛṣadanāḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *śundhatāṁ lokaḥ pitṛṣadanaḥ* 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 *varuṇo*) *aryamā* RV. SV. VS. TB.

Followed by: *prātaryāvāṇo adhvaram*. The real subject in RV. is the gods in general; *mitro aryamā* are merely examples; Sāyaṇa, *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvāṇaḥ...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 *varuṇo* 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 iva muñcatām (TB. °*tu*, so read with Poona ed.) AV. TB. The subject is found in the preceding pāda, *bhūtaṁ mā tasmād bhavyaṁ ca;* 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post.' It would me mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of TB. as agreeing with the nearer subject *bhavyaṁ*, 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 avitā rathānām (AV. *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmākaṁ 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 dhāvataḥ* 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 mātyapīparaḥ* AV., 'thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pibāt somaṁ mamadad (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ., 'let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him).'

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛṇethām (MS. MŚ. *pṛṇa;* LŚ. *prīṇāthām*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'O heaven and earth, be filled (gratified) with ghee', or, 'fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee.'

niṣkam iva 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:

indraṁ samatsu bhūṣata SV.: *indraḥ samatsu bhūṣatu* RV. AV. Preceded by: *ā no viśvāsu havyaḥ* (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 psychological 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 variations 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:

tveṣaṁ vaco apāvadhīt (TS. TB. °*dhīm;* MS. °*dhīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Preceded in all by: *yā te agne 'yāśayā* (*'yaḥśayā*)... *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: *ugraṁ vaco* etc., see Conc.

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:

vācaṁ paśūn mā nir mārjīḥ MS. MŚ.: *vācaṁ prāṇaṁ...mā nir mṛkṣam* TS.: *rūpād varṇaṁ mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ.: *rūpaṁ varṇaṁ paśūnāṁ mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ. And other similar formulas in the same context.

[*taṁ mā hiraṇyavarcasam* (RVKh. *tena māṁ sūryatvacam*)] *karotu* (RVKh. *akaraṁ*) *pūruṣu priyam* (ApMB. *pūruṣu priyaṁ 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.

evaṁ garbhaṁ dadhāmi (ApMB. °*tu*) *te* ŚB. BṛhU. ŚG. ApMB. HG.:

and (in different but related context) *evaṁ taṁ* (ApMB. *tvaṁ*) *garbham ādhehi* (ApMB. *ādhatsva*) 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 devānāṁ mithuyā karma (TS. *mithuyā kar;* MS. *yūyupāma;* AŚ. *momuhad;* AVPpp. *yūyavad,* for *mi° 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 ṇaḥ pāhi (also *pātu,* and *pari mā pāhi*) *viśvataḥ* AV. (all): *pari tvā pāmi sarvataḥ* RVKh. 'Protect us (me; let him protect us; I protect thee) on all sides.' In several different contexts.

brahma tena punīhi naḥ (LŚ. *mā;* KS. VS. *punātu mā;* MS. TB. *punīmahe*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ.: *idaṁ 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. *bhavān 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):

śataṁ jīvantu (AV.* *°taḥ,* TB.* ApŚ.* MG. *jīvema,* AV.* SMB. PG.* ApMB.* HG. *ca jīva,* PG.* *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradaḥ purūcīḥ* (*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 *purūcīḥ* except AV. which has the correlative participle *jīvantaḥ*. A second, reading *jīvema* and *purūcīḥ*, 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 *brahmacārin*) except in PG. 2. 6. 20 and MG. 1. 9. 27, where it is put into the mouth of the *brahmacārin*; see §308.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ. °*yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV. Same context. In all but AV. the subject is *devāḥ* in the preceding (voc. in MŚ., nom. in TS. TB. ApŚ., see §329). In AV. it is replaced by *devaiḥ*, 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 aśnavat RV. TS. MS. TB. Kauś.:. . . *aśnavai* (AV. °*vam*) AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.:. . . *aśnutaḥ* RV.:. . . *aśnutam* (AV.* °*tām*) RV. AV. ApMB. In several different contexts, which account fully for the variations of both person and number.

suprajāḥ prajayā bhūyāsaṁ (ApMB.* *bhūyās*). . . VSK. TS. ApŚ. HG. ApMB.: *suprajāḥ prajābhi(ḥ) syāṁ* (VS. ŚB. also *syāma*). . . VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *supoṣaḥ poṣais. . . suprajāḥ prajayā syām* JB.: *supoṣaḥ poṣaiḥ syāt*. . . MS. KS. TB. MŚ. In several different contexts.

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ (VSK. °*aḥ*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idaṁ vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yad aśuddhaḥ parājaghāna tad va etena śundhantām* KS.: *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS. See §30.

mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā sarvāṇi bhūtāni samīkṣantām; mitrasyāhaṁ cakṣuṣā. . . samīkṣe; mitrasya cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe VS. (all, in same passage; the subject of *samīkṣāmahe* is reciprocal and includes *sarvāṇi bhūtāni*): *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe*, and *samīkṣadhvam* MS. (in same passage). And others; see Conc. under *mitrasya vaś*, *mitrasya tvā*.

tena tvāyuṣāyuṣmantaṁ karomi TS. PG. ApMB.: *tasyāyam* (and, *teṣām ayam*) *āyuṣāyuṣmān astv asau* KS.: *tenāyuṣāyuṣmān 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:

ṛtenāsya nivartaye (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 addrest 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*) *dadhmasi* HG. 'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like. In AV. apparently addrest to undefined gods.

vi mimīṣva payasvatīṁ ghṛtācīm AV.: *vi mime tvā payasvatīṁ devānām* TB. ApŚ. 'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be addrest) the milk-rich, ghee-full (cow)', or 'I measure thee out, the milk-rich (cow) of the gods.'

payo divy antarikṣe payo dhāḥ (TS. *dhām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Milk do thou place (sc. for me; acc. to VS. comm. Agni is addrest) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc.

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (TS. KS. TB. *'yāṭ*) 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 devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīḍyāni;* MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB. ApŚ.: *agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ. 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like.

vācaṁ te mā hiṁsiṣam KS.: *vācam asya mā hiṁsīḥ* MS. And so with *cakṣuḥ, caritrān, śrotram,* 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. *prīṇāmi*) Vait.: *garbhān prīṇīhi* ApŚ. 'I gratify (, or, gratify thou—addrest to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos.'

ava bādhe pṛtanyataḥ (ApŚ. °*tā*) MS. ApŚ.: *ava bādhasva pṛtanāyataḥ* PG.

yāḥ paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāḥ sūryo agre śukro agre tāḥ prahiṇomi (ApŚ. °*hiṇvo*)... MS. ApŚ. 'These I send forth', or 'these send thou forth' (addressed to the sun? see Caland on ApŚ. 10. 12. 4).

apārarum adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā devayajanā (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ.: *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS. ŚB. 'Drive away (I would drive away) Araru' etc.

śuciṁ te (SV. *ca*) *varṇam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV. *dhāraya*) RV. SV. In SV. addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV. also.

sarvaṁ taṁ bhasmasā (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāṁs tān maṣmaṣā* (MS.† *mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS. KS.†. TA. *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV. 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like.

manasaspata imaṁ deva yajñaṁ (KS. *devayajñaṁ svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *manasaspata imaṁ no divi deveṣu yajñam, svāhā divi svāhā pṛthivyāṁ svāhāntarikṣe svāhā vāte dhāṁ svāhā* AV.: *manasaspata imaṁ no deva deveṣu yajñaṁ svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāḥ* TS.: *manasaspate sudhātv imaṁ yajñaṁ divi deveṣu vāte dhāḥ svāhā* MS. The AV. version is harsher; the voc. *manasaspate* requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV.

stotāram id didhiṣeya (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*) *muñcāmi* (RV.* *pra no muñcataṁ*) *varuṇasya pāśāt* RV. (both) AV. AŚ. KŚ. AG. ApMB. Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra.

taṁ (TS. KS. add *vaḥ*) *suprītaṁ subhṛtam akarma* (KS. *abhārṣam;* VS. °*taṁ bibhṛta*) VS. TS. KS. 'This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you', or 'maintain ye' etc.

niḥ kravyādaṁ nudāmasi (MS. *nudasva*) AV. MS.: *niṣ kravyādaṁ 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 anuṣiñca (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*? doubtful text) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Addressed to the cake (*puroḍāśa*) at the *darśapūrṇamāsa*. TB. comm. understands *uddhara īm* (= *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 saṁsṛjāmasi HG. ApMB.: *tayā mām indra saṁ sṛja* RVKh. 'With it (*lakṣmī*) we unite me', or 'with it unite me, O Indra.'

tābhir ā vartayā punaḥ TS. ApMB.: *tābhya enā ni 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 dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ* (TB. *mā;* MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. 'O Agni, purify us (me; may be become pure) by thy power!'

saṁjīvā (AŚ.* ApŚ. °*vikā*) *nāma stha tā imaṁ* (AŚ. *imam amuṁ*) *saṁjīvayata* MS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *saṁjīvā stha saṁjīvyāsam* 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.,

bhūyāṁso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta, 'be ye more, who have made us more',

is (as it were) glossed by the variant of Kauś.,

bhūyāṁso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasaḥ kārṣṭa, 'may we be more, and likewise ye who have made us more.' (Also the same texts with *annādā 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: *trīṇy āyūṁṣi te 'karam* (JUB. °*ṣi me 'kṛṇoḥ*) 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 ārukṣaḥ (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB.: *imāṁ su nāvam āruham* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *sūrya nāvam ārukṣaḥ* 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.

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

payasvān (°*vāṅ*) *agna āgamam* (RV. *āgahi*) 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 tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇa*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svargāṅ (AŚ. corruptly *svagāṅ*; Vait. *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (Vait. *jayema*; AŚ. *jayataḥ* [!]) 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, *svargāṅ 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) *jayataḥ* 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*) *havyaṁ ghṛtavaj juhota* (TS. KS. °*vad vidhema*) RV. TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. See §290. The next is really a mere *vikāra* of this:

tasmā u havyaṁ ghṛtavad vidhema (ŚŚ. ŚG. °*vaj juhota*) TS. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB.: *dhātra id dhavyaṁ ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ. Dhātar is meant by *tasmai*.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu* 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 aśevāḥ (AV. *aśivāḥ*, and *asan durevāḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) TA. 'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious.'

mṛtyoḥ padaṁ (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto yad aita* (TA. *aima;* AV. *yopayanta eta;* MG. *lopayante yad eta*) RV. AV. TA. MG. (Read probably *etad* in MG.)

yathā me bhūrayo 'sata AV.: *yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayaḥ* TA. The AV. form is very doubtful; mss. *'sataḥ;* both edd. *'sata;* comm. also *'sata,* glossing *syāta,* as if the form were *asatha,* 2d plural subj.

pāpmānaṁ te 'pahanmaḥ KŚ.: *pāpmānaṁ me hata* (Kauś. *'pa jahi*) MG. Kauś.

anaḍvāham anv ārabhāmahe VS. VSK. TA.: *anaḍvāhaṁ plavam anv ārabhadhvam* AV. MG. In different contexts.

iṣaṁ madantaḥ pari gāṁ nayadhvam (AV. *nayāmaḥ*) RV. AV. MG.

First and second person singular:

hṛdā matiṁ 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 āyuṣe MG.: *tenāsyāyuṣe 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.: *sakhyaṁ te mā yoṣāḥ* 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 (Mahānāmnyaḥ *stuhi*) AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. 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.

viśvān devāṁs 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:

parīdaṁ vājy ajinaṁ (PG. °*daṁ vājinaṁ*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajinaṁ 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.

prāṇasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB. *asmi;* HG. *abhūr asau*) AG. HG. ApMB. MG. Exactly like preceding; here spoken by the pupil only in ApMB.

marutāṁ (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 āyuṣe, tenāsyāyuṣe vapa*, quoted above, which may be said equally to belong here. Other forms, see §§158, 370.

syonām āsadaṁ 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*.

śataṁ jīvāmi (MG. *jīvema*, AV. ApMB. HG. *ca jīva*) *śaradaḥ 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:

rāyaś ca poṣam upasaṁvyayasva AV. HG. ApMB.: *rayiṁ ca putrān anusaṁvyayasva* PG.: *rāyas poṣam abhi saṁvyayiṣye* PG. MG. In the PG. MG. form of these two pādas, the graduate brahman-pupil speaks in person; in the others he is addressed.

samitaṁ saṁkalpethām VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *sam ayāva saṁ kalpāvahai* 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.

saṁnahye (KS. °*hya*) *sukṛtāya kam* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *saṁnahyasvāmṛtāya 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:

ati dhanveva tāṅ ihi RV. AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanveva tā ihi*, followed by: *nidhanveva tāṅ imi* TA. 1. 12. 2d (both). And in the same stanza:

yāhi (TA. also *yāmi*) *mayūraromabhiḥ* 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.:

atāriṣma (MS. °*ṣṭa*) *tamasas pāram asya* RV. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. In MS. TA. the preceding pāda is: *vimucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA. °*niyā*) *devayānāḥ:* 'be released, O 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, *RVRep.* 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 śikṣathaḥ (*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. *ānaśa*) RV. TB. ApŚ. 2d pl. perf. in RV.

sajātānāṁ madhyamasthā edhi (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāḥ;* MS. KS. °*meṣṭheyāya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *saj*° *madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* 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.

udgrābheṇod agrabhīt (MS. *ajigrabhat;* KS. *ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgṛbham*) 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.

tāḥ saṁ tanomi (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. *muñcatu*, ApMB. *muñcāti*) *nāmutaḥ* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *māmutaḥ;* PG. *mā pateḥ*) 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 māmutaḥ* (ApŚ. *mā pateḥ*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ., is spoken (in a different context) by the bride herself; hence medio-passive, see §30.

idam asmākaṁ bhuje 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 varcasāsicam (AV. °*siñcan*, read °*sican*, see Whitney on 4. 8. 6) AV. KS. TB. Followed in AV. by *āpo divyāḥ payasvatīḥ*, in KS. TB. by *divyena* (KS. *yajñena*) *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 hṛdayaṁ (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayaṁ te*) *dadhāmi* (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 annādyāyādadhe* (KS. *annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS. KS.: *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS.: *annādaṁ tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ.: *agnim annādam annādyāyādadhe* 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... vīryeṇot sṛje MS.: *pāvamānena tvā stomena ... vīryeṇa devas tvā savitot sṛjatu...* (KS. *vīryeṇoddharāmy asau*) TS. KS.

bṛhatā tvā rathaṁtareṇa... vīryeṇod dhare (KS. *vīryeṇotsṛjāmy asau*) MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathaṁtarayos tvā stomena... savitot sṛjatu...* TS.

prajām asyai jaradaṣṭiṁ kṛṇotu (and, *kṛṇomi*) SMB. (both). Subject of *kṛṇotu* is Agni.

sa pūrvyo nūtanam āvivāsat (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 ākūtīr namāmasi (MS. *anaṁsata*) RVKh. AV. MS.

garbhaṁ sravantam agadam akaḥ (AŚ. *akarma*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.: *ukhāṁ* (ApŚ. *garbhaṁ*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *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 bṛhaspatiḥ* TB. ApŚ.*). *akaḥ* 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).' Caland on ApŚ. 9. 18. 12 assumes, apparently, that *akarma* corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither necessary nor likely.

rūpād varṇaṁ (ApŚ. *rūpaṁ varṇaṁ paśūnāṁ*) *mā nirmṛkṣat* (ApŚ. °*kṣam*); [see §302;] followed by:

vāji tvā sapatnasāhaṁ saṁ mārṣṭi (ApŚ. *mārjmi*) ApŚ. MŚ. After these two formulas comes the command: *iti saṁmārṣṭi*, 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 *iti saṁmārṣṭi* 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 vājajid... saṁ mārjmi... VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Vait.: *ājiṁ tvāgne... saṁmārṣṭi* MŚ. (two formulas, see Conc.) In one case all MŚ. mss. agree on *°mārṣṭi.*

§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 aśīya (VSK. *aśyāt*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'May I (he) attain immortality.' The subject in VSK. is apparently understood as Varuṇa.

upāṅśunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ (ApMB. *aśyām*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ApMB. MahānU. 'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality.' The original subject is *ūrmir madhumān;* the ApMB. has a facile and slipshod alteration.

pañca (AV. *trīṇi*) *padāni rupo* (AV. *rūpo*) *anv aroham* (AV. *°hat*), *catuṣpadīm anv emi* (AV. *aitad*) *vratena; akṣareṇa prati mima etām* (AV. *mimīte arkam*), *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV. *abhi*) *saṁ punāmi* (AV. *°ti*) RV. AV. An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV. in the *havirdhāna*, 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 pṛthivīm anu vi krame TS.: *pṛthivyāṁ* (KS. *°vīṁ*) *viṣṇur* (MS. *viṣṇuḥ pṛthivyāṁ*) *vyakraństa gāyatreṇa chandasā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. And the same with *traiṣṭubhena... 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 voced amṛtasya (VS. *amṛtaṁ nu;* TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtaṁ 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 kalāṁ yathā śaphaṁ*] *yatha ṛṇaṁ saṁnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṇaṁ saṁnayanti*), [*evā duṣvapnyaṁ sarvam āptye* (AV. *apriye*, or *dviṣate*) *saṁnayāmasi*] RV. AV. (bis). See §291.

[*yat kiṁ cedaṁ varuṇa daivye jane*] *abhidrohaṁ manuṣyāś carāmasi* (AV. *caranti*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Whatever here, O Varuṇa, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk.' AV. is less appropriate metrically.

yāṁ (PG. *yā;* KS. MG. *ye*) *tvā* (PG. *tāṁ*) *rātry* (PG. MG. *rātrīm*) *upāsate* (AV. PG. *upāsmahe;* SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. KS. SMB. PG. MG. Preceded by *saṁvatsarasya pratimāṁ* (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 havīṁṣi juhure (KS. *juhumas*) *samiddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīṁṣi*) 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 *havīṁṣi* 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:

taṁ tvā bhaga sarva ij johavīmi (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:

tāṁ ādityāṁ anu 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*, [*bhūtaṁ mā tasmād bhavyaṁ ca drupadād iva muñcatām*] AV.: [*yadi divā yadi naktam*] *ena enasyo*

'karat, [bhūtaṁ...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 *akarat*! 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*) *kruddhaḥ parovapa* (KS. ms. *°vāpa*, 3d person, which may be kept!; AV. *kruddhāḥ pracakruḥ*) 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.)

apāṁ rasam udayaṅsam (TA. *°san*) KS. TA. Comm. on TA. *sarve lokā udgatāḥ.*

prākto apācīm anayaṁ tad enām AV.: *prācīm avācīm ava yann ariṣṭyai* TA. The 3d plural of TA. can only be indefinite; comm. *vayam avaimo jānīmaḥ*!

vacāṅsy āsā (SV. *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuḥ*) RV. SV. 'I (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (or, for this mighty one).'

atrā te rūpam uttamam apaśyam (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 apaśyaṁ (VSK. *°yan*) *pathibhiḥ sugebhiḥ*, 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*).

yaṁ tvā somenātītṛpāma (TS. *°pam;* MŚ. *°pan*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. And, in same stanza:

yaṁ tvā somenāmīmadam (MŚ. *°dan*) TS. MŚ.

ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe (TA. *°kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yoniḥ* RV. VS. TA. MahānU.

sam u vāṁ (*vo*) *yajñaṁ mahayaṁ* (*°yan*) *namobhiḥ* RV. (both). Grassmann, 'man schmücket' for *mahayan.*

apo devīr (VS. ŚB. *devā*) *madhumatīr agṛbhṇām* (TS. ApŚ. *agṛhṇan*, VS. ŚB. *agṛbhṇan*) 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 jaṭhare sādayāmi (AŚ. *dadhāmi*)... VSK. KB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. Kauś: *brahmaṇa indrasya tvā* (Conc. omits *tvā*) *jaṭhare dadhuḥ* 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.

rathaṁ na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam (RV.* *atakṣiṣuḥ*) RV. (both) TB. The 3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding, even tho a subject (*āyavaḥ*) 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:

snuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text, °*nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. *'ham asmi*) TB. AŚ. See §116. The subject is the *yajamāna* both times.

sarve vrātā varuṇasyābhūvan (MS. °*bhūma*) TS. MS. KS. TB. Spoken by the *yajamāna* at the *rājasūya*. 'They (we) all have become the hosts of Varuṇa.' In either case the associates of the *yajamāna* are meant.

havante vājasātaye RV.: *huvema vā*° RV. SV. MS. KS.: *huveya 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, *janāsaḥ* or *kanvāḥ*, 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*): *anuvatsarīṇāṁ svastim āśāste* TB. ApŚ. (said of the *yajamāna* by the *hotar*). The same with *parivatsarīṇāṁ* etc., *saṁvatsarīṇāṁ* 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:

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ.† *adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ. *emi*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ.; followed in the first two by:

ṛtasya panthām anv emi (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 avathaḥ śacībhiḥ, pari ghraṅsam omanā vāṁ (TB. *parighraṅsa vāṁ manā vāṁ*) *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.

yaṁ sarve 'nujīvāma TS.: *yaṁ bahavo 'nujīvān* MS.: *yaṁ bahava upajīvanti* AŚ. 'On whom many (we all) may depend.'

tiro (RV. VS. ŚB. AG. *antar*) *mṛtyuṁ dadhatāṁ* (TA. ApŚ.* *dadhmahe*) *parvatena* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. (bis) 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 *dadhatāṁ* 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 yaḥ somam imaṁ pibāt (KŚ. *pibā;* KS. *somaṁ 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 aṣṭhāṁ (MS. MŚ. *asthāṁ;* TS. KS. ApŚ. *asthād*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* 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 'haṁ;* AB. *nimañkṣye 'haṁ*) *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. *devāṅ*) *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:

viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir īḍe (ApMB. *īṭṭe*) 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. xix.

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 naḥ;* MS. *bhūyāsma te*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* (MS.† °*daḥ;* 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.'

nahi te nāma jagrāha AV.: *nahy asyā* (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhṇāmi* RV. ApMB. See Whitney on AV. 3. 18. 3.

vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu SV.: *vande dāruṁ* (read *vandārur*, or *vandār-vā*?) *vandamāno vivakmi* RV. See Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, p. 1062; Ludwig, 4. 367; Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 7. 6. 1.

apaḥ prerayaṁ (SV. *prairayat*, TB. *prairayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV. SV. TB. Preceded in all by: *indrāya giro aniśitasargāḥ*. 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 *prairayat*. TB. comm. gives *giro* as the subject and *apaḥ* as the object of *prairayan*. Cf. §138.

yad ahnāt (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. (followed by: *tad ahnāt*, or *rātriyāt*, *pratimucyate*): *yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA. MahānU. The form *kurute* is evidently felt as passive: 'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc.

o cit sakhāyaṁ sakhyā vavṛtyām RV. AV. (Yamī speaks to Yama): *ā tvā sakhāyaḥ sakhyā vavṛtyuḥ* SV. (unintelligent revamping of the same pāda; Benfey, 'dich möchten 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. *saścimaḥ*, but read °*ma* with Poona ed.) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. In a different context in RV. from the others.

āyuṣmāṅ (°*mān*, °*māñ*) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsat* (RVKh. VS. °*sam;* AV. also °*sāni*) 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 devaiḥ sadhamādaṁ mademа (AV. *madanti*) AV. MS. TB. In

three different contexts; no two alike. But AV. comm. reads *madema.*

ariṣṭāṁ tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB.: *ariṣṭāṁ mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ. MŚ. MG.: *ariṣṭāhaṁ 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.

saṁjānate manasā saṁ cikitre RV.: *saṁjānāmahai manasā saṁ cikitvā* AV.

sarvam āyur vy ānaśe (MS. *aśnavai*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *viśvam āyur vy aśnavai* (AV. mss. °*vat*) AV. VS. KS. TB.: *dīrgham 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:*

ayaṁ (AŚ. **ahaṁ*) *śatrūn jayatu* (AŚ.* *jayāmi*) *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ* (AŚ.* †*jarhiṣāṇaḥ*), *ayaṁ* (AŚ.* *ahaṁ*) *vājaṁ* (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.

divyaṁ dhāmāśāste (and, ūha, *āśāse*) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

adṛśan (and, *apaśyaṁ*) *tvāvarohantam* NīlarU. (both). The first is a *vikāra* of the other.

taṁ tvā parameṣṭhin pari rohita (*pary agnir, pary aham*)...*dadhātu* (*dadhāmi*) AV. 13. 1. 17d. 18d, 19d.

jyotiṣe tantava āśiṣam 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 *āśāste* 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 *āśāse;* 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 paśyema (RV. also *paśyāt*, and *paśyema nu*, omitting *jyok*) *sūryam uccarantam* RV. (all) AV.

§325. Corruptions or errors:

idaṁ vāṁ tena prīṇāmi ŚŚ.: *etad vāṁ tena prīṇāti* TB. ApŚ. So Conc., and so Garbe reads in ApŚ. But TB. (both edd.) has *prīṇāni*, and this is to be read also in ApŚ., see Caland on 2. 20. 6, note 2.

vājino me yajñaṁ vahān (MŚ. text *vahāni*, followed by *iti;* probably read *vahān* with v. l.) MS. KS. MŚ.

rāyas poṣāyotsṛje (MS. erroneously °*jet*) MS. MŚ.

tāṁ te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*)...PG. 3. 13. 6 (see Stenzler's critical note): *ā te vācam āsyā* (*āsyāṁ*) *dade* HG. ApMB.

sthāmny aśvāṅ atiṣṭhipam AV.: *sthāmni vṛkkāv atiṣṭhipan* AV. vulgate, misprint for °*pam*, see Whitney on 7. 96. 1.

Under: *prāṇena 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 sindhūnāṁ pavamāno arṣati (SV. °*si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati* (SV. °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. °*se mahad dhanam*), *svāyudhaḥ sotṛbhiḥ pūyate vṛṣā* (SV. °*bhiḥ soma sūyase*) RV. SV. Here an entire stanza is recast; note that the nominative subject of RV. becomes a vocative in SV.

[*ayā somaḥ* (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā,*] *mahaś cid abhy avardhata* (SV. *ma-*

hāṅt sann abhy avardhathāḥ), *mandāna ud* (SV. *id*) *vṛṣāyate* (SV. °*se*) RV. SV.

te no dhāntu (SV. *dhatta*) *suvīryam* RV. SV. There is no expressed subject, nor other finite verb, in the stanza; Soma is understood as subject.

pavitre pari ṣicyate (SV. °*se*), *krandan devāṅ ajījanat* (SV. °*naḥ*) RV. SV. The (unexpressed) subject is Soma.

pavamāno vy aśnavat (SV. °*na vy aśnuhi*) RV. SV.

nadayann eti (SV. *eṣi*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām*; and, in same stanza: *pracetayann arṣati* (SV. *pracodayann arṣasi*) *vācam emām* RV. SV. In this and the rest the unexpressed subject is Soma.

vājāṅ abhi pra gāhate (SV. °*se*) RV. SV.

hariḥ san yonim āsadat (SV. °*daḥ*) 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*) *jāyamānaḥ, ahnāṁ ketur uṣasām ety* (AV.† *eṣy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*), *bhāgaṁ devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tirate* (TS. °*ti;* AV.† °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; the first pāda also TB. AŚ. HG. BDh. JUB. VHDh.

ihi (AV. *etu*) *tisraḥ parāvataḥ, ihi* (AV. *etu*) *pañca janāṅ ati, ihi* (AV. *etu*) *tisro 'ti rocanāḥ* (AV. °*nā*, despite gender of *tisro*!) RV. (first two pādas only) AV. TB. ApŚ. Addrest to, or said of, a rival.

ye rātrim (KS. °*īm*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS.† °*atha*), *ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati* (KS. °*gṛtha*), *paśūn ye sarvān rakṣanti* (KS. °*atha*), *te na ātmasu jāgrati* (KS.† *jāgṛta*) AV. KS.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*), *druhaḥ pāśān nirṛtyai codamoci* (AV. *pāśād grāhyāś codamukthāḥ*), *ahā avartim* (AV. *arātim*) *avidat* (AV. °*daḥ*) *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. °*vaḥ*, MS. omits); *yan navam ait* (KS. *ais*) *tan navanītam abhavat* (KS. °*vaḥ*); *yad aghriyata* (KS. °*thās*, TS. *adhriyata*) *tad ghṛtam abhavat* (KS. °*vaḥ*, MS. omits) TS. MS. KS. The butter is referred to or addrest.

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *aprati*) RV. AV. SV. TB.: followed in RV. SV. by:

hato (SV. *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī, hato* (SV. *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣaḥ* 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 Rigvedic form of the pāda.

pitṝn yakṣad (TS. *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhaḥ;* preceded by, *yo agniḥ* (TS. *yad agne*) *kavyavāhanaḥ* (TS. °*na;* RV. *kravya*°), and followed by:

pred u (TS. *pra ca*) *havyāni vocati* (TS. *vakṣyasi*) RV. VS. TS. KS.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ. °*yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See above, §303.

akartām aśvinā lakṣma AV.: *kṛṇutaṁ laksmāśvinā* AV. See §130.

agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām ŚB.: *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait.

agnināgniḥ saṁvadatām TA.: *agne agninā saṁvadasva* TA. ApŚ.

iha rama MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *iha ramaḥ*† 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. Mahīdhara, 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*) *agreṇāspṛkṣa āntarikṣaṁ madhyenāprāḥ pṛthivīm upareṇādṛṁhīḥ* VS. VSK. (for which read in Conc. °*āspṛkṣaḥ*) KS. ŚB. (addrest in all to the *yūpa*)*; devo vanaspatir* (sc. *yūpo*) *varṣaprāvā ghṛtanirṇig dyām agreṇāspṛkṣad āntarikṣaṁ madhyenāprāḥ pṛthivīm upareṇādṛṁhīt* 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*, *dadṛśe*) *na punar yatīva* RV. PB.

śivena mā (ApMB. *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā paśyatāpaḥ* (ApMB. *paśyantv āpaḥ*), *śivayā tanvopa spṛśata tvacaṁ me* (ApMB. *spṛśantu tvacaṁ te*) AV. TS. MS. AB. ApMB. *āpaḥ* nom. in ApMB., voc. in the rest.

stego na kṣām aty eti pṛthvīm (AV. *eṣi pṛthivīm*) RV. AV. In a riddlesome verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form; there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context.

svargeṇa lokena saṁprorṇuvāthām Vait.; *svarge* (TS. TB. *suvarge*) *loke prorṇuvāthām* (TS. KSA.† TB. *saṁpror°*; VSK. TS. TB. *°rṇvā°*; MS. *°tām*) VS. VSK. TS. KSA. MS. TB. ŚB. Addrest to (in MS. said of) the queen and the horse in the *aśvamedha*.

ghṛtena (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām* (VS. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇvātham*; MS. MŚ. *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, is nom. in MS. MŚ.

sam arīr (MS. KS. *arir*) *vidām* (KS. *vidaḥ*) 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. *kṣeṣṭhāḥ*) MS. GB. Vait.:... *mopadasat* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. And: *sadato me mā kṣāyi* (GB. *me mopadasaḥ*, MS. *°sat*), same texts.

aśvinā pibataṁ (VS. KŚ. *°tāṁ*) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ. *sutam*) RV. VS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. and (pratīka) KŚ. *aśvinā* nom. or voc.

ity adadāḥ (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 ayajathāḥ* (ŚB. *°ta*), and: *ity ayudhyathāḥ* (ŚB. and, as quoted in Conc., MŚ. *°ta*), and: *ity amuṁ saṁgrāmam ahan* (MŚ. *ajayathāḥ*, ŚB. *ajayat*), same texts. [I question the quotation from MŚ. 9. 2. 2 *ayudhyata*, since it is inconsistent with all the others; it was furnisht by Knauer from mss. for the Conc., and has not been published even yet. F. E.]

idaṁ vātena sagareṇa rakṣa (MS. *rakṣatu*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Subject in prec. pāda, *indra* (MS. *indraḥ*) *stomena*... Note that *indra* before *st-* might be understood as = *indraḥ*. The MS. makes this single pāda (in a *triṣṭubh* verse) *jagatī*, and is clearly secondary.

devā deveṣu śrayantāṁ (TB. *śrayadhvaṁ*), *prathamā dvitīyeṣu śrayantāṁ* (TB. *śrayadhvaṁ*), *dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB. *°dhvam*) KS. TB. Subj. *devāḥ*, voc. or nom.

no asmin ramate jane (AV. *ramase patau*) RV. AV. ApMB. Subject is a rival wife.

mahyaṁ (this goes with prec. pāda in MŚ.) *yajamānāya tiṣṭha* (MŚ. *tiṣṭhatu*, mss. *tiṣṭhat*) TS. MŚ.

yato na punar āyasi (AV. °*ti*) AV. TB. ApŚ. Addrest to, or spoken of, a rival. AVPpp. agrees with TB. ApŚ.

ślakṣṇam evāva gūhati (ŚŚ. °*si*) AV. ŚŚ. And (prec. vs.):

tiṣṭhantam ava gūhati AV.: *tiṣṭhann evāvagūhasi* ŚŚ. (but here the mss. of AV. have *gūhasi*). Unintelligible stuff.

saṁ revatīr jagatībhiḥ pṛcyantāṁ saṁ (VSK. om. *pṛ° saṁ*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ pṛcyantām* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *saṁ revatīr jagatībhir madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ sṛjyadhvam* TS. TB. The adjectives are noms. even in TS. TB., but no noun subject is exprest, so that this cannot be called a syntactic inconsistency.

yadā prāṇo abhyavarṣīt AV.: *yadā tvam abhivarṣasi* PraśU. *tvam* refers to *prāṇa;* the stanza is identical.

kāmaṁ duhātām iha śakvarībhiḥ AV.: *rāṣṭraṁ duhāthām iha revatībhiḥ* TB. The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, is nom. in AV., despite which most of its mss. read *duhāthām* (but Ppp. °*tām*). In TB. it is made voc.

gāṁ copasṛṣṭāṁ vihāraṁ cāntareṇa mā saṁcārīṣṭa ApŚ. (followed by *iti saṁpreṣyati*): *vihāraṁ ca gāṁ copasṛṣṭām antareṇa mā saṁcārīṣuḥ* 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... tenāyuṣāyuṣmān edhi MS.: *agnir āyuṣmān... tasyāyam āyuṣāyuṣmān astv asau* KS. And others, see Conc.

agne vīhi AB. ŚB. AŚ. MŚ.: *agnir hotā vetv...* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agniṣ ṭān asmāt pra ṇunottu lokāt MŚ.: *agniṣ ṭāṁ* (VS. *ṭān;* AŚ. *tāl*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (AŚ. *ṇudātv;* SMB. *ṇudatv*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agne tān asmāt pra ṇudasva lokāt* ApŚ.

athemā viśvāḥ pṛtanā jayāsi (RV.* °*ti*) RV. (both) SV. AB. TB. The subject is Indra both times, tho the context varies; *jayāti* is probably secondary. See *RVRep.* 397.

aditiḥ keśān vapatu AG. MG. ApMB.: *aditiḥ śmaśru vapatu* AV. MG.: *adite keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG.

antar mahāṁś 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. PrāṇāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *annasyānnapatiḥ prādāt* PB.: cf. *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kauś.

abhi prayāṁsi sudhitāni hi khyaḥ (and, *khyat*) RV. (both). Agni is the subject both times.

ararur (MS. *ararus te*) *dyāṁ mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *araro divaṁ mā paptaḥ* VS. ŚB. Vait.

avasānapate 'vasānaṁ me vinda TB. ApŚ.: *avasānaṁ me 'vasānapatir vindat* MŚ.

avāsṛjat (RV.* °*jaḥ*) *sartave sapta sindhūn* RV. (both) AV. JUB.

avyo (SV. PB. °*yaṁ*) *vāraṁ vi dhāvati* (RV.* °*si*) RV. (both) SV. PB.: *avyo vāraṁ vi pavamāna dhāvati* (subject is here *rasa*) RV.

aśvināv eha gachatam RV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: ...*gachatām* (TS. TB. °*tam*, in the same stanza) RV. TS. TB. N. The subject is nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d.

asmabhyaṁ citraṁ vṛṣaṇaṁ rayiṁ dāḥ RV. SV. MS. TB.: ...*dāt* (but so only p.p. in MS., its *saṁhitā* mss. *dāḥ*!) 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 *saṁhitā* mss. of MS. were influenced by recollection of the other form of the pāda.

kṣeme tiṣṭhāti (ŚG. *tiṣṭha*, PG. *tiṣṭhatu*, HG. *tiṣṭhati*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā* 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.

(*pṛṣṭhena dyāvāpṛthivī* (MS. adds *āpṛṇa*)] *antarikṣaṁ ca vi bādhase* (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.

āsmāsu nṛmṇaṁ dhāt MS. TA. ŚŚ.: *asmāsu nṛmṇaṁ dhāḥ* KB. Same context, but KB's version is fragmentary; it contains nothing inconsistent with the 2d person.

svāttaṁ cit sadevaṁ havyam āpo devīḥ svadatainam TS. ApŚ.: *svāttaṁ sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.: *āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK. *sad*°) *svāttaṁ cit sad devahaviḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. Subject *āpo devīḥ*, voc. or nom.

āyātu varadā devī TAA. TA. MahānU.: *āyāhi viraje devi* MG.

(*abaddhaṁ mano...*) *dīkṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ. *hāsīt*) TS. KŚ. BDh.: (*adabdhaṁ cakṣur...*) *dīkṣen* (sc. *dīkṣā-id*) *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 *dīkṣen* in KŚ. Cf. however Keith's AA. 237, note.

(*indraḥ*, SV. *indra...*) *kratuṁ punīta* (SV. °*ṣa*) *ukthyam* RV. SV.

indro vājam ajayit TS. TB.: *indra vājaṁ 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 gharmam VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *gharmam apātam aśvinā* (accented in MS! but not in TA.; TA. adds *hārdivānam*) MS.TA. ApŚ.: *aśvinā gharmaṁ pātaṁ hārdvānam* (MS. *pibataṁ hārdrānum*, TA. *pātaṁ hārdivānam*, LŚ. *pātam 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.

devāṅ ā sādayād (TB. ApŚ. °*yā*) *iha* RV. VS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Agni is the subject in both, but the contexts are otherwise different.

nṛmṇā punāno arṣasi RV. SV.: *nṛmṇā vasāno* (SV. *punāno*) *arṣati* RV. SV. Subject is Soma Pavamāna both times. Contrast §328.

punāno vācam iṣyati (and, °*si*) RV. (both). As in preceding.

sāvitrīṁ bho anu brūhi AG. ŚG. ApG. MG.: *sāvitrīṁ me bhavān anu bravītu* GG.

madhvā yajñaṁ nakṣati (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *narāśaṅso agniḥ* (VS. TS. KS. *agne*). All are consistent except KS., which belongs with the next subdivision.

syūtā devebhir amṛtenāgāḥ (MS. KS. °*gāt*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. The stanza is radically reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same.

pṛthivi mātar mā mā hiṅsīḥ... VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mā māṁ mātā pṛthivī hīṅsīt* TS. MS.

bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi Kauś.: *bhavān bhikṣāṁ dadātu* AG.

yudhendro mahnā varivaś cakāra RV. AV.: *yudhā devebhyo varivaś cakartha* RV. AV. The subject of *cakartha* is Indra in one (and that probably the older one) of the two occurrences in RV., see *RV Rep.* 87.

svayaṁ pibantu (TS. *juhudhvaṁ*) *madhuno ghṛtasya* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śṛṇotu (RV.* *rakṣā ca*) *no damyebhir anīkaiḥ* RV. (both) AB. See *RV Rep.* 110.

rājā pavitraratho vājam āruhaḥ (and, °*hat*); followed by:

sahasrabhṛṣṭir jayasi (and, °*ti*) *śravo bṛhat* RV. (both). Subject is Soma Pavamāna.

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta evaṁ mahyaṁ pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG. °*taḥ*) *svadhā bhava* (HG. *bhavatām*) ApMB. HG. And the same

with *yathā vāyur...*, *yathādityo...* Subject is *ūrmiḥ* (waters offered to the manes), either directly addressed or indirectly referred to.

viśvedevāso adhi vocatā naḥ (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 befriend me'; 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of *adhi-vocatā*).

vy antarikṣam atiraḥ RV. AV.: *...atirat* RV. AV. SV. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. Subject is Indra; in different stanzas, both consistent.

śyeno na vaṅsu ṣīdati RV. SV.: *śyeno na vikṣu sīdati* RV. SV.: *śyeno na vaṅsu kalaśeṣu sīdasi* RV. Soma Pavamāna is the subject in all.

saṁ devi (KS. *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS. *°ôrvaśyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

sa yajñaṁ pāhi (ŚŚ. *pātu*) *sa* (AŚ. om.) *yajñapatiṁ pāhi* (ŚŚ. omits) *sa māṁ pāhi* (ŚŚ. *pātu*) TB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

yajña pratiliṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ TB. ApŚ.: *yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ. See §158.

mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditiḥ śarma yaṅsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

sahāvaitu jarāyuṇā ŚB. BṛhU.: *saha jarāyuṇāva sarpatu* (ApMB. *°yuṇā niṣkramya*) HG. ApMB.: *sahāvehi jarāyuṇā* RV.: *sākaṁ jarāyuṇā pata* AV. The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent.

indriyaṁ me vīryaṁ mā nir vadhīḥ (MŚ. *vadhiṣṭa*) TS. MŚ. The subject is soma in either case. The variant belongs here if *vadhīḥ* is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS. 3. 1. 8. 3; but since MŚ. has a 3d person, *vadhīḥ* may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* 153 (Keith's objection, l. c., is not valid).

yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ (AV. *°vaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. *°yasva*) RV. AV. VS. Context contains *svarāḍ*, 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 vājajito vājaṁ sariṣyanto (TS. ApŚ. add, *vājaṁ jeṣyanto*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vājinau vājajitau vājaṁ jitvā bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighratam* (KS. *°tām*) MS. KS. MŚ. The same noun forms, alternatively taken as noms. or vocs. So also in next.

vājino vājajito vājaṁ sasṛvāṅso (KS. *jigīvāṅso;* TS. *sasṛvāṅso vājaṁ jigivāṅso*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāḥ* (KS. *bhāge ni mṛjatām;* TS. *bhāge ni mṛḍḍhvam*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *vājinau vājajitau vājaṁ jitvā 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 dhārayataṁ (MŚ. °*tāṁ*) *rayim* RV. MŚ.: *asmai dhārayataṁ rayim* AV. Subject *agnīṣomā*, originally voc., felt as nom. in MŚ.

om utsṛjata (MG. °*tu*) TA. ŚŚ. AG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG.: *utsṛja* (LŚ. °*jata*) *gām* LŚ. SMB. GG. See §347.

ṛtunā somaṁ 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. °*ni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB. ApŚ.: *mā no hiṅsīd dhiṅsito 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 viśvam 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 bhiṣajāvataḥ (MS. °*tam;* TB.† °*ta*) VS. MS. TB. See §116.

yā (AV. TS. *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °*tho;* AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (KS.† AV. °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Followed in same texts by:

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS. *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† °*tuḥ*). 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 addresṭ 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.

śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñiyāsaḥ* 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.

imaṁ no yajñaṁ vihave juṣasva (AV. *śṛṇotu*) 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 poṣaṁ (KS. *tvaṣṭaḥ poṣāya*) *vi ṣyatu* (AV. MS. KS. *vi ṣya*) *nābhim asme* (AV. *asya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The subject, Tvaṣṭar, is nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d. On the dual form of the variant (*viṣyatāṁ*) see §368.

§330. With accompanying change in number:

prathamam artiṁ yuyotu naḥ MG.: *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG.: *pra sumartyaṁ* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB. The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere.

tena brahmāṇo vapatedam asya (ŚG. *adya*) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB.: *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG: *tenāsyāyuṣe 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 saṁbharaitam (AŚ. *saṁbhavatām*, MŚ. *saṁbharetām*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. addrest to god Agni (2d sing.); in AŚ. MŚ. subject is two fires (3d dual).

rājānaṁ saṁgāyata (PG. °*yetām*) 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 addrest.

salakṣmā (MS. KS. °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*paṁ*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāṇo 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 idaṁ vrataṁ vratapatir manyatām MS.: *anu me dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatir manyatām* (KS. °*patayo manyadhvam;* ŚB.* °*patir amaṁsta*)... 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 addrest. This psychological shift is familiar in other languages:

yā tiraścī nipadyase (AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. °*te*) ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. ApMB. HG. The same person is directly addrest in all: 'thou who liest (lies) down across...'

ya ājagma (N. °*muḥ*) *savanemā* (TS. KS. *savanedaṁ;* N. *savanam idaṁ;* VS. MS. ŚB. *ya ājagmedaṁ savanaṁ*) *juṣāṇāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. '(O gods) who have come' etc.; gods are directly addrest in all. Only N. makes verb 3d person, because of the relative.

yad aiṣi manasā dūram PG.: *ya eti pradiśaḥ sarvāḥ* 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. °*naṁ*) *sarathaṁ yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. '(O Mitra-Varuṇa,) 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 yaḥ somam imaṁ pibāt (KŚ. *pibā;* KS. *somaṁ pibād imam*) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. See §319. The next pāda begins with *s;* possibly *pibāḥ* (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 bhikṣāṁ dehi* (*bhavān bhikṣāṁ dadātu*), §329.

yena striyam (PG. *śriyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām;* ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatam* (PG. °*vamṛśatāṁ*) *surām, yenākṣān* (ŚŚ. °*kṣām,* PG. °*kṣyāv*) *abhyasiñcatam* (PG. °*tām*), *yad vām tad aśvinā yaśaḥ,* ŚŚ. PG. SMB. The first pāda also GG. (reading as SMB.); the third also AV., reading *yenākṣā abhyaṣicyanta* (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 enaṁ pravidvāṅsau śrapayatam MS.: *tāv imaṁ paśuṁ śrapayatāṁ pravidvāṅsau* 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 vivyadhīt (TA. *vivyatho naḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā naḥ soma hvarito vihvarasva* MŚ. (so read, see §159); followed in same verse by:

mo ṣvatvam asmān tarādhāt (so read with p.p.) MS.: *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo ṣv*) *asmāṅs tamasy antar ādhāḥ* 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.

adabdho gopāḥ (KS.† *gopaḥ*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS. *pari pātu viśvataḥ*) RV. TS. KS.: *tvaṁ no gopāḥ pari pāhi viśvataḥ* 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*) *draviṇaṁ vīrapeśāḥ* RV. TS. The subject being *agnir*, TS. is inconsistent; but note the following *dr-*, and cf. §24.

sṛjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV.: *sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavaṁ han* RV. N. The subject is *indra*, voc., even in SV., and the prec. parallel verbs are 2d person.

kadā sutaṁ tṛṣāṇa oka ā gamaḥ (SV. *gamat*) RV. SV. AV. The subject is the voc. *indra*, followed by *sv-* and perhaps felt as nom. (for *indraḥ*) in SV? Benfey baldly translates 3d person verb with voc. subject.

devebhyo havyaṁ (MS. MŚ. MG. *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Vait. MŚ. Kauś. MG.: *devebhyo havyaṁ vaha naḥ* (Kauś. omits *naḥ*) *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 saṁ babhūtha (TA. *babhūva*) RV. AV. TA. See §262, f. The subject is *tvam*, and TA. comm. glosses *babhūva* with a 2d person.

pitā mātariśvāchidrā padā dhāḥ (KS. AŚ. *dhāt*) TS. KS. AB. AŚ. 5. 9. 1. In TS. AB. nom. subject with 2d person verb; KS. AŚ. are consistent.

vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS. *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS. *askabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VS. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*, TS. *viṣṇur*) *ete*: followed by:

dādhartha (TS. *dādhāra*) *pṛthivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The prec. half verse is addrest 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 prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ, etc. (see § 104, u). Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom. with 3d person, voc. with 2d) except MS., which has *draviṇāgamyāt*; its p.p. reads *dráviṇa* (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 dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati (TA. *dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi*); followed by:

gṛdhraḥ suparṇaḥ kuṇapaṁ niṣevati (TA.† *niṣevase*) MS. TA. The TA. comm. regards the *gṛdhra* as addrest, despite the nom. form.

[*viśvasya devī mṛcayasya* (ŚŚ. *mṛśayasya*) *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.: *ajātaśatrus suhavo na edhi* KS. The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all noms.; KS. is harsh.

yajamānāya draviṇaṁ 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. *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *aprati*) RV. AV. SV. TB. The AV. variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb; see §329.

sa no mayobhūḥ pito (*pitav*) *āviśasva* (*āviśeha;* MŚ. *pitur āviveśa*) TS. TB.

AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG: *sa naḥ pito madhumāṅ 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 yajñaṁ nakṣati (°*se*) *prīṇānaḥ* (*prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See § 329. KS. is inconsistent.

imau vīryaṁ (TB. *rayiṁ*) *yajamānāya dhattām* (TB. *dhattam*) MS. TB. The 2d person of TB. is inconsistent with its nom. subject, *aśvínā* (accented). The comm. finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent and taking it as voc. But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb *rakṣatām*, 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 *dhattam* which must be an error for 3d person *dhattām*.

śarad dhemantaḥ suvite dadhāta (MŚ. °*tu*) KS. MŚ.: *śarad varṣāḥ suvitaṁ* (ŚG. *sukṛtaṁ*) *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. Doubtless 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 *suvitaṁ* the subject of a copulaic verb, *astu*.

deveṣu naḥ sukṛto (VSK. *deveṣu mā sukṛtaṁ*) *brūtāt* (KS. *brūta*; PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *devebhyo mā sukṛtaṁ brūtāt* (ŚB. with ūha, *voceḥ*) VS. ŚB.: *sukṛtaṁ mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS. A 2d person is required, and PB. comm. reads *brūtāt*; probably MŚ. (in an unpublished part of the text) is likewise to be read *brūtāt*.

vider (VS. KS. ŚB. *vided*) *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 dyāvāpṛthivī hīḍiṣethām MS.: *mā dyāvāpṛthivī hīḍiṣātām* TA. In MS. as well as TA. *dyāvāpṛthivī* is nom. (accented); and the preceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person.

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB.: *akṛṇoḥ sūryatvacam* RV. AV. JB.: *avakṛṇot 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 punīhi naḥ (*mā; punātu mā; punīmahe*), *idaṁ brahma punīmahe*, see §302.

(*abaddhaṁ mano...*) *dīkṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ. *hāsīt*, corrupt?) TS. KŚ. BDh.: (*adabdhaṁ cakṣur...*) *dīkṣen 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 tripṛṣṭha uṣaso vi rājati (SV. °*si*) RV. SV. The subject, soma, is spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV.

āpṛchyaṁ dharuṇaṁ vājy arṣati (SV. °*si*) RV. SV. The subject, soma, is referred to in the 3d person in the prec. pāda.

punāno vāraṁ 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 pariyāty (SV. °*sy*) *ṛkvabhiḥ* RV. SV. Otherwise 3d person in the verse.

vṛthā pājāṁsi kṛṇute (SV. °*ṣe*) *nadīṣv ā* (RV.† once omits *ā*) RV. (bis) SV. Otherwise 3d persons in the verse.

arṣan (SV. *arṣā*) *mitrasya varuṇasya dharmaṇā* 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.

vṛṣo acikradad vane SV. 2. 430b, 480b: *vṛṣāva 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.

pṛṣṭheṣv erayā (SV. *airayad*) *rayim* 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*) *kāminaḥ* RV. SV.

§337. The long list of remaining cases is as follows:

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV. *sānv āruhaḥ*) RV. SV. The subject is Indra, who is otherwise spoken of in the 3d person even in SV.; the next pāda is *bhūry aspaṣṭa 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 *āruhaḥ* as a verbal noun, dependent on *aspaṣṭa* (!). 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 bhūyaś (PG. *bhūriś*) *carāty ayam* (AG. *ca rātryam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *carā divam*), *jyok ca paśyāti* (PG. °*si;* MG. °*yati*) *sūryam* (MG. °*yaḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. The subject is the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG. makes it *sūryaḥ* in the 2d pāda; perhaps also in the first? doubtful); he is addrest 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. *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS. °*thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. In prec. pāda both MS. and KS. have the 3d person *gachatām;* both are therefore inconsistent. On *abhūthām* (middle!) see §§21, 56.

antaś carati (MahānU. PrāṇāgU. °*si*) *bhūteṣu* TA. TAA. MahānU. PrāṇāgU. LVyāsaDh. ŚaṅkhaDh. The subject (*paramātmā*, TA. comm.) is addrest in the second person in the 2d half of the verse.

saṁpriyaḥ paśubhir bhava (TB. ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *saṁpriyaṁ prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA. The subject (Agni) is referred to in the 3d person even in MS. in the preceding.

viśvo (TS. *viśve*) *rāya iṣudhyati* (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 hṛṇītām atithir (SV. *hṛṇīthā atithiṁ*) *vasur agniḥ* 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 adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS. *'dhvare sthāḥ*, 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 addrest in both the preceding and following) has stood' etc. Caland assumes *'sthāḥ* as the true reading of ApŚ.

sā naḥ 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.

subheṣajaṁ yathāsati (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 satyaṁ yad vīraṁ bibhṛthaḥ (MŚ.† °*taḥ*); *vīraṁ janayiṣyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ*); *te mat prātaḥ prajanayiṣyethe* (MŚ. °*te*); *te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded, even in MŚ., by a direct address in 2d person.

(*indraś ca naḥ śunāsīrāv*) *imaṁ yajñaṁ mimikṣatam* (ŚŚ. °*tām*) TB. ŚŚ. Followed by: *garbhaṁ* (ŚŚ. °*ān*) *dhattaṁ 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 *mimikṣatām;* see §341.

arakṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (TS. MS. *juṣasva;* KS. *juṣethāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §160. In the following 2 pādas Agni is referred to in 3d person.

imaṁ yajñam abhi gṛṇīta viśve RV. VS.: *idaṁ no havir abhi gṛṇantu viśve* AV. The subject is the *pitṛs*, who are addrest in the next line in the 2d person even in AV., and AV. comm. reads *gṛṇīta* here.

nātārīd (TB. °*rīr*) *asya samṛtiṁ vadhānām* (TB. *ba*°) RV. TB. The parallel verbs are all 3d person; TB. comm. glosses *na prāptavān.*

niṣīdan no apa durmatiṁ jahi (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 addrest 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*) *parasyāḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. MS. KS. Subject Indra, who in the following is addrest in 2d person in all.

pitaraḥ pitāmahāḥ pare 'vare tatās tatāmahā iha māvata (PG. *māvantu*) TS. PG. The last of a series of similar formulas; the preceding ones are 3d person in both texts.

purā gṛdhrād araruṣaḥ pibātaḥ (TB. *pibāthaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. In the following TB. also has 3d person verb.

prādāḥ (SMB. *prādāt*) *pitṛbhyaḥ svadhayā te akṣan* RV. AV. VS. TS. ApŚ. SMB. Subject Agni, addrest 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 hiṅsīt (VS.† KS. ŚB. *hiṅsīḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Prec. by *mā tvā hiṅsīt* (KS. ms. *hiṅsīḥ*). 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* (Mahīdhara on VS.).

yathā jyok sumanā asāḥ (HG. *asat*) ApMB. HG. The prec. formula addresses the boy in 2d person even in HG.

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. °*thād*) *draviṇeha dhattāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. In KS. inconsistent with context; see §24.

vākpā vācaṁ me pāhi (MS. *pātu*) TS. MS. AB. AŚ. And the same with *śrotrapāḥ śrotraṁ, cakṣuṣpāḥ* etc. *vākpāḥ* 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. repeates 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 varūtham āsadat svaḥ (TS. *āsadaḥ suvaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where Agni is directly addrest in all. Tho more consistent, it is doubtless secondary.

jayanta upaspṛśatu HG.: *jayantopa spṛśa* ApMB. Only HG. is consistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB, are 3d person.

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (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*) *dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatantha* (AV.* *viveśa*, AV.* TS.* TB. *tatāna*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Occurs in two different verses; one (A) is addrest 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. °*āsi*) 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. *āṣṭhāḥ*) *pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi* (MS. *avido 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 addrest). 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 *āṣṭāḥ* and *avide*, which seem most likely to represent *āṣṭhāḥ* and *avido*; but von Schroeder (doubtless for the sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it seems, to *āṣṭa and avidan.*

gaṇān me mā vi tīṭṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*) 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 addrest. Knauer on MŚ. 2. 4. 1. 35b defends °*ṣat* of all his mss. by supposing it to refer to Vāyu, understood. In the same context: *gaṇān me mā vy arīriṣaḥ* Vait. In different contexts: *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TB. ŚB.; *gaṇair mā mā vi tīṭṛṣata* 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 arvati kṣameta RV. TB.: *tvaṁ no vīro arvati kṣamethāḥ* AB. In a repetition of the RV. stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) is addrest with 2d person verbs in the preceding pādas, AB. makes this pāda consistent with them.

ā yantu pitaro manojavasaḥ ApŚ.: *eta pitaro maṇojavāḥ*, and: *āganta pitaro manojavāḥ* MŚ. (in same sūtra): *paretana* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *pareta*) *pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ* (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, *śundhantāṁ pitaraḥ*, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person).

ṛtūṁr (TB. *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj jāyate punaḥ* (AV. *jāyase navaḥ*) RV. AV. MS. TB. Preceded by the correlate: *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* (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.: *vivasvāṁ aditir devajūtis... viyantu* TS. Two parallel pādas preceding have *vyantu* with nom. subject in MS. KS. also.

yo devānāṁ carasi prāṇathena VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *devānāṁ 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 addrest to the feminine entity mentioned in the first half. TS. is, of course, secondary.

yasmād bhīta udavāśiṣṭa (and, *udavepiṣṭa*) MŚ.: *yasmād bhīṣāvāśiṣṭhāḥ*

(and, *bhīṣāvepiṣṭhāḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Surrounding and parallel formulas (addresst to the animal victim) are 2d person even in MŚ.

aśvināv eha gachatām (TS. TB.°*tam*) RV. TS. TB. N. *áśvināv* is voc. in TS. TB., *aśvínāv* nom. in RV. The same pāda with °*tam* (and *áśvināv*) 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 addrest 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 addrest 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 *gachatam*, in a different stanza in RV.

iyaty agra āsīt (KS. TA. ApŚ. *āsīḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 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. addrest partly to a lump of earth, partly to pebbles. The other stanza likewise refers to a lump of earth, which is addrest directly in the next pāda in MS. at any rate (with vocative *devi*), and according to Mahīdhara also in VS.; M. thus interprets the pronoun *te*, as referring to the earth; with *āsīt* Mahīdhara 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.

iṣaṁ tokāya no dadhat (KS. *dadhaḥ*) 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 ṇa (MS. *na*) *āyūṅṣi tāriṣaḥ* (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. *ayāḍ*) *ṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*śamiṣṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhruvam ayā dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* RV.: *dhruvam ayo dhruvam utā śaviṣṭha* AV. The forms *ayā(s)* and *ayāḍ* 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.

citrebhir abhrair upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. °*to*) *ravaṃ* RV.† MS. Followed by:

dyāṁ varṣayatho (MS. °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. The preceding pādas speak of the subject (*mitrāvaruṇau*) in the 3d person; hence the change to 3d person in MS., which makes the syntax smoother. Nevertheless MS. p.p. reads *varṣayathaḥ*.

dhartā divo rajaso vibhāti dhartā (TA. *divo vibhāsi rajasaḥ*; VS. ŚB. *divo vibhāti tapasas pṛthivyām*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. The context has a parallel verb *yacha*.

dhruvaidhi 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.

areḍatā (*ahe*°, see §160) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ. *gamyāt*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Parallel verbs are 3d person in all.

janiṣṭa (TS. °*ṣvā*, MS. °*ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. The subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel.

pratiṣṭhāṁ gacha (GB. *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhāṁ mā gamaya* (GB. °*yet*) AB. GB. Direct address in the preceding in both. Gaastra considers GB. corrupt.

marya iva yuvatibhiḥ sam arṣati (AV. *iva yoṣāḥ sam arṣase*) RV. SV. AV. Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all.

namo viśvakarmaṇe sa u pātv asmān TS. MŚ.: *viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān* AV. Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV.

muñcatu (KS. *muñcemaṁ*) *yajñaṁ* (ApŚ. *yajño*; KS. adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim aṁhasaḥ svāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ. 3d person forms are used in parallel formulas in KS.

meṣa iva vai saṁ ca vi corv acyase AV.: *meṣa iva 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*) *vapasi* (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*.

saṁ gachatāṁ (RV.* *gachasva*) *tanvā* (TA. *tanuvā*) *suvarcāḥ* (RV.* TA. *jātavedaḥ*) RV. (bis) AV. (bis) TA. In AV. 18. 3. 58 is repeated RV. 10. 14. 8, with change in this pāda of *gachasva* to *gachatāṁ*, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly addrest. 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, *gachatāṁ*. Note that conversely AV. substitutes *suvarcāḥ* of 18. 3. 58d = RV. 10. 14. 8d for *jātavedaḥ* of RV. 10. 16. 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike.

sam (ApMB. *śam*) *ūdho romaśaṁ hataḥ* (ApMB *hathaḥ*) RV. ApMB. See Winternitz, p. xx of ApMB. Introduction; *hathaḥ* is senseless.

sarvaṁ tad asmān mā hiṁsīḥ (HG. *hiṁsīt*) ApŚ. HG. Parallel verbs are 3d person; there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ., which Caland translates by a 3d person.

chandonāmānāṁ (with variants) *sāmrājyaṁ gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*; MŚ. *gachet*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. The subject is Soma, who is addrest directly in the preceding formulas.

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS. °*gaḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *saṁsarpa* (KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. *svargāṁl lokān*) KS. ApŚ. The subject is addrest in 2d person (*gacha*) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ., secondarily no doubt, makes *saṁsarpa* consistent with this. Mahīdhara on VS. understands even *samasṛpat* as direct address (*he kūrma yo bhavān . . . samasṛpat*), but the only exprest subject is nom. in all (*apāṁ patir vṛṣabha iṣṭakānām*).

viśvā †*deva pṛtanā abhiṣya* TB. ApŚ. HG.: *viśvāś ca deva* (PG. *devaḥ*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ* (PG.† °*ṣyak*) 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 addrest directly in the preceding pāda even in PG. (*sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛṇīhi*).

§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:

tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ. *santaṁ mā pra hāsīḥ*) TB. AŚ.

ApŚ.: *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīḥ* (one ms. *hāsīt*) MŚ.† The subject of the 2d person forms is Agni, who is addrest in the prec.; that of the 3d persons is *āyuḥ*.

kāmaṁ (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, 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 samudrasamaṁ kāmaṁ praviśa*).

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt etc., see §337.

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU. SMB.: *ahar mātyapīparaḥ* AV. 'The day has brought us across': 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pra yaṁ rāye ninīṣasi RV.: *pra yo rāye ninīṣati* N. 'Whom thou (Agni) wilt lead to wealth': 'who will lead (thee, Agni) to wealth.'

mā hiṁsīḥ puruṣaṁ jagat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU.: *mā hiṁsīt puruṣān mama* NīlarU. The entire verse is addrest to Rudra, who is the grammatical subject of this verb except in NīlarU., where the subject is his weapon.

rarāṭam ud iva vidhyati (HG. °*si*) HG. ApMB. Prec. by: *yat ta etan mukhe 'matam* (HG. *matam*). 'If thou shootest up this thought in thy face': 'if this bad thought...shoots up...'

devi vāg yat te vāco...tasmin mā dhāḥ (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.

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdhaṁ (ŚŚ. erroneously, *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. *airayant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KŚ. The passage is troublesome; see Eggeling's note in *SBE*. 44. 122. Sāyaṇa interprets *airayat* 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 *airayat* as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the *yajamāna*; the formula is used under certain conditions at his consecration (*dīkṣā*); and this seems likely to be correct. The 2d person form of the variant is, of course, addrest to Vācaspati.

yo devayānaḥ panthās tena yajño devāṅ apy etu (KS. *tena devān gacha*) TS. KS. Subject in KS. is *iḍā*.

āyur dātra edhi VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS.: *vayo dātre* (VSK. *dātra edhi*; KS. PB. *dātre bhūyān*) *mayo mahyaṁ* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahītre* VSK. KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. 'Be thou (potency addrest) 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 śāntiḥ* TA.: *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS. Mahīdhara on VS.: *mā, māṁ prati, edhi, astu, puruṣavyatyayaḥ* (text by error, °*vyatyamaḥ*). But this is, of course, a pedantic and unnecessary assumption; the 2d person is of the same sort as in the preceding variant.

dyaur naḥ pitā pitryāc (TA. *pitṛyāc*) *chaṁ bhavāti* (TA. °*si*) AV. TA. In AV. the subject is *dyaur*; in TA. the comm. takes it as the *yajamāna*, no doubt correctly; but the entire stanza is obscure.

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro 'si (ApŚ. °*ro astu devāḥ*, KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo astu devāḥ*) 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.

sūryaṁ (TA. adds *te*) *cakṣur gachatu* (AV. *cakṣuṣā gacha*) *vātam 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 *cakṣuḥ* is the grammatical subject in them.

sūryasya raśmīn anv ātatāna (MŚ. *ātatantha*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *yad agne pūrvaṁ prabhṛtaṁ* (*prahitaṁ, nihitaṁ*) *padaṁ hi te*. In MŚ. the subject is Agni; in the others, his *padam*.

sviṣṭakṛd indrāya devebhyo bhava MS. KS. ApŚ.: *sviṣṭakṛd 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.† *yajñaṁ*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāḥ*) KS. MŚ. See §158.

yat te krūraṁ . . . tat te śudhyatu (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*) *saṁ 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.: *asmākaṁ 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 *bhūtu*, 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*) *yajñam imaṁ juṣadhvam* (AV. *juṣantām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *te devāso havir idaṁ 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.

tṛptā mā tarpayata (MG. *māṁ tarpayantu*) KS. MG. Contexts only vaguely similar.

antaś carasy (MS. °*ty*) *arṇave* AV. MS. Different contexts.

adhaspadaṁ kṛṇutāṁ (AV.* *kṛṇuṣva;* TS. *kṛṇute*) *ye pṛtanyavaḥ* AV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat MS.: *bodhā stotre vayo dadhat* (ApŚ. *vayovṛdhaḥ*) RV. SV. ApŚ. See §§24, 153. The contexts are different, and MS. is interpretable as it stands; but it has a v. l. *bodhā*.

mā naḥ prajāṁ rīriṣo (TB. 3. 1. 1. 3 *rīriṣan*) *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 bhūyāḥ (Kauś. °*yāt*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. Different contexts.

sameddhāram aṁhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ. *aṁhasaḥ pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ.

yathāsthānaṁ kalpantām (ApŚ. *kalpayadhvam*) ŚB. BṛhU. ApŚ.: *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva* AV.: *yathāsthānaṁ dhārayantām ihaiva* ŚŚ. Hardly comparable. See §241.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG.: cf. *āyuṣ ṭe* (AV. *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV. etc. Hardly comparable.

nyaññ uttānām anv eti (and, *eṣi*) *bhūmim* RV. (both). Subjects Indra: Agni.

agnī rakṣāṅsi sedhati RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *apa ra° sedhasi* (PrāṇāgU. *cātayat*) AV. PrāṇāgU.

jeṣaḥ (and, *jeṣat, ajaiḥ*) *svarvatīr apaḥ* RV. (all). Indra is the subject each time, but the contexts are different. See *RVRep.* 39. *ajaiḥ* is 2d person. The original is *jeṣaḥ*, RV. 1. 10. 8.

abhy arṣanti (and, *arṣati*) *suṣṭutim* RV. (both): *abhy arṣata suṣṭutiṁ gavyam ājim* 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*) *tanūḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *aśmeva tvaṁ sthirā* (MG. ApMB.* *sthiro*) *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 *aśmeva tvaṁ sthiro bhava;* the vulgate AV. has an interesting contamination with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV. etc.

ā barhiḥ sīdataṁ sumat RV.: *sīdatāṁ barhir 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.

imaṁ yajñaṁ mimikṣatām (TB. °*tam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ. Quite different context in TB. ŚŚ. from the others; see §337.

juṣethāṁ (and, °*tāṁ*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. In three different contexts, two with direct address, one 3d person; different subjects each time.

punar no naṣṭam ākṛdhi (RV. AV. *ājatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

yat sīm āgaś cakṛmā tat su mṛḍatu (and, *mṛḍa*) RV. (both).

viśvam ā bhāsi (RV.* *bhāti*) *rocanam* (AV.* *rocana*) RV. (tris) AV. (bis) ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. Subjects Uṣas, Sūrya, and Indra.

viśvā ddhi śriyo dadhe RV.:. . .*'dhita* RV. KS. TB.:. . .*dhiṣe* RV.

viśve devāsa 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.

saṁ sūryeṇa rocate RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.:. . .*rocase* RV. AV. Subjects Soma Pavamāna: Uṣas.

vi mucyantām usriyāḥ VS. ŚB.: *vi mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) *devayānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Hardly variants of each other.

sa cakārārasaṁ viṣam AV.: *sā cakarthārasaṁ viṣam* AV.

sajātānām asad (AV. *aso*) *vaśī* AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS.

sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (and, *babhūva*) RV. (both). Subjects Agni: Indra.

sa viśvā bhuva ābhavaḥ RV. AV.: *sa viśvā bhuvo* (AV. *sa idaṁ viśvam*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV. TS. TB.

stṛṇanti (RV.* *stṛṇīta*) *barhir ānuṣak* RV. (both) SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. N.

viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ (and, *aprāg apī*) AV. (both).

madhu tvā (AV. *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV. *karaḥ*, RV. *cakāra*, MS. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV. MS. TA. ApŚ.

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV. *bharāt*) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Different context in SV.

aviṣaṁ naḥ pituṁ kṛṇu (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.

ihaiva kṣemya edhi mā prahāsīr mām amum (ApŚ. *prahāsīn māmum*) *āmuṣyāyaṇam* (AŚ. *mā prahāsīr amuṁ māmuṣyāyaṇam*) MS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The true reading of ApŚ. can hardly be anything but *prahāsīr*, as Caland assumes.

yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ saṁbabhūtha (TB. °*bhūva;* but Poona ed. text and comm. correctly °*tha*) TB. ApŚ.: *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS. See §262, f.

saṁjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt AB.: *saṁjānāneṣu vai brūyāḥ* ŚŚ. Several mss. of ŚŚ. read *brūyāt*. But Aufrecht 387, conjectures *brūyāḥ* for AB., and this is approved by Keith, *HOS*. 25.307, who so translates.

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA. once °*tām*, once *bādhethām*) AV. TA. The form *bādhethām* can hardly be anything but a corruption for °*tām; vṛkṣau* is accented, and a 3d person is required; comm. *saṁbādhitaṁ mā kurutām*. But perhaps this might be placed in §332.

aśrīraṁ (TB.† *aślīlaṁ*) *cit kṛṇuthā supratīkam* RV. AV. TB. Conc. quotes *kṛṇuyāt* for TB.; Bibl. Ind. ed. reads in fact *kṛṇuthāt*, but its comm. and Poona ed. text have the correct *kṛṇuthā*.

teṣāṁ yo ajyānim (PG. *'jyā°*) *ajītim ā vahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajījim āvahāḥ*, but Jörgensen as the others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.

nivarto yo ny avīvṛtat (HG. *avīvṛdhaḥ*) ApMB. HG. The HG. form is corrupt; Oldenberg adopts *avīvṛtat*.

madhye poṣasya tṛmpatāṁ (MG. *puṣyatām*) ŚG. MG.: *madhye poṣasva tiṣṭhantīm* AG. For *poṣasva* read *poṣasya* (Stenzler, Transl.)

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya;* MS. *loke nidhir 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 (*barhiḥ*) *stṛṇīhi* (TS. MS. MŚ. ApŚ.* *stṛṇāhi*) TS. MS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The text of MS. reads *stṛṇāti*, 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:

idaṁ vatsyāmo bhoḥ AG.: *om ahaṁ vatsyāmi bhoḥ* ŚG.: *idaṁ vatsyāvaḥ* 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. *upemasi;* Kauś. text† *āgam,* misprint?) ŚB. Kauś. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. Again spoken by the *brahmacārin.* The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical; MG. makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose.

śataṁ ca jīvāmi (MG. *śataṁ jīvema*) *śaradaḥ purūcīḥ* 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:

puṁsāṁ bahūnāṁ 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 ahaṁ dhanena (AV. *yena dhanena,* HG. *yad vo devāḥ*) *prapaṇaṁ* (ApMB. °*ṇaṁś*) *carāmi* (HG. °*ma*) AV. ApMB. HG.

vairūpe sāmann iha (MS. *adhi;* KS. *vairūpeṇa sāmnā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS. *chakema;* MS. *taṁ śakeyam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by:

jagatyainaṁ (AŚ. °*tyenaṁ*) *vikṣv āveśayāmi* (AŚ. °*ni;* TS. °*maḥ*), same texts.

mā mā (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *no*) *hāsīn* (MŚ. *hāsīr,* AŚ. *hiṁsīd*) *nāthito* (TB. ApŚ. *metthito,* AŚ. *dhiṁsito dadhāmi,* some mss. omit *dadhāmi*) *net* (AŚ. MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (AV. KS. °*ni,* TB. ApŚ. °*ma*) AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

idaṁ pitṛbhyaḥ pra bharāmi (TA. *bharema*) *barhiḥ* AV. TA. Followed by:

jīvaṁ devebhya uttaraṁ stṛṇāmi AV.: *devebhyo jīvanta uttaraṁ bharema* TA. TA. spoils the meter.

yad dhastābhyāṁ cakara (AV. *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TB. TA.

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

samānena (TB. *saṁjñānena*) *vo haviṣā juhomi* (TB. *yajāmaḥ*) RV. AV. MS. TB.

emaṁ panthām arukṣāma AV.: *sugaṁ panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB.

tena tvā pari dadhmasi (PG. *dadhāmy āyuṣe*) AV. PG. Different contexts, only vaguely parallel.

bhūpate bhuvanapate. . . tvā vṛṇīmahe (MŚ. *vṛṇe*) TB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

pragāyāmasy agrataḥ PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG. Note the metathesis of the syllable *sya*!

abadhiṣma rakṣo. . . VS. VSK. ŚB.: *idam ahaṁ rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Hardly true variants.

apaśyaṁ yuvatiṁ nīyamānām AV.: *apaśyāma yu° ācarantīm* TA.

achidraḥ prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: cf. *ariṣṭā asmākaṁ vīrāḥ* (*santu*), *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma*, etc., see Conc. Hardly true variants.

tasya doham aśīmahi (KS. *aśīya*; AŚ. *aśīya te*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

tām adya gāthāṁ gāsyāmi (MG. °*maḥ*) PG. MG.

te yaṁ dviṣmo yaś ca no dveṣṭi tam eṣāṁ (TS. ApMB.* *vo*) *jambhe dadhmaḥ* (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 addrest to Agni like *anu manyasva*.

asmin sahasraṁ puṣyāsam (Kauś. *puṣyāsma*) ŚB. BṛhU. Kauś.

ugraṁ sahodām iha taṁ huvema (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. Bad meter in MS.

ud asthām amṛtāṅ anu VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApMB.: *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG. *abhūma*) AV. HG.

gātrāṇāṁ te gātrabhājo bhūyāsma (KS. °*bhāg bhūyāsam*) TS. KS. Prose.

pṛchāmi (LŚ. °*mas*) *tvā param antaṁ pṛthivyāḥ*,

pṛchāmi (LŚ. °*mo*) *yatra* (TS. KSA. TB. *tvā*, AV. *viśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhiḥ* (AV. TS. KSA. TB. °*im*),

pṛchāmi (LŚ. °*mas*) *tvā* (AV. omits) *vṛṣṇo aśvasya retaḥ*,

pṛchāmi (LŚ. °*mo*) *vācaḥ paramaṁ vyoma:* RV. AV. VS. TS. KSA. TB. LŚ., and the first pāda in ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.

brahman prasthāsyāmaḥ (GB. ŚB. KŚ. ŚŚ. °*mi*) TS. KB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

brahmann apaḥ praṇeṣyāmi AŚ. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *brahman praṇeṣyāmaḥ* KB.

yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham (Kauś. *khanāmasi*) VS. Kauś.: *yasmai cāhaṁ khanāmi vaḥ* RV. VS. TS.

vācaḥ satyam aśīmahi (VS. ŚB. *aśīya*) RVKh. VS. ŚB. TB. Bad meter in VS. ŚB.

vaiśvānarāya prati vedayāmaḥ (AV. °*mi*) AV. TA. BDh.

agnim indraṁ (TB. *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām;* MS. °*haṇaṁ huvema*) AV. MS. TB.

etaṁ yuvānaṁ patiṁ (TS. *pari*) *vo dadāmi* TS. ŚG. PG. ViDh.: *etaṁ vo yuvānaṁ prati dadhmo atra* AV.

sugā (TS. ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS. N. °*nam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi;* KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. N.: *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.

jīvā (TB. ApŚ. *jīvo*) *jīvantīr upa vaḥ sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

taṁ (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe;* RV. KS. *johavīmi*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

bṛhaspatiṁ vaḥ...havāmahe GB. Vait.: *bṛhaspatiṁ viśvān devāṁ ahaṁ huve* RV. It is doubtful whether these are really related.

marutāṁ pitas tad ahaṁ gṛṇāmi (MS. *gṛṇe te*; KS. *pitar uta tad gṛṇīmaḥ*) TS. MS. KS.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayaṁ*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māhaṁ rā° vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

mitrasya (MS. adds *vaś*) *cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe* VS. MS.: cf. *mitrasyāhaṁ cakṣuṣā...samīkṣe*, etc., see Conc. and §303.

rudrasya sūnuṁ havasā gṛṇīmasi (and, *vivāse*) RV. (both). The change is metrical; *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī* verses.

vājasyedaṁ (AV. VS. ŚB. *vājasya nu*) *prasava ābabhūva* (AV. °*ve saṁ babhūvima*) AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

viśvair viśvāṅgaiḥ saha saṁ bhavema (MŚ. *bhavāmi*) AV. MŚ.

saṁ jyotiṣābhūma (TS. °*bhūvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *saṁ sūryasya jyotiṣāganma* AV. In most texts, but not in TS, juxtaposed with formulas containing 1st plural expressions.

tasmin pāśān pratimuñcāma etān MS. KS.: *yaṁ dviṣmas tasmin pratimuñcāmi pāśam* TS. ApŚ.

suprajāḥ prajayā (*prajābhiḥ*) *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.

yaṁ tvā somenātītṛpāma (TS. °*pam;* MŚ. °*pan*) VS. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

ena enasyo 'karam (TB. *'karat*) AV. TB. (see §315): *enāṁsi* (TS. KS.* TB.* *enaś*) *cakṛmā 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. *havante 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 vaḥ;* VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṁ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛśāmasi;* VS. ŚB. *ava nayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āganta pitaraḥ pitṛmān ahaṁ yuṣmābhir bhūyāsaṁ... TS.: *āganta pitaraḥ* ...*supitaro vayaṁ yuṣmābhir bhūyāsma* MŚ.

tāni te pari dadmasi AV.: *tāṁ* (ApŚ.* *tāṁs*) *te paridadāmy aham* (TA. omits *aham*) TA. ApŚ. In different contexts.

tebhiś chidram api dadhmo yad atra MS. AŚ.: *teṣāṁ chidraṁ prati dadhmo yad atra* KS.: *teṣāṁ chinnaṁ sam etad* (ŚŚ. *sam imaṁ;* TS. *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS. TS. ŚŚ.

devasyāhaṁ (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. *devasya vayaṁ*) *savituḥ prasave* (*save*) ...*jeṣam* (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. *jeṣma*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

devasyāhaṁ (VSK. *devasya vayaṁ*) *savituḥ save*...*aruham* (VSK. *aruhāma*...) VS. VSK. ŚB. Other texts have *ruheyam;* see §133.

vājinaṁ tvā vājino 'vanayāmaḥ (MS. *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS. TA. ApŚ.

teṣv (ŚG. *anyeṣv*) *ahaṁ sumanāḥ saṁ viśāmi* (AŚ. °*ni;* MG. *vasāma;* ŚG. *viśeyam*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB. MG. See §104, c.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. reading is worthless.

jagṛhmā (RV. °*bhmā*, TB. °*bhṇā*) *te dakṣiṇam 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 acārişam;* for this Conc. quotes KS. as *acārişma*, 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:

śivaṁ prajābhyo 'hiṁsantam...*agnim*...*khanāmaḥ* (TS. KS. °*mi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. A parallel formula just before this has *khanāmi* in all texts.

idaṁ śreyo (AV. *idam uc chreyo*) *'vasānam āgām* (ApMB. *āganma devāḥ;* ApŚ. °*naṁ 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 vidvāṁś cakāra...VS. ŚŚ.: *yac cāham eno vidvāṁsaś*... *cakṛma*...MahānU. The latter is obviously and flagrantly inconsistent with its context. The comm. lamely supplies a separate verb, *akārşam*, with *aham*.

indrasya manmahe śaśvad id asya manmahe AV.: *indrasya manve prathamasya pracetasaḥ* TS. MS. KS. In the following pāda all have the sing. pronoun 'me'.

taṁ tvā juṣāmahe...VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *taṁ 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.

aṅhomuce pra bharemā (AV. *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV. TS. MS. KS. Haplology 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 *āvṛṇānaḥ* as in AV. (while yet reading *bharemā!*); TS. KS. consistently show plural participles.

śarman (MS. °*maṁs*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmaṁs;* TS. *tava syāṁ śarman*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS. *udbhit*) 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*) *dyāvāpṛthivī 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 edhiṣīmahi (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.

sarvāṅ agnīṅr (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (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' *vaḥ* to correct the meter.

sutarmāṇam adhi nāvaṁ ruhema (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.

taṁ vaḥ suprītaṁ subhṛtam akarma (KS. *abhārṣam*) TS. KS. In the next formula KS. also has *naḥ*.

vāmī te saṁdṛśi viśvaṁ reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣīya*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu saṁdṛśi viśvā retāṁsi*

dhiṣīya TS.: *vāmī nāma saṁdṛśi 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 sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB.: *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS. Mahīdhara says, *he ṛtvijaḥ*. In TS. KS. presumably the *yajamāna* is meant.

yamaṁ rājānaṁ haviṣā duvasya (TA. °*syata;* AV. *saparyata*) RV. AV. MS. TA. The priest here addresses either himself or an associate: Sāyaṇa, *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 Jörgensen 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. Addrest 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:

oṁ kuruta: kuru: kuruta: kuruṣva: kurudhvam. See Conc. Only in part belonging to related contexts and variants of one another; see under prec.

pāpmānaṁ me hata (Kauś. *'pa jahi*) MG. Kauś.

abhi (AV. *pari*) *stṛṇīhi pari dhehi vedim* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *paristṛṇīta paridhattāgnim* TB. ApŚ.: *stṛṇīta barhiḥ parị 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 addrest. But ApŚ. introduces the formula with *saṁpreṣyati*, 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. Sāyaṇa on *yamaṁ rājānaṁ* etc. above). That priests, or at least a priest, and not *darbha*-grass, are addrest seems clear from the KS. MŚ. variant, where *barhiḥ* is the *object*.

agnīñ jyotiṣmataḥ kuruta (MŚ. *kuru*) ApŚ. MŚ. 'Light the fires!' Addrest 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 parjanyaṁ (TS. °*yāḥ*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjatāṁ*) *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 gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait.; cf. *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ṢB. 'O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me.'

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS.: *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS. ŚB.: *ṛtavo 'dhipataya āsan* MS. KS. 'The season(s, or the like) was (were) overlord(s).'

dviṣan me bahu śocatu TB. ApŚ.: *dviṣantas tapyantāṁ bahu* MŚ. In the preceding pāda all texts refer to a singular 'hater'.

upahūtopahvayasva; upahūtā upahvayadhvam MŚ. (both)

ekaśapham asṛjyata MS.: *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛjyanta* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural: 'one-hoofed (animals) were created.'

dhiṣaṇās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevya-*

vatī)...*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 pitṛbhir (KS. *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *manojavaso vaḥ pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata upa dadhatām* TA.: *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS. In the same passage. The form *manojavās* is plural in MS. KS., singular in the others.

śundhantāṁ lokāḥ pitṛṣadanāḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *śundhatāṁ lokaḥ pitṛṣadanaḥ* TS. ApŚ. 'Let the world(s) where the fathers sit be purified.'

dūrvā rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ (AV. *rohatu puṣpiṇī*) 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.

mihaṁ na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.

indraghoṣas (KS. °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ* (KS.† *vasavaḥ*) *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.

imaṁ yajñam avatu yā (AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS. *avantu no ghṛtācīḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Subject is the *śakvarī*-verse(s), singular or (TS.) plural.

śunaṁ kīnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vāk pataṁgo aśiśriyat (KS. °*gā aśiśrayuḥ*) AV. KS. The same pāda is read: *vāk pataṁgāya dhīyate* (TS. *śiśriye*, 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 yatī*) *sukṛtāṁ 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 *madhumatīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. And:

pradātāram ā viśata (KS. *viśa*) 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. Saṁhitās:

raudreṇānīkena pāhi māgne (VS. *pāta māgnayaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: Followed by:

pipṛhi mā (KS. *māgne*) TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: *pipṛta māgnayaḥ* (PB. ŚŚ. *mā*) VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. And:—

mā mā hiṁsīḥ (*hiṁsiṣṭa*), see Conc. (This last occurs very frequently, and in other connexions.) In these three cases either various altar-fires are addrest, or Fire collectively; or the same personified, as Agni(s).

yad aśuddhaḥ parājaghāna...KS.: *yad vo 'śuddhāḥ parā jaghnur* (VSK. *'śuddhaḥ parā jaghānaitad*)...VS. VSK. ŚB. See §30.

pracetās tvā rudraiḥ paścāt pātu VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *pracetā* (here felt as plural) *vo rudraiḥ paścād upa dadhatām* TA.: *rudrās tvā pracetasaḥ paścāt pāntu* MS.

yat paśur māyum akṛta TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG.: *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś. In Kauś. *vaśā(ḥ)* is plural; all mss. *akrata*.

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV.: *yo no dveṣṭi tanūṁ rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣty anu taṁ ravasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ.

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

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

anu me dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS. *°patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.* *°patir amaṁsta*)...VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. (bis) Vait.

ā me graho bhavatv (KSA. *grahā bhavantv*) *ā puroruk* TS. KSA.

abhy arṣati (and, *arṣanti*) *suṣṭutim; pavamānā abhy arṣanti suṣṭutim* RV. (all). Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing. or plur.; see *RV Rep.* 437.

aiḍo me bhagavo 'janiṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇaḥ MS.: *aiḍā me bhagavanto 'janiḍhvaṁ maitrāvaruṇāḥ* MŚ. And, in same passage, *ūrjā me bhagavaḥ saha janiṣṭhāḥ* (MŚ. *bhagavantaḥ sahājaniḍhvam*) MS. MŚ.: *jñātraṁ me vinda* (MŚ. *vindata*); *saṁvidaṁ me vinda* (MŚ. *vindata*) MS. MŚ.: *puṇyā puṇyam* (and, *°yām*) *asūt*, and: *citrā citram* (and, *°rām*) *asūt* MS., *puṇyāḥ* (and, *citrāś*) *puṇyān* (*°yā*, and *citrān, citrā*) *asuvan* MŚ.

prathamam artiṁ yuyotu naḥ MG.: *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG.: *pra sumartyaṁ* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB. Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere.

tena brahmāṇo vapatedam asya (ŚG. *adya*) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB.: *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG.: *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB. See §330.

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.: *tenaitu yajamānaḥ 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* (*avṛṇītām*).

āyuṣmatyā (°*tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait. *māpagāyā*; Kauś. *mā satsi*)...TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Kauś. One or more priests are addrest. Caland on Vait. would read °*gāyata*, presumably because the surrounding parallel phrases are plural; but the sing. is supported by Kauś.

ud rathānāṁ (AV. *vīrāṇāṁ*) *jayatāṁ yantu ghoṣāḥ* (AV. TS. °*tām etu ghoṣaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. SV. TS.

upaitu māṁ devasakhaḥ RVKh. Rvidh.: *upa yantu māṁ devagaṇāḥ* MG.

niṣaṅgiṇa upa spṛśata HG.: *niṣaṅginn upa spṛśa* ApMB. Rudra is meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the context of HG.; we may understand the plural to refer to the Rudras, or Rudra's 'hosts'.

pavantām 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, *RV Rep.* 427.

atho (TS. MS. *athā*) *yūyaṁ stha* (MS. KS. *tvam asi*) *niṣkṛtīḥ* (TS. *saṁk*°, MS. *saṁkṛtiḥ*, KS. *niṣkṛtiḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Addrest to herbs, or (MS. KS.) to an herb; but the singular reading is inconsistent with the rest of the verse, both prec. and following pādas, where even MS. KS. have plur.

trāyatāṁ marutāṁ gaṇaḥ RV.: *trāyantāṁ marutāṁ gaṇāḥ* AV.

bhaga(s) stha bhagasya vo lapsīya KS. ApŚ.: *bhago 'si bh*° *la*° MŚ. Addressed 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.

iḍā (p,p. *iḍāḥ;* MS. *iḍāḥ;* KS. *iḍās*) *stha*...TS. MS. KS.: *ilāsi* ŚŚ.

§350. Singular, Dual, and Plural.

asā (*asāv*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ. *tanuhi jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. And *vikāras* in MŚ.: *amū anu mā tanutam, amī anu mā tanuta.*

§351. Singular and Dual

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu saṁbharaitam (AŚ. *saṁbhavatām*, MŚ. *saṁbharetām*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ. See §330.

nīlalohitaṁ bhavati (ApMB. °*te bhavataḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, which is made dual (i.e. of two pieces) in ApMB., 'becomes blue-red.'

viśvakarmaṇs tanūpā asi ŚB.. *viśvakarmāṇau tanūpau me sthaḥ* ŚŚ. Followed in both by a series of formulas addrest to two sacred fires; in ŚŚ. this formula is assimilated to them, *viśva*° being made an epithet of the fires.

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthaḥ (Kauś. also, *pūtam asi*) 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 vṛkṣaḥ (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA. °*ṭām*, and *bādhethām*) AV. TA. (bis). The TA. refers to two pieces of wood.

so'dhvarā karati jātavedāḥ AB.: *kṛṇotu so adhvarāñ* (VS. TB. °*rā*) *jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *kṛṇutāṁ tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ.

§352. Dual and Plural

ahorātrās (KS. TA. °*trāṇi*) *te kalpantām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB. 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night'.

rājānaṁ 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 jihvām abhi (MS. *jihvābhi*, p.p. *jihvāṁ, abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) *gṛṇītam* (AV. *gṛṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The subject is certain 'divine *hotars*', 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 Varuṇa, 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.

saṁpṛca (°*aḥ*, °*as*) *stha saṁ mā bhadreṇa pṛṅkta* VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *saṁpṛcau sthaḥ saṁ mā bhadreṇa pṛṅktam* VS. ŚB. And, in same passage:

vipṛca (°*aḥ*, °*as*) *stha vi mā* (MŚ. omits *mā*) *pāpmanā* (VSK. *pāpena*) *pṛṅkta: vipṛcau stho vi mā pāpmanā pṛṅktam*, same texts. VSK. has plural in place of the dual of VS. Addrest to *grahas*, in the dual passage only two in VS. ŚB. (*somasurāgrahau*, comm.); but in the preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is addresst in these texts also.

vājino vājajito vājaṁ sariṣyanto etc., and: *vājinau vājajitau vājaṁ jitvā* etc.; also:

vājino vājajito vājaṁ sasṛvāṅso etc., and: *vājinau vājajitau vājaṁ jitvā* 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 addrest 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

indraṁ karmasv āvatam (MS. VS.* °*ta*) RV. AV. VS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *indraṁ karmasv avatu* MS.: *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.: *indraḥ 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

āsīdantu (SV. *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā* RV. SV. VS. TB. Followed by *prātaryāvāṇo adhvaram*. The real subject in RV. is the gods in general; *mitro aryamā* are merely examples (Sāyaṇa: *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvāṇaḥ... 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 *varuṇo* 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 khanāmasi, dvipāc catuṣpād asmākaṁ 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.

saṁvatsaraś ca kalpatām (most mss. of TA. *kalpantām*) TA. MahānU. Preceded by *ardhamāsā māsā ṛtavaḥ.* The TA. comm. knew both readings; after explaining *kalpatām*, with subject *saṁvatsaraḥ*, he goes on: *kalpantām iti bahuvacanapāṭhe sarve 'pi kālaviśeṣāḥ...iti yojyam.*—The formulas *saṁvatsaro me kalpatām* and *saṁvatsaras te ka°* (see Conc.) have no real connexion with this one.

apāṁ garbhaṁ 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 muñcatāṁhasaḥ TB.: *kṛtān naḥ pāhy aṁhasaḥ* (TA. *enasaḥ*) MS. TA. In the prec. two pādas first *dvāvāpṛthivī* are addrest, 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 *varuṇo*) *bṛhaspatiḥ.* In MG. the subject is made to include the gods mentioned in the prec. pāda, while in TB. it agrees with *savitā* alone.

rucaṁ no dhatta (MS. *dhehi*) *bṛhaspate* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by: *indrāgnī tābhiḥ sarvābhiḥ.* The plural verb includes *indrāgnī* as well as *bṛhaspate* as subject.

ūrdhvayā diśā (ŚŚ. *diśā saha;* TS. AŚ. *ūrdhvāyāṁ diśi*) *yajñaḥ saṁvatsaro* (TS. ŚŚ. add *yajñapatir*; AŚ. *°raḥ prajāpatir*) *mārjayantām* (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 draviṇaṁ 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 tilāḥ śāntiṁ kurvantu svāhā* MahānU.: *śraddhāmedhe prajñā tu jātavedaḥ saṁdadātu svāhā* TAA. In the latter the verb agrees with *prajñā*, the nearer subject.

sūryaḥ (also, *somaḥ*) *pavitraṁ sa mā punātu* ApŚ.: *vāyuḥ somaḥ sūrya indraḥ pavitraṁ te mā punantu* N.

hotā yakṣad aśvinau (°*nā*) *sarasvatīm indraṁ surāmṇāṁ somānāṁ pibatu madantāṁ vyantu* (KS. *indraṁ sutrāmāṇaṁ somānāṁ surāmṇāṁ juṣantāṁ vyantu pibantu somān surāmṇaḥ*; AŚ. *indraṁ* . . [as KS.] . . *pibantu madantu somān* etc.) MS. KS. AŚ. In MS. subject of *pibatu* is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god; he is moreover 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.

dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me etc.; see §365.

śarad dhemantaḥ suvite dadhāta (°*tu*), etc., see §332.

§356. Singular and Dual

tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi (MŚ. *vṛścāvo*) *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. *yamasya yena*, ApŚ. TB. omit *yena*) *nidhinā* (*balinā*) *carāmi* (MS. MŚ. *carāvaḥ*; SMB.† *carāṇi*) 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 jaṭhare dhattām* GB. Vait. Preceded in the latter by: *agniś ca tat savitā ca*; in ApŚ. by: *agniṣ ṭat somaḥ pṛthivī* (verb agrees with last subject).

saṁ yujyāva (TS. *babhūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV. TS.: *saṁ sanuyāva varīṣv. ā* KSA. Preceded in all by: *ahaṁ ca tvaṁ ca vṛtrahan.* The dual is the natural form; TS. (excluding *tvaṁ* from the subject) is bizarre.

avānyāṅs tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB.: *prānyā tantūṅs 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.

saṁjajñāne rodasī saṁbabhūvatuḥ TB. ApŚ.: *samānaṁ yonim abhisaṁbabhūva* MŚ. Preceded by *yad idaṁ* (MŚ. *ado*) *divo yad adaḥ* (MŚ. *idaṁ*) *pṛthivyāḥ*. 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 dharmaṁ cara (GDh. *dharmaś caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh.: *sahobhau caratāṁ dharmam* MDh.

ayāḍ (ŚŚ. *ayāl*) *agnir* (MŚ. *ayāṣṭām agnīvaruṇāv*) *agneḥ priyā dhāmāni* MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. MŚ. And, in the same passage: *ayāṭ* (MŚ. *ayāṣṭāṁ*) *somasya*...; *ayāḍ* (*ayāṣṭāṁ*) *devānāṁ*...; *yakṣad agner hotuḥ* (*yakṣato 'gnīvaruṇayor hotroḥ*)...; *yakṣat svaṁ mahimānaṁ* (*yakṣataḥ svau mahimānau*); *āyajatām* (*āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣaḥ; kṛṇotu so adhvarān* (°*rā*) *jātavedāḥ* (*kṛṇutāṁ tāv adhvarā jātavedasau*); *juṣatāṁ* (*juṣetāṁ*) *haviḥ*. Duals all in MŚ.; singulars (subject Agni) in various of the others, see Conc.

mā mā (KS. *māṁ*; AB. *mainaṁ*) *hiṁsiṣṭaṁ svaṁ* (AB. *svāṁ*; KS. *yat svaṁ*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS. *āviśāthaḥ*) MS. KS. AB.: *mā mā hiṁsīḥ svāṁ* (KS. *svaṁ*) *yonim āviśantī* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *āviśan*) 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 bhiṣajāvataḥ (MS. °*tam*; TB. °*ta*) VS. MS. TB. 'O Aśvins, physicians, aid', or, 'let the Aśvins' etc. In TB. the plural is due to the inclusion of Sarasvatī (mentioned in the preceding) along with the Aśvins in the subject.

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. °*mahai*; MŚ. *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. 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*.

agnīṣomau tam apa nudatām (Conc. quotes °*tam*)...VS. ŚB.: *agnir agnīṣomau tam apanudantu*...ŚŚ. Very simple case of 'addition' to the subject.

[*āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī svadhāvantau,*] *gopā me stam, gopāyataṁ mām, ātmasadau me staṁ mā mā hiṁsiṣṭam* AV. 5. 9. 8: [*āyuṣṭad āyupatni* (ms. °*niḥ*; read *āyuṣkṛd āyupatnī*?) *svadhāvo*] *gopā naḥ stha*...KS. 37. 15: [*āyukṛd āyuḥpatnī svadhā vo* (so text, and so Caland interprets, not as voc. *svadhāvo*)] *goptryo me stha, gopāyata mā, rakṣata mātmasado me stha* ApŚ. 6. 21. 1. The dual verbs of AV. are apparently

addrest to the *svadhāvantau* (note masculine predicates). KS. has plural with masc. predicates, the masc. being really common gender, inclusive of *āyuṣpatnī*, fem.; ApŚ. has fem. plural, presumably including the sing. *āyukṛd* (understood as fem.?) and the dual fem. *āyuḥpatnī* 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*, *āpaḥ* 'waters', which is unquestionably construed with a singular verb here:

āpo 'mṛtaṁ stha (PrāṇāgU. °*tam asi*) Kauś. PrāṇāgU. 'O waters, ye are (thou art) nectar!' We believe the context makes it clear that PrāṇāgU. really feels *āpaḥ* as a collective singular in sense; to explain the form *asi* 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:

drupadād iva muñcatām (TB. °*tu*, so read with Poona ed.) AV. TB. Preceded by *bhūtaṁ mā tasmād bhavyaṁ 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 (e), 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 Kauś. 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 pṛthivyai sam anamad...TS. KSA.: *pṛthivyām agnaye sam anaman sa ārdhnot* AV. (And the like with *antarikṣāya sam* etc., see Conc.; and others.) 'To Agni, to the earth, one (they) made obeisance; he (it) throve'. 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:

yathāgniḥ pṛthivyā sam anamad...TS.: *yathā pṛthivyām agnaye sam anamann*...AV. 'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on the earth they made obeisance to Agni'.

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ. *alipsata*) AB. ŚŚ. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among *śūdras*.' 3d plural aor.: 3d sing. desiderative; both indefinite. See §135.

svasti naḥ pūrṇamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG. °*mukhaṁ pari 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.

nābhi prāpnoti (MŚ. °*nuyur*) *nirṛtiṁ parācaiḥ* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāt*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *na tat prāpnoti nirṛtiṁ parācaiḥ* (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'*.

brahmajāyeyam iti (AV. °*jāyeti*) *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 grāvṇā cichiduḥ (MŚ. *vichindat*) *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 grāvā bāhucyuto acucyavuḥ (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.

yebhir vācaṁ puṣkalebhir avyayan (TB. °*yat*) KS. TB. The plur. is certainly generalizing, and acc. to TB. comm. also the sing. (*sarvo jantuḥ* is supplied as subject), altho it might be understood as having *sūrya* of the prec. pāda as subject; cf. next.

yebhir vācaṁ viśvarūpebhir avyayan (TB. °*rūpāṁ samavyayat*) KS. TB. In the same passage as the prec. Again 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.

vāyuḥ paśur āsīt tenāyajanta (KSA. °*jata*)...VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. And the same with *agniḥ*, and with *ādityaḥ* (*sūryaḥ*). Both forms are generalizing: 'therewith they (= people; or, one) sacrificed.'

tāsāṁ svasṝr ajanayat (MS. *svar ajanan*, KS.† *svasṝr* [ms. *svasūr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS. In TS. the subject is *dhātā* of preceding pāda; in the others there is no definite subject (generalizing plural).

purutrā te manutāṁ (AV. *vanvatāṁ*) *viṣṭhitaṁ 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 *vanutāṁ*. In the others *jagat* is the subject.

ya indreṇa sarathaṁ yāti devaḥ AV.: *yenendrasya rathaṁ saṁbabhūvuḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ. In the latter the subject is indefinite; in AV. it is *yaḥ* = Agni (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 atra sukṛtaṁ kṛṇavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat AB. AŚ.: *yo duṣkṛtaṁ karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś.

tena mā saha śundhata (AV. vulgate *śumbhantu*, but SPP. *śumbhatu*, adopted by Whitney on 18. 3. 56) RV. AV. In RV. apparently the waters are addrest; 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 samabharaḥ (MS. KS. °*ran*) *payāṁsi* AV. TS. MS. KS. In AV. TS. the subject is Agni; in MS. KS. indefinite. 'By which thou didst (they did) collect milk for Indra.'

nayanto garbhaṁ vanāṁ dhiyaṁ dhuḥ RV.: *nayantaṁ gīrbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ* SV. The subject in RV. is indefinite 3d plural; in SV. it is Agni, to whom the hymn is addrest. See Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 10. 46. 5.

yena jayanti (TB. *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB. *jayāsai*) AV. TB. 'By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered.'

raṇan (SV. *raṇā*) *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*) *adhi manāv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (*acakṛṣuḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. See §§136, 236. The SMB. is quoted in the Conc., following the older edition, as *sa*° *adhi vanāva carkṛdhi;* the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not addrest) in the sequel. But the true reading is no doubt *manāv acakṛṣuḥ*, as given by Jörgensen.]

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 avīvṛdhan (MS. *devaṅ*, KS. *devāṅ*, MS. KS. *avīvṛdhat*) VS. MS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'The gods have increased brahman', or, 'brahman has increased the gods.'

catuṣṭomam adadhād (TS. °*ṣṭomo abhavad*) *yā turīyā* TS. MS. KS.: *agnīṣomāv adadhur yā turīyāsīt* AV. Subject in AV. must be *ṛṣayaḥ* in the sequel if the text is correct; but Whitney on 8. 9. 14 would emend to *adadhād*.

apām upasthe mahiṣo 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 babhūvuḥ TS. KSA. TB.: *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS. MS. See Keith on TS. 4. 1. 2. 1, note 6.

yathāmīṣām (AV. *yathaiṣām*, SV. *yathaiteṣām*, VS. *yathāmī*) *anyo anyaṁ 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.'

ekapadī dvipadī...bhuvanānu prathatāṁ svāhā TS.: *ekapādaṁ dvipādaṁ tripādaṁ catuṣpādaṁ bhuvanānu prathantām* KS.: *ekapadīṁ... catuṣpadīm aṣṭāpadīṁ bhuvanānu prathantāṁ* 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.

aśvaṁ medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB. ŚŚ. See §30, end.

tābhiḥ saṁrabdham anv avindan (TB. *saṁrabdho avidat*) *ṣaḍ urvīḥ* AV. TB. In AV. *ṣaḍ urvīḥ* is the subject; in TB. it is made the object, the subject being *saṁrabdho* (= Rohita).

anvātāṅsīt tvayi (MS. *anvātāṅsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases; Mahīdhara on VS. understands *ṛṣayaḥ*, despite singular verb! MS. seems to take the subject to be *pitaraḥ* in the preceding pāda (the others have *pitarā* or °*raṁ*).

apochatu (AV. °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV. *ye kimīdinaḥ*) 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 *kimīdinaḥ*: 'let the *kimīdins* fade away.'

achāyaṁ yanti śavasā ghṛtācīḥ KS.: *achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) 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 *srucaḥ* in the next line. In the others the subject is Agni.

āvir bhuvad (ArS. *bhuvann*) *aruṇīr yaśasā goḥ* (ArS. *gāvaḥ*) RV. ArS. The subject is changed from *aruṇīḥ* (singular in RV.) to *gāvaḥ*, no doubt because ArS. feels *aruṇīḥ* to be a plural adjective.

pibāt somaṁ mamadad (AS. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May it (soma) exhilarate him at the sacrifice'; 'may the sacrifices exhilarate him.'

aryamṇo agniṁ pary etu pūṣan (ApMB. *pari yantu kṣipram*) AV. ApMB. The subject is the bride in AV., the kinsfolk (or priests?) in ApMB.

āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣīt (ApŚ. *prāṇijan*) AV. ApŚ. Subject is a plant in AV.; in ApŚ. waters, the verb being drawn into the simile.

taṁ rakṣadhvaṁ mā vo dabhat TS.: *taṁ rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan* MS. 1. 2. 13: 22. 12; VS. 5. 39; KS. 3.1 (in Conc. quoted under the two parts separately; but this is the true parallel to the TS. passage, instead of *tān rakṣadhvaṁ mā vo dabhan*, to which Conc. gives a

cross-reference but which is an unrelated passage). *rakṣasva* is addrest 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 *dabh-* in a different sense: 'may they (indefinite; acc. to Mahīdhara, the asuras) not injure thee (Savitar).'

niṣkrītaḥ sa (TS. °*krīto 'yaṁ*; KS. MŚ. °*krītās te*) *yajñiyaṁ bhāgam etu* (KS. MŚ. *bhāgaṁ yantu*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. The subject varies from the *paśupati* to cattle.

vi parjanyaṁ (TS. °*yāḥ*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjatāṁ*) *rodasī anu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts; in the others Parjanya, sing. or (TS.) plural (cf. §349).

sūro aktuṣv ā yaman (SV. *yamat*) RV. SV. Preceded by: *mā na indrābhy ādiśaḥ*. 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 *ādiśaḥ* object.

§362. Second Person, Singular and Plural

evo ṣv asman muñcatā vy aṁhaḥ RV. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *evā tvam asmat pra muñcā† vy aṁhaḥ* TS. The Vasus are addrest, even in TS., in the preceding half verse; TS. here changes rather lamely to an address to Agni, who is addrest in the following pāda.

ihehaiṣāṁ kṛṇuhi (TS. MS. KS. TB. *kṛṇuta*) *bhojanāni* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Subject in RV. is doubtless Indra, to whom the hymn is addrest, 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.

annaṁ payo 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 addrest directly, while the other (and presumably more original) reading addresses it to some plural concept (TB. comm. gods, VS. comm. priests).

saṁ pra cyavadhvam upa (TS. *anu*) *saṁ pra yāta* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *agne cyavasva sam anu pra yāhi* MS. Followed by:

agne (MS. *āviṣ*) *patho devayānān kṛṇudhvam* (MS.* *kṛṇuṣva*) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB.: *agne pathaḥ kalpaya devayānān* AV. In MS. both forms are consistent with the context, since they are addrest (in adjoining stanzas) to Agni and to *devāḥ* respectively.

In the others only AV. is grammatically 'correct', since no other subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational; Mahīdhara on VS. blithely takes *kṛṇudhvam* as meaning *kṛṇuṣva;* but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV. texts, and they, like *kṛṇudhvam,* are evidently addrest to the gods in general.

revati predhā yajñapatim āviśa MS. KS.· *revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā āviśa* VS. ŚB.· *revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāvnśata* TS. ApŚ. Acc. to the Tait. ritual texts (see Keith 45 n. 5), addrest to the *vapāśravaṇās,* 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 addrest.

vrataṁ kṛṇuta (VSK. adds: *vrataṁ kṛṇu vrataṁ kṛṇuta*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. Acc. to Mahīdhara on VS. 4. 11 and KŚ., the formula *vrataṁ kṛṇuta,* 'prepare the fast-food', is to be repeated thrice. The comm. on KŚ. says it is addrest 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 addrest to a single priest (the adhvaryu?).

anulbanaṁ vayata (KS. *vayasi*) *joguvām apaḥ* 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, addrest to Agni. The subject of *vayata* is doubtful. KS. makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily.

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV. AV.: *ā sthāpayata mātaraṁ jigatnum* AV. Followed by:

ata inoṣi karvarā purūṇi RV. AV.: *ata invata karvarāṇi bhūri* 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

dhattaṁ rayiṁ sahavīraṁ (ApMB. *daśavīraṁ*) *vacasyave* RV. ApMB.: *rayim dhehi sarvavīraṁ vacasyam* AV. Dual addrest to the Aśvins, who are addrest in the next pādas also in AV. The singular must be understood as addrest to the bride, but it is not unfairly described as 'senseless' (Whitney).

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādataḥ AV.: *yad apsaradror uparasya* (so Conc., but KS. ed. °*drūr upa*°, see note in text; ApŚ. *apsararūpara-*

sya) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. In AV. the subject is apparently the two *araṇis;* 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 jivrir (ApMB. *athā jīvrī;* RV. *adhā jivrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. (The true AV. reading seems to be *jirvir*, see Whitney's note.) In RV. addrest to the married couple, altho in the preceding pāda the bride alone is addrest. For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this pāda to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding.

ṛtunā somaṁ pibatam (KS. °*tu;* MŚ. °*tām*) KS. MŚ. ApŚ. Subject Aśvins in ApŚ. MŚ. (*aśvinādhvaryū* MŚ.); an unnamed priest in KS.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛṇethām (MS. MŚ. *pṛṇa;* LŚ. *prīṇāthāṁ svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth!', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (addrest to the post).

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam asi (KS. °*ny asi;* VS. ŚB. °*nī sthaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MahānU. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 8. 2, note 7.

§364. Dual and Plural

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS. In SV. said of a pair of horses.

yenākṣā (ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām;* SMB. *yenākṣān;* PG. *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. °*ṣiñcatam*, PG. °*tām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. In AV. the expression is made passive, with *akṣā*(*ḥ*) as subject; see §§332, 293.

§365. Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3d 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*) *ṇa śukram uṣaso vi didyutuḥ* (RV. °*taḥ*) RV. TS. MS. 'Like bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth).'

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu VS. ŚB.: *vasūnāṁ rudrāṇām ādityānāṁ sadasi sīda* (KS. *sadanam asi;* MS. *sado 'si srucāṁ yoniḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

paktaudanasya sukṛtām etu lokam AV.: (in next stanza) *imaṁ paktvā sukṛtām 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*.

hṛdo astv antaraṁ taj jujoṣat (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 naḥ sukṛto (*mā sukṛtaṁ*) *brūtāt* (*brūta*, *brūyāt*), and others; see §104, t. The 3d person *brūyāt* is probably corrupt.

yāś 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.

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (°*tām*) AV. (both). 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc.

indraṁ samatsu bhūṣata SV.: *indraḥ samatsu bhūṣatu* RV. AV. Preceded by *ā no viśvāsu havyaḥ* (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 viṣurūpaṁ* (RV. AV. °*pā*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāṇo 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 śṛṇotu naḥ (TB. *śṛṇotana*) 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 niṣīdatu (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. °*tāṁ*; ApŚ. *juṣatāṁ*) *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 riṇann apaḥ RV.: *śubhā yāsi riṇann apaḥ* AV. Subject Maruts in RV., in AV. Rohita.

ud dharṣaya maghavann (AV. *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *ud dharṣantāṁ maghavan vājināni* 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*) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG. °*yasva*) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.: *tās tvā jarase saṁ vyayantu* AV. 'Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age'; or, 'wrap thyself up' etc.

śivā naḥ śaṁtamā 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.

svadhābhir yajñaṁ sukṛtaṁ juṣasva (TB. *yajñaṁ prayataṁ juṣantām*) RV. VS. TB. In the original the subject is Agni, in TB. it is made the *pitṛs*, obviously because in Brāhmaṇa times *svadhā* belongs particularly to them.

dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me (AV.* ApMB. *vām*) AV. JB. Kauś. ApMB.: *āyuṣmantaṁ karota mā* (RVKh. *karotu mām;* KS. *kṛṇota 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 prec. 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 *kṛṇota* 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 *vikāras*.

§367. Singular, Dual, and Plural

akṣaṅs tān VS. KS. TB.· *aghastāṁ tān* 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 devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda VS. TS. etc. (see Conc.):...*dhruvaḥ sīda* VS. ŚB. TA.:...*dhruve sīdatam* VS....*dhruvāḥ sīdata* TS. Also: *tena brahmaṇā...dhruvāḥ sīdata* (and,...*dhruvā sīda*) KS. (both); *tena chandasā*.... and *tenarṣiṇā*..., see Conc.

sa no mṛḍātīdṛśe RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.: *tā no mṛḍāta* (VSK. *mṛl°*) *īdṛśe* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.: *te no mṛḍantv īdṛśe* AV. The last is a *vikāra* of the singular form, used in the same hymn in AV.

maho 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, *avīvṛdhata* (*°dhanta, °dhetām*). The formula begins *agnir* (*indrāgnī, devā ājyapā,* etc.) *idaṁ havir* (also *ājyam,* etc.) *ajuṣata* (*°ṣanta, °ṣetām*).

idaṁ vatsyāmo bhoḥ etc., see §344.

āsadyāsmin barhiṣi mādayadhvam RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.: *...mādayasva* RV.:...*°yethāṁ* RV. AV. The three RV. occurrences concern different subjects, *Viśve devāḥ,* Sarasvatī, and Indra-Varuṇa respectively. On the AV. occurrences (two of which repeat RV. 10. 17. 8, which has *mādayasva,* but awkwardly substitute *mādayadhvam,* changing the subject to *pitaraḥ*) see *RVRep.* 298.

sakhāyaḥ saptapadā abhūma TB. ApŚ.· *sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva* (ApMB.† *°padā babhūva,* see Winternitz, p. xvif.) ApMB .HG.: *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. *°dā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. MG. The singular and dual are used in the wedding-rites, addrest 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 *sakhyaṁ 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. *gopāyataṁ*) *mā* AV. VS. MS. Vait. ApŚ. Different contexts; hardly proper variants.

premaṁ sunvantaṁ yajamānam avatu (*°tām, °ntu*) ŚŚ. (all.) And:

śravad (*°vaṁ, śrutāṁ*) *brahmāṇy āvasā gamat* (*°an, gatām*) ŚŚ. (all.) *Vikāras,* with subjects Indra, *dyāvāpṛthivī,* Ṛbhus.

§368. Singular and Dual

tasmān naḥ pāhy (Kauś. *pātam*) *aṁhasaḥ* RV. Kauś.

prāṇāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.· *prāṇāpānābhyāṁ me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ. In MŚ. addrest to Upāṁśu and Antaryāma cups, in the others to Upāṁśu alone.

ā no yātam (yāhy) upaśruti RV. (both). Addrest to the Aśvins or to Indra.

vidhṛtir asi TA. ŚŚ.: *vidhṛtī sthaḥ* MS. Different contexts.

divaś ca gmaś ca rājathaḥ (rājasi) RV. (both.) See *RVRep.* 59.

rayiṁ gṛṇatsu didhṛtam (dhāraya) RV. (both.) See *RVRep.* 271, 528.

rāyaspoṣaṁ yajamāneṣu dhattam (dhehi; dhāraya) RV. (all.)

sutānāṁ pītim arhathaḥ (arhasi) RV. (both): *somānāṁ pī° arhathaḥ* RV. SV. See *RVRep.* 137.

mā mā saṁ tāptam (ApŚ. *tāpsīḥ*) VS. TS. KS. TB. PB. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.· *mā modoṣiṣṭam* (ŚŚ. *modoṣīḥ*) 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*.

viṣurūpe ahanī dyaur ivāsi (TA.* *iva sthaḥ*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (thrice). N. In one TA. passage addrest to *dyāvāpṛthivī*, in the rest to a single deity. Followed in same passage by:

viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvaḥ (SV. *°van;* TA.* *avathaḥ svadhāvantau*), same texts.

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś.† *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś. In Kauś. addrest to the Aśvins; in AV. probably to an amulet. Cf. *apriyaḥ prati muñcatām*, §30.

pā indra (and, *pātaṁ narā*) *pratibhṛtasya madhvaḥ* RV. (both). Dual addrest to Indra-Vāyu.

āre bādhethāṁ (MS.* KS.* *bādhasva*) *nirṛtiṁ parācaiḥ* RV. TS. MS. (both) KS. (both): *bādhasva* (AV. *bādhethāṁ*) *dūre* (AV. *dūraṁ*, TS. *dveṣo*) *ni° pa°* RV. AV. TS. There are three different contexts; the sing. is addressed to Varuṇa, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-varuṇa. In some cases this is followed by:

kṛtaṁ cid enaḥ pra mumugdhy (AV. TS.* *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS. *asmāt*) RV. AV. TS. (both) MS. KS. See preceding.

ā modṛcaḥ pātam (KS.* *pāhi*) MS. KS. (both): *te mā pātam āsya yajñasyodṛcaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. The sing. form of KS. is a *vikāra* of the other (in close proximity).

rāyas poṣaṁ (KS. *tvaṣṭaḥ poṣāya*) *vi ṣyatu* (AV. MS. KS. *ṣya*) *nābhim asme* (AV. *asya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *r. p. vi ṣyatāṁ n. a.* RV. MS. TB. Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūṣan; of the sing. Tvaṣṭar (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 tvaṁ sthirā (MG. ApMB.* AVPpp. *sthiro*) *bhava* AVPpp. (for AV. vulgate 2. 13. 4b *aśmā bhavatu te tanūḥ*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.: *aśmeva yuvāṁ sthirau 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*) *rayiṁ sarvavīraṁ ni yachatam* (AV. **yacha*) RV. AV. (both)

bādhatāṁ (TB. °*etāṁ*) *dveṣo abhayaṁ* (AV.* adds *naḥ*) *kṛṇotu* (TB. *kṛṇutām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Subjects Indra: Tiṣya and Bṛhaspati.

§369. Dual and Plural

sumnāya sumninī sumne mā dhattam TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sumne sthaḥ sumne mā dhattam* VS. ŚB.: *sumnāyuvaḥ* (KS. °*yavaḥ*) *sumnyāya sumnaṁ* (KS. *sumnyaṁ*) *dhatta* MS. KS. The plural occurs in a different context from the dual.

anu tvā viśve devā avantu (KS. *viśve avantu devāḥ*) KS. TB.: *anu māṁ mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatām* AA.

śaṁsāmo...AB. ApŚ.· *śaṁsāvom, śaṁsāvo*...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 *tāni no 'vantu*.

pra ṇa spārhābhir ūtibhis tireta (°*tam*) RV. (bŏth.) Maruts: Indra-Varuṇa.

rayiṁ dhattaṁ (*dhattha; dhattho*) *vasumantaṁ purukṣum* (*śatagvinam*) RV. (all.) See *RVRep.* 149.

śarma ca stho varma ca sthaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *śarma ca stha varma ca stha* KS. ApŚ. Quite different contexts and subjects.

sapatnān sahiṣīmahi AV. 3. 6. 4d; *sa*° *sahiṣīvahi* AV. 19. 32. 5d; *sapatnīṁ ṛṇe sahāvahai* RV. AV. 3. 18. 5d. ApMB. So the AV. vulgate; but *sahiṣīvahi* 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 *sahiṣīmahi* (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 sukṛtasya loke TS. TB.: pratīkas, *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etā asadatām*, ApŚ.

§370. Singular and Plural

marutāṁ prasave (VS. ŚB. °*vena*) *jaya* (TS. *jayata*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. addrest to the horses, in the others to the chariot. Different contexts.

tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛṇuta praśastam (AV. *kṛṇuhi supraśastam*) RV. AV.

anu mā rabhadhvam (ŚŚ. *rabhasva*) KS. ApŚ. ŚŚ. Hardly to be called variants; different contexts.

indrasya bhāga stha AV.: *i° bhāgo 'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Also *devasya savitur bhāga* etc. and others.

dviṣatāṁ (AV. *duritāt*) *pātv aṁhasaḥ* RV. AV.: *duritāt pāntv aṁhasaḥ* (LŚ. *viśvataḥ*) AV. LŚ. Two different contexts; verb appropriate in both. In AV. we may suspect a mutual *rapprochement* in phraseology.

edaṁ barhir ni ṣīdata (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṣīda naḥ*) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different contexts.

cakṣur me tarpayata (PG. *tarpaya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Applied to a different context in PG. Similarly with *śrotraṁ, apānaṁ, prāṇāpānau*, etc.; and likewise:

prāṇaṁ me tarpayata (ŚŚ. *tṛmpa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

mohayitvā nipadyate (RVKh. *prapadyante*) RV. 10. 162. 6b (correct ref.), AV. RVKh. MG.

viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyaḥ (VS. ŚB. °*bhyas;* MS. *daṁṣṭrābhyas*) *pāhi* (TS. TB. *pāta;* PG. *paripāhi sarvataḥ*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. PG. In TS. addrest to the arrows used in the *rājasūya*; in VS. acc. to Mahīdhara to *mahāvīradakṣiṇabhūmi*.

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayi dhehi* etc., see Conc. Numerous items in different contexts; hardly to be considered variants.

apo (TS. *udno*) *dattodadhiṁ bhintta* (or *bhinta*) VS. TS. MS. KS.: *udno dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi* 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 dehi, bhintta bhinddhi!*)—At the end of the same passages occurs the following formula:

tato no (KS. *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (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 indreṇa (AV. adds *saṁdhāṁ*) *samadadhvam* (TS. *samadhadhvam*, AV. *samadhatthāḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. (so correct Conc.); see also Conc. under *iyaṁ vaḥ sā...*, *eṣā vas sā*....The contexts are different, and both verbs are appropriate.

āyātu (TB.* *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣāṇaḥ* (TB.* °*ṇāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both). Different contexts; subjects Indra: Ādityas.

apa jahi (*hata*) *parigham* ChU. (both). Addrest to singular and plural deities respectively.

āyur me yacha (ApŚ.* *yachata*) MS. KS. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

ūrjaṁ no dhehi (MS. KS. each once, *dhatta*) *dvipade catuṣpade* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AG. ŚG. ApMB. PrāṇāgU. Occurs frequently, in several different contexts; sing. number is appropriate in all but one which is addrest to *agnayaḥ*, plur., the prec. pāda being: *te virājam* (KS. *samrājam*) *abhisaṁyantu 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 *saṁhitā* mss. have incorrectly *dhehi* (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.

yasyauṣadhīḥ prasarpatha RV. VS.: *yasyāñjana prasarpasi* AV. Followed in same verse by:

tato yakṣmaṁ vi bādhadhve (AV. *bādhase*) RV. AV. VS.

tatremaṁ yajñaṁ yajamānaṁ ca dhehi (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.

gātuṁ vittvā gātum ihi MS. ApŚ.: *devā gātuvido gātuṁ vittvā* (VSK. °*tum itvā*) *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 naḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. ApMB. The plural is addrest to waters.

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: *yo asmāṅ abhyaghāyati* AV.

mama cittam upāyasi AV.: *mama cittaṁ cittenānvehi* HG.· *mama cittam anu cittebhir eta* AV. Hardly variants.

praṇaya Vait. MŚ.: *praṇayata* AŚ. To plurality of priests in AŚ. Hardly variants?

mā me prajāyā (correct Conc.)...*prasṛpa motsṛpa* (also, °*pata*, °*pata*) TA. 1. 14. 2–4 (each thrice). Modulations of the same formula with different subjects.

yukṣvā (*yuñgdhvaṁ*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV. (both). Subject Agni: Maruts.

rayiṁ ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ ni yachata MS. KS. AŚ. SMB.:...*ni yacha* AV. (see Conc. for other sing. parallels). As between singular and plural, quite different contexts and subjects.

rāṣṭram amuṣmai datta VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.· *rā*° *am*° *dehi* VS. ŚB. The latter in stanza preceding the former; modulation with change of subject.

śarma yacha catuṣpade AV.: *śarma yachata dvipade catuṣpade* RV.

sindhor ūrmā vy akṣaran (SV. °*rat*) RV. SV. Different contexts; subject in RV. *indavaḥ*, in SV. *ayaṁ* (= *somaḥ*) *sa yaḥ*.

sukṛtāṁ loke sīdata (AV. *sīda*) AV. TS. MS. Subjects *dakṣiṇāḥ*: *odanaḥ*.

svadantu (*svadāti*, °*tu*) *havyaṁ* (*yajñaṁ*) *madhunā ghṛtena*. 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.

yaśaḥ stha yaśasvī bhūyāsam ApŚ. (subject waters): *yaśo 'si yaśo 'haṁ tvayi bhūyāsam* (ApMB. adds *asau*) ApMB. HG. (subject a man).

viśvā rūpāṇi puṣyata (°*yasi*) AV. (both).

lokaṁ me yajamānāya vinda (and, ūha, *vindata*) ChU. (both). Subjects Agni or Vāyu: Ādityas.

yajñaṁ naḥ pātu (TB. *pāntu*) *rajasaḥ* (TB. *vasavaḥ*) *parasmāt* (TB. ApŚ. *purastāt*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

agna ājyasya vyantu vaujhak; *agnim ā° vetu vau°*; *agnināājyasya vyantu vau°*; *agnir ā° vetu vau°*, all ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 19.

apām oṣadhīnāṁ rasa stha TS. TB. (not MŚ.!): *apāṁ puṣpam asy oṣadhīnāṁ rasaḥ*. . . PB. TB. LŚ. ApŚ.

āpura stā mā. . . *pūrayata* ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS. AŚ.: *āpṛṇo 'si saṁpṛṇaḥ* (ApŚ. corruptly, *āpṛṇoṣi saṁpṛṇa*). . . *ā pṛṇa* ŚŚ. ApŚ. Four quite different contexts with different subjects.

imaṁ me agadaṁ kṛta (AV. *kṛdhi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. To one or more herbs; different contexts.

kratuṁ punīta (and, *punata*) *ānuṣak* RV. (both). 3d sg. and pl. impf. mid.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭhāny āruhan* (AV.* °*hat*) AV. (both) SV. Subjects Aṅgirasas: 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 dhāvataḥ* RV.: *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV. Cf. *RVRep.* 315. Verbs are all appropriate to the respective contexts.

(b) Singular and Dual

chinttaṁ śiro api pṛṣṭīḥ śṛṇītam AV.: *pṛṣṭīr vo 'pi śṛṇātu yātudhānāḥ* AV. Subjects are Aśvins and Rudra; hardly comparable.

pibataṁ somyaṁ madhu RV. (quinquies) SV.: *pibāti so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV.

madhvā yajñaṁ mimikṣatam (and, °*ti*) RV. (both).

śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ catuṣpade RV. MS. KS.: *śaṁ no bhava* etc., *śaṁ na edhi* etc., *śaṁ no astu* etc.; in many texts and different connexions, see Conc.

(c) Dual and Plural

madhye divaḥ svadhayā mādayante (RV.* °*yethe*) RV. (both) AV. VS. See *RVRep.* 118.

ye kīlālena tarpayatho (and, *tarpayanti*) *ye ghṛtena* AV. (both). Subjects Heaven and Earth: Maruts.

indravaṇtau (ŚŚ. °*tā*) *havir idaṁ juṣethām* TB. ApŚ. ŚŚ.: *indravanto ha° i° juṣantām* TB. ApŚ. *Vikāra;* subjects *śunāsīrau*: *pitaraḥ*.

(d) Singular and Plural

gaṇān me mā vi tītṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*) TS. MŚ.: *gaṇān me mā vy arīriṣaḥ* Vait.: *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TS. ŚB.: *gaṇair mā mā vi tītṛṣata* MS. See §337.

rāyaś ca poṣair abhi naḥ sacadhvam (and, *sacatām*) AV. (both).

juṣasva havyam āhutam RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *juṣantāṁ*...TS. MS. KS. The last occurs in the same stanza as in RV. 3. 22. 4 = VS. 20. 90, both of which read *juṣantāṁ yajñam adruhaḥ*. Contamination between the two pādas is obvious.

svāṁ yonim api gachata (TB. ApŚ.* °*tu*) TB. ApŚ. (both) AŚ. ApMB. HG.

iha sphātiṁ sam ā vahān (*vaha*) AV. (both). The second is a *vikāra* of the first.

ārāc cid dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu (RV.* °*ta*) RV. (both) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.: *ārāc cid dveṣo vṛṣaṇo yuyota* RV.

iṣam ūrjaṁ yajamānāya dhehi (Vait. *dattvā*; AV. *duhrām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. Three different contexts, in AV., Vait., and YV. texts respectively.

mamāmitrān vi vidhyata (and, °*tu*) AV. (both). Cf. also: *amitrān no vi vidhyatām* AV.

viśvaṁ puṣyanti vāryam RV. AV.: *vi*° *puṣyasi vā*° RV. AV. SV. See *RVRep.* 99.

svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG. °*tu naḥ*) 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 tiṣṭhatu (MG. °*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ* SMB. HG. MG. All mss. of MG. read °*to*, 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.

śrotrāya me varcodā (TS. °*dau*) *varcase* (MŚ. omits) *pavasva* (TS. *pavethām*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. So the Conc. wrongly supplies in TS. 3. 2. 3. 2, after the abbreviation *śrotrāya* which is all that the text reads. It is addrest to a soma-cup (*graha*), and clearly a singular expression, not a dual, is understood. No variant exists. Similarly under *añgebhyo me*.

(b) Dual and Plural

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsme (AV. *kartam asmai*; VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. Subject is *Śunāsīrā* (dual). Mahīdhara 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?).

viśvāḥ pinvathaḥ (TB. °*tha*) *svasarasya dhenāḥ* RV. MS. TB. The TB. form is to be taken as intending *pinvathaḥ*, dual (sandhi before *s*+cons.).

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇaṁ naḥ (TB. TA. *ṛṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anudattānṛṇāni* MS. The MS. reading is badly corrupt; *anudatta* is uninterpretable; p.p. *anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni*, which is just as bad.

indrāvathuḥ (VSK. °*dhuḥ*; KS.* TB. ApŚ. °*taṁ*) *kāvyair* (TB. ApŚ. *karmaṇā*) *daṁsanābhiḥ* 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, *RV Noten.* on 10. 131. 5.

(c) Singular and Plural

puṁsaḥ kartur mātary āsiṣikta JB.· *puṁsā kartrā mātari mā ni ṣiñca* KBU. The Conc. says 'read *ṣiñcata*' 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 sarpati (HG. *gachanti*; read *gachati*, Kirste) ApMB. HG.

pibā somam indra mandatu (Svidh. erroneously *mandantu*) *tvā* RV. AV. SV. TS. AB. KB. PB. AA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh.

hastacyutī (SV. °*taṁ*) *janayanta* (SV.† °*yata*) *praśastam* RV. SV. KS. KB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. Subject is *naro*, 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 aśvāya 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).

agnihotreṇedaṁ havir ajuṣatāvīvṛdhata (AŚ. °*vīvṛdhanta*) *maho jyāyo 'kṛta* TS. AŚ. Read in both texts (with TB. Poona ed.) *agnir hotreṇedaṁ...°vṛdhata...* AŚ. is doubly corrupt. In the same passage, just before this, the same formula with *devā ājyapā(ḥ)* as subject; read in AŚ. (1. 9. 5) *maho jyāyo 'krata* (text *'kṛta;* this section is listed as a separate formula in Conc., see §367).

taṁ 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 kśat* (*khyat, kṣat*) MS. KS.

sarasvatyā (°*tyām*) *adhi manāv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS. *acakṛ*°; SMB. *carkṛdhi*, but Jörgensen *acakṛṣuḥ*) 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 *mṛḍatā* 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 pitaraṁ vaiśvānaram avase kaḥ (PB. *kuḥ;* comm. *kaḥ* = *kuru*) PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Perhaps only a misprint in PB.

divodāsāya randhayaḥ (SV. °*yan*) RV. SV. Tho Benfey keeps *randhayan* in his text, he translates 'du übergabst', as if °*yaḥ;* so the comm., *saṁvītavān asi; randhayan* is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom. sg. pple.?)

svasti caratād iha (SMB. *ayam*; MG. *caratā diśaḥ*) 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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