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VEDIC VARIANTS

BY
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FRANKLIN EDGERTON
AND
MURRAY BARNSON EMENEAU

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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 III

NOUN AND PRONOUN INFLECTION

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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

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

Formal Variants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Syntactic and Stylistic Variants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Transfer of epithet

§14. Probably the most widespread of the processes here referred to is that to which we have given the name of 'transfer of epithet.' A change in number, gender, or case, or in two or all three of these, may signalize the application of an epithet (whether noun, adjective, or pronoun) to a different person or thing in one text from that to which it applies is another. Thus, RV. 10.125.3cd reads *tāṁ mā devā vy adadhuḥ purutrā, bhūristhātrāṁ bhūry āveśayantīm.* In the repetition of this in the AV. 4.30.2cd, *āveśayantīm* is changed to *āveśayantaḥ.* The RV. original means 'the gods have established me (Vāc) variously in many places, me of many stations, bestowing abundantly.' The epithet *āveśayantīm* here agrees with the object, Vāc. In the AV. it is made to agree with the subject, the gods: 'introducing (installing) me abundantly,' or 'making me enter into many things.' By this alteration the AV. substitutes a nominative for an accusative, a plural for a singular, and a masculine for a feminine; yet obviously the change has no bearing on the syntax of case, number or gender. It interestingly illustrates the psychology of the Vedic traditionalists; whatever may have been precisely in the mind of the composer of the original form (this is a problem which may be left for exegetes of the passage), the AV. has a secondary lectio facilior, the meaning of which is simple

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

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

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

Form attraction or assimilation

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

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

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

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

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

Phrase inflection

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

vicinity, as when AV. 4. 34. 6b. *kṣīreṇa pūrṇā udakena dadhnā*, 'full of milk, water, and sour milk,' is repeated in the next stanza with *pūrṇāṅ* for *pūrṇā(ḥ)*. The stanzas are otherwise different; in the first the nom. case agrees with the nouns in the preceding pāda, *ghṛtahradā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ*, while in the second the acc. agrees with the preceding acc. (*caturaḥ kumbhāṅś caturdhā dadāmi*). The same sort of adaptation to new contexts occurs much more often in passages which are not so closely associated.

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

Miscellaneous variants

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

Arrangement of the materials

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

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

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

SUMMARY OF SYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

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

Vocative and other cases

§27. Variations between the vocative and other cases usually signalize shift between direct address and indirect reference, as in *mātevāsmā adite* (ŚG. °*tiḥ*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yaṅsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB., 'like a mother grant, O Aditi (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him' (§§322, 326). However, in variants with the nominative, the latter may be appositional to a 2d person subject, so that direct address is found in both forms. Thus, *ā tiṣṭha mitravardhanaḥ* (AV. °*na*) AV. KS. TB.† ApŚ.†, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' (§§323, 334).

§28. Similarly also with other cases in variation with voc. Thus, a vocative of direct address may vary with an accusative of indirect reference: *ṛcā yāmi maruto brahmaṇaspatim* (SV. °*te*), *devāṅ* (SV. *devā*) *avo vareṇyam* RV. SV. MS. KS., 'with a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmaṇaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' or 'I approach [you], O Maruts' etc. (§343). Or else both forms may contain direct address: *namasyāmas tveḍyaṅ* (KS. °*ya*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB., 'we pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas (to thee, O worshipful J.)' (§348).

§29. With the instrumental, where both forms have direct address, a second subject may be expressed by an associative instr. or by another voc., as in *mo ṣū ṇa indrātra* (TS.† *indra*) *pṛtsu devaiḥ* (KS. *devāḥ*, TS. MS. *deva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'O Indra along with the gods (and ye gods, or O god!)' (§353). On the other hand the instrumentality thru which a result is expected may be indirectly referred to in the instr. or directly addressed in the voc.: *jagatyainaṅ* (AŚ. °*ty enaṅ*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmaḥ* (°*mi*, °*ni*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'O jagatī (by means of the jagatī) may we (I) settle him in the tribes!' (§354).

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

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

Nominative and other cases

§32. Perhaps the most characteristic way in which the nominative may vary with other cases in general is that in which one variant form has an independent statement, with subject nominative, which in the other form is compressed into syntactic dependence, as a rule on an adjoining sentence, the nominative being replaced by any other case. Thus, with the accusative: *nirṛtiṁ tvāhaṁ pari veda viśvataḥ* VS.MS. ŚB., *nirṛtir iti tvāhaṁ pari veda viśvataḥ* (*sarvatoḥ*) AV. TS. KS., 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti' (§393). Or the dependence may be created by the insertion of an active verb: *iyaṁ vediḥ paro antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ., *vedim āhuḥ paraṁ antaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* TS. KSA., 'this altar is the extreme limit of the earth' or 'they declare the altar (to be) the extreme limit of the earth' (§392). And notably we find a group in which the independent nominative is put in a relative clause: *tam u ṣṭuhi yo antaḥ sindhau* AV.: *tam u ṣṭuhy antaḥsindhum* AŚ., both meaning 'praise him who is within the waters' (§394).

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

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

§35. With the ablative: *viṣṇo* (*viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos*) *sthānam asi* (MS. MŚ. *sthāmāsi*, KS. *sthāmnaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (§433). In KS. connected syntactically with the following, *ita .. vīryam akṛṇot*.

§36. With the genitive: *agnīṣomayor ahaṁ devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān* (*vṛtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS. ApŚ., *agnīṣomau vṛtrahaṇau tayor* (*vṛtrahaṇāv agnīṣomayor*) *ahaṁ devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS. MŚ. (§445).

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

§38. With the vocative (§338): *tiṣṭhā ratham* (*rathe*) *adhi taṁ* (*yaṁ*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. *°taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Instead of '(O vajra-handed!', TB. says 'since (thou art) vajra-handed.'

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

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

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

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

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

Accusative and other cases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(MŚ. *°tyāṁ nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. *°tīṁ nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ., 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river' (§§501, 544).

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

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

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

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

Instrumental and other cases

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

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

§57. With the accusative, *rūpair apiṅśad* (TB.* *rūpāṇi piṅśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N., 'he shaped all beings along with forms', or 'shaping forms (and) all beings' (§459).

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

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

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

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

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

susaṁbhṛtā (°*te*) *tvā saṁ bharāmi*, 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.' Dat. and instr.; §560.

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

saṁ devānāṁ sumatyā (*sumatau*) *yajñiyānām*, '(bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods.' Loc. and instr.; §605. —The following curious case may also be noted here:

saṁjagmāno (°*nā*, °*nau*) *divā* (*diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* (°*vyāḥ*), 'uniting with heaven and earth' or 'uniting from heaven and earth.' Abl. and instr.; §576.

§60. The above contain verbs of joining; verbs of separation are

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

tebhir no adya (*tebhyo na indraḥ*) *savitota viṣṇuḥ* (*tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indraḥ*), sc. *vi muñcantu*, 'may...free us from these (fetters of Varuṇa)' or the like; §573.

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

vi kumāraṁ jarāyuṇā (*vi garbhaṁ ca jarāyu ca*), sc. *bhinadmi*, 'I separate the child from the afterbirth (the embryo and the afterbirth)' (§459).

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

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

vaiśvānaro na ūtaye (*ūtyā*) [*ā pra yātu parāvataḥ*], 'let V. come...unto (with) aid' (§558).

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

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

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

tapas.'—*bhuvas tvam indra brahmaṇā* (MS. °*ṇo*) *mahān* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words' (§§569, 571).

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

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

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

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

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

§69. In similar forms with local meaning the instr. varies with abl. and loc.: *ayaṁ paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidadvasuḥ* MS. KS. (§575).—*adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ yad asti* (MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. MS. TB., *adhi kṣamā viśvarūpaṁ yad asya* ArS.; both *kṣamā* and *kṣami* 'on the earth' (§598).

Dative and other cases

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

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

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

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

§73. Verbs of saying, offering, and various others are construed interchangeably with dat. and loc.: *devebhyo* (*deveṣu*) *mā sukṛtaṁ* (*naḥ sukṛto*) *brūtāt* (etc.), 'declare me (us) virtuous to the gods' (§647).—*pṛthivyām* (KŚ. °*vyā*) *amṛtaṁ juhomi*...AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ., 'I offer nectar to the earth' (§650).

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

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

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

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

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

Ablative and other cases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Genitive and other cases

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

excellent of plants)' (§367).—*subhūr (svayaṁbhūr) asi (nāmāsi) śreṣṭho raśmir (raśmīnām)...*, '...the best ray (best of rays)' (§439).—*imaṁ mā hiṁsīr ekaśaphaṁ* (also, *dvipādaṁ*) *paśum* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'this whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals)' (§515).—*vasantena (grīṣmeṇa*, etc.) *tvartunā* (KSA. °*nāṁ*) *haviṣā dīkṣayāmi* TS. KSA., 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (of the seasons), with oblation' (§581).

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

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

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

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

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

§89. Rather varied also are such instances of adnominal gens. varying with dats.; we quote an example or two at random: *devebhyo* (VS. *devānāṁ*) *bhāgadā* (TS. °*dhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (objective gen.), §619.—*(eṣa sya te madhumāṁ indra somaḥ,) vṛṣā vṛṣṇe* (SV. °*ṇaḥ*) *pari pavitre akṣāḥ* RV. SV., 'this honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve)' (possessive gen.), §621.

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

§91. With the locative: *asmākaṁ* (TS. *asmāsu*) *santv āśiṣaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ., 'let blessings be ours (be in us)' (possessive gen.), §671.—*ahiḥ śayata upapṛk pṛthivyāḥ* (TB. °*vyām*) RV. MS. TB. N., 'the dragon lies clinging to the earth' (objective gen.), §676.

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

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

§94. With verbs of gratifying the gen. interchanges with the instr.: *tena †tṛpyatam aṁhahau* TB. ApŚ., *tasya †tṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū svāhā* ŚŚ. (§579).

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

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

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

Locative and other cases

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

§99. More familiarly the locative tends in the opposite direction; it

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

opinion (cf. §594) without any essential difference of meaning: *maghāsu* (*aghāsu, maghābhir*) *hanyante gāvaḥ* (*gāvo gṛhyante*), 'in the (asterism) Maghās (Aghās) cows are slain (taken),' §596.—*madhu naktam utoṣasaḥ* (°*sā*, °*si*), see §584 (also gen.).—*adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ* (*kṣamā viśvarūpaṁ*) *yad asti* (*asya, āsta*), 'on the earth...', §598.

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

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

§110. After prepositions: with acc., after *adhi, acha, antarā* (§§539-42); with abl., after *adhi* and *antar* (but with difference of meaning, §665); with gen., after *antar* (§677).

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

Number

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

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

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

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

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

(SV. *mitrās*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV. (preceded by *yaṁ maruto yam aryamā*). Here *mitrās* means Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, and *aryamā* is a complementary singular (§733). So also *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB., where *indrā* can only be elliptic (= Indra and Sūrya), §747. In other cases an elliptic dual plus complementary singular may vary with a double dual, as in *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (°*vīm*), §746; or such a double dual may vary with two singulars, whether the two form a devatā-dvandva compound as in *indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā* TB. but *indraḥ sūraḥ prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ. (§749), or whether the two duals are separated by other words as in *viṣṇum agan varuṇaṁ pūrvahūtiḥ* AV., *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °*tim*) VS. MS. etc. (§748). The normal Sanskrit dvandva compounds, of both types (dual and neuter singular), are likewise found; the former varies with equivalent double singulars, as in *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ, mayi dakṣakratū* (§750); and the two types vary with each other, *kṣutpipāsābhyāṁ* (and °*pāsāya*) *svāhā* (§751).

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

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

Gender

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dedicatory expressions

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

(*om*) *agniṁ tarpayāmi*: *agnis tṛpyatu*, §373.

himavate (°*vato*) *hastī* (*hastinam*), §§376, 618.

svāhā devā ājyapāḥ (*devāṅ ājyapān*): *agniṁ svāhā*: *svāhāgnim*: *agnaye svāhā*, etc., §§377, 485.

pūṣaṇaṁ vaniṣṭhunā: *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuḥ*, §§414, 508.

kapota ulūkaḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai (*nairṛtāḥ*), §424.

digbhyaḥ śrotram (sc. *ālabhate*): *diśaḥ śrotram* (sc. *anvavasṛjatāt*), §485.

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

aryamṇo (°*ṇe*) *lopāśaḥ*, §618.

FIRST PART: FORMAL VARIANTS

CHAPTERS II–X

CHAPTER II

DUALS IN *AU* AND *Ā*, OF ALL DECLENSIONS

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

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

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

tasyāṁ suparṇāv adhi yau niviṣṭau TB. ApŚ.: *tasyāṁ suparṇā vṛṣaṇā ni ṣedatuḥ* RV.

abhayaṁ mitrāvaruṇāv ihāstu naḥ (AG. °*varuṇā mahyam astu*) AV. AG.

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

garbhaṁ te aśvinau devau (AV. *aśvinobhā*, PG. HG. *aśvināv ubhau*) RV. AV. ŚB. BṛhU. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. PG.: *garbhaṁ yonyām aśvināsyām* AVPpp. 13. 2. 4c (Barret, *JAOS.* 48. 38).

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

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

ubhobhayāvinn upa dhehi daṅṣṭrā (AV. °*rau*) RV. AV.

yo akṣeṇeva cakriyā (SV. °*yau*) *śacībhiḥ* RV. SV. TB.

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

somaṁ pibataṁ madyaṁ dhṛtavratā (AV. GB. °*tau*) RV. AV. GB.

uto te vṛṣaṇā (ArS. *haritau*) *harī* RV. ArS.

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

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

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

ā dhattāṁ (RVKh. Scheft. °*tam*) *puṣkarasrajau* (RV. RVKh. Scheft. AV. ApMB. MG. °*jā*) RV. RVKh. AV. ŚB. TA. MahānU. BṛhU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.: *kṛṇutaṁ puṣkarasrajā* AVPpp. 3. 18. 5 (Barret, *JAOS.* 32. 364). Add to VV 1 §332.

dyauś ca naḥ (KS. TB. *tvā*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* RV. KS. TB.: *dyauś ca ma idaṁ pṛthivī ca pracetasau* AV.

māduṣkṛtau vyenasā (AV. °*sau*) RV. AV. AVPpp. Note preceding °*kṛtau* in all!

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

yaṁ nirmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yābhyāṁ nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BṛhU.

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

form; we just saw that in several cases where RV. has *ā*, AV. has *au*:

tā no muñcatam āgasaḥ TS. MS.: *tau no muñcatam aṅhasaḥ* (TS. KS. *āgasaḥ*) AV. TS. KS.

ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛṇasva VS. TS. ŚB.: *hastau pṛṇasva bahubhir vasavyaiḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.

vītho ghṛtasya guhyā juṣāṇā (AV. °*ṇau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. *suṣṭutyā*, TS. *suṣṭutīr*, MS. °*tī*) *vām iyānā* (TS. MS. KS. *vāvṛdhānā*, AV. *vāvṛdhānau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. On *vām iyānā* see VV 2 §236.

yā (AV. *yau*) *patyete apratītā* (AV. °*tau*) *sahobhiḥ* AV. VS. MS. SB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§133. Yet, contrariwise, AV. occasionally shows *ā*:

chandasvatī (AV. *chandaḥpakṣe*) *uṣasā* (MS. KS. °*sau*) *pepiśāne* AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

And, in the same verse:

ketumatī (TS. ApMB. *ketuṁ kṛṇvāne*) *ajare bhūriretasā* (MS. °*sau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

ya indrāgnī asanaṁ sakhāyau KS.: *yo agnīṣomāv ajuṣe sakhāyā* AV.

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

ukhyasya ketuṁ prathamaṁ juṣāṇau (KS.† KapS. °*ṇā*) VS. MS. KS. KapS. 25. 1, ŚB. Oertel 83.

imān me (ApŚ. *no*) *mitrāvaruṇau* (ApŚ. °*ṇā*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.

nirastā śaṇḍāmarkau saha tena yaṁ dviṣmaḥ KS.: *nirastau śaṇḍāmarkau sahāmunā* ApŚ.

apanuttau (KS. °*ttā*) *śaṇḍāmarkau* (MS. *ṣaṇḍ*°) *saha*...MS. KS.: *apanuttau śaṇḍāmarkau sahāmunā* TS. TB. ApŚ.

devā (VS. *devau*) *devam avardhatām* VS. TB.

śubhaṁ gamiṣṭhau (KS. °*ṭhā*) *suyamebhir aśvaiḥ* (KS.† *āśubhiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TB.

aṅkau nyaṅkāv (PB. LŚ. *aṅkā nyaṅkū*, MŚ. MG. *aṅkū nyaṅkāv*) *abhito rathaṁ yau* (MG. *ye*) TS. TB. PB. MŚ. HG. PG. MG. ApMB. LŚ. ApŚ.

saṁjagmānau (KS. °*nā*) *divā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yathāyathaṁ nau tanvau (AŚ. *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātavedaḥ* MS. AŚ. MŚ. In MŚ. phonetic corruption; see VV 2 §410.

sudughe mātarā (TB. °*rau*) *mahī* VS. TB.

indravantā (TB. °*tau*) *havir idaṁ juṣethām* TB. ŚŚ.

saṁ vasāthāṁ (MS. *vasethāṁ*) *svarvidā* (TS. *suvar*°; KS. °*vidau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

hotā yakṣad aśvinā (VS. KŚ. °*nau*) *chāgasya haviṣa*...VS. KŚ. KS.
hotā yakṣad aśvinau (KS. °*nā*) *chāgasya vapāyā*...VS. KS.
hotā yakṣad aśvinau (TB. °*nā*) *sarasvatīm*...VS. MS. TB.
hotā yakṣad aśvinā (MS. °*nau*) *sarasvatīm*...MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§135. The following do not properly belong here:

[*gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā* (VS. *ṇāsatyā*, followed without fusion by *aśvāvad*) RV. VS. AŚ. The VS. comm. understands *nāsatyā*, not °*yau*; if *au* were intended, *āv* should stand by the VS. rule, see VV 2 §885. There is no real variant here; VS. writes more accurately what RV. also intends, namely final *ā*.]

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

[*urvaśī ca pūrvacittiś cāpsarasau* (VSK. MS. KS. °*sā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

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

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

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

śunāsīreha sma me juṣethām AV. (pratīka Vait.): *śunāsīrāv imāṁ vācaṁ juṣethām* (TA. om. *ju*°) RV. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The AV. seems to be 'hifalutin', misapplying the hieratic *ā* where it does not belong.

uṣāsānaktāgnā (KS. AŚ. °*gna*, ŚŚ. °*naktā agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. And in the same passage, *daivyā hotārāgnā* (°*gna*, °*hotārā agna*), etc. The ŚŚ. form (RV. school) should be *āv*, not *ā* (VV 2 §885). No v. l. is quoted. If the text is correct, possibly ŚŚ. quoted from a different school (note that the mantra is found neither in RV. nor in its Brāhmaṇas). The other alternative would be to hold that ŚŚ. intends the ending *ā*, not *au*, and shows anomalous lack of sandhi.

daivyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS. *hotārā ūrdhvam*, KS. *hotārordhvam imam*, MS. *hotārā ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaraṁ naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *daivā hotāra ūrdhvam* (Ppp. *hotārā imam*) *adhvaraṁ naḥ* AV. Ppp. The AV. form is plural. Ppp. ms. (9. 1. 8) reads *hotāra* but intends °*rā* since a dual verb follows. All texts but KS. have sandhi forms of °*rau*.

aśvināādhvaryū MS. TA.: *aśvināv adhvaryū* ŚŚ. (Also quoted in Conc. under *agnir hotāśvinā*°.)

[*añkāñkaṁ* (KS. *añkañkaṁ*, MS. *añkāvañkaṁ*) *chandaḥ* TS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Only MS. seems to understand a dual *añkau* here; if *añkāñkam* is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form *añkā* must be understood. Even MS. has only one accent, *añkāvañkáṁ*; tho one ms. has *áñkāv áñkaṁ*, and p.p. analyzes *añkau, añkám*. These forms are however probably mere corruptions; the presumption is that the unknown (and perhaps artificial) name of a meter here found is meant for a single word. The variant therefore hardly belongs here.]

CHAPTER III

FEM. ENDINGS *AI* AND *ĀS* AS DAT. OR GEN. (ABL.) SING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

indrāgnibhyāṁ chāgasya vapāyā (KŚ. °*yai*) *medaso 'nubrūhi* KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Assign to Indra and Agni (part) of the goat's omentum and fat.' Also, *agnīṣomābhyāṁ chāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubrūhi* ŚB.

ukhāyāḥ (TS. °*yai*, MS. KS. °*yāṁ*) *sadane sve* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*. 'Within the firepan, in thine own seat.' The parallels point to a genitive with *antar*, not a genitive of 'equivalence' as Keith takes it. There is no sound evidence for a gen. of 'equivalence' in Sanskrit, while the use of a gen. with *antar* is proved by BR. s. v.; a very clear case is VS. 40. 5.

agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai vartanyāgrayaṇasya vīryeṇa (KS. *jagatyā vartanyā*) *devas tvā savitotsṛjatu* (etc.)...TS. KS.: *agneṣ ṭvā mātrayā jāgatyā vartanyā devas tvā savitonnayatu*...MS.

iḍāyās (ApŚ. °*yāḥ*) *padaṁ ghṛtavac carācaram* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *iḍāyās padaṁ ghṛtavat sarīsṛpam* AV. SMB.: *iḍāyai sṛptaṁ ghṛtavac carācaram* TA. HG. Comm. on TA. takes *iḍāyai* as dat. of purpose, *gosaṁpādanārtham;* but this seems fanciful.

priyo dātur dakṣiṇāyā iha syām AV.: *priyo devānāṁ dakṣiṇāyai dātur iha bhūyāsam* VS. The AV. reading is masked by sandhi, but p.p. *dakṣiṇāyāḥ.*

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

yamyai pāṭūraḥ TS.: *yamyāḥ pāṭoraḥ* KSA.

sarasvatyai (MS. KSA. °*yā*) *nipakṣatiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

indrāṇyai (MS. °*yāḥ*) *ṣaṣṭhī* VS. MS.

nirṛtyai (MS. °*yāḥ*) *pañcamī* VS. MS.

adityāḥ (VS. °*yai*) *pañcamī* VS. MS.

adityai (KSA. °*yā*) *dvādaśī* TS. KSA.

yamyai (MS. °*yās*) *trayodaśī* VS. MS.

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

adityai (MS. °*yāḥ*) *pājasyam* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

devasya tvā savituḥ prasave...sarasvatyā vācā yantur yantreṇ° (VS. TS. ŚB. *sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantreṇ°*)...°*bhiṣiñcāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.—P.p. of MS. *sarasvatyāḥ.*

(*devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṁ...*) *sarasvatyai* (KS. °*yā*) *bhaiṣajyena...* VS. KS. TB.: *sarasvatyās tvā vīryeṇa yaśase 'nnādyāyābhi ṣiñcāmi* MS.

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

§144. Genitives of *ū* stem nouns:

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

yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuvaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG. The latter has a stupid corruption in *vṛkṣas* for *-spṛkṣat* (VV 2 p. 105). Its *tanuvai* can only be defended as for *tanvās* = *tanvas,* a partitive gen. (cf. §517).

na hi te agne tanvaḥ (JB. *tanvai,* TA. ApŚ. *tanuvai*) AV. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ. Kauś. Followed by *krūram ānaṁśa* (KS. ApŚ. *ānāśa,* JB

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

§145. Genitives of pronouns:

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

imam amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram...KS.: *imam amuṣya* (VSK. *imam amum amuṣya*) *putram amuṣyai* (VSK. *°yāḥ*) *putram* ...VS. VSK. ŚB. In one of the two occurrences in ŚB. *amuṣyai* is printed for *amuṣya*, doubtless by a misprint.

tasyai (MS. KS. *tasyā*) *vāñ mātyā* (TS. *mātī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Its, the mind's, daughter, speech.'

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

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

§147. From *i* and *ī* stems; in the following the alternative to genitive construction would be a dative of possession or interest; see next section:

adityā (VS. TB. ŚB. *adityai*, VSK. *aditer*) *bhāgo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

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

indrāṇyai (MS. MŚ. MG. *°yāḥ*, KS. *°yās*) *saṁnahanam* VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

pṛthivyai (MS. *°yā*) *varmāsi* VSK. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

adityāḥ (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *°yai*) *sada āsida* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.: *adityās sadane sīda* KS.

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

yasyai (VSK. *yasyās*) *te yajñiyo garbhaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. PG.

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

yasyai bahvīs (MS. *yasyā bahvyas*) *tanuvo* (MS. *tanvo*) *vītaprṣṭhāḥ* MS. TB. And others, §671. Comm. on TB.: *yasyai yasyā devyās tanuvaḥ.*

yāsyā apaśavyā tanūs tām asyā apajahi ŚG. SMB. (also with *yāsyā aputryā, yāsyāḥ patighnī*): *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīr yā patighnī...tā asyā apahata* SMB.: *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīs tām asyā apajahi* SMB.: *yāsyai gṛhaghnī tanūs tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG. (also with *patighnī, paśughnī, prajāghnī, yaśoghnī*): *yāsyai ghorā tanūs tām ito nāśaya svāhā* HG. (also with *ninditā, patighnī*). The first *asyai* is clearly gen. On the second see §612.

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

yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsād agniṁ sā ṛchatu MS. (also with *indraṁ, marutaḥ, mitrāvaruṇau, somaṁ*): *agniṁ sa ṛchatu yo maitasyai* (KS.† °*syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. ApŚ. (also with *indraṁ, aditiṁ* etc.): *agniṁ sa diśāṁ devaṁ devatānām ṛchatu yo maitasyai diśo 'bhidāsati* TB. (also with *indraṁ* etc.): *iyaṁ dig...yo maitasyai* (KS. °*syā*) etc. KS. TB. ApŚ.

§150. From *i* and *ī* stem nouns:

gāyatryai (MS. KS. °*yā*) *gāyatram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sūryas tvā (MS. *tvā raśmibhiḥ*) *purastāt pātu kasyāś cid abhiśastyai* (TS. MS. KS. °*śastyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Striking because the modifying pronoun *kasyāś*(*cid*) has *ās* even in VS. ŚB. Cf. next.

āsanyān mā mantrāt pāhi (MŚ. *pāhi purā*) *kasyāś cid abhiśastyāḥ* (AŚ. °*tyai svāhā*) TS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

pṛthivyai (MS. KS. °*yā*) *mā pāhi* TS. MS. KS.

pañktyai (MS. KS. °*yā*) *nidhanavat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai TS. ApŚ.: *apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai devayajanyai* TS. ApŚ.: *apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayajanaḥ* TS. ApŚ. (p.p. of TS. *pṛthivyāḥ*!): *apārarum adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā devayajanāj* (ApŚ. †*adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ. (the latter ambiguous): *apārarum pṛthivyā* (p.p. °*vyāḥ*) *adevayajanam* MS. MŚ.: *apārarum adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā* [*iti;* ambiguous] ApŚ.: *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS. ŚB.

pāpāt (KŚ. *pāpaḥ*) *svapnyād* (KŚ. °*nād*) *abhūtyāḥ* (KŚ. °*yai*) AV. KŚ.

agne 'dabdhāyo...pāhi prasityai pāhi durişṭyai pāhi duradmanyai (TS. TB. add *pāhi duścaritāt*) TS. VS. ŚB. TB.† (in VS. text has *duradmanyā iti*): *agne 'dabdhāyo...pāhi prasityāḥ pāhi durişṭyāḥ pāhi*

duradmanyāḥ KS. (text °*manyā iti*).—Also listed in Conc. under *pāhi*...

adbhyaḥ saṁbhūtaḥ pṛthivyai rasāc ca TA. ApŚ.: *adbhyaḥ saṁbhṛtaḥ pṛthivyai* (MS. KS.† °*yā*) *rasāc ca* (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS.

kṣetriyāt tvā nirṛtyā jāmiśaṁsāt AV.: *kṣetriyai tvā nirṛtyai tvā* TB. ApMB. HG. (*kṣetrī* = *kṣetriya* occurs only in this passage.)

[*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB. No *ās* form here.]

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

§152. The variants are:

yā te agne rudriyā tanūs tayā naḥ pāhi tasyās (MS. KS. *tasyai*) *te svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

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

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

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

īśāyai (MS. °*yā*, but p.p. °*yai*) *manyuṁ rājānam* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *barhiṣā dadhur indriyam*. 'They have bestowed (upon thee) King Wrath and power along with (or, by) the barhis, unto authority.' It seems impossible to construe *īśāyā(ḥ)* as gen.; note the p.p. of MS.

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaṁ pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS. °*pāya*, p.p. °*pāyāḥ*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS. TA.: pratīkas, *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyā* [*iti*] ApŚ. MŚ. (could stand for °*pāyai or* °*pāyāḥ*). In the same passage the next two:

divas tvā paraspāyāḥ (MS. °*pāya*, not repeated in p.p.), *antarikṣasya*... MS. TA. (and ApŚ. pratīka, with °*pāyā* [*iti*]): and

prāṇasya tvā paraspāyai (MS. °*pāya*, v. l. °*pāyāś*, p.p. °*pāyāḥ*) *cakṣuṣas* ...MS. TA. (and ApŚ. pratīka as before). In these three adjoining formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended: 'for the protection of....' Note that TA. has °*pāyāḥ* twice and °*pāyai* once—all in the same passage. VS. has only one of the formulas, in which it uses the dat. of a neuter stem °*pa*- (§801), equivalent to °*pā*-. This same neuter form is read thrice in MS. s. p., but once the v. l. °*pāyāḥ* occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA. has the regular dative form °*pāyai*!), and its p.p. reads °*pāyāḥ* in the two cases which it repeats at all.

CHAPTER IV

STEMS IN *A*

1. Nominative and vocative plural in *ās* : *āsas*

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

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

yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ RV.: *yena devā amṛtam anv avindan* AV.

dhruvāsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KA. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG. Here TB. ApŚ. compensate for the lost syllable by the patch-word *ha*.

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

viśve devāso adhi vocatā naḥ (TS. *me*) RV. TS.: *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (Ppp.* °*ti*, KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV.* also *tveha*, and *pakvam*; Ppp. *mām iha*; SMB. ApMB. HG. *paścāt*) AV. (ter) Ppp. KS.† SMB. ApMB. HG. Add to VV 1 §116.

ā yāta pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ (HG. *somyāḥ*) AV. HG.: *eta pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ* SMB. GG. ViDh.: *parā yāta pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ* (HG. *somyāḥ*) AV. HG.: *paretana* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *pareta*) *pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *somyāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. VV 1 §256.

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

secondary to: *ye devānāṁ yajñiyā yajñiyānām* RV. The AV. introduces *ṛtvijo*, exalting the priests at the expense of the gods.

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

tubhyaṁ sutāsaḥ somāḥ SV.: *tubhyaṁ somāḥ sutā ime* RV. The SV. in its eagerness for archaism has crowded out *ime*, and left a pāda which is metrically bad.

asmāṅ (MS. KS. TS.† *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso 'vata haveṣu* AV.†

mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāḥ (Ppp. *durevā yātudhānāḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp.: *mā tvā dabhan durevāsaḥ kaśokāḥ* AV.

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

ete pūtā vipaścitaḥ RV.: *te pūtāso vip*° SV.

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

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

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (TB. *dhṛṣatā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. The ms. of Ppp. has *ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā marutvaṁ*, emended by Barret, *JAOS.* 35. 60, to *hṛṣamāṇāso dhṛṣatā* (for which *dhṛṣitā* or *hṛṣitā* would seem at least equally possible) *marutvan*.

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

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

trayo gharmāso anu jyotiṣāguḥ (MS. KS. *retasāguḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB.: *trayo gharmā anu reta āguḥ* AV.

viśve devāso (AV. *devā*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* AV. Ppp. TS. MS. ApMB. Cf. also *viśve devāḥ sajoṣasaḥ* AV. MS. TA.

ye devā (RV. VS. AB. AŚ. ŚB. *devāso*) *divy ekādaśa stha* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. MŚ. AŚ. Sāyaṇa at AV. 19. 27. 11 apparently read *ye devā divyā divy ekādaśa stha.*

yena devāso (AV. *devā*) *asahanta dasyūn* RV. AV.

vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa (KS. *avasṛṣṭā*) *āhutāḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

devāso barhir āsadan RV.: *devā barhir āsata* PB.

te devāso (TS. *devā*) *yajñam imaṁ* (Ppp. *havir idaṁ*) *juṣadhvam* (AV. *juṣantām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *te devāso havir idaṁ juṣadhvam* AV.

viśve devā iha mādayantām (KS. *vīrayadhvam*) TS. KS. TB.: *viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam* (AV. *mādayadhvam*, VS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. *mādayantām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. ApMB.

§158. Much more rarely the original form has *ās*, and the archaizing change to *āsas* spoils the meter:

ye stha traya ekādaśāḥ (ŚŚ. *ekādaśāsaḥ*) KS. ŚŚ. This is really prose and so should not strictly be counted here; but its cadence simulates an anuṣṭubh pāda in KS., the presumably original form.

śuddhā bhavata yajñiyāḥ AV.: *śuddhā bhavantaḥ śucayaḥ* (N. *bhavanto yajñiyāsaḥ*) *pāvakāḥ* AV. N. Cf. also *abhūma yajñiyāḥ śuddhāḥ* AV. Since *pāvakāḥ* must be read metrically *pavākāḥ*, the line is triṣṭubh and the AV. reading is correct. Very likely N. intended it as jagatī, reading *pāvakāḥ*, and altered the preceding case ending to fit its conception of metrical requirements.

§159. The following variant is prose, as is also the first quoted in the preceding paragraph:

āmanasya devā (MS. *deva*) *ye putrāḥ* (KS. *putrāso*)...MS. KS.

2. Neuter plural in *ā* or *āni*

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

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

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

brahmajyeṣṭhā saṁbhṛtā vīryāṇi AV.: *bra° vīryā saṁbhṛtāni* TB.

saṁyopayanto duritāni viśvā RV. MG.: *saṁlobhayanto duritā padāni* AV.

atikrāmanto duritā padāni (N. *duritāni viśvā*) AV. N.

§162. Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter; and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either:

indrasya vocaṁ pra kṛtāni vīryā RV.: *indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam* RV. Ppp. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.: *indrasya nu prā* (so read, see Whitney) *vocaṁ vīryāṇi* AV. Jagatī and triṣṭubh.

nakir asya pra minanti vratāni RV. AV.: *nakiṣ ṭa etā vratā minanti* RV. Triṣṭubh and dvipadā virāj.

sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS. Jagatī and triṣṭubh. Cf. also: *sa no nediṣṭhaṁ havanāny āgamat* (and, *havanāni joṣat*) KS. (both).

duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma MS.: *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS. TB. TA. Jagatī and anuṣṭubh.

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

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

kṛtāni kartvāni ca RV.: *kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* RV.

ati (RV. **agne*) *viśvāni duritā tarema* (RV. **rājānaḥ, *svastaye, *pipartana, *°tāni parṣan*) RV. (5 times) PB.

skannemā viśvā bhuvanā TB. TA. ApŚ.: *askannemā* (so text, for *skannemā* or *āsk°*?) *viśvā bhūtāni* KŚ. Different words, *bhuvana* and *bhūta*, the latter being shorter and so requiring the longer ending.

āṇḍā śuṣṇasya bhedati RV.: *śuṣṇasyāṇḍāni bhedati* RV.

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

agnir havyāni siṣvadat RV.: *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.

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

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

tato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu (AV. °*nāni*) *viśvā* RV. AV.

viśvā rūpābhi (MS. *rūpāṇy abhi*) *caṣṭe śacībhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. tries to improve the meter, which in the original is read with hiatus, *rūpā abhi*.

aṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanti Vait. and AVPpp., *JAOS.* 30. 221: *priyāṇy aṅgāni tava vardhayantīḥ* TB. (probably secondary).

tatrāhatās trīṇi śatāni śaṅkavaḥ AV.: *tasmin sākaṁ triśatā na śaṅkavaḥ* RV. N.

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB. ŚŚ.: *mā cakrā āvṛtsata* MS.†: *apa cakrāṇi vartaya* TB. ApŚ. The last clearly secondary.

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

ata inoṣi karvarā purūṇi RV. AV. Ppp.: *ata invata karvarāṇi bhūri* AV.

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N. °*nam*) *akarma* (Ppp. MS. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni santu*) AV. Ppp. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.: *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.

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

yatremā viśvā bhuvanādhi tasthuḥ RV. AV. N.: *yenemā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuḥ* TA.

yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ (TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N.: *yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS. *pituḥ*) *pitāsat* AV. VS.

[*achidrā uśijaḥ padānu takṣuḥ* TS.: *achidrośijaḥ kavayaḥ padānutakṣiṣuḥ*, em. from ms. *padāni taṭkṣiṣvat*, KS.]

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

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

priyāṇy aṅgāni svadhitā parūṅṣi (Vait. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB. Vait.

punantu viśvā bhūtāni (MS. *bhūtā mā*, TB. *viśva āyavaḥ*) AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.

śataṁ pavitrā vitatā hy (MS. *vitatāny*) *āsu* MS. ApŚ. ApMB.

ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (TS. MS. *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS. TS. MS.

ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni cākḷpe AV. ŚirasU.: *yo rudro viśvā bhuvanāviveśa* TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Probably not a real variant.

prajāpate na tvad etāny anyaḥ (MS. **na hi tvat tāny anyaḥ*, KS. *nahi tvad anya* †*etā*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. SB. ŚB. TB. TAA. BṛhU. AŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. N.

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

hinva (Vait. *hinvā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Vait.

aṣṭau śatā yan mitaṁ tad vadanti ŚB.: *aṣṭau ca śatāni* [*saṁvatsarasya*, inserted in Gaastra with all but two mss.] *muhūrtān yān vadanti* GB.

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

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

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

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

tiraś cittāni (KS. ms. *cittā*) *vasavo jighāṅsatı* RV. AV. MS. KS.: *tiraḥ satyāni maruto jighāṅsāt* TS. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *cittāni*, which seems rather arbitrary.

sa cıttāni (Ppp. ms. *cıttāṁ*) *mohayatu pareṣām* AV. Ppp. Barret, *JAOS.* 32. 351, reads Ppp. as *cittā*. It may, however, have intended *cittāni*.

agnir vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanat RV. SV. etc. In Svidh. occurs the pratīka: *agnir vṛtreti*, i.e. apparently, *vṛtrā-iti*. Perhaps a corruption.

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

substitute the prosaic *āni* for the *ā* of the other texts. Or else, was the prose version older, and to make it metrical was *ā* substituted for *āni*?

etā (TS. PB. *etāni*) *te aghnye* (TS. *aghniye*, PB. *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. MŚ.

abhi savanāni (TS. *savanā*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose in both.

ariṣṭāni me sarvātmānibhṛṣṭaḥ AV.: *ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu* (PG. *me 'ṅgāni*) Vait. PG.: *ariṣṭā viśvāny aṅgāni* TS. TAA. MŚ. Prose in both.

3. Instrumental plural in *ais* : *ebhis*

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

saṁ vājebhiḥ (MS. *vājaiḥ*) *puruścandrair abhidyubhiḥ* RV. AV. MS.† 2. 2. 6b: 20. 4, KS.

saṁjñānaṁ naḥ (KS. *nas*, TB. *na*, Poona ed. *naḥ*) *svebhyaḥ* (AV. *svebhiḥ*, TB. *svaiḥ*) RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. Followed by:

saṁjñānam araṇebhyaḥ (AV. *araṇebhiḥ*, TB. *araṇaiḥ*), same texts. The AV. forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB. is much worse.

tvaṣṭar devebhiḥ sahasāma indra ApMB.: *tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* MG.

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

gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrviṇebhiḥ (MS. *pūrvebhiḥ*) MS. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *gambhīraiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ* (AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*) AV. TS. HG. The meter requires *gambhīrebhiḥ* thruout. Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 63 suggests emendation of MS. to *pūrvyebhiḥ*, which was evidently the original on which TS. HG. *pūrvyaiḥ* is based.

§170. In another little group AV. seems secondary in substituting *ais* for *ebhis*, tho it preserves the meter by patch-words or other changes:

aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñiyebhiḥ RV. TS. MS.: *aṅgirobhir yajñiyair ā gahīha* AV.

prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhiḥ (AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG.

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

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

jambhyais (KS. °*bhyebhis*) *taskarāṅ* (KS.† °*rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS. In KS. the suffixal *y* is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation; perhaps KS. archaizes secondarily.

sajoṣā devair (VS. ŚB. *sajūr devebhir*) *avaraiḥ paraiś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tebhiṣ ṭvaṁ putraṁ janaya ŚG.: *tais tvaṁ putraṁ* (ApMB. *putrān*) *vindasva* AV. ApMB.: *tais tvaṁ garbhiṇī bhava* HG. Note that ŚG. is forced to read *tvaṁ* as a monosyllable.

satyaṁ pūrvair (KS. *pūrvebhir*) *ṛṣibhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* (KS.† °*bhiś cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ. °*bhiś cākupānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Here KS. spoils the meter.

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

mitrāvaruṇau dhiṣṇyaiḥ (KS. °*yebhir agnibhiḥ*) MS. KS.: *aṅgiraso dhiṣṇyair agnibhiḥ* TA. (prose in the latter).

mṛḍaṁ barsvaiḥ (TS. *barsvebhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Prose. The majority are more apt to be original.

maṇḍūkāñ jambhyebhiḥ (KSA. *jambhaiḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

4. Ablative singular in *āt* and *tas*

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

viśvakarmā tvādityair uttarataḥ (MS. KS. *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA.

jāgṛviś ca mārundhatī cottarād (MG. *cottarato*) *gopāyatām* KS.† MG.†

tasmād (ArS. VS. VSK. *tato*) *virāḍ ajāyata* RV. ArS. VS. VSK. TA.

prāktād apāktād (AV. *prākto apākto*) *adharād udaktāt* (AV. *udaktaḥ*) RV. AV.

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

§174. Only one or two dubious cases:

agner jihvām abhi (MS. *jihvābhi*, p.p. *jihvāṁ, abhi;* AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*)

†*gṛṇītam* (AV. *gṛṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. VV 2 §309. The AV. KS. parallel suggests taking MS. as an instr., in spite of p.p.

ayā pavā pavasvainā vasūni RV. SV. PB.: *uta na enā pavayā pavasva* RV. SV. The accent of *pavayā* is on the ultima, which gives pause. Oldenberg (Noten on 9. 97. 53) suggests, among other solutions, that we have either mistaken accentuation caused by that of *ayā'* in the preceding (the first variant just quoted), or adverbial shift of accent.

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

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

CHAPTER V

SHORT AND LONG *I* STEMS

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

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

1. *ī* forms from *i* stems

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

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

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

ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhiśastiś (AŚ. ApMB. HG. °*tīś*) *ca* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

abhiṣṭir (HG. °*ṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG. *ca no gṛhe*) RVKh. HG.

plāśir (TB. °*śīr*) *vyaktaḥ śatadhāra utsaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

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

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

[†*vaṅkrīr aśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti* RV. VS. TS. KSA. Conc. quotes *vaṅkrir* for all texts but KSA.; actually *vaṅkrīr* is found in all, and is an acc. pl.]

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

ātir (TA. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Stem *āti* is Rigvedic.

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

kārṣir (MS. KS. MŚ. *kārṣy*) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. BṛhPDh. Boehtlingk in pw. assumes a stem *kārṣín* for the form *kārṣy*, but in so doing falsifies the accent, which in MS. is written *kā'rṣy*. MS. p.p. reads *kārṣiḥ, asi*. Knauer (on MŚ. 2. 3. 17)

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

rantir asi TS.: *rantī ramatīḥ sūnuḥ sūnarī* ApŚ.: *vasvī rantiḥ sumanāḥ* MS.: *sumanmā vasvī rantī sūnarī* SV. JB. But the SV. is very uncertain; it may be taken with the comm. as a dual; see Benfey, Glossar, s. v. *ram*. The form *rantī* of ApŚ. is for *rantis* by the usual sandhi.

atha jivrir (RV. *adhā jivrī*, ApMB. *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. See VV 2 §529. In RV. dual; in ApMB. sing. but possibly influenced by recollection of the RV. form.

śiraḥ-śiraḥ prati sūrī vi caṣṭe TS. ApŚ.: *śiro devī prati sūrir vi caṣṭe* KS. A peculiar case; *sūrī* is a fem. nonce-formation to the usual *sūri*, which is used without change in KS. as a fem. It reminds us of the tendency noted below (§225) towards a repartition of short *u* stems and *ū* stems as masc. and fem. respectively; but this is the only case noted of such a tendency among *i* stems.

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

ākūtiṁ devīṁ subhagāṁ (TB. *manasaḥ*) *puro dadhe* AV. TB.: *ākūtīṁ devīṁ manasā prapadye* SMB. Perhaps *ī* in SMB. by form-attraction to *devīm*.

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

§180. Voc. sg. in *i* from *i* stems. We find a number of cases in which the regular voc. *e* in *i* stems is replaced by *i*, from the *ī* declension:

pūrṇā darvi (AV. MS. *darve*) *parā pata* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. In RV. only stem *darvi*.

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

abhy enaṁ bhūma ūrṇuhi (TA. *bhūmi vṛṇu*) RV. AV. TA. Cf. prec.

iḍe rante 'dite sarasvati priye preyasi mahi viśruti TS.: *iḍe rante* (MŚ. *rante juṣṭe*) *sarasvati mahi viśrute* PB. MŚ. The form *viśruti* may be formally assimilated to *mahi* (and *sarasvati*?).

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

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

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

devavītaye (MS. °*vītyai*) *tvā* (KS. *vo*) *gṛhṇāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *devatābhyas tvā devavītaye gṛhṇāmi* KS. Only MS. is intended to be metrical.

ṛtaye (TB. *ṛtyai*) *stenahṛdayam* VS. TB.

anuṣṭup (TB. °*ṭuk*) *paṅktyai* (MŚ. *paṅktaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

bhūtyai (AŚ. *bhūtaye*) *namaḥ* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. AŚ.

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

saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (etc.) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. omit) *'bhibhū taye* (TS. ApŚ. *abhibhūtyai*, ŚŚ. *'bhibhṛtyai*, KŚ. *'bhibhūtyai*) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

vasyaṣṭaye (misprinted *vaspa*°) *tvā* LŚ.: *vasyaṣṭyai tvā* Vait.

cittaye svāhā HG.: *cittyai svāhā* ApŚ.

gopīthāya vo nārātaye MS.: *bhūtāya tvā nārātaye* VS. ŚB.: *rakṣāyai tvā nārātyai* KS.: *sphātyai tvā nārātyai* TS. TB. ApŚ.

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

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

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

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

te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye TS.: *tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vāṁ*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Two mss. of KS. also have *gamadhye*.

paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG.: *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye* MG. The MG. forms, at least, are best taken as verbs (fut. ind.). Stenzler (questioningly) and Oldenberg follow the comm. in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive form and *yaśodhāsyai* as a cpd. Cf. VV 1 §177, 2 §705.

§184. Abl.-gen. sg. in *yās* from *i* stems. What has been said on the datives in *yai* applies equally here. It only needs to be noted, further, that in the first group of variants the form for which *yās* is secondarily substituted in SV. is not the usual *es*, but the older *yas*, which is the only form known in RV. from the stem *avi*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 138:

avyo (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV. **vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* RV. SV. (ter): *avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyam* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. †*avyā*) *vārebhiḥ pavate madintamaḥ* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vārebhir arṣati* (SV. *avyata*) RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre mahīyate* RV. SV.: *avyo vāreṣu* (SV. *avyā vārebhir*) *asmayuḥ* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāraiḥ paripūtaḥ* RV. SV.

yonyā (TA. *yoner*) *iva pracyuto garbhaḥ* AV. TA.

eṣā tvā pātu nirṛter upasthāt (TA. *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV. *prapathe purastāt*) RV. AV. TA.

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

adityā (VS. TS. ŚB. *adityai*, VSK. *aditer*) *bhāgo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

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

aṁsau grīvāś ca śroṇyau (VS. *śroṇī*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

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

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

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

upa (TS. MS. *upo*) *devān daivīr viśaḥ prāgur vahnaya* (TS. *vahnīr*) *uśijaḥ* (VS. ŚB. *prāgur uśijo vahnitamān*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

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

ṛtūn pṛṣṭībhiḥ (KSA. *pṛṣṭibhiḥ*, ms. *bhṛ°*) TS. KSA. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2. 359, take *pṛṣṭi* for an *ī* stem, but the usual theory (e.g. Wackernagel 3 p. 136) that makes it an *i* stem is more plausible.

pṛṣṭībhyaḥ (KSA. *pṛṣṭi°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. See prec.

svāhākṛtibhyaḥ (TS. ApŚ. *°tībhyaḥ*) *preṣya* TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Most MŚ. mss. *°tībhyaḥ*.

hrādunībhyaḥ (KSA. *°ni°*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. Originally *i* stem; Wackernagel 3 p. 138.

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

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

mitrāvaruṇau śroṇībhyām (KSA. °*ṇi*°) TS. KSA.
śroṇibhyāṁ (TS. °*ṇī*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.
yakṣmaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ (ApMB. °*ṇī*°, v. l. °*ṇi*°) *bhāsadāt* RV. AV. ApMB.: *ya*° *bhasadyaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ bhāsadam* AV.

2. *i* stems of uncertain quantity

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

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

§192. Our variants from this stem are few except for the nom. pl. We have noted only one acc. sg. and one dat. pl.:
imāṁ khanāmy oṣadhim (ApMB. °*dhīm*) RV. AV. ApMB.
oṣadhibhyaḥ (ŚG. °*dhī*°; sc. *namaḥ*) MG. ŚG.

§193. As to the nom. pl., the forms *ayas* and *īs* are not metrically equivalent and in metrical variants (which include all but one of those here noted) this needs to be borne in mind. In nearly all of them *īs* is the older form, historically, and in most it is also favored by the meter. As a rule later texts substitute *ayas*, often without any attempt to patch the meter:
yā oṣadhīḥ (AV. TS. TB. Kauś. PrāṇāgU. °*dhayaḥ*) *somarājñīḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. AB. TB. PrāṇāgU. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG.
yatrauṣadhīḥ samagmata RV. VS.: *yad oṣadhayaḥ saṁgachante* (KS. *samagmata*) TS. MS. KS.
yā oṣadhīḥ pūrvā jātāḥ RV. VS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. N.: *yā oṣadhayaḥ prathamajāḥ* MS. KS. MŚ. MG.: *yā jātā oṣadhayaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. Note that MS. etc. by a further change make passable meter.

kalpantām āpa oṣadhayaḥ (TS. TB. °*dhīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Here probably *ayas* is original, tho poor metrically, and the secondary *īs* is introduced to improve the meter.

śaṁ no bhavantv apa oṣadhayaḥ (AV.* °*dhīḥ*) *śivāḥ* AV. (bis). (Read *apa* at 2. 3. 6; see Whitney's note.) The meter is certainly better with *īs*.

oṣadhīḥ prati modadhvam RV. VS.: *oṣadhayaḥ prati modadhvam enam* (KS. om. *enam*, VS. ŚB. °*dhvam agnim etam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prati gṛbhṇīta* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prati gṛhṇītāgnim* (MS. *gṛbhṇī*°) *etam* TS. MS. KS. The RV. is clearly old and sound with *oṣadhīḥ*. Most other texts, if really based on it, substitute *oṣadhayaḥ*, which spoils the meter; some try to patch it with generally poor success.

sam oṣadhayo rasena VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *sam oṣadhībhir oṣadhīḥ* VS. ŚB. Probably not real variants; both metrically passable.

oṣadhayaḥ (RV. VS. °*dhīḥ*) *prācucyavuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The RV. original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests *pra acu*°), and the change to *-ayaḥ* was doubtless meant to improve it.

indrāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī āpa oṣadhīḥ (KS. °*dhayaḥ*) TS. KS.: *sūryāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayaḥ* MS. Vocatives. This is the only prose variant; the isolated TS. is apt to be secondary.

3. *i* forms from *ī* stems

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

§195. Nom. sg. in *is:*

tato rātry (TA. *rātrir*) *ajāyata* RV. TA. ManānU. Two mss. of MahānU. *rātrir*.

rātri (TB. *rātrī*, KS. v. l. *rātriḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB. Voc. in RV.

śaṁ rātrī (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātriḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA. On VS. see §206.

§196. Acc. sg. in *im* (note preference of KS. for *īm*, cf. Wackernagel l. c.):

rātriṁ-rātrim (MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MG. *rātrīṁ-rātrīm*) *aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MG.

anuvāsi (etc., see VV 2 §255)...*rātriṁ* (VS. MS. KS.† *rātrīṁ*) *jinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. Vait.

rātriṁ (KSA. *rātrīṁ*) *pīvasā* TS. KSA.

rātriṁ dhenum ivāyatīm (AV. *upāyatīm*) AV. HG. ApMB.: *rātrīṁ dhe° ivā°* SMB. PG. MG.

rātriṁ (KS. *rātrīṁ*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

ye rātrim (KS. *rātrīm*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS.† *°ṣṭhatha*) AV. KS.

§197. Nom. pl. in *ayas:*

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

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

Acc. sg. in *im:*

varūtriṁ (KS.† *varutrīṁ*) *tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhim* TS. KS.: *varūtrīṁ tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhim* VS. ŚB.: *tvaṣṭur varutrīṁ varuṇasya nābhim* MS.

Nom. pl. in *ayas:*

varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr...TS.: *varūtrīṣ ṭvā* (KS. *°trīs tvā*) *devīr viśva-devyāvatīḥ*...VS. KS. ŚB. Wackernagel l. c. suggests that *varūtrayas* is influenced by the adjoining *janayas*. But this will not explain the other variants here.

varutrīr avayan KS.: *varūtrayas †tvāvayan* ApŚ.

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

veṣaśrīr (TS. *°śrir*) *asi* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Wackernagel l. c. suggests influence of the neighboring *vasyaṣṭir asi* in TS.

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

namaḥ senābhyaḥ senānībhyaś (VS. TS. *°nibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. See VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem in composition) §523.

namaḥ śvanibhyo (MS. *śvanī°*)...VS. MS. KS.: *namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* TS. See VV 2 §528. Boehtlingk's postulation of a stem *śvanin* 'having dogs' is most implausible, particularly in view of *senānibhyaś* above.

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

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

nārir asi VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. MŚ.: *nāry asi* VS. KS. ŚB. The stem *abhrir* or *babhrir* almost always found in the context may have caused form assimilation (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī ca...MS.: *ambā dulā nitatnir*...TS. In AV. 6. 136. 1 *nitatnī* is the epithet of a plant, here of a brick. The chances are that the *ī* stem is original.

§201. The original type of the stem *skambhani* (*°nī*) is variously given. Macdonell, *VGr.* §375A3, implausibly thinks that it is a cpd. of *skambha* and the root-noun *nī.* We prefer to hold (with BR. and Wackernagel 3 p. 183) that it is fem. to RV. *skámbhana.* If the accent of VS. VSK. (*skambhanī'*, TS. *°nî*) is correct, the rule would require *vṛkī* declension, so that in our variant VS. would be regular, VSK. irregular. KS. has no accents in this mantra but in 2.7 accents *skámbhanī*, which would suggest that the fem. stem is a *devī* form. In either case Tait. texts have a shortening of the *ī*, as seems to be their tendency:

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

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

añgulayaḥ śakvarayo diśaś ca me yajñena kalpantām VS.: *śakvarīr añgulayo diśaś*...TS. MS. KS. The form *śakvarayo* is likely to have been influenced by the neighboring *añgulayaḥ* (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

devānāṁ patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA.† *viśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The meter requires three syllables; *patnayaḥ* is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p. 183 f.).

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

mahānāmnī revatayaḥ TS. MS. KSA.: *mahānāmnyo revatyaḥ* VS. See Wackernagel 3 p. 184.

§203. Instr. pl. in *ibhis* for *ībhis:*

śamībhiḥ śamyantu tvā VS.: *śimībhiḥ* (KSA.† *śimi°*) *śimyantu tvā* TS. KSA.

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

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

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

4. Interchanges between different ī declensions

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

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

adurmañgalīḥ (AV. °*lī*, Ppp. °*līṣ*) *patilokam ā viśa* (AV. *viśemam*) RV. AV. Ppp. SMB. ApMB.

gaurīr (AV. *gaur in*, TB. TA. *gaurī*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

viśvarūpā śabalīr (KS. *śavaly*) *agniketuḥ* TS. KS. PG.

siṅhīr asi TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *siṅhy asi* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.: *siṅhīr* (KS. *siṅhy*) *asi rāyaspoṣavaniḥ* TS. MS. KS.: *siṅhīr* (VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. *siṅhy*) *asi sapatnasāhī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. KŚ.: *siṅhīr* (KS. *siṅhy*) *asi suprajāvaniḥ svāhā* TS. MS. KS.: *siṅhy asi suprajāvaniḥ rāyaspoṣavaniḥ svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *siṅhīr* (VS. KS. ŚB. *siṅhy*) *asi ādityavaniḥ* (MS. adds *sajātavaniḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mahiṣīr (KS. °*ṣy*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. On this see Lanman, *NI.* 368. In RV. the word is *máhiṣī*, with accent and inflection of *devī* type; in TS. MS. *mahiṣī'r*, of *vṛkī* type. KS. accents *mahiṣy àsi*, as if of *vṛkī* type, but yet has the *devī* ending. Wackernagel 3 p. 179 distinguishes two words, *mahiṣī'* 'Büffelkuh', and *máhiṣī* 'Fürstin'; the latter he separates entirely from *mahiṣá* and regards as fem. to compv. *máhīyas.* This however seems forced. In RV. 5. 25. 7d (repeated elsewhere) *máhiṣī* is commonly taken to mean 'she-buffalo'.

saṁhitāsi viśvarūpī (TS. ApŚ. °*pīḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. As in the KS. form of the preceding, VS. accents the word on the ending, as if it were a *vṛkī* form.

phalgūr (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitorṇī balakṣī* (VS. *pal*°, KSA. ms. *valakṣīs*) *tāḥ* †*sārasvatyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends KSA. to °*kṣī;* but since MS. VS. TS. make the word oxytone (KSA. has no accents here), while the masc. is paroxytone, it should belong to the *vṛkī* declension. KSA. therefore has the correct form, which should be kept.

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

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

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

sapatnīr abhibhūvarī (ApMB. °*rīḥ*) RV.† ApMB.† The ending may be influenced by the preceding (acc. pl. !) *sapatnīr;* so Winternitz, p. xxii.

vāmī (KapS. *vāmyā*) *te saṁdṛśi viśvaṁ reto dheṣīya* (KS. KapS. *dhiṣīya*) *tava vāmīr* (KS. KapS. *vāmy*) *anu saṁdṛśi* MS. KS. KapS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu saṁdṛśi viśvā retāṁsi dhiṣīya* TS.† Keith's translation of TS. is scarcely possible. We must apparently take *vāmī* : *vāmīr* as nom. sg. fem., and *anu* as adverbial; *dhā* middle with *retas*, as commonly with *garbham*. 'Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight', MS. KS.: 'lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni, that art all, possessest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds', TS.

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

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

śrīr me bhajatu TA.: *śrī me bhajata* MahānU. Followed by: †*alakṣmīr me naśyatu* TA.: *alakṣmī me naśyata* MahānU.

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

sukhaṁ meṣāya meṣyai VS. ŚB.: *sugaṁ meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. *meṣye*) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. Ons ms. of KS. *meṣye*. It may be noted that TS. MS. KS. read *meṣyài*, retaining the accent of *meṣye*, while VS. VSK. ŚB. accent *meṣyái*, as is proper for a *devī* form.

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

śriyai (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) MG. ApMB.

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

āyuṣmatyā (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait. *māpagāyā*, Kauś. *mā satsi*) *tanūpāt* (ŚŚ. °*pāḥ*) *sāmnaḥ* (AŚ. *sāmna om*) TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Kauś.: *āyuṣmatyā ṛco mā chaitsi* etc. JB.

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

āṣṭryāṁ (AV. *āṣṭrī*) *padaṁ kṛṇute agnidhāne* RV. AV. MG. The accent is on the final in both RV. AV.

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

ghṛtācī stho dhuryau pātam VS. ŚB.: *ghṛtācyau stho yajamānasya dhuryau pātam* MŚ.

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB. ApŚ. °*vī*) VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *oṣadhyā* (!) *vaiṣṇave* [from *ā* stem] *sthaḥ* MŚ.

yadārāghaṭī (read *yadā rā*°) *varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ. An obscure n. pr.

§213. Nom. (voc.) pl. *yas* (of *vṛkī* type) from *devī* nouns. This ending is exactly analogous to the dual ending just mentioned; originally peculiar to the *vṛkī* type, *yas* appears in *devī* nouns in AV. and becomes regular later. Wackernagel 3 p. 177 has noted many of our variants. After two consonants *yas* is often spelled *iyas*, cf. VV 2 §791.

tās tvā devīr (SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB. BG. °*sā*) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG. *vyayasva*) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. (In PG. *devīr* is to be taken as acc.: VV 1 §70.)

tisro rohiṇīr (KSA. *rohiṇyo*, ms. *rau*°) *vaśā maitriyaḥ* (KSA. °*tryaḥ*) TS. KSA. To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791.

tisro rohiṇīs (KSA. °*ṇyas*) *tryavyas tā vasūnām* TS. KSA.

rohiṇīs (VS. °*ṇyas*) *tryavayo vāce* VS. MS.

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

anyataenyo maitryaḥ (MS. °*nīr maitrīḥ*) VS. MS.

pāvamānīḥ (RVKh. TB. YDh. °*nyaḥ*) *punantu naḥ* (*tvā, mā, te*) SV. RVKh. TB. MG. YDh.

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

devīr vamrīr asya bhuvanasya (TS.† *bhūtasya*) *prathamajā ṛtāvarīḥ* MS. TA.: *devyo vamryo* (VSK. *vamriyo*) *bhūtasya prathamajā makhasya vo 'dya śiro rādhyāsaṁ*...VS. VSK. ŚB. Vocs.

tisraḥ śilpā vaśā vaiśvadevyaḥ TS. KSA.: *śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ* (VS. °*devyaḥ*) VS. MS.†

mahānāmnī revatayaḥ TS. MS. KSA.: *mahānāmnyo revatyaḥ* VS.

tāḥ prācya (Vait. °*yaḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °*hīre*, Vait. *saṁjigāire*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

phalavatyo (MS. KSA. °*vatīr*) *na oṣadhayaḥ pacyantām* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.: *phalinyo na*...TS. TB.

yasyā (RVKh. VS. *yasyām imā*) *bahvyas tanvo vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* RVKh. VS. MS.: *yasyai bahvīs tanuvo vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* TB.

devānāṁ patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA.† *viśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

yā devīr antāṅ abhito 'dadanta AV.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito*...MG.: *yāś ca devīr antān*...ApMB. HG.: *yāś ca devīs tantūn* (SMB. *devyo antān*)...PG. SMB. See VV 2 §63.

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

§214. Stems in *i* and *in*. Leaving now the interchanges between the feminine *i* and *ī* declensions, we take up next a few cases of apparent confusion between *i* and *in* stems. In the first two cases clear *in* stems are provided in secondary texts with nominatives in *is*, as if from *i* stems (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 279 infra). In the other two cases here quoted, contrariwise, the SV. substitutes nominatives in *ī* for RV. *is;* the SV. forms are taken by Benfey as from *in* stems:

dūrehetiḥ patatrī vājinīvān MŚ. MG.: *dūrehetir indriyāvān* (PB.† °*yavān*) *patatrī* (PG. °*triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

tan no dantī (TA. *dantiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Stem *danti* otherwise unrecorded.

vyānaśiḥ (SV. °*śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmaṇā*) RV. SV.

suparṇo avyathir (SV. °*thī*) *bharat* RV. SV. Pāṇ. 3. 2. 157 records *avyathin*.

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

mahīnāṁ (VSK. *mahināṁ*) *payo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.

6. Alternative case endings within the same declension

§216. Instr. sg. *ī* and *yā*. We come now to variants which show different case endings within one and the same declensional type, that is, cases in which no 'foreign' influence from a different *i* or *ī* declension is to be assumed. And first interchange between the old instr. ending *ī* and the later *yā*. The first concerns a *devī* noun, the rest short *i* stems:

aśvibhyāṁ dugdhaṁ bhiṣajā sarasvatyā (MS. °*vatī*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

acittī yat (AV. *acittyā cet*) *tava dharmā yuyopima* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

yaḥ samidhā ya āhutī (KS. °*tyā*) RV. KS. AŚ. AG.

dvābhyām iṣṭaye viṅśatyā (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °*śatī*) *ca* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

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

saṁ sūribhir maghavan (RV. MS. KS. *harivaḥ*, AV.† *harivan*) *saṁ svastyā* (RV. *svasti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.: *tenaitu yajamānaḥ svasti* (KS.* ApŚ. °*tyā*) TS. KS. (both) ApŚ.

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

pretinā dharmaṇā (MS. *pretyā dharmaṇe*) *dharmaṁ jinva* VS. MS. ŚB.

vṛkṣam ivāśanyā (HG. °*ninā*) *jahi* AV. HG.

cāṣeṇa kikidīvina (MS. °*dīvyā*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

maṇinā (KS. *maṇyā*) *rūpāṇi* TS. KS. KSA.

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

upa preta marutaḥ sudānava (KS. *svatavasa*) *enā viśpatināBhy amuṁ rājānam* TS. KS.: *preta marutaḥ svatavasa enā viśpatyāmuṁ rājānam abhi* MS. MŚ.

agne gṛhapate sugṛhapatir ahaṁ tvayā (with varr.) *gṛhapatinā* (VSK. °*patyā*) *bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

sugṛhapatir mayā tvaṁ (with varr.) *gṛhapatinā* (VSK. °*tyā*) *bhūyāḥ*, same texts.

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. °*patiḥ*, KB. ŚŚ. °*pateḥ*, TB. °*patyuḥ*) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ.

ito mukṣīya mā pateḥ ApŚ.: *mṛtyor mukṣīya mā patyuḥ* MŚ.: *preto muñcatu mā pateḥ* PG.†

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

agne tvaṁ sūktavāg asy upaśrutī (MS. °*ti*, TB. *upaśrito*) *divas* (TB. *divaḥ*) *pṛthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

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

ṛtasya yonā mahiṣā aheṣata RV.: *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā agṛbhṇan* (TS. KS. ApMB. *ahinvan*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

aya(ḥ)sthūṇam (TS. °*ṇāv*) *uditau* (RV. °*tā*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS.

sīdan yonā (SV. *yonau*) *vaneṣv ā* RV. SV.

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

sattā ni yonā (SV. *yonau*) *kalaśeṣu sīdati* RV. SV.

devo narāśaṅso 'gnau (ŚŚ.† *'gnā*) *vasuvane*. . . AŚ. ŚŚ.

sātā (SV. VS. *sātau*) *vājasya kāravaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

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

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

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

[*mā me hārdi* (MŚ. *hārdiṁ*) *tviṣā* (MŚ. *dviṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ. But here the different, masculine stem *hārdi* would be meant, if MŚ. really intended *hārdiṁ* (three mss. *hārdi*).]

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

CHAPTER VI

LONG AND SHORT *U* STEMS

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

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

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

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

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

§227. Nom. sg. in *ūs* from *u* stems. The first variant concerns a fem. adjective, so that *ū* is as normal as short *u*. The others, however, are masc.; the *ū* is here clearly secondary, the older form being *u*.

phalgūr (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitorṇī balakṣī* (with varr., §206) *tāḥ* †*sārasvatyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

śundhyur (VS. TS. °*yūr*) *asi mārjālīyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

avasyur (VS. ŚB. °*yūr*) *asi duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ. MS. v. l. °*yūr*.

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

devaśrud imān pravape MS. MŚ.: *devaśrūr etāni pravape* TS. HG.

devaśrut tvaṁ deva gharma devo devān pāhi (MS. *gharma devān pāhi tapojān*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *devaśrūs tvaṁ deva gharma devān pāhi* TA. ApŚ.

havanaśrun (TB. *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB.

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

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

vīrudhaḥ pārayiṣṇvaḥ (TS. MS. KS. °*ṇavaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.
tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ (MS. *bhīravo nāma*) TS. MS.
sumnāyuvaḥ (KS. °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnaṁ* (KS. °*nyaṁ*) *dhatta* MS. KS.
tad viprāso vipanyavaḥ (SV. °*yuvaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VāsuU. SkandaU. ĀruṇU. MuktiU.
tā vāṁ gīrbhir vipanyavaḥ (SV. °*yuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

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

adhā (TS. MS. *athā*) *śatakratvo* (KS.† °*kratavo*, MS.† KapS. °*krato*) *yūyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB.

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

hanūbhyāṁ (KSA. *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.
hanubhyāṁ (TS. *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

2. *u* forms (normally masc.-neut.) from original *ū* stems

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

§232. Nom. sg. in *us* from *ū* stems. Besides the two cases of *tanū* just mentioned, the variants chiefly concern compounds of *bhū*, and are of masc. gender:

iyaṁ te yajñiyā tanūḥ (VSK. *tanuḥ*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.: *iyaṁ* (VS. ŚB. *eṣā*) *te śukra tanūr*...VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ. Masc. adjectives.

ābhur (MS. KS. *ābhūr*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °*dhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Masc.

śambhūr (KS. °*bhur*) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Masc.; note retention of *ū* in *mayobhūr* in KS.

vibhūr (PB. *vibhur*) *asi pravāhaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. MŚ.† HG. Masc.

vibhūr (KSA. *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūḥ* (KSA. *prabhuḥ*) *pitrā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Masc.

sumnahūr (KS.*† °*hur*) *yajña* (TS. *yajño devāṅ*) *ā ca vakṣat* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. MŚ. Oertel 139. Add to VV 2 §554.

śitipāc chityoṣṭhaḥ śitibhrus (KSA.† °*bhrūs*)...TS. KSA. Masc. Add to VV 2 §554.

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

abhibhuve (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

vibhuve (KS.† *vibhave*, MS. *vibhve*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

saṁveśāyopaveśāya...*'bhibhuve* (MŚ. *'bhibhave*...) *svāhā* KS. MŚ.: *ariṣṭyā avyathyai*...*'bhibhuve svāhā* KS. Add to VV 2 §604.

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

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

samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ RV.: *samudraṁ na suhavaṁ* (AV. *subhuvas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhuvaṁ*) *tasthivāṅsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṅsam* MS. Ppp. reads as MS. except *subhavas*, for which Barret emends *subhuvas*, suggesting also *subhuvaṁ* (*JAOS.* 35. 46); *subhavas* would do perhaps as well as *subhuvas*, altho the AV. comm. understands the word as fem. (if the nom. is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain; in RV., perhaps not a real variant of this passage, *subhvaḥ* is fem.; the acc. form must be masc.).

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

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

§236. Acc. sg. *tanūm* : *tanvam*. Only this stem varies in the acc. sg.; *tanūm* is not Rigvedic.

savitrā prasūtā daivyā āpa undantu te tanūṁ (VSK. *tanvaṁ;* the jaṭā-pāṭha has *tanūṁ*) *dīrghāyutvāya varcase* VSK. KŚ. PG.

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.

na te tanūṁ tanvā saṁ paprcyām AV.: *na vā u te tanvā tanvaṁ* (AV. *te tanūṁ tanvā*) *saṁ paprcyām* RV. AV.

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

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

śaṁ tokāya tanuve (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

saṁveśanas tanuvai (SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*) *cārur edhi* SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. In the accented texts (TB. TA.) the svarita accent of *tanvè* is retained in *tanúvai*.

kuhvai (KSA. *kuhve*) *trayo 'ruṇaitāḥ* TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends KSA. to *kuhvai*. TS. accents *kuhvài*, i.e. with the svarita of *kuhvè*.

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

agnes tvā mātrayā...jīvātave TS. KS.: *agneṣ ṭvā mātrayā...jīvātvai* ...MS.

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

havyāyāsmai voḍhave (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedaḥ* TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

puṁse putrāya vettavai (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*, KS.† *kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. l. °*ve*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.

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

agne yan me tanvā (TS. *tanuvā*) *ūnaṁ* (ŚŚ. *yan ma ūnaṁ tanvas*) *tan*... VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *yan me agna ūnaṁ tanvas tan*...MS. KS. The accented texts (VS. TS. ŚB.) retain the svarita accent of the older *tanvàs* (TS. *tanúvā*).

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

svāṁ yat tanūṁ tanvām airayata MS. AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svayā tanvā tanvam airayat* AV.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA.: *svāyāṁ yat tanvāṁ* (TS. *tanuvāṁ*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ. As above, the svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS. *tanúvāṁ*).

[*svāyāṁ* †*tanūṁ* (RV. *tanū*)...RV. ApMB. MG. Knauer mistakenly regards *tanūṁ* as a 'shortening' of *tanvām*; but see VV 2 §308.]

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

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

4. Alternative case endings within the same declension

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

§243. Instr. sg. *unā* and *vā*. One variant of *madhu*; see Lanman NI. 409, Wackernagel 3 p. 146, and next section.

kratuṁ rihanti madhunābhy (SV. *madhvābhy*) *añjate* RV. AV. SV.

§244. Abl. sg. *os* and *vas*. The variants concern *madhu* and *vasu*, for both of which the regular forms in RV. are *madhvaḥ*, *vasvaḥ* (Wackernagel 3 §75a note, cf. §69a). In all the variants RV. shows these forms, while later texts substitute *madhoḥ*, *vasoḥ*, which are rare in RV. but regular later.

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV.

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV. SV.

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauryaḥ* RV. SV. AV. MS.

madhvaḥ (VS.* MS. ŚB. TA. LŚ. *madhoḥ*) *pibatam aśvinā* RV. VS. (both) MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

madhvaś (AV. SV. *madhoś*) *cakānaś cārur madāya* AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

madhvo (SV. *madho*) *rasaṁ sadhamāde* RV. SV.

ed u madhvo (SV. PB. *madhor*) *madintaram* RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vasvaḥ (TB. TA. MahānU. *vasoḥ*) *kuvid vanāti naḥ* RV. KS. TB. TA. MahānU.

vasor vaso puruspṛhaḥ SV.: *vaso vasvaḥ puruspṛhaḥ* RV.

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

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

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS. *tanuvi*) *repa ā dhuḥ* RV. TS.

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

dhīrā deveṣu (KS.* *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV. °*yau*, VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.

§247. Nom. acc. sg. neuter in *u* : *ū*. This is regarded by Wackernagel 3 §72 as a matter of rhythmic lengthening; the padapāṭhas have in fact *u* for *ū*. Only one variant has been found (cf. VV 2 §555).

sa hi purū (SV. *puru*) *cid ojasā virukmatā* RV. SV.

§248. Nom. acc. pl. neuter in *u* : *ūni* (: *ū*).

viśvā vasu (TS. ApMB. *vasūni*) *dadhire vāryāṇi* RV. VS. TS. KS. ApMB. (KS. v. l. *vasū*.) The meter is better in the original form; *vasūni*, the later and secondary reading, makes the cadence difficult.

[*saṁ gṛbhāya purū* (TB. *puru*, Poona ed. *purū*) *śatā* RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.]

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

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

prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaṁ (MŚ. °*vāṁ*) *hutam asi svāhā* (AŚ. omits *svāhā*) AŚ. 3. 11. 11 (omitted in Conc.) ApŚ. MŚ. 'Thou art offered in the all-sustaining body of Prajāpati.'

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER VII

R STEMS AND CONSONANT STEMS

1. Stems in *r*

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

svāveśo 'sy agregā netr̥ṇām (TS. *netr°*) TS. MS. KS.: *agreṇīr asi svāveśa unnetr̥ṇām* VS. ŚB. Three mss. of MS. also *netr°*.

ākhuḥ kaśo...te pitr̥ṇām VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktraḥ* (but see VV 2 §418) *kaśo...te pitr̥ṇām* (KSA.† *pitr̥°*) TS. KSA.

pitr̥ṇāṁ (TS.† MS. *pitr°*) *ca manmabhiḥ* RS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. Kauś. N.

pitr̥ṇāṁ (TS. *pitr°*) *sadanam asi* TS. ApŚ.

devānāṁ tvā pitr̥ṇām (ApŚ. *pitr̥°*) *anumato bhartuṁ śakeyam* TA. ApŚ.

yā no dadāti śravaṇaṁ pitr̥ṇām KS.: *sā no dadātu śravaṇaṁ pitr̥ṇām* (TS. *pitr°*) TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

dhātā dhātr̥ṇāṁ (TS.† *dhātr°*) *bhuvanasya yas patiḥ* RV. TS. KS.

prajananaṁ vai pratiṣṭhā...pitr̥ṇām (TA. Poona ed. *pitr°*, v. l. *pitr̥°*)... TA. MahānU.

astāvy agnir narāṁ (MS. *nr̥ṇāṁ*) *suśevaḥ* RV. VS. MS. Both these genitives of *nr* are Rigvedic.

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

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB. *°pitārā*) RV. TB.

ye devā manojātā (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu°*)...*sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS.† *°tāras*)...TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

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

following seems to be an attempt to do justice to this pronunciation; see VV 2 §368:
asaṁmṛṣṭo jāyase mātroḥ (TB. *mātṛvoḥ*) *śuciḥ* RV. TB.

2. Consonant stems: variant ablaut forms

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

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

§257. Nom.-acc. neuter forms are normally made from the weak stem, but occasionally strong forms are found by analogy with the masc. The variants contain two compounds of *pad* appearing in RV. regularly as *pad*, but in later texts as *pād;* and one case of an *s* stem. See Wackernagel 3 pp. 235, 288:
dvipac catuṣpad (AV. Ppp. VS. Kauś. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.
dvipac catuṣpad (SV. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV. SV.
yachā naḥ śarma saprathaḥ (VS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. °*thāḥ*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.: *yachāsmai śarma saprathāḥ* AV. TS. That *s* stems occasionally show nom. acc. neut. forms in *ās* is certain (Lanman 560; Wackernagel l. c., 228, and cf. next variant). Since *saprathas* is a standard epithet of *śarman*, it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible to understand *saprathās* as a fem., agreeing with the subject of *yachā*, the earth (so apparently Keith on TS.). Cf. VV 2 §502.
[*śarmā* (TA. °*ma*) *saprathā āvṛṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathaḥ* AV. But all mss. of AV. °*thāḥ*, which should be read; VV 2 §502.]

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

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

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

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

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

vṛṣaṇaḥ (TB. *vṛṣāṇaḥ*) *samidhīmahi* RV. AV. SV. TB. ŚB. Both nom. pl.

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

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

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

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

rakṣoghno (MŚ. MŚ. add *vo*) *valagaghnaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *rakṣohaṇo* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahanaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ.*† *vaiṣṇavam*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. (bis).

rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasiñcāmi (and, *'vastṛṇāmi*) *vaiṣṇavān* KS. (bis): *rakṣohaṇo* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastṛṇāmi vaiṣṇavān* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.

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

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

irāṁ vahanto (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irāṁ vahantaḥ sumanasyamānāḥ* HG.

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

ava droṇāni ghṛtavānti sīda (SV. °*vanti roha*) RV. SV.

miteva sadma paśumānti (SV. °*manti*) *hotā* RV. SV.: *pari sadmeva paśumānti hotā* RV.

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

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

hotaś cikitvo (AV. °*vann*) *avṛṇīmahīha* RV. AV.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. (Ppp. also °*tvan*.)

namas te astu bhagavaḥ (GB. MG. °*van*) VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. TA. MG.: *namas te bhagavann astu* VS.

agnā3i patnīvan (VSK.† *agne vākpatni*, MS. KS. MŚ. *patnīvā3n*, TS. *patnīvā3ḥ*) *sajūr devena* (MS. KS. *sajūs*)...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ye te sarasva (KS. °*vann*) *ūrmayaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. N.

viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvaḥ (SV. °*van*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. N.

saṁ sūribhir maghavant (RV. MS. KS. *harivaḥ*, AV. *harivant*) *saṁ svastyā* (RV. *svasti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapīthas...TS. KS.: *vivasvann* (VSK. °*vāṅ*) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthaḥ* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. MŚ.

divo jyoṭe (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya*...KS. (bis): *devajūte vivasvann āditya*...MS.

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

svasti na indro maghavān kṛṇotu AV.: *svasti no maghavā dhātv indraḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.: *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS. TA. MahānU.: *idaṁ havir maghavā vetv indraḥ* SV.

satrācyā maghavā (SV. *maghavānt*) *somapītaye* RV. AV. SV.

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

sumṛḍīkaḥ (VSK. °*līkaḥ*) *svavāṁ* (VS. VSK. *svavā*) *yātv arvāṅ* RV. VS. VSK.

dadhanvāṁ (VS. ŚB. TB. °*vā*, MS. KS. °*vān*) *yo naryo apsv antar ā* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

4. Stems in *n*

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

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

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

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

ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīḥ AV.: *kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāḥ* MS. The AV. is undoubtedly sg.

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

yatra gavāṁ nihitā sapta nāma (AV. *nāmā*) RV. AV.

varma (AV. *varmā*) *sīvyadhvaṁ bahulā pṛthūni* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ.

triṁśad dhāma (AV. *dhāmā*, MS. *triṁśaddhāmā*) *vi rājati* RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (The AV. variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460.) Pratīka in MŚ. The compound of MS. MŚ. is to be taken as masc. nom. sg.; but AV. has a neut. pl.

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

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

§272. Oblique cases of the singular with alternative presence or absence of *a* in the stem. The *a* was regular after a long syllable. It was standard in all periods of the language after two consonants; and in the oldest language it is often written after one consonant when the preceding syllable has a long vowel (furthermore, when not so written, it is often shown by the meter to have been pronounced). Cf. Lanman, *NI.* 524; Wackernagel 1 p. 11, 3 p. 268; Edgerton, *Language* 10.260

somaḥ kalaśe śatayāmnā (SV. AV. °*yāmanā*) *pathā* RV. SV. AV. Here,

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

ṛtasya tvā vyomane (MŚ. *vyomne gṛhṇāmi*) TS. MŚ.

ojase balāya tvodyache vṛṣaṇe śuṣmāyāyuṣe varcase (MS. KS. *vṛṣṇe śuṣmāya*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the *a* (in TB. ApŚ.) is uncalled-for, after a short syllable, and clearly secondary.

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

vaiśvānaro mahimnā (TS. *mahinā*, KŚ. *mahīnāṁ*) *viśvakṛṣṭiḥ* (TS. KŚ. *viśvaśaṁbhūḥ*) RV. TS. KŚ. This is the only occurrence in RV. of the metrically bad *mahimnā* after the cesura; see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1.50.7.

etāvatī mahinā (AV. *mahimnā*) *saṁ babhūva* RV. AV. Cf. prec.

antarikṣāyarṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā variṇā prathantu TS.: *ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā variṇā* (VS. *varimṇā*) *prathantu* VS. MS. KS.: *divo mātrayā variṇā* (VS. ŚB. *varimṇā*) *prathasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the last, which is metrical, *variṇā* makes better meter.

dyaur iva bhūmnā pṛthivīva (VSK. *bhūmir iva*) *varimṇā* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *dyaur mahnāsi bhūmir bhūnā* (KS. Kauś. *bhūmnā*) MS. KS. Kauś.: *bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur variṇā* TS.

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

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

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

grīvāyāṁ (KS. *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS. *apipakṣa āsan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

praty añgeṣu prati tiṣṭhāmy ātman (SMB. *ātmani*) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. SMB. HG.

taṁ pratyañcam arciṣā vidhya marman (AV. *marmaṇi*) RV. AV. According to Roth Ppp. reads *marman*.

satyadharmāṇā parame vyomani (MS. *vyoman*) RV. MS.

sa jāyamānaḥ parame vyomani (RV.* °*man*) RV. (ter) MS. In RV. consistent with context as to meter.

§276. The next two variants are prose; chronological priority is not very clear:

apāṁ tvā bhasman (MS. KS. *bhasmani*) *sādayāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. It is possible that MS. really read *bhasmant* (see v. Schr.'s note).

asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy...AV.: *asmin brahmaṇy asmin kṣatre 'smin karmaṇy*...ŚŚ.: *asmin brahmaṇy asmin kṣatre*...KS.: *asmin brahmann asmin kṣatre 'syām āśiṣy asyāṁ purodhāyām asmin karmann* (PG. *karmaṇy*) *asyāṁ devahūtyām* TS. ApŚ. PG.: *te naḥ pāntv asmin brahmaṇy asyāṁ purodhāyām asmin karmaṇy*...MS. The preponderance of texts seems to point to older *ani*.

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

tam ātmani (TS. *ātman*) *pari gṛhṇīmahe vayam* (MS. *gṛhṇīmasīha*) TS. MS. KS.

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

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

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

yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS.: *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.: *yasyās ta āsani ghore juhomi* AV.: *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsañ juhomi* TS. ApŚ.: *yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi* VS. ŚB.

ātmann (ĪśāU. *ātmany*) *evānupaśyati* VS. ĪśāU.

[*divye dhāmann* (TB. Conc. **dhāmany*) *upahūtaḥ* (TB. **°tā*) TS. MS. TB. (bis). Poona ed. of TB. *dhāmann* both times.]

[*tṛtīye dhāmāny abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TA.† MahānU.† Conc. *dhāmany* for *dhāmāny*.]

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

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

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

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

lājī3ñ chācī3n (MS. *lājī3 śācī3*) *yavye gavye* (TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. *śacī3n yaśo mamā3ṁ*...) VS. TS. MS. KSA. 4. 9 (add in Conc.) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. See Keith's note on TS.; but the MS. form may intend a voc. in *i* (not *in*).

5. Heteroclitic stems and the like

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

teṣāṁ saṁ hanmo akṣāṇi (AV. *saṁ dadhmo akṣīṇi*, Ppp. *saṁ dadhmo akṣāṇi*) RV. AV. Ppp. Both accents regular.

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

asthabhyaḥ (KSA. *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS. KSA. No accent in KSA.

bhadraṁ paśyemākṣabhir (KS.† and v. l. of MG. *°ākṣibhir*) *yajatrāḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MG. NṛpU. NṛuU. Accent *akṣíbhir* in KS. anomalous.

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

cakṣur ā dhattam akṣyoḥ (MŚ. *akṣṇoḥ*) TS. MŚ.

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

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

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

anṛkṣarā ṛjavaḥ santu panthāḥ (AV. *panthānaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB.

ye te panthāḥ (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *panthānaḥ*) *savitaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ* RV. VS. TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

ye te panthā adho divaḥ SV. Svidh.: *ye te panthāno 'va divaḥ* AV.

emaṁ panthām arukṣāma AV.: *sugaṁ panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB.

panthānaṁ bhrūbhyām VS.: *panthāṁ* (p.p. *panthānaṁ*) *bhrū°* MS.

taṁ panthānaṁ (Ppp. Roth, *panthāṁ*) *jayemānamitram ataskaram* AV. Ppp.

ye panthāno bahavo devayānāḥ AV.: *ye catvāraḥ pathayo devayānāḥ* TS. SMB. PG. BDh. Wackernagel p. 308 plausibly suggests influence of the phrase *pathibhir devayānaiḥ*.

§284. Weak forms of *path(i)*. Once the instrumentals *pathā* and *pathyā* from this stem interchange. In RV. VS. ŚB. *pathyā* may indeed be taken as nom. (see §419), but in the others it is certainly instr.:

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *°kā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (*sūriḥ*, *sūraḥ*, *sūrāḥ*, VV 2 §328) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

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

vāñ ma āsan (MŚ. PG. *āsye*) AV. TS. GB. TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. PG. BDh.

pari svayaṁ cinuṣe annam āsye (SV. *āsani*) RV. SV. In a jagatī stanza; read *āsiye* in RV., cf. Edgerton, *Language* 10.253 ff.

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

ny ūhathuḥ purumitrasya yoṣām (and *yoṣaṇām*) RV. (both)

§287. The stem *yūṣan* : *yūṣa*. See Wackernagel 3 p. 317.

apo yūṣṇā (TS. KSA. *yūṣeṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

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

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

CHAPTER VIII

DIPHTHONGAL STEMS

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

sa naḥ sindhum iva nāvayā (AV. *nāvā*) RV. AV. TA. For other related formulas see Debrunner, *Festschrift Winternitz*, 7.

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

sūryo rūpaṁ kṛṇute dyor (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS. MS. TB. Possibly a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism, cf. VV 2 §732.

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

ati didyūn (MS. *dyūn*, TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *divas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The accent in TS. TB. is *divás*, not the Rigvedic *dívas*.

§292. Otherwise only acc. sg. *dyām* varying with (secondary) *divam* is found. This shift is frequent. While *divam* is already common in the RV. itself, the only variants concerning RV. have *dyām* in that text. This form is probably dissyllabic in RV. in all the three following cases; read *dyām* in the first, *diyām* in the second and third (and *pṛthvīṁ* in RV. in the third, cf. Edgerton, *Language* 10.252).

tad astabhnā uto divam (RV. *uta dyām*) RV. SV. ArS.

dyāṁ (AV. *divaṁ*) *ca gacha pṛthivīṁ ca dharmaṇā* (AV. *dharmabhiḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

sa dādhāra pṛthivīṁ dyām utemām (AV.* *pṛthivīm uta dyām, *pṛthivīṁ divaṁ ca,* ApŚ. *pṛthivīm antarikṣaṁ divaṁ ca*) RV. AV. (bis) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KSA. PB. ŚB. ApŚ. N. According to Roth, Ppp. has *dyām utāmūm* for AV. 11. 5. 1.

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

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

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

divaṁ skabhāna KS.: *dyāṁ stabhāna* KS.: *divaṁ dṛṁha* VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

divaṁ gacha VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *dyāṁ gacha* MS. KS. AB. AŚ. MŚ.

divaṁ (KS. ApŚ. *dyāṁ*) *te dhūmo gachatu* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

divam agreṇa mā lekhīḥ (MS. MŚ. *hiṁsīḥ*) TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *dyāṁ mā lekhīḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.

divam agreṇāspṛkṣaḥ VSK.†: *divam agreṇāprāt* (VS. *agreṇāspṛkṣat*) VS. TB.: *dyām agreṇāspṛkṣaḥ* (MS. KS.* TB. °*ṣat*) VS. KS. (ter) MS. TB. ŚB.

ud divaṁ (KS. *dyāṁ*) *stabhāna* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. PB. ApŚ.: *divam agreṇottabhāna* MS. MŚ.

sūryeṇa dyām (KSA. *divam*) TS. KSA.

ā yā dyāṁ (MS. *divaṁ*) *bhāsy ā pṛthivīm orv* (KS. *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS. TS.MS. KS. ŚB.

drapsas te dyāṁ mā skan (KS. ApŚ. *skān,* MS. *te divaṁ mā skān*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

ararus te divaṁ mā skān TS. ApŚ.: *ararus te dyāṁ* (KS. ApŚ. *ararur*

dyāṁ) *mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *araro divaṁ mā paptaḥ* VS. ŚB. Vait.

§295. The stem *diva* for *div* (*dyu*) is according to Wackernagel (2.1 pp. 109, 113, 146, and 3 p. 220) found in the Veda only in compounds. On *dive-dive* see §678. Tho this is a matter which does not strictly concern the theme of this volume (but rather Noun Formation), we record here in passing a clear case of locative *dive* in KS.; no other interpretation is at all possible:

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

CHAPTER IX

ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

1. Feminine adjectives

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

saṁhitāsi viśvarūpā MS. KS. ApŚ.: *saṁhitāsi viśvarūpī* (TS. ApŚ. °*pīḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

upasthāvarābhyo dāśam VS.: *upasthāvarībhyo baindam* TB. (so Poona ed.)

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

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

sakhā saptapadī (ApMB. °*padā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. MG.: *sakhe saptapadā bhava* PG.

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB. ApŚ. °*vī*) VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *oṣadhyā* (!) *vaiṣṇave sthaḥ* MŚ.

annādā (KB. °*dī*) *cānnapatnī ca bhadrā ca*...AB. KB. AŚ.

vairājī (KSA.† °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA.†) TS. KSA. We see no reason to emend KSA., as v. Schroeder would.

saṁgayī (MS. ŚB. °*gavī,* TB. °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīvadānū*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

[*vaiśvadevy āmikṣā* MS. KS.† Conc. *vaiśvadevāmikṣā* for KS.]

§297. There are also a couple of cases in which the fem. suffix *ī* is alternatively added to *u* stems, varying with the stem in *u* which may be of either gender; cf. §225 above:

achidrāṁ pārayiṣṇum (SMB. °*ṣṇvīm*) TS. SMB.

dhiṣaṇe vīḍū (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vīḍvī,* KS. *vīte*) *satī* (KS. om.) *vīḍayethām* (VSK. *vīl*°) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

§298. Otherwise we have noted in the Conc. only one erroneous quotation of fem. forms in *atī* and *antī* from a *vant* stem:

[*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām* (KSA. *viśantām*) RV. TS. KSA.† Conc. *ūrjasvantīr* for KSA.]

2. Pronominal adjectives

§299. There are only a few cases of variation between pronominal and nominal endings in these adjectives. See Wackernagel 3 p. 579 ff. Perhaps the most interesting is the first quoted, in which, curiously, the late and secondary ApŚ. substitutes a pronominal for a nominal form of *viśva*, changing its own Saṁhitā; the pronominal forms of this stem are in general prehistoric, the nominal forms secondary, see Wackernagel 3 p. 581.

viśvārāḍ asi viśvānām (ApŚ. *viśvāsāṁ*) *nāṣṭrāṇāṁ hantā* TS. ApŚ.

ye keśinaḥ prathamāḥ (MŚ. °*me*) *satram āsata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This and the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ.

viśvasṛjaḥ prathamāḥ (PB. MŚ. °*me*) *satram āsata* (MŚ. °*te*) PB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

dakṣiṇāyāṁ (AŚ. °*ṇasyāṁ*) *diśi māsāḥ pitaro mārjayantām* TS. AŚ.

[*te virājam* (KS. *samrājam*) *abhi saṁyantu sarve* MS.† KS. Conc. *sarvāḥ* for MS.; but the reading is *sarvā* before a vowel, and *sarve* is intended; so p.p.]

3. Numerals

§300. We have noted only the doubtful KSA. reading *aṣṭabhyaḥ* (with short *a* characteristic of the later language) for *aṣṭābhyaḥ;* cf. VV 2 §495, Wackernagel 3 p. 358:

aṣṭābhyaḥ svāhā TS. KSA.† (Conc. *aṣṭa*° for KSA.; ed. with ms. *aṣṭā*° in all three occurrences; first hand once *aṣṭa*°.)

aṣṭābhyaḥ śatebhyaḥ svāhā TS. KSA. Here the ms. of KSA. reads *aṣṭa*°; ed. em. to *aṣṭā*°.

CHAPTER X

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1. Enclitic and orthotonic

§301. Almost the only formally equivalent variants in pronominal forms are those in which enclitic and orthotonic forms interchange. We find such variants in the forms of the accusative, dative, and genitive forms, singular and plural, of the first and second personal pronouns. In all three cases in the plural, and in the dative and genitive singular, the orthotonic forms are in each case at least one syllable longer than the enclitic. And even in the accusative singular, when followed by words beginning in a vowel, the orthotonic forms *mām, tvām* result in an extra syllable in contrast with the enclitic *mā, tvā,* in which the final vowel fuses with a following initial vowel. Consequently variations between these forms generally involve metrical considerations. Usually other changes in the formula result in metrical correctness for both variant forms. At other times one or the other form is metrically imperfect.

§302. Accusative singulars. The forms *mām* : *mā* and *tvām* : *tvā* are the only ones of this class which do not vary in number of syllables; and even they, as we have just seen, produce readings of different syllabic length when followed by initial vowels. In addition to such metrical considerations, certain phonetic moments may be involved. Thus, when a consonant follows, they show presence or absence of final nasal (usually anusvāra), and as such might have been included in VV 2 §§300 ff. Also some of the variants between *mām* and *mā*, when followed by a vowel, seem to involve haplology or dittology (double or single syllables *mā* or *ma-*); in this connexion some of these variants were listed in VV 2 §812, but that list was incomplete and must be supplemented from the following materials.

§303. Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in metrical passages: *punar mām aitv* (AV. Vait. Kauś. *maitv*, TA.* *mā praitv*) *indriyam* AV. ŚB. TA. (bis) BṛhU. ŚŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. Cf. also *punar draviṇam* (and *brāhmaṇam*) *aitu mā* (AG. MG. *mām*) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG. The AV. Vait. Kauś. form is metrically deficient and may be haplological.

vṛtraghna (MS. KS. °*ghnaḥ*) *stomā upa mām upāguḥ* (AV. *mema āguḥ*, KS. *mām ihāguḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Here both forms are made metrical.

tayā mām indra saṁ sṛja RVKh.: *tayā mā saṁ sṛjāmasi* HG. ApMB. The RVKh. form would be a syllable short (reading *mendra*) but for its use of *mām* before a vowel.

taṁ mā saṁ sṛja varcasā RV. AV. etc.: *saṁ māgne varcasā sṛja* RV. AV. KS. ApMB.: *saṁ mām āyuṣā varcasā* (TS. adds *prajayā*) *sṛja* TS. MS. KS. The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion.

viśve devā abhi rakṣantu (KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV. **tveha*, Ppp. 5. 4. 4d. *mām iha*) AV. Ppp. KS.†

§304. Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in prose passages; cf. VV 2 §812 (haplology or dittology):

tāni mām avantu SMB.: *te māvatām* AV.: *te māvantu* AV. TS. PG.: *te māvata te mā jinvata* KS. ApŚ.: *te mām avantu* KS. ApŚ.: *tau māvatām* AV.

āyur bṛhat tad aśīya tan māvatu (MŚ. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MŚ.: *tan māvatu* (MŚ. AG. MG. *mām avatu*) PB. TA. TU. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. MG.: *tan māvīt* MG.: *tan mām āvīt* TA. TU.

ihaiva kṣemya edhi mā prahāsīr (ApŚ. °*hāsīn*) *mām amum āmuṣyāyaṇam* (AŚ. *prahāsīr amuṁ māmuṣyāyaṇam*, ApŚ.† *māmum āmuṣyāyaṇam*) MS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland assumes for ApŚ. the same text as MS.

yā devy asīṣṭaka (°*ke*)...*sā mām upaśeṣva* (MS. *mopaśeṣva*)...MS. KS. ApŚ. (four entries in Conc.)

§305. Variations of *mām* and *mā* before a consonant or final. Here the variants are metrically equivalent, and there is no need to separate metrical from prose variants:

ā roha māṁ (AV. *ā mā roha*) *mahate saubhagāya* RV. AV.

uddhriyamāṇa ud dhara pāpmano mā (MŚ. *mām*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

upa māṁ (TB. *mā*) *bṛhat saha divā*...*hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them:

upa māṁ sakhā bhakṣo (TB. *mā bhakṣaḥ sakhā*) *hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

upa māṁ (TB. *mā*) *rathaṁtaraṁ saha*...*hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

upa māṁ (TB. *mā*) *vāmadevyaṁ*...*hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

upa māṁ (TB. *mā*) *dhenuḥ*...*hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

upa māṁ (TB. *mā*) *divyāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. omit) *sapta*...*hvayantām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

evaṁ māṁ brahmacāriṇaḥ TA. TU.: *evā mā brahmacāriṇaḥ* Kauś.: *evaṁ mā śrīdhātāraḥ* SMB.: *evaṁ mā sakhāyo brahmacāriṇaḥ* SMB.

gopāya mā (VāDh. *māṁ*) *śevadhis te* (with varr.) *'ham asmi* Saṁhitopaniṣad B. VāDh. ViDh. N.

tṛptā mā tarpayata (MG. *māṁ tarpayantu*) KS. MG.

divo nu māṁ (HG. ApMB. *mā*) *bṛhato antarikṣāt* AV. HG. ApMB. Prs.: *divo nu mām* GB. Vait. Kauś.

na māṁ (N. *mā*) *brūyā vīryavatī tathā syām* ViDh. VāDh. N.

punantu mā (RV. *māṁ*) *devajanāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: Prs. *punantu mā* (BṛhPDh. *mām*) Vait. Kauś. BṛhPDh.

punar draviṇam aitu mā (AG. MG. *mām*) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG. The same with *brāhmaṇam* for *draviṇam*.

pṛthivi mātar mā mā hiṁsīḥ (VS. ŚB. *hiṁsīr mo ahaṁ tvām*) VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mā māṁ mātā pṛthivī hiṁsīt* TS. MS.

mā mā (KS. *māṁ*) *hiṁsiṣṭaṁ svaṁ* (KS. *yat svaṁ*) *yonim*...MS. KS.: *mā mā hiṁsīḥ svāṁ* (*svaṁ*) *yonim*...VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

samiddho mā (ŚG. *māṁ*) *sam ardhaya* VSK. ŚG.

[*āyuṣmantaṁ karota mā* (RVKh. Aufr. *karotu mām*, Scheft. *karotu me*, KS. *kṛṇota mā*) RVKh. KS. TA. BDh. A dat. or gen. is unconstruable; only *mā* or *mām* can be read in RVKh.; *me* has crept in perhaps from the end of the preceding verse,...*dehi me*, or else by confusion with the similar pādas *dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me, sarvam āyur dadhātu me*.]

§306. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in metrical passages:

abhi tvām indra nonumaḥ RV. SV.: *abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. etc. A significant case; the final *m* of *tvām* is a sort of 'Hiatustilger' (cf. VV 2 §309).

jayantaṁ tvānu devā madantu (TS. *tvām anu madantu devāḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. The original was read *tuvānu*; TS. implies the irregular or later pronunciation *tvā-* (Edgerton, *Language* 10.247f.), and tries to 'correct' the meter.

tābhiṣ ṭvābhiṣiñcāmi MG.: *tena tvām abhi*° YDh. The MG. is 'corrected' in YDh. as in prec.

mahe cana tvām adrivaḥ (SV. *tvādrivaḥ*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. Both may be read metrically, but Sievers' Law requires *tv-*.

yaṁ tvām ayaṁ (TS. KS. *tvāyaṁ*) *svadhitis tejamānaḥ* (*tetijānaḥ, tigmatejāḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.: *ayaṁ hi tvā svadhitis tetijānaḥ* VS. ŚB. Sievers' Law would make RV. hypermetrical.

viśvantu (read *viśantu*) *tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ*...MU.: *viśvaṁ tu* (read

viśantu) *tvāhutayaḥ sarvā*(*ḥ*)...PrāṇāgU. The latter is metrically poor.

[*tena gṛhṇāmi tvām aham* (AV. *gṛhṇāmi te hastam*) AV. VS. ApMB.: *tena tvāhaṁ pratigṛhṇāmi tvām aham* HG.]

§307. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in prose passages:

etat te tata (*tatāsau*) *ye ca tvām anu* (KS. *tvānu*) TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. The same with *tatāmaha, pitāmaha, pratatāmaha, prapitāmaha,* for *tata* (only KS. reading *tvānu*): *ye ca* (Conc. wrongly omits *ca* for ŚŚ.) *tvām anu* (ŚŚ. *tvām atrānu*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ.: *ye cātra tvānu*...MŚ. GG. KhG.

prajās tvānu (TS. ApŚ. *tvām anu*) *prāṇantu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The TS. form simulates meter, and also makes better assonance with the preceding formula, *prajās tvam anu prāṇihi.* It is of course secondary.

§308. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* before consonants and final:

ajasraṁ tvāṁ (ApŚ. *tvā*) *sabhāpālāḥ* TB. ApŚ.

atas tvā viṣṇuḥ pātu MS.: *viṣṇus tvām indriyeṇa pātu* (TS. KS. *tvāṁ pātu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

avatāṁ tvāṁ (VSK. KS. ApŚ. *tvā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

viśvās tvāṁ (KS. *tvā*) *prajā upāvarohantu* VS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

viṣṇus tvā (SMB. v. l. *tvāṁ*) *nayatu* SMB. PG.: *viṣṇus tvām unnayatu* MG. Note that in MG. *tvām* is used before a vowel; 'hiatustilger'?

[*tvā* (!) *manasānārtena vācā*...KŚ. Read *tvāṁ* or *ā tvā* (so Weber in note), or *tvāmanasā*°.]

[*tvāṁ* (so Poona ed.; Conc. *tvā*) *bhūtāny upaparyāvartante* TA.]

[*deva savitar etaṁ tvā* (VSK. Conc. *tvāṁ*, by error) *vṛṇate*...VSK. TB. etc.]

§309. Variants of dat. sg. *mahyam, tubhyam* with *me, te* in metrical passages. In all cases both forms are metrically sound:

anamīvāḥ pradiśaḥ santu mahyam ApŚ.: *asapatnāḥ* (Vait. text *sapa*°) *pradiśo me bhavantu* AV. Vait.

tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam TS.: *sarvaṁ tad astu te ghṛtam* (AV. *astu me śivam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tubhyam (and *ye ta*) *āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vane hitāḥ* AV. (both).

mahyaṁ dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān TB. ApŚ.: *sā me dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān* (KS. *dhukṣva sarvān bhūtikāmān*) KS. TB. ApŚ. Both sound.

śivaṁ mahyaṁ madhumad astv annam AV.: *syonam annaṁ madhuman me kṛṇomi* MS.

§310. Variants of dat. sg. forms in prose passages:

agnir janavin mahyaṁ jāyām imām adāt Kauś.: *agnir janitā sa me 'mūṁ jāyāṁ dadātu svāhā* ŚG.

§311. Variants of gen. sg. *mama, tava* and *me, te,* mostly in metrical passages:

aṅgā parūṁṣi tava vardhayanti Vait.: *priyāṇy aṅgāni tava vardhayantīḥ* TB.: *dhruvam aṅgaṁ priyaṁ yat tanūs te* MŚ. While MŚ. is metrically poor, its deficiency occurs in the first part of the pāda and seems not to be connected with the use of *te* for *tava.*

tat punīdhvaṁ yavā mama ViDh.: *punīdhvaṁ ca yavā mama* ViDh.: *sarvaṁ punatha me yavāḥ* BDh. All metrically sound.

tava syāma (TS. *syāṁ*) *śarmaṁs* (TS. °*man*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS. *udbhit*) VS. TS.: *śarman* (MS. °*maṁs*) *te syāma trivarūtha udbhau* MS. KS. TA. The pāda is hypermetric in VS.; TS., apparently based on VS., corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV 1 p. 253). Apparently MS. KS. have the original.

śam u te tanve (TS. *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS. KSA.: *śam v astu tanvai tava* VS. Both metrically sound.

syāma te sumatāv api RV. TS.: *syāma sumatau tava* AV. Both may be read metrically.

tava-tava rāyaḥ MS. KS. MŚ.: *to-to* (TS. ApŚ. *to te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *tava rāyaḥ* MS. MŚ. Prose.

§312. Variants of acc. pl. *asmān, yuṣmān* and *nas, vas,* all in metrical passages:

abhyaiti na (SV. *abhyeti na,* AV. *asmān aity abhy*) *ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh. AV. SV. VS. The AV. is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically.

arāyo †asmāṁ abhiduchunāyate TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate* RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ. Both metrically sound.

asmān (SV. *sā naḥ*) *sīte payasābhyāvavṛtsva* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

evāsmān (KS. *evā mām*) *indro varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ* MS. KS.: *tenāsmān indro varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ* AV.: *tena no rājā varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ* TS. ŚŚ. All metrically sound.

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt (mss. *ādāt*) MŚ.: *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo ṣv*) *asmāṁs tamasy antar ādhāḥ* TA.: *mo ṣvatvam asmān tarādhāt* (so, with p.p.) MS. No metrical considerations involved in the variation.

tebhir no adya savitota viṣṇuḥ KŚ.: *tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indraḥ* Kauś.: *tebhyo na indraḥ savitota viṣṇuḥ* ApŚ. All sound.

yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. BDh.: *yo 'smān dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām* ŞB.† 1. 6. 20d. Both sound.

sa no aryamā devaḥ PG.: *so 'smān devo aryamā* MG.: *sa imāṁ devo aryamā* (ApMB. *adhvaraḥ*) AG. SMB. ApMB. Deficient meter in PG.

§313. Variants between dat. pl. *asmabhyam* (*asme*) and *nas;* all in metrical passages:

athā naḥ (TS. *athāsmabhyaṁ*, AV. *adhā naḥ*) *śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.: *tad asme śaṁ yor arapo dadhātana* RV. Hypermetric in TS.

datto asmabhyaṁ (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsma*°, SMB. *dattāsma*°) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS. All sound, but MS. evidently secondary.

śāntā naḥ santv oṣadhīḥ AV.: *śivā asmabhyam oṣadhīḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. Both sound.

§314. Variants between gen. pl. *asmākam, yuṣmākam* and *nas, vas;* in metrical passages; both forms are metrically sound each time:

api jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh.: *api naḥ sa kule bhūyāt* MDh.

ahaṁ vo asmi sakhyāya śevaḥ MS.: *yuṣmākaṁ sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.

2. Sporadic pronominal form variants

§315. Besides the variations between orthotonic and enclitic forms, only a few sporadic formal variants occur among the pronouns. Among the personal pronouns, the old form *tubhya* for *tubhyam* is found once in PG., HG. reading *tubhyam.* The PG. form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p. 459:

tubhyaṁ (PG. *mama tubhya*) *ca saṁvananam* PG. HG.

§316. The Rigvedic locative *tve* occurs in a number of secondary texts (only KS. reading *tvayi*) in the following variant, which shows that we must modify Wackernagel's statement, 3 p. 462, that there are no new occurrences of *tve* after the RV.:

āruroha tve sacā (KS. *tvayy api*) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

§317. The Rigvedic dual form *yuvabhyām* persists also in TS. N. in the following variant, only KS. using the later *yuvābhyām* (if the edition is right; but the best ms. of KS. has *yuva*°!). Wackernagel 3 p. 464 says that *yuvā*° is used exclusively outside of the RV. except for one AŚ. passage (Whitney 492b). Evidently this statement is true only if we understand it to apply to new passages, not repeated from RV.:

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

§318. An anomalous form written *yuṣmāṅ* before a vowel (i.e. *yuṣmām*? or *yuṣmān*?) seems to be intended as a genitive in the following.

It is not recognized by the grammars but is textually well established:
yuṣme (GB.† *yuṣmāṅ*, Gaastra with all mss.; all mss. of AV. also *yuṣmāṅ*, Whitney, Index) *astu dive dive* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. No acc. can be construed; like *yuṣme*, the form can only be gen., dat., or loc., and of these it seems that gen. is the best choice.

§318a. The old dative or locative *asme* varies once with *naḥ* (and later *asmabhyam*):
athā naḥ (TS. *athāsmabhyaṁ*, AV. *adhā naḥ*) *śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.: *tad asme śaṁ yor arapo dadhātana* RV.

§319. The only other variants concern demonstrative stems. (For fem. *yuṣmās* see §803.) Once the gen.-loc. dual of *ena* varies between *enos* and *enayos*, as noted by Wackernagel 3 p. 521:
na parā jigye kataraś canainoḥ (AV. *canainayoḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AB.

§320. Once TA. uses a wholly anomalous form *amī*, for AV. *amū*, as nom. dual fem. of *asau*. No other form than *amū* for this case, in any gender, has been noted elsewhere, and this form of TA. is ignored in the grammars. It is particularly strange to find it used as a fem. (the noun is *tārake*); if it were masc. we might assume a use of the plural for dual. The comm. interprets by *amū* but offers no remarks, and we can think of no explanation, unless the influence of *devī* nouns:
amī ye subhage divi TA.: *amū ye divi subhage* AV.

SECOND PART: SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS

CASE, NUMBER, AND GENDER

CHAPTERS XI–XXIX

CHAPTER XI

VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

§321. The vocative and nominative case forms are, in the dual and plural numbers (and sometimes also in the singular), formally distinguishable only by accent and consequently only in accented texts. We have tried to include cases where this accentual distinction is preserved, along with other cases in which a difference of stem or ending appears. It would have been clearly improper to include here instances from texts in which no accents are written, if the forms are identical, merely because our interpretation (however obvious and certain it may appear) makes a particular form vocative in one text and nominative in another. Since, however, the Concordance does not record accents, so that these variations can only be got from the original texts, it is likely that our collectanea are not complete in this regard.

Direct address and indirect statement

§322. As might be expected, a large proportion of the variants concerns shifts between direct address and third-person statement, of the sort treated from the point of view of verb forms (with shift between second and third persons) in VV 1 §§292, 327 ff. For example: *mātevāsmā adite* (ŚG. *aditiḥ*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yaṅsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB., 'like a mother grant, O Aditi, (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him.' This sort of change requires no comment, unless perhaps this, that the direct-address form of the variant need not necessarily contain a second-person verb, tho it most commonly does. For instance: *svasā* (ŚG. *sakhā*, ApMB. *priyā*) *devī* (HG. ApMB. *devānāṁ*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB. ApMB. PG. ŚG. HG.: *śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG. Here MG. changes the statement of 'fact' (really a magic formula implying a strong wish that it may be a fact) into a direct prayer, in which the personified power addressed is put in the vocative; but instead of saying 'protect us from harm!', the phrase 'may we not be harmed' is used. This of course means the same thing.

§323. In VV 1 §§293, 332 we have already seen that the case of the subject and the person of the verb in such variants are sometimes incongruous. The lists there given will be found only partly duplicated

by our lists below. The conditions are different when one approaches the subject from the point of view of the variation in case. Notably a nominative referring to the subject in a sentence of direct address can not necessarily be called a syntactic incongruity. It may easily be an appositional nominative, modifying the subject, as in: *ā tiṣṭha mitra-vardhanaḥ* (AV. °*na*) AV. KS. TB.† ApŚ.†, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' Here and in many similar cases both forms of the variant contain direct address, and usually a 2d personal verb; yet the nominative may fit as well as the vocative and is frequently the original form. In such cases it often appears that the change (in either direction) is due to form-assimilation to an adjoining word. Thus: *somaṁ piba vṛtrahā śūra* (TS. TA. MahānU. °*hañ chūra*) *vidvān* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU., 'drink the soma, O hero, being the wise slayer of Vṛtra' or '...O heroic slayer of Vṛtra, being wise'. Of course the Taittirīya texts must be secondary, and no doubt the following vocative *śūra* helped the change to *vṛtrahan;* yet their sense is quite as good as that of the original. But as much can hardly be said for the TS. reading of the following, which shows the reverse change (nom. instead of voc.), also under the influence of surrounding forms, but yielding a much less satisfactory result since the name of the god Indra, who is addressed, does not go well as nom. in apposition to the subject of the verb: *sajoṣā indra* (TS. *indraḥ*) *saganṇo marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ., 'O Indra, in association with the band of Maruts' or 'in association with the band of Maruts, being Indra'. This pāda immediately precedes the one quoted above, so that TS. has substituted a nom. for the voc. *indra*, while putting the voc. *vṛtrahan* in place of the nom.

§324. The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syntactic incongruity, since the nom. *indraḥ* of TS. is not really construable in an intelligent way. Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335–6. In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the variant incongruous (voc. with 3d person or nom. with 2d). Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same variant, e.g.: *madhvā yajñaṁ nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°), followed by: *narāśaṁso agniḥ* (VS. TS. KS. *agne*), AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Here AV. MS. (probably original) have 3d person verb with nom. subject; VS. TS. have 2d person verb with voc. subject; only KS.

is inconsistent, having 3d person verb with voc. subject. It might be suggested that KS. contains a blend of the other two forms. But more probably KS. represents the first change from the original reading (of AV. MS.), and VS. TS. have a further changed based on KS. and designed to correct its poor syntax.

§325. It should be noted that not a few vocative-nominative forms differ only in the lack or presence of a final visarga—a very slight phonetic difference. They are collected and related to similar phonetic shifts in VV 2 §380.

§326. We shall list first the variants in which a nom. with 3d person verb varies with a voc. with 2d person. This is the simplest type, and requires no comment; the shift in either direction is extremely natural and common.

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

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

bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi Kauś.: *bhavān bhikṣāṁ dadātu* AG.

indraḥ (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed, in RV. SV., by *kratuṁ punīta* (SV. *punīṣa*) *ukthyam.*

agne tān asmāt pra ṇudasva lokāt ApŚ.: *agniṣ ṭān asmāt pra ṇunottu lokāt* MŚ.: *agniṣ ṭāṁ* (VS. *ṭān*, AŚ. *ṭāl*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (AŚ. °*tv*, SMB. *ṇudatv*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.

aditiḥ keśān (AV. MG.* *śmaśru*) *vapatu* AV. AG. MG. (both) ApMB.: *adite keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG. (both).

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāṇāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *annasyānnapatiḥ prādāt* PB.

āyātu varadā devī, akṣaraṁ brahma saṁmitam, gāyatrī chandasāṁ mātā, idaṁ brahma juṣasva naḥ TA. TAA. MahānU.: *āyāhi viraje devy, akṣare brahmasaṁmite, gāyatri chandasāṁ mātar, idaṁ brahma juṣasva me* MG. All the noms. in TA. etc. go with *āyātu*, which in MG. is changed to 2d person.

agnir hotā vetu...AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agne vīhi* AB. ŚB. AŚ. MŚ.

jayanta upaspṛśatu HG.: *jayantopa spṛśa* ApMB.

avasānapate 'vasānaṁ me vinda TB. ApŚ.: *avasānaṁ me 'vasānapatir vindat* MŚ.

sāvitrīṁ bho anu brūhi AG. ŚG. ApG. HG.: *sāvitrīṁ me bhavān anu bravītu* GG.

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

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB. GG. *udakenaidhi*, ApMB. *vāyav udake-*

nehi, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. The form *it* of MG. is a dubious imperfect; perhaps rather the particle *id*, cf. Kanuer p. 165 s. v. *id*, and VV 1 p. 87. In any case MG. has an indirect reference instead of direct address.

pṛthivi mātar mā mā hiṅsīḥ...VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mā mām mātā pṛthivī hiṅsīt* TS. MS.

agnināgniḥ saṁvadatām TA.: *agne aginā saṁvadasva* TA. ApŚ. HG.

pra candramās tirate (TS.† *tirati*, AV.† *candramas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. N. See VV 1 p. 221.

purukṣu tvaṣṭā (MS. *tvaṣṭaḥ*) *suvīryam* (VSK. TS. *suvīram*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.: *purukṣu deva †tvaṣṭar* [text *tvaṣṭā*, accentless; followed by *r-*] AV.: *tvaṣṭaḥ poṣāya viṣya nābhim asme* KS. Verb *viṣyatu* or *viṣya*.

indra (MS. *indraḥ*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS. °*daśenaujaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Verb *rakṣatu* in MS., *rakṣa* in the others. See VV 1 p. 223.

araro divaṁ mā paptaḥ VS. ŚB. Vait.: *ararur* (MS. *ararus te*) *dyāṁ mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ararus te divaṁ mā skān* TS. ApŚ.

yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām MŚ.: *yajñaḥ pratyaṣṭhāt* (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB. ApŚ.

viśvāś ca deva (PG. *devaḥ*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ* (PG.† °*ṣyak*) KS. PG.: *viśvā †deva pṛtanā abhiṣya* TB. ApŚ. HG. See VV 1 p. 242; and on *abhiṣyak* (for °*ṣyat*), VV 2 §142, where this form might well have been mentioned.

tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ VS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* (KS. *draviṇehāgamyāḥ*, ApŚ. *draviṇehāgameḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya draviṇehāgamyāt* MS.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya draviṇaṁ māgachatu* KS. See VV 1 pp. 61 f., 232.

divo jyote (KS.* *jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) *āditya te no devā(ḥ)*...*āsuvadhvam* MS. KS. (bis): *vivasvāṅ aditir devajūtis te na ādityā*...*viyantu* TS. See VV 1 p. 239.

uṣo dadṛkṣe (PB. *ūṣā*, read *uṣā?*, *dadṛśe*) *na punar yatīva* RV. PB.

vaptā (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. *vapati*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In PG. change to 3d person verb to agree with *vaptā* (originally not subject but appositional nom.); in HG. MG. change to voc. to mend the same syntax, felt as incongruous. See VV 1 p. 241 f. and below §334.

yo (TS. TB. ApŚ. *yad*) *agniḥ* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *agne*) *kavyavāhanaḥ* (RV.

kravya°, TS. TB. ApŚ. *°vāhana*) RV. VS. KS. TS. TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Followed in RV. VS. KS. TS. by: *pitṝn yakṣad* (TS. *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhaḥ;* by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB.; only pratīka in AŚ. ApŚ.

śrutakakṣo araṁ (SV. *°kakṣāraṁ*) *gave* RV. SV. Preceded by *aram aśvāya gāyati* (SV. *°ta*). Note plural verb in SV.; cf. VV 1 §372c.

[*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.: *indraḥ karmasu no 'vatu* TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *indra...'vata.*]

§327. In the following group the nom. and voc. forms are distinguished only by the accents (see above, §321):

śivena mā (ApMB. *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā paśyatāpaḥ* (ApMB. *paśyantv āpaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. AB. ApMB. *āpaḥ* is nom. in ApMB., voc. in the rest.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇ(u)vāthām (MS. MŚ. *°tām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

aśvinā pibataṁ (VS. KŚ. *°taṁ*) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ. *sutam*) RV. VS. TB. MŚ. KŚ.

devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB. *śrayadhvam*) KS. TB.

tasmai te dyāvāpṛthivī revatībhiḥ AV.: *asmabhyaṁ dyāvā° śakvarībhiḥ* TB. Cf. VV 1 p. 224, under *kāmaṁ duhātām* etc.

aśvināv eha gachatam RV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *aśvināv eha gachatām* (TS. TB. *°tam*, in same stanza in which RV. N. have *°tām*) RV. TS. TB. N.

svāttaṁ cit...āpo devīḥ svadatainam TS. ApŚ.: *svāttaṁ sad...āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.: *āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK. *sad°*)...VS. VSK. ŚB.

(*abaddhaṁ mano...*) *dīkṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ. *hāsīt*) TS. KŚ. BDh.: *dīkṣen* (sc. *dīkṣā-id*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ.: *dīkṣe mā mā hiṁsīḥ* ŚG. See VV 1 p. 225. In KŚ. read probably *dīkṣen.*

apātām aśvinā gharmam VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *gharmam apātam aśvinā* (accented in MS. which is therefore inconsistent if not corrupt!)... MS. TA.: *aśvinā gharmaṁ pātaṁ* (MS. *pibataṁ*)...VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. Consistent in all but the first MS. form.

viśve devāso adhi vocatā naḥ (TS. *me*) RV. TS.: *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *tveha* (AV.* KS.† *meha;* AV. **pakvam;* SMB. ApMB. HG. *paścāt*) AV. (thrice) KS. SMB. ApMB. HG.

vājinau vājajitau...avajighratam (KS. *°tām*) MS. KS. MŚ.: *vājino vājajito vājaṁ...avajighrata* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. Similarly:

vājino vājajito vājaṁ...bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāḥ (KS. *bhāge ni mṛjatām;* TS. *bhāge ni mṛḍḍhvam*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *vājinau vājajitau...bhāge nimṛjyethām* MS. MŚ. In this and the prec. KS. has noms., the rest vocs.

aśvinā bhiṣajāvataḥ (MS. *°tam;* TB.† *°ta*) VS. MS. TB. See VV 1 p. 71.

tena brahmāṇo vapatedam asya (ŚG. *adya*) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB.: *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG. See VV 1 p. 229. The MG. form can of course only be nom.; the other is ambiguous except for the accent.

ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ MS.: *ā mā gantāṁ* (VSK. *gantaṁ*) *pitarā mātarā ca* (VSK. *yuvam*) VS. VSK.† 10. 3. 12c. TS. KS. ŚB. Add to VV 1 §337.

§328. In VV 1 §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent tendency of SV. to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person forms, where RV. has third person references. The following (all listed l. c.) show correspondingly vocs. in SV. for noms. of RV.:

pavamāna vy aśnuhi SV.: *pavamāno vy aśnavat* RV.

ayā somaḥ (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV. SV.

svāyudhaḥ sotṛbhiḥ pūyate vṛṣā (SV. °*bhiḥ soma sūyase*) RV. SV.

Phrase inflection

§329. In another group the mantras are found in different contexts. Thus we have the variant *hotrābhir agnir* (*agne*) *manuṣaḥ svadhvaraḥ*. The vocative form occurs in RV. AV., preceded by *sadāsi raṇvo yavaseva puṣyate*: 'Thou art ever pleasant, as grazing land to the grazer, having fair sacrifices, O Agni, thru the offerings of man.' The nominative form occurs in RV. in a quite different context as an independent sentence (with copula unexpressed): 'Agni has fair sacrifices thru the offerings of man.' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2):

hiraṇyavarṇā subhagā AV.: *hiraṇyavarṇe subhage* AV. Quite different contexts.

evāyaṁ daśamāsyo [*asraj jarāyuṇā saha*] VS. ŚB.: *evā tvaṁ daśamāsya* [*sahāvehi jarāyuṇā* RV., *sākaṁ jarāyuṇā pata* AV.] RV. AV. In Ppp. (see Whitney on AV. 1. 11. 6): *evā te garbha ejatu nir aitu daśamāsyo bahir jarāyuṇā saha.*

bhāratīḍe sarasvati [*yā vaḥ sarvā upabruve tā naś codayata śriye*] RV.: *sarasvatīḍā mahī* [*imaṁ no yajñam ā gaman,* etc.] RV.

indra (RV. **indro*) *viśvābhir ūtibhiḥ* RV. (both) AV. SV.

viśvāni deva (RV. **devo*) *vayunāni vidvān* RV. (both) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. In one RV. passage and all others except AV. preceded by *agne naya supathā rāye asmān;* in the other RV. passage, by *ṛbhuś cakra īḍyaṁ cāru nāma;* AV. has different surroundings but requires a voc.

upedam upaparcanam [*āsu goṣūpapṛcyatām*] RV. TB. LŚ.: *upehopaparcana* [*asmin goṣṭha upa pṛñca naḥ*] AV. See VV 1 §85.

antarikṣeṇa saha vājinīvan (once, °*vān*) AV. (ter). Verbs are consistent.

sahamāne (PG. HG. ApMB.* °*nā*, RV. AV. *devajūte*) *sahasvati* (HG. ApMB.* °*tī*, PG. *sarasvatī*) RV. AV. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. See also §346, *devajūte*...

imaṁ yajñam aśvinobhā bṛhaspatiḥ RV. TS.: *imaṁ yajñaṁ bṛhaspate 'śvinobhā* KS. Followed respectively by: *devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nyarthāt*, and: *indrāvata kāvyair daṁsanābhiḥ*. Yet the contexts are fundamentally the same (cf. below under *devaḥ savitā*°, §399).

ā pavasva madintama RV. SV.: *sa pavasva madintama* RV. SV.: *sa punāno madintamaḥ* RV.

samiddho agna āhuta RV. AV. TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (followed by 2d person verbs): *samiddho agnir āhutaḥ* [*svāhākṛtaḥ pipartu naḥ*] KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV.) with an unmetrical yajus text: *iṣṭo agnir āhutaḥ pipartu* (KS. TB. *svāhākṛtaḥ pipartu*) *na iṣṭaṁ haviḥ* (TB. ŚB. omit last two words) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sa tvaṁ no nabhasas pate (GB. *patiḥ*) TS. GB.: *tvaṁ no nabhasas pate* AV. TS.: *ayaṁ no nabhasas patiḥ* AV. GB. Vait. Kauś.

ghṛtapratīko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne (KS. ApŚ. *agniḥ*) AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ghṛtāhavano ghṛtapṛṣṭho agniḥ* AŚ.: *ghṛtaṁ vasāno ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne* KS.

hiraṇyaparṇa śakune PG.: *hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

agnis tigmena śociṣā RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agne ti*° *śo*° RV. AV.

pavamānaḥ (RV.* °*na*) *kanikradat* RV. (both) SV.

indraṁ soma (and, *somo*) *mādayan daivyaṁ janam* RV. (both). Followed or preceded respectively by: *sindhor ivormiḥ pavamāno arṣasi*, and: *ā vidyutā pavate dhārayā sutaḥ*.

devebhyo havyavāhana RV.: *devebhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanaḥ* RV. ApŚ.: *devebhyo havyavāḍ asi* ApŚ. See *RVRep.* on 3. 9. 6b. The second ApŚ. variant occurs in a context different from any of RV. and belongs to §339.

deva devebhyo haviḥ (SV. *devebhyaḥ sutaḥ*) RV. SV.: *devo devebhyaḥ sutaḥ* RV. SV.

sahasrote śatāmagha RV.: *sahasrotiḥ śatāmaghaḥ* RV.

sahasrapoṣaṁ (AV. Kauś. *sahasrā*°) *subhage* (TS.* *subhagā*) *rarāṇā* RV. AV. TS. (both) MS. KS. Kauś. SMB. ApMB.

mitra satyānāṁ pate (ŚŚ. *satyānām adhipate*) TB. ŚŚ.: *mitraḥ satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Each in a series, with

2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest. So next.

savitā prasavānām (AV. adds *adhipatiḥ*...) AV. TS. PG.: *savitaḥ prasavānām adhipate* ŚŚ. As prec.

§330. The following are cases in which the variant containing direct address has no second-person verb form (cf. §322):

svasā (ŚG. *sakhā*, ApMB. *priyā*) *devī* (HG. ApMB. *devānāṁ*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB. ApMB. PG. HG. ŚG.: *śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG.

upa brahmāṇi savanāni vṛtrahā (SV. °*han*), *paramajyā ṛcīṣamaḥ* (SV. °*ma*) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV. by: *ā no viśvāsu havya indraḥ samatsu bhūṣatu*, 'May Indra associate himself with us...the slayer of Vṛtra' etc. SV. misunderstands *bhūṣatu*, taking it in its later sense of 'adorn' or 'honor'. To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshipers; the resulting first half verse is: *ā no viśvāsu havyam indraṁ samatsu bhūṣata*, cf. VV 1 p. 199. But since *vṛtrahā* cannot (like *havya indraḥ*) be made accusative without metrical change, it is made voc., with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb; and *ṛcīṣamaḥ* then follows it.

agnir yaṣṭedaṁ namaḥ KS.: *agne yaṣṭar idaṁ namaḥ* TS. TB. 'Agni is the sacrificer; this homage (to him)': 'O Agni sacrificer, this homage (to thee).'

§331. Perhaps in this same group may be placed the following rather puzzling variant:

tasyās te devy adita (Kauś. *aditir*) *upasthe* MS. KS. Kauś.: *upasthe te devy adite 'gnim* TS. Followed in Kauś. by *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat*, for which the others have versions containing *ādadhe* (1st person), see VV 1 p. 211. In all except Kauś. there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used. In Kauś. Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb; but note that Kauś. retains *te*, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś. is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation.

§332. Similar variants used in different contexts ('phrase-inflection') are:

sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ AV.: *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV. In the second passage a verse of homage, with direct address, is accompanied by the voc. of the deity addressed; the preceding pāda is *namas te rudra kṛṇmas*.

aśveva citrāruṣī [*mātā gavām ṛtāvarī, sakhābhūd aśvinor uṣāḥ*] RV. SV.: [*vayaṁ hi te amanmahy, āntād ā parākāt,*] *aśve na citre aruṣi* RV. The latter is secondary; see *RVRep.* 63.

abhūn mama (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG.: *bhūyāsma te sumatau viśvavedaḥ* MS.† In the latter a direct address. See VV 1 p. 218.

indra somasya pītaye RV.: *indraḥ somasya pītaye* RV.: *indraḥ somasya pītaye vṛṣāyate* RV. A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc.

yajiṣṭhaṁ havyavāhana RV.: *yajiṣṭho havyavāhanaḥ* RV. Again a pronoun accompanies the voc.

§333. We come now to variations between direct address and indirect reference in which either the voc. or the nom. seems incongruous in one form of the variant, as in *narāśaṅso agniḥ* (*agne*), §324. Other cases of this sort are:

agne (TS. KS. *agnir*) *manyuṁ pratinudan pareṣām* (TS. KS. *purastāt*) RV. AV. TS. KS. In the next pāda RV. AV. TS. have *pāhi*, KS. *pātu*. All are consistent except TS., which has nom. with 2d person verb; cf. VV 1 p. 231.

sa no mayobhūḥ pito (*pitav*) *āviśasva* (*āviśeha*, MŚ. *pitur āviveśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.: *sa naḥ pito madhumāṅ ā viśeha* (Kauś. *viveśa*) KS. Kauś. Only Kauś. is inconsistent; MŚ. (secondarily) restores consistency with nom. matching 3d person verb.

apālām indra (MG. *indras*) *triṣ* (*triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, ApMB.† *pūrtvy a-*, MG. *pūrty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The verb in the following pāda is 2d person in RV. AV. JB., but 3d in MG. and ApMB., despite voc. epithet in pāda b; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi; VV 1 p. 233 f.

vider agnir (VSK. ŚBK. *agner*, MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS. MŚ. add *yat te*) VSK. TS. MS. ŚBK. MŚ.: *vided agnir nabho nāma* VS. KS. ŚB. See VV 1 p. 233. TS. is inconsistent.

vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS. *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS. *askabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VSK. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*, TS. *viṣṇur*) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.—TB. is secondary but consistent; TA. inconsistent, and apparently a sort of blend of the other two. See VV 1 p. 232, where read VSK. *viṣṇa* (instead of VS.).

dyāvāpṛthivī urv antarikṣam AV. TS.: *dyāvāpṛthivī uro* (VSK.† *urv*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. Context of AV. different from all the others; there a simple third-person prayer. In the rest either (as in MS.) directly addressed to the deities, altho there also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived

as the direct agents (the following pāda is *bṛhaspatir no haviṣā vṛdhātu* TS. MS.); or, as in VS. VSK. ŚB., the following pāda (*bṛhaspataye haviṣā vidhema*) contains a first personal statement. In TS. the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV. form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to *bṛhaspatir*, subject of *vṛdhātu* in the next pāda. Keith understands them as exclamations.

§334. We now come to variants both forms of which contain direct address, and generally a second-person verb. Nevertheless in one form a nominative appears where the other form has a vocative. Either may be the original form, since a nom. in apposition to the 2d person subject is often as easy to construe as a voc.; in the example given in §323, *ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana* (°*naḥ*), it is hard to say which reading was the older. We shall quote first a group in which the nominative seems to be the original form and the vocative secondary:

pavamānaḥ (SV. °*na*) *saṁtanim eṣi kṛṇvan* RV. SV. A slight tendency for SV. to prefer the voc. referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following; cf. VV 1 §328.

aproṣivān gṛhapatir (SV. °*pate*) *mahāṅ asi* RV. SV.

śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ (SV. *somya*) RV. SV.

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS.: *sarūpa vṛṣann āgahi* SV. JB.

samrāḍ asi kṛśānuḥ (ŚŚ. °*no*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

sūyavasād bhagavatī (KŚ. °*ti*) *hi bhūyāḥ* RV. AV. AB. KB. AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. N. Addressed to the cow; KŚ. makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc.

vaptā (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. °*li*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The change of the nom. original of AV. to a voc. in HG. MG. belongs here; see §326.

āyuṣmān (MG. °*mann*) *idaṁ pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* ApMB. HG. MG.; cf. also *āyuṣmatīdam* etc., AV. Lect. fac. in MG.

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, v. l. *cāyyo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*), HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. Nom. masc. in all but SMB. (*ca āryo* in ApMB.; for HG. see VV 2 §244). In SMB. adapted to a different context which requires a fem.; (*ca*)*ārye*, voc. fem. Note however that SMB. baldly retains the masc. form *jīvan* from the original! (*jīvantī* would be unmetrical.)

sakhā (PG. *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB. PG. °*padā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. The (predicate) nom. is clearly original.

purovāta (KS. °*to*, TS. °*to varṣañ*) *jinva*. . . TS. MS. KS. This and the

adjoining formulas are pretty low bathos; but some of them have nom. forms even in MS.

brahmacāry asi (SMB. GG. *asy asau*) ŚB. AG. ŚG. SMB. GG. KhG. PG. ApMB.: *agneś cāsi brahmacārin mama ca* Kauś. Perhaps hardly to be called variants.

[*dhruvaidhi poṣyā* (PG. *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. Stenzler and Oldenberg take *poṣye* as voc. fem., addressed to the bride. If this be correct, the variation belongs here. We have preferred to understand *poṣye* as loc. sg. masc., going with *mayi*; see §454.]

§335. In some cases the change of case form seems to be due to the definite assimilatory influence of a neighboring word; see §323. These deserve special listing; the following are those in which the nom. seems to be the older form and the voc. secondary:

somaṁ piba vṛtrahā śūra (TS. TA. MahānU. °*hañ chūra*) *vidvān* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. §323.

nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. *nicañkaṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Preceded in all by *avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa* (etc., voc. in all). Doubtless the nom. is original and the voc. assimilated to that of the preceding pāda.

saṁjagmāno divaḥ kaviḥ (SV. LŚ. *divā kave*) RV. SV. LŚ. Preceded by *ṛdhak soma svastaye*. It is likely that the voc. *soma* had something to do with the change to voc. *kave*. The next pāda begins with *pavasva*, 2d person, which may also have helped.

agner agne puro agnir (KS.† KapS. [Oertel 73] *agne*, TS.† TB.† *puró-agnir*, cpd.) *bhaveha* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. TB. The orig. seems to be TS. TB. ('harbinger of Agni', Keith); the second voc. of KS. KapS. is apparently assimilated to the first *agne*.

§336. In the rest the nominative seems to be secondary. We shall put first those cases in which form assimilation to a neighboring word seems to have operated, as in the preceding section; note that they are very much more numerous than the opposite shift:

sajoṣā indra (TS. *indraḥ*) *saganо marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ. §323.

utso deva (SV. twice *devo*) *hiraṇyayaḥ* RV. SV. The surrounding noms. have been responsible for *devo*.

ṛjīṣī śavasas pate (SV. *patiḥ*) RV. SV. Preceded by *tvam indra yaśā asi*.

pavasva devāyuṣak (SV. *deva āyuṣak*) RV. SV. PB. Benfey translates *deva* as voc.; it is accented *devá*. If this is correct and it is a nom., it might be explained by assimilation to *āyuṣak* if that is a nom.; but Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 9. 25. 5 considers it a neuter adverb.

dyāvāpṛthivī uro (VSK.† *urv*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.: *dyāvāpṛthivī urv antarikṣam* AV. TS. The TS. reading belongs here; see §333.

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ. The verb is 2d person in all; the nom. of MŚ. is attracted to the following noms.

vasupate vasudāvan RV. VS. ŚB.: *vasudāvā vasupatiḥ* TS. MS. KS. Preceded in all by *sa bodhi sūrir maghavā*; TS. etc. assimilate to these noms.

kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV. and p.p. of MS. *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānaḥ* RV. MS. TB. *kṛtaḥ* partly suggested by *ichamānaḥ*.

prajāpatis (ApMB. °*te*) *tanvaṁ me juṣasva, tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* (ApMB. *tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra*, cf. Winternitz, xx) ApMB. MG. Followed in MG. by: *viśvair devair ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ, puṁsāṁ bahūnāṁ mātarau syāva;* in ApMB. by: *viśvair devai rātibhiḥ saṁrarāṇaḥ, puṁsāṁ bahūnāṁ mātara syāma.* Both texts are poor and doubtless corrupt, but the vocs. in ApMB. are doubtless more original, and may have been changed into noms. in MG. under the influence of the participle in pāda c, which is nom. in both.

sahasrākṣa medha ā (VSK. *medhāya*) *cīyamānaḥ* VSK. TS. KS.: *sahasrākṣo medhāya cīyamānaḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in all by *imaṁ mā hiṁsīr dvipādaṁ paśum* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*). Voc. is likely to be original; attraction to *cīyamānaḥ* in VS. etc.

śaravye brahmasaṁśite (TS. °*tā*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *śaro brahmasaṁśitaḥ* TB. ApŚ. Preceded in all by *avasṛṣṭā* (TB. ApŚ. °*ṭaḥ*) *parā pata.* Voc. was original; in TS. the adjective, and in TB. ApŚ. both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom. by the nom. adjective preceding.

ado (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devi* (ApŚ. MŚ. *devī*) *prathamānā purastāt* (KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *pṛthag yat*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Direct address and 2d person verb in all; voc. original; nom. attracted to *prathamānā.*

subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB.: *suvīriṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. Preceding pāda ends with *suvīriṇaḥ*, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition).

sakhe (AV. *sakhā*) *sakhāyam ajaro jarimṇe* RV. AV. In the latter attraction to the case of *ajaro.*

vrīhīṇāṁ medha (MŚ. *medhaḥ*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *tasmin sīda*.... Attraction to the following nom. in MŚ.

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms:

indra (MS. *indraḥ*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV. KS. MS. In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra.'

punar āgāḥ punarnava (AV. *punarṇ°*; AV.* *°vaḥ*) RV. AV. (both).

namas te astu sīsara (PG. *sīsaro lapetāpahvara*) PG.† 1. 16. 24, ApMB. HG. The nom. of PG. is hardly interpretable; indeed one is almost tempted to suppose that *sīsaro* is meant for voc. (of an otherwise unknown *sīsaru*). It must refer to the same individual as *te* (a kind of dog demon).

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS. *°taḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. In AVPpp. (Whitney on 6. 5. 1) *ghṛtebhir āhutaḥ*. Ppp. and KS. are awkward and secondary; the nom. must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [*ud enam* (ApŚ. *asmāṅ*) *uttaraṁ* (VS. TS. KS. *°rāṁ*, ApŚ. *°rān*) *naya*].

rātri (TB. *°rī*, KS. v. l. *°riḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. *°ṣī*) RV. KS. TB. In all preceded by *upa te gā ivākaraṁ, vṛṇīṣva duhitar divaḥ*. The nom. must be taken in apposition with the subject of *vṛṇīṣva*.

ṛtena (MG. *ṛteva*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vaṅśaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. The appositional nom. of MG. is awkward.

indra kratvā (MS. *indraḥ kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. Perhaps the direct address to the Maruts (*maruto*, voc.) in the same pāda made the redactor of MS. feel that the voc. *indra* must be got rid of. The nom. is however clearly inferior; perhaps 'When we, O Maruts, acting as Indra, desire...' (?). On the original cf. Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 1. 165. 7. In VV 2 §380 we have called the nom. 'hardly construable'.

agne (MS. *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS. *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA.

Vocative and nom. of independent statement

§338. In a few cases the shift between nominative and vocative marks more radical changes in the relation of the word so changed to adjoining words. Thus, a vocative epithet may be developed into a separate clause or sentence (cf. §§32, 38). The first step in this direction is illustrated by this:

tiṣṭhā ratham (TS. *rathe*) *adhi taṁ* (VS. ŚB. *yaṁ*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. *°taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Here TB., introducing a conjunction *yad*, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, tho still dependent, clause: 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder!' The awkward reading of VS. ŚB. is intermediate and paved the way.

§339. Note also the ApŚ. variant *devebhyo havyavāḍ asi*, under *devebhyo havyavāhana* etc. §329; and the following; which show the final result of this tendency:

kāmyāsi PB. MŚ. GG.: *kāmye* MS.

agne prāyaścitte...SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *agne prāyaścittir asi*...ŚG. Similarly with *vāyo*...and *sūrya* (*āditya*)...

agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait.: *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ṢB. Parallels rather than real variants?

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me...VS.: *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me*...PB.: *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no*...ŚŚ.

Transfer of epithet

§340. There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of 'transfer of epithet'. That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case. Cf. §14 above:

tava śravāṅsy upamāny ukthyā (SV. °*ya*) RV. SV. In RV. the adj. goes with *śravāṅsi*, in SV. with Indra.

śrātās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB. TA. *vātāper*, KS. ŚŚ. *vātāpe*) *havanaśrutaḥ* MS. KS. (9. 8) KB. TA. ŚŚ. In MS. *vāt*° agrees with *somāḥ*, in the others with Indra, either with the voc. *indra* or with the pronoun *te* and the adj. *havanaśrutaḥ*.

satyasya dharmaṇas patī (ApŚ. *pate*, Vait. MŚ. *satyasya dharmaṇā*, AŚ. *pari satyasya dharmaṇā*, PG. *pari sakhyasya dharmaṇaḥ*) ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. AŚ. PG. In ŚŚ. (probably orginal) *patī* (dual) is part of the predicate of the two preceding pādas. In ApŚ. it is applied to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as addressed.

devā ājyapā juṣāṇā agna (VS. *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS. MS. KS. In the original (MS. KS.) addressed to Agni (voc.); but he is not one of those who are to participate in the action of *vyantu*. The redactor of VS. felt therefore that there was no reason for bringing Agni in at all; the rest of the verse suggests that Indra is above all the god who is to 'taste the butter'; hence *indra(ḥ)*, as one of the *devā(ḥ)* who are the subject of the verb.

vivasvann (VSK. °*vāṅ*, TS. KS. °*va*) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthaḥ*...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The epithet belongs, as it should, to the sun (*āditya*) in all but VSK., which seems to apply it, incredibly, to *somapīthaḥ*.

anu dyāvāpṛthivī supraṇītiḥ (ŚŚ. °*te*) AŚ. ŚŚ. The original pāda d of AV. 7. 73. 6 (see Whitney's note); Ppp. (Roth) agrees with AŚ., with nom. agreeing with *savitā* of pāda c, while ŚŚ. (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b.

svar devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *suvar devāṅ*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā* is accentless both times in VS., tho comm. in one of them takes it as nom. (*vayaṁ yajamānā devā bhūtvā*). In KS. 14. 1 it is voc., in KS. 18. 12 nom. (but two mss. make it voc.); in MS. nom.; the Tait. texts make it accus. attracting it to the case of *svar* and making it a second object. If nom. it must, of course, agree with the subject (as comm. on VS. says).

bhaga eva bhagavāṅ astu devāḥ (AV.† *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. In AV. the epithet (originally voc.) is transferred to *bhaga(ḥ)*. Ppp. agrees with RV.

vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ HG. ApMB.: *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āsīran* PG. See §454.

yat te susīme hṛdaye (SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. °*yam*) KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yat te susīmaṁ hṛdayam* KBU. 2. 8 (not in Conc.) *susīme* is voc. fem.; *hṛdaye* loc. See §457. If *susīmaṁ* be allowed to stand, it is a case of transfer of the epithet to *hṛdayam*: 'the heart that is thine, of well-parted hair' (! despite the bizarre sound of this to us, it is perhaps not impossible in a Vedic text; the 'heart' is the essence of the person, and any epithet of the person may be applied to it). Deussen would read *susīme*, however.

agne vaiśvānara (MS.* °*raḥ*) *svāhā* TS. MS. (bis) TB. The subject is *jyotis* (neuter!), and if the nom. can stand it must be felt as going with it. But, altho no v. l. is recorded, we suspect a corruption (final visarga added, VV 2 §380).

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*, MS. °*dhīte*, KS.* °*dhītam*, v. l. °*tim*, KS.* 38. 12b† °*nītha*, KapS. °*dhītam* or °*tim*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. The voc. agrees with *agne* (understood in KS.); the nom. with *brahmā*; the acc. with *tvā* (sc. Agni) of the preceding.

Miscellaneous

§341. One or two miscellaneous cases, hardly to be called true variants:

svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno VS. TS. ŚB.: *svān*

nabhrāḍ añghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno KS.: *suvāñ nabhrāḍ añghāre bambhāre 'star ahasta kṛśāno* MS.: *svāna bhrāṭ, añghārir bambhāriḥ, hastaḥ suhastaḥ, kṛśānur viśvāvasuḥ* TA.† In TA. part of the *gandharvaganāḥ*; obviously based on the other list (addressed to the gandharvas at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion.

agnir ājyasya vetu vaujhak ŚB.: *agna ājyasya vyantu vaujhak* ŚB. Also *agninājya°*, *agnim ājya°*. Rigmarole formulas, with repetition (with slight variations) of the same words attached to various cases of the stem *agni*, as required in a set of offerings.

§342. We now append some nominative-vocative variants whose right to be called such is doubtful, either because of dubiety of interpretation of forms, or because textual corruption or editorial error is involved.

svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV.: *svapna svapnādhikaraṇena* Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS.* 35. 52). Probably *svapna* is a sandhi form for *svapnaḥ*; VV 2 §980.

sumṛḍīkā sarasvati (MG. *°tī*) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG. Read *°ti* in all; so v. l. of MG., and its comm. *he sarasvati*. In TA. 1. 21. 3 the Bibl. Ind. ed. reads *sarasvatī*, but Poona ed. *°ti*.

sumaṇiḥ suhiraṇyavān (ŚŚ. *°vaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ. But *°vān* is Roth's emendation and must be rejected.

ud īrṣvātaḥ pativatī (ApMB. *°vati*) *hy eṣā* RV. ApMB. See Winternitz, xix; some ApMB. mss. *°vatī*, comm. *°vati* interpreted as a 'Vedic' nom.! A voc. seems impossible.

iyam oṣadhe (PG. *°dhī*) *trāyamāṇā* PG. ApMB. HG. Here too (cf. prec.) the voc. is absurd, yet is clearly intended in ApMB. HG.; see Winternitz xxiv, and Oldenberg *SBE.* 30. 166 note.

[*śṛtaṁ haviḥ śamitā3ḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *havī3ḥ śamitaḥ*) TS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Conc. *śamitā* for MS. MŚ.; but both follow this word with *iti*, intending *śamitā3ḥ*.]

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ. *indraḥ*) *śukrāt* TS. KS. MŚ. See Knauer's note. The nom. is unconstruable as such.

tāṁ naḥ pūṣañ chivatamām erayasva HG.: *tāṁ pūṣañ* (AV. *°añ*) etc. RV. AV. ApMB.: *sā naḥ pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG. The verb being still 2d person in PG., this might be classed with §337; but PG. is really hopeless.

stomatrayastriñśe bhuvanasya patni TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastriñśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS. In the latter apparently *stomas* and *patnī* are subject and predicate; the divergence of gender signalizes the badness of the reading.

(*aśvakrānte rathakrānte*) *viṣṇukrānte vasuṁdhare* (TA. °*rā*), *śirasā dhāritā devi* (TA. *dhārayiṣyāmi*), *rakṣasva māṁ pade-pade* TA. MahānU. The nom. is impossible as member of a series of vocs., which are epithets of the personage addressed (*tvām* must be supplied). With MahānU.'s *dhāritā*, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by attraction. In fact the comm. on TA. seems to have read *dhāritā devī*, and for *vasuṁdharā* (which he does not quote; did he read °*dhare*?) he has: *he bhūme sarvāṇi vastūni dhārayantī satī*. Evidently the text of TA. is very uncertain.

indra (MS. *indraḥ*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV. MS. The nom. is not construable.

na vā ojīyo rudra tvad asti RV. TA.: *ojīyo rudras tad asti* MS. s.p., but p.p. reads like RV. but for *tad* instead of *tvad*. The MS. is corrupt and uninterpretable. Add to VV 2 §365 (*tvad* : *tad*).

praty etā vāmā (AŚ. *sunvan*) . . . *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ. °*vakta*, v. l. °*vaktar*) *uta* . . . KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Discussed VV 2 p. 180. All texts seem to have read °*vaktar;* but a voc. seems unconstruable, and a nom. must have been intended, whatever the form was.

yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ saṁbabhūtha (TB. °*bhūva*, Poona ed. °*tha*) TB. ApŚ.: *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*, v. l. *bibhṛto, bibhyato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS. The nom. is very awkward; Whitney translates a voc.

śarīraṁ me vicarṣaṇam (RVKh. *vicakṣaṇam*) RVKh. TA. TU.: *pratīkaṁ me vicakṣaṇam* PG. Scheftelowitz reads *vicakṣaṇa* in RVKh., but this seems unconstruable.

śaviṣṭha (AA. °*ṭhaḥ*, but Keith °*ṭha* with v. l. °*ṭhaḥ*) *vajrinn ojasā* (AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ *rñjase*) RV. SV. AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. A mere corruption of tradition.

arvāgvaso svasti te pāram aśīya MS. KS. ApŚ.: *arvāgvasur* [*iti trir uktvā*] MŚ. (pratīka). It seems clear that MŚ.'s pratīka refers to the mantra of MS. There is no v. l. recorded; but no nom. can be really intended.

CHAPTER XII

VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Direct address and indirect statement

§343. The variants between vocative and accusative are much less numerous than those between vocative and nominative, and naturally do not parallel them altogether; yet it is rather curious to observe the extent to which they correspond. Thus, to begin with, we find a group in which one form addresses directly a divine personage or a thing (vocative), while the other expresses the same prayer, wish, or statement indirectly, referring to the same personage or thing in the accusative. Generally in such cases the variants occur in different contexts, so that we have a sort of phrase-inflection, an adaptation of the same mantra material to different situations. But not always so; in a few cases the same passage undergoes this syntactic modification, just as in the first group of nominative-vocative variants (§326). Among the simplest cases of this sort are two in which a first person verb meaning in substance 'I invoke' is used in both forms of the variant, with the god invoked in the accusative or vocative:

indraṁ (SV. *indra*) *dhenuṁ sudughām anyām iṣam* RV. SV. The preceding pāda is *ā tv adya* (SV. *tvādya*) *sabardughāṁ huve gāyatravepasam.* SV., by reading *tvā*(*dya*) for *tv adya*, turns the verse into a direct address to Indra. 'I call upon Indra' or 'I call on thee, Indra'...

ṛcā yāmi maruto brahmaṇaspatim (SV. °*pate*), *devāṅ* (SV. *devā*) *avo vareṇyam* RV. SV. MS. KS. 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmaṇaspati, the gods, for excellent aid': '...I approach [you], O Maruts etc.'

§344. In a few other cases the accusative is the object of a causative or active verb, while the vocative goes with a corresponding intransitive; the action is thought of alternatively as performed by an outside agency upon the entity referred to, or by that entity itself. These are similar to many variations of the acc. with the nom., §372 ff.

ihaiva dhruvā (ŚG. *sthūṇe*) *prati tiṣṭha śāle* (ŚG. *dhruvā*) AV. ŚG. HG.: *ihaiva dhruvāṁ ni minomi śālām* AV. PG. HG. 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)!', or: 'Right here I fix firm the house.'

tasmai tvaṁ stana pra pyāya ApMB.: *tasmai stanaṁ pra pyāyasva* HG. 'Swell for him, O breast!', or: 'Swell thy breast for him.' See VV 1 §32.

unnambhaya pṛthivīm TS. KS. MS. ApŚ.: *pra nabhasva pṛthivi* AV. 'Split open the earth' (addressed to Dhātar): 'burst open, O earth!' Ppp. agrees with TS. etc., and AV. addresses Dhātar in pāda c; AV. probably secondary.

§345. In the stray variant which follows the acc. is original ('the sacrifice has gone to the gods...'); AŚ. (the reading of which is repeated by its comm.) makes it a direct address to the gods:

devāñ (MS. *devān*, AŚ. *devā*) *janam agan yajñaḥ* MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.†

Phrase inflection

§346. The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant:

satyadharmāṇam adhvare RV. SV. (preceded by *kavim agnim upa stuhi*): *satyadharmāṇo adhvaram* (TS. °*re*) RV. TS. (preceded by different pādas of direct address).

yajiṣṭhaṁ havyavāhana (and °*nam*) RV. (both). Voc. accompanies 2d pers. pronoun.

rudra jalāṣabheṣaja AV.: *rudraṁ jalāṣabheṣajam* RV.

śatamūte śatakrato RV.: *śatamūtiṁ śatakratum* RV. Voc. with *te*, acc. with *indram*.

stomebhir havanaśrutam (and °*tā*) RV. (both). Acc. with *mahāntam* (*indram*), voc. (dual) with *indrāgnī* or *aśvinā*.

stomebhir viśvacarṣaṇim RV.: *stomebhir viśvacarṣaṇe* RV. AV.

uttānaparṇe subhage (Ppp. °*ṇāṁ subhagām*), followed by: *devajūte* (Ppp. *sahamānāṁ*) *sahasvati* (Ppp. °*tīm*) RV. AV. Ppp. (*JAOS.* 40. 161). The latter also in nom. form, §329, *sahamāne*...

indav indrāya pītaye RV.: *indum indrāya pītaye* RV. SV.

indum (RV. also *indav*) *indrāya matsaram* RV. (both) SV.

indraṁ (RV. also *indra*) *somasya pītaye* RV. (both) AV. SV.

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇeha bhakṣīya TS. ('may I enjoy the wealth of thee...'): *tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ* VS. ('wealth of..., come to us here'). And others; see VV 1 §104u, and §326 above. The forms differ only in accent.

§347. We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative variants. In these there is direct address both times; but the person or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively

expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative. While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff.). Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form.

§348. In the group to be mentioned first the accusative form is older than the vocative:

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. (but Poona ed. *indra... 'vata*). See VV 1 §354. The voc. is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra.

namasyāmas tveḍyaṁ (KS. °*ya*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J.' The RV. original makes the epithet *īḍyaṁ* agree with *tvā*, the KS. attracts it to *Jātavedaḥ*; but in either case it refers to the same person.

agniṁ (SV. *agne*) *rathaṁ na vedyam* RV. SV. On this complicated verse (cf. also *agnī ratho na vedyaḥ* RV., and below §387) see *RVRep.* on 1. 186. 3, with references, and especially Oldenberg, *Prol.* 288. There is no doubt that SV. is secondary. All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni; this is doubtless the reason for SV.'s change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense; the pronoun *vaḥ* (plural!) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm. as equivalent to *tvām*!

pra yā bhūmiṁ (TS. ApMB. °*mi*) *pravatvati* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N. Followed by *mahnā jinoṣi* (MS. *hinoṣi*) *mahini*. Addressed to Pṛthivī, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (*bhūmi*)'; by a natural confusion TS. ApMB. assimilate *bhūmi* to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets. Note that the short *i* of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem *bhūmī* instead of *bhūmi*; cf. *yāś ca bhūmy*...etc., §180.

mahyā indraṁ (ApMB. *indra*) *svastaye* RV. ApMB. Occurs twice in ApMB., in different contexts, both different from that of RV. On one of them see Winternitz xxix f. Both are inferior in sense.

§349. The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are:

ye tvā rātry (MG. *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS. MG.: *yā tāṁ rātrīm upāsmahe* PG.: *yāṁ tvā rātry upāsmahe* (TS. *upāsate*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*)

AV. TS. SMB. Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d; PG. and MG. assimilate the form of the orig. voc. to the object pronoun.

indra śaviṣṭha satpate RV.: *indraṁ śaviṣṭha satpatim* SV. Repeated in SV. from RV. 8. 68. 1, where the first three pādas are: *ā tvā rathaṁ yathotaye sumnāya vartayāmasi, tuvikūrmim ṛtīṣaham.* The acc. epithets of the prec. have attracted two of the three vocs. of the last pāda; the curious thing is that one (*śaviṣṭha*) is allowed to remain even in SV.

śociṣkeśaṁ vicakṣaṇa (AV.* °*ṇam*) RV. ArS. AV. (both) TS. KS. Preceded by *tvā...deva sūrya.* Clear attraction to the prec. acc. in AV.

hotaś cikitvo (AV. °*vann*) *avṛṇīmahīha* RV. AV.: *agne hotāram avṛṇīmahīha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In all texts *tvā* occurs in prec. 'In that today...we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar).'

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*, MS. °*dhīte*, KS.* °*dhītam*, v. l. °*dhītim*, and *†°*nītha*, KapS. °*dhītam* or °*dhītim*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) KapS. ŚB. See §340.

svar devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *suvar devāṅ*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The acc. certainly secondary, and perhaps influenced by *svar*; see §340.

vaha kāla (HG. *kālaṁ*, v. l. *kāla*) *vaha śriyaṁ mābhi vaha* ApMB. HG. Undoubtedly ApMB. is correct and original. Addressed to an elephant: 'Carry, black one, carry! Carry me towards fortune!' Probably *kāla* should be read in HG. with two mss.; certainly *kālaṁ* does not make sense. 'Carry the time' (Oldenberg) is ridiculous, and 'carry the black one' is little better.

Transfer of epithet

§350. The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few corruptions, concern 'transfer of epithet' from one person or thing to another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender):

rayiṁ no dhehi subhage suvīram (MŚ. *suvīre*, PG.† *suvīryam*) AV. TS. MŚ. PG. 'Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one': 'grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons.' There is little real difference in the sense; the possession of good sons by the deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner.

vardhā samudram ukthyam (SV. °*ya*) RV. SV. In RV. *ukthyam* modifies *samudram*; in SV. it is transferred to *soma* (in pāda a).

indraṁ sakhāyo (KS. °*yam*) *anu saṁ rabhadhvam* (KS. *vyayadhvam*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The voc. *sakhāyo* refers to the subject (warriors); the acc. to the object (Indra).

subhage kāmpīlavāsini TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.: *subhadrikāṁ kāmpīlavāsinīm* VS. MS. See Edgerton, *JAOS.* 31. 141, 144. The words are applied differently; the accs. to a rival queen, the vocs. (spoken by the priest) to the Mahiṣī. Both occur in an obscene passage in the aśvamedha. In the voc. form note the absence of the imprecatory suffix *ka*.

kṛṇuta dhūmaṁ vṛṣaṇaḥ sakhāyaḥ AV.: *kṛṇota dhūmaṁ vṛṣaṇaṁ sakhāyaḥ* RV. The whole AV. verse is a wretched corruption of the RV. original. All that need concern us here is that *vṛṣaṇam*, in the orig. an epithet of *dhūmam* (so Grassmann *Wbch.*, Geldner, Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following *sakhāyaḥ*.

kas tam indra tvāvasum (SV. PB. *tvā vaso*) RV. SV. AB. GB. PB. AŚ. This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820, where this variant might have been included. The RV. has a cpd. adj. agreeing with *tam*. The SV. misunderstands it as containing an acc. *tvā*, and then makes the seemingly necessary correction to *vaso*, which is then a voc. going with *indra*.

āganma mitrāvaruṇā vareṇyā (MS. *vareṇa*, KS. *vareṇyam*) TS. MS. KS. In KS. the epithet goes apparently with *bhāgam*, to be supplied in sense (the following pāda is *rātrīṇāṁ bhāgo yuvayor yo asti*). In TS. (probably a lect. fac.) it is made to agree with *mitrāvaruṇā*. MS. has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326.

achidraṁ (SMB. °*rāḥ*) *śarma yachata* RV. AB. SMB. The unaccented SMB. makes the epithet go with the subject; it may be taken as either voc. or nom.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait.: *svargāṁ* (AŚ. text, *svagāṁ*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ. *jayataḥ*; AŚ. also, as variant given in the text, *arvato jayati*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. *arvanto* is voc. in SV., nom. in Vait., in both cases going with the subject (in ŚŚ. either nom. or voc.). In the second version of AŚ. it is transferred to the object.

ṛbhum ṛbhukṣaṇo rayim RV.: *ṛbhukṣaṇam ṛbhuṁ rayim* RV. SV. In the first passage *ṛbhukṣaṇo* is a voc. elliptic plural, 'O Ṛbhukṣan (and the two other Ṛbhus).' In the second it is an epithet of *rayim*. See *RVRep.* on 4. 37. 5.

nāma svadhāvan guhyaṁ (ApMB. *svadhāvat svaryaṁ*) *bibharṣi* RV. ApMB. In RV. *svadhāvan* refers to Agni; in ApMB. it is made an epithet of *nāma*.

§351. There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15; in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet. They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an 'epithet':

avavyayann asitaṁ deva vasma (TB. ApŚ. *vasvaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original: 'Removing the black garment, O god.' In TB. ApŚ. *vasvaḥ* must apparently be meant as an epithet of *deva*; its meaning is obscure; Caland translates the RV. reading. See VV 2 p. 124.

viśvam ā bhāsi rocanam (AV.* °*na*) RV. ArS. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. The subject is the sun; the object, in the orig., *viśvam . . . rocanam.* In AV. *rocana* must be felt as an epithet of the subject, 'shining.' This adjective is unknown to the RV., where *rocana* is always a noun.

Errors

§352. Finally, a few errors:

evā hīndra KB. AA. TA. AŚ. Mahānāmnyaḥ. The Conc. follows the Bibl. Ind. ed. of AA. in quoting *hīndram*; but see Keith's AA., 142, n. 12. Voc. in all.

kāma kāmaṁ ma āvartaya PB. MŚ.: *kāmaṁ-kāmaṁ mā āvartaya* MS. But one of von Schroeder's best mss. reads *kāma kāmaṁ* (both accented); this and the reading of MŚ., its ritual text, convinces us that the printed reading of MS. is merely due to bad editing.

yām iṣuṁ giriśanta VS. MS. TS. KS. ŚvetU. NīlarU. The ed. of NīlarU. used in Conc. has *giriśantam* in text and comm. But the AnSS. ed. has °*śanta* in text (comm. °*śantam*). The acc. can be construed only with difficulty; Deussen assumes a voc.

devayuvaṁ (TB. *devā*°) *viśvavārām* (AŚ. °*vāre*) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo* (AŚ.† °*yoḥ*) *srucam āsyasva.* The accs. go with *srucam*, the spoon; perhaps AŚ. means *viśvavāre* as a voc. fem. addressed to the spoon, but this is really nonsense, even if it be detached from the preceding and taken with the following (*īḍāmahai devāṁ īḍenyān*). Note that AŚ. is also corrupt in *adhvaryoḥ* (omitted in Conc.; to be added to VV 2 §381).

CHAPTER XIII

VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

A. Vocative and instrumental

§353. The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering. Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning. Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed; while in another form a second vocative may function. The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55–7). The examples we have noted are:

mo ṣū ṇa indrātra (TS.† *indra*) *pṛtsu devaiḥ* (KS. *devāḥ*, TS. MS. *deva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods!'; in KS., 'O Indra (and) ye gods!' The next pāda begins with *astu* and MS. TS. read *devāsṭu*, which however MS. p.p. resolves as *devāḥ, astu*— implying the reading of KS. The reading *deva* would of course be voc. sg., as epithet of Indra; this would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15.

devīr-devīr (ApŚ. *devīr devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS. ApŚ. In MS. an āmreḍita compound: 'Ye several goddesses!' In ApŚ.: 'Ye goddess along with the gods!'

ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (SV. KB. ŚŚ. *hariha*, AŚ. *harī iha*) AV. SV. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See notes of Whitney and Keith. Apparently *harī iha* is intended in all but AV.; *harī* would seem to be voc.: 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds!'

§354. In another way the voc. and instr. may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf. §29); here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom. (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40).

jagatyainaṁ (AŚ. °*ty enaṁ*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmaḥ* (MS. KS. °*mi*, AŚ. °*ni*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. reading may be only a phonetic variant or corruption (see VV 2 §709); but if genuine it could be interpreted

as meaning 'O jagatī (instead of 'by the jagatī') may I settle him in the tribes!' That is, the potency which in the original is to be the instrument for bringing about the desired result is directly addressed for this purpose in AŚ.

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānaṁ (GB. *ātmanātmānaṁ*) *me mā hiṁsīḥ* GB. Vait. Kauś. 'Thou art ātman; O ātman, injure not my ātman!' or, '...injure not my ātman by the ātman.' If textually sound, this would be substantially the reverse of the preceding change (assuming that here the voc. is original). But Gaastra reads in GB. like the others (with v. l. in 2 mss.).

§355. The following might be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' but for the fact that the two forms are used in quite different contexts, so that it is rather what we have called 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2):

devī devebhir yajate (and *°tā*) *yajatraiḥ* RV. (both): *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV. MS. The latter is certainly secondary; *yajatra* is made to agree with a preceding *agne*, whereas in the original the word agreed with *devebhir*. The contexts are different. See *RVRep.* 241.

§356. In one stray case a voc. varies with an adverbial instr.:

sā nas samantam anu parīhi bhadrayā ApMB.: *sā mā* (MG. *naḥ*) *samantam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG. SMB. *bhadre* refers to the sacred belt, *mekhalā*: 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one!' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB. says 'fairly', using the old RV. adverb. Or this may be the original reading, and *bhadre* a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction; the variant should in any case have been quoted in VV 2 §747.

§357. The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15). A voc. epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance:

utūla parimīḍho 'si PG.: *ūlena parimīḍho 'si* HG.: *ulena pariṣīto 'si* ApMB. Original is apparently PG.; *utūla* '(runaway) servant.' The word *ula* or *ūla* seems to mean some kind of wild animal; see Bloomfield *SBE.* 42. 643 (on AV. 12. 1. 49). But the interpretation of HG. ApMB. is very obscure; Oldenberg abandons the text.

B. Vocative and dative

§358. Here again the variants are few. But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases. Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-

sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf. §30). The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case:

agnaye (AV. Kauś. *agne*) *samidham āhārṣam* (ŚG. GG. *ahārṣam*) AV. Kauś. AG. GG. SMB. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. (The false emendation *agre* in AV. is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.) Lanman ap. Whitney regards the voc. *agne* as original on metrical grounds. More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio difficilior. The rest of the verse refers to Agni (Jātavedas) in the 3d person, not in direct address; and more particularly, the datives *bṛhate jātavedase* follow immediately, and it is almost certain that *agnaye* has been assimilated to them, replacing *agne*. Note that the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni Jātavedas. However, the comm. on AV. reads *agnaye*, and so does one of SPP's reciters. 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great J.'

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS. *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS.: *bṛhaspate mahiṣāya dive namaḥ* Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS*. 26. 273): *bṛhaspate mahiṣa dyuman namaḥ* MŚ. Followed by:

viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān AV. (and Ppp.): *namo viśvakarmaṇe sa u pātv asmān* TS. MŚ. In the first pāda there is a double case; *bṛhaspate* varies with °*pataye*, and *mahiṣa* with °*ṣāya* of Ppp. Altho the AV. comm. reads *mahi ṣad* like TS., we no longer hold the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original reading. All texts but TS. have a form of the stem *mahiṣa*; we attribute special weight to Ppp. *mahiṣāya* which we had previously overlooked. We now take the original to be MŚ.: 'O Bṛhaspati, mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee); homage to Viśvakarman; may he protect us.' Since no dative is expressed in the first pāda, one of the two vocs. (which really indicate the recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts; hence *mahiṣāya* Ppp., *bṛhaspataye* AV. TS. The change to direct address in the second pāda in AV. Ppp. is also due to a sort of assimilation; it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different divinity.

§359. Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc. are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed. Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation. Thus in the first instance the voc. is clearly original

and the dative assimilated to the pronoun *te*, which is found also in the older form:

kṣayadvīra (TS. °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* RV. TS. Addressed to Rudra; the preceding is *āre te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnam* RV., *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS. The meaning of TS. is far from clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS., instead of 'hero-ruler'; in other respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy; we think *sumnam* is felt as 'hymn' in TS.). But the assimilation is clear.

vasavo rudrā ādityā etā vaḥ pannejanīḥ MS. KS.: *vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo viśvebhyo vo devebhyaḥ pannejanīr gṛhṇāmi* TS. The former is clearly original: 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc.' In TS. we take it that there is still direct address, *vo* referring to the gods; and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as assimilated to the case of *vo*. At any rate TS. means: 'I take the footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, All-gods' (or, at least, *vo* must certainly go with *viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ*, as its position clearly suggests, rather than with *pannejanīr* as Keith takes it).

puṣṭipate (MS. *puṣṭa*°; ApŚ. °*pataye*) *puṣṭiś* (MS. om.) *cakṣuṣe...punar dhehi* (*dehi*)...MS. AŚ. ApŚ. Caland adopts voc. for ApŚ.; but this involves also reading *puṣṭiṁ* for *puṣṭiś*, which is supported by AŚ. and which MS. lacks altogether. To us it seems that ApŚ. has a genuine (tho secondary) variant: 'To the Lord of Prosperity prosperity! Give back etc.'

§360. The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epithet' (§14):

viprā †*gāthaṁ gāyata yaj jujoṣati* (AA. °*ṣat*) AA. ŚŚ.: *viprāya* †*gāthaṁ gāyata yaṁ jujoṣate* SV. Preceded by *pra va indrāya vṛtrahantamāya*. In SV. the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer).

tasmai rudrāya namo astv agnaye (KS. ApŚ. *astu devāḥ*, MŚ.† *'stu devāya*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚirasU. (Ppp. has the pāda ending *astv adya*, TS. TA. MahānU. ending *astu*.) Lectio difficillima in AV. (probably original). The voc. *devāḥ* cannot refer to the same personage as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only associated with Rudra. Add to VV 2 §909.

§361. A couple of anomalous cases:

ekam iṣe TB. ApŚ. SMB. KhG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. Followed, where more than a pratīka, by *viṣṇus tvānvetu* (*nayatu*). 'One (step) for nourishment; may Viṣṇu accompany (lead) thee.' Simi-

lar are *iṣa ekapadī* (sc. *bhava*) AG. ŚG.: *iṣe tvā sumaṅgali prajāvati susīme* Kauś. In these the formula is the first of a series employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording. In TS. we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context from any occurring in the others, as follows: *ekam iṣa (viṣṇus tvānu vi cakrame)*: 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣṇu has stepped along after thee.' Keith denies any relation between this and the other mantras; but it seems to us probable that he is wrong. TS. has simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered from other occasions. It has turned *iṣe* into a voc., probably thinking of the RV. adjective *iṣa* (but comm. *sarvadevair iṣyamāṇa*).

[*kanyakumāryai* (TA. °*mārī*) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. °*kumāri*, but with accent on the penult (!); and its comm. °*kumārī*. Occurs in a series of formulas which are closely parallel, differing only in using various names; in all the others datives are found. Neither a voc. nor a nom. is, in fact, conceivable here. Perhaps TA. has a mere phonetic corruption, belonging with VV 2 §§700–701. Comm. understands a dative, adding: *liṅgādivyatyayaḥ sarvatra chāndaso draṣṭavyaḥ* (very simple!).]

C. Vocative and ablative

§362. We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the vocative is surely original; it is subject of the following verb *yaja*: 'O broad atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice...].' In VS. ŚB. this is violently detached from the following phrase containing *yaja*, and apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the comms.); but the reading is certainly poor:

uro antarikṣa (VS. ŚB. *uror antarikṣāt*) *sajūr devena vātena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (Delete reference to KS. 2. 2.)

D. Vocative and genitive

§363. Here again the variants are not numerous. Some are essentially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final visarga; see especially §366. Most of them are cases of shift between direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the same noun is referred to in the genitive. In quite a number of these, however, as in the nom.-voc. cases mentioned §333, one form or the other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic harshness. Thus:

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

Followed in all by *payasvatī rantir* (MS. *rātir*) *āśā no astu*. 'In (by) [thy] lordship, O Savitar': 'in the lordship of Savitar'. But the first part of the stanza is directly addessed to a different deity, and the voc. *savitar* is harsh.

yena te te prajāpate TB. ApŚ.: *yenaite prajāpateḥ* MŚ. Followed in all by *ījānasya nyavartayan*. Here the following gen. *ījānasya*, which in the (doubtless original) TB. ApŚ. form agreed with *te* referring to Prajāpati, is doubtless connected with the alteration to *prajāpateḥ*. But in MŚ.'s form *te* is lost and the statement becomes third-personal.

tāṁ savitaḥ satyasavāṁ sucitrām AV.: *tāṁ savitur vareṇyasya citrām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Followed in all by *āhaṁ vṛṇe sumatiṁ viśvajanyām* (AV. *viśvavārām*). 'O Savitar, this [thy] favor...': 'this favor of Savitar.' In the 3d pāda all, including AV., refer to Savitar in the 3d person, with *asya*. This rather mild inconsistency does not prove that AV. is secondary; on the contrary it may suggest that the others have assimilated to the following context.

apsu te rājan varuṇa AV.: *dvīpe rājño varuṇasya* KS. AŚ. Followed by *gṛho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ* (AŚ. *mito hiraṇyayaḥ*). 'A golden house is built for thee, O king Varuṇa (for king Varuṇa).' The 2d half verse refers to Varuṇa in the 3d person in AV.; but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS. AŚ.; note that they are metrically very poor. Form assimilation.

yad bhūmer hṛdayam, [*divi candramasi śritam*] ApMB.†: *veda te bhūmi hṛdayam* PG. HG. Even ApMB. addresses Earth directly with a voc. in the following; it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda.

viṣṇoḥ (ApMB. *viṣṇo*, v. l. *viṣṇoḥ*) *śreṣṭhena* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *śraiṣṭhyena*) *rūpeṇa* RVKh. ApMB. MG. 'With the noblest form of Viṣṇu': 'with [thy] noblest form, O Viṣṇu.' The same pāda, with different divine names, is found AV. 5. 25. 10–13, with vocatives; and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS*. 48. 38), with *savituś, viṣṇoḥ, tvaṣṭuḥ*, but *bhagaḥ* (for *bhaga*?). Barret emends to vocs. in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ., but this seems dubious procedure. The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with *ā dhehi*, in all.

so 'haṁ vājaṁ saneyam agne (KS. *sanāmy* †*agneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni).'

ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo (AŚ.† °*yoḥ*) *srucam āsyasva* TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §352, end; AŚ. has a stupid corruption.

§364. One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2):

punānāya prabhūvaso RV. SV.: *punānasya prabhūvasoḥ* RV. The voc. agrees directly with *soma*, the gen. with *yasya* which refers to Soma.

parṇaṁ vanaspater iva TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. PG. HG.: *parṇaṁ vanaspate 'nu tvā* SMB. Quite different contexts.

§365. We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive. These are similar to the variants of the voc. with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff. In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation:

bṛhaspatisutasya ta (KS. om. *ta*, leaving hiatus) *indo* (KS. MS. *inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvantaṁ* (KS. °*vato*) *grahaṁ gṛhṇāmi* (MS. *rādhyāsam*, KS. *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK. *inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvato grahāṁ ṛdhyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. It is evident that VS. has assimilated the voc. of all other texts to the gen. *te* and accompanying adjectives. Note that only the Vāj. texts have another voc. (*deva soma*), which makes *indo* unnecessary.

§366. The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character; the original voc. *agne* becomes *agneḥ* by addition of the evanescent final visarga, on which see VV 2 §§378 ff. (this variant was overlooked there and should be added to §381). It will be noted that not a few of the other voc.-gen. variants show this same phonetic relationship, and as we have suggested l. c. it is quite likely that in some of them the phonetic moment is more weighty than the syntactic. We doubt, however, whether Knauer (MG., Einleitung, xxxii f.) is right in suggesting that this added visarga was intended as an external mark of an imperative or vocative form; we even question whether it indicated (as Knauer thinks) aspirate pronunciation of a following consonant.

dā agne (MG. *agneḥ*) *prajayā saha* RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG. (All MG. mss. actually read *dāgneḥ* with secondary crasis; this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989; Knauer emends.) Preceded by *tubhyam agre* (MG. *agne*; on this cf. VV 2 §864) *paryavahan, sūryāṁ vahatunā saha, punaḥ* (AV. *sa naḥ*) *patibhyo jāyām.* 'Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?).' But note that MG. also contains voc. *agne* (for original *agre*), addressing the verse to Agni.

§367. In a couple of cases a voc. varies with a partitive gen. (see §84):

tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe RV. VS.: *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV. 'Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants).' Same context. The masc. gender is peculiar; apparently there is thought of the

gender of *vṛkṣa*. A tree is addressed. But fem. forms occur in the following verses of AV.

atho rājann (AV. *uta rājñām*) *uttamaṁ mānavānām* AV. TB. Addressed to a king; either makes good sense. The gen. *rājñām* might be assimilated to the following gen. ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc. might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('[who shall make thee] also, O king, highest of men').

§368. The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14). To that category certainly belongs the following:

purā krūrasya visṛpo virapśin (MS. °*śinaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. It is clear that MS. has transferred the epithet *virapśin(aḥ)* into agreement with *krūrasya*. Otherwise the interpretation is dubious. Mahīdhara understands: 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings to and fro, O mighty one (Viṣṇu or the sacrificer).' So, with misgivings, Eggeling, *SBE*. 12. 64 n. 3. Sāyaṇa on TS. 1. 1. 9. 3: 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking *visṛpo* as abl. gerund. So Griffith and Keith; Eggeling thinks this more probable than the other.

§369. A stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc. (or nom.) to gen.:

vider agnir (VSK. ŚB. *agner*, MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS. MŚ. add *yat te*) VSK. TS. MS. ŚBK. MŚ.: *vided agnir nabho nāma* VS. KS. ŚB. See §333. The nom. is doubtless the original form; but certainly the voc. is better than the gen., which must be construed in dependence on *nāma* ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed.

ṣaṣṭiś cādhvaryū (ApŚ. °*yo*, AŚ.† °*yor*) *navatiś ca pāśāḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. A voc. is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's'. Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ.

E. Vocative and locative

§370. First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15); an originally independent noun, in loc. construction, is made into a voc. epithet of the subject:

apadyamānaḥ pṛthivyām TA. ApŚ.: *apadyamānā* †*pṛthivi* TS. ApŚ.: *avyathamānā pṛthivyām* (MS. once °*vyām* without v. l., once *pṛthivī* according to p.p., but s.p. might also be read *pṛthivi*, and one ms. has °*vyām*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed in all by *āśā diśa ā pṛṇa*. Except in TA. ApŚ. the firepan is addressed, and doubtless the

loc. is original: 'not falling to (wobbling upon) the earth'. In TS. (ApŚ.), and perhaps once in MS., the loc. is assimilated to the subject and treated as a grandiloquent epithet of the firepan. The earth is a symbol of solidity and security.—In TA. ApŚ. the same verse is used in a different ritual connexion which requires a masculine pple. (phrase-inflection).

§371. The next is probably not a real variation in case:

sa supraṇīte (ŚŚ. *°tī*) *nṛtamaḥ svarāḍ asi* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms may be taken as locs., and the text mss. of ŚŚ. actually read *°te*; see VV 2 §695.

CHAPTER XIV

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

1. Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372. The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions. In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5). But of course the materials correspond only in part. For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation. On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form.

§373. A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG. 4. 9, 10 and BDh. 2. 5. 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted. Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (*tarpaṇa*) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (*om*) *agniṁ tarpayāmi* BDh., *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG. So with *vāyu, sūrya, viṣṇu, prajāpati*, etc. A similar set occurs in AG., with the verb understood thruout, and expressed (*tṛpyantu*) only at the end. The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG.; hence such variants as *ṛṣayaḥ* (sc. *tṛpyantu*) AG. ŚG.: (*om*) *ṛṣīṅs tarpayāmi* BDh. Finally, it must be noticed that in the middle of the list ŚG. suddenly shifts to a causative construction like that of BDh. (*śrutiṁ tarpayāmi...*), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh.), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form. Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG. form. The Śāmbavya Gṛhya (quoted by Oldenberg, *ISt.* 15. 153) has a similar list with the names all in the nominative.

§374. Cases also occur in which the same verb form, or at least a form in the same voice, is found in both variants, but is used now in active sense, governing the acc., now in intransitive, passive, or reflexive sense, with nom. subject. Naturally these would find no inclusion in

VV 1; yet they are psychologically of the same nature as active-passive or causative-intransitive shifts. Of these we find the following examples:

apochatu (AV. °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV. *ye kimīdinaḥ*) RV. AV. 'Let him (Indra) shine away the paired *kimīdins*', or 'let the paired *kimīdins* fade away.' The verb *apa-vas* is transitive in RV.; in this AV. passage it seems impossible to avoid taking it as intransitive. In AV. 2. 8. 2 and 3. 7. 7 it is also commonly taken as intrans., but Bloomfield (*SBE.* 42. 289, 338 f.) would make it trans.

ā no viśvāsu havyaḥ (SV. Svidh. *havyam*) RV. AV. SV. AA. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by *indraḥ* (SV. *indraṁ*) *samatsu bhūṣatu* (SV. °*ta*). The verb is used in a different sense; explained in §330.

ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā (ApMB. *kāmāṅ*) *ayaṁsata* (AV. *araṁsata*) RV. AV. ApMB. In the RV. original: 'O Aśvins, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts.' In ApMB., with less feeling for the middle: 'O Aśvins, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts.'

ekapadī dvipadī...aṣṭāpadī bhuvanānu prathatāṁ svāhā TS.: *ekapadīṁ ...aṣṭāpadīṁ bhuvanānu prathantām* VS. ŚB.: *ekapādaṁ dvipādaṁ †tripādaṁ catuṣpādaṁ bhuvanānu prathantām* KS. Only TS. seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have: 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds.' In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= *prathayantu*; cf. the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous. Comm. on VS. and Eggeling make *bhuvanā* subject: 'let the worlds spread her along' or (comm.) 'make her renowned.' Better indefinite subject, as suggested VV 1 p. 268.

somaṁ rājānam oṣadhīṣv apsu VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *somo rājauṣadhīṣv apsu* KS. Preceded by *vājasyemaṁ* (KS. *vājasya nu*) *prasavaḥ suṣuve 'gre* (TS. †*agre*; add to VV 2 §908). In the original: 'The instigation of strength pressed out this King Soma,' etc. KS. eliminates the pronoun *imam* and brings *somo rājā* into agreement with the subject of the verb, which is now felt as passive; probably it also understands *prasavaḥ* as 'offshoot'. 'The offshoot of strength, (viz.) King Soma, was pressed out.'

§375. A little different is the next, in which the sense of the verb is also changed, but is transitive both times, the subject and object being reversed:

avrato (AA. °*taṁ*) *hinoti na spṛśad rayim* (AA. *rayiḥ*) SV. AA. Preceded in SV. by *na kāmam*, in AA. by *na somo*. 'The man who pays no

vows attains not his desire, wins not wealth', SV.: 'Soma impels not him who keeps no vows, wealth will not come near (him)', AA. See Keith's note on AA.

§376. Frequent in the YV. formulas are dedicatory expressions (cf. §126) in which no verb at all is expressed. In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulaic) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker. These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts; or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed. So we get such variants as these; it would hardly be worth while to list them completely:

himavate (TS. KSA. TA. °*to*) *hastī* (TA. *hastinam*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. TA. 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant.'

dhūmrān vasantāyālabhate VS. *dhūmrā vasantāya* MS. In the same passage, *prṣato hemantāya* VS., *prṣanto hemantāya* MS., and others.

anumatyai caruḥ (MS. *carum*) TS. MS. KSA.: *adityai viṣṇupatnyai carum* (KSA. *caruḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. And others.

agnaye 'ṅhomuce 'ṣṭākapālaḥ TS. KSA. ApŚ.: *agnaye 'ṅhomuce puroḍāśam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapati* MS. In this and the following MS. alone has acc. thruout, all others nom.; the verb *nirvapati* is however regularly omitted in MS. So:

agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaḥ VS. TS. KS. KSA.: *vaiśvānaraṁ dvādaśakapālam* MS.

mitrāvaruṇābhyām āgomugbhyāṁ payasyā (MS. °*yām*) TS. MS. KSA.— Similarly *marudbhya enomugbhyām* etc.; *agnaye gāyatrāya* etc.; *bṛhaspataye pāṅktāya* etc.

§377. In one passage with no verb expressed, the name of the deity is put alternatively in the acc. and nom. The case to be expected is rather dat. or gen.; cf. §485 under *agniṁ svāhā* etc. The TB. comm. supplies *uddiśya* to govern the acc. No explanation of the nom. in ŚB. is offered by the comm. or by Eggeling. Perhaps an intransitive form of *tṛp* is to be supplied with the nom. and a transitive form of the same verb or of *yaj* (*hotā yakṣat*...) with the acc. (cf. §§373 and 459 under *svāhāgnim*...). Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc. forms in ŚB.:

svāhā devā ājyapāḥ (TB. *devāṅ ājyapān*) ŚB. TB.

§378. Next may be recorded a group in which a form of *kṛ* or *dhā*, 'make' or 'put', with acc., varies with a form of *as* or *bhū* with nom.,

or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulaic verb. Thus:
parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV.: *paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. 'Away the dream-faced pains' (supply *santu* in AV., rather than 'I put' with Whitney); 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly, 'away put the dream-faces').

ojasvantaṁ mām āyuṣmantaṁ varcasvantaṁ (MS. *māṁ sahasvantaṁ*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait. *āyuṣmantaṁ manuṣyeṣu kṛṇuhi*) TS. MS. AŚ. Vait.: *ojasvān ahaṁ manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VSK.: *ojasvy ahaṁ manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* ŚŚ.: *ojiṣṭho 'haṁ man° bhū°* VS. ŚB.

bhrājasvantaṁ mām āyuṣmantaṁ varcasvantaṁ (MS. *māṁ varcasvantaṁ*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* TS. MS.: *bhrājasvān* (ŚG. *bhrājasvy*) *ahaṁ* (VS. ŚB. *bhrājiṣṭho 'haṁ*) *manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

jaradaṣṭiṁ kṛṇomi tvā AV.: *jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi* SMB. Ppp. (*JAOS.* 42. 125) reads as SMB.

brahma varma mamāntaram RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: *brahmāham antaraṁ kṛṇve* (KŚ. *karave*) AV. KŚ. 'Brahman is my inner defense': 'I make B. my inner (defense).'

asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī AV.: *asmākaṁ kṛṇmo harivo medinaṁ tvā* Ppp. (*JAOS.* 37. 263 f.): *iha kṛṇmo harivo medinaṁ tvā* KS.: *asya* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, Sch. em. *kurmo*) *harivo medinaṁ* (RVKh. Sch. *vedinaṁ*) *tvā* RVKh. TS. TB.

viśvāhā dhattam anapasphurantīm RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *viśvāhā santv anapasphurantīḥ* AV. TA.

catuṣṭomo abhavad (MS. KS. *catuṣṭomam adadhād*) *yā turīyā* TS. MS. KS. 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoma.'

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N. °*nam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.

ariṣṭāṁ tvā (KŚ. MŚ. MG. *mā*) *saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. MŚ. MG. *dadhātu*) RV. KŚ. MŚ. MG. ApMB.: *ariṣṭāhaṁ saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS. The contexts are essentially similar, but the forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman.

aśmānaṁ tanvaṁ kṛdhi AV.: *aśmā bhavatu nas* (AV. *te*) *tanūḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *aśmā bhava paraśur bhava* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. HG. MG. ApMB. The contexts are in part similar.

ākhuṁ te rudra paśuṁ karomi MS. MŚ.: *ākhus te paśuḥ* VS. TS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ.: *ākhus te rudra paśuḥ* TS. ApŚ.

yathā tvaṁ (PG. *tvam agne*) *suśravaḥ suśravā asy* (SMB. *deveṣv*) *evam ahaṁ suśravaḥ suśravā bhūyāsam* (SMB. *brāhmaṇeṣu bhūyāsam*,

AG. PG. MG. *evaṁ māṁ suśravaḥ sauśravasaṁ kuru*) AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.

§379. In a couple of other cases forms of *dhṛ* (passive) or *pad* (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom. form of the variant; otherwise they are exactly like the preceding:

evā te dhriyatāṁ garbhaḥ AV.: *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV.: *evaṁ garbhaṁ dadhāmi te 'sau* (ApMB. *dadhātu te*, HG. *dadhāmi te*) ŚB. BṛhU. ŚG. ApMB. HG.: *evaṁ taṁ garbham ā dhehi* RVKh. MG.: *evaṁ tvaṁ garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB.

viśvasya jantor adhamaṁ cakāra (RV.* AV. *adhamas padīṣṭa*) RV. (both) AV. 'He has made him lowest of every creature': 'may he fall lowest of every creature.'

§380. There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc. vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom. In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root; these are given first:

evam aham āyuṣā...samindhe (SMB. *samedhiṣīya*) SMB. PG.: *evaṁ mām āyuṣā* (HG. *māṁ medhayā*)...*samedhaya* ApMB. HG. 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me'.

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

tvaṁ yajñeṣv īḍyaḥ RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tvāṁ yajñeṣv īḍate* RV.

vediṁ bhūmiṁ kalpayitvā AV.: *vedir bhūmir akalpata* AV. Both in same hymn; 'shaping the earth into a *vedi*': 'the earth took shape as a *vedi*.'

varca ā dhehi (KS. *dhāyi*) *me tanvam* (KS. *tanūḥ*) AV. KS. 'Set splendor in my body': 'my body has been set in splendor.' On *tanvam* see §249.

māmīṣāṁ (TS. TB. ApŚ. *maiṣāṁ*) *kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣām uccheṣi kiṁ cana* AV.: *māmīṣāṁ moci kaś cana* AV. 'Leave not one of them': 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be let go').

gaṇā (KS. *te*) *me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *gaṇān me mā vi tīṭṛṣaḥ* (MŚ. *vi tīṭṛṣat*, Vait. *vy arīriṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha PB.: *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa te* (MŚ. *tena*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ sūryasya PB.: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* TS. ApŚ.: *yunajmi tisro vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ sava [iti]* MŚ.

dviṣantaṁ (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV. *mahyaṁ*) *randhayan* RV. AV.

TB. ApŚ.: *dviṣaṅś ca mahyaṁ radhyatu* AV.: *dviṣanto radhyantāṁ mahyam* MŚ. All in the same verse. Add to VV 1 §§79, 238.

mṛtyava ekaśataṁ paraḥ Kauś.: *mṛtyūn ekaśataṁ caye* ApŚ. Others, §509. The verb in Kauś. is *nir yantu.*

pāpmānaṁ te 'pahanmaḥ KŚ.: *pāpmānaṁ me 'pa jahi* (MG. *me hata*) Kauś. MG.: *pāpmā me hataḥ* AG.: *hato me pāpmā* AG. MG.

caritrāṅs te śundhāmi VS. ŚB.: *śuddhāś caritrāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

trayastriṅśat (VS. *catustriṅśat*) *tantavo ye vi tatnire* (MS. *yaṁ* [for *yāṅ?*] *vi tanvate,* KS. AŚ. *yān vi tanvate*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. '...which were stretched out (which they stretched out).'

ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate (AV.† *pṛthivīṁ vy ūduḥ*) RV. AV. MS. KS. N.: *ād it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS.

athaiṣāṁ bhinnakaḥ kumbhaḥ SMB.: *bhinadmi te kuṣumbham* AV.: *atho bhinadmi taṁ kumbham* Ppp.

ayaṁ vai tvām ajanayad ayaṁ tvad adhijāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ.: *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayaṁ tvad adhijāyatām...* (JB. °*thā eṣa tvaj jāyatāṁ...*) JB. AG. Kauś.

yenākṣā (SMB. °*kṣān,* PG. °*kṣyāv,* ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyasiñcatam,* PG. *abhyasiñcatām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai (also °*vyai devayajanyai,* °*vyā adevayajanaḥ*) TS. ApŚ.: *apārarum adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā devayajanāj* (ApŚ.† *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ.: *apāraruṁ pṛthivyai devayajanād bādhyāsam* VS. ŚB.: *apāraruṁ pṛthivyā adevayajanam* (ApŚ. °*rum adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyāḥ*) MS. MŚ. ApŚ. (the last apparently an abbreviated form of the KS. formula).

§381. In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms. Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nom. form, as in §§376–7:

pumāṅsaṁ putraṁ janaya AV. ŚG.: *pumāṅs te putro nāri* ApMB. 'Bear a male son': 'a male son is thine, O woman.'

antarikṣasya dhartrīṁ (TS. om. *an° dha°*) *viṣṭambhanīṁ* (TS. °*nī*) *diśām adhipatnīṁ* (TS. °*nī*) *bhuvanānām* (MS. *diśāṁ bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. predicate noms. with preceding copula; in the others agreeing with object of *sādayāmi.*

sūryaṁ cakṣur gamayatāt, vātaṁ prāṇam anvavasṛjatāt MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *sūryas te* (AV. *sūryo me*) *cakṣur vātaḥ prāṇaḥ* AV. TS. KSA. ŚŚ. [Cf. *sūryaṁ* (TA. *sūryaṁ te*) *cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā* RV. TA.: *sūryaś cakṣur vātaḥ prāṇam, puruṣasya vi bhejire* AV.] In the same passages: *antarikṣam asum* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.:

antarikṣam ātmā AV. TA. ŚŚ.: *pṛthivīṁ śarīram* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *pṛthivī śarīram* (MŚ. °*ram asi*) AV. ŚŚ. MŚ. With the first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like is to be understood. The second is a nominal clause (with 3d person copula 'understood', as used to be said). MŚ. in a still unpublished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person *asi*, which would seem to require a voc. instead of nom. *pṛthivī*, or else *pṛthivī-śarīram* as a cpd.

aganma yatra pratiranta āyuḥ (MG. *prataraṁ na āyuḥ*) RV. AV. MG. 'We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended for us, or the like).'

§382. Others, in which the nom. form is subject of other intransitive verbs, are:

ā te prāṇaṁ suvāmasi AV.: *punas te prāṇa āyati* (TA. *āyāti*, AŚ. *āyātu*) TS.† TA. AŚ.

sahasriṇa upa no māhi vājān (*no yantu vājāḥ*) RV. (both).

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇeha bhakṣīya TS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* TS.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya draviṇaṁ māgachatu* KS. And others, see VV 1 §104u. Cf. also §326 above.

ihaiva tiṣṭha nimitā (MG. *nitarā*) AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *ihaiva dhruvā* (ŚG. *sthūṇe*) *prati tiṣṭha śāle* (ŚG. *dhruvā*) AV. ŚG. HG.: *ihaiva dhruvāṁ ni minomi śālām* AV. PG. HG.

ūrṇamradasaṁ (*ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*, Kauś. *ūrṇamradaṁ prathasva*) *svāsasthaṁ* (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthāṁ*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. Kauś. ApŚ. *ūrṇamradaḥ* of KS. might be taken as voc. (since the text is here not accented), but Kauś. suggests rather nom., and *svāsasthaṁ* can only be nom. (neut.).

yamāya somaṁ sunuta (AV. *somaḥ pavate*) RV. AV. TA.

§383. We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as a sort of transition to the next subdivision:

sam ī vatsaṁ na mātṛbhiḥ RV. SV. AB. AŚ.: *saṁ vatsa iva mātṛbhiḥ* RV. SV. AB. AŚ. The first is followed by *sṛjatā gayasādhanam*, the second by *indur hinvāno ajyate*. The calf is compared to soma in both, and the sense is essentially identical. The two hymns are workings-up of the same material; see *RVRep.* 13, and on 9. 104. 2. We find here something like the 'phrase inflection' found in the next group.

2. Phrase Inflection

§384. Often, as is well known, a phrase or an entire pāda is lifted out of its original context and put into a new context. This, naturally,

may require a change in the case of one or more noun forms. To such alterations we have applied the term 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2). As regards nominative-accusative shifts of this sort, they differ from those listed above essentially only in that the context in the two forms differs in such a way that in one form the nom. is required, in the other the acc. (In the preceding variants the context is essentially the same, but their internal syntax has been altered in a way that involves shift of case.)

§385. A simple illustration is the pāda *kṣīreṇa pūrṇā* (*pūrṇāṅ*) *udakena dadhnā* (both AV.). In the first form the nom. agrees with the noms. of the preceding pāda (*ghṛtahradā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ*); in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with *kumbhāṅś* of the preceding pāda (*caturaḥ kumbhāṅś caturdhā dadāmi*).

§386. Sometimes two entire pādas are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words. Thus the two following variant pādas are pādas b, c of a verse which in RV. has for a *tam ahyan bhurijor dhiyā*, but in SV. *eṣa sūryeṇa hāsate*. The epithets of Soma are in RV. objects of *ahyan*, in SV. subjects of *hāsate*:
saṁvasānaṁ (SV. °*no*) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °*tā*); followed by:
patiṁ (SV. *patir*) *vāco adābhyam* (SV. °*yaḥ*) RV. SV.

§387. The long list of such variants now follows. It will be noted that sometimes shifts of number and gender as well as case are involved. For convenience these are listed separately, after the others (§388). Otherwise neither subdivision nor, as a rule, individual comment seems to be called for.

pavamāno vicarṣaṇiḥ RV.: *pavamānaṁ vicarṣaṇim* RV. In quite different contexts; nom. subject of *arocayat*, acc. object of *gāyata*.

tiro rajāṁsy aspṛtam (RV.* °*taḥ*, SV. *astṛtaḥ*) RV. (both) SV.

kośa iva pūrṇo vasunā SMB.: *kośaṁ na pūrṇaṁ vasunā nyṛṣṭam* RV. AV.

agnī ratho na vedyaḥ RV.: *agniṁ rathaṁ na vedyam* RV. Cf. §348.

hiraṇyābhīśum (and °*śur*) *aśvinā* RV. (both). See *RVRep.* on 8. 5. 28.

īśāno jagatas patiḥ AV. TS. KS. ApMB.: *īśānaṁ jagadaiḥ sada* PG.

avyo vāre (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV. SV. (both in each).

pībasphākam udārathim AV.: *pīvo vṛkka udārathiḥ* RV. KS.

viśvasya jagato niśām (ArS. *rātrī*) RVKh. ArS.

sindhutas pary ābhṛtaḥ (and °*tam*) AV. (both).

sutaṁ somaṁ diviṣṭiṣu RV.: *sutaḥ somo diviṣṭiṣu* RV. SV.

suṣamiddhaṁ (VS. *susam*°) *vareṇyam* VS. TB.: *suṣamiddho* (VS. MS. *susam*°) *vareṇyaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

suṣvāṇaṁ (and °*ṇo*) *devavītaye* RV. SV. (both in each).

ṛṣibhiḥ saṁbhṛtaṁ rasam RV. SV. TB.: *ṛṣ° saṁbhṛto rasaḥ* RVKh. SV. TB.

barhiś ca vediś (ŚŚ. *vediṁ*) *ca* MS. ŚŚ.

dogdhrīṁ dhenum ŚŚ.: *dogdhrī dhenuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. The verb is *āsuvam* in ŚŚ., in the others *jāyatām*. Likewise, in the same passages, these acc. forms in ŚŚ. with corresponding noms. in the others: *volhāram anaḍvāham, āśuṁ saptiṁ, jiṣṇuṁ ratheṣṭhām, puraṁdhiṁ yoṣām, sabheyaṁ yuvānam*. The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of 'phrase inflection' on a large scale.

bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānam (AV.* °*naḥ*, TA.† *anapaspaśānam*) RV. AV. (bis) MS. TA. N. The same verse, with acc. governed by following verb, in all except AV. 6. 28. 3, where the nom. occurs preceded by *yaḥ prathamaḥ pravatam ā sasāda*. This AV. passage has adapted the orig. to a quite new context; see Whitney's note and Pischel, *VSt.* 2. 73.

tiras tamāṁsi darśataḥ (RV.* °*tam*) RV. (both) AV. SV. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. The RV. acc. form and ŚŚ. are followed by:

ghṛtāhavanam īḍyam RV.: *ghṛtāhavana īḍyaḥ* ŚŚ. The nom. of RV. etc. is in apposition with *agniḥ*, subject of *sam idhyate*; the acc. is appropriate to its different context. In ŚŚ. both occur as nivids; cf. *RVRep.* 192.

agniḥ (RV. **agniṁ*) *śukreṇa śociṣā* RV. (both) KS.

apāṁ patiṁ vṛṣabham oṣadhīnām KS.: *apāṁ patir vṛṣabha* (KS. om. *vṛ*°) *oṣadhīnām* MS. KS.

ghṛtaṁ duhānām aditiṁ janāya VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ghṛtaṁ duhānāditir janāya* KS.

sahasradhārā payasā mahī gauḥ RV.: *sahasradhārāṁ payasā mahīṁ gām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Occurs thrice in RV., the nom. being subject of various verbs. In the others preceded by *yām asya kaṇvo aduhat prapīnām*, a pāda found also in AV., where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz. *sahasradhārāṁ mahiṣo bhagāya*.

maṇiḥ sahasravīryaḥ AV.: *maṇiṁ sahasravīryam* AV.

yajiṣṭhaṁ havyavāhana (and °*nam*) RV.: *yajiṣṭho havyavāhanaḥ* RV.

rathītamaṁ rathīnām RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *rathītamo rathīnām* RV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 11. 1.

viśvajanasya chāyā (MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. *chāyāsi*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *viśvajanasya chāyām* ApŚ.

āyuḥ kīrtir varco yaśo balam HG.: *āyuḥ kīrtiṁ yaśo balam annādyaṁ prajām* PG.

sahasradhāram (TAA.* °*ro*) *akṣitam* (TAA.* °*taḥ*) RV. AV. TAA. (both). In RV. both words are acc. masc., epithets of *indum*. In AV. twice in a wholly different stanza: *ud utsaṁ śatadhāraṁ, saḥ° akṣ°, evāsmākedaṁ dhānyaṁ, saḥ° akṣ°*. This is recast in TAA. thus: *yathā kūpaḥ śatadhāraḥ, sahasradhāro akṣitaḥ, evā me astu dhānyaṁ, sahasradhāram akṣitam*. Ppp. (*JAOS*. 37. 294 ff.) agrees with TAA. but for *akṣataḥ* and *akṣatam* (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the corruption *rūpaś* for *kūpaś*, which Barret l. c. failed to correct. The Ppp. TAA. reading makes both forms nom. both times (once masc., once neut.), and is simpler than AVŚ., which is certainly harsh; see Whitney on 3. 24. 4, who takes the forms as acc. depending on the verb of the prec. stanza. In pāda d they might be taken as nom. neut., as in Ppp. TAA.; but in b this is difficult, since *utsa* is otherwise masc. We feel however that accs. are impossible, and that either *utsa* is here felt as neut., or the forms of pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom. neut.). Cf. the next, which is evidently related.

sahasradhāraṁ śatadhāram utsam akṣitam AV.: *sahasradhāra utso akṣīyamāṇaḥ* ApŚ. Cf. preceding. Different contexts.

añgabhedam añgajvaram AV.: *añgabhedo añgajvaraḥ* AV.

indraṁ (RV.* *indraḥ*) *somasya pītaye* (RV.* adds *vṛṣāyate*) RV. (both) AV. SV.

duḥśaṁsaṁ martyaṁ ripum RV.: *duḥśaṁso martyo ripuḥ* RV.

dhanaṁjayaṁ raṇe-raṇe RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. MŚ.: *dhanaṁjayo raṇe-raṇe* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS.

maṁhiṣṭhaṁ vājasātaye RV. SV.: *maṁhiṣṭho vājasātaye* RV. AA. ŚŚ.

prajāpatiḥ prathamajā ṛtasya AV. MS. TS. TA. MahānU.: *prajāpatiṁ prathamajām ṛtasya* MS. TB.

§388. The following are precisely similar except that the variant forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case:

bahvīṁ prajāṁ janayantīṁ sarūpām (ApMB.* *janayantī suratnā*,* *janayantau saretasā*) TA. MahānU. ApMB. (bis).

aṣṭasthūṇo daśapakṣaḥ Kauś.: *aṣṭāpakṣāṁ daśapakṣām* AV.

sidhram adya divispṛśam (RV.* SV. MS.* KS. °*śaḥ*) RV. (both) SV. TS. MS. (both) KS. ApŚ. N. For *divispṛśaḥ*, nom. pl. rather than gen. sg., see *RVRep.* on 1. 142. 8.

gaur aśvaḥ puruṣaḥ paśuḥ AV. TA.: *gām aśvaṁ puruṣaṁ jagat* (AV. *paśum;* RVKh. *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh. AV. TA. MahānU. ApMB. HG.: *gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ.

viśvā rūpāṇi bibhrataḥ (AV.* °*tam*) AV. (both) MS.

samānaṁ yonim anu saṁcarantam RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *samānaṁ yonim anu saṁcarantī* (AV. MS. °*carete*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

maṁhiṣṭhaṁ vo maghonām RV.: *maṁhiṣṭhāso maghonām* RV.

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. °*taṁ*) *marudbhiḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. In both KS. TA. different contexts; in KS. neut. acc. adverb, see §817; in TA. masc. acc. adjective, §849.

amṛtā martyebhyaḥ RV.: *amṛtaṁ martyābhyaḥ* TB. ApŚ.

sahasrasā medhasātā saniṣyavaḥ (RV. KB. *medhasātāv iva tmanā*, VSK. *medhasātā iva tmanā*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB.: *sahasrasām medhasātāv iva tmanā* RV. SV.

3. Interchange of subject and object

§389. We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant pāda is altered. But now there is no longer any change in the syntax of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as goal of motion or the like. Yet without any alteration in the form or meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject and now as object. Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and vice versa. It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty. Thus in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say 'Brahman has increased the gods' or 'the gods have increased brahman':

udgrābhaṁ ca nigrābhaṁ ca VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *udgrābhaś ca nigrābhaś ca* MS. KS. MŚ. Followed in all but MŚ. by:

brahma devā (MS. s.p. *devaṁ*, KS. *devāṁ*) *avīvṛdhan* (MS. KS. °*dhat*). The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to *brahma* rather than coordinate with it; cf. Keith on TS. 1. 1. 13. 1.

na tat prāpnoti nirṛtiṁ parācaiḥ (KŚ. *nirṛtiḥ parastāt*) KŚ. ApŚ.: *nābhi prāpnoti* (MŚ. *prāpnuyur*) *nirṛtiṁ parācaiḥ* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāt*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Destruction reaches it not' or 'it reaches not destruction'. For MŚ.'s verb see VV 1 p. 265.

ojo na jūtir (TB. *jūtim*) *ṛṣabho* (MS.† *vṛṣ*°; add to VV 2 §359) *na bhāmam* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *vanaspatir no dadhad indriyāṇi*. TB. makes *ojas* subject and *jūti* predicate of the first simile, reversing the relationship found in the others; but there is little real difference.

tābhiḥ saṁrabdham anv avindan (TB. *saṁrabdho avidat*) *ṣaḍ urvīḥ* AV TB. 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them'; or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions).' In a mystic verse to Rohita; one version makes as good or as bad sense as the other.

viśvam anyām abhīvāra AV. (Ppp. *viśvam anyābhi vavāra*, which Whitney adopts, tho Barret *JAOS.* 26. 223 alters it to *anyām abhi*): *viśvam anyābhivāvṛdhe* TB. ApŚ. No doubt Ppp., supported by TB. ApŚ., is more original in making *anyā* subject and *viśvam* object; but the AVŚ. reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one'.

jyok ca paśyāti (PG. °*āsi*, MG. °*ati*) *sūryam* (MG. °*yaḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun behold him).' See VV 1 p. 235.

gamad indraṁ (SV. *indro*) *vṛṣā sutaḥ* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV. Apparently the reversal of relationship in SV. was due to a feeling that *vṛṣā* is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (*sutaḥ*).

taṁ vartanir (SV. °*nīr*) *anu vāvṛta ekam it puru* (SV. *eka it*) SV. AV. 'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV.): 'the path has followed him, the One, manifoldly' (AV.). The latter is probably a secondary mouthing over of SV.

ā tvā sakhāyaḥ sakhyā vavṛtyuḥ SV.: *o cit sakhāyaṁ sakhyā vavṛtyām* RV. AV. In SV. the passage is extensively reconstructed; the original object *sakhāyam* is made subject (with change of number also), and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pronoun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the object *tvā*.

§390. In the remainder there is no double nom.-acc. shift, but a single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc.), of the (always 'transitive') verb:

pra yakṣma etu nirṛtiṁ (AV. °*tiḥ*) *parācaiḥ* AV. TB. HG. ApMB. 'Let the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV.); 'let the fever go far away to perdition.'

jajñānaṁ (SV. °*naḥ*) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV. *mātṛbhiḥ*) RV. SV. Followed by *vedhām aśāsata śriye* RV., *medhām āśāsata śriye* SV.

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ. *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ. *indraḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. Followed by *ayā dhiyā taraṇir adribarhāḥ* (ŚŚ. *añgirasvān*). The TB. comm. makes *indram* acc. of goal, supplying *gachatu*; the subject is *sūraḥ* = *ādityaḥ*. ŚŚ. makes *indraḥ* subject and *sūrye* loc.

tiṣṭhantam ava gūhati (mss. °*si*) AV.: *tiṣṭhann evāva gūhasi* ŚŚ. No intelligible meaning in either form.

agninā tapo 'nvabhavat (KS.† KSA.† *'nvābhavat*) TS. KS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Followed in TS. KS. KSA. by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named. In the first formula the form *tapo* is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS. and KSA. construe it as acc.; this is doubtless the original construction: 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained?) *tapas*'. KS. makes it nom.: '*tapas* has come up to (equalled, attained, sc. him) thru (by) Agni'. Other phrases in the same lists are: *yamena pitṝn* (KS. *pitaraḥ*); *indreṇa devān* (KS. *devāḥ*; not in KSA.); *vātena prāṇān* (KS. *vāyunā prāṇāḥ*; not in KSA.); *vyāghreṇāraṇyān paśūn* (KS. °*āraṇyāḥ paśavaḥ*); *ṛṣabheṇa* (KS. KSA. *vṛṣ*°) *gāḥ* (KS. *gāvaḥ*); *vṛṣṇināvīḥ* (KS. °*āvayaḥ*); *yavenauṣadhīḥ* (KS. °*dhayaḥ*); *brāhmaṇena vācam* (KS. *vācaḥ*).

vi parjanyaṁ (TS. °*yāḥ*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts and *parjanyam* defines the *divaḥ kośam* of the preceding half-verse. The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, *divaḥ kośam*.

muñcatu (KS. *muñcemaṁ*) *yajñaṁ* (ApŚ. *yajño*, KS. adds *muñca*) *yajñapatiṁ aṁhasaḥ svāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ. In MS. preceded by *vardhatāṁ bhūtir dadhnā ghṛtena*; in KS. by a similar but expanded phrase. It is evident that *bhūti* 'prosperity' is in both texts the agent that is to 'release the sacrifice and sacrificer from evil'. ApŚ. with the same context as MS. produces a lectio facilior by making *yajñaḥ* the subject of *muñcatu*: 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer...'

pra yaṁ (SV. *yo*) *rāye ninīṣasi* (SV. °*ṣati*) RV. SV. In VV 1 p. 243 we have taken SV. (which read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking *yo* to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (*marto yas te vaso dāśat*). But perhaps Benfey may be right in making *yo* refer to *te* (= Agni): 'what mortal shall worship thee, who will lead [him] to wealth'... As to the 3d person in such relative clauses cf. VV 1 §331, to which the variant should be transferred if this interpretation is correct.

prasnāpayanty ūrmiṇam RV.: *prasnāpayanta ūrmayaḥ* SV. The acc. in RV. is an epithet of soma; in SV. it is replaced by an additional subject: 'the ten associates (i.e. fingers) wash (soma), and the waves.' See VV 1 p. 48; the SV. form must intend present middle. Delete this variant on VV 1 p. 143.

śriyaṁ ca lakṣmīṁ ca...TAA.: *śrīś ca lakṣmīś*...TAA.: *śrīś ca puṣṭiś*

...MahānU. Same context; in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm. supplies *paramātmā*.

[*indraḥ karmasu no 'vatu* TB.: *indraṁ karmasv avatu* MS. For the better reading of TB. see §326.]

§391. In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another:

samudrā (MS. °*drān*) *nadyo veśantāḥ* (MS. °*tān*) AV. MS. Preceded by *divaṁ brūmo nakṣatrāṇi, bhūmiṁ yakṣāṇi parvatān*, and followed by *te no muñcantu aṁhasaḥ*. In AV. the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of *muñcantu*, in MS. of the object of *brūmo*.

devā ājyapā juṣāṇā agna (VS. *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS. MS. KS.: (*svāhā*) *devāṁ ājyapān svāhāgniṁ hotrāj juṣāṇā agna ājyasya viyantu* TB. In the first version *devāḥ* is subject of *vyantu*; in the second it becomes an additional object of *yakṣad* in the preceding (*hotā yakṣad agniṁ svāhājyasya* [sc. *devān*]...)

yenāvṛtaṁ khaṁ ca divaṁ mahīṁ (MahānU. *mahī*, v. l. *mahīṁ*) *ca* TA. MahānU. Followed by *yenādityas tapati tejasā bhrājasā ca*. If the nom. be read, *mahī* (with *khaṁ* and *divaṁ* which must then also be nom.) would be subject of *āvṛtam*: 'by whom was enclosed the air, the sky, the earth.' But Deussen's translation implies the v. l. *mahīṁ* in MahānU.; in that case all three nouns are objects of *tapati* in the next pāda: 'by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth.' The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so.

4. Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative. Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative. The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of *āhus* 'they say' an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation. Thus:

iyaṁ vediḥ paro antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ.: *vedim āhuḥ param antaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* TS. KSA. In the same verse:

ayaṁ yajño bhuvanasya (AV. *viśvasya bhu*°) *nābhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. LŚ.: *yajñam āhur bhuvanasya nābhim* TS. KSA. And likewise:

ayaṁ somo vṛṣṇo aśvasya retaḥ RV. AV. VS. LŚ.: *somam āhur vṛṣṇo...* TS. KSA.—In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom. remains in all texts. Cf. also:

dīrghaṁ yac cakṣur aditer anantam AŚ.: *yad āhuś cakṣur aditāv anantam* PB. JB. (see Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases*, §48. 24 R). Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender; and here the form with *āhus* is likely to be older.

§393. The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom. of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following. In the first the particle *iti* is brought in with the nom. to make the syntax clear; in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom. is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence:

nirṛtiṁ tvāhaṁ pari veda viśvataḥ VS. MS. ŚB.: *nirṛtir iti tvāhaṁ pari veda viśvataḥ* (AV. *sarvataḥ*) AV. TS. KS. The meter seems to indicate that the acc. is original; it is to be noted also that the preceding pāda in all texts has a similar phrase with *iti*, which may have attracted *nirṛtim* into its own construction. 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti.'

atas tvā rayim abhi (SV. *rayir abhy ayat*) RV. SV. The RV. original makes *tvā* object of *bharat* in pāda c, and *rayim abhi* probably an adverbial phrase, 'unto riches'. (Otherwise but implausibly Grassmann.) SV. by a lect. fac. expands into a separate sentence: 'thence may riches come unto thee.'

anāgaso yajamānasya vīrāḥ (MŚ. *vīrān*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. (Mss. of MŚ. *anuṣaso* for *anā°*, and all but one *vīram*.) The original has an independent sentence with nom.; MŚ. attracts the noun into apposition with *no* in *yo no dveṣṭi*... preceding.

nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau (TS. *°dhānam agnim*, MS. KS. *°dhāno agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The only possible construction for the nom. in MS. KS. seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject; *agnim* is object of the verb in the next pāda (*rāyaspoṣāya bṛhate havāmahe*): 'He (Agni) is kindled at the navel of the earth; we call Agni unto great increase of wealth.' The very harshness of this may, however, be considered an argument for its greater originality; the other texts look suspiciously like lect. fac.

tvāṁ (TB. *tvaṁ*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by *tvāṁ vardhanti kṣitayaḥ pṛthivyām*. In RV. etc. supply *vardhanti* also in this pāda (*rāya ubh°* subject, *tvām* object). In

TB. this is made an independent statement (*tvaṁ* subject, *rāya ubh*° predicate; comm. *tatsaṁpādaka ity arthaḥ*).

agniṁ (SV. *agniḥ*) *sudītaye chardiḥ* RV. AV. SV. (Conc. VS. for SV.). In RV. AV. *agniṁ* and *chardiḥ* are both accs. with the preceding *īḍiṣva*. In SV.: 'Agni is the chardis.'

adhvarakṛtaṁ (TA. °*kṛd*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. ŚB. TA. Preceded by *tvā*.... *ādade*; in VS. ŚB. *adhvarakṛtaṁ* agrees with *tvā*. But TA. inserts between the two passages *abhrir asi nārir asi*; thus it makes our variant pāda an independent statement, understanding *asi*.

indrāya bhāgaṁ pari tvā nayāmi AV.: *indrasya bhāgaḥ suvite dadhātana* ApŚ. The latter is scarcely intelligible; *bhāgaḥ*, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood. The plural *dadhātana* is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow.

tāṁ (HG. *tāṁ naḥ*, PG. *sā naḥ*) *pūṣañ* (AV. *pūṣaṁ*, PG. *pūṣā*) *chivatamām* (PG. *śiv*°) *erayasva* (PG. *eraya*) RV. AV. ApMB. ApG. HG. PG. The PG. has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean 'She (the bride) is Pūṣan (felt as 'prospering one') to us; bring her hither, most felicitous.' The comm. so takes it; Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading.

agniṁ hotāram iha (MS. MŚ. *upa*) *taṁ huve* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnir hotopa taṁ huve* KS. 'I call here (hither) Agni the hotar': 'Agni is the hotar, I call him hither.'

akṣatam ariṣṭam ilāndam SMB.: *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnaṁ gopāyanam* ŚG. In both preceded by a formula containing acc. *tvā*, with which the epithets agree in SMB.; in ŚG. they are made predicates of a separate sentence. It is hard to say which is original here.

§394. A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom. of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc. is part of the main clause. Thus:

tam u ṣṭuhi yo antaḥ sindhau AV.: *tam u ṣṭuhy antaḥsindhum* AŚ. Followed by:

sūnuḥ (AŚ. *sūnuṁ*) *satyasya yuvānam*. 'Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful.' The relative clause is here original; AŚ. compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuḥ* also to *sūnum*. Note the chiastic, rhetorically involved order of AV. (*yuvānam* at the end agreeing with *tam* at the beginning). AŚ. has a lect. fac., involving case attraction; but all the epithets refer to the same person.

§395. The reverse of this appears in the next, where the relative clause with predicate nom. appears only in the secondary PG.:

saṁvatsarasya pratimām (PG. °*mā*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. MG. The following pāda in PG. is *yā tāṁ rātrīm upāsmahe* (for the others see VV 1 p. 213); only PG. has *yā* as subject of the relative clause, in which *pratimā* is predicate.

§396. Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions:

taṁ kravyādam aśīśamam AV.: *yaḥ kravyāt tam aśīśamam* Kauś.

veda te bhūmi hṛdayam PG. HG.: *yad bhūmer hṛdayam* [†*divi candramasi śritam*] ApMB. The latter is metrically poor and doubtless corrupt.

yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam āhuḥ AV.: *viśvādam agniṁ yam u*...MS.: *hutādam agniṁ yam u*...KS.: *yaṁ hutādam agniṁ yam u*...ApŚ. The nom. is doubtless original, the acc. being due to attraction to the case of the following; note that ApŚ. still has a relative clause, but attracts it into the same construction as the following.

dhattād asmabhyaṁ draviṇeha bhadram (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram*) TS. MS. ApŚ.: *datto asmabhyaṁ* (etc., see Conc.) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS.

apāsya ye †*sināḥ pāśāḥ* KS. ApŚ. ('off what fetters are bound on him'): *apāsyāḥ satvanaḥ pāśān* Kauś. Followed by *mṛtyūn* (KS. ed. *mṛtyor*, but best ms. *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśataṁ suve* (Kauś. *nude*). The secondary change in Kauś. is due to the influence of *mṛtyūn*.

tābhir vahainaṁ sukṛtām u lokam (TA. *vahemaṁ sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.: *vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahāṁsi sā*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokaḥ*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

pṛchāmi (LŚ. °*mo*) *yatra bhuvanasya nābhiḥ* RV. VS. LŚ.: *pṛchāmi tvā* (AV. *viśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhim* AV. TS. KSA. TB.

§397. In the next following group there is in both variants a relative clause; the nom. is construed as part of this, while the acc. is syntactically part of the main clause (both refer to the same entity). As in some of the preceding, the alteration is usually due to formal case attraction:

āraṇyān (AV. VS. °*yā*) *grāmyāś ca ye* RV. AV. (bis) VS. TA. Preceded by *paśūn* (*paśūṁs*) *tāṁś cakre vāyavyān*. In RV. TA. *āraṇyān* goes with the preceding accusatives; in AV. VS. it is attracted into the relative clause. In AV. 11. 5. 21 the pāda occurs in a different context.

jyeṣṭho (SV. °*ṭhaṁ*) *yo vṛtrahā gṛṇe* RV. AV. SV. There are no other

accs. in the stanza; SV. has turned *jyeṣṭho* into an acc. to provide an object for the verb *gṛṇe*.

citrabhānuṁ (TB. ApŚ. °*bhānū*) *rodasī antar urvī* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *aganma mahā namasā yaviṣṭham, yo dīdāya samiddhaḥ sve duroṇe* (with unimportant variants). The acc. goes with *yaviṣṭham* as object of *aganma* in the first pāda; because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo*. This assumes that the TB. comm. is right in understanding °*bhānuḥ*, nom. sg., instead of dual (with *rodasī*), which would be formally possible.

kakṣīvantaṁ ya auśijaḥ (TS. TA. °*jam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. N. The Tait. version can only be interpreted by referring *ya(ḥ)* to the god addressed: 'who (didst make famous) K. A.' So Sāyaṇa, who supplies *kṛtavān asi*, and Keith. Of course the other reading (in which K° goes with the preceding object acc. and is referred to by the relative, 'K. who is the A.') is original (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 18. 1).

yathā mitrāya varuṇāya śaṁtamaḥ (SV. °*mam*) RV. SV. Preceded by *punātā dakṣasādhanam, yathā śardhāya vītaye*. 'Clarify the strength-producing (Soma), that (it may be) for a refreshing draft for the throng, that (it may be) most gratifying to M. and V.' So RV., making *śaṁtamaḥ* subject of a separate clause; SV. brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasādhanam*.

yadi śrāto (AV. *śrātaṁ*) *juhotana* RV AV. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by:

yady aśrāto (AV. °*taṁ*) *mamattana*, same texts. The preceding pāda of RV. AV. makes clear the antecedent: *indrasya bhāgam ṛtviyam*. 'If cooked do ye offer it; if not cooked, delay.' The AV. has attracted the adjectives into direct agreement with *bhāgam*. (The comm. on AV., however, takes them as nom. neuter, supplying *haviḥ*.)

svarpatiṁ yad īṁ vṛdhe RV. AV.: *svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV. The acc. agrees with *indraṁ* (*somasya pītaye*) in the preceding pāda; SV. makes it subject of *vṛdhe*.

5. Case attraction

§398. The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation. The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper 'transfer

of epithet'; but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples:

hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm (TB. °*tī*) VS. MS. TB. It seems fairly clear that TB. has attracted *saras*° to the case of *tanūnapāt*; but how either of the noms. is to be construed is not obvious. Comm. on VS. dares to say that *tanū*° is nom. used for acc.! Perhaps the TB. version may be understood as containing an independent statement: 'Let the hotar worship! (The deities are) Tanūnapāt, Sarasvatī...'

anyam (AV. *anya*) *ū ṣu tvaṁ* (AV. omits *tvaṁ*) *yamy anya u tvām* RV. AV. N. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 16. We believe that *anya* is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following *anya*.

apsu dhūto nṛbhiḥ sutaḥ RV.: *apsu dhautaṁ nṛbhiḥ sutam* SV. Preceded by *śubhram andho devavātam*, and followed by *svadanti gāvaḥ payobhiḥ*. Sāyaṇa takes the RV. pāda as parenthetical (pādas a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding *somam* or the like as object of *svadanti*. SV. assimilates the participles in b to the case of *andho*, an easily comprehensible lect. fac. Grassmann's suggestion that RV. is incorrect is implausible.

§399. As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption:

hṛtsu kratuṁ †varuṇo (MS. °*ṇaṁ*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is originally Varuṇa, who has instilled 'insight into hearts, Agni into dwellings.' MS. has an unintelligent assimilation of V. to the surrounding accs., perhaps with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding stanza.

tebhiḥ (AV. VS. VSK. *tebhyaḥ*) *svarāḍ asunītim etām* (AV. *asunītir no adya*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. It seems clear that AV., which Whitney calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of *asunītim* to the case of the adjoining word. The following pāda is *yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ* (AV. *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. *kalpayasva*).

viṣṇum agan varuṇaṁ pūrvahūtiḥ AV.: *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °*tim*) VS. MS. ṢB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. In AV. the prayer itself is the subject of *agan*; in MS. it is made the goal, along with Viṣṇu and Varuṇa, the subject being the offering or the water used with it. The other texts use a locative which might be one of goal, agreeing in sense with MS.; but see §457.

gāyatrī chanda indriyam, tryavir (KS. *triya°*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.: *gāyatrīṁ chanda indriyam, tryaviṁ gāṁ vayo dadhat* VS. TB. The noms. are subjects of *dadhuḥ*, the accs. objects of *dadhat*, being assimilated to *indriyam* and *vayo*, which are accs. (objects) in both versions. These are the first of a series of formulas, all of the same type; the meter names (in nom. form) are *uṣṇik* (*uṣṇihā*), *anuṣṭup, bṛhatī, pañktiś, triṣṭup, jagatī, virāṭ, dvipadā* (*dvipāc*), *kakup* (*kakuc*), *atichandā*. For the epithets of cattle (*dityavāḍ, pañcāvir* etc.) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Conc.

ukhāṁ (MS. KS.† *ukhā*) *svasāram adhi vedim asthāt* MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *syūtā devebhir amṛtenāgāḥ* (MS. KS. *°āgāt*). The word *ukhā* is subject in MS. KS. and it seems scarcely possible to interpret ApŚ. (which addresses it directly in the 2d person) otherwise; yet ApŚ. stupidly assimilates the form to the following accs. Caland translates *ukhā*, but notes that Hir.Ś. also reads *ukhāṁ*, so that the corruption is evidently very old.

devaḥ savitābhimātiṣāhaḥ AV.: *savitā devo 'bhimātiṣāhaḥ* Ppp.: *devaṁ trātāram* (TS. KS. *savitāram*) *abhimātiṣāham* RV. TS. KS. Assuming (cf. Oldenberg, *Prol.* 326 f.) that the acc., as in RV. TS. KS., is original (tho it is difficult), the change to the nom. in AV. is easy to understand. In AV. the preceding pāda is *dhātā vidhātā bhuvanasya yas patiḥ*, and the following: *ādityā rudrā aśvinobhā, devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nirṛthāt*. For c the others have a different version beginning *imaṁ yajñam* (cf. §329); it is significant that this acc. is also eliminated in AV.

yajñasya (AV. *cittasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaraṁ*) *suhavā me* (AV. *no*) *astu* AV. TB. SMB. Preceded by *ākūtīṁ devīṁ manasā prapadye* in SMB., which has put the epithet *mātā* syntactically into the preceding clause, making it agree with *devīm*; the meter proves it secondary.

samyag āyur †yajño (MŚ. *yajñaṁ*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāḥ*) KS. MŚ. See VV 1 p. 100. In MŚ. *yajñaṁ* is attracted to the case of *āyur*.

īḍāno (KS. *°nā*) *vahnir* (KS. *vahniṁ*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

agniṁ (AV. *agniḥ*) *sruco adhvareṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*), same texts. The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree, VS. TS. MS. A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding. 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration; to Agni (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed.' In AV. *agniṁ* is

changed to *agniḥ* to agree with its synonym *vahniḥ*, and the two pādas are more closely connected than in the original. In KS. the attraction has worked in the opposite direction; *vahnir* becomes *vahniṁ* to match *agniṁ*, *sruco* is now the subject, *īḍānā* agrees with it, and the preceding pāda (*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* [AV. *ghṛtā cit*], see §467) is changed to *achāyaṁ yanti śavasā ghṛtācīḥ* (note retention of *ayam*, now ungrammatical!): 'here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier...' Ppp. has *īḍe vahniṁ namasāgniṁ sruco 'dhvareṣu prayatsu*, which is translatable but obviously secondary.

gāyatrīṁ ṭriṣṭubhaṁ jagatīm anuṣṭubham (MS. °*tīṁ virājam*) AV. TS. MS.: *gāyatrī triṣṭub jagatī virāṭ* KS. This is the 3d pāda of a verse whose 4th pāda in TS. MS. KS. (omitting slight variants) is *arkaṁ* (TS. *bṛhad arkaṁ*) *yuñjānāḥ svar ābharann idam*. It appears that KS. has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with *yuñjānāḥ* (tho leaving *arkam* to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS. MS.); they thus become subjects of the verb *ā-abharann*. The AV. varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt; its accs. must depend on the verb of the 1st pāda.

yuvo ratho adhvaraṁ (AV.† GB.† °*ro*) *devavītaye* RV. AV. AB. 6. 12. 7 (add in Conc.) GB. Followed by the verb *yāti* (*yātu*). 'Your chariot goes to the sacrifice...' In AV. *adhvaro* is awkwardly attracted to the case of *ratho*: 'let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach...' Ppp. is reported to read *adhvaram*.

ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi (TA. *asādīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* MS. In the latter *agnim* has been changed to the case of *gharmo*.

kāmaṁ (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, KS. *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV. *viveśa*, KS. TB. *viśat*) AV. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. There seems little doubt that the nom. is original, and it is likely that the acc. is due to attraction to the case of *samudram*. The two accs. must be taken as in apposition. According to the comm. on TA. the subject is *dakṣiṇā*. TB. has the following explanation of the meaning: *samudra iva hi kāmaḥ, neva hi kāmasyānto 'sti, na samudrasya*.

nayanto garbhaṁ vanāṁ dhiyaṁ dhuḥ RV.: *nayantaṁ gīrbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ* SV. Highly problematical; *nayanto* agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject ('they', really the singers); *nayantaṁ*, like the other accs. in the verse, must be object of *dhāḥ*. In SV. the subject is Agni and the accs. probably refer to the singer (now singular).

6. Transfer of epithet

§400. A very large number of nom.-acc. variants concern what we have described above (§14) as 'transfer of epithet'. That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case. Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group; but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form. As in all cases of 'transfer of epithet', these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases. There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case; such instances are given separately. No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made.

§401. The following show no change in number or gender:

iyarti dhūmam aruṣaṁ (MS. KS. °*ṣo*) *bharibhrat* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. '(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke', original; changed in MS. KS. to read 'the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke.'

svar devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *devāṅ*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §§340, 349. The nom. or voc. is certainly original, the acc. secondary. The nom. would apply the epithet *devāḥ* to the priests: 'we have gone to heaven as gods'; the acc., 'we have gone to heaven, to the gods.'

ye ca devāṅ (ŚŚ. *devā*) *ayajanta* AV. ŚŚ. The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of *dakṣiṇā*; AV. means 'who have sacrificed to the gods' (referring to *maghavāno* which follows). In ŚŚ. *devāḥ*, if nom., must refer to *maghavānaḥ*, as in the preceding variant. It might however be voc. (again as in the preceding).

mā no hṛṇītām atithir (SV. *hṛṇīthā atithiṁ*) *vasur agniḥ* RV. SV. Followed by *puruprāśasta eṣaḥ*. RV.: 'let not Agni, our kindly guest, be ashamed of us; much praised is he.' The SV. distortion makes *atithi* object of the verb, referring to some vague person (the *yajamāna*?) other than Agni, to whom it originally belonged. It seems to mean: 'be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni); Agni is kindly, much praised is he.'

didīhi deva devayuḥ (SV. °*yum*) RV. SV. Preceded by *abhi dyumnaṁ bṛhad yaśa iṣaspate*. In RV. *devayuḥ* is in logical apposition with the subject of the imperative; in SV. it is apparently made to refer to the worshiper (so Benfey), as a second acc. with *didīhi*.

jaitram indra (KS. *jaitrāyaṇo*) *ratham ā tiṣṭha govit* (AV. *govidam*) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference. But the

rest of the stanza is triṣṭubh, and it is curious that AV. turns this pāda into a jagatī by this otherwise harmless alteration. One or two mss. are quoted by Lanman as reading *govit*; but Ppp. (*JAOS.* 40. 151) supports *govidam.*

viprasya vā yac chaśamāna ukthyam (AV. °*yaḥ*) RV. AV. Followed by *vājaṁ*, with which the adjective agrees in RV.; in AV. (with the help of the adjoining *śaśamānaḥ*) it is transferred to the subject (Agni).

pari dyukṣaṁ sanad rayim SV.: *pari dyuksaḥ sanadrayiḥ* RV. In RV. both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following pāda; in SV. *sanad* is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with *rayim* as object, and *dyukṣam* agreeing therewith.

āreśatruṁ (TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. *āre śatrūn*) *kṛṇuhi sarvavīram* (TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. °*vīraḥ*) AV.† TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. In AV. the epithet goes with the object (*imam* of the preceding pāda); in the others, with the subject.

punar brahmāṇo (*brahmā*) *vasunītha* (°*nītir*, °*dhīte*, °*dhītim*, °*dhītam*) *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*); see §340.

ava priyā (AV. *priyāṅ*) *adhūṣata* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. If *priyā*(*s*) is really nom., as commonly assumed, it must agree with the subject (in RV. apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitṛs); *priyāṅ* is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers. Grassmann takes *priyās* as acc. fem., supplying *giras.* (Most AV. mss. read *avā 'priyāṅ*, with wrong accent; see Whitney's note.)

ūrdhvo adhvaraṁ divi deveṣu dhehi VS. ŚB.: *ūrdhvam* (VSK. °*vo*) *imam* (VSK. omits) *adhvaram...hotrā yacha* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

jāmiṁ (KS.† *cami*, see VV 2 §57) *mā hiṁsīr* (AV. *mā jāmiṁ moṣīr*) *amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* (AV. KS.† °*nām*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. agrees with the subject, the acc. with the object *jāmim.*

svargāṅ (*svargam, svagāṅ*) *arvanto* (*arvato*) *jayata* (*jayema, jayataḥ, jayati*), see §350.

tam akratuṁ (KU. °*tuḥ*) *paśyati vītaśokaḥ* TA. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU.

pra yo jajñe vidvāṅ (AV. °*vān*) *asya bandhum* (AV. *bandhuḥ*) AV. TS. KS. Followed by *viśvā devānāṁ*(TS. *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivakti.* The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure. It is, however, clear that *bandhuḥ* must be construed with or as the subject of *vivakti*, and *bandhum* as one of the objects of *vivakti* or object of *vidvān.*

urudrapso viśvarūpa induḥ TS. ApŚ.: *purudasmo viṣurūpa induḥ* VS. ŚB.: *purudasmavad viśvarūpam induḥ* KS. Followed by *pavamāno* (VS. ŚB. *antar*) *garbham* (TS. *dhīra*, VS. ŚB. *mahimānam*) *ānañja dhīraḥ* (TS. *garbham*). The adjectives agree with the object *garbham* in KS., with the subject *induḥ* in the others.

samārabhyordhvo adhvaro divispṛśam TS. TB.: *ūrdhvo adhvaro divispṛk* MS. KS. In the ritual the TS. passage (followed by *ahruto yajño yajñapateḥ*) is addressed to the sacrifice (*āghāra*), and can only be interpreted (understanding *āghāram* as object of *samārabhya*, as TB. does): 'lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (*āghāra*); the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed.' The reading of MS. seems to be a lect. fac.; *samārabhya* is taken easily with the preceding formula, and *divispṛk*, assimilated to the preceding noms., applies to *adhvaro*. (KS. omits *samārabhya*.) Keith considers the TS. TB. reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice.

sarasvatī vayati peśo antaram (TB. and ms. of KS. °*raḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by *tad aśvinā bhiṣajā rudravartanī*. 'The Aśvins...and Sarasvatī make(s) his inner form.' *antaram* agrees with *peśo*. But *antaraḥ*, read by the sole ms. of KS. as well as TB. (v. Schr. emends), is difficult. The TB. comm. seems to have no qualms about making it agree with Sarasvatī (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = *antar*? *yā tu sarasvaty antaraḥ śarīramadhye*). All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with *peśo*.

ud asthām amṛtāṅ anu VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApMB.: *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG. *abhūma*) AV. HG. 'I have risen up after the immortals': 'we have risen up immortal.' The AV. verse seems on the whole to be secondary to that of the Yajus texts, and to have transferred the epithet to the subject.

asmin yajñe suhavāṁ (AV. °*vā*) *johavīmi* AV. MS. KS. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Preceded by *kuhūṁ devīṁ sukṛtaṁ vidmanāpasam* (with slight variants). AV. comm. also has *suhavāṁ*, agreeing with *kuhūṁ*; if *suhavā* be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman.

prajāpatir yaṁ prathamo jigāya ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *prajāpatiḥ prathamo 'yaṁ jigāya* AŚ. Preceded by *tayānantaṁ kāmam ahaṁ jayāni*. In AŚ. (*a*)*yaṁ* goes with the preceding noms.: 'this Prajāpati was the first to win (it).' The other, with *yaṁ* referring to *kāmaṁ*, is doubtless original.

§402. Transfers of epithets between nominative and accusative forms which involve also changes in number or gender or both are:

viśvāni yo amartyo (*havyā marteṣu raṇyati*) RV.: *viśve yasminn amartye* (*havyaṁ martāsa indhate*) SV. See §457.

tad ayaṁ (MG. *idaṁ*) *rājā varuṇo 'numanyatām* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *ayaṁ* agrees with the subject *rājā* etc., *idaṁ* with the object *tad*.

devāṅ achā na majmanā RV.: *deva indro na majmanā* SV. In SV. the epithet *deva* is attracted into agreement with the subject.

yā rājānā (TS. °*naṁ*) *sarathaṁ yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. Subject is Mitra and Varuṇa, with which *rājānā* agrees: 'ye (MS. they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot.' TS. transfers it to the object: 'ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot.'

agniṣ ṭad viśvam (AV. mss. *viśvād*) *ā pṛṇāṭi* (AV. °*tu*) *vidvān* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. With Whitney and SPP. *viśvād* (epithet of Agni) must be kept in AV.

anāhanasyaṁ vasanaṁ jariṣṇu (ŚG. *car*°, PG. °*ṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. See VV 2 §57.

anuttaś carṣaṇīdhṛtiḥ SV.: *anuttā carṣaṇīdhṛtā* RV. Preceded by *tvaṁ vṛtrāṇi haṁsi*... (*anuttā* with *vṛtrāṇi*, °*taś* with *tvaṁ* = Indra).

ayā san (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyaṁ*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. The original epithet of Agni is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to *havyam*.

devatrā yantam avase sakhāyaḥ (KS. °*yam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *anu tvā mātā pitaro madantu*. The original applies *sakhāyaḥ* to *mātā pitaro*; KS. transfers it to *tvā* (influenced no doubt by *yantam*).

vapāvantaṁ (MS. °*to*) *nāgninā tapantaḥ* TS. MS. TA. Preceded by *añjanti yaṁ prathayanto na viprāḥ*; MS. transfers the epithet from object to subject.

prānyā tantūṅs tirate dhatte anyā AV.: *avānyāṅs tantūn kirato dhatto anyān* TB. In AV. *anyā*...*anyā* refers to weaving maidens; in TB. it is transferred to the threads.

viśvāni yo amartyaḥ RV.: *viśve yasmin amartye* SV. The n. acc. *viśvāni* of RV. agrees with the following *havyā*; the masc. nom. *viśve* with the following *martāsaḥ*.

daivīṁ (VS. *devīṁ*) *nāvaṁ svaritrām anāgasam* (AV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. *anā*° is transferred to the subject of *āruhema*.

sā śaṁtāti (SV. °*tā*, TB. ApŚ. *śantācī*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śaṁtāti* is epithet of *mayas*; on the other see VV 2 §156.

bhūristhātrāṁ bhūry āveśayantīm (AV. °*taḥ*) RV. AV. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 126, and §14 above.

viśvavidaṁ (AV. °*do*) *vācam aviśvaminvām* (AV. *aviśvavinnām*) RV. AV. Discussed by Edgerton, l. c. 128; the AV. is secondary.

yavena (AV.* *yavena vā*) *kṣudhaṁ puruhūta viśvām* (AV.* *viśve*) RV. AV. (quater). The AV. once transfers the epithet 'all' from *kṣudham* to the subject (of *tarema* in the preceding).

dhīnām antaḥ sabardughaḥ RV.: *dhenām antaḥ sabardughām* SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with *vanaspatir* (= Soma); in SV. it is attached to the false form *dhenām*.

parāsutṛpo abhi śośucānaḥ RV.: *parāsutṛpaḥ śośucataḥ śṛṇīhi* AV. In RV. *śo*° agrees with Agni, subject of preceding *śṛṇīhi*; in AV. with the object (*mūradevān*).

dyumantaṁ sam idhīmahi RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *dyumantaḥ sam idhīmahi* AV. TS. MS. KS. Acc. with preceding object *tvā*.

gharmaṁ śocantaḥ (AŚ. °*ta*, ŚŚ. °*taṁ*) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. In AB. nom. with *dhiṣaṇāḥ* in preceding; in ŚŚ. acc. with *gharmaṁ*. On AŚ. cf. VV 1 p. 165.

āmuṁ naya (RV. MS. *āyuṁ na yaṁ*) *namasā rātahavyam* (RV.† MS.† °*yāḥ*) RV. AV. MS. In RV. MS. *rā*° goes with nom. *pañca janāḥ* in the following.

achidraṁ (SMB. °*rāḥ*) *śarma yachata* RV. AB. SMB. The unaccented SMB. may understand voc. rather than nom.

vande dāruṁ (? see VV 1 p. 218) *vandamāno vivakmi* RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. Preceded by *indrasyeva pra tavasas kṛtāni*; in SV. *vanda*° is attracted into agreement with *kṛtāni*.

vandārus te (VS. ŚB. °*ruṣ ṭe*, add to VV 2 §958; MS. KS. °*ruṁ te*) *tanvaṁ* (*tanuvaṁ*) *vande agne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The meaning here shifts with the form; nom. 'praising', acc. 'praiseworthy' (fem. gender, with *tanvaṁ*, tho the masc. would have the same form).

akhidrāḥ (ApŚ. *aghoraḥ*, VS. ŚB. *achinnapatrāḥ*, MS. *achinnapatraḥ*) *prajā abhivipaśya* (VS. MS. ŚB. *anuvīkṣasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

viśvāḥ pṛtanā abhibhūtaraṁ naram (SV. PB. Svidh. *naraḥ*) RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. Vait. Svidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by *sajūs tatakṣur indraṁ jajanuś ca rājase*.

ahruto maho dharuṇāya devān (AV. *devaḥ*) RV. AV. Followed by *divīva jyotiḥ svam ā mimīyāḥ* (AV.† °*yāt*). In AV. (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) *devaḥ* is made an epithet of the subject (a horse).

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

ye ceme (TS. *cemāṁ*, VS. *cainaṁ*) *rudrā abhitaḥ* (MS. NīlarU. *abhito rudrāḥ*) VS. TS. KS. MS. NīlarU. The nom. *ime* goes with *rudrāḥ*; *enaṁ* (= Rudra) or *imāṁ* (apparently the earth) is construed as object of *abhitaḥ*.

śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A.'

sa naḥ pṛthu (TB. °*uḥ*) *śravāyyam* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. *pṛthu*, object: 'the broad (space).' In TB. transferred to the subject (Agni).

ny adhur mātrāyāṁ (KS. *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasaḥ* (KS. °*sam*) MS. KS. In MS. *vayo*° goes with *kavayo*, in KS. with *agnim* in the following.

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.: *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV. PB. *mahī* refers to the subject Uṣas, *mahi* refers to the darkness which she uncovers.

sūryaṁ cāmū riśādasaḥ (RVKh. °*sam*) AV. RVKh. ŚŚ. (ed. of AV. *cāmuṁ riśādasam*, but mss. as ŚŚ.; RVKh. Scheftelowitz p. 157). The original nom. pl. agrees with *devāḥ* in the next sentence; RVKh. has acc. sg. with *sūryam*. (The form *amū* is probably neut. pl. of *asau*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 350.)

ulokam u dve upa jāmim īyatuḥ RV.: *lokam u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmī īyatuḥ* MS. ApŚ. *jāmi* transferred from object to subject.

agniṁ bharantaṁ (MS. KS. °*tā*) *asmayum* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *yuñjāthāṁ rāsabhaṁ yuvam, asmin yāme vṛṣaṇvasū*. The acc. agrees with *rāsabhaṁ*, the nom. dual with the subject of *yuñjāthāṁ* (the adhvaryu and yajamāna). The mss. of MS. (s.p. and p.p.) read *asmayuḥ*; perhaps they intend *asmayū*, which would be another transfer.

tā (TS. *te*, VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vāṁ*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS. °*ye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Only in TS. the pronoun (*te*) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following *te*, enclitic from *tvam*).

suvīrāḥ prajāḥ prajanayan parīhi TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *suvīro vīrān prajanayan parīhy . . .* VS. ŚB.

vareṇyakratūr (AV. °*tur*) *aham* RVKh. AV.: *īḍeṇyakratūr* (text †*iḍe*°, doubtless misprint) *aham* ApŚ. Scheftelowitz reads °*tur* in RVKh. The form °*tūr* is acc. pl. fem. agreeing with the waters; and this is a simpler reading than °*tur* (nom. sg. masc.), going with *aham*.

dhvāntaṁ vātāgram anusaṁcarantau (PB. *abhisaṁ°*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: *dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye saṁcaranti* MŚ. MG. The mss. of MŚ. MG. read *dhvāntā* (nom. dual, going with the subject in the preceding pāda) *vātāgnim* (for which *vātāgram* is doubtless the true reading, cf. VV 2 p. 402).

ā raśmīn (RV. *raśmiṁ*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. *svaśvaḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

jyotiṣmatī (MS. *°tīḥ*) *prati muñcate nabhaḥ* TS. MS. KS. PG. Followed by *devī rātrī sūryasya vratāni*, or an equivalent. In MS. *jyo°* (originally epithet of *rātrī*) is made an object of the verb.

jīvaṁ (comm. *jīvan*) *devebhya uttaraṁ stṛṇāmi* AV.: *devebhyo jīvanta uttaraṁ bharema* TA. In TA. *jīv°* is epithet of the subject; so *jīvan* if this is intended in AV. (then with variation of number only); *jīvaṁ*, if intended, must go with the object *uttaraṁ*.

hiraṇyarūpam (MS. KS. MŚ. *°varṇam*) *uṣaso vyuṣṭau* RV. MS. KS. MŚ.: *hiraṇyarūpā* (TS. TB. *°varṇāv*) *uṣaso* (TS. TB. *°sāṁ*) *viroke* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. Followed by:

ayasthūṇam (TS. *ayasthūṇāv*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. *°tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. In both of these the dual noms. agree with the subject, Mitra and Varuṇa; the accs. with the object, *gartam*.

ekaviṅśa ṛbhavaḥ (VS.† *°va*) *stutam* (VS. *stutāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. One of six consecutive and parallel verses in all; the remaining five have (before *stutam* or *stutāḥ*): *rudrāḥ pañcadaśe, vasavas trivṛtā, stome saptadaśe, trayastriṅśe 'mṛtaṁ* (*°tā*, VS.), *triṇave marutaḥ* (TB. *ma° tri°*). In VS. *stutāḥ* agrees with the subject, a group of gods that varies in each verse. In the others it agrees with the object in pāda d (*havir indre vayo dadhuḥ*).

hiraṇyayāḥ (MS. *°yayā*) *śucayo dhārapūtāḥ* RV. MS. Preceded by *trī rocanā divyā dhārayanta*. In RV. *hir°* agrees with the subject, the Ādityas; in MS. with the object *rocanā*.

mātā yad vīraṁ dadhanad dhaniṣṭhā (MS. *vīraṁ jajanaj janiṣṭham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB.

urv (AŚ. *ūrvy* and *urvy*) *antarikṣaṁ vīhi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. must agree with the subject of *vīhi*.

sa praty ud (MS. *sa pratyañ*) *aid dharuṇaṁ* (TS. MS. KŚ. *dharuṇo*) *madhvo agram* AV. TS. MS. KS. KSA. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. Part of a mystic verse; the sense is no better and no worse, whether the adjective goes with *sa* or with *agram*. But it may be based on *juhomi te dharuṇaṁ madhvo agram* RV. AV., in a ritualistic connexion; this rather points to the originality of the acc.

mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṅsam MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na suhavaṁ* (AV. *subhuvas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhuvaṁ*) *tasthivāṅsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.—Ppp. reads like MS. but for *subhavas* (Barret *subhuvas*, suggesting *subhuvaṁ* as a better reading, *JAOS.* 35. 46). Same context in all except RV.; the acc. agrees with *samudram*, the nom. with the subject of the verb in the next pāda. Perhaps AV. is influenced by recollection of the RV. passage (i.e. shows contamination of two passages).

yajā no (or *yajāno*, so Poona ed. of TB. with MS., see VV 2 p. 376) *devāṅ* (MS. *devo*) *ajaraḥ suvīraḥ* MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Nom. *devo* is construed as epithet of subject Agni; acc. as object of *yajā* (or *yajāno*), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers.

avīraghno (ApMB.† °*nī*) *vīrataraḥ* (HG. °*tamaḥ*, AŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. *vīravataḥ*) *suvīrān* (HG. *suśevān*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.: *vīraṁ hi* (read *avīraghnī*?) *vīravataḥ suśevā* MG. The accs. refer to *gṛhān*, the noms. to the subject *aham*, which is fem. in ApMB. MG. Presumably the masc. *aham* is more original; *vīrataraḥ* would be impossible in ApMB. MG. Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet. But the nom. *suśevā* of MG. alone is certainly secondary.

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpaḥ TB.: *vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpam* AV. The latter original (*viśvarūpam* object).

parīmaṁ rāyo manuṣyam KS.: *parīmaṁ rāyas poṣo yajamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ* TS. And others, see §§442 etc. In KS. *manuṣya* is applied to the *yajamāna*; 'let wealth invest this man.' In TS. *rāyás* is gen., and *manuṣyāḥ* must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men', or, with thought of *daivīr viśo* in the preceding, 'human clans'.

codad rādha upastutaś (ArS. °*taṁ*) *cid arvāk* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. In RV. etc. the adjective goes with the subject, Indra; in ArS. with *rādha(s)*.

apo devā (TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. *devīr*) *madhumatīr agṛbhṇan* (TS. ApŚ. *agṛhṇan*, MS. KS. *agṛbhṇām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The acc. fem. *devīr* is doubtless orig.; *devā(ḥ)* goes with the subject.

ayaṁ (TA. *idaṁ*) *devo vanaspatiḥ* AV. TA. Preceded by *varaṇo vārayātai* (*vārayāt*). TA. feels the need of an object, and alters *ayaṁ* to *idaṁ*.

ādityā rudrā uparispṛśo naḥ (KS. °*śaṁ mā*) AV. KS.: *vasavo rudrā ādityā uparispṛśaṁ mā* RV. VS. TS. Followed by *ugraṁ cettāram adhirājam akran* (AV. *akrata*). The adjective, orig. going with *mā*, is transferred to the subject in AV.

ād īm aśvaṁ na hetāraḥ (SV. °*ram*) RV. SV. Followed by *aśūśubhann amṛtāya, madhvo* (SV. *madho*) *rasaṁ sadhamāde.* 'As drivers (decorate) a horse', RV.: in SV. *hetāram* is Soma (attracted to the case of *rasam*), 'the inciting one'.

yasya dyāvo na vicaranti mānuṣā (SV. °*ṣam*) RV. SV. The meaning of RV. is doubtful. Oldenberg: 'whose (Indra's) gifts to men go their course like the days'; Geldner: 'for whom the ages (*yugāni*) of men pass like (his) days.' In SV. *mānuṣam* is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean 'friendly to man'; the relative clause might mean 'whose heavens do not pass away' (so Benfey).

taj jānatīr abhy anūṣata vrāḥ RV.: *tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata kṣāḥ* ArS. In RV. *taj* is object of *jānatīr*; in ArS. *tā*(*ḥ*) attracted to agreement with it.

indra jaṭharaṁ navyo (SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. °*yaṁ*) *na* AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. For the difficulties involved see Whitney's note; in any case the word goes with Indra in AV., with *jaṭharaṁ* in the rest.

tvaṁ †*samudraṁ prathamo vi dhārayaḥ* (SV. °*draḥ prathame vidharman*) RV. SV. Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom. 'You first arranged the sea (for the gods)': 'du bist das Meer im allerhöchsten Träger' (Benfey).

indraṁ juṣāṇā vṛṣaṇaṁ (VS. *janayo*) *na patnīḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. Here different words are involved. 'Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives': 'taking delight in Indra, like wedded women.'

§403. In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term 'transfer of epithet' applies strictly. In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term. Namely: in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an 'epithet' of any other word. In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section. Cf. §15.

pratnaṁ ni pāti kāvyam RV. ('he protects the ancient wisdom'): †*pratnāni* (Conc. *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyaḥ* KS. ('he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like]').

prajāpatiṁ ahaṁ tvayā samakṣam ṛdhyāsam GB. Vait.: *prajāpatir ahaṁ tvayā sākṣād ṛdhyāsam* MŚ. 'May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee': 'may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thru thee.' The latter is original; see Caland on Vait.

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS.: *achāyaṁ yanti śavasā ghṛtācīḥ* KS. See §467.

saṁdhātā saṁdhiṁ (MS. *saṁdhir*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (*puro°*, *puru°*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The nom. can only be felt as going with the subject; but the whole verse is very corrupt in MS.

giraḥ somaḥ (SV. *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāḥ* RV. SV. 'The purified soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV.: 'the purified one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions.'

evaṁ taṁ garbham ā dhehi RVKh. MG.: *evaṁ tvaṁ garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB.

asmabhyam indav indrayuḥ (SV. *indriyam*) RV. SV. The verb is *pavasva*, to which SV. supplies an object *indriyam*; *indrayuḥ* is nom., epithet of the soma-drop (*indu*).

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV. AV.: *ṭuraś cid viśvam †arṇavat tapasvān* AV. *duraś* is object of *avṛṇod*; *turaś* apparently felt as epithet of the subject.

samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu dharmā (TB. ApŚ. *prathamo nu dharmaḥ*) RV.† TB. ApŚ. (RV. p.p. *prathamā, anu, dharma.*) The original neut. pls. were misunderstood later and made into noms. sg. masc., epithets of the subject, Agni. Doubtless the adjacent *samidhyamānaḥ* helped. Caland translates ApŚ. as if it had the RV. reading, tho he has no note.

yuṣmāṅś ca dāyaṁ ma upetā (ŚŚ. *dāyaṁ copetām*) AB. ŚŚ. Followed by *vidyāṁ yām u ca* (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi*. *upetā* is nom. sg. of a nomen agentis used as periphrastic future: 'he shall obtain you as an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know.' In ŚŚ. we have *upetām*, past pple., attracted into agreement with *vidyām*; in this form there is no verb to govern the accs.

dharṣā (VSK. *°ṣān*) *mānuṣaḥ* (KS. *°ṣam*, TS. ApŚ. *°ṣān*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS. TB. ApŚ. acc. object of the verb, in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject: 'be bold, as a man (VSK. let the man be bold).'

tasmai devā amṛtāḥ (AV. *°taṁ*) *saṁ vyayantām* (AV. *°tu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. In AV. *amṛtaṁ* is a noun, object of the verb.

7. Neuter acc. adverbs varying with nom. adjectives

§404. In a small and simple group we find neuter accusative adverbs varying with nominative adjectives, virtually equivalent in meaning:

subhūḥ svayaṁbhūḥ prathamaḥ (AŚ. ŚŚ. *°mam*) VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

somaḥ prathamo vivide RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)': '(thou wast) Soma's wife first.'

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *vicaranty apativratā* ŚŚ.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* (adverb) ApŚ. Preceded by *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (or the like).

ava tara (TS. *avattaraṁ*, AV. *avattaro*) *nadīṣv ā* (AV. *nadīnām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avattaraṁ* apparently an adverb; *avattaro* adj. agreeing with the subject. MS. p.p. has *avataram*, which seems to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS.

svasti naḥ pūrṇamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG. °*mukhaṁ pari krāmantu*) ApMB. HG. We now would render (rather than as in VV 1 §359): 'Happily may he, with his face turned full towards us (HG. they, with their faces...), walk round us.' So better than Oldenberg's interpretation of HG., 'walk round our full face.' The Sūtra itself renders by *pradakṣiṇam*.

asaṁbādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS.: *asaṁbādhaṁ badhyato* (read *ma*°, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *mānaveṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623.

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyaḥ śuciḥ (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* may be taken as an adverb.

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. °*taṁ*) *marudbhiḥ*, see §388 above. KS. has an adverb.

viṣvak patantu didyavaḥ RV.: *viṣvañco asmac charavaḥ patantu* AV.

āgne yāhi suvidatrebhir arvāṅ (MS. *arvāk*, p.p. *arvāṅ*) RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

prāṅ (VS. TB. *prāṅk*, MS. *prāk*, p.p. *prāṅ*) *somo atidrutaḥ* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pratyak (p.p. *pratyaṅ*) *somo atisrutaḥ* MS.: *pratyaṅ* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.† TB. *pratyaṅk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (VS.* †10. 31b, MS. *atisrutaḥ*) AV.† (see Whitney's note) VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ.

§405. Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem. acc. adverb varying with a nom. adjective; but the form is very suspicious:

dīdāyānidhmo (MS. °*māṁ*) *ghṛtanirṇig apsu* RV. TS. MS. '(Agni) shone in the waters without kindling...' If MS. is sound it would seem to have an adverb. All s.p. mss. agree; curiously the p.p. reads *dīdāya, asme ity asme*.

8. Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406. The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classifiable. Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of one form, or both, is troublesome.

sakṛd yat tvā (KS. *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS. *garbham*) *āśayat* TS. KS. Here *garbha* is used in different senses: 'embryo' (TS.) and 'womb' (KS.).

amāsi sarvāñ (AŚ. *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś.: *amo 'si sarvāñ asi praviṣṭaḥ* ŚG.: *amā hy asi sarvam anu praviṣṭaḥ* SMB. The original is certainly *sarvāñ* (from *sarvāñc*); the accs. are lect. fac.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. The latter is plainly corrupt. The acc. *nṛmaṇām* (bad form in any case) may be felt as a second object, correlative with *snehitīr*; but the interpretation is certainly dubious.

sūryasya marīciḥ TA.: *sūryo marīcim ādatte* TA. Probably the two are not really related. The former occurs in a list of the *patnīs* of various gods; the latter in a cosmic verse about creation.

udādāya pṛthivīṁ jīvadānum (TS. TB. ApŚ. *jīradānuḥ*, MS. KS. *jīradānum*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. The nom. is clearly established as the reading of the Tait. school; but there is no main verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe. Both Keith and Caland think an acc. (agreeing with *pṛthivīṁ*) must be read.

kratuṁ dadhikrā (MS. °*krām*) *anu saṁtavītvat* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *saṁsaniṣyadat*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The context is identical in MS., and only a nom. seems construable: 'Dadhikrā, showing his strength according to his will.' Is the final *m* in MS. mere 'Hiatustilger'? Cf. VV 2 §308 ff.

samānam ajmaṁ (PB. †*ayman*) *pary eti* (TA. ApŚ. *ajmā pari yāti*) *jāgṛviḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. In RV.: 'watchful he (Agni) goes about his accustomed course.' The nom. *ajmā* is apparently felt as an epithet of Agni (TA. comm. *svargagamanaśīlaḥ*), but is scarcely to be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ.). Comm. on PB. understands *ayman* (for *ajman*) as a loc., but probably misunderstands the intention of its text. On *y* for *j* in PB. see Caland's translation, xxv. The Conc. should be corrected for this and †*yunaymi te pṛthivīm agninā saha*, and these interesting variants added to VV 2 §192. Cf. also Raghu Vira, *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā*, 5; Oertel 28.

bṛhaspatiṁ yajñam akṛṇvata ṛṣim RV.: *bṛhaspatir yajñam atanuta ṛṣiḥ* AV. The same passage in both texts, dealing otherwise wholly with Yama; the introduction of a statement about Bṛhaspati's action is evidently a stupid blunder.

yāṅs (TA. Poona ed. text and comm. *yās*) *te soma prāṇāṅs tāṅ* (*tān, tāñ*) *juhomi* TA. MahānU. Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine...' Comm. on MahānU. supplies *paśyāmi* as governing the acc. The nom. *yās* makes construction simpler (*prāṇāṅs* for *prāṇās* being then attracted to the following *tān*).

saṁ takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ (HG. *cakrinaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Obscure and likely to be corrupt in both forms. According to Oldenberg, HG. would mean 'the carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels.' *cakrī*, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of *takṣā*!

brahmāṇam (TB. °*ṇa*) *indraṁ vayodhasam* VS. TB. After *hotā yakṣad*; only acc. seems construable. Comm. on TB. in fact takes *brahmāṇas* as acc. pl. (agreeing with *dvāras* preceding)!—as if from *brahman*, with strong stem for weak.

manyuṁ (AV. *manyur*) *viśa īḍate mānuṣīr yāḥ* (TB.† *īḍate devayantīḥ*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The nom. is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times. It is really unconstruable, as Whitney observes; comm. reads *manyuṁ*. Yet Ppp. has *manyur*, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools.

purāṇāṅ (TA. °*ṇā*) *anu venati* RV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. *purātanān devān*. In fact neither a nom. pl. masc. nor a nom. or acc. pl. fem. is construable.

narāśaṁsena nagnahum (KS. TB. °*huḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The form must be acc. in all. Von Schroeder emends KS. to °*hum*; TB. comm. keeps the form °*huḥ* but regards it as acc. neut.

parīdaṁ vājy ajinaṁ (PG. °*daṁ vājinaṁ*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajinaṁ dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. Haplology in PG. (VV 2 p. 362); *vājinaṁ* not construable.

bahuprajā nirṛtim (AV. °*tir*) *ā viveśa* RV. AV. N. Whitney assumes an acc. in AV.; but the passage is mystic nonsense and perhaps anything is possible. This might be classed with 'case attraction' above, since apparently AV. has made *nirṛti-* agree with *bahuprajā*.

ā viveśāparājitām (TA. °*tā*) AV. TA. Only the acc. can be construed; so comm. on TA. interprets the form, tho he reads °*tā* like both editions.

tilvilāstām· irāvatīm AG.†: *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB., and others, always with nom. Stenzler (note in transl. of AG. p. 83) regards the acc. ending as certainly erroneous.

§407. In the rest there seems to be no genuine variant at all:

sindhuṁ (MahānU. v. l. *sindhur*) *na nāvā duritāti parṣi* RV. MS. TB. TA. MahānU. The v. l. is worthless; no nom. could be construed.

havyaṁ pārāvatebhyaḥ AV. ŚŚ. So mss. of AV.; R-Wh. emend wrongly to *havyaḥ*.

pūṣaṇvān karambham MS. KS. AB. *karambhaḥ* is read by Von Schroeder in MS. by emendation; and the Conc. quotes KS. as *°bhaḥ*, erroneously. All texts should read *°bham*.

śimāḥ kṛṇvantu śimyantaḥ TS. KSA. Conc. quotes *śimāṁ* for KSA.; this is a false reading of one ms., rejected in the ed.

tān sma mānuvaṣaṭkṛthāḥ AŚ.: *ete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtāḥ* Vait. But all mss. of Vait. read *ca tāṁtsamānuvaṣaṭkṛtā(ḥ)*; with Caland we should probably assume that they intend the AŚ. reading.

tṛptāṁ juhur mātulasyeva yoṣā RVKh.† N.† Conc. reads *tṛptā* for RVKh., with Aufrecht; but see Scheftelowitz, p. 87.

vāyavyaḥ śvetaḥ puche VS. MS.: *vāyavyaṁ śvetam* ApŚ. The latter should be deleted in the Conc.; it is no mantra but the beginning of a Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 1. 1. 1.

īṣamāṇa (ŚŚ. *°ṇā*) *upaspṛśaḥ* AV. ŚŚ. Read in AV. as in ŚŚ. (with mss., SPP., Whitney's Index; and see Bloomfield's note on 20. 127. 2).

CHAPTER XV

NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1. Instr. of means or agent and subject nom.

§408. The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed. Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action. In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in:

ya īṁ vahanta āśubhiḥ RV.: *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV. 'Whoso travel by horses': 'when the horses carry (him).'

manyur akārṣīn manyuḥ karoti...TAA.: *manyunā kṛtaṁ manyuḥ karoti* ...BDh.

§409. It is not even necessary that the verb form should vary; once, at least, the same verb is taken as either passive or middle-deponent: *na karmaṇā lipyate pāpakena* ŚB. TB. BṛhU. BDh.: *na karma lipyate nare* VS. IśāU. 'He is not stained by evil action': 'action does not stick to (stain) a man.'

§410. A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr. of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc. of direct object, but becomes nom. as subject of a passive verb:

antar dadhe parvataiḥ HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā girayaḥ* ŚG. 'I interpose with mountains': 'mountains are interposed.'—In same context: *antar mahyā pṛthivyā* HG.† ApMB.†; *antar dadha ṛtubhiḥ; ahorātraiś ca saṁdhibhiḥ* (HG. °*traiḥ susaṁdhibhiḥ*); *ardhamāsaiś ca māsaiś ca*—all HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā pṛthivī mahī me; antarhitā ma ṛtavaḥ; ahorātrāś ca saṁdhijāḥ; māsāś cārdhamāsāś ca*, all ŚG.

§411. More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning. The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument. 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so.' In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities

are so common, such a shift is particularly easy; it would indeed not be difficult anywhere. It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric diction (*βίη Ἡρακληείη*). But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective, or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is rarely found among our variants; the first example is perhaps the only one.—Instead of the subject nom., the voc. of direct address is also found varying with the instr. in the same way, §354.

pra te divo na stanayanti śuṣmāḥ (MS. °*yanta śuṣmaiḥ*) RV. TS. MS. 'Thy (Agni's) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven': 'they (sc. *giraḥ*) have thundered to thee with furies like (those) of heaven.'

abhi stomair (RV.* SV.* *stomā*) *anūṣata* RV. SV. (both in each) AV. VS. 'Songs of praise shouted to thee': 'they shouted to thee with songs of praise.'

vājasya mā prasavena (VS. ŚB. °*vaḥ*) VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *udgrābheṇod agrābhīt* (*ajīgrabham*, etc.). 'He has (I have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exaltation': 'increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation.'

taṁ tvābhiḥ suṣṭutibhir vājayantaḥ RV.: *taṁ tvā giraḥ suṣṭutayo vājayanti* SV. 'Strengthening thee with these fair praises': 'songs of fair praise strengthen thee.'

punantu manavo (RV. *vasavo*, VS. KS. *manasā*) *dhiyā* (VS. KS. *dhiyaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Let men (Vasus) purify with prayer': 'let prayers purify with mind.' The change of *manavo* to *manasā* introduces a different word; but it is to be noted that it replaces the instr. *dhiyā*, and so in a way restores the original construction of the sentence.

abhi yo mahinā divam RV. AŚ.: *abhīmaṁ* (TS. MŚ.† °*māṁ*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*; delete MŚ. v. l. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *mitro* (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ*. 'The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty'; VS. substitutes *vipro* for *mitro* (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns *mahinā* into *mahimā*, nom.: 'the wise, far-spreading majesty has...'

kṣatram agne (AV. *kṣatreṇāgne*) *suyamam astu tubhyam* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. neither the pāda itself nor the context furnishes a subject for *astu*. Apparently indefinite subject: 'by dominion, Agni, let it be of easy control for thee.' The other reading is supported by Ppp. and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps to be suspected of secondariness: 'let dominion, Agni, be of easy control for thee.'

śukro bṛhan dakṣiṇayā (TB. *bṛhad dakṣiṇā tvā*) *pipartu* AV. TB. 'Let the bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee': 'let the bright one, the mighty [comm., the *sāman*], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee.' On this use of root *pṛ* see Bloomfield, *AJP.* 17. 408 ff. (esp. 409).

2. Associative instr. and (collateral) subject or predicate nom.

§412. An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case. So we find such instr. forms attached to a subject or predicate nom., varying with a nom. as collateral subject or predicate. For the same variation with other cases than the nom. see §§55–7. With the nom. this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr., expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like. Such words occur in most of the following variants:

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB. °*śīr*, MG. °*śam*) *aguḥ* (with varr.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Preceded by *ā vatso jagatā saha.* Ppp. reads *ā dadhnaṣ kalaśaś ca yaḥ.* The ApMB. substitution has phonetic aspects (VV 2 §701), but Ppp. supports it in sense by reading a nom. (Note, however, that the fem. stem *kalaśī* is post-Vedic.) 'They have come with pots of sour milk': '(they and) pots of sour milk have come.' Knauer prints MG. as *kalaśam airayam*; but the mss. are clearly corrupt; the syllable *air* must conceal the true case-ending of *kalaśa.* Read *kalaśair ayam*, as in Kāṭhaka G. (see Caland's ed. and note on this). In the same context:

emāṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ AV.: *enaṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhyā* ŚG.: *ā tvā pariśritaḥ* (°*srutaḥ*, °*sṛtaḥ*, *hiraṇmayaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† °*āḥ*) AG. PG. MG. ApMB. HG.

yaśasā (ArS. *yaśo*) *mā dyāvāpṛthivī* ArS. PG. MG. The verb to be supplied is a form of *vid* 'find', from pāda c: *yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*) PG. MG., *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. ('let glory of fortune find [me]'; so correct rendering in VV 2 p. 98).—So, in same stanza, between these two pādas:

yaśasendrābṛhaspatī PG. MG.: *yaśo mendrābṛhaspatī* ArS. Cf. prec. 'With glory let...find (come to) me.' However, the dual forms might be taken as vocs., supplying a 2d person verb: 'with glory (come) to me, O....' (So Oldenberg on PG.)

yavā (MS. *yavair*) *na barhir bhruvi kesarāṇi* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley).'

samā bhavantūdvato (TS. °*vatā*) *nipādāḥ* RV. TS. KS. 'The heights and depths shall be equal': 'the depths shall be equal with the heights.'

teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti RV. VS. TS. MS. N.: *saṁ no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām* KS. A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter; it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section.

satyā eṣām (AG. *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB. HG. *santu kāmaiḥ*; SMB. Jörgensen *santu kāmāḥ*, v. l. *kāmāt*; AG. *santu sarvāḥ*; VS. *saṁnamantām*) VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG. 'Let their prayers, their desires, come true': 'let their prayers with their desires (or perhaps, according to their desires? cf. the v. l. *kāmāt*) come true.'

ādityas (ApMB. °*yais*) *te vasubhir ā dadhātu* HG. ApMB. Preceded by *indro marudbhir ṛtudhā* (HG. *iha te*) *kṛṇotu* (HG. *dadhātu*). 'Indra with the Maruts..., Āditya with the Vasus': 'Indra with the Maruts...with the Ādityas, with the Vasus'.

saṁ revatīr jagatībhiḥ pṛcyantām VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *saṁ revatīr jagatībhir* (VSK. °*bhiḥ saṁ*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ sṛjyadhvam* (VSK. *pṛcyantām*) TS. VSK. TB.: *saṁ revatīr jagatīḥ* MS. The latter belongs to the same context as the others, but the verb of mingling is postponed to the next pāda (*śivāḥ śivābhiḥ sam asṛkṣatāpaḥ*), and the original instr. which was paired with *revatīr* is made into a supplementary subject.

tan mṛtyunā nirṛtiḥ saṁvidānā AV.: *tan mṛtyur nirṛtyā saṁvidānaḥ* TB. Here nom. and instr. change places, without real change of meaning. 'Destruction in unison with death': 'death in unison with destruction.'

tāṁ viśvair devair (KS. *viśve devā*) *ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* (KS. °*nāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Followed by *prajāpatir viśvakarmā vimuñcatu* (ApŚ. *yunaktu*). KS. turns the original complementary instr. (dependent on *saṁvidānaḥ*) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda.

śukraḥ śukraśociṣā VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS. 'The bright with the bright-shining one': 'the two bright, bright-shining ones.'

tayor (TS. TB. *tasyāṁ*, MŚ. *yasyāṁ*, v. l. *asyāṁ*) *devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* (MŚ. *abhisaṁviśantaḥ*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasyāṁ devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV. In AV. the following verb is *madema*, in the rest *mādayantām* or °*yadhvam*. 'The gods, dwelling together...': 'may we, dwelling together with the gods...'

parīmaṁ yajamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ saha rāyas poṣeṇa prajayā ca vyayantām

MS.: *parīmaṁ rāyas poṣo yajamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ* TS. The associative instr. is pointed with *saha*. See §§402 etc.

indraghoṣas (MS. KS. °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavaḥ pu° pāntu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pāntu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. Followed by the next two, q. v.

manojavās tvā pitṛbhir (KS. *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS.: *manojavaso vaḥ pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata upadadhatām* TA. See next.

pracetās tvā rudraiḥ paścāt pātu VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *rudrās tvā pracetasaḥ paścāt pāntu* MS.: *pracetā vo rudraiḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA. This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (*viśvakarmā tvādityair...*) in which all texts have the instr. When a nom. is substituted for the instr. (as twice in KS. and twice in MS.) it may be felt as a second subject, so belonging in this group. Yet it is at least as likely to be felt as sole subject, modified by the word (*indraghoṣās* etc.) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective.

3. Instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.) and nom. of bahuvrīhis

§413. Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr. (a karmadhāraya), and again in the nom. as a bahuvrīhi, an adjective epithet of the subject. The instr. seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr. of means. In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one. Sometimes the instr. occurs in separate, uncompounded forms.

aśvānāṁ sadhastuti (TB. °*tiḥ*) RV. TB. The verse reads: *ye me pañcāśataṁ dadur, aśv° sadh°, dyumad agne mahi śravo, bṛhat kṛdhi maghonāṁ, nṛvad amṛta nṝṇām.* 'Who have given me 500 horses, of (these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB. having joint praise), make great the fame' etc.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. °*tyā*, TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*) *vām iyānā* (TS. MS. KS. *vāvṛdhānā*, AV. °*nau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. If MS. intends nom. dual, its variation with AV. KS. is like the foregoing: 'having good praises' or 'along with good praise'. But *suṣṭutī* may be taken also as instr. TS. makes the form acc. pl. depending on the pple., and AŚ. ŚŚ. are hopelessly corrupt.

taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā (ApMB. °*dho*, HG. *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. The following verb is *anu jayantām*. AV.: 'after

thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born.' ApMB.: 'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good.' Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if *suvṛdhā* were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle; but the order seems against this.

prāṇo agniḥ paramātmā pañcavāyubhir āvṛtaḥ PrāṇāgU.: *prāṇo 'gniḥ paramātmā vai pañcavāyuḥ samāśritaḥ* MU. 'The Paramātman is surrounded by the five breaths': '...has entered in with (or, perhaps, as) the five breaths.' Here the psychology is a little different; the instr. seems clearly one of means.

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV.: *vi yo rajāṅsy amimīta sukratuḥ* RV. Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in the karmadhāraya.

tripād ūrdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ RV. ArS. VS. TA.: *tribhiḥ padbhir dyām arohat* AV. Here two separate words are used instead of the karmadhāraya compound.

4. Nom. and instr. of part dedicated in offering

§414. In the long list of dedicatory formulas used in presenting parts of the horse's body to various deities in the Aśvamedha, we find a number of times variation between instr. of the part dedicated (and acc. of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' understood), and on the other hand nom. of the part dedicated and gen. or dat. of the deity (with copula 'understood'). Cf. §126 on the various types of dedicatory formulas. We shall not record a complete list here; others will be found in the same vicinity:

pūṣaṇaṁ vaniṣṭhunā VS. MS. ('Pūṣan [we gratify] with the *van*°'): *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuḥ* TS. KSA. ('the *van*° is for Pūṣan').—Similarly: *andhāhīn* (°*he*, °*heḥ*) *sthūlagudayā* (*sthūra*°, °*gudā*), and others, same texts.

5. Transfer of epithet

§415. As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between nom. and instr. is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or thing to another. In most cases there is a variation in number or gender as well as case; we quote first those in which case alone varies:

svāveśayā (VS. ŚB. °*veśā*) *tanvā saṁviśasva* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VS. ŚB. the adjective, if as we believe (cf. §174) it is nom., agrees with the subject (*iṣṭakā*), in MS. KS. with *tanvā*.

prātaryāvāṇo adhvaram RV. VS. TB.: *prātaryāvabhir adhvare* SV. Pre-

ceded by: *śrudhi śrutkarṇa vahnibhir, devair agne sayāvabhiḥ, ā sīdantu* (SV. *sīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā*. In the original *prātar°* agrees with the subject; in SV. it becomes an associative instr. attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by the instrumentals in the preceding.

anuttaś carṣaṇīdhṛtiḥ SV.: *anuttā carṣaṇīdhṛtā* RV. In RV. *carṣaṇīdhṛtā* is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten*, 1 p. 162, n. 1); in SV. it is transferred to the subject (*tvam* = Indra).

§416. In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as well as case:

paro devebhir (MS. *°bhyo*) *asurair* (MS. *°raṁ*) *yad asti* (TS. *asurair guhā yat*) RV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *paro divā para enā pṛthivyā*, except in MS. which has *paro divaḥ para enā pṛthivyāḥ* (abls. for instrs.); MS. makes *devebhir* over into *devebhyo* in accord with this, and since the meter does not permit *asurebhyo*, it transfers this word to the subject *yad*.

ghnanto (MS. ApŚ. *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāṇy aprati* AV. MS. KS. TS. ApŚ. Nom. goes with subject *vayam*, instr. with associative *indreṇa*.

indreṇa sayujo (AV. *°jā*) *vayam* AV. TS. ApŚ. 'We allied with Indra': 'we with Indra as ally.'

indreṇa devīr (MŚ. *devair*) *vīrudhaḥ saṁvidānāḥ* TS. MŚ.

ta ā vahanti (MS. *tayā vahante* [so p.p.]) *kavayaḥ purastāt* TS. MS. TB.: *tad āharanti kavayaḥ purastāt* KS. In MS. *tayā* by attraction to preceding *svadhayā*; cf. VV 2 §342.

udyan bhrājabhṛṣṭibhir (PG. *°bhṛṣṭir*) *indro marudbhir asthāt*...SMB. PG. GG.

śuddha (SV. *śuddhair*) *āśīrvān mamattu* RV. SV. Preceded by *śuddhair ukthair vāvṛdhvāṅsam*; to these instr. forms the SV. has assimilated *śuddha(ḥ)* of RV.

aganma mahā (KS. *maho*) *namasā yaviṣṭham* RV. SV. MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'We have come with mighty homage (KS. mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni).' KS. apparently understands a nom. pl. with its *mahó*.

abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā śuśukvaniḥ RV.: *dṛśe* (MS. *dṛśā*) *ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (KS. *°vabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. *su°* is made an epithet of *bhāsā*. In KS. too the epithet no longer agrees with the subject (Agni). It is perhaps made coordinate with *bhāsā*; or possibly it is meant to agree with *suśastibhiḥ* in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular since the latter word is fem.).

ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayā san†* (MS. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛttaḥ*, p.p. and KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. Followed by:

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyaṁ*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayā no yajñaṁ vahāsi* KŚ. In the first of these two pādas, the instrs. are transferred to *manasā* from agreement with the subject (Agni); in the second they are attracted to the like construction by the preceding *ayasā*.

uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV. The AV. version is corrupt; by a false verse division *uru°* (originally epithet of the divine doors, *dvāraḥ*) is transferred to *dhāmnā*. Ppp. agrees with the others.

pāvakayā yaś (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The nom. in TS. is really due to phonetic alteration; cf. Oldenberg, *Prol.* 453, and VV 2 §343. But it is construable in agreement with the unexpressed subject of the verb *ruruce*.

saṁjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṁjagmānā abibhyuṣīḥ* (MS. *avihrutāḥ*) AV. MS. The instr. goes with a preceding *indreṇa*, the nom. with the *gāvaḥ* who are addressed. But the contexts are quite different, and the pādas in their original forms probably unrelated. We take it that AV. has a contamination of the MS. pāda with that of RV. etc.

§417. The following cases are also classed as 'transfers of epithet' as explained in §§15–6. They show in one form a true 'epithet', in the other sometimes a form of the same, sometimes a different word, not properly an epithet of anything but independently construed:

acittibhiś cakṛmā yac cid āgaḥ RV. MS. KS.: *avidvāṁsaś cakṛmā kac canāgaḥ* TS.

apa druhā (AV. *druhus*) *tanvaṁ gūhamānā* RV. AV. The instr. of manner, virtually an adverb, of RV. becomes in AV. an epithet of the subject, a she-demon.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (TB. *dhṛṣatā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. In TB. the orig. nom. epithet becomes an adverbial instr. of a different but related stem.

indrādhipatiḥ (MS. KS. *°patyaiḥ*) *pipṛtād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'O Indra, as overlord (with thy overlordship)...'

vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ TA.: *vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu* AV. The TA. reading seems to be intended by Ppp. (Whitney on 6. 119. 3). 'May V. with purifiers (V. the purifier) purify us (me).'

yena prajā (MS. *ya imāḥ prajā*) *viśvakarmā jajāna* (TS. *vyānaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. *yaḥ* goes with *viśvakarmā*. The original: 'by which V. produced creatures.'

yenaiṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU. MuṇḍU. *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. (2. 1. 9). Deussen reads *bhūtas* in MahānU. but observes that a v. l. has *bhūtais* and that this is a better reading. The nom. is secondary and attracted to *antarātmā*. See also Deussen's note on the MuṇḍU. passage.

tenā (TS. *sā*) *no yajñaṁ pipṛhi viśvavāre* AV. TS. Nom. is secondary.

candro (SV. *candrair*) *yāti sabhām upa* RV. SV. Preceded by *śvātrabhājā vayasā sacate sadā*. Apparently under the influence of the preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom. is changed into an associative instr. The 'shining ones' are soma-drops according to Benfey.

priyaḥ kavīnāṁ matī (SV. *matiḥ*) RV. SV. In RV. *matī* is instr.: 'by the hymn of the seers.' In SV. it is anomalously made into an epithet of *indu*.

sūyavasinī manave (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. *daśasye*, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The original *daśasyā* is instr. of stem *daśasyā*, 'benevolently'. TA.'s *daśasye* seems, like *yaśasye*, to be dual nom. fem. agreeing with the subject.

6. Nom. of independent sentence and instr.

§418. Twice a dependent instr. of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom., which is however resumed by a pronominal instr. in the same construction as the nominal instr. of the variant form. See §33:

gavā te krīṇāni TS. ApŚ.: *iyaṁ gaus tayā te krīṇāni* MŚ. 'With a cow let me buy of thee': 'here is a cow, with her...'

etat te rudrāvasaṁ tena (VSK.† *etena rudrāvasena*) *paro mūjavato 'tīhi* VS. VSK. ŚB. 'This is thy food, O Rudra; with it depart...': 'with this food, O Rudra, depart...'

7. Miscellaneous

§419. The remaining nom.-instr. variants are scarcely classifiable. They mostly involve various reconstructions of the material, in sense at least, and usually in form, extending far beyond the mere change in case-form.

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

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. In RV. VS. ŚB. *pathyā* may be taken as nom., with Grassmann and Oldenberg: 'as the path of the *sūri*'. In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr.: 'like the lord on his path'. Cf. §284.

gaṇair mā mā vi tītṛṣata MS.: *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TS. ŚB.: *gaṇān me mā vi tītṛṣaḥ* (MŚ. °*ṣat*) TS. MŚ. See §§380, 459.

jajñānaṁ (SV. °*naḥ*) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV. *mātṛbhiḥ*) RV. SV. Followed by *vedhām aśāsata* (SV. *medhām āśā*°) *śriye*. 'The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune': 'the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune.'

yajñaṁ hinvanty adribhiḥ RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayaḥ* SV. Preceded by *taṁ duroṣam abhī naraḥ, somaṁ viśvācyā dhiyā*. In RV. *naraḥ* is subject of *hinvanty* and *somaṁ* its object. In SV. it seems that *naraḥ* must be taken with Benfey as voc., with no verb expressed, and that pāda c must be completely detached from the preceding.

tan nau saṁvananaṁ kṛtam MG.: *tena saṁvaninau svake* HG. 'That concord has been made for us': 'thereby we are concordant.'

tayā devāḥ sutam ā babhūvuḥ TS. KSA. TB.: *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS. MS. 'Therewith the gods mastered the libation': 'it is present for us at this libation.' See Keith on TS. 4. 1. 2. 1, n. 6.

pṛthivīṁ bhasmanāpṛṇa (MS. KS. *bhasma*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'Fill the earth with (thy) ashes.' In MS. KS. sc. *gachatu*: 'let (thy) ashes (go) to earth.'

ya indreṇa sarathaṁ yāti devaḥ AV.: *yenendrasya rathaṁ saṁbabhūvuḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ.

maṇḍūkyā su saṁ gamaḥ (TA. *gamaya*) RV.† TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu śaṁ bhuvaḥ* AV. (corrupt).

āptaṁ manaḥ TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.: *āpāma manasā* VS. ŚB. 'Mind has been obtained': 'may we obtain by mind'. Ritualistic rigmarole.

ārohātmātmānam (MŚ. *ārohātmanātmānam*) *achā* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self.' TB. Bibl. Ind. reads *ārohātyātmānam*, text and comm.; Poona ed. like the others.

mūrā (SV. *mūrair*) *amūraṁ purāṁ darmāṇam* RV. SV. Benfey: 'den durch Thoren unbethörten'. Obscure.

taṁ devās sam acīklpan KS.: *tāṁ devaiḥ sam ajīgamam* TS. The sense is radically altered. 'Him the gods have fashioned': 'her I have united with the gods.' Both preceded by *aṅgāny ahrutā yasya* (TS. *yasyai*).

sam indro viśvadevebhir aṅktām VS. ŚB.: *sam indreṇa viśvebhir devebhir aṅktām* TB. ApŚ. In the latter the barhis is the subject.

sam aryamā saṁ bhago no ninīyāt RV. ApMB.: *saṁ bhagena sam aryamṇā* (followed by *saṁ dhātā sṛjatu varcasā*) AV. See Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 34, which doubtless understands *bhagena* and *aryamṇā* as parallel with *varcasā*.

kālena bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ ca AV.: *kāle ha bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ ca* AV. vulgate, but by emend. for *kālo* of most mss., kept by SPP. *kālena* of the other form is also an emendation for *kāle ha*, which SPP. keeps. This last emendation seems justified and is supported by Ppp. (*JAOS.* 46. 37f.). In the other, while the loc. would be possible, there seems no reason to reject the well attested nom. form, which is adopted by Bloomfield and Whitney. The contexts are different tho related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be called 'Phrase Inflection'.

[*krāṇā* (SV. *prāṇā*, AV. *prāṇaḥ*) *sindhūnāṁ kalaśāṁ avīvaśat* (SV. AV. *acikradat*) RV. SV. AV. *krāṇā* is problematic; Oldenberg takes it with Lanman as instr.; see *RVRep.* 136 for a different view. In SV. we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation; in AV. an attempt at rationalization of SV., which is grammatical ('the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound') but silly.]

CHAPTER XVI

NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

1. Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420. Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word. This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in:

mandrā dhanasya sātaye (KS. °*yaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Waters are referred to. 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth': 'fair winnings of wealth'. All mss. of KS. agree on the form.

pade-pade pāśinaḥ santi setavaḥ (AV. °*ve*) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond).'

agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavaḥ RV.: *agner akṛṇvann uśijo amṛtyave* MS.: *devā akṛṇvann uśijo amartyave* ApŚ. In RV. *amṛtyavaḥ* is adj., 'immortal ones', agreeing with the subject; in MS. a noun, 'unto immortality', meaning about the same thing. ApŚ. doubtless intends the same meaning as MS.; cf. VV 2 §650.

prajāvatīr (MŚ. °*varīr*, v. l. °*vatīr*) *yaśaso* (MŚ. °*se*) *viśvarūpāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. *yaśáso* is adjective: '(here come the cows) with many calves, renowned, varied in appearance.' In MŚ. *yaśase* is evidently the noun, 'unto renown'; the ultimate meaning is substantially the same.

ūjyam uktham avyathāyai (TS. *avyathayat*, KS. *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Comm. on TS. *tvām avyathayad vyathārahitaṁ kurvat*, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts.—The same with *praügam uktham*, *marutvatīyam u*°, *niṣkevalyam u*°, *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*.

aso yathā no 'vitā vṛdhe ca (SV. *vṛdhaś cit*) RV. SV. 'That thou mayst be our helper, and for (our) increase', RV. In SV. the dat. of purpose becomes a nom. of a nomen agentis, being assimilated to *avitā*: '. . . and (mayst be our) increaser.'

ayaṁ sahasram ā no dṛśe kavīnāṁ matir jyotir vidharmaṇi AV.: *ayaṁ sahasram ānavo* (Benfey and Caland assume *sahasramānavo*) *dṛśaḥ kavīnāṁ matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm.

on SV. takes *dṛśaḥ* as nom. (= *draṣṭā*), 'seer' or 'eye'. If this be accepted the variant would belong here; *dṛśe* is a dat. (infinitive). But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ. (perhaps abl.-gen. in form?).

sajātānāṁ madhyamasthā edhi (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāḥ*, MS. KS. *madhyameṣṭheyāya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *sajātānāṁ madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV.

§421. Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom. form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to:

tava praśastayo mahīḥ (SV. *praśastaye mahe*) RV. SV. Preceded by *taṁ tvā madāya ghṛṣvaye, u lokakṛtnum īmahe.* In RV. our pāda is an independent statement: 'great are thy praisings.' In SV. it is assimilated to the datives of pāda a: 'unto great praising of thee.'

rāyaspoṣā (MŚ. °*poṣāya*) *yajamānaṁ viśantu* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *imāṁ devā ajuṣanta viśve.* 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer.' In MŚ. the subject *devāḥ* of the preceding clause holds over: 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth.' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS. ApŚ.; it is thru them that the desired result is expected. Cf. *rāyaspoṣā yajamānaṁ sacantām*, in a similar context, for which one ms. of MŚ. also reads *rāyaspoṣāya.* Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412.

ā yāhīma indavaḥ RV. AŚ.: *ā yāhy ayam indave* SV. This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV. may not be quite properly described as one of purpose. 'Come! Here are the soma-drops': 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma.'

§422. We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom., subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf. Delbrück, *AIS.* 89, where it is suggested that 'case-attraction' does not properly describe this dative):

mayaḥ patibhyo janayaḥ (AV. °*ye*) *pariṣvaje* RV. AV. ApMB. 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace': 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife.'

§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause):

brahmadviṣe (RV. also °*dviṣaḥ*) *śarave hantavā u* RV. (both) AV. The nom. form is preceded by *tapurmūrdhā tapatu rakṣaso ye*: 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them).' See *RVRep.* on 10. 125. 6.

2. Dative varies with nom. of secondary adjective in dedications

§424. In dedicatory expressions (cf. §126), the deity may be expressed either by the dative or by the nominative of a secondary adjective; these variants resemble some of those quoted above in §420, except that the dative is not one of purpose:

kapota (MS. °*tā*) *ulūkaḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TA. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. 'These are for Nirṛti (Nirṛti's).'

vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyāṁ payaḥ MS.: *vāyosāvitra āgo° caruḥ* TS. KSA. P.p. of TS. *vāyosāvitraḥ*. On the formation see VV 2 §716.

ātir (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

3. Dative varying with nominative of independent statement

§425. Like other cases (cf. §§32–8), a dative may be replaced by a nominative of independent statement, or vice versa:

tasmā etaṁ bharata tadvaśāya (and, *tadvaśo dadiḥ*) RV. (both). 'Bring this to him who desires it': 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous.'

§426. Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause:

agninetrebhyo devebhyaḥ puraḥsadbhyaḥ svāhā VS. ŚB.: *ye devā agninetrāḥ puraḥsadas tebhyaḥ svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *ye devāḥ puraḥsado agninetrā* (KS. *'gni°*) *rakṣohaṇas...tebhyaḥ svāhā* MS. KS.: *ye devāḥ puraḥsado 'gninetrā...tebhyo namas tebhyaḥ svāhā* TS. Others similar (VS. 9. 35–6, MS. 2. 6. 3, KS. 15. 2).

namo vaḥ pitaro ghorāya (VSK. adds *manyave*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: *namo vaḥ pitaro yad ghoraṁ tasmai* AV. MS. And, in same passage: *namo vaḥ pitaro jīvāya* VS. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: *namo vaḥ pitaro yaj jīvaṁ tasmai* VSK. MS. Note the difference in phraseology in VSK.

4. Phrase inflection

§427. There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom. and dat.; in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2):

patir (VS. ŚB. *patye*) *viśvasya bhūmanaḥ* RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB. Followed in RV. SV. KS. by *vy akhyad rodasī ubhe*, in VS. ŚB. by *juhomi viśvakarmaṇe.*

sahasrākṣāyāmartya AV.: *sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ* AV. Preceded respectively by *namas te rudra kṛṇmaḥ*, and *anyatrāsman ny ucyatu.*

prācī dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣitādityā iṣavaḥ AV.: *prācyai tvā diśe 'gnaye 'dhipataye 'sitāya rakṣitra ādityāyeṣumate* AV. The first is followed by *tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyas* etc., the second by *etaṁ pari dadmaḥ.* Similar variants in the five following verses; see Conc. under *dakṣiṇāyai tvā . . .*, *pratīcyai tvā . . .*, *udīcyai tvā . . .*, *dhruvāyai tvā . . .*, *ūrdhvāyai tvā . . .*

janāya vṛktabarhiṣe RV.: *janāso vṛktabarhiṣaḥ* RV. Different contexts.

stotāra indra girvaṇaḥ RV. SV.: *stotṛbhya indra girvaṇaḥ* RV. The nom. is preceded by *vayaṁ ghā te api ṣmasi*, the dat. by *yad ditsasi stuto magham.*

5. Transfer of epithet

§428. The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14). We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender. But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet'. In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text. In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun. Cf. §15.

tasmā u brahmaṇas patiḥ RV. KS.: *ayaṁ ca brahmaṇas patiḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *tasmai somo* (*devā*) *adhi bravat* (*bruvan*). The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god: 'And him (may) Brahmaṇaspati (bless)': 'and (may) B. here (bless him).'

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. °*patiḥ*, KB. ŚŚ. °*pateḥ*, TB. °*patyuḥ*) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. In all preceded by *juṣṭo vāco* (*vāce*) *bhūyāsam.* 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech': in MS., 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech.'

iyaṁ te rāṇ mitrāya (KS. *mitro*) *yantāsi* †*yamanaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS., a guiding friendly controller).' We suspect that KS. is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following noms.

pitaraḥ pitāmahāḥ pare 'vare (KS. *'varebhyas*) *te naḥ pāntu* (MS. omits *te naḥ p°*) *te no 'vantu* TS. MS. KS. 'Let the fathers... the earlier and the later, guard us...' In KS. *avarebhyas* is made to refer to the petitioners: 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us...' Note however that we should expect an acc. agreeing with the following *naḥ*.

§429. Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are:

suprāvye (AV. *°vyā*) *yajamānāya sunvate* RV. AV. Preceded by *ahaṁ dadhāmi draviṇaṁ* (AV. *°ṇā*) *haviṣmate*. RV. makes *su°* go with *yaja° sunvate*: 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma.' Whitney adopts the RV. reading following the AV. comm. and one ms., but notes that AVPr. 4. 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was *suprāvyā*. It may be taken either as acc. pl. neut. with *draviṇā*, or better as nom. sg. fem. with the subject. In any case it must be derived not from the stem *suprāvī* but from its equivalent *suprāvyà* (RV.).

ūrṇamradā yuvatir (AV. *°mradāḥ pṛthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA. *°vatī*) RV. AV. TA. 'The maiden (earth; this is what RV. TA. also mean) soft as wool to him that gives *dakṣiṇā*'; in TA. the epithet 'possessed of *dakṣiṇā*' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous'.

vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī (ArS. *°se*) *śuciḥ* RV. ArS. In ArS. the epithet is transferred from *matir* to *vaiśvā°*.

te asmā (KS. *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ. and v. l. of MS. *°yo*) *draviṇaṁ* (KS. *°ṇāni*) *dattvā* MS. KS. ApŚ. 'They, giving wealth to this Agni': 'these Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer).' The subject *te* refers to Agnis just mentioned; hence the secondary *agnayo* by attraction.

nābhā saṁdāyi navyasī (SV. *°dāya navyase*) RV. SV. Preceded by *yad dha krāṇā vivasvati* (SV. *°te*). In RV. *navyasī* agrees with the subject of *saṁdāyi* (Oldenberg understands *nābhiḥ*); in SV. with *vivasvate*. The stanza is somewhat problematic in both.

§430. Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following; in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective). Cf. §15.

āre te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnam RV.: *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS. See under *kṣayadvīra* (TS. °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* (which follows this), §359. 'Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy man-killing' (RV.). In TS. the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with *te* (Rudra).

rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe (AV. °*ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. 'Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth': 'let her grant...to the wise.' Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with *dāśuṣe* of the preceding pāda (in Ppp. and all others but not in AVŚ., which has a quite different pāda c).

rātri (KS. v. l. *rātriḥ*, TB. *rātrī*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB. The epithet (in RV. referring to some unspecified 'conqueror') is transferred to Night.

6. Miscellaneous

§431. The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable:

ādityās (MS. °*yebhyas*) *tvā prabṛhantu* (MS. *pravṛhāmi*) *jāgatena chandasā* TS. MS. 'Let the Ādityas pluck thee forth...': 'I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas...'

yathainaṁ jarase nayāt AV.: *athainaṁ jarimā ṇayet* HG. The latter is evidently poor; perhaps 'then may old age lead him'? Or is it felt as *jarim āṇayet*, as if involving a stem **jari*? Note lingual *ṇ* in *ṇayet*!

iyaṁ (AV. MS. *yā*) *teṣām avayā duriṣṭyai* (AV. MS. *duriṣṭiḥ*) AV. TS. MS. Followed by *sviṣṭiṁ nas tāṁ* (AV. wrongly *tān*) *kṛṇotu* (AV. *kṛṇavad*) *viśvakarmā* (MS. *vi*° *kṛṇotu*). Ppp. has *yā...duriṣṭā, sviṣṭaṁ tad vi*° *kṛ*°. TS.: 'this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice; may V. make it for us a perfect sacrifice.' AV. MS. could apparently only mean: 'that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V. make it...' This does not fit the requirements; it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption. Whitney emends to *duriṣṭeḥ*. Ppp. *duriṣṭā* might be interpreted as a loc. of *duriṣṭi*, 'in case of an imperfect sacrifice'; conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom. sg. fem. of *duriṣṭá*) led to the further change to *duriṣṭiḥ*.

yathā pṛthivyām agnaye samanamann evā mahyaṁ saṁnamaḥ saṁ namantu AV.: *yathāgniḥ pṛthivyā samanamad evaṁ mahyaṁ bhadrāḥ saṁnatayaḥ saṁnamantu* TS. KS.† 5. 20. And others in the same passage.

vāk pataṁgāya dhīyate (TS. *śiśriye*, MS. *hūyate*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *vāk pataṁgo aśiśriyat* (KS. °*gā aśiśrayuḥ*) AV. KS. The verse is desperately obscure; we can contribute nothing to its elucidation.

eka eva rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyaḥ N.: *eka eva rudro* (ŚvetU. *eko hi ru*°, ŚirasU. *eko ru*°) *na dvitīyāya tasthe* (ŚvetU. *tasthuḥ*, ŚirasU. *tasmai*, but Poona ed. with comm. *tasthau*) TS. ApŚ. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. In N. 'one only is Rudra, there is no second existent'; in the others, 'one is Rudra, he does not (or they, indefinite, do not) tolerate ('stand for', Hume) a second.' Add to VV 1 §§76, 359.

[*kanyakumāryai* (TA. °*mārī*, Poona ed. °*māri*) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. See §361.]

[*jyeṣṭhāya* (ŚŚ. *jyeṣṭho*) *yad apracetāḥ* AV. ŚŚ. But AV. mss. *jyeṣṭho*.]

CHAPTER XVII

NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

A. *Nominative and ablative*

1. Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive : active)

§432. Variations between these two cases are few and scattering. Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases. In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root *jan* 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root. The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf. §40):

ayaṁ vai tvām ajanayad...ŚŚ.: *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā*...JB. AG. Kauś.: *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si* VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmap. 'He has begotten thee': 'thou wast produced from him.'

2. Independent nominative and dependent ablative

§433. The variants found here belong to §§32–8. In the first the relative pronoun justifies construction of the nom. as independent, tho it is really equivalent in sense to the dependent abl., cf. §32, end. This meaning is probably more likely to be right than the alternative interpretation which would make the nom. correlative with the subject of *chumbhantu*, a construction impossible in the locative form of the variant. Cf. §§450, 669.

(*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ saṁkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp. *agniḥ saṁkusikaś ca yaḥ*) AV. Ppp.: (*sīse mṛḍḍhvaṁ naḍe mṛḍḍhvam*) *agnau saṁkasuke ca yat* (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S.'

viṣṇo (*viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos*) *sthānam asi* (MS. MŚ. *sthāmāsi*, KS. *sthāmnaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS. construed with the following, *ita indro vīryam akṛṇot*. According to ApŚ. also the two are connected in sense; see Keith, *HOS.* 18 p. 14 n. 2.

3. Phrase inflection

§434. We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf. §§21–2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun:

pāpebhyaś ca pratigrahaḥ (RVKh. °*hāt*) RVKh. TA. MahānU. BDh. The contexts are different tho similar.

4. Transfer of epithet

§435. This occurs a few times; in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case:

pra skannāj (KS. *skannaṁ*, v. l. °*nāñ*) *jāyatāṁ haviḥ* KS. KŚ. ApŚ. Probably the abl. is original: 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground).' If KS. really intends a nom., it would agree with *haviḥ*: 'let the oblation that has fallen be born.'

ud asya śuṣmād bhānur nārta (MS. *bhānor nāvyāḥ*) RV. MS. TA. ApŚ. In the original *bhānu* is applied in the simile to Agni, subject of the verb. In MS. it seems to apply to *śuṣmād*. (Understand doubtless *na avyāḥ*, despite p.p. which does not divide.)

pāpāt (KŚ. *pāpaḥ*) *svapnyād* (KŚ. °*nād*) *abhūtyāḥ* (KŚ. °*yai*) AV. KŚ. Preceded by *paryāvarte duḥṣvapnyāt*. In KŚ. *pāpa* seems to be transferred to the subject.

apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayajanaḥ (*pṛthivyai devayajanyai*) TS. ApŚ. (both in each). The epithet is (altered and) transferred from *araru* to *pṛthivī*, or vice versa.

§436. In another case the original, and perhaps only correct, form of the variant shows an ablative which is independently construed, while the nominative form (if textually sound) is attracted into agreement with the subject. Cf. §15.

parāmṛtāḥ (TA. °*mṛtāt*) *parimucyanti sarve* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. KaivU. The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahānU., and by the Poona ed. (*Upaniṣadāṁ Samuccayaḥ*) in KaivU. Deussen understands 'the immortal' from which 'all are freed' as *prakṛti*, 'material nature'. If the nom. is read it would apply to the subject in a pregnant sense: '(so as to be) immortal.'

5. Miscellaneous

§437. The rest are unclassifiable; some are under suspicion of corruption:

adbhyaḥ saṁbhṛtaḥ (TA. ApŚ. *saṁbhūtaḥ*) *pṛthivyai* (KS.† MS. °*vyā*)

rasāc ca (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. KS. MS. TA. ApŚ. Followed by *viśvakarmaṇaḥ samavartatādhi* (VS. °*tāgre*). Comm. on VS. supplies *yo rasaḥ* as subject; the KS. reading is doubtless secondary (certainly unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like understanding of the passage. In fact, however, the original subject must have been the puruṣa, understood from the original context.

gārhapatyaḥ (ŚŚ. °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK. *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ayam agnir gṛhapatiḥ*. Original: 'he, Agni Gārhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to our offspring.' ŚŚ. seems to mean: 'he, Agni, is house-lord, most liberal dispenser of good things from the gārhapatya-fire to our offspring.' This is barely intelligible.

madhu reto (KS. *madhur ato*, TS. *madhor ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. KS. has the simplest and, in this case, probably the original reading: 'let Madhu and Mādhava (the two spring months) protect me.' TS.: 'let Mādhava protect us after (or, from) Madhu.' MS. AŚ. seem likely to contain a corruption; MS. p.p. *madhuḥ, aṁtaḥ*, pointing towards the KS. reading. As it stands the reading may be rendered: 'let the sweet seed and Mādhava protect us', or 'let Mādhava protect the sweet seed and us'. Either is bathetic, but perhaps no worse than many Yajus passages.

nakṣatrāṇāṁ sakāśān mā yauṣam MS.: *nakṣatrāṇāṁ mā saṁkāśaś ca pratīkāśaś cāvatām* Vait. Kauś. 'May I not be cut off from the presence of the nakṣatras': 'may the presence and the gleam of the nakṣatras aid me.'

satyā tā dharmaṇas patī ApŚ.: *satyād ā* (*satyādā*?) *dharmaṇas patī* (ŚŚ. *dharmaṇā*, Vait. MŚ. *dharmaṇas* [but MŚ. mss. *dharmaṇā*] *pari*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. See VV 2 §65.

apārarum adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyā †devayajanāj (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ. Caland would read *adevayajanāñ* (acc. pl. masc.) in both. We too find ApŚ. uninterpretable, since *adevayajano* can scarcely fit the subject of *jahi*. But KS. could mean: 'Smite away Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the sacrifice to the gods.' Caland, like the Conc., misquotes KS. as *adevayajanāj*.

mṛtyur (!) *me pāhi* TAA.: *mṛtyor mā pāhi* TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Comm. on TAA. says that *mṛtyur* is for *mṛtyor, vyatyayena*. The variant should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716.

satyā eṣām (AŚ. *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB. HG. *kāmaiḥ*, SMB. Jörgensen *kāmāḥ*, one ms. *kāmāt;* AG. *santu sarve*, VS. *saṁnaman-*

tām) VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG. See §412. The abl. could mean 'according to their desire', like the instr.

B. *Nominative and genitive*

1. Partitive genitive and nominative

§438. First among the nominative-genitive variants may be put a group of cases where the two forms are virtual synonyms. Namely: in one form is used a partitive genitive (almost appositional at times), depending on a nominative, while in the other the two words are both nominatives, in syntactic agreement. (See §84.) Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as *dakṣiṇā* (and *prācī, ūrdhvā, pratīcī, udīcī*) *dik*, 'the southern (etc.) quarter', AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. Besides this list, TS. also has one with the variant *diśām* in each case: 'the southern (etc.) one of the quarters.' Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS. MS. KS. ŚB. have *vasanta* (and *grīṣma, varṣā, śarad*) *ṛtuḥ*, and *hemantaśiśirāv* (°*rā*) *ṛtū*, 'the spring (etc.) season', while TS. in each instance reads *ṛtūnām*, 'the spring (etc.) of the seasons.'

§439. Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following:

subhūr asi (ŚŚ. *subhūr nāmāsi*) *śreṣṭho raśmir*...PB. ŚŚ.: *subhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmīnām*...TS. ApŚ.: *svayaṁbhūr asi śreṣṭho raśmiḥ*... VS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'The best ray': 'the best of rays'.

yathāmī (RVKh. *yathāmīṣām*, AV. *yathaiṣām*, SV. *yathaiteṣām*) *anyo anyaṁ na jānan* (KVKh. AV. SV. *jānāt*) RVKh. AV. SV. VS. 'That those may not know the one the other': 'that of those one may not know the other'.

trivṛd bhuvanaṁ yad rathavṛt KS.†: *trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ. *yad bhuvanasya* must mean the same as *bhuvanaṁ yad*, 'what land'.

yās (TS. *yeṣāṁ*) *tisraḥ prathamajāḥ* (TS. KS. TA. *paramajāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. preceded by *ye grahāḥ pañcajanīnāḥ*: 'what cups pertain to the five peoples (i.e. are five in number, cf. Keith's note), of which three are first-born'...Followed by *teṣāṁ* (*tāsāṁ*)...*iṣam ūrjaṁ sam agrabhīm*. The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number 'five'. On the fem. gender see §835.

amṛtasya nidhir hitaḥ RV. TB. TA.: *amṛtaṁ nihitaṁ guhā* SV. Preceded by *yad ado vāta te gṛhe*. 'What store of nectar is placed in thy house': 'what nectar is placed in secret in thy house.'

mitraḥ satyānām (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Parallel formulas have gen. even in VS. It is not certain that they are partitives; cf. *mitra satyānāṁ pate* (°*nām adhipate*) TB. ŚŚ. (in different contexts, to be sure).

Here we place also the following, tho the TS. is poor and less close in meaning to the original:

yad enaś cakṛvān baddha †eṣa AV.: *eno mahac cakṛvān baddha †eṣa* MS.: *enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām* TS. The last seems to mean 'the one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound'; otherwise Keith. Undoubtedly *eṣa* is the proper form.

2. Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative

§440. Not very different from these are a group in which the genitive is no longer partitive but rather descriptive or possessive, and so substantially equivalent to a nominative epithet of the subject, which may vary with it (cf. §85):

vṛṣāsy ūrmiḥ TS. TB.: *vṛṣormir asi* MS. KS. MŚ.: *vṛṣṇa ūrmir asi rāṣṭradāḥ* VS. ŚB. 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)...'

martānāṁ (AV. *martāsaś*) *cid urvaśīr akṛpran* RV. AV. 'Even of (or, for) mortals Urvaśīs (even mortal Urvaśīs) have been fashioned.' See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 20. 183.

pratiṣṭhe stho devate (MG. *devate dyāvāpṛthivī*, ApMB. *devatānāṁ*) *mā mā saṁtāptam* HG. ApMB. MG. 'You (a pair of shoes) are standing-places, deities (of the deities)...'

mā no rakṣo abhi naḍ yātumāvatām (AV. °*māvat*) RV. AV. The variation accompanies a change in the meaning of *rakṣas* (abstract in RV., but in AV. used in its later concrete sense): 'Let not the injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, *rakṣas*) get at us.'

apāṁ sakhā (GB. *yoniḥ*) *prathamajā ṛtāvā* (GB. *ṛtasya*) RV. GB. Here the nom. of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive: 'first-born, ṛta-full' or 'first-born of the ṛta'. GB. quite naturally falls into the familiar rigmarole expression *prathamajā ṛtasya* instead of the RV. phrase, which is more recherché; so much so, indeed, that Grassmann was moved to suggest that *ṛtasya* should be read for *ṛtāvā* in the two places where the phrase occurs.

§441. In a different way the two variants result in the same meaning when the possessive genitive with an abstract noun varies with a nominative plus the nominative of a corresponding concrete, in predicate relationship:

yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yāvānāṁ cāyāvānāṁ cādhipatyam āsīt* TS. 'The Y. and A. were overlords': 'the overlordship belonged to the Y. and A.'

ta (MS. *ta u*) *evādhipataya āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *teṣām ādhipatyam āsīt* TS. 'These same were overlords': 'theirs was the overlordship.'

§442. In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant. Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the genitive depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive:

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG. *riṣat*, mss. mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG., doubtless original. ArS. makes *yaśo* object, and *bhagaś ca* is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen.: 'let him find glory of fortune'. The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different.

parīmaṁ yajamānaṁ rāyo manuṣyāṇām VS. ŚB.: *parīmaṁ rāyas poṣo yajamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ* TS.: *parīmaṁ yajamānaṁ manuṣyāḥ saha rāyas poṣeṇa prajayā ca vyayantām* MS.: *parīmaṁ rāyo manuṣyam* KS. Only the relations of VS. and TS. concern us here (for MS. see §412, for KS. §402). The former: 'riches (subject) of humans'. The latter: 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects; §402).

āpaḥ prajāpatir yajño (ApŚ. *prajāpateḥ prāṇā*) *yajñasya bheṣajam asi* (ApŚ. omits *asi*) KŚ. ApŚ. 'Thou art the waters, Prajāpati, sacrifice,...': 'the waters are Prajāpati's life-breaths...' Here ApŚ. substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction.

ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā (VS. *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīve*, MS. *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve*) *bṛhadrathaṁtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpantām*) VS. TS. MS. In all preceded by a long list of noms., parallel subjects of the verb. By a clearly secondary distortion (with phonetic aspects, VV 2 §§803, 840) TS. allows a discordant phrase to intrude, changing the following word to a different one. Original: 'May...the vrata, day and night, thighs and knees, the Bṛhat and Rathaṁtara sāmans, prosper for me thru the sacrifice.' TS.: 'May...the vrata by the rain of day and night, the Bṛhat' etc.

§443. Such cases shade off into a rather miscellaneous group in which the genitive (possessive or vaguely descriptive) no longer depends on the nominative with which, in the other form of the variant, the other nominative (replacing the genitive) is somehow correlated. The only connecting link in this group is this: of two nominatives, correlative subjects or subject and predicate, in one form of the variant, one is replaced in the other form by a genitive dependent on some other word than the remaining nominative. Thus:

[*dyutānas* (MS. KS. *nitānas*) *tvā māruto minotu* (MS. KS. *nihantu*)]

mitrāvaruṇau (TS. KS. °*varuṇayor*) *dhruveṇa dharmaṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: [*varuṇas tvā dhṛtavrato dhūpayatu* (TA. °*vrata ādhūpayatu*)] *mitrāvaruṇau* (TA. °*varuṇayor*) *dhru*° *dhar*° MS. TA. [Conc. fails to divide these sentences properly.] 'Let Dyutāna (Nitāna) ...fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuṇa with firm ordinance (or, with the firm ordinance of M-V.).'

vi śloka etu (*eti*, *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (*sūriḥ*, *sūraḥ*, *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. See §419.

agnir hotā vetv (ŚB. and TB. Poona ed. *vettv*) *agnir* (ŚB. AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu* (*vettu*) *prāvitraṁ*...ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Let Agni the hotar enjoy (know); let Agni enjoy (know) the office of hotar...': 'let Agni the hotar enjoy (know) Agni's office of hotar...'

daive vede ca gāthinām (ŚŚ. °*nāḥ*) AB. ŚŚ. Preceded by *adhīyata* (ŚŚ. °*te*) *devarāto, rikthayor ubhayor ṛṣiḥ, jahnūnāṁ cādhipatye* (ŚŚ. *cādhitasthire*). See Keith, *HOS.* 25. 308 n. 8. In ŚŚ. what was originally possessive gen. ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthin[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject.

pitaro nārāśaṁsāḥ sannaḥ (VSK. *sādyamānaḥ*) VS. VSK.: *pitaro nārāśaṁsaḥ* KS.: *pitṛṇāṁ nārāśaṁsaḥ* TS. Soma is referred to; it is 'when settled, the Nārāśaṁsa fathers' (VS. VSK.); 'the fathers, as Nārāśaṁsa' (KS.); 'Nārāśaṁsa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS.). All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense.

vāyuḥ pūtaḥ pavitreṇa VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *vāyoḥ*...AV. VS. VSK. MS: ŚB. Kauś. The contexts are the same; *pūtaḥ* applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified: 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer.' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect. fac.; it turns *vāyuḥ* into a gen., 'purified by Vāyu's strainer.'

§444. Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word:

śivā no astv aditer (TS. KS. °*tir*) *upasthe* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *aditer upasthe* is a standard cadence (see e.g. *RVRep.* 659), and *upasthe* without a dependent gen. is scarcely conceivable. The orig. must have meant 'may she (the Viṣṇupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of Aditi.' In TS. KS. there is felt to be need of a specific name of the deity referred to by the preceding series of nom. epithets; hence *aditir* is substituted for *aditer*, by a sort of case attraction.

yena dhātā bṛhaspateḥ (ŚG. °*tiḥ*) VSK. AG. (1. 17. 12a) ŚG.: *yena pūṣā bṛhaspateḥ* SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. Followed by *indrasya*

cāvapac chiraḥ; the *ca* here confirms the obvious secondariness of ŚG., which clearly has assimilated *bṛhaspateḥ* to the case of *dhātā*.

mātā (MS. *mātur*) *mātari mātā* MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *pṛthivi pṛthivyāṁ sīda*, with which the first *mātā* doubtless goes in sense: 'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother.' In MS.: 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother.' If MS. is original, the other form may have assimilated *mātur* to *mātā*; but anything is possible in such rigmarole.

cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam AV.: *cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaś ca saṁdhau* TS. *cakṣuṣa* in TS.'s lect. fac. may be partly due to formal assimilation to *manasaś*.

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV. *supratīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The gen. of the YV. texts agrees with the preceding *agneḥ*. In AV. (but not in Ppp., which agrees with the rest) a closer connection is sought with the following noms. (*tanūnapāt* etc.), beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni. See Whitney on 5. 27. 1.

3. Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§445. As with other cases (§§32–8), so with the genitive, a nominative out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship of any kind. Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it. Thus:

agner ahaṁ sviṣṭakṛto devayajyayāyuḥ pratiṣṭhāṁ gameyam KS.: *agneḥ sviṣṭakṛto 'haṁ devayajyayāyuṣmān yajñena pratiṣṭhāṁ gameyam* TS.: *agniḥ sviṣṭakṛd yajñasya pratiṣṭhā tasyāhaṁ devayajyayā yajñena pratiṣṭhāṁ gameyam* MŚ. Note *tasya* in MŚ., resuming *agniḥ*.

agnīṣomayor ahaṁ devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān (and, *vṛtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS. ApŚ.: *agnīṣomau vṛtrahaṇau tayor* (MŚ. *vṛtrahaṇāv agnīṣomayor*) *aṇaṁ devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS. MŚ.

somasyāhaṁ devayajyayā...reto dhiṣīya (*dhe*°) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *somo retodhās tasyāhaṁ deveyajyayā...reto dhiṣīya* KS.

catuṣpāda uta ye dvipādaḥ KS. MŚ.: *catuṣpadām uta yo* (TS. *ca*) *dvipadām* AV. TS. Preceded by *yeṣām* (AV. *ya*) *īśe paśupatiḥ paśūnām*. AV. looks original; the gen. depends on *īśe*. In ultimate sense KS. MŚ. mean the same.

devānāṁ patnīr agnir gṛhapatir yajñasya mithunaṁ (KS. °*patir mithunaṁ yajamānasya*) *tayor ahaṁ deveyajyayā*...TS. KS.: *devānāṁ patnīnām ahaṁ devayajyayā*...MŚ.

viliptī yā (and, *viliptyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV. (both). In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical. Whitney would emend *viliptyā(s)* to *viliptī yā*; but it is quite construable as partitive gen. depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c: 'of the *viliptī* (cow) he shall not eat.' The relative clause paraphrases the same sense. The variation has phonetic aspects: VV 2 §791a.

4. Transfer of epithet

§446. The usual group of variants due to 'transfer of epithet' (§14) appears here also. We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies:

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kiṁ*) *cana*. Most texts: 'In the domain of the white one (the serpent-demon) a serpent has killed no one' or the like. AG. (by a phonetic shift, VV 2 §188) makes *śveta* an epithet of *ahir*: 'In the house (?) the white serpent has killed nothing.' The original genitive is, strictly, no 'epithet' of any expressed word, so that the variant perhaps belongs in §448.

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanaḥ (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ*, MG.† *śraiṣṭhyasya svastyasyādhvanaḥ*, see VV 2 §707) *pāram aśīya* AŚ. ApMB. MG. In AŚ. *śreṣṭhaḥ* is an epithet of the subject; in ApMB. it becomes an epithet of *adhvanaḥ*.

viprasya dhārayā kaviḥ RV.: *vipraḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. In RV. *viprasya* is the human priest; SV. transfers it to Soma (cf. VV 2 §189).

pibā sutasya matir na (AV. *mater iha*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. In either reading the meaning is obscure; if there is no corruption, this much is certain, that *matir* must refer to the subject of *pibā*, and *mater* to *sutasya*.

viprā viprasya bṛhato vipaścitaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚvetU.: *vipro viprasya sahaso vipaścit* AV. In the original: 'The priests of the great wise priest' (Savitar; so if *vipaś°* be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen. sg.; the alternative would be to take it as nom. pl. with *viprāḥ*). In AV. the context is different; the pāda describes the goat that is being sacrificed: 'The sage (was born from) the sage's (heat), acquainted with power' or the like.

viśāṁ kaviṁ viśpatiṁ mānuṣīṇām (and, *mānuṣīr iṣaḥ*) RV. (both). The gen. goes with *viśām*, the nom. with *iṣaḥ*.

mahāṁs te mahato mahimā AV.: *mahas te sato mahimā panasyate* (SV.

paniṣṭama) RV. AV. SV. VS. In RV. etc. *mahas* agrees with *te*; in the AV. variant it is attracted to *mahimā*.

§447. The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case:

śrātās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB. TA. °*per*, KS. ŚŚ. °*pe*) *havanaśrutaḥ* MS. KB. (fragment) TA. ŚŚ. Add KS. 9.8 in Conc. In MS. the epithet *vāt*° goes with *somā(ḥ)*, in KB. TA. with *te* (= Indra), in KS. ŚŚ. with *indra* directly.

yeṣām (AV. Kauś. *ya*) *īśe paśupatiḥ paśūnām* AV. TS. KS. MŚ. Kauś.

vasuḥ (TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ApMB. In TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ* is attracted into agreement with *sahaso*, instead of *sūnuḥ*.

mahaś (TS. MS. KS. *mahī*) *cid yasya* (TS. *hy asya*, KS. *devasya*) *mīḍhuṣo yavyā* (KS.† *'vayāḥ*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The adjective is transferred from *yasya mīḍhuṣo* to *yavyā* (*avayāḥ*).

garbho yas te yajñiyaḥ KS.: *yasyai* (VSK. °*yās*) *te yajñiyo garbhaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yasyās te harito garbhaḥ* TS. ApŚ. The relative agrees in KS. with *garbhas*, elsewhere with *te* (the cow). Followed by:

yasyai (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yonir yas te hiraṇyayaḥ* KS. Same conditions.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS. *ahann ojasīne*, KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ. *'hany ojasīnām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. If *ojasīnām* is not a mere corruption or misprint in the (imperfect) edition, it seems to be a gen. pl. fem. of a stem **ojasa*, going with *diśām* in the preceding pāda.

maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājaḥ (AV.* °*jā*) RV. AV. (both). In RV. *svarājaḥ* is gen. (from *svarāj*), epithet of (neut.) *gotrasya*. AV., doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the nom. of *svarājan*, making it an epithet of the subject.

asya prāṇād apānatī (AV.* MS. °*taḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. ArS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *apānatī* apparently goes with *rocanā* in the preceding pāda, as nom. sg. fem.; *apānataḥ* with *asya*. See Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10. 189. 2, and Whitney on AV. 6. 31. 2.

mahām (SV. *mahāṅ*) *avīnām anu pūrvyaḥ* RV. SV. The adjective is transferred in SV. from *avīnām* to the subject.

imau te pakṣāv (VSK. MS. KS. *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatriṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °*ṇaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yau te pakṣāv ajarau patatriṇau* Kauś. The nom. agrees with *pakṣau*, the gen. with *te*. The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is *patatriṇo*, before a sonant: see VV 2 §732.

§448. Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§15), are:

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. °*tiḥ*, KB. ŚŚ. °*teḥ*, JB. °*tyuḥ*) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. See §428. Here is no variation of number or gender; the rest show change of one or the other.

yayo rathaḥ satyavartmarjuraśmiḥ AV.: *yo vāṁ ratha ṛjuraśmiḥ satyadharmā* TS. MS. KS. The relative is resumed in all texts (with slight anacolouthon except in AV.) by *mitrāvaruṇa(u)*.

agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavaḥ RV.: *agner akṛṇvann uśijo amṛtyave* MS.: *devā akṛṇvann uśijo amartyave* ApŚ. In ApŚ. *devā(ḥ)*, substituted for *agner*, goes with *uśijo*.

viśvā devānāṁ (TS. *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivakti* AV. TS. KS. 'He declares all the births of the gods' becomes in TS. 'he, the god, declares all births'. Ppp. *viśvāṁ devā*, looking perhaps a little in the direction of the TS. reading—which however is certainly secondary.

yaj (TS. MS. KS. *yasya*) *jātaṁ janitavyaṁ* (TS. MS. KS. *janamānaṁ*) *ca kevalam* AV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded in AV. by *yasyedaṁ pradiśi yad virocate*: 'In whose direction is. . .what is born and to be born.' In the YV. texts *yasya* refers to the following *agnim*: 'whose is what is born and being born.'

āvir bhuvad (ArS. *bhuvann*) *aruṇīr yaśasā goḥ* (ArS. *gāvaḥ*) RV. ArS. In RV. *goḥ* (gen. sg.) depends on a noun (something like 'milk') understood with *yaśásā* (adj.), as Oldenberg shows, *RVNoten* on 4. 1. 16. In ArS. it is attracted to *aruṇīr*, felt now as nom. pl.; the two words are interpreted as 'ruddy rays'. The starting-point of the change is the ambiguous form *aruṇīr*, which in RV. is nom. sg.

5. Miscellaneous

§449. The remaining nominative-genitive variants are hardly classifiable. For the most part they concern rather radical reconstructions of very varied character. In the first two the 2d personal pronoun forms *tvam* and *tava* interchange, without essential difference of sense in the first at least.

tam u tvam (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *yad dha tyaṁ māyinaṁ mṛgam: tava*, of course, goes with *māyayā*.

hastagrābhasya didhiṣos (AV. *da*°) *tavedam* (TA. *tvam etat*) RV. AV. TA. Followed by *patyur janitvam abhi saṁbabhūtha* (TA. °*bhūva*). 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband who takes thy hand.' On the verb form of TA. cf. VV 1 p. 178. It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of

forms with subject *bhavān* (*bhavatī*), which would be in effect 2d person (comm. glosses as a 2d person). If this be held too violent an assumption with *tvam* preceding as subject, the preceding pāda may be taken as a separate sentence: 'thou belongest to a second husband who takes thy hand.'

vayaṁ te rudrā syāma RV.: *vayaṁ vāṁ mitrā syāma* SV. 'May we be such (yours);' *té*, n. pl.

ayah(ḥ)sthūṇam (TS. °*ṇāv*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. See VV 2 §188.

vider agner nabho nāma VSK. ŚBK.: *vider* (*vided*) *agnir* (*agne*)..., see §333.

upasthāśānāṁ mitravad astv ojaḥ TS. MS. AŚ.: *upasthāśā mitravatīdam ojaḥ* KS. Both TS. and MS. accent *upasthā'śānāṁ*, i.e. *upasthā' ā'ś*°, but MS. p.p. apparently misunderstands and reads *upásthe āś*°. KS. has no accents. The meaning of *upasthā'* is obscure; on AV. 12. 1. 62 Whitney renders *upasthā's te* by 'standers upon thee', which is purely etymological; Ludwig and Bloomfield, 'thy laps', which would imply *upásthās*. Keith on TS. renders 'the stay of the earth', implying that this phrase is equivalent to *dhartrī diśām*, the subject in the preceding pāda. Whatever the meaning, in MS. TS. AŚ. *upasthāśānāṁ* goes with the preceding, while in KS. *āśā* is to be taken either as a further epithet of *dhartrī* in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence.

anu sūrya uṣaso anu raśmīn AV.: *anu sūryasya purutrā ca raśmīn* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Agni has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays': '(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun.'

garbham aśvatary asahāsau PG.: *garbham aśvataryā iva* ApMB. HG.

prathamachad (KS. *parama*°) *avarāṅ* (TS. *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The nom. is an epithet of the subject (Viśvakarman). Keith on TS.: 'hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense.

brahma varma mamāntaram RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: *brahmāham antaraṁ kṛṇve* (KŚ. *karave*) AV. KŚ.

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. 'What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers': '(serpents) in which are sorcerers.' On KS. cf. VV 2 §990.

stomo yajñaś ca (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. TB. See VV 2 §188.

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

dhiyā martaḥ śaśamate (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. Preceded by *ṛdhad yas te sudānave* RV., *sa ghā yas te divo naraḥ* SV. See VV 2 §189.

yasya śrutarvā bṛhann [*ārkṣo anīka edhata*] RV.: *ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye* [*bṛhadanīka idhyate*] SV.

nedīya it sṛṇyaḥ (TS.† *sṛṇyā*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV. *ā yavan*, TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §589. Without change of form, AV. reinterprets the originally genitive sg. form ('may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer') as a nom. pl.: 'may the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer.'

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇāni (AV. *ṛṇaṁ naḥ*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anu dattānṛṇāni* MS. The latter is a phonetic corruption; VV 2 §237.

pādo 'syehābhavat (AV. *pādasye°;* TA.† °*bhavāt*, both edd., add to VV 1 §137) *punaḥ* RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. Whitney adopts the nom. with comm. and a few mss. The gen. seems not construable.

somaḥ prathamo vivide RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. See §404.

[*tasya mṛtyuś* (KS. *mṛtyoś*, but read *mṛtyuś* with two mss.; TB. *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV. KS. TB.]

[*agniṣ ṭad dhotā kratuvid vijānan* RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. Conc. wrongly *janānām* for *vijānan* in KB.]

CHAPTER XVIII

NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

1. Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450. Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous. Except for the usual group of 'transfers of epithet', few of them fall into recognizable categories. A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative; the first example is particularly simple and clear; in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary:

kṛte yonau (KS. *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS. ŚB. *vījam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'In the prepared womb scatter here the seed': 'the womb is prepared, scatter' etc.

nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau (MS. KS. *samidhāno agnim*, TS. *samidhānam agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §393.

(*śīse mṛḍḍhvaṁ naḍe mṛḍḍhvam*) *agnau saṁkasuke ca yat* (Ppp. *agniḥ saṁkusikaś ca yaḥ*) AV. Ppp.: (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ saṁkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. On the interpretation of AV. see §§433, 669. Whitney considers Ppp. the correct reading. The same sense must be intended in both: 'and (wipe off) on Agni S.'

§451. Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning ('in the atmosphere, in the earth': 'atmospheric, earthly'):

antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām AV.: *yā antarikṣa uta pārthivīr yāḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *yā antarikṣyā uta pārthivāsaḥ* (AG. *pārthivīr yāḥ*) KS. AG. The ms. of Ppp. has *āntarikṣa uta pārthivā yāḥ*; for the first word we may read *antarikṣa* with Barret, or perhaps better *āntarikṣā* (adjective).

2. Phrase-inflection

§452. One case may be called an instance of 'phrase-inflection'; the pāda is repeated in (here three) different contexts, requiring change in the case-form:

sutāsa indra girvaṇaḥ RV. 8. 95. 2b: *suteṣv indra girvaṇaḥ* RV. SV.

3. Case attraction

§453. A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word. Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'.

gahanaṁ (ŚB. °*ne*) *yad inakṣat* RV. VS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *dūre cattāya chantsat.* 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing': 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached.' Apparently ŚB. assimilates to the case of *dūre.* Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB. from even VS. as well as all other texts.

rūpam indre (MS. *indro*) *hiraṇyayam* VS. MS. TB. The subjects in the original are Sarasvatī, Iḍā, and Bhāratī, who are to put *rūpaṁ hiraṇyayam* upon Indra. In MS. Indra is attracted to the case of the subject nouns and treated as a supplementary subject, no loc. being expressed.

itthā hi soma in made (SV. *madaḥ*) RV. SV. AB. KB. ŚB. AA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed in RV. SV. by *brahmā* (SV. °*ma*) *cakāra vardhanam.* In RV. the subject is *brahmā* alone, *soma* (= *some*) and *made* locs.; in SV. *soma* (= *somaḥ*) and *madaḥ* are coordinate subjects.

vardhamāno (TS. °*naṁ*) *mahāṅ* (TS. MS. *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS. °*ram*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The loc. is clearly original; it is apparently to be construed with *ā*, 'on the lotus leaf', altho *ā* regularly follows a loc. In TS. both *vardha*° and *puṣ*° are made noms.; this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837); undoubtedly the noms. of the preceding half line have helped in the change. It is not clear how TS. understands *ā.*

4. Transfer of epithet

§454. The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur; in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

ā haryato arjune (SV. °*no*) *atke avyata* RV. SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with *atke*; in SV. it is transferred to the subject, Soma.

tatrāpi dahre (MahānU. *dahraṁ*) *gaganaṁ viśokaḥ* (TA. comm. and Poona ed. text with v. l. °*kam*) TA. MahānU. [TAA. 10. 12. 3, Poona ed., reads *viśokaḥ* in text and comm.; the latter calmly refers it to *brahma* without explanation.] In TA. *dahre* goes with *tatra*, which refers back to *dahram* in the preceding: 'in that small place'. In MahānU. *dahram* is an epithet of *gaganam.*

śarman (MS. °*maṅs*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmaṅs*, TS. *tava syāṁ śarman*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS. *udbhit*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. *udbhit* is an epithet of the subject; in the others *udbhau* is loc. with *śarman*. (Comm. on VS. understands it as from a stem *ud-bhi*! He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhū*. The stem is of course *udbhu*, declined as a short *u* stem.) In all but TS. *trivarūtha* stands for °*the* and goes with *śarman*. In TS. it might also be so interpreted, but p.p. °*thaḥ*, nom., and so Keith.

tvaṁ †*samudraṁ prathamo vi dhārayaḥ* (SV. *samudraḥ prathame vidharman*) RV. SV. See §402, end.

asūrte (MS. KS. °*tā*, KapS. °*tāḥ*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. °*tā*, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. See Oldenberg, *Prol.* 313, and *RVNoten* on 10. 82. 4. Certainly both *asūrte* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *niṣatte*, go with *rajasi*; *asūrtā* is transferred to *bhūtāni*, *asūrtāḥ* to *ṛṣayaḥ*; either *niṣattā* or °*tāḥ* is possible, referring to either of these nouns.

priyo (TB. ApŚ. *priye*) *devānāṁ parame janitre* (AV. TA. *sadhasthe*) RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Addressed to the spirit of the dead man; *edhi* precedes. The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*.

dhruvaidhi poṣyā (PG. †*poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB. 'Be thou steadfast with me, prosperous.' We take *poṣye* as loc. with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc. fem. addressed to the bride (which is also possible; in that case this variant would belong in §334).

arepasaḥ sacetasaḥ (etc.) *svasare manyumattamāś* (SV. ApŚ. *manyumantaś*) *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) AV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. A very obscure verse; in AV. *cite* must clearly go with *svasare*, in SV. with *arepasaḥ* etc. (here nom. masc., tho in AV. apparently acc. fem.) On ApŚ. see VV 2 §§47, 61.

vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ HG. ApMB. (epithets of *prajāḥ*): *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *niviṣṭacakrāsau* AG. (here an independent sentence, with *nadī* understood; in Conc. under *somo no*...). If °*cakra* is the true reading of PG., it may be a voc. fem. agreeing with the name of a river to be supplied for the following *asau* (so Oldenberg); or it may be loc. with the following *tīre*.

viśve devā aṅśuṣu nyuptaḥ (VSK. *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS. VSK. 'He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the *aṅśus* (when the *aṅśus* are offered).' Reference is made to the *graha* called *aṅśu* (ŚB. 4. 6. 1. 1 ff.). Probably VSK. is original.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS. *ahann ojasīne*, KS. †*śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ. *'hany ojasīnām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *ojasīnā* is nom. fem. agreeing with *ugrā* (sc. *dik*) of the preceding; *ojasīne* and °*sye* go with *ahann* (*ahany*). *śukre* goes with the latter; *śukro* of KS. (and presumably *śuciḥ* which in the others goes with *ugrā*) apparently goes with *indra* of the following (*indrādhipatyaiḥ pipṛtāt*).

saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu MS.: *saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS. See §548.

§455. The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15). We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject. The nom. seems to be always secondary in this group. All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case:

urukṣayāḥ saganā mānuṣāsaḥ (TS. °*ṣeṣu*) AV. TS. We take it that TS. is original: 'widely dwelling with their troops among men.' The AV. assimilates to the preceding noms., making *mān*° an epithet of the subject, the Maruts.

na yonā (TS. *yonāv*, KS. *yonir*) *uṣāsānaktā* (KS. °*naktāgneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The verse deals with Agni. 'Dawn and night, as in his native place.' In KS. *yoni* is made to agree with *uṣāsānaktā*, called 'the native place' of Agni.

sūr asi suvanasya retaḥ (MS. *retā iṣṭakā svargo lokaḥ*) MS. ApŚ.: *sūr asi svar asīṣṭakā svarge loke* KS. 'Thou art...the brick, the world of heaven (in the world...).' Probably KS. is orig., and MS. has attracted to the case of *iṣṭakā*.

ayaṁ sahasram ā no dṛśe kavīnāṁ matir jyotir vidharmaṇi AV.: *ayaṁ sahasram ānavo dṛśaḥ kavīnāṁ matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV. comes closer to the orig. (cf. VV 2 §833). The nom. of SV. etc. may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject.

vājinaṁ tvā vājino 'vanayāmaḥ (MS. *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS. TA. ApŚ. 'Thee, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour': 'thee, the whey, I pour into the strong (*mahāvīra*-vessel).' MS. is doubtless orig.

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. See §449.

mahī viśpatnī sadane (KS. °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Addressed to the firesticks. 'Ye that are two mighty queens, (come hither) to the seat of the *ṛta*': '...that are two seats of the *ṛta*, (come hither).'

devānāṁ sumne bṛhate (TB. ApŚ. *sumno mahate*) *raṇāya* VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *svair dakṣair* (TB. ApŚ. *sve dakṣe*) *dakṣapiteha sīda.* The loc., 'in the favor of the gods', is made an epithet of the subject, 'agreeable to the gods'. Caland adopts *sumne* in ApŚ., but this needlessly violates the clear intent of the Tait. school.

saṁveśane (noun, 'at entrance') *tanvaś* (AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV.: *saṁveśanas* (epithet of subject, understood as 'entering'?) *tanvai* (*tanve*) *cārur edhi* SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

yāḥ parastād rocane (MS. °*nāḥ*) *sūryasya* TS. MS.: *yā rocane parastāt sūryasya* RV. VS. KS. ŚB. 'Which, in the light-space beyond the sun': in MS., 'which bright ones, beyond the sun.' Refers to waters.

jyotirjarāyū rajaso vimāne (KS. °*naḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Preceded by *ayaṁ venaś codayat pṛśnigarbhāḥ.* KS. is secondary but by no means 'absurd' (Keith on TS.); it takes the word as an epithet of the subject, meaning 'traverser' or the like, a sense familiar in RV. (see e.g. 3. 26. 7). No need to emend KS. with Raghu Vira KapS. p. 27, n. 2, Oertel 5.

§456. In a few cases, contrariwise, an original nom. epithet is changed in a secondary version to an independent locative:

pūrvaṁ devebhyo amṛtasya nābhiḥ (ArS. *nāma*, TA. TU. NṛpU. *nābhāyi*) ArS. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. Preceded by *aham asmi prathamajā ṛtasya.* The nom. is original: 'I am...the nave of immortality.' The loc. is rationalizing.

ukṣā samudro (MS. KS. °*dre*) *aruṇaḥ* (RV. *aruṣaḥ*) *suparṇaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original *samudra* is an epithet of the sun. This seems quite recherché to the redactors of MS. KS., which understand it of the real ocean; the loc. is rationalizing and secondary but perfectly sensible (the verb *āviveśa* follows), and by no means to be described as a 'mere blunder' (Keith on TS.).

āpir no bodhi sadhamādyo (SV. °*dye*) *vṛdhe* RV. SV. In RV. the word is an epithet of *āpir*: 'be our friend, convivial, unto increase.' In SV. it may be felt as agreeing with *vṛdhe*, conceived as loc.; but Benfey takes it as an independent noun, = *sadhamāde*, 'in dem Göttermahl.'

5. Miscellaneous

§457. The remaining nom.-loc. variants seem hardly capable of classification, tho many of them are interesting individually:

pumān putro jāyatāṁ (ApMB. ŚG. *dhīyatāṁ*) *garbho* (ŚG. *garbhe*) *antaḥ*

HG. ŚG. ApMB. The double meaning of *garbha*, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change. Similarly:

garbhe (MS. *garbhaḥ*) *sañ* (*san*, *saṁ-*) *jāyase punaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As prec.

yac ca kiṁcij jagat sarvam (MahānU. and TA. comm. *jagaty asmin*) TA. MahānU. 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (followed by *dṛśyate śrūyate 'pi vā*). The loc. seems to be rationalizing and secondary.

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Different words; cf. VV 2 §732.

viśvāni yo amartyo, havyā marteṣu raṇyati RV.: *viśve yasminn amartye, havyaṁ martāsa indhate* SV. 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in all offerings among mortals': 'in what immortal all mortals kindle oblation.'

pibāt somaṁ mamadad (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV 2 §746.

vṛṣā vanaṁ (ApŚ. *vane*) *vṛṣā madaḥ* (ApŚ. *made*, SV. *sutaḥ*) RV. SV. ApŚ. 'A bull (is) the wooden (soma-vessel), a bull the exhilaration'. Addressed to soma. ApŚ. has a natural rationalization: ('thou art) a bull in the vessel, a bull in the intoxication.'

tasya mṛtyuś (KS. *mṛtyoś*, read with v. l. *mṛtyuś*; TB. *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV. KS. TB. Perhaps TB. means something like 'his coronation walks in the presence of death', i.e. proceeds in spite of the powers of destruction? Comm. *tasya rājño mṛtyau duṣṭaśikṣārūpamaraṇanimittabhūte sati rājasūyaṁ carati.*

vājasya hi prasave (TS. °*vo*) *nannamīti* (TS. *naṁna*°) TS. MS. KS. Keith: 'the instigation of strength is propitious.' Better perhaps with active meaning (well established for *namati*): 'the impulse of strength bows (causes to bend).' MS. KS. perhaps, with intransitive meaning and indefinite subject: 'on the impulse of strength one bows.' This and the next belong to a series of mantras which show continuous play on various meanings of *vāja*.

viśvam astu draviṇaṁ vājo (KS. *vāje*) *asme* (KS. †*asmin*) RV. BS. TS. MS. KS. Original: 'let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be ours.' KS. takes *vāja* as 'struggle': 'let all wealth be (mine) in this conflict.' Cf. prec.

apriyaḥ prati muñcatām AV.: *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś. †*muñcatam*) AV. Kauś. Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies (VV 1 §30).

viṣṇum agan varuṇaṁ pūrvahūtiḥ AV.: *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau*

(MS. °*hūtim*) VS. MS. ṢB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §399. The loc. might here be the equivalent of the acc. of goal. But Mahīdhara takes it, probably rightly, as true loc., 'at the morning prayer', and so Griffith and Eggeling. A still different interpretation is found in the comms. on ṢB. and TB., which make it not loc. but a dual adjective going with *viṣṇū varuṇā*.

agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ SV. VS. MS. KS. etc.: *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* KS. The contexts are different.

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS. *'dhvare sthāḥ*, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'He (Agni) stood upright at the sacrifice': 'the sacrifice stood upright.'

ṛtasya garbhaḥ (MS. *dhāman*, KS. *dhāma*) *prathamā vyūṣuṣī* TS. MS. KS. PG. 'She who first lighted up (i.e. Uṣas) was the child (abode, or the like) of the *ṛta*': 'first lighting up in the abode of the *ṛta*.'

ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye SV.: *yasya śrutarvā bṛhan* RV. See §449.

yat te susīme hṛdaye (SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. °*yam*) KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. 'What in thy heart...': 'what heart is thine...' KBU. 2. 8 has the version *yat te susīmaṁ hṛdayam*; see §340.

yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yad antarikṣaṁ rajaso vimānam* AV. Different contexts; AV. has used a vague reminiscence of RV. 10. 121. 5c in a quite secondary way. 'He who measures out the space in the atmosphere': 'what atmosphere measures out space.'

atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhaḥ TS.: *adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gṛhe* VS. The latter: 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in the house.' TS. corrupt; *viśve* translatable only as nom. sg., cf. §731; *gṛhaḥ* seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject: 'all (?) the house flourishes unharmed.'

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānaḥ (TA.† °*mahaṁ bibharat pinvamāne*) AV. TA.: *svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ. Preceded by *sa bibharti pitaraṁ pitāmahān* AV., *sa naḥ* (TA. *tasminn eṣa*) *pitaraṁ pitāmaham* TA. ApŚ. Both *sa* and *tasminn* (with which *pinvamāne* agrees) refer to *utsa* of the preceding, while *eṣa* refers to Vaiśvānara. The loc. of TA. is almost 'absolute'.

§458. There remain a few corruptions and errors:

vasūni jāte janamāna (SV. *jāto janimāny*) *ojasā* RV. AV. SV. VS. N. Followed by *prati bhāgaṁ na dīdhima* (SV. °*maḥ*). The SV. reading seems hopeless.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.: *sa īṁ*

(TS. ī) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*, MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS. Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all. Cf. VV 2 §839.

[*varṣma divaḥ; nābhā pṛthivyāḥ* TB.: *varṣman divo nābhā pṛthivyāḥ* ApŚ. Poona ed. of TB. correctly *varṣman*; a loc. is necessary.]

[*uta vām uṣaso budhi* (GB. *budhiḥ*, but Gaastra with all mss. but one *budhi*) RV. GB.]

CHAPTER XIX

ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1. Associative instrumental : complementary accusative

§459. Among variations of the accusative and instrumental we find first a group of cases in which an associative instrumental varies with an accusative which is parallel with and complementary to another accusative. Such variants occur also between the instrumental and other cases (§§55–7). The meaning is virtually the same. Thus:

asthi majjānaṁ māsaraiḥ (MS. °*ram*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Followed by *kārotareṇa dadhato gavāṁ tvaci.* 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) *māsara* and the straining-cloth.' In MS. there is no real difference of meaning, tho *māsara* is there made an additional direct object, parallel with *asthi* and *majjānaṁ.*

tapūṁṣy (MS. *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā pataṁgān* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *asaṁdito vi sṛja viṣvag ulkāḥ.* The original correlates *tapūṁṣy, pataṁgān* and *ulkāḥ* as objects of *vi sṛja.* MS. substitutes *tapobhir* for the first, probably as an associative instr., tho it might also be one of means, correlated with *juhvā.*

rūpair apiṁśad (TB.* *rūpāṇi piṁśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N. 'He shaped all beings along with their forms': 'shaping all forms and beings.'

svāhā vanaspatiṁ priyaṁ pātho na bheṣajam (MS. °*jaiḥ*);

svāhā somam indriyam (MS. °*yaiḥ*);

svāhāgniṁ na bheṣajam (MS. °*jaiḥ*), all VS. MS. TB. The words *hotā yakṣad,* 'let the hotar worship', are understood with all, and it seems that the instrs. of MS. must be understood as associative. Without the comparison of the two forms of the variant, we might be tempted to interpret them differently, as instrs. of means or cause ('with' or 'by reason of'...).

hastyaśvāśvatarai rathaiḥ RVKh. Conc. (Aufr.): *hastyaśvādigave ratham* RVKh. Scheft.: *bahvaśvājagaveḍakam* MG.

sapta ca mānuṣīr (AG. ŚG. MG. *vāruṇīr,* PG. *vāruṇair,* v. l. °*ṇīr*) *imāḥ* (PG. MG. *imāḥ prajāḥ*) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG. PG. MG. Followed by:

sarvāś (ApMB. HG. *tisraś*) *ca rājabāndhavīḥ* (PG. °*vaiḥ*, MG. °*vyaḥ*, ApMB. °*bandhavīḥ*, HG. °*bandhavaiḥ*) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG.† PG. MG. (Conc. puts *prajāḥ* with the second pāda in PG. MG.) The preceding verb is *apa jahi* in all but the plainly corrupt MG. (see Knauer's note). The instrs. are associative, equivalent to correlative objects.

māsareṇa parisrutā (TB. *pariṣkṛtā*, KS. *parisrutam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *gobhir na somam aśvinā*, and followed by *sam adhātāṁ sarasvatyā, svāhendre sutaṁ madhu*. *Parisrut* is the name of a kind of liquor, and is one of a series of gifts made by the Aśvins to Indra. Some (*somam, sutaṁ, madhu*) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs.; *parisrut* is treated in both ways in different texts. In TB. *pariṣkṛtā* must be meant as nom. dual with *aśvinā*; this is a reminiscence of *māsareṇa pariṣkṛtāḥ* (so VS. TB., in MS. *parisrutā*), which shortly precedes in the text.

vi kumāraṁ jarāyuṇā AV.: *vi garbhaṁ ca jarāyu ca* TS. KS. The verb, continued from pāda a, is *bhinadmi*: 'the child with (that is, here, 'from') the afterbirth': 'the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate).'

idam ahaṁ rakṣo 'bhi (MS.* *rakṣobhiḥ*) *saṁ dahāmi* (MS. KS. MŚ. *sam ūhāmi*) TS. MS. (bis) KS. MŚ. The instr. occurs in the brāhmaṇa passage corresponding to the mantra *rakṣo 'bhi*; it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §383). Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor's silence, there is no v. l. At a pinch *rakṣobhiḥ* could be associative, with *idaṁ* felt as the direct object.

gaṇān me mā vi tīṭṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*, Vait. *vy arīriṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.: *gaṇair mā mā vi tīṭṛṣata* MS. 'Cause not my troops (me with my troops) to thirst.'

§460. Peculiar are the following two cases; it seems doubtful whether the acc. in them is of quite the same character as in the preceding:

saṁ mā sṛjāmy adbhir (TS. *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. If TS. means 'I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants,' as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic. Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand *apaḥ* as a secondary acc., as if of goal (cf. the use of the locative in §462); at least he renders 'I united [unite?] myself with waters and plants', which is the meaning of VS. MS. KS. Is it, literally, 'I unite myself unto waters, with plants'? Cf. §59.

saṁ tvā nahyāmy adbhir (TS. *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS. MŚ. MG. As prec.

§461. Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the

phrase, there is an interchange of acc. with instr. and of instr. with acc., the two case-forms changing places:

tvaṣṭā rūpeṇa samanaktu yajñam AŚ.: *tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi samanaktu yajñaiḥ* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. 'Let Tvaṣṭar unite the sacrifice with form' or 'forms with sacrifices.'

§462. In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved. In the first it, rather than the instr., varies with the one acc. after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr. plus acc.:

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānaṁ*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'The physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)', or '...his body with his limbs.' MS. is evidently influenced by the following pāda: *ātmānam aṅgaiḥ samadhāt sarasvatī* (in all).

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc. in one form, while in the other we have acc. plus instr.:

samudre yasya rasām id āhuḥ AV.: *yasya samudraṁ* (MS. KS. Ppp. *samudraṁ yasya*) *rasayā sahāhuḥ* RV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā.' AV. as it stands would mean '...the Rasā in the ocean', which may be defended; but note that the meter needs an extra syllable, which the instr. *samudreṇa* would furnish. If we dared emend AV. thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461.

2. Other accs. and instrs., substantially equivalent

§464. The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case. We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc. and an instr. may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning. We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically; to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up).

§465. We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing. The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path.' Thus:

ghṛtenārkam abhy arcanti vatsam AV.: *tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam*

TB. 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young': 'they sing with songs unto the young.'

yaṁ putriṇa ākramante viśokāḥ AB.: *yenākramante putriṇo (ye) viśokāḥ* ŚŚ. Preceded by *eṣa panthā urugāyaḥ suśevaḥ* (ŚŚ. *vitato devayānaḥ*). '(The path) which they tread' or 'by which they tread'.

tantuṁ tataṁ peśasā saṁvayantī VS.: *peśasvatī tantunā saṁvayantī* (KS. TB. *saṁvyayantī*) MS. KS. TB. Dawn and Night are referred to as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread.'

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. (bis) MG. '(the bond) with which he bound thee...' or 'which he bound...' Note that the 'inner' acc. is not used with the acc. of the person.

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative' accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after forms of roots *hu* and *yaj*:

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *havir ā*) *juhota* MS. TB. 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here.'

srucājyāni juhvataḥ AV.: *srucājyena juhvataḥ* TB. (so Poona ed. for the corrupt *srucānyena juhvata* of Bibl. Ind. ed.) 'Offering (with) ghee with a spoon.' Preceded by *medasvatā yajamānāḥ*; the instr. *medasvatā* (which because of gender cannot agree with *srucā*, and seems to need a noun) may have caused the change to *ājyena*, which we believe is clearly secondary.

§467. With a verb of motion an acc. of goal is a very natural construction. If however there is contained in the verb also the notion of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental is equally admissible:

marya iva yuvatibhiḥ sam arṣati (AV. *iva yoṣāḥ sam arṣase*) RV. AV. SV. 'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV. (Grassmann, 'mit jemand eilend zusammenkommen'). The AV. comm. reads *yoṣā*, instr., and Whitney calls the construction with *yoṣāḥ* 'lame', which seems to us unjust. The acc. of goal is surely quite natural; indeed with this verb the instr. strikes us as more recherché, tho comprehensible (suggested by the associative idea in *sam*).

śunaṁ kīnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals.'

trayo gharmā anu reta āguḥ AV.: *trayo gharmāso anu jyotiṣāguḥ* (MS.

KS. *retasāguḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB. 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light).' In a mystical passage; the real meaning is obscure.

achāyaṁ eti śavasā ghṛtena (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) AV. Ppp. VS. MS. TS.: *achāyaṁ yanti śavasā ghṛtācīḥ* KS. In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV. and KS. seem to be secondary. In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV. *ghṛtā cit* as secondary to KS. *ghṛtācīḥ*. We now think, however, that *ghṛtā cit* may well be the original reading: 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghees (offerings).' It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both *ghṛtācīḥ* (agreeing with *sruco* which is made the subject in KS., 'the ghee-filled ladles,' see §403) and *ghṛtena*, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of *śavasā*. It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to *ghṛtā cit*, a lectio difficilior.

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech; we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc. of the goal of speech. In this variant that case varies with an associative instr., if the reading is acceptable:

grāvā vaded (KS. Conc. with v. l. *grāvāvādīd*) *abhi somasyāṅśum* (ApŚ. °*śunā*) KS. ApŚ. Followed by *indraṁ* (KS. ed. *endraṁ*, Conc. with v. l. *indraṁ*) *śikṣemendunā sutena*. Caland assumes the KS. reading for ApŚ.: 'may the pressing-stone cry out in greeting to the shoot of soma; may we present Indra with the pressed drink.' But it seems that the instr. can stand: 'may the pressing-stone cry out along with the shoot of soma,' etc.

§469. Other instances, in which the associative idea of 'joining' is hardly felt in the instr., which nevertheless interchanges with an acc., are:

devair uktā (Ppp. *sṛṣṭā*, KS. *nuttā*, ApŚ. MŚ. *nyuptā*) *vyasarpo mahitvam* (Ppp. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. °*tvā*) AV. Ppp. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In AV., 'thou didst expand unto might.' In the others, with quasi-adverbial instr., 'thou didst expand with might (mightily).'

ye †*aprathetām* (AV. ArS. °*thām*) *amitebhir ojobhiḥ* (AV. *amitā yojanāni*, ArS. *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV. ArS. TS. MS. KS. 'Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues': 'who have spread out with unmeasured strengths.' The change in the noun is connected with the change of case. Add to VV 1 §331.

pra rādhasā (SV. *rādhāṅsi*) *codayāte* (SV. °*yate*) *mahitvanā* RV. SV. 'Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might;' or, SV. might mean 'he sends favors unto us with might.'

See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 287 f., against Grassmann's suggestion that SV. is original.

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. °*dhā bhuvat*) RV. SV. 'Shaking (with) his beard.'

sa virājaṁ (KS. °*jā*) *pary eti* (MS. *etu*, KS. *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS. MS. KS. 'He goes about knowing majesty': 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty'. The VS. parallel has *sanemi rājā pari yāti vidvān*, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS., taking *virājā* as nominative.

ahaṁ (AB. AŚ. *idaṁ*) *tad* (MS. *tam*) *asya manasā śivena* (MS.* *ghṛtena*) VS. MS. (bis) KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *tenāham adya manasā sutasya* KS. The contexts are the same; both are followed by *somaṁ rājānam iha bhakṣayāmi*. The pronouns *tad* (*tam*, *tena*) refer back to the preceding '(what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,) that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—I here partake of King Soma.' KS. *tena* seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of *tad* followed by *somaṁ*, both really referring to the same thing. For a similar reason MS. changes *tad* to *tam*, to agree with *somaṁ*.

[*vanema pūrvīr aryo manīṣāḥ* (p.p. °*ṣā*) RV. The s.p. has *manīṣā agniḥ* . . ., implying *manīṣāḥ*, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg *Proleg.* 385, *SBE.* 46. 71, *RVNoten* on 1. 70. 1: 'may we, the poor, succeed in many pious thoughts.' The p.p. must understand an instr.; it is followed by Geldner *Ved. St.* 3. 87, 89.]

3. Acc. of bahuvrīhis : instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.)

§470. The nature of the instr. is such that in a karmadhāraya cpd. it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a bahuvrīhi cpd. agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all. We found above (§413) such variations between instr. and nom. forms; here we record one of instr. and acc., as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr. karmadhāraya we have the cpd. broken up into its parts, an adjective (acc.) with dependent instrumental:

rākām ahaṁ suhavāṁ (AV. °*vā*) *suṣṭutī huve* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. ApMB. N. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. read °*vāṁ*; if °*vā* can stand, it has been attracted to the case of *suṣṭutī*. 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise.'

adhṛṣṭaṁ dhṛṣṇvojasam (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. Epithets of Indra; 'endowed with resistless might' or 'resistless with might.' The meaning is practically identical. Cf. VV 2 §818.

4. Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471. The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning:

juhūr, upabhṛd, dhruvāsi ghṛtācī nāmnā TS. (intending *juhūr asi ghṛtācī nāmnā, upabhṛd asi...*, etc.): *ghṛtācy asy upabhṛn nāmnā* (VSK. *nāma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. (also with *dhruvā* and *juhūr* for *upabhṛd*): *juhūr asi ghṛtācī nāmnā* TB.: *dyaur asi janmanā juhūr nāma...* MS. (also with *pṛthivy...dhruvā...*, and *antarikṣam...upabhṛn...*)

pra haṅsāsas tṛpalaṁ (SV. °*lā*) *manyum* (SV. *vagnum*) *acha* RV. SV. The RV. *tṛpalaṁ* is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully'. In SV. if the p.p. is correct it must also be considered an (instr.) adverb (but *tṛpalāḥ*, 'joyful,' n. pl. adjective, may be intended by the s.p.).

§472. In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions:

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ (VSK.† °*dhaḥ*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idaṁ vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yad aśuddhaḥ parā jaghāna tad va etena śundhantām* KS. In the latter *etena* is hardly adverbial: 'by this (procedure).' In VS. etc. it seems to be represented by *idaṁ*, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb: 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (*idaṁ*) purify': 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thru this).' In MS. *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe taṅ śundhadhvam* there is no such pronoun.

yas te rājan varuṇa deveṣu pāśas taṁ ta etenāvayaje (KS. *ta etad avayaje*) MS. KS. In KS. *etad* is a pure adverb: 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (fetter) of thine away.' In MS. *etena* (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite).' See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc., and those beginning *yas te deva varuṇa*, which occur in TB. and have *etena*.

priyeṇa dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyaṁ sada āsīda* (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.* *priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (bis): *sedaṁ priyeṇa dhāmnā priyaṁ sada †āsīda* (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. In TS. etc. texts *priyeṇa nāmnā* = 'with thy dear name', associative instr. Conc. suggests reading *nāmnā* in VSK., but this is unnecessary; 'with that which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought.

yad ahaṁ dhanena prapaṇaṅś carāmi ApMB.: *yad vo devāḥ prapaṇaṁ carāma* HG.: *yena dhanena prapaṇaṁ carāmi* AV. *yad* is used as a conjunction; *yena* with *dhanena*.

5. Case attraction

§473. We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above).

vyaciṣṭham annai (TS. MS. KS. *annaṁ*) *rabhasaṁ dṛśānam* (TS.† KS. *vidānam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original *annaiḥ* is instr. of means with either *vyaciṣṭham* or *rabhasaṁ*, which refer to Agni: 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful.' In TS. MS. KS. it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with *agnim* of pāda a. Keith takes *annaṁ* as object of *vidānam*; but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS. no such construction is possible.

haviṣā yajña (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *tam indraṁ paśavaḥ sacā, aśvinobhā sarasvatī, dadhānā abhyanūṣata.* In most texts *indriyaṁ* is a collateral object: '...(praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice.' In VS. it is attracted to the case of *haviṣā*: '...with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds.' In TB. in a similar way the loc. *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam*: '(praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism.' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed; this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style.

agner jihvām abhi (MS. *jihvābhi*, p.p. *jihvāṁ, abhi;* AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) †*gṛṇītam* (AV. *gṛṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *daivyā* (AV. *daivā*) *hotārā* (AV. °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (KS. *hotārordhvam imam*, MS. *ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaraṁ naḥ.* The instr. of AV. KS. is original: 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni.' In the others the preceding accs. have attracted *jihvayā* into their case: 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation...' On MS. see §174.

6. Other miscellaneous variants

§474. The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material:

vidhes tvam asmākaṁ nāma (AB. AŚ. *nāmnā*) MS. KS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *vidhema te nāma*; in AB. AŚ. the words *dyāṁ gacha* are added, and with this phrase the instr. is construed. 'Let us

reverence thy name; do thou reverence our name': (in AB. AŚ.) '...do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven.'

taved u stomaṁ (SV. *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV. AV. SV. The root *cit* governs either acc. or gen., so that it is permissible for SV. to reinterpret *tava* (originally possessive) as object of *ciketa*. 'I have thought only on thy praise': 'I have thought only on thee with praises.'

cakṣuś cit sūrye sacā RV.: *cakṣuṣā sūryaṁ dṛśe* SV. In RV. *cakṣuś* is governed by *ā dade* of the preceding: 'he unites our eye to the sun,' cf. Bergaigne, *Rel. véd.* 1. 184. The SV. has a lect. fac.: 'that we may see the sun with our eye.'

pratiprasthātaḥ paśunehi KŚ. ApŚ.: *pratiprasthātaḥ paśum upakalpayasva* MŚ. 'Come with the cow': 'bring the cow near.' Change of verb.

yajñaṁ yad yajñavāhasaḥ AV.: *yajñair vā* (TB. *vo*) *yajñavāhasaḥ* RV. TS. TB. The context of RV. TS. is wholly different from that of AV. TB. In RV. TS. followed by *viprasya vā matīnām, marutaḥ śṛṇutā havam*; for the interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 86. 2. In AV. TB. followed by *śikṣanto nopa* (TB. *āśikṣanto na*) *śekima*. AV. makes *yajñaṁ* object: 'in so far as we, O sacrifice-bearers, desiring to effect the sacrifice, have not been able to effect it.' TB. is variously interpreted; the comm. is worthless. To us it seems to mean, if anything: 'seeking power by sacrifice to you, O sacrifice-bearers, we have not succeeded.' But the real explanation is that TB., in repeating the AV. stanza, has contaminated it with the similar pāda from a totally different context, which is remembered from RV., or more likely from TS.

stomair (*giro*) *vardhanty atrayaḥ, gīrbhiḥ* (*giraḥ*) *śumbhanty atrayaḥ* RV. (both). 'The Atris increase (the god) with praises, the Atris decorate (him) with songs': 'the Atris increase songs (for the god), ...decorate (i.e. fashion) songs (for him).' The first is preceded by an acc. referring to the god, the second by a dat.

divyaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ (AV. *payasaṁ*, VS. TS.* KS. ŚB. *vayasā*, TS.* MS. *vayasaṁ*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. The original *vāyasaṁ* 'bird' is changed into the instr. *vayasā* 'with strength', from a wholly different stem.

pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryeṇa* (AV. *vīryāṇi*, TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛpU. The original means: 'Viṣṇu is praised here for his deed of heroism', *stavate* having passive force. In AV., unless *pra stavate* is understood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must

apparently be taken with active force: 'V. here praises his (own) heroic deeds.' Instead of this foolish perversion, TB. ApŚ. have another one, with a dative of result: 'V. is praised unto (so as to perform) heroism.' Cf. §558.

ghṛtena tvaṁ tanvaṁ (TS. *tanuvo*) *vardhayasva* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N.: *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā saṁ bhava* KS. MŚ. Kauś. MG. Parallels rather than true variants, tho the contexts are in some texts the same.

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. The meaning of the always troublesome word *svadhā* is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn. AV. *svadhāḥ* is generally taken as acc.: 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks (? cf. *gharmaṁ* of the preceding verse).' The others: 'he set forth according to his own will (?).' Bloomfield in a note suggests that *svadhā* may be nom. sg. in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic. Macdonell, *Ved. Gr.* 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical *ā*, sometimes appears in the nom. sg. without *s* in the p.p. but with hiatus in the s.p., and refers to RPr. 2. 29. TPr. 10. 13 teaches the sandhi *svadhā asi*. If nom., the word would mean here '(the first-born's) will set forth...' The variant may be partly phonetic in character; it suggests the use of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff.; this might have been mentioned in §342).

viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ VS. TS.: *viśvā* (MS. *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573. The VS. TS. reading has all the earmarks of a lect. fac.; with *mānuṣīr* understand *kṛṣṭīs*: 'freeing men from fear'. Cf. VV 2 §§783, 832.

udagrābhasya namayan vadhasnaiḥ (SV. °*snum*) RV. SV. There seems to be no object for *namayan* in RV.; SV. feels it necessary to specify who is 'brought low', and makes it 'the weapon-bearer', doubtless thinking vaguely of demoniac enemies.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (°*tyā*, °*tīr*, °*tī*) *vām iyānā* (*vāvṛdhānā*, °*nau*), see §413. The instr. is clearly original, acc. secondary.

[*mā me 'vāñ nābhim atigāḥ* TS. KŚ. MŚ.: *mām evā gnābhir abhigāḥ* Vait. Read in Vait. *mā me 'vāg nābhim*.]

7. Phrase inflection

§475. We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21–2):

tuvidyumna yaśasvataḥ (RV.* °*vatā*) RV. (both) AV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 9. 6.

8. Transfer of epithet

§476. Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc. and instr., all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

iha tvā goparīṇasā (SV. °*sam*) RV. AV. SV. Followed by *mahe mandantu rādhase.* 'Here thee with (soma-juice, supplying *sutena* with Grassmann) rich in milk': 'here thee rich in milk'. Oldenberg suggests as an alternative *goparīṇasāḥ* (sc. *somāḥ*), nom. pl., implying that RV. p.p. is incorrect.

yaṁ nirmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yābhyāṁ nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BṛhU. Preceded by *hiraṇyayī araṇī*, and followed by *taṁ te garbhaṁ havāmahe* (*dadhāmahe*). In the first *yaṁ* refers to *garbhaṁ*, in the latter *yābhyāṁ* to *araṇī*.

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Followed by *aśvinendrāya vīryam.* The adjective goes alternatively with *pathā* or *vīryam.*

yebhir vācaṁ viśvarūpebhir (TB. °*rūpāṁ*) *avyayan* (TB. *samavyayat*) KS. TB. The adjective is transferred from *yebhir* (TB. comm. *yaiḥ karmakauśalaiḥ*) to *vācam.*

ava bādhe pṛtanyataḥ (ApŚ. °*tā*) MS. ApŚ. And others, see Conc. Preceded by *indreṇa manyunā yujā.* In MS. *pṛt*° means 'enemies'; in ApŚ. '(friendly) champion', agreeing with *indreṇa.* Caland translates the MS. reading without comment; we see no reason to abandon the text of ApŚ., tho it is of course secondary and based on MS. For *pṛtanyati* with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf. RV. 1. 54. 4. The next following word in both is *ghnatā*, agreeing with *indreṇa.*

yayāśiṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutaḥ AV.: *yam āśirā dampatī vāmam aśnutaḥ* TS.: *yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutaḥ* VS. The original *yayā* is transferred to agree with *vāmam*; on the gender-change cf. §809.

abhi tvādhāṁ sahīyasā RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhāṁ sahīyasīm* AV. Preceded by *upa* (AV. *abhi*) *te 'dhāṁ sahamānām.* 'I have laid under (AV. over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing; AV. I have laid under thee the stronger [plant]).' The instr. in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808); by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV.

§477. There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,

in which a word which in the original is not properly an 'epithet' at all is altered in form so as to become a true 'epithet' of another entity:

hastacyutī (SV. °*cyutaṁ*) *janayanta* (SV.† °*yata*) *praśastam* RV. SV. KS. KB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The original form is a Vedic instr., 'by hand-motion'; like the parallel *dīdhitibhiḥ* in the preceding, it goes with *janayanta*, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc. epithets (of which *praśastam* is one). In SV. *hasta*° is made into another epithet of Agni.

savātarau na tejasā (TB. °*sī*) VS. TB. The word *savātarau* (said by the scholiasts to mean 'having a common calf', with *dhenū* preceding) is one of a series of epithets of *uṣe* 'dawn and night' (in *hotā yakṣad uṣe*...). VS. *tejasā* is an instr. of means with the following verb (*vatsam indram avardhatām*), of which *savātarau* may also be considered the subject: 'they two have increased Indra with splendor'. It can hardly be doubted that TB. *téjasī* is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem. dual; the comm. takes it as an adjective (*tejasvinau*), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, 'the two brilliances'.

CHAPTER XX

ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

1. After verbs of motion and the like

§478. Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative. In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative; Delbrück (AIS. 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons. Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbrück 147 f.), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive. We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur.

kāmena mā (TA. *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA. *āgāt*) AV. TA. 'By love love has come to (for) me.'

ado māgachatu MS. KS. MŚ.: *ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ. (Delete ApŚ. 4. 13. 8 under the former heading in Conc. and add it under the latter.) If ApŚ. has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf. VV 2 §990), it would belong here.

§479. Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are:

sā paprathe pṛthivī pārthivāni (KS. MŚ. °*vāya*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region).'

sindhur avabhṛtham avaprayan TS.: *sindhur avabhṛthāyodyataḥ* VS. 'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath': 'Sindhu lifted up for the p.b.' The verbal expression is changed in VS. to one which more naturally goes with a dative.

śubhaṁ yātām (MS. *śubhe kam*) *anu rathā avṛtsata* RV. TS. MS. KS. Here both *śubhaṁ* and *śubhe* may be classed as infinitives.

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which *svasti* is rather ambiguous; Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'); to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial acc.:

tam (TS. *tad*) *aśvinā pari dhattaṁ svasti* (MŚ. °*taye*) TS. KS. MŚ. 'O Aśvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being).'

§481. After a verb of sending, a dative of 'indirect object' varies with an acc. of goal tagged with the postposition *upa*:

athem enaṁ (AV. *athemam enaṁ*) *pra hiṇutāt pitṛbhyaḥ* (AV.† *pitṝṁr upa*) RV.† 10. 16. 1d, AV. TA. 'Then send him forward unto the fathers.' AV. comm. reads *pitṛbhyaḥ* but also comments upon *upa*! (as if blending the two readings).

§482. Verbs of placing, especially *dhā*, may be construed with either acc. or dat. of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological turns (see §72):

svargaṁ me lokaṁ yajamānāya dhehi Vait.: *suvarge loke yajamānaṁ hi dhehi* (and, *dhehi mām*) TB. ApŚ. (both in each). 'Grant the world of heaven to me the sacrificer': 'place (me) the sacrificer in the world of heaven.'

§483. Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat. or acc. of person:

yajñasya tvā (MS. *te*) *yajñapate sūktoktau* (TS. *havirbhiḥ*, KS. *saha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *sūktavāke* (omitted in VS. MS. ŚB.) *namovāke vidhema* (VS. ŚB. add *yat svāhā*, MS. adds *svāhā*).

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *tvaṣṭṛīmatī* (TS. ApŚ. *tvaṣṭī*°, and so TA. Poona ed. with v. l. °*ṭṛī*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. We need not accept Pischel's improbable theory that *te* is acc. (see Oldenberg's judicious critique, *RVNoten* 1. 25 ff.). The construction of *sap* 'devote oneself to (a god)' with dat. is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested by this construction with *sac* (see e.g. RV. 8. 60. 18).

§484. Other verbs:

ābhūṣantas te (TB. *tvā*) *samutau navāyām* RV. AV. TB. The usual interpretation makes *te* a gen. with *sumatau*, which is dependent on the participle: 'presenting ourselves to thy fresh favor'. Without denying this possibility we suggest that *te* may be a dat. depending directly on the participle, used in the same sense as the simple *bhūṣ* with dat. (BR. studere, colere). For this in TB. an acc. is substituted (comm. on TB. *sarvataḥ praśaṁsantaḥ*): 'attending thee in a new song of praise.'

tam indram abhi gāyata RV. 8. 32. 13: *tasmā indrāya gāyata* RV. 1. 4. 10, 5. 4; AV. Both: 'sing praises to this Indra.' The compound *abhi-gai* takes acc., the simple *gai* dat. RV. 8. 32. 13 = 1. 4. 10 entire.

2. Dedicatory expressions

§485. In formulae of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126):

digbhyaḥ śrotram (sc. *ālabhate*) TB.† 3. 4. 18. 1: *diśaḥ śrotram* (sc. *anvavasṛjatāt*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. '(He takes) the ear for the directions': '(send) the ear to the directions.'

agniṁ svāhā MS.: *agniṃ agnau svāhā* (here a verb of placing is understood) ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *svāhāgnim* KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *agnaye svāhā* AV. etc. Likewise: *svāhā prajāpataye* (TB. °*patim*) TS. KSA. TB.: *svāhā sarasvatyai* (KS. °*tīm*) TS. KS. etc.; *svāhā viśvān devān* KS.: *svāhā viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. And many other similar phrases. The contexts are often quite different. The dat. is felt as governed by *svāhā*, 'hail to...' The acc. is sometimes dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times no such verb is clearly suppliable, and then the acc. is commonly understood in a sort of interjectional fashion; however, one may always understand, if one wishes, a verb such as 'we worship'. Cf. next, and §377. The TB. comm. supplies *uddiśya*. Cf. also §459, *svāhāgniṁ*...

ākūtim (MS. MŚ. MG. °*tam*) *agniṁ prayujaṁ svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye* (MS. KS. *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Cf. prec., and see especially TS. 4. 1. 9. 1, where the acc. form occurs in a list of several such acc. formulae, followed by two in the dat.

3. Dative of purpose : accusative (object or goal)

§486. The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative, either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word so used. Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with any other case; see §70. Thus:

rāyas poṣaṁ vi ṣyatu (RV. MS. TB.* *ṣyatāṁ*, AV. MS.* *ṣya*) *nābhim asme* (AV. *asya*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) TB. (bis) ApŚ.: *tvaṣṭaḥ poṣāya viṣya nābhim asme* KS. '(Our seminal fluid, *turīpam*) release (let him release, etc.) for increase (as increase of wealth)...for us (etc.).'

mahyaṁ sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam AV.: *mahyaṁ jyotir abharat sūryas tat* KS. 'The sun brought (it) to me in order to light': 'to me the sun brought that light.' The AV. (probably original) understands the object from the preceding pāda; KS. by a lect. fac. makes *jyotis* the object.

asamātiṁ gṛheṣu naḥ AV.: *gṛhāṇām asamartyai* TS. In AV. the acc. is governed by the preceding *abhi rakṣatu*; Bloomfield, following Sāyaṇa: '...preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house.' In TS. is added another pāda, *bahavo no gṛhā asan*, the two constituting an independent sentence: 'may our houses be many, for unharmedness of our house.'

taṁ te gṛhṇāmi yajñiyaiḥ ketubhiḥ saha KS.: *taṁ te* (AŚ. *tvā*) *harāmi brahmaṇā* TB. Vait. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The preceding pādas are *yo aśvatthaḥ śamīgarbha āruroha tve sacā* (KS. *tvayy api*). 'The *aśvattha* ...that has grown up by thee (TB. comm. *tve tvayi nimittabhūtāyāṁ satyām*), that for thee I take...' In AŚ. the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB. comm. *tvadartham*), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc.: 'that I take as thee (the firestick).' The firestick of course is made from the *aśvattha*.

vṛṣaṇe śuṣmāyāyuṣe varcase TS.: *vṛṣaṇaṁ śuṣmam āyuṣe varcase kṛdhi* MŚ. Preceded by *mā mā rājan vibībhiṣo mā me hārdi* (MŚ. °*diṁ*) *tviṣā* (MŚ. *dviṣā*) *vadhīḥ*. 'Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart...unto (i.e. so that I may have) manly fury, life, splendor': '...make (for me) manly fury, unto life, splendor.' It is hard to say which is original; if MŚ. be considered so, TS. could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives.

[*pra tad viṣṇu* (*viṣṇuḥ*) *stavate vīryeṇa* (*vīryāṇi*, *vīryāya*), see §§474, 558. The instr. is the original form.]

4. Miscellaneous final dative : accusative

§487. There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed; other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant:

śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura.' The noun of RV. becomes an infinitive in SV., perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining *asurāya*; but cf. also *nirṇije* in RV. 10. 49. 7.

taṁ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA. 'May the gods aid me unto splendor.' The MS. form seems to be neut. acc. of a stem **śobhāyin*, doubtless adverbial, 'splendidly'.

pṛchāmi tvā citaye (LŚ. °*yaṁ*) *devasakha* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. The dat. *citaye* may be considered an infinitive: 'I ask thee for

understanding (i.e. that I may understand).' LŚ. *citayaṁ* (repeated in the comm.) would seem to be from an unrecorded **citaya*, an adjective agreeing with *tvā*: '...thee that understandest'. Cf. next.

kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV. *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. 'I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know).' The AV. is a lect. fac., attracting the adjective into agreement with *kavīn*. The change resembles that in the last.

5. Miscellaneous dative of interest : accusative

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative; usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also:

dyauś ca ma idaṁ pṛthivī ca pracetasau AV.: *dyauś ca naḥ* (KS. TB. *tvā*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* RV. KS. TB. The RV. passage is in a different context from all the others. In KS. TB. the pronoun is object of *pipartu* 'protect'. Ppp. according to Roth ap. Whitney has *mā*, acc., for AV. *ma idaṁ*; this latter Whitney finds 'embarrassing', but without reason as it seems to us; *idaṁ* is object of *pipartu*, *me* dative of interest. We may render with Ludwig 'Dyaus und Pṛthivī...fördere mir dies'; or we may take *pipartu* from *pṛ* 'fill' in the sense of 'fulfil, grant'.

ajījapatendraṁ vājam VS. ŚB.: (*ajījapata*) *indraṁ vājaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *indrāya vācaṁ*) *vimucyadhvam* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Ye have caused Indra to win the prize; (be released).' So essentially all but MS. MŚ., which mean 'ye have caused Speech to win for Indra...'

vanaspatīn vānaspatyān, oṣadhīr uta vīrudhaḥ AV. 8. 8. 14ab, 11. 9. 24ab; *devān puṇyajanān pitṝn* AV. 8. 8. 15b, 11. 9. 24d: *vanaspatibhyo vānaspatyebhya oṣadhibhyo vīrudbhyaḥ sarvebhyo devebhyo devajanebhyaḥ puṇyajanebhyaḥ* Kauś. In Kauś. a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV. passages (used in AV. in quite other, and mutually different, contexts).

yajñaṁ hinvanty adribhiḥ RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayaḥ* SV. 'They promote the sacrifice with stones': 'let the stones be for the sacrifice.' See §419; same context, loosely rephrased.

madhu tvā madhulā cakāra (Ppp. *karat*, MS. *kṛṇotu*, TA. ApŚ. *karotu*) RV. Ppp. MS. TA. ApŚ.: *madhu me madhulā karaḥ* AV. Change of person in pronoun; 'the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey': 'mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me.'

pāvamānyaḥ (SV. MG. °*nīḥ*) *punantu mā* (SV. *naḥ*, MS. *tvā*, YDh. *te*) RVKh. SV. TB. MG. YDh. 'May they purify me (us, thee)': 'may they purify for thee', with indefinite and unexpressed object. Cf. next.

sa tvā (Kauś. *no*, ViDh. *me*) *rakṣatu sarvataḥ* AV. Kauś. ViDh. In ViDh. no object is expressed, unless *me* be taken as acc. as Jolly seems to take it (cf. above, §483; we take no stock in *me*, *te* as accs.). As in the preceding: 'may he protect for me on all sides.'

kas te yunakti, and *kas te vimuñcati*, MG.: *kas tvā yunakti*, and *kas tvā vimuñcati*, VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *ko vo yunakti*, and *ko vo vimuñcati*, ApŚ. MŚ. MG. On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a rite see Caland on ApŚ. 4. 16. 10; it is simply a mystically grandiose expression for 'beginning' and 'ending'. In most texts *tvā* is used referring to the rite. In MG. twice *te* is used referring to the *devatā*, the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood. MG.: 'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

asmin yajñe yajamānāya sūrim AV.: *imaṁ yajñaṁ yajamānaṁ ca sūrau* ApŚ. Preceded by *indrāya bhāgaṁ pari tvā nayāmi* AV., *indrasya bhāgaḥ suvite dadhātana* ApŚ. Both unintelligent and scarcely translatable; *yajamāna* and *sūri* ought to refer to the same person, but only Ppp. (as reported by Roth ap. Whitney,...*yajñapatiś ca sūriḥ*) has them in the same case (the nominative; in other respects Ppp. is hardly more intelligent).

tanā (SV. *tmanā*) *kṛṇvanto arvate* (SV. °*taḥ*) RV. SV. Preceded by *sugā tokāya vājinaḥ*. Subject is the soma-drops, with which *vājinaḥ* agrees in RV.: 'creating welfare uninterruptedly for the offspring, they the swift ones, and for the steed.' SV.: 'the swift ones, creating welfare and horses for the offspring by themselves', or 'creating welfare and swift horses...'?

amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ.†*ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB. 'Do not abandon us (me)': 'do not die for us' (!). See VV 2 §78.

abhi tvādhāṁ sahīyasā RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhāṁ sahīyasīm* AV. See §476.

agnau vā tvā gārhapatye 'bhiceruḥ AV.: *yāṁ te cakrur gārhapatye* AV. The latter: 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee...', while in the former *tvā* is object of *abhicerur* 'bewitched'.

samidhaḥ (ApŚ. MŚ. *samidbhyaḥ*) *preṣya* ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In all texts addressed by the adhvaryu to the maitrāvaruṇa: 'order (the hotar to recite the formula) for the firesticks.' The dative is usual with

the stereotyped *preṣya* to denote the *devatā* to which offering or prayer is made, the acc. to denote the rite or action ordered (e.g. *sāma* or the like; see BR. s. v. *iṣ* + *pra*). Here *samidbhyaḥ* is originally the proper form, the kindling sticks being the *devatā* of the formula which the hotar is commanded to recite. But by figurative transference *samidhaḥ* is treated as the name of the rite: 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks.' See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, *Mīmāṅsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, §§204, 300.

tan ma (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatāṁ punaḥ* GB. Vait. In GB.: 'let that be strong for me again.' Note hiatus in Vait. If it really intends *mā*, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh. 5. 508: 'let that make me strong again.'

[*yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG.: *yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanvaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB. *tanuvai* might be gen. with ending *ai* (§144), cf. the AV. reading which is certainly gen. But since HG. is otherwise corrupt (Oldenberg adopts the AV. reading), little reliance can be placed upon it.]

6. Transfer of epithet

§489. Transfer of epithet (§14) between dative and accusative forms appears in the following cases. First, some in which number and gender are not changed:

dakṣāya dakṣavṛdham (TS. °*dhe*) TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *prajāpataye tvā jyotiṣmate jyotiṣmantaṁ gṛhṇāmi*. In MS. KS. the adjective agrees with *tvā*, carried over from the preceding; in TS. it is attracted into agreement with *dakṣāya*.

dyaus te (AŚ. PG. *tvā*) *dadātu pṛthivī* (PG. adds *tvā*) *pratigṛhṇātu* AŚ. PG. HG. The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc. to the gift; 'may heaven give (to) thee.' The next two are similar.

śukraṁ te śukreṇa gṛhṇāmi TS. KS. ApŚ.: *śukraṁ tvā śukra śukrāya gṛhṇāmi* MS. MŚ.: *śukraṁ tvā śukra ādhunomi* VS. ŚB. As in prec. and next, the pronouns refer to different things.

śukraṁ te (MS. *te śukra*) *śukreṇa krīṇāmi* (MS. omits *krī*°) *candraṁ candreṇāmṛtam amṛtena* (MS. adds *krīṇāmi*...) TS. MS. KS.: *śukraṁ tvā śukreṇa krīṇāmi*...VS. ŚB. *te* refers to the seller of the soma, *tvā* to the soma; cf. preceding two.

athaitān aṣṭau virūpān (TB.† 3. 4. 19. 1 *athaitān arūpebhya*) *ālabhate* VS. VSK. TB. In VS. VSK. the adjective refers to the eight 'malformed' men who are dedicated (in these texts) to Prajāpati; in TB. the same eight are dedicated to *devatās* called 'formless'.

dhattaṁ rayiṁ sahavīraṁ (ApMB. *daśavīraṁ*) *vacasyave* RV. ApMB.: *rayiṁ dhehi sarvavīraṁ vacasyam* AV. The epithet *vacasya* is attracted in AV. into agreement with *rayiṁ*; in the original it referred to the recipient of the gift.

yajñāya stīrṇabarhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ.: *yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiṣaṁ vivakṣase* SV. In the original the adjective agrees with *yajñāya*, in SV. with *tvā* of the preceding (*hotāraṁ tvā vṛṇīmahe*).

indrāya tvā bṛhadvate vayasvata ukthāyuve (VSK. MS. °*yuvam*, VS. ŚB. KS.† *ukthāvyam*, VS. VSK. ŚB. °*aṁ gṛhṇāmi*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The acc. goes with *tvā*, the dat. with *indrāya*. Add to VV 2 §805 (stems *ukthāyu* : *ukthā-vī*).

§490. With change of number and gender as well as case:

īḍiṣvā hi mahe (ApŚ. *mahī*, v. l. *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV. ApŚ. Followed by *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ. °*vīm*; see §746). In SV. the adj. agrees with *hotrāya*, in ApŚ. (if *mahī* be read) with *dyāvā*.

§491. In the following an originally independent noun seems to be attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right in taking KS. TB. ApŚ. as secondary. Cf. §15:

ayakṣmāya tvā saṁsṛjāmi prajābhyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmā vaḥ prajayā saṁsṛjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'I unite thee unto health, unto progeny': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny.'

§492. Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose) in the following:

ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (MS. KS. *rājasūyāś*, TS. *rājasūyāya*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The waters are originally described as 'king-creating'; in TS. this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for king-crowning', which depends on *citānāḥ* ('caring for, having regard to'); cf. BR. s. v. 4 *cit*, 2. See next.

svāhā rājasūyāḥ MS. MŚ.: *svāhā rājasūyāya citānāḥ* TS.: *svāhā rājasvaḥ* VS. ŚB. Supply *apaḥ* in all; we have here a reminiscence of the formula just quoted, q. v.

CHAPTER XXI

ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

1. With verbs of separation, guarding, etc.

§493. The accusative and ablative approach interchangeability chiefly in connexion with certain verbs and certain prepositions. Thus, first, verbs of separation, guarding, purifying, or the like, since they suggest separation of two things or of a thing and a quality, may in principle put either of the two separated entities in either the acc. or the abl. Hence the following variants:

iyaṁ duruktāt (PG. °*taṁ*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. 'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer).'

āpas tvā tasmāj jīvalāḥ AV.: *āpas tat sarvaṁ jīvalāḥ* ApŚ. Followed by *punantu* (ApŚ. *śundhantu*) *śucayaḥ śucim.* 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all'; in ApŚ. *tat sarvam* may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc., or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ. a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that).'

sakhyaṁ te mā yoṣāḥ sakhyaṁ te mā yoṣṭhāḥ SMB.: *sakhyāt te mā yoṣaṁ sakhyān me mā yoṣṭhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. The root *yu* is either transitive, 'separate', or intransitive, 'be separated'. In SMB. the two clauses, one with active and one with middle verb, seem to be equivalent in meaning (transitive in both!): 'Withhold not thy friendship.' The others: 'may I not be separated from thy friendship, nor thou from mine.'

2. With prepositions

§494. Similarly both cases are used after various prepositions, with or without difference of meaning. Notably *ā* in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc. or abl., while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl., never the acc. Also *pari* is used with both cases, tho with different meanings:

ūrjo mā pāhy odṛcam MŚ.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcaḥ* TS.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy*

aṅhasaḥ, āsya yajñasyodṛcaḥ VS. ŚB. *ā-udṛcaḥ* (°*cam*) in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice).' The variant *ūrjo* for *ūrdhvo* (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160.

orv antarikṣam ŚŚ.: *āsmāt sadhasthād oror antarikṣāt* TB. ApŚ. Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc., 'from' with abl. Probably not true variants.

ye jātās tanvas (PB. °*vaṁ*) *pari* RV. MS. PB. ŚB. TA. 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)': 'who are born about (near) [her] body.' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB. has a mere corruption of the RV. reading.

3. Miscellaneous

§495. Of the rest—barring those classified under 'transfer of epithet'—there is little to be said. They concern miscellaneous reinterpretations of the passages, usually with other changes besides the one with which we are concerned, and oftener than not yielding very poor sense in the secondary version, so that the term 'corruption' begins to apply. In not a few cases the variation is between *n* and *t*, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871).

rūpaṁ varṇaṁ paśūnāṁ mā nirmṛkṣam ApŚ.: *rūpād varṇaṁ mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ. 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle': 'may he not wipe away the color from the form.' ApŚ. is a little less banal than MŚ.

yakṣmā yanti janād (AV. ApMB. *janāṅ*) *anu* RV. AV. ApMB. In RV. abl. of source: 'from the (malicious) folk;' *anu..yanti*, 'follow'. AV. ApMB. construe *anu* as postposition with acc. *janān*. Altho Bloomfield (*The Atharvaveda* 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV. reading as compared with RV., we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now; see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10. 85. 31. If there is a single case in which AV. shows itself superior to RV. in a variant reading, we do not know of it.

ūvadhyaṁ vātaṁ (MS. *vātāt*) *sabvaṁ* (TB. Poona ed. *sabuvaṁ*) *tad ārāt* VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *apāmatiṁ durmatiṁ bādhamānāḥ*. 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but *sabvaṁ* is quite uncertain). Does MS. *vātāt* mean '(arising) from wind,' referring to *ūvadhyaṁ* and *sabvaṁ*? Or is it to be taken as abl. with *bādhamānāḥ*, or with *ārāt* felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor.

divaś cid antād upamām (TA. †*upa mām*, RV. *antāṅ upamāṅ*) *ud ānaṭ* RV. AV. SV. TA. Some AV. mss. read *upa mām* with TA., and Whitney adopts this. Benfey, Glossar, defines *upamām* as 'nahe' (adverb), but he translates 'zu allen Himmelsenden drang er aufwärts,' which seems to imply *antān*. The RV. alone is easily interpretable: 'he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven.' The others perhaps: 'even from the bounds of heaven he has attained unto me (? unto the highest).'

ta āvavṛtran sadanād ṛtasya (TS. *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS.* *sadanāni rātvī*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (bis) N. 'They have turned hither from the abode of the *ṛta* (having established their abodes, etc.).' Add to VV 2 §§421, 665.

rudrasya gāṇapatyān (VS. ŚB. °*yaṁ*, KS. °*ye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. °*patyāt* is certainly intended; this is read not only in the p.p. but in the pratīka 5. 1. 2. 3, which see for the rather forced interpretation required by the form. But for this we should assume that °*patyān* is acc. pl., which is probably the intention of MS. (whose p.p. would seem to read so, judging from the silence of von Schroeder; see §§526, 705).

antān pṛthivyā divaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ. Preceded by *yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat* (MŚ. *paryāv*°). *pari-vṛt* caus. probably = 'has brought hither.' The TB. ApŚ. stanza is very obscure; its last half is different from that of MŚ.

ālebhānād ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānāt RV.: *utārebhāṇāṅ ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānān* AV. Preceded by *utālabdhaṁ* (AV. *utārabdhān*) *spṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ*. 'Win away, O J., him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized him with spears.' So RV. The secondary AV. takes *spṛṇuhi* zeugmatically as meaning 'win away' = 'set free' in a, but 'win' = 'conquer' in b: 'win away both those who are seized, and (conquer) the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears.'

viduḥ pṛthivyā divo janitram (PB. °*trāt*) RV. PB. Followed by *śṛṇvanty* (PB. °*tv*) *āpo adha* (PB. '*dhaḥ*) *kṣarantīḥ*. RV.: 'they know the birthplace of earth and heaven.' In PB. *janitrād* would seem to be felt as abl. of source with *kṣarantīḥ*, 'flowing from the birthplace.' But this leaves *viduḥ* apparently without object. Caland calls it incomprehensible and adopts the RV. reading.

yato (KS. *yad id*, TS. *yadī*) *bhumiṁ janayan viśvakarmā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. On KapS. cf. Oertel 16. For the abl. pronoun KS. (and TS.) have adverbial forms used as conjunctions.

§496. Yet more dubious, or certainly corrupt, or based on misunderstandings or misquotations, are the following:

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādanā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV.† TA. 'Here let Yama fix a resting-place for thee.' The TA. reading (comm. *sthāpananimittam*) can hardly be anything but a phonetic blunder (VV 2 §405).

jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. The latter is original: 'having gone to my relatives let me not fall from heaven.' TA. Poona ed. *jāmi mitvā...lokāt* (v. l. *lokān*). The comm., tho he reads *lokāt*, seems to understand an acc.: *lokaṁ... naiva lapsyasi.* In any case TA. is scarcely interpretable. See VV 2 §198 (besides §871).

yat tvemahe (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. On SMB. see VV 2 §§365, 835, where three different commentarial explanations of its seemingly impossible reading are quoted.

[*yamād ahaṁ vaivasvatāt* RV.: *yan me yamaṁ vaivasvatam* PB. So Conc.; but the facts are obscured both by this comparison and by Caland's remarks on PB. 1. 5. 18, which Caland identifies with RV. 10. 60. 10. The truth is that PB. 1. 5. 18 is a combination of RV. 10. 58. 1ab with 10. 60. 10cd; when this is realized it will be seen that there is no case variation.]

[*pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ* KBU.: *tam ardhamāsaṁ prasutān pitryāvataḥ* JB. Conc., but read *ardhamāsyaṁ prasutāt pitr*°, Oertel, *JAOS.* 19 (2) 112, 115.]

[*devānāṁ vakṣi priyam ā sadhastham* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Conc. *sadhasthāt* for KSA.]

4. Transfer of epithet

§497. Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction. The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching. It is in any case clear that the acc. forms of VS. MS. KS. ŚB. are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs. of the preceding pāda; also that the abl. forms of TS. have been drawn into agreement with the preceding *itas*:

ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ TS.: *ṛtasya yoniṁ mahiṣasya dhārām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya dhārāṁ mahiṣasya yonim* MS. Preceded in all by *iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam* (*ādade, ādi*).

§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15):

prākto apācīm anayaṁ tad enām AV.: *prācīm avācīm ava yann ariṣṭyai* TA. The adverbial *prākto* of the original AV. is attracted to the case of *avācīm*, which in both texts agrees with *yuvatim* of pāda a.

imam adhvānaṁ yam agāma dūrāt (LŚ. *dūram*) RV. LŚ.: *yam adhvānam agāma dūram* AV. Again the adverbial form of the original RV. is made in AV. LŚ. into an adjective agreeing with *adhvānam*.

anamitraṁ no adharāt AV.: *anamitraṁ me* †*adharāk* (KS. *no adharāk*) VSK. KS.: followed by:

anamitraṁ na uttarāt AV.: *anamitram udak kṛdhi* VSK. KS. Again the original has ablative adverbs. This time the acc. forms might also be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are adjectives going with *anamitram*. 'Freedom from enemies... (from) below,... (from) above.'

yakṣmaṁ śronibhyāṁ (ApMB. *śronī*°) *bhāsadāt* RV. AV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śronibhyāṁ bhāsadam* AV. The original 'from the rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with *yakṣmaṁ*, 'of the rump'. The verb is *vi vṛhāmi*. In the text of AV. there are in fact two such adjectives, synonyms; one is doubtless an ancient gloss (Whitney ad loc., and Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, 47).

§499. We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15):

avatān mā vyathitam (VS. ŚB. °*tāt*) VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *avatād vyathitam* MS. KS. ŚB. 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'.

avatān mā nāthitam (VS. ŚB. °*tāt*), same texts.

CHAPTER XXII

ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE

1. With verbs governing both cases

§500. Accusative and genitive touch each other most closely with certain verbs which may be construed with both cases. See in general Delbrück *AIS.* 158 ff.; our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment. We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbrück does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions; any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires.

§501. Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants. Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character. Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ. ApŚ. certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvatī was drunk!

papuḥ sarasvatyā nadyāḥ (MŚ. *°tyāṁ nadyām,* KŚ. ApŚ. *°tīṁ nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'They drank (of, or MŚ. in) the River Sarasvatī.'

sa bhadram akar yo naḥ somaṁ (AŚ. *somasya*) *pāyayiṣyati* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

indra piba sutānām RV.: *imam indra sutaṁ piba* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

yad indro apibac chacībhiḥ VS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *yasyendro apibac chacībhiḥ* KS.: *yam asyendro apibañ śacībhiḥ* MS.

vācaspataye tvā hutaṁ prāśnāmi TS. ApŚ.: *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prāṇāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ. *hutasya prāśnāmīṣe prāṇāya,* ŚB. *hutasyāśnāmy...*) ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vasumadgaṇasya...upahūtasyopahūto bhakṣayāmi (MŚ. *upahūta upahūtaṁ bhakṣ°*) TS. MŚ.

tan me 'śīya HG.: *tasya te bhakṣīya* (ApMB. *'śīya*) TS. ApŚ. ApMB.

mano jyotir (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. *ājyam,* AŚ. *ājyaṁ me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. The texts that have acc. and those that have *jyotir* with gen. must

mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter.' Those with *jūtir* and gen. may be construed in the same way (so Mahīdhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested; see Eggeling, *SBE.* 12. 215 n. 1.

lekaḥ salekaḥ sulekas te na ādityā ājyaṁ juṣāṇā viyantu TS.: *salilaḥ saligaḥ sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā* MS. KS. In the same context also passages beginning *ketaḥ saketaḥ...*, see Conc.

§502. Verbs of offering; cf. Delbrück 160, where the gen. construction with *hu* is noted for Brāhmaṇa prose but not for RV., altho the RV. version of the first variant seems a clear instance:

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV.: *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *havir ā*) *juhota* MS. TB. See also §466, etc.

indrāgnibhyāṁ chāgasya haviḥ (ApŚ. MŚ. *haviṣaḥ*) *preṣya* KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *indrāgnibhyāṁ chāgasya vapāyā medasaḥ* (KŚ. *vapāṁ medaḥ*) *preṣya; indrā° puroḍāśasya preṣya* (KŚ. *puroḍāśam*, supplying *preṣya*), same texts. And similar items containing *anu brūhi* instead of *preṣya*. We should render the first variant 'prompt (to the offering) of an oblation of a goat to Indra-Agni.' The gen. seems to be dependent on an expression of offering understood; cf. Schwab, *AITieropfer* 119. Otherwise Delbrück 161.

apo (TS. KS. *udno*) *dattodadhiṁ bhintta* (KS.* KapS. *dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. (Oertel 76.) Cf. §711; *apas* best taken as acc. of plurale tantum stem *ap*.

§503. Verbs of ruling:

indro viśvaṁ virājati AA.: *indro viśvasya rājati* SV. VS. AŚ. Svidh.

§504. Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbrück 158):

pra tad voced amṛtasya (Ppp. VS. *amṛtaṁ nu*, TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtaṁ nu*) *vidvān* AV. Ppp. VS. TA. 'Knowing immortality.' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle *vidvān* is used; obviously it is construed just as a finite verb form would be.

§505. Verbs of robbing are recognized as taking two accusatives, but we have found no recognition of their use with an acc. of the person and a gen. of the thing. In TB. the following variant seems to show such a use, unless we take *goḥ* as acc. pl. (!) as the TB. comm. seems to do:

yad amuṣṇītam avasaṁ paṇiṁ gāḥ (TB. *goḥ*) RV. TB. 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Paṇi of his cow(s).'

2. With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc. varying with the gen. after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas; cf. Delbrück 181, Whitney 271h:

mām anuvratā bhava HG. ('be faithful to me'): cf. *agner* (AV. *patyur*) *anuvratā bhūtvā* AV. TS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB. Tho in different contexts, AV. and HG. both use the formula in the marriage ceremony.

apaścādaghvānnasya (MS. MŚ. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghvānnaṁ*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS. MŚ. ApŚ. 'May I not be failing of food.'

śāntir no astu MS.: *śāntir me astu śāntiḥ* TA.: *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS. The acc. seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in *śānti*; Mahīdhara *mā māṁ prati*.

§507. With nouns of agent in *tar*, a difference of accent is said to distinguish *dā'tā vasūni* from *dātā' vasūnām*, and according to Pāṇ. 3. 2. 135 unaccented *tar* should denote a habitual condition, accented *tár* a specific act. The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory; see Wackernagel, *AIGr.* 3. 201, 597. We find one such variant pāda; the phrase refers to Aryaman, who surely must be characterized as a habitual 'giver of good things' in both texts; in our opinion it would be pedantry to try to find a distinction in meaning between the two forms of the variant:

dātā vasūnāṁ puruhūto arhan TS.: *dātā vasūni vidadhe tanūpāḥ* MS. TS. accents the second syllable of *dātā*, MS. the first, which accords with the rule of accent. The accusative cannot be taken with *vidadhé* in MS. since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence.

3. Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc. of the deity and instr. of the offering varying with gen. (or dat.) of the deity and nom. of the offering (see §126). We content ourselves here with two examples:

andhāhīn (TS. °*he*, KSA. °*heḥ* but ms. °*he*) *sthūlagudayā* (TS. KSA. *sthūragudā*, MS. *sthūragudayā*) VS.† TS. MS.† KSA. '(We gratify) the blind-worms with the large intestines': 'the large intestines are for the blind-worms.'

pūṣaṇaṁ vaniṣṭhunā VS. MS.: *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuḥ* TS. KSA.

4. Descriptive or possessive genitive : modifying accusative

§509. In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'apposi-

tional genitive', varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form. Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend; see §85. The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same:

avyo (SV. PB. *avyaṁ*) *vāraṁ vi dhāvati* RV. SV. PB. 'He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sieve).'

vṛṣṭiṁ divaḥ pavasva rītim apām (SV. *apaḥ*) RV. SV. 'Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV. the stream, the waters).' In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem *ap*, we prefer to construe *apaḥ* thus as an acc. pl. (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen. sing.

[*apāsya* (ApŚ. *apāsman*) *nairṛtān pāśān,*] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ. *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśataṁ caye,* [*apāsya ye* †*sināḥ pāśāḥ,*] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ. *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśataṁ suve* KS. ApŚ. Also, in a different tho similar verse, [*apāsyāḥ satvanaḥ pāśān,*] *mṛtyūn ekaśataṁ nude* Kauś. 'I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths).'

nāsām āmitro (TB. *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV. AV. TB. 'No enemy does violence to their wandering course (to them [or] to [their] wandering course).' TB. comm. takes *vyathir* (on the meaning of which see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 117. 15) as a nom. attribute of *amitro*, which is obviously absurd.

ūrjo bhāgaṁ pṛthivyā (KS. ApŚ. °*vīm*) *yāty* (KS. *ety*, ApŚ. *etv*) *āpṛṇan* MS. KS. ApŚ. 'He (Savitar) goes filling the earth's lot with food': 'he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,' or the like. Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication; the acc. is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of *āpṛṇan*.

agniṁ (VS. ŚB. *agner*) *jyotir nicāyya* [*pṛthivyā abhyābharat*] VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. 'Fire (and) light' or 'Agni's light.'

somānaṁ (SV. °*nāṁ*) *svaraṇam* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The SV. is certainly worthless; on the crucial *somānaṁ* see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 18. 1.

§510. In a couple of cases of this sort, the noun on which the genitive depends is in the other form of the variant made into an adjective agreeing with the (now accusative) form which replaces the genitive:

ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne (KS. *yaje hīḍyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ : *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB. ApŚ. In the last variant *heḍyān* is an adjective agreeing with the acc. *devān*: 'the wrathful gods' instead of 'the wrath of the gods.'

pra samrājo (SV. °*jam*) *asurasya praśastim* (SV. °*tam*) RV. SV. KB. Here too SV. has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc. noun of RV. ('praise of the lord').

§511. Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms:

ādityā rudrā uparispṛśo naḥ (KS. °*śaṁ mā*) AV. KS.: *vasavo rudrā ādityā uparispṛśaṁ mā* RV. VS. TS. '(Make) me a...king' or 'make our king...'

ā te agna idhīmahi RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *ā tvāgna idhīmahi* AV. Kauś. Followed by *dyumantaṁ devājaram*. This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (*ZDMG*. 35. 714 ff.) as containing acc. *te*; but see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* p. 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives). AV. has a lect. fac.; feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing *te* to *tvā*.

puṣyema (AA. *puṣyanto*) *rayiṁ dhīmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Keith (AA. 285 n. 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc. and gen. after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf. §504), understanding the verb as connected with root *dhī*. He follows Sāyaṇa in this. Most western scholars have taken *dhīmahe* from *dhā*; *te* is then possessive gen. with *rayiṁ*, and *taṁ* also refers to *rayiṁ*.

devasya te (AG. MG. *tvā*) *savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṁ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṁ hastaṁ gṛhṇāmy asau* AG. SMB. GG. MG. 'At the command of god Savitar...I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by] the hand).'

§512. In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther:

tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ. *santaṁ mā pra hāsīḥ*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīḥ* (Conc. reads *hāsīt* with one ms.) MŚ. *hāsīḥ* in MŚ. may be kept: 'desert not my life at the sacrifice...'

§513. Sometimes the acc. is the sole goal of the verb; either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen., or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc., §459) in the alternate form in which acc. is substituted for gen.:

etaṁ (GB. *etasya*) *tvaṁ prajanaya* AB. GB. The context is the same. The pronoun refers apparently to the yajamāna, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukīrti (RV. 10. 131) and other hymns which follow. (Otherwise Keith, who seems to us to mis-

understand AB.) With the gen. of GB. is doubtless understood an acc. of *ātman* and other parts of the yajamāna, specified in the sequel. 'Propagate him' or 'propagate his [body, etc.]', or possibly 'propagate [such things] for him.' In such mystic rubbish almost anything is possible.

gaṇān me mā vi tīṭṛṣaḥ (MŚ. °*ṣat*, Vait. *vy arīriṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.: *gaṇair mā mā vi tīṭṛṣata* MS.: *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TS. ŚB. 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc.)': 'make not me with (my) troops to thirst': 'let not my troops thirst.'

§514. We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen. varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc.:

ye vā (MS. omits *vā*) *vanaspatīṅr anu* (MS. NīlarU. *vanaspatīnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. 'Or (serpents) which are of the trees (among the trees).'

5. Partitive genitive : modifying accusative

§515. Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole', 'des geteilten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc., as with other cases (§84):

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me (TB. *kṣatriyāṇām*) AV. TB. Kauś. 17. 28 (only pratīka in Kauś. 14. 24). 'Increase this kṣatriya for me': 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas.' TB. comm. *kṣatriyāṇāṁ madhye.*

imaṁ mā hiṅsīr ekaśaphaṁ (also, *dvipādaṁ*) *paśum* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals).'

vīrudhaṁ (AV. °*dhāṁ*) *balavattamām* (AV.* °*maḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) ApMB. 'Most mighty herb (of herbs).'

atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam VSK.: *adhā jīvema śaradāṁ śatāni* AV. Others similar, see Conc.

§516. The following is in reality doubtless only a case of sandhi, or perhaps better of orthography:

ojiṣṭhaś carṣaṇīsahām (TB. °*sahān*) VS. TB. Preceded by *divo varṣman samidhyate*, and followed by *vetv ājyasya*. 'Upon the height of heaven is kindled the mightiest of the rulers of men; let him taste the butter.' An acc. is quite impossible; yet both edd. and the comm. have the same reading in TB. The comm. seems to regard the acc. as equivalent to a partitive gen.: *tān uddiśya teṣāṁ* (*devānāṁ*) *madhye*. Final *m* and *n* before *v* in the Veda might both be pronounced alike, as a nasalization (Wackernagel 1 §§281a, 283c);

thus confusion between the two may have arisen, and the TB. may have incorrectly restored *n* instead of *m*. This variant might have been mentioned in VV 2 §944, tho the original final is clearly *m*, not *n*.

§517. In a few others an acc. direct object varies with a partitive gen. depending on a relative word:

yat tvā (KS. *te*) *kruddhaḥ parovapa* (AV. *kruddhāḥ pracakruḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS.: 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected.' The others: 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (thee angry men) have rejected', or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee'.

yat tvā (ApŚ. *te*) *śikvaḥ parāvadhīt* AV. ApŚ. Followed by *takṣā hastena vāsyā*. 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off...': 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off...'

yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuvaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG. 'Wherever on thy body, whatever of thy garment it has touched': 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment.' On HG. see §144.

6. Phrase inflection

§518. Phrase inflection (§§21–2) occurs in the following:

bhindhi darbha sapatnānām (*sapatnān me*) AV. (both). Initial pādas of consecutive verses; different constructions required by what follows.

kṛtyākṛtaṁ valaginam AV.: *kṛtyākṛto valaginaḥ* AV. Different contexts.

sumatiṁ satyadharmaṇaḥ (TS. ApMB. *satyarādhasaḥ*, VS. *satyarādhasam*, AV. *viśvarādhasaḥ*, AŚ. *vājinīvataḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB. N. The VS. form is in a different context.

7. Miscellaneous

§519. There remain a considerable number of variants between acc. and gen. which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought:

indrasya vāyoḥ (SV. *vāyuṁ*) *sakhyāya kartave* (SV. *vardhayan*) RV. SV. 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu': 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra.'

sakṛd yat tvā (KS. *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS. °*bham*) *āśayat* TS. KS. The word *garbha* shifts in meaning; 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb.'

vājo naḥ (MS. *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradiśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *catasro vā parāvataḥ, vājo no* (MS. KS. *mā*) *viśvair devair, dhana-*

sātāv (*°tā*) *ihāvatu*. KS. makes the pronoun in pāda a object of *avatu*, anticipating *mā* in pāda c; MS. makes it possessive gen. with *vājo*; the others, with *naḥ*, are ambiguous and may be taken either way.

rāyaspoṣā yajamānaṁ sacantām (TS. *°mānasya santu*) AV. TS. MS. MŚ. 'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's).'

[*yo adya saumyo vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrati*] *viṣūkuham iva dhanvanā* [*vyasyāḥ paripanthinaṁ sadasaspataye namaḥ*] AŚ.: [*yo 'dya saumyo vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrate*] *viṣūkuhasya dhanvanā* ['*pa tān varuṇo dhamat*] PB. The obscure word *viṣūkuh*(*a*) seems proved to refer to some hostile power by LŚ. 3. 11. 3. This makes PB. (rendered by Caland '...blow them away by means of the bow of Viṣūkuha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V. is a friendly power. AŚ. thus seems more plausible. But the word cannot be interpreted with any confidence.

tad āsata (Ppp. N. *atrāsata*) *ṛṣayaḥ sapta sākam* AV. Ppp. N.: *tasyāsata ṛṣayaḥ* (TS. TAA. *°sate harayaḥ*) *sapta tīre* TS. ŚB. BṛhU. TAA. In AV. *tad* is direct complement of *āsate*, in place of the more usual loc. (cf. BR. s. v. 2 *ās*, 1); the loc. *tīre* has this construction in the other texts, and *tasya* (substituted for *tad*) depends on it. 'Sit upon it (its bank)...' Ppp. and N. have the loc. adverb *atra* instead.

apāṁ na yanty ūrmayaḥ RV.: *apo nayanta ūrmayaḥ* SV. Preceded by *pra somāso vipaścitaḥ*. RV.: 'the somas rush forth like waves of water.' SV. by a false word-division (VV 2 §829) produces 'the somas, (as, i.e. in) waves, carry forth the waters.'

imaṁ rātaṁ (SV. *asya rātau*) *sutaṁ piba* RV. SV. In RV. *imaṁ rātaṁ* agrees with *sutaṁ*; in SV. *rātau* is a different word from *rātaṁ*: 'at this man's offering.'

dhīnām antaḥ sabardughaḥ RV.: *dhenām antaḥ sabardughām* SV. We take it that *dhīnām* depends on *sabardughaḥ*, *antaḥ* being an adverb. That SV. is botched is shown by the false accent of *dhenām*, on the final syllable; but doubtless *dhénām* (dependent on *antaḥ*) was meant. Even the RV. passage is obscure; for a different interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* ad loc.

ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB. *apasas*, but Gaastra *apas*) *pari* RV. GB. See VV 2 §810.

8. Transfer of epithet

§520. Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive forms occurs in the following. In the first group there is no change of gender or number:

amanmahi mahata (MS. KS. *mahad*) *ṛtasya nāma* TS. MS. KS. TB. The gen. agrees with *ṛtasya*, the acc. with *nāma*.

manyuṁ janasya dūḍhyaḥ (SV. °*yam*) RV. SV. KS. 'The wrath of the evil-minded man': 'the evil-minded wrath of man.' The ed. of KS. has *manyaṁ*, doubtless by misprint.

bṛhaspatisutasya ta (KS. omits *ta*) *indo* (*inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvantaṁ* (KS. °*vato*) *grahaṁ gṛhṇāmi* (MS. *rādhyāsam*, KS. *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta indor* (*inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvato grahāṅ ṛdhyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. *patnīvant-* modifies *graham* in TS. MS., *te* (unexpressed) in KS. and probably *te* in VS. VSK. ŚB. (so Eggeling; otherwise BR.).

pāñcajanyasya bahudhā yam indhate AV.: *yaṁ pāñcajanyaṁ bahavaḥ sam indhate* TS. MS. KS. In the ŶV. texts *pāñca*° is drawn into agreement with *yaṁ*, which refers to Agni; in AV. it agrees directly with *agner* of the preceding pāda, so that the real sense is the same.

praharṣiṇaṁ madirasya made mṛṣāsā astv atha tvā hoṣyāmi KS.: *praharṣiṇo madirasya made mṛṣāsāv astu* ApŚ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *praharṣiṇo*; and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with *tvā*, which would be necessary if we keep the text.

§521. The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as case:

vasuṁ (SV. TS. *vasoḥ*) *sūnuṁ sahaso jātavedasam* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Good son of strength': 'son of good strength.' This seems the simplest interpretation of *vasoḥ*. The preceding pāda is *agniṁ hotāraṁ manye dāsvantam*; Benfey and Keith make *vasoḥ* a noun depending on *dāsvantam*, despite the pāda division. A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with *sahaso*: 'son of good(s), of strength.'

vasumatas (VS. ŚB. °*matīm agne*) *te chāyām upastheṣam* VS. MS. ŚB. 'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni).'

śardhāṅsy agne ajarāṇi (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i.e. flames) as thou burnest': 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning.' For ApŚ. cf. VV 1 §27.

pātho (Ppp. ŚŚ. *pātaṁ*, TS. *vītaṁ*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni* (AV. *guhyasya*) *nāma* AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. 'Ye protect (etc.) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts; AV. seems to take *pātho* from *pā* 'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes *guh*° agree with *ghṛtasya*: 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name.'

indrasya vāṁ vīryakṛto bāhū abhyupāvaharāmi (VSK. *vāṁ bāhū vīryakṛtā upā°*) VS. VSK. ŚB. 'I draw you down, two arms of prowess-working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra).' Also: *indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upāvaharāmi* TB. (here the king, identified with Indra, is addressed).

parīmaṁ yajamānaṁ rāyo manuṣyāṇām VS. ŚB.: *parīmaṁ rāyo manuṣyam* KS. See §§402 etc.

§522. There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, becoming an 'epithet' thereof, in a secondary version; in both either gender or number varies as well as case:

āṅgūṣāṇām avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ RV.: *aṅgoṣiṇam avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ* SV. In RV., 'the music of the hymns'; in SV. an epithet of Soma (*vṛṣaṇaṁ*) has been extracted from the genitive.

paramaṁ padam ava bhāti (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS. *bhūreḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Preceded by *atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ* (RV. N. *vṛṣṇaḥ*). In the original *bhūri* is best taken as an adverb: 'The bull's (Viṣṇu's) highest footstep shines down mightily.' TS. makes the word an epithet of *viṣṇoḥ*: 'of mighty Viṣṇu.'

CHAPTER XXIII

ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

Acc. and loc. of goal

§523. By far the largest and most important group of variants showing syntactic contact between these two cases is that concerning the accusative and locative of goal. After verbs denoting motion (in a wide sense), both cases are familiarly used. Many interpreters try to distinguish between them. Thus Delbrück, *AIS.* 122, says that the loc. is used 'wenn es sich um ein Ankommen bei, ein Eindringen in u. s. w. handelt, während in den A. das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z. B. *deveṣu gachati* er geht unter die Götter, aber *devān gachati* er geht zu den Göttern hin.' Others, whether consciously or unconsciously, seem anxious to avoid admitting the loc. of goal at all. Thus Whitney on AV. 6. 48. 1–3 renders *svasti mā saṁ vahāsya yajñasyodṛci svāhā* 'carry me along to welfare at the close of this offering', whereas it obviously means 'carry me prosperously to the end of this rite' (cf. Bloomfield *JAOS.* 16. 3, 23); this would be clear even without the ŚŚ. variant *svasti mā saṁpārayāsya yajñasyodṛcam*, with acc. instead of loc. Even worse is Whitney's rendering of AV. 7. 40. 1b *yasya vrata upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ* 'in whose course stand the waters'; to avoid recognizing the loc. of goal (all the parallel texts *vratam*!) Whitney ignores the established meaning of *upa-sthā* (approach, always of motion, never 'stand'). Clearly we must render 'into whose control the waters enter.'

§524. In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases. Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc. by something like English *in*, or German *in* with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction. We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc. to be substantially equivalent to an acc. Take for instance the variant *sūryasyaikā carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS. KS. *niṣkṛtāni*) TS. MS. KS. PG. We shall not stress the fact that MS. KS., generally the older and better YV. texts, have the acc.; after all, even if TS. PG. are secondary, they may

quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way. So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering 'one moves among the seats of the sun' or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG. and TS.). But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the pāda *triṅśat svasāra upayanti niṣkṛtam*, with the acc. *niṣkṛtam* in all alike. To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc. is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS. PG. mean by *carati niṣkṛteṣu* about the same thing that is meant by *carati niṣkṛtāni* is MS. KS. Naturally, no one would claim certainty for such an interpretation.

§525. While, therefore, we should not deny that some such distinction as that suggested by Delbrück may have been concerned in the origin of the locative of goal, and while we freely admit that in some instances of shift between the two cases a distinction may, nay at times even must, have been felt, we nevertheless believe that our variants tend as a whole to indicate similarity, rather than distinction, between them. It is easy to be over-subtle in such matters; we shall for the most part try not to impose our views upon the materials, preferring to let them speak for themselves. At the same time we shall occasionally call attention to what seem to us significant features, particularly when they support the view we hold, namely that scholars have failed to recognize with sufficient clarity the close similarity between these uses of the acc. and loc. Special attention may be called here to the pāda *vayāṅsi ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS. KS. ApŚ., in which the acc. *vayāṅsi* and the loc. *mṛgeṣu* occur in two precisely parallel phrases; surely no one would suggest that there can be the slightest difference in meaning between them.

1. With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like

§526. We begin with verbs meaning something like 'go, enter, mount', and list first cases in which the acc. and loc. seem most nearly akin in meaning:

svasti mā saṁ vahāsya yajñasyodṛci svāhā AV.: *svasti mā saṁpārayāsya yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ. See §523.

yasya vrataṁ (RVKh. Scheftelowitz, Ppp. KS. °*te*) *paśavo yanti sarve* RVKh. AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Into whose control go all cattle.' Cf. next.

yasya vratam (AV. *vrata*) *upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ*, same texts, immediately after preceding. See §523.

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. *rathe*) *adhi taṁ* (VS. ŚB. *yaṁ*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. 'Mount upon (*adhi-sthā*) this chariot.'

endrasya jaṭhare (SV. °*raṁ*) *viśa* RV. SV. 'Enter the belly of Indra.'

svo ruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamam (TS.† MS.† KS. *nāka uttame*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky.' The verb is *adhi-ruh*.

uttamaṁ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rohayainam*, TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

akṣaraṁ brahma saṁmitam TA. TAA. MahānU.: *akṣare brahmasaṁmite* MG. Preceded by *āyātu varadā devī* (MG. *āyāhi viraje devi*).

ya āviṣṭo vayassu (Ppp. *yo viṣṭo vayasi*) *yo mṛgeṣu* AV. Ppp.: *vayāṁsi ya āviveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS. KS. ApŚ. See §525.

ā mitrāvaruṇā bhagam RV.: *ā mitre varuṇe bhage* SV. Followed by *madhvaḥ* (*madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayaḥ*. The SV. comm. reads accs. like RV., and Benfey renders 'In Mitra...fliessen...'

viśo-viśaḥ praviśivāṁsam īmahe AV.: *viśvasyāṁ viśi praviviśivāṁsam* (KS.† *praviviśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS.

prāṇāpānayor (ŚG. °*nā*) *uruvyacās tayā* (ŚG. *tvayā;* so AG. must intend, and so Stenzler translates it) *prapadye* AG. ŚG. 'I...take refuge with (flee to) prāṇa and apāna with thee.'

upa dyām upa vetasam AV. Vait.: *upa jmann upa vetase* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verb *avatara* 'descend into' is found in the following pāda in all but AV. Vait. TS., and in these some such verb is understood.

yajñaṁ dadhānāḥ (ApŚ. *vidānāḥ*) *sukṛtasya lokam* (ApŚ. *loke*) KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *te yantu prajānantaḥ*.

purīṣaṁ vasānaḥ sukṛtasya loke (MS. KS. *lokam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *purīṣaṁ vasānaḥ svāṁ yoniṁ yathāyatham* ApŚ. Preceded in MS. KS. ApŚ., followed in VS. ŚB., by *tatra gacha yatra pūrve paretāḥ*. The acc. is certainly one of goal of motion. Mahīdhara on VS. rightly takes *loke* as loc. of goal; Griffith and Eggeling construe it with *vasānaḥ* as loc. of situation. They also, most violently and against Mahīdhara and all probability, detach *sukṛtasya* from *loke* and make it depend on *purīṣam*.

rudrasya gāṇapatyān (VS. ŚB. °*patyaṁ*, KS. °*patye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's troop' VS. ŚB. KS.; on TS. MS. see §§495, 705.

keṣv (LŚ. *kiṁ svid*) *antaḥ puruṣa ā viveśa* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

sudughendre (MS. °*draṁ*, p.p. °*dre*) †*sarasvatī* VS. MS. Followed by *aśvinā bhiṣajāvatam* (VS. °*taḥ*). See Neisser's illuminating treatment of *av* (*ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v.), which establishes the fact that it

is fundamentally a verb of motion. This receives new support from our variant, where the loc. can only be interpreted as equivalent to the acc. of goal: 'strive towards Indra.'

§527. In the next group the loc. can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc. We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases:

sūryasyaikā carati niṣkṛteṣu (MS. KS. *niṣkṛtāni*) TS. MS. KS. PG. See §524.

viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau (MS. °*hūtim*) VS. MS. ŚB. ṢB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'It has gone to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa, to (at) the first oblation.' The generally old and primary MS. may be taken as a kind of commentary on the others; yet the loc. of situation is possible. A still different interpretation of *pūrvahūtau* is offered by the comms. on ṢB. and TB., which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with *viṣṇū varuṇā*.

anāgā devāḥ śakuno gṛheṣu (AV. *gṛhaṁ naḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp. MG. Preceded by *śivaḥ kapota iṣito no astu*. 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods.' So essentially Grassmann, taking *gṛheṣu* closely with *iṣito*; the AV. supports this. But Ludwig 'im Hause.'

divas (*divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭhaṁ* (PB. *pṛṣṭhe*) *bhandamānaḥ* (PB. *mand*°) *sumanmabhiḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Preceded by *vaiśvānaraḥ pratnathā nākam āruhat* (PB. *āruha*). In the original *pṛṣṭhaṁ* is acc. of goal with *āruhat*, parallel with *nākam*. In PB. *pṛṣṭhe* could be so construed, as loc. of goal; but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with *mandamānaḥ*, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven.'

satyadharmāṇo adhvaram (TS. °*re*) RV. TS.: *vāmaṁ prayaty adhvare* VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in RV. by *ṛtadhītaya ā gata*, in the others by *ā vo devāsa īmahe*. RV.: 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes.' The loc. may also be one of goal: 'we come to you...to the sacrifice.' But a loc. of situation is also possible; not indeed with *satyadharmāṇo*, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Keith), since this would require accentless *adhvare* (Whitney 314d), but rather: 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance.' Cf. also (*kavim agnim upa stuhi*) *satyadharmāṇam adhvare*, in a different context; here the loc. is clearly one of situation.

prātaryāvāṇo adhvaram RV. VS. TB.: *prātaryāvabhir adhvare* SV. See the whole verse, quoted §415. The acc. is certainly one of goal

with *prātaryāvāṇo*: 'coming betimes to the offering.' The loc. may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with *ā sīdatu*, and parallel with *barhiṣi*, 'at the offering'.

devasya savituḥ save (SV. *savam*) RV. AV. SV. TS. etc. etc. This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc. of situation: 'at the instigation of God Savitar.' The acc. *savam* occurs once in SV., in a verse found also in AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait., all of which read *save*; it is preceded by *āvir maryā ā vājaṁ vājino agman*, and followed by *svargam* (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*gāṅ*) *arvanto jayema* (*jayataḥ, jayata*). Clearly SV. has acc. of goal with *agman*: '...have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar.' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense: 'at the instigation of...' Cf. next.

tasya pūṣā prasave (TS. °*vaṁ*) *yāti vidvān* (TS. KS. *devaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Similar to preceding.

antarikṣe (KS. °*kṣaṁ*) *viṣṇur* (MS. *viṣṇur antarikṣe*) *vyakramṣta*...VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *traiṣṭubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame* TS. 'Viṣṇu strode thru (durchschritt; or, strode forth in) the atmosphere.' Similar formulas with *diśo* (*dikṣu*), *pṛthivīm* (°*vyām*), *divam* (*divi*), and different meter names. See also: *deva viṣṇa urv adyāsmin...*, §549.

§528. In another group we find different words used, either different governing verbs or different variant nouns, resulting in a shift between acc. of goal and loc. of situation; in these cases we no longer feel doubt that the force of the two cases is quite distinct:

priyeṇa dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyaṁ sada āsīda* (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.* *priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (bis): *sedaṁ priyeṇa dhāmnā priyaṁ sada āsīda* (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma* [for *nāmnā*?] *priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple *sad* is here construed each time with loc., the compound *ā-sad* with acc. Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc.; instead of 'sit on', it means 'take one's seat upon'. It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527; but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant.

yāv (MS. *yā*) *ātasthatur bhuvanāni viśvā* (TB. *bhuvanasya madhye*) AV. MS. TB. 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe).'

ukṣā bibharti bhuvanāni (SV. ArS. *mimeti bhuvaneṣu*) *vājayuḥ* RV. SV.

jīvaṁ (ApMB. *jīvāṁ*) *rudanti vi mayante adhvare* (AV. *nayanty adhvaram*) RV. AV. ApMB. The AV. clearly has a lect. fac., but the original is quite obscure in meaning; cf. Bloomfield *AJP.* 21. 411–9, Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc.

antarikṣasya tvā sānāv avagūhāmi (KS. °*kṣasya sānūpeṣa*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *divaḥ sānūpeṣa* MS. MŚ. The MS. p.p. absurdly divides *sānū, peṣa*; von Schroeder rightly understands *sānu, upa-iṣa*, 'zu des Himmels Rücken strebe auf.'

§529. The following case is like those of the last section in that *agraṁ* is acc. of goal with *rohataḥ*, a verb of motion, while *agre* is loc. of situation with *krīḍataḥ*; it receives separate rubrication because it leads over to the next following group:

agraṁ vṛkṣasya rohataḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TA.: *agre vṛkṣasya krīḍataḥ* (VSK. ŚŚ. *krīl*°) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

2. Adverbial acc. : loc.

§530. In another group of variations between these two forms *agram* and *agre*, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt as expressions of the goal. In some instances, at any rate, it seems hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, 'in the beginning' or the like:

agra imaṁ yajñaṁ nayatāgre yajñapatiṁ dhatta TS.: *agra imam adya yajñaṁ nayatāgre yajñapatiṁ sudhātuṁ yajñapatiṁ devayuvam* VS.: *agraṁ yajñaṁ nayatāgraṁ yajñapatim* MS. 'Lead forward this sacrifice...' But here, with the verb *nayata*, the word may be felt as 'to the front'.

ahnāṁ ketur uṣasām ety (AV.† *eṣy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Here too, with a verb of motion, the idea of goal may be present in the acc. form, at least: 'As banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at (to?) the head of the dawns.'

jayantīnāṁ maruto yantv agram (TS. *agre*, AV. MS. KS. *yantu madhye*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Let the Maruts go at (to?) the front of the conquering armies.'

tena devā devatām agra (VS. MS. KS. *agram*) *āyan* AV. VS. KS. MS.: *tapasā* (TS. *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS. TB. TA. MahānU. 'By this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning.' Since *devatām* expresses the goal, it seems that *agram* can hardly be anything but an adverb.

āgnir agra (SV. *agram*) *uṣasām aśoci* RV. SV. Perhaps motion is felt in the verb *ā-śuc*: 'Agni was enkindled at (unto?) the beginning of the dawns.'

§531. Similarly *dūram* or *dūre* may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved:
bādhasva (AV. *bādhethāṁ*) *dūre* (AV. *dūraṁ*, TS. Ppp. *dveṣo*) *nirṛtiṁ parācaiḥ* RV. AV. Ppp. TS. 'Drive perdition afar off.'

§532. We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial acc. and loc., in a pāda where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal:
ye arvāñ madhya (TA. omits *madhya*) *uta vā purāṇam* (TA. °*ṇe*) AV. TA. 'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times.'

3. With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root *dhā*)

§533. The root *dhā* and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the acc. of the person and the loc. of the thing ('set, establish...in'), or with the dat. of the person and acc. of the thing ('establish...for', 'give...to'); see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms:
svargaṁ me lokaṁ yajamānāya dhehi Vait.: *svarge loke yajamānaṁ hi dhehi* (or, *dhehi mām*) TB. ApŚ.

§534. We find also several variants in which, after *dhā*, the thing 'placed' is put in either acc. or loc., while the person is expressed by the pronoun *naḥ*, which might be either dat. or acc. It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat. in the variant containing acc. of the thing, and as an acc. in the form with loc. of the thing: 'set us in' or 'establish for us.' It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized; so that *naḥ* with acc. of the thing might be taken as an acc. (something like 'set us unto...'):
indraṛṣabhā draviṇe (MS. °*ṇaṁ*) *no dadhātu* AV. MS.
sa naḥ pāvako draviṇaṁ (AV. °*ṇe*) *dadhātu* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.
sā no bhūmiḥ pūrvapeye (MS. °*yaṁ*) *dadhātu* AV. MS.

§535. As we said in the last section, there are at least a few variants in which, with verbs of placing or the like, we find two accusatives varying with an accusative and a locative. That is, instead of the loc. of the remoter goal, that into which something is set, an acc. is used:
sutrāmendre (MS. °*raṁ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *balaṁ na vācam āsya uṣābhyāṁ dadhur indriyam.* This, it seems, can only mean '...have put strength in Indra, speech in his mouth...' It may be however that MS. has been influenced by the following verse, a variant of this one, in which *avardhayan* (with acc.) replaces *dadhuḥ*. Similarly, in the same passage:

bhiṣajendre (MS. °*raṁ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *prāṇaṁ . . . dadhur . . .* See prec.

ut sakthyā (ŚŚ. °*yor*) *ava gudaṁ* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *sakthyor gṛdaṁ*) *dhehi* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *adhāma sakthyor ava gudaṁ dhehi* Vait.

rathaṁtaraṁ sāma (also *vairājaṁ, vairūpaṁ,* and *bṛhat sāma,* and *śākvararaivate sāmanī*) *pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe* (KS. °*kṣam;* TS. °*ṣṭhityai,* om. *antarikṣe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. A verb like *stabhnātu* is supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS. *antarikṣam* can only be construed as an acc. of remoter goal: 'let the Rathaṁtara sāman (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere.'

ā gharme (AŚ. °*maṁ*) *siñca paya usriyāyāḥ* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink.' *ā-sic* is here construed as a verb of placing.

§536. The compound *saṁ-dhā,* as a verb of joining, is construed either with acc. and instr., or acc. and loc.; it is the loc. form which varies with the acc. in the following variant, on which see §462:

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānaṁ*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. Followed by *ātmānam aṅgaiḥ samadhāt sarasvatī.*

§537. A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal shift between loc. and acc. forms:

varṣīyo (VS. ŚB. *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yajñe yajñapatiṁ dhāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñaṁ yajñapatau dhāḥ* MS. KS. Addressed to the atmosphere. 'Being more extended, establish the patron of the sacrifice in a more extended sacrifice': 'being more extended than the more extended, establish the sacrifice in the patron of the sacrifice.' In such rigmarole the inversion of terms makes little difference.

asmin yajñe yajamānāya sūrim AV.: *imaṁ yajñaṁ yajamānaṁ ca sūrau* ApŚ. See §488. Neither reading is intelligible; but the reciprocal interchange of the forms of *yajña* and *sūri* seems to be similar to that in the preceding. The verb (preceding) is *dadhātana* in ApŚ., *pari nayāmi* in AV.

§538. Tho the verb is a form of *dhā* in the next variant, the psychology of the variation seems to be different:

dadhad ratnaṁ (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣapitṛbhya* (AV. *dakṣaṁ pi*°) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṁṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he assign wealth and dexterity to the pitṛs (wealth to the Dakṣapitṛs), and long lives (in [respect to?] their life).' Neither the acc. *āyūṁṣi* (complementary object), nor (apparently) the loc. *āyuni* (tho its meaning is not very clear), can here be understood as the remoter goal of *dadhad.*

4. With various prepositions

§539. There are a few variants involving acc. and loc. after various prepositions. In the first, with *adhi*, the verb is *dadhāti*, 'assigns'; possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc. in SV.:

nāma tṛtīyam adhi rocane (SV. °*naṁ*) *divaḥ* RV. SV. '(Assigns) a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven.'

§540. Similarly in the next, we find in SV. an isolated use of the loc. with *acha*, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV. verb of motion (*ajanti*) is replaced in SV. by *mṛjanti* 'purify', which was felt as requiring a loc.:

ajanti vahniṁ sadanāny acha RV.: *mṛjanti vahniṁ sadaneṣv acha* SV. 'They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats.'

§541. A third variant shows *antarā* with acc. and loc.; only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later:

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī apaḥ suvaḥ (MG. °*pṛthivyor apasyuḥ*) TB. ApMB. HG. MG.

§542. Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, *anu* with acc., *adhi* with loc.:

ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu (KS. *pṛthivyām adhi*) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Both mean 'on (or thruout) the earth.'

5. With other verbs than those of motion

§543. Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases. Thus, *saṁ-vad* 'converse (about), discuss' governs either. In passing we may note the absence of any variant showing acc.: loc. of the person spoken to ('goal' of speech), which we might have expected on the analogy of the frequent interchange of the two after verbs of motion. In the later language these cases are quite interchangeable in this construction, but in the Veda such a use of the loc. is perhaps hardly to be found.

pratiprasthātaḥ paśau (MŚ. *paśuṁ*) *saṁvadasva* ApŚ. MŚ. 'Pratiprasthātar, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer).'

§544. Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen. (§501), the loc. varying with the acc.:

papuḥ sarasvatyā nadyāḥ (MŚ. °*tyāṁ nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. °*tīṁ nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §501.

prajāvatīḥ sūyavasaṁ (AV. °*se*) *ruśantīḥ* (RV. and TB. comm. *riś*°) RV. AV. TB. See VV 2 §627 on *ruśantīḥ*. TB. comm. explains by

bhakṣayantīḥ; so also AV. comm., tho it reads *ruś*°. 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage.'

§545. A verb of beating:

āghnānāḥ pāṇinorasi AV.: *uraḥ paṭaurāv āghnānāḥ* AV. 'Beating upon their breasts with their hands': 'beating their breasts and thighs (?).'

§546. A verb of conquering is construed with a loc. or with (a sort of 'inner') accusative:

tvayā (omitted in VSK. TS. KS. TB.) *vayaṁ saṁghātaṁ-saṁghātaṁ* (VSK. *saṁghāte-saṁghāte;* TS. TB. omit one *saṁghātaṁ*) *jeṣma* (KS. **jayema*, and †**saṁjayema*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. TB. 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight.'

§547. The root *ruc* (*rocate, ruruce*) is normally middle and intransitive, taking no accus. except a 'cognate' or 'inner' acc. ('shine forth light' or the like). The original form of the following variant accordingly has a loc., 'on the earth'; but KS. substitutes an acc. (elliptic) dual, and must understand *ruruce* as transitive (equivalent to the causative): 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn.'

kṣāman (KS. *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS. KS. *ketunā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

6. Locative absolute and accusative

§548. Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc. so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute:

nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau (TS. *samidhānam agnim*, MS. KS. °*no agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *rāyaspoṣāya bṛhate havāmahe.* 'When Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him)...': 'We call upon Agni enkindled etc.' On MS. KS. see §§393, 450.

saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu* MS. See §607; loc. abs. in the secondary MS.; *yudha(ḥ)* object of the agent noun *saṁsraṣṭā.*

yā svapantaṁ bodhayati (HG. *svapatsu jāgarti*) ApMB. HG. '(The she-demon) who awakens the sleeper': 'who wakes while people sleep.'

7. Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification. We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved:

haviṣā yajña (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. See the passage, discussed §473. TB. has assimilated *yajñe* to *indriyam*.

devāv aśvinau madhukaśayādyemaṁ yajñaṁ (ApŚ. °*kaśayādyāsmin yajñe*) *yajamānāya mimikṣatam* PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'O divine Aśvins, with the honey-whip mingle (?besprinkle) this sacrifice for the *yajamāna*.' Only the acc. seems sensible; ApŚ. seems to leave the verb objectless; 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice'. It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns. Most perversely, in some of these ApŚ. uses acc. forms instead of the locs. of the other texts! Thus:

deva viṣṇa urv adyāsmin yajñe (ApŚ. *viṣṇav urv adyemaṁ yajñaṁ*) *yajamānāyādhi* (ApŚ. °*yānu*) *vikramasva* (MŚ. *yajamānāya vikramasva*), same texts. Here, to be sure, the loc. as well as the acc. may be defended, with *vi-kram*; cf. §530 above. But in the next the acc. seems as impossible as the loc. in the preceding, and is doubtless to be explained in the same way:

devy adite svādityam adyāsmin yajñe yajamānāyāsuvasva (ApŚ. *adite 'nv adyemaṁ yajñaṁ yajamānāyaidhi*), same texts.

8. Miscellaneous

§550. The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages:

dyumnaṁ vṛṇīta puṣyase RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *dyumnaṁ* (and *dyumne*) *vareta puṣyatu* KS. (both). 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper': 'let him choose glory, let him prosper': 'let him choose (him, Netar) in glory, let him prosper.'

vṛṣā punāna āyuṣu (SV. *āyūṅṣi*) RV. SV. The pple. is intransitive in RV. but transitive in SV.

lokaṁ pitṛṣu vittvā AV.: *pitṝn hy atra gachāsi* TA. 'Having found a place among the fathers': 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers.'

sā śaṁtāti (SV. °*tā*, TB. ApŚ. °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. 'She made (for me) blissful (*śaṁtāti*) joy (joy in bliss).' We should expect *śaṁtātiṁ*, 'bliss'.

upa tvā kāma īmahe sasṛgmahe SV.: *upa tvā kāmān mahaḥ sasṛjmahe* RV. AV.

niṣkā ime (AV. *ete*, MŚ. *hy ete*) *yajamānasya bradhne* (MŚ. °*nam*, AV. *loke*) AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven; TB. comm. the world of the Ādityas, as the fruit of sacrifice)'; in MŚ. preceded by *darbhaiḥ stṛṇīta...*, *bradhnam* being

object of this verb: 'Strew with darbha-grasses...—for these are jewels—the sun (-heaven) of the sacrificer.' Caland strangely takes *bradhne* as nom. pl. (adjective with *niṣkāḥ*!).

suṣadā yonau svāhā vāṭ (TS. TB. *yoniṁ svāhā*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *sudhīn yonīn suṣadāṁ pṛthivīṁ* (ms. °*vī*) *svāhā* KS. Preceded by *aviṣaṁ naḥ pituṁ kṛṇu* (KS. *kṛdhi*); Conc. quotes the whole mantra of KS. under this. We see no way to construe *suṣadā yonim*; Keith assumes *suṣadāṁ*, which is supported by KS. (but note there also *pṛthivī* in the ms.!): 'make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in.' On the loss of anusvāra cf. VV 2 §307. It looks as if VS. ŚB., starting from TS.'s reading, had interpreted *suṣadā* as loc. of an unknown **suṣadi*, and changed to *yonau* to match it.

samudre yasya rasām id āhuḥ AV.: *yasya samudraṁ* (Ppp. MS. KS. *sam*° *yasya*) *rasayā sahāhuḥ* RV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §463.

cakṣuś cit sūrye sacā RV.: *cakṣuṣā sūryaṁ dṛśe* SV. See §474.

tayā devāḥ sutam ā babhūvuḥ TS. KSA. TB.: *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS. MS. See §419.

dṛṁhasva pṛthivyām VS. KS. ŚB.: *dṛṁha pṛthivīm* PB. 'Be firm on earth': 'make firm the earth.' Contexts are identical.

āvartanaṁ nivartanam RV. AV.: *āvartane vivartane* TB. ApŚ. The forms are differently construed; cf. Caland's note on ApŚ. The latter form of the verse is radically altered.

revati predhā yajñapatim āviśa MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā āviśa* VS.† ŚB.†: *revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. 'O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer': 'give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (him).'

upa ṛṣabhasya (TB. LŚ. *uparṣ*°) *retasi* (AV. *yad retaḥ*), followed by: *upendra tava vīrye* (AV. °*yam*) RV. AV. TB. LŚ. The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV. 9. 4. 23). The verb is *upa pṛcyatām*, 'let be mingled', in all but AV., which reads *upa pṛñca*; this we take as active, and hence construe *yad retaḥ* and *vīryam* as acc., not nom. with Whitney. If we are right, the acc.-loc. variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533–8.

9. Corruptions

§551. The following seem clearly corrupt:

śīrṣṇā śiro 'psasāpso ardayan AV.: *śīrṣṇā śiro* (ApŚ. *girau*) *vakṣasā vakṣa ejayan* KS. ApŚ. The blunder of ApŚ., tho uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV. 8. 45. 5 *girāv apso na yodhiṣat*, on which see Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* s. v.

apsas. The variant should be added to VV 2 §§153a (*apsas* : *vakṣas*, synonyms), 360, 732.

ya ājagma (N. °*muḥ*) *savane mā* (TS. KS. *savanedaṁ*, N. *savanam idaṁ*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ājagmedaṁ savanaṁ*) *juṣāṇāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Whitney renders AV. (p.p. *savane, mā*) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of *savane 'mā* (°*nā* + *imā*), which the comm. reads. So also Conc.

ime catvāro rajaso vimānāḥ (MŚ. °*ne*) KS. MŚ. Other versions of the pāda (see Conc.) all end with *devayānāḥ*. All Knauer's mss. read *vimāno*; for this K. emends °*ne*, 'im Dunstkreis.' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to *vimānāḥ*.

10. Transfer of epithet

§552. Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between acc. and loc. involve also change of number or gender:

amuṣya tvā prāṇe (ŚB. KŚ. *prāṇaṁ*) *sādayāmi* TS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ.: *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasya prāṇe sādayāmi* MS. In ŚB. KŚ. *prāṇaṁ* (the life of an enemy) defines *tvā*: 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so;' cf. the next mantra, *amuṣya tvā prāṇam apidadhāmi*. These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making *prāṇaṁ* appositional to *tvā*. The others: 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so...'

ni tad dadhiṣe 'varaṁ paraṁ (AV.* Ppp. *'vare pare*) *ca* RV. AV. (bis) Ppp. Followed by *yasminn āvithāvasā duroṇe*.

abhi yonim ayohatam (SV. VS. °*te*) RV. SV. VS. Followed by *droṇe* (RV. *druṇā*) *sadhastham āsadat* (RV. *aśnuṣe*). The adjective is switched from *yonim* to *droṇe*.

varūthyaṁ (SV. °*ye*) *varuṇe chandyaṁ vacaḥ* RV. SV.

[*yasyāṁ karmāṇi kurvate* (ApŚ. *kṛṇvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yāni karmāṇi cakrire* AV. Preceded by *anāptā yā* (AV. *ye*) *vaḥ prathamā*. Obscure; the forms of pāda a are neut. pl., going with *karmāṇi*, so that AV. *yāni* really corresponds to KS. ApŚ. *yā* of pāda a; AV. *ye* of pāda a of course goes with the subject. What *yasyāṁ* refers to is not evident. AV. p.p. mss. have *anāptā* but *prathamāḥ*; the latter would be possible, going with the subject.]

§553. What is originally a word of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, as its epithet (§15), in:

yatrainān (AG. Kauś. SMB. HG. MG. *yatraitān*) *vettha nihitān parāke*

(SMB. *parācaḥ*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. *parācaḥ* with *etān*; *parāke* adverbial, 'far away'.

ā te vācam āsyāṁ (HG. *āsyā*) *dade* HG. ApMB.: *tāṁ te vācam āsya ādatte* (read *ādade*?) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG. Followed in HG. ApMB. by *ā* (HG. om.) *manasyāṁ hṛdayād adhi*. Kirste suggests *āsyād*; more likely *āsyāṁ* is intended, with one ms., as in ApMB. If PG. is original ('in the mouth'), then HG. ApMB. have made *āsye* over into an adjective, 'of the mouth', agreeing with *vācam*; cf. *manasyāṁ* which must certainly be taken as an adjective from *manas*.

atheme anya upare vicakṣaṇam (AV. °*ṇe*) RV. AV. PraśU. Followed by *saptacakre ṣaḍara āhur arpitam*. In the original *vicakṣaṇam* (referring apparently to the cosmic year) is object of *āhur*. AV. stupidly attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding line. Ppp. as RV.

§554. Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is changed so as to be construed independently (§15):

imaṁ rātaṁ (SV. *asya rātau*) *sutaṁ piba* RV. SV. 'Drink this presented soma': 'drink the soma at this man's offering.'

agnim īḍe pūrvacittiṁ (TS. °*cittau*) *namobhiḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I revere with homage Agni whose is the first (ancient?) devotion (TS., at the first devotion).'

11. Phrase inflection

§555. Occurs once:

ṛtasya pade (RV. **padaṁ*) *kavayo ni pānti* RV. (both) TA. JUB. The pāda with the loc. is preceded by an object *manīṣām*; different contexts.

CHAPTER XXIV

INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

A. *Instrumental and dative*

1. As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556. With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental. Thus: *saṁ taṁ siñcatu rādhase* RV. Vait., 'may he pour it (*aṁśu*, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KS. ApŚ. (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) *saṁ tat siñcatu rādhasā*, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bountcously).' The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common; correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages. They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases. The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty.' The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function.

§557. In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative:

kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV. Preceded in all by *jajanuś ca rājase.* In RV. *kratvā* seems best taken with *variṣṭhaṁ*, 'the most extended in power (wisdom, magic power)'; yet it might even there be felt as going with the preceding verb ('created [Indra] unto rule, by [magic] power, the most extended...'). Certainly the dative of SV. must be taken with the preceding, and evidently it is assimilated to *rājase*: 'created (Indra) unto rule, unto (magic) power...'

suvargeyāya (VSK. *svar°*, VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svargyāya*) *śaktyā* (TS. *°yai*, MS. *śaktaye*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might.'

āpa undantu jīvase (AV. *varcasā*, AG. *varcase*) AV. TS. KS. AG. ŚG.

SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor).' In most texts including AV. a dative phrase, *dīrghāyutvāya cakṣase* or *varcase*, occurs in the vicinity. Delete in Conc. the AG. reference for *āpa un° jīvase.*

prajāpates tvā (*°teṣ ṭvā*) *prāṇenābhiprāṇimi pūṣṇaḥ poṣeṇa* (MŚ. *poṣāya*) *mahyaṁ dīrghāyutvāya*...TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I breathe upon thee... with (unto) Pūṣan's prosperity,...unto long life...'

pra no rāyā parīṇasā (SV. *rāye panīyase*) RV. SV. KB. Followed by *ratsi vājāya panthām.* 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength.'

§558. In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case:

taṁ hi svarājaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ tam ojase (SV. *ojasā*) RV. SV. AV. Followed by *dhiṣaṇe niṣṭatakṣatuḥ.* 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength.'

pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryeṇa* (TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*, AV. *vīryāṇi*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛpU. See §474.

saptaṛṣayas tapase (AV. *°sā*) *ye niṣeduḥ* RV. AV.

sarasvaty asunod indriyāya (LŚ. *°yeṇa*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength.'

vaiśvānaro na ūtaye (TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. *ūtyā*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *ā pra yātu parāvataḥ.* 'Unto (with) aid.'

rāye (TB. ApŚ. *revaj*) *jātaḥ sahase* (TB. ApŚ. *°sā*) *vṛddhaḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength.'

tās tvā devīr (AV. om. *devīr*, SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB. HG. *°sā*) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG. *vyayasva*) AV. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age.' On PG. see VV 1 §70.

ā mā somo amṛtatvena (TS. *°tvāya*) *gamyāt* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

anāgasaṁ brahmaṇā (TB. HG. ApMB. *°ṇe*) *tvā kṛṇomi* (TB. HG. ApMB. *karomi*) AV. TB. HG. ApMB. 'I make thee guiltless by my charm', AV. For *brahmaṇe* Oldenberg on HG. says 'before the Brahman'; rather something like 'unto holiness' or 'holy power'. TB. comm. *parivṛḍhāya jātakarmādisaṁskārāya.*

tena te vapāmi brahmaṇā (MG. *°my āyuṣe*, ApMB. *°my asāv āyuṣā varcasā*) VSK. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.: *tena ta āyuṣe vapāmi* AG.: *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB. In the texts which have *āyuṣe* or *āyuṣā*, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals.

tenāsmai yajamānāyoru (MS. KS. *yajñapataya uru*) *rāye* (TS. *rāyā*) *kṛdhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth.'

apāṁ stoko abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB. °*tac chivena*, HG. *abhyapatac chivāya*) AV. ApMB. HG.

apāṁ uta praśastiṣu (RV.† *praśastaye*, AV. VSK. °*tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*tha*) *vājinaḥ*. 'Unto (by, in) praising of the waters, O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong.' Here the locative is also brought in, without essential difference.

śataṁ bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ (SV. VS.* *ūtaye*) RV. AV. SV. VS. (bis; add in Conc. SV. 2. 34c, VS. 27. 41c, with *ūtaye*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

kāmena (TS. MS. *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS. om. *prati*) *gṛhṇāmi* AV. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. 'I receive thee with (unto) affection.'

maghavañ (°*vaṁ*) *chagdhi tava tan na ūtibhiḥ* (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. *ūtaye*) RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.

yaṁ mitraṁ na praśastibhiḥ (SV. °*taye*) RV. SV. Followed by *martāso dadhire puraḥ*. 'Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise.'

iha priyaṁ prajayā (AV. *prajāyai*) *te sam ṛdhyatām* RV. AV. AG. ApMB.

sadā pāhy abhiṣṭaye (°*ṭibhiḥ*) RV. (both). See *RVRep.* on 1. 129. 9.

vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ (SV. °*ṭaye*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'May we win by (unto) thy aid.'

atho ariṣṭatātaye (RV.* AV.* °*tibhiḥ*) RV.* AV.* PB.

§559. Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rigmarole in such instances. Even some of the above variants approach such a classification, which becomes more definitely applicable in the following; here little really intelligible sense can be got out of either form:

pretinā dharmaṇā (MS. *pretyā dharmaṇe*) *dharmaṁ jinva* VS. MS. This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the stomabhāga bricks. 'With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness.' VS. (and ŚB.) vary between dat. and instr. in different formulas of the series; MS. has the dative consistently thruout. To the same group belong: *saṁdhināntarikṣeṇāntarikṣaṁ* (MS. *saṁdhināntarikṣāyāntarikṣaṁ*) *jinva* VS. MS.: *viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā* (MS. *vṛṣṭyai*) *vṛṣṭiṁ jinva* VS. MS.: *anvityā divā* (MS. *dive*) *divaṁ jinva* VS. MS. ŚB.: *pravayāhnā* (MS. *pravāyāhne*) *'har jinva* VS. MS.: *pratidhinā pṛthivyā* (MS. °*vyai*) *pṛthivīṁ jinva*

VS. MS.; and others. Cf. *anvitir asi dive tvā divaṁ jinva* TS. KS. GB. TB. Vait., and other formulas in these texts corresponding to those of VS. MS.; they seem to confirm the originality of the datives of MS.

śukraṁ te śukreṇa gṛhṇāmi TS. KS. ApŚ.: *śukraṁ tvā śukra śukrāya gṛhṇāmi* MS. MŚ. 'I take thy bright one (thy brightness?) with brightness (with a bright one?)': 'I take thee, the bright one, O bright one, unto brightness (unto a bright one?)'

svāhā marudbhiḥ (MS. °*bhyaḥ*) *pariśrayasva* (VS. ŚB. °*śrīyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. 'Hail! be encompassed by (for) the Maruts.' The comms. on VS. and ŚB., where the verse is addressed to the chief cauldron (*mahāvīra*), say that 'by the Maruts' means 'by us, the people', having in mind the proportion Indra : Maruts = king : *viśaḥ*.

2. With expressions of uniting

§560. A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf. §59):

susaṁbhṛtā (MŚ. °*te*) *tvā saṁ bharāmi* TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.'

ayakṣmāya tvā saṁsṛjāmi prajābhyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmā vaḥ prajayā saṁsṛjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring.'

saṁveśanas (RV. AV. °*ne*) *tanuvai* (AV. *tanvā*, SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*, RV. *tanvaś*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Be happy in union (or, as a uniter) with (of, to) thy body.' Of course the RV., with an objective genitive, is the original (see §617); but it is interesting that either an instr. (AV.) or a dat. (most texts) may be substituted for this rather unusual form. There seems no objection to taking *saṁveśanas* as a nom. agentis, with comms. on TB. and TA. (*saṁyojayitā*); this would not alter the construction.

saṁjñānaṁ naḥ svebhyaḥ (AV. *svebhiḥ*, TB. *svaiḥ*), followed by:

saṁjñānam araṇebhyaḥ (AV. °*ṇebhiḥ*, TB. °*ṇaiḥ*) RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. In AV. TB., 'harmony for us with our own men...with strangers;' in the others, 'harmony for us unto (= with) our own men' etc. The instr. is more natural in sense but metrically inferior and probably a secondary lect. fac.

ājarasāya sam anaktv aryamā RV. SMB. ApMB.: *ahorātrābhyāṁ sam*

anaktv aryamā AV. 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night).'

3. Other syntactic shifts

§561. More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants. But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances:

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.: *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV. 'She (Uṣas) folds away (removes) the great darkness, unto seeing': 'she, the mighty one, discloses (removes) the darkness with sight.'

§562. A somewhat different understanding of the verb seems responsible for the shift of cases in the following:

hastāya (SV. *hastena*) *vajraḥ prati dhāyi darśataḥ* RV. AV. SV. 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra).'

§563. Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms; other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case:

vācaspataye tvā hutaṁ prāśnāmi TS. ApŚ.: *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prāṇāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ. *hutasya prāśnāmīṣe prāṇāya*, ŚB. *hutasyāśnāmy ūrja udānāya*) ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech.'

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda (MS. *tayā vidhema*, KS. *tasyai te vidhema*)...TS. MS. KS. 'Thy arrow...with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS.).'

yaḥ saṁgrāmān (TS. MS. °*maṁ*) *nayati* (KS. *jayati*) *saṁ yudhe vaśī* (TS. MS. *saṁ vaśī yudhe*, KS. *saṁ vaśī yudhā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting).' The change in verb (riming; add to VV 2 §853) conditions the change of noun case.

pratiprasthātar dadhigharmeṇānūdehi (MŚ. *dadhigharmāya dadhy upakalpayasva*) ApŚ. MŚ. Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different; MŚ. 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge.'

vītaṁ śamitre (MS. °*trā*, KS. °*taṁ*) *śamitā* (MS. °*taṁ*) *yajadhyai* TS. MS. KS. 'Welcome (is it) for the immolator, let the immolator sacrifice', TS.: 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered by the immolator for sacrifice', MS.: 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice', KS. Cf. *vītaṁ haviḥ śamitaṁ śamitā yajadhyai* VS. ŚB., 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahīdhara and Eggeling).

arvāg devā asya visarjanena (TB. °*nāya*) RV. MS. TB. The comm. on

TB. is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl. (which varies with the instr. after *arvāk*, cf. Speyer *VSS.* §39, and below, §574). But doubtless TB. misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i.e. to create it?).'

tebhiḥ (AV. VS. VSK. *tebhyaḥ*) *svarāḍ asunītim etām* (AV. *asunītir no adya*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. Followed by *yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ* (AV. *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. °*yasva*). The interpretation is difficult in any reading; see the commentators.

patiṁ surāyā (TB. °*yai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Mahīdhara takes *surayā* as associative instr. A dat. or gen. seems required; see §622.

sajūr devaiḥ sāyaṁyāvabhiḥ (ŚŚ. *devebhyaḥ* †*sāyaṁyāvabhyaḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. And the same with *prātaryāvabhiḥ* (ŚŚ.† °*yāvabhyaḥ*). 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning).' The instr. may be suggested by *sajūr*, if the dative (dedicatory) be taken as the original; but the formula is rigmarole and anything is possible.

namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK. °*yatāya*, KS. *kṛtsaṁvītāya*, TS. MS. *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhāvate* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Certainly a dative is required, tho the variations show that the meaning was not understood. VS. comm. struggles with the instr. as an abstract noun, dependent on *dhāvate*; he analyzes it as from *kṛtsnāyata* (*kṛtsnāyata*) + *tā*, apparently assuming haplology (or is there a misprint, for °*yatatayā*?). The original dat. is an epithet of Rudra.

4. Case attraction

§564. In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change:

yunajmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa te (MŚ. *tena*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha* PB. 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere).' Formal assimilation of *te* to *tena*, influenced by *antarikṣeṇa*.

dṛśā ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśikmanā MS.: *dṛśe ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (KS. °*kvabhiḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *dṛśe* is infinitival with *suśuk*°, and *dṛśā* seems due to formal assimilation: apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on *suśikmanā* see VV 2 §240).

5. Corruptions

§565. A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt:

aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai (MS. °*daiḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. On MS.

('by betrayal'?) see VV 2 §384; it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant.

dīkṣayedaṁ (KS. *dīkṣāy°*) *havir āgachataṁ naḥ* KS. TB. AŚ. There is no stem **dīkṣa*, and it seems that KS. (all mss. and ed.) must be an error.

[*enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā* KS.: *idāhna id āharam aśīya* MŚ. ed. by em.; the mss. corruptly point to the same text as KS. See VV 2 §709.]

6. Phrase inflection

§566. Phrase inflection (§§21–2) occurs:

ṛtubhiṣ ṭvārtavaiḥ AV. HG.: *ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyaḥ* AV. In two different stanzas, AV. 3. 10. 10 and 5. 28. 13; one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV. 19. 37. 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman).

asme kṣatrāya varcase balāya RV.: *saha kṣatreṇa varcasā balena* AV. In different contexts.

sahasrākṣāya mīḍhuṣe (NīlarU. *vājine*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.: *sahasrākṣeṇa vājinā* AV. The same stanza as in VS. etc. occurs in NīlarU., but has apparently been influenced (as to *vājine*) by *vājinā* of the quite different AV. stanza.

7. Transfer of epithet

§567. The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between dat. and instr. seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15):

yo agnaye dadāśa havyadātibhiḥ (SV. *°dātaye*) RV. SV. 'Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations).' So it seems best to take SV., with *havya°* as a noun of agent, as in RV. 6. 48. 2 *dāśema havyadātaye*. If however we take the SV. form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558.

vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. 'Go with sustenance most desirable', RV. The SV. is usually understood to mean 'go with sustenance unto praise' (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun. If we dared take *paniṣṭaye* as an adjective, it might go with the 'folk' (*janāya*) of the preceding: *pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruhe* (SV. *°haḥ*); this would be a genuine 'transfer of epithet'.

B. *Instrumental and ablative*

1. Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§568. Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§569. We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means:

yās te viśas tapasaḥ (TB. °*sā*) *saṁbabhūvuḥ* AV. TB. 'Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy *tapas*.'

payasā (MS. °*saḥ*) *śukram amṛtaṁ janitram*, followed by

surayā (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS.† MS. °*nta*) *retaḥ* VS. MS. KS.† TB. 'By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) *surā*, from urine.' Here the original clearly had abl. *mūtrāj* (all texts), but instr. *payasā* (all but MS.), while the form of the stem *surā* was either instr. or abl., in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form. MS. KS. are more apt to be original than VS. TB.

surayā (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somaḥ suta āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. The ŚB. understands *surayā* as associative instr.; so also comm. on TB. and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS. variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation: 'Soma, pressed forth by (MS. from) *surā*, distilled unto enjoyment.' This seems supported by Mahīdhara on VS.: *āsutaḥ surayā tīvrīkṛtaḥ san.*

yataḥ prajā akhidrā (MS. *yena prajā achidrā*) *ajāyanta tasmai tvā... juhomi* TS. MS. KS.

puṁsaḥ kartur mātari āsiṣikta JB.: *puṁsā kartrā mātari mā niṣiñca* (°*cata* to be read?) KBU. 'From (by) a man as creator (father) ye have implanted (implant) me in (my) mother.' On the verb-form see VV 1 §372c.

tābhya enā ni †*vartaya* RV.: *tābhyas tvā vartayāmasi* KS.: *tābhir ā vartayā punaḥ* TS. ApMB. 'From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back.' The Tait. reading is clearly secondary and poor.

§570. Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present:

śaṁ yajurbhyaḥ (TA. °*bhiḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulas.'

pauruṣeyād daivyāt KS.†: *pauruṣeyeṇa daivyena* TS. MS.: [*yena-yena vā kṛtaṁ*] *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV. Preceded by *yad idam abhidāsati* KS., *yad idaṁ mābhiśocati* TS. MS., *yan medam abhiśocati* AV.

anyad evāhur vidyāyāḥ (VSK. IśāU. *vidyayā*),

anyad āhur (IśāU. †*evāhur*) *avidyāyāḥ* (VSK. IśāU. *avidyayā*) VS. VSK. IśāU. 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance.' That the words are felt as abls., not gens., is proved by the parallel pādas *anyad evāhuḥ saṁbhavāt, anyad āhur asaṁbhavāt*, which occur in the vicinity.

svāhā yajñaṁ manasaḥ (KS.* [2. 3] *yajñamanasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS.† (bis) ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *svāhā yajñaṁ manasā* (KS. °*si*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. A verb such as *ā rabhe* (but with the loc. *manasi, visṛje*—§607) is to be understood. In KS. 23. 5 *svāhā yajñaṁ manasaḥ* (which certainly should be read also in KS. 2. 3 for ed. *yajñamanasaḥ*, cf. VV 2 §819), 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the brāhmaṇa: *manasā vai yajña ālabhyate*—a striking proof of the equivalence of the two cases in such expressions.

2. Instrumental of means and ablative of cause

§571. The ablative of cause is only a slight development of the ablative of source, into which it shades over imperceptibly; and it varies quite as easily with the instrumental of means. The following variants seem to contain what may best be classified as causal abls.:

tena (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (°*ṇā*) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avīṣṭam*) RV. MS. TB. Preceded by *yad baṁhiṣṭhaṁ nātividhe* (TB. °*vide*) *sudānū, achidraṁ śarma bhuvanasya gopā*. 'By (thru) this (aid, *śarman*), O M. and V., help us.'

bhuvas tvam indra brahmaṇā (MS. °*ṇo*) *mahān* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words.'

pari satyasya dharmaṇā (PG. *sakhyasya dharmaṇaḥ*) AŚ. PG. The PG. reading is regarded by Stenzler as corrupt, and we have followed him in VV 2 §143; the context makes it easy to assume a change from *satyasya* to *sakhyasya*, and the reverse change is not easy to understand. Yet *pari* is not very easy to construe in AŚ., while in PG. it goes very naturally with the abl. *dharmaṇaḥ*, either in

the sense of '(turning away) from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if *satyasya* be read).' In the latter interpretation, the abl. of cause with *pari* would be equivalent to the instr.

§572. To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablatives were to be accepted as textually sound; they are however all suspicious for one reason or another:

abhi śravobhiḥ pṛthivīm RV.: *uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa* [p.p. °*saḥ*] *ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA. 'And (has spread over) the earth also by reason of his glory.' MS. like the others has in the preceding the parallel *mahinā* (instr.) *divaḥ*, 'over the heavens by his greatness.' If *śravasaḥ* be accepted it would have to be an abl. of cause; but see VV 2 §991.

hiraṇyapāṇir amimīta sukratuḥ kṛpā (AV. *kṛpāt*) *svaḥ* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Whitney adopts *kṛpā* for AV., which is read by some mss. and comm. (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420). AŚ. ŚŚ. add the ūha *tṛpā svaḥ* for *kṛpā svaḥ*, which should have been recorded in VV 2 §138. Can the anomalous final *t* of AV. be explained as due to misunderstanding of a ms. reading in which *t* was inserted, interlinearly or marginally, as a substitute for *k* in *kṛpā*, and later taken as an addition at the end of the word?

satyā eṣām āśiṣaḥ santu kāmaiḥ (SMB. *kāmāt*) SMB. ApMB. HG. So Conc.; but Jörgensen reads *kāmāḥ* in SMB., with only one ms. recorded as reading *kāmāt*. Cf. §412.

3. With expressions of separation

§573. The instrumental is sometimes used with expressions of separation or release, of the thing separated from, by analogy with the associative instrumental used after (antonymic) expressions of joining. See e.g. Whitney, *Gr.* 283a, Speyer, *VSS.* §33. In this way it comes to be interchangeable with the ablative of separation:

tebhir no adya (ApŚ. *tebhyo na indraḥ*) *savitota viṣṇuḥ* KŚ. ApŚ.: *tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indraḥ* Kauś. The verb *vi muñcantu* follows. 'May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣṇu free us (today) from these (fetters of Varuṇa)', or the like.

viśvā (MS. *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. Ppp. °*ṣebhyaḥ*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. Ppp. MS. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS. Followed by *śivābhir* (Ppp. VS. KS. MS. *śivebhir*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (VS. TS. MS. KS. *vṛdhe*). All evidence points

to *mānuṣībhiḥ* as the original. The AV. comm. followed by Whitney supplies *ūtibhiḥ*. But the noun most naturally understood with *mānuṣī* is *viś* or *kṛṣṭi*, 'tribe' (see Grassmann, *Wbch.* s. v.). The instr. is then probably one of separation: 'freeing all diseases from human tribes.' KS. Ppp. must be interpreted similarly, taking *mānuṣebhyaḥ* as abl., 'from men'. On VS. TS. see §474. MS. has a possessive gen.: 'freeing (removing) men's diseases.' The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV. 6. 71. 3b, *śivebhir adya pari pāhi no gayam*, where *śivebhir* goes with a preceding *pāyubhis* (the context is wholly different). Here *śivebhir* or *śivābhir* must be taken either as an adverb, 'auspiciously', or as a noun, 'with kindness'. Note that only AV. has *mānuṣībhiḥ* and *śivābhiḥ* in the same case form.

4. Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574. The prepositional adverbs *paras, avas, arvāk* govern either abl. or instr. without difference of meaning. This use of the abl. is apparently related to the abl. of comparison, cf. Speyer, *VSS.* §39.

paro divā (AV. vulg. *divo* by misprint, MS. *divaḥ*) *para enā pṛthivyā* (MS. °*yāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Higher than the heaven, higher than the earth here.' Followed (except in one of the two RV. occurrences, and AV. which repeats this) by:

paro devebhir (MS. °*bhyo*) *asurair* (MS. °*raṁ*) *yad asti* (TS. *asurair guhā yat*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

avaś ca yaḥ paraḥ srucā (Vait. *srucaḥ*, KS. *paro divaḥ*) RV. KS. Vait.

arvāk tvā parebhyo 'vidaṁ (VSK. *tvā parebhyaḥ*) *paro 'varebhyaḥ* (TS. *tvā parair avidaṁ paro 'varaiḥ*, MS. *tvā parebhyaḥ paro 'varebhyo 'vidam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer.'

5. In adverbial forms

§575. Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning:

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pratasthau Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* has distinct ablatival force: '(from) below above (nach oben)', or 'below (and) above'.

ayaṁ paścād (MS. *paścā*) *vidadvasuḥ* MS. KS. In this and the next two the p.p. of MS. reads *paścāt.*

ayaṁ paścād (MS. *paścā*) *viśvavyacāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See prec.

maryo na yoṣām abhy eti paścāt (MS. *paścā*) RV. AV. MS. TB. See prec. two.

yad ahnā (and, *rātriyā*, v. l. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA. MahānU.: *yad ahnāt* (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. The comm. repeats the strange forms *ahnāt* and *rātriyāt* (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of *a*-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'.

6. Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential:

sa budhnād (AV. Ppp. °*nyād*) *āṣṭa januṣābhy* (AV. *januṣo 'bhy*) *agram* AV. Ppp. (*JAOS.* 37. 260) TS. KS. AŚ. The instr. is doubtless original; note that even Ppp. has it. 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like. The isolated *januṣo* is doubtless due to attraction to the abl. *budhnyād*, now taken as an adjective: 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached.' Otherwise Ludwig.

vāyur na īḍita īḍitavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS. ApŚ.: *vāyuṣ ṭvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ.

saṁjagmāno (KS. °*nā*, MS. TB. ApŚ. °*nau*) *divā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* (ApŚ.† °*vyāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. All but TB. ApŚ. have two instrs.: 'uniting with heaven and earth'. The subject is the śukra and (or) the manthin graha, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS. ŚB., which repeat the formula with each). TB. keeps the instr. *pṛthivyā* (the final *ā* is fused with the next word *āyuḥ*), while ApŚ. (which reads *pṛthivyā āyuḥ*) understands an abl. (so Caland; less likely gen. or dat.); both must take *diva(ḥ)* as abl. Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend von dem Himmel, von der Erde her'. The TB. comm. understands 'uniting with the earth, as far as (i.e. including) the heaven': *ā divo dyulokasahitayā pṛthivyā*. The secondary TB. ApŚ. reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VV 2 §991; the variant might also be added to VV 2 §732.

C. *Instrumental and genitive*

1. Objective genitive

§577. In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental. Most of our

variants are miscellaneous in character and show quite different syntactic applications of the two cases.

§578. The objective genitive, which easily interchanges with various other cases (§§87 ff.), varies with an associative instrumental after noun expressions of union or association, with practically no difference of meaning:

saṁvasānaṁ (SV. °*no*) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °*tā*) RV. SV. 'Fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat.'

saṁveśane tanvaś (AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV. 'In joining of (with) thy body...' Other texts *saṁveśanas tanve* (*tanuvai*)..., with final dative; see §560.

viśveṣāṁ devānām ahaṁ (KS. *vi*° *ahaṁ dev*°) *devayajyayā prāṇaiḥ* (KS. *prāṇānāṁ*) *sāyujyaṁ gameyam* KS. ApŚ. '...may I go into association with (of) the life-breaths.'

§579. After expressions of gratification, the objective genitive interchanges with the instrumental of means:

tena †*tṛpyatam aṁhahau* TB. ApŚ.: *tasya* †*tṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū svāhā* ŚŚ.

juṣṭaṁ devebhir (AV. *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhiḥ* (AV. *mānuṣāṇām*) RV. AV. 'Accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men.'

2. Subjective genitive

§580. Again, the subjective genitive varies, without essential difference of meaning, with an instrumental of means or agent, after a participle or its equivalent; the difference is one between nominal and verbal psychology:

yan mayā duskṛtaṁ kṛtam TA. MahānU. BDh.: *yan me kiṁ cana duṣkṛtam* ViDh. 'Whatever evil has been done by me (or, of me, as it were 'my deed').'

yan me (TA.* BDh.* *mayā*) *manasā vācā* TA. (both) MahānU. BDh. (both). As in preceding; the participle *kṛtam* follows.

chandobhir yajñaiḥ sukṛtāṁ kṛtena AV.: *brahmaṇā guptaḥ* (ApMB. *saṁpṛñcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* ApMB. HG. 'With the deed of the righteous': 'by (with) the holy speech which is made by the righteous man.' There is no need to emend HG. to *sukṛtāṁ* with Oldenberg.

āpo devīḥ prathamajā ṛtena (AV. *ṛtasya*) RV. AV. 'The divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta.'

3. Partitive genitive

§581. The partitive genitive (almost appositional at times) exchanges in various ways with an instrumental, sometimes with little difference

of meaning, as in the first instance, where the instr. is appositional to another instrumental; in phrases of this type the gen. may exchange with any other case (§84):

vasantena (also *grīṣmeṇa, varṣābhis, śaradā, hemantaśiśirābhyāṁ*) *tvartunā* (KSA. °*nāṁ*) *haviṣā dīkṣayāmi* TS. KSA. 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (with the spring of the seasons), with oblation.'

§582. Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering:

tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota MS.: *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV. 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma).' Others with the acc.; §§466, 502.

§583. Somewhat less close are:

yad asya karmaṇo 'tyarīricam ApŚ. HG. AG. ApMB.: *yat karmaṇātyarīricam* ŚB. BṛhU. PG. 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess.'

sukalpam agne tat tava (AV. *tvayā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'That (part) of thee is easily made good': 'that is easily made good by thee'. Addressed to Agni.

anuṣṭup (also *triṣṭup, gāyatrī, jagatī, pañktis*) *tvā chandasām avatu* (KS. *chandasāvatu*) TS. MS. KS. 'May anuṣṭubh (etc.) of the meters (with meter) help thee.' Formulaic rigmarole.

sujyotir jyotiṣā (TA. ApŚ. °*ṣāṁ*) *svāhā* VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights).' As prec.

teṣāṁ chidraṁ prati dadhmo yad atra KS.: *teṣāṁ chinnaṁ sam etad* (ŚŚ. *sam imaṁ*, TS. *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS. TS. ŚŚ.: *tebhiś chidram apidadhmo yad atra* MS. AŚ. 'Of (by) these (33 threads)...'

4. Instr.-gen. of time

§584. The question whether the gen. can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively; see §678, and cf. especially Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 79. 6. In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the instr. We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain:

madhu naktam utoṣasaḥ (KS. °*sā*, TS. TA. °*si*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. The RV. *uṣasaḥ* has been taken (e.g. by Grassmann) as nom. pl.: 'the night and dawns are honey.' This is impossible because there is no nom. *naktam* (Wackernagel 3 p. 234): that form can only be adverbial acc., and consequently

uṣasaḥ is also adverbial. It might (with Wackernagel l. c. and others) be taken as acc. pl., but may at least as well be gen. sg.; in either case it means practically the same as *uṣasā* (or °*si*), 'at dawn.'

5. Case attraction

§585. The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships. We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change:

cakṣuṣaḥ (KapS. °*ṣā*) *pitā manasā hi dhīraḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ApŚ. Raghu Vira emends to *cakṣuṣaḥ*, wrongly; assimilation to *manasā* (Oertel 18).

viśvasyeśāna ojasā (SV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ruler of all by might': 'ruler of all might.' We take it that *ojasā* has been altered to *ojasaḥ* by attraction to *viśvasya*.

saṁvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'By the year of days': 'by the year, by the day'. The MS. form seems to be assimilated to *saṁvatsareṇa*; so in the next two. But note that in all three the formal difference consists in loss of a final nasal, and cf. VV 2 §307, where these variants might have been quoted: the change may be largely phonetic in character, since the final nasal seems to have been weakly pronounced.

trivṛn no viṣṭhayā (KS. *trivṛd viṣṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāṁ (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (with varr.) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

traiṣṭubhena chandasendreṇa devatayāgneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upa dadhāmi TS.: *traiṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ pārśvenāgneḥ pārśvam upa dadhāmi* KS.: *traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upadadhāmi* MS. 'With the triṣṭubh meter, with the side of Agni...', so TS. KS., original. In MS. the first phrase is assimilated to the following *agneḥ*: 'with the side of the triṣṭubh meter, of Agni...' So also with the meter-names *jāgata, gāyatra, ānuṣṭubha, pāṅkta.*

devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṁ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṁ sarasvatyā vācā (VS. TS. ŚB. *sarasvatyai vāco*) *yantur yantreṇa...abhiṣiñcāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: ...*sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāco yan turye turyaṁ*) *dadhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. Assuming that MS. KS. are original, we have assimilation of *vācā* to the preceding *sarasvatyā*(*s*) or °*yai* (§143) and the following *yantur* in

the others. If, as is less likely, the gen. is original, it has been assimilated to the preceding instr. in MS. KS.

§586. In the next the formal association is of a rather different sort. Here the assimilating force is exerted by the construction of a parallel formula in the vicinity, to which the variant formula is brought into closer parallelism by the change; it is not a question of influence of another word in the same passage. The three formulas here quoted belong to the same context:

pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya vartanyopaṅśor vīryeṇa...MS.: *pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS. °*tryā*) *vartanyopaṅśor vīryeṇa*...TS. KS.

bṛhadrathaṁtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā śukrasya vīryeṇa... TS.: *bṛhatā tvā rathaṁtareṇa traiṣṭubhyā* (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā śukrasya*...MS. KS.

agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai [gen.] *vartanyāgrayaṇasya vīryeṇa* (KS. *jagatyā vartanyā*)...TS. KS.: *agneṣ ṭvā mātrayā jāgatyā vartanyā*...MS. In these three associated formulas, the gens. *pāvamānasya* (MS. only) and *bṛhadrathaṁtarayos* (TS. only), 'with the hymn of the P.' and 'of the B.-R. (sāmans),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel *agnes tvā mātrayā* etc. of the third formula; the instr. forms (found consistently in KS.) are original. The second phrase of all three formulas consists of *vartanyā* modified by an adjectival or appositional instr. in KS., and again this seems to be the original form. In the first formula the instr. is replaced by a dependent gen. in both TS. and MS., in the second and third formulas in TS. alone. These gens. are modelled on the next following phrase, *upāṅśor* (*śukrasya, āgrayaṇasya*) *vīryeṇa*.

6. Miscellaneous

§587. In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant:

vayaṁ nāma pra bravāmā (KS.† °*ma*; add to VV 2 §446) *ghṛtasya* (TA. ApŚ. *ghṛtena*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. (All but one ms. of MahānU. used by Jacob read *ghṛtena*, which therefore should probably be read as in TA. ApŚ., tho the comm. has *ghṛtasya*.) Caland translates ApŚ. as if gen.; but the agreement of the Tait. texts suggests that *ghṛtena* is the true reading of the school, nonsensical as it seems to us. TA. comm. says the 'name' means the praṇava (*om*).

pra yujo (SV. *yujā*) *vāco agriyaḥ* RV. SV. Followed by the verb *cakradat* (SV. *acikradat*). RV.: 'let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth.' *yujā* may be an adverb (so Benfey), 'the leader of the song has sounded forth together,' or perhaps better a noun, 'the leader of the song together with his associate (the song).'

sarasvatyā (TB. °*tyāḥ*) *supippalaḥ* VS. MS. TB. Preceded by *devo devair* (TB. *indro*) *vanaspatiḥ, hiraṇyaparṇo aśvibhyām.* The instr. is associative; and TB. glosses the gen. by *sarasvatyāḥ saṁbandhī.*

rasaṁ parisrutā (MS. °*to*) *na rohitam* VS. KS. MS. TB. The instr. depends on the verb *vayati* in the prec., felt as a verb of mixing or uniting: 'as the red sap with *parisrut.*' However, VS. comm. glosses *parisrutā* with *parisrutaḥ* ('as the red sap of *parisrut*').

ajo bhāgas (TA. *'bhāgas*) *tapasā* (AV. °*sas*) *taṁ tapasva* RV. AV. TA. 'The goat is (thy) portion (TA. portionless); burn him with heat': 'the goat is the portion of heat; burn him.' Whitney considers the AV. superior, but wrongly; cf. Oldenberg *Noten* on RV. 10. 16. 4.

patiṁ surāyā (TB. *surāyai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. See §563.

saṁ brahmaṇā (AV. °*ṇāṁ*) *devakṛtaṁ* (RV. AV. *devahitaṁ*) *yad asti* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. The instr. is associative, with *saṁ neṣi* (*neṣa*) of prec.: 'bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods.' In AV. it becomes a partitive gen. with *yad*: 'whatever prayers have been...', no instr. being expressed tho one must still be understood.

viśvā (MS. *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573.

§588. Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following:

agnir āyuṣmān sa...tena tvāyuṣāyuṣmantaṁ karomi (KS. *tasyāyam āyuṣāyuṣmān astv asau*) TS. KS. PG. ApMB. 'By this life': 'by his life'. The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used.

ayaṁ no nabhasas patiḥ (TS. ApŚ. *nabhasā puraḥ*) AV. TS. GB. Vait. Kauś. ApŚ. Followed by *saṁsphāno abhi rakṣatu.*

ye barhiṣo (MS. °*ṣā*) *namovṛktiṁ* (VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. *namaüktiṁ*) *na jagmuḥ* (VS. ŚB. *yajanti* for *na ja*°) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ya indreṇa sarathaṁ yāti devaḥ AV.: *yenendrasya rathaṁ saṁbabhūvuḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ. See §419.

satyā tā dharmaṇas patī ApŚ.: *satyād ā dharmaṇas patī* (ŚŚ. *dharmaṇā*, Vait. MŚ. *dharmaṇas pari*, but MŚ. mss. *dharmaṇā pari*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

saṁ tvā nahyāmy apa (MŚ. MG. *adbhir*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS. MŚ. MG.: *saṁ tvā nahyāmi payasauṣadhīnām* AV. Cf. *saṁ tvā nahyāmi payasā pṛthivyāḥ* (TS. *ghṛtena*), which immediately precedes this; see §460.

pūṣā sanīnām (TS. ApŚ. *sanyā*); *somo rādhasām* (TS. °*sā*) TS. KS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. (only the first two words in ApŚ. MŚ.; delete MŚ. in Conc. under *somo rā*°). In MS. KS. probably a noun, 'giver', rather than a verb of giving as v. Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied: 'Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts' etc. In TS. *āvavṛtran* precedes: 'Pūṣan (has surrounded me) with gain' etc.

ghṛtasyāgne tanvā saṁ bhava KS. MŚ. Kauś. MG.: *ghṛtena tvaṁ tanvaṁ* (TS. *tanuvo*) *vardhayasva* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N.

sam it taṁ rāyā sṛjati svadhāvān (AV.* *rāyaḥ sṛjati svadhābhiḥ*) RV. AV. (both).

āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ (ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) TS. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

yena (AV. *yasya*) *dyaur ugrā* (AV. *urvī*) *pṛthivī ca dṛḍhā* (TS. *dṛḍhe*, AV. *mahī*) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. In passing we note that the change from *ugrā* to *urvī* is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of *ugra*.

§589. The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following:

ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ RV. AV. TS. KS.: *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* LŚ. The LŚ. *tanvo* is doubtful as to form and meaning. Is it gen. with *ariṣṭās*, 'without harm to the body' (Whitney *Gr.* 296b)? Or abl. of source or cause? Or adverbial accus.? Or even nom. pl. ('may we be unharmed bodies, persons')? It may, finally, be a mere error or misprint in the unreliable edition.

nedīya it sṛṇyaḥ (TS.† °*yā*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV. *ā yavan*, TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Here *sṛṇyaḥ* may be variously interpreted in the RV. form; it is often taken as gen., 'may the ripe grain come near to the sickle'. But acc. pl. is also possible; likewise nom. sg. (stem *sṛṇyà*) may be considered (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 58. 4). The AV. makes it a nom. pl.

pṛthivyā (MS.* °*vyāḥ*) *saṁbhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. See VV 2 p. 197.

[*vācām indriyeṇāviśa* (TS. MŚ. *vācā mendr*°) TS. KS. MŚ. Read KS. like the others; see v. Schroeder's note on 31. 15, p. 18 n. 1.]

7. Transfer of epithet

§590. The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows:

amaiṣāṁ cittaṁ prabudhāṁ (TS. KS. °*dhā*) *vi neśat* (KS. *naśyatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS. 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught.' In TS. KS. *prabudhā* may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed; or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom.'

§591. In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15):

stomo yajñaś ca (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. TB. 'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer.' Once the gen. has been introduced in TB. (see §449), *haviṣmatā* is assimilated to it.

vṛṣṇaḥ sutasyaujasā (SV. PB. °*saḥ*) RV. SV. PB. In SV. *ojas* is made an epithet of soma: 'of the bull [that is] strength, pressed out', instead of 'pressed out by strength.'

vedaṁ savitrā prasūtaṁ maghonām AG.: *vedaṁ prasūtaṁ savitrā maghonā* ŚG. Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG. the reading of ŚG., with no ms. authority. To us it seems that AG. is not only sound but original: 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons.' ŚG. has secondarily assimilated *maghonā* to *savitrā*, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet: '...pressed forth by the liberal Savitar.'

ghṛtasya vibhrāṣṭim anu śukraśociṣaḥ (RV. AV. VS. KS. *vaṣṭi śociṣā*) RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *ājuhvānasya sarpiṣaḥ*. The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of *sarpiṣaḥ*.

D. *Instrumental and locative*

§592. The variations between instrumental and locative are instructive in showing a much closer association between these two cases than has commonly been assumed. Speyer (*VSS.* §75) notes uses in which the locative vies with most of the other oblique cases, but does not mention the instrumental. And yet our variants show that they are interchangeable, often with little or no difference of meaning, in a variety of ways.

§593. 'In the instrumental is put that concept which is associated with the principal concept in the action' (Delbrück, *AIS.* p. 122). The locative designates primarily the sphere within which an action takes

place. But the sphere of the action may also be regarded as an accompanying concept of the action. Conversely, the accompanying concept may be treated as the circumstance within whose sphere of operation the action takes place. The occasion (loc.) is at the same time the means, cause, or manner (instr.) of the action. The phrase *marutāṁ prasave jaya* (TS. *jayata*) of TS. MS. KS. MŚ. means 'in (upon, German *auf*) the impulse of the Maruts conquer.' Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS. ŚB., with *prasavena*? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say; just as we imagine a Latinist would be puzzled to make a very clear distinction between *in hoc signo vinces* and *hoc signo vinces*.

§594. Adverbial expressions of time and place, as well as manner, occur with both cases. Distinctions are often drawn between them. Thus it is said that the instr. denotes the time or place thruout which the action takes place. Delbrück uses the terms *Raum-* and *Zeiterstreckung* of such instrumentals. To be sure he admits (*AIS.* p. 130), at least for time concepts, that this distinction cannot always be felt, noting that *doṣā*, instr., 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of *uṣasi*, loc., 'in the morning'. We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value. At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced.

§595. We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical. To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc., and of locatives of various sorts. And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out. Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized; so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, rigmarole formulas, either will do as well as the other (§604).

1. Time expressions

§596. We have already referred to the use of the two cases in expressions of time, and noted that the distinction made by Delbrück and others is not supported by the variants (§594):

maghāsu (RV. *aghāsu*, ApG. *maghābhir*) *hanyante gāvaḥ* (ApG. *gāvo gṛhyante*),

phalgunīṣu (RV. *arjunyoḥ*, ApG. *phalgunībhyāṁ*) *vy* (RV. *pary*) *uhyate* (ApG. *ūhyate*) RV. AV. ApG. Kauś. 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalgunī (Arjunī) the marriage takes place.' Distinction of meaning is scarcely conceivable.

madhu naktam utoṣasaḥ (KS. °*sā*, TS. TA. °*si*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. Here *uṣasaḥ* (probably gen. sg.) is the original, and is replaced by either instr. or loc.; see §584.

2. Place expressions

§597. The instr. is particularly frequent in expressing the 'way' with verbs of motion (Speyer, *VSS.* §42); but the loc. may equally well be used:

samudraṁ gandharveṣṭhām anvātiṣṭhata (KS.† °*ṣṭhatha*) *vātasya patmaneḍitā* (KS. *patmann īḍitā*) MS. KS. 'On the path of the wind.'

avyo vāreṣu (SV. *avyā vārebhir*) *asmayuḥ* RV. SV.; and

avyo vāre (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and *priyam*) RV. SV. 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool.' The verbs are *pavasva, punānaḥ, hinvanti*; the subject, soma.

druṇā (SV. *droṇe*) *sadhastham aśnuṣe* RV. SV. 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place.' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows.

druṇā (SV. VS. *droṇe*) *sadhastham āsadat* RV. SV. VS. As prec.

§598. And without the concept of motion, in simple expressions of location, the instr. may replace the loc.:

adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ (ArS. *kṣamā viśvarūpaṁ*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. Here *kṣamā*, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr., and is well known in the RV. itself. It cannot be regarded as dependent on *adhi*, which is not found with the instr. (tho it may reinforce the loc., as probably here with *kṣami*).

paro yad idhyate divā (SV. *divi*) RV. SV. Here *divā* is commonly regarded as dependent on *paras*: 'beyond the sky' (so Ludwig, Grassmann *Wbch.*, and Bergaigne 2. 187). Yet it may quite well mean simply 'in the sky', with *paras* an independent adverb (so Grassmann's translation); in that case it would be the precise equivalent of *divi*.

tīre tubhyaṁ gaṅge HG.: *tīre tubhyam asau* PG.: *tīreṇa yamune* (and, *tīreṇāsau*) *tava* ApMB. Preceded by *vivṛttacakrā āsīnās* HG. ApMB., *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āsīran* PG. It seems scarcely

possible to take ApMB. *tīreṇa* otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy bank.'

§599. The instrumental adverb *guhā* is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local. This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative *guhāsu*, 'in secret places':

gandharvo dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat (VS. *dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat*) AV. VS.: *gandharvo nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU.

trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU.

3. Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600. We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means. Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place'; cf. (*in*) *hoc signo vinces*, §593. As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc. *kumbhe*, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr., 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried. It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough:

śam u yāḥ kumbha ābhṛtāḥ AV.: *śaṁ yāḥ kumbhebhir ābhṛtāḥ* AV.

§601. Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are:

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kiṁ*) *cana*. Kirste assumes that HG. is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc., 'within the dominion of the white one.' The instr. is indeed bad metrically and doubtless secondary. But *abhyācāra* in the sense of *abhicāra*, 'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV. 10. 3. 2, and there is no need to abandon it, the more since MG. has the loc. of the same word: 'by (MG. in) the hostile magic of the white one the snake has killed no one (nothing).' The other texts have different words.

marutāṁ prasave (VS. ŚB. °*vena*) *jaya* (TS. *jayata*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. See §593.

apām uta praśastiṣu (RV.† °*taye*, AV. VSK. °*tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*tha*) *vājinaḥ*.

The RV. original has a dative of purpose (§558); for it the later texts substitute instr. or loc., which are virtually equivalent; with the loc., the praising is the occasion and so the means of the becoming strong: 'Become ye strong in (by) the praising of the waters.'

śikṣā sakhibhyo haviṣi (MS. KS. *°ṣā*) *svadhāvaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Teach, O S., (thy seats) to thy friends at (by) the oblation.' The oblation is the occasion, and so the means, of the teaching.

vairūpe sāmann iha (MS. *adhi*; KS. *vairūpeṇa sāmnā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS. *chakema*) TS. KS. MS. AŚ. 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the vairūpa sāman.' The next pāda, which is closely parallel, has an instr. (*jagatyā*) in all.

meṣaṁ viprā abhisvarā (SV. *°re*) RV. SV. AV. Preceded by *nemiṁ namanti cakṣasā*. 'With (in) their song of praise.'

vasūnāṁ tvādhītena rudrāṇām ūrmyādityānāṁ tejasā viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ kratunā marutām emnā juhomi svāhā TB. ApŚ.: *vasūnām ādhītau rudrāṇāṁ karmann ādityānāṁ cetasi* (sc. *tvā juhomi*) MS. 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasus' etc.

ahno rūpe (TS. *rūpeṇa*) *sūryasya raśmiṣu* (TS.† *raśmibhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verb is *gṛhṇāmi* or *ādhunomi*. 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun.'

svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV. 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people].' Cf. Edgerton, *AJP*. 35. 438 f.

somasya śuṣmaḥ surayā (MS. *surāyāṁ*) *sutasya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) surā.'

svargeṇa lokena saṁprorṇuvāthām Vait.: *svarge loke prorṇuvāthām* (VSK. *prorṇvāthām*, MS. *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *suvarge* (KS.† *svarge*) *loke saṁprorṇvāthām* (KSA.† *°rṇuvāthām*) TS. KSA. TB. 'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world.'

agnir ukthena vāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv aṁhasu* AV. Contexts essentially the same.

§602. Several times, at the end of pādas, the loc. sg. ending *e* varies with the instr. pl. *aiḥ*. While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (*e* : *ai*, and the light pronunciation of final visarga) are involved; see VV 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added:

bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yajñaiḥ (MŚ. *yajñe*) RV. SV. MŚ.

mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ (AŚ. *°tye*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS. KS. *°tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. *°tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

4. Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion. There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr. of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group:

rāyas poṣeṇa (KS. *poṣe*) *sam iṣā madema* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. PG. 'May we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food.' Associative feeling is perhaps indicated by *sam*. The meter indicates that KS. is secondary.

vivasva (°*vann*, °*vāṅ*) *ādityaiṣa*. . .*tasmin* (TS. *tena*) *matsva* (TS. KS. *mandasva*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. 'Delight in it.'

ny adhur mātrāyāṁ (KS. *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasaḥ* (KS. °*sam*) MS. KS. 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS. has an instr. of manner, MS. a loc. of situation.

sve dakṣe (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s).' Add to VV 2 §706.

sa rāye sa puraṁdhyām (SV. °*dhyā*) RV. SV. AV. JB. Preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvat*. 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality.' *puraṁdhyā* = *liberaliter*.

ṛtena (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. °*ṇāv*, MG. °*ṇā*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vaṅśaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. All Knauer's mss. *ṛteva*; Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā iva*'. If he is right, *ṛte* is loc. of the sphere of action.

tvayā (RV. *tve ā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. 'Worshipers devote themselves to (busy themselves with) thee.' Phonetic moments are involved here; VV 2 §911.

§604. In some ritualistic formulas the sense of the rigmarole is so feeble that one case will do about as well as any other:

prācyāṁ diśi (MS. KS. MŚ. *prācyā diśā*, ŚŚ. *prācyā diśā saha*) *devā ṛtvijo mārjayantām* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter.' In ŚŚ. *saha* proves that the instr. is associative; in MS. KS. it might also be one of means. Similarly the formulas beginning *udīcyāṁ diśy, ūrdhvāyāṁ diśi, pratīcyāṁ diśi, dakṣiṇāyāṁ diśi*, with variant instrs.

svāyāṁ yat tanvāṁ (*tanuvāṁ*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ.: *svayā tanvā tanvam airayat* AV.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA. 'Produced a body in (with) his own body.'

5. Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining

§605. Special rubrication is deserved by a group in which a verbal expression of joining is used, now with an associative instrumental, now with a locative of goal (cf. the similar use of the accusative of goal, §467). In all but the first case the verb is one of placing or of motion, compounded with the preposition *sam*; in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition.

bṛhaspate †*yāmyāṁ* (KS. ms. *yāmyā*) *yuñgdhi* (*yuñdhi*) *vācam* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *yāmyāṁ*, but the instr. is perfectly sound: 'yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmī*', whatever *yāmī* may mean.

saṁ devānāṁ sumatyā (AV. VS. MS. ŚB. *sumatau*) *yajñiyānām* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods.'

saṁ patnī patyā sukṛteṣu (TB. ApŚ. *sukṛtena*) *gachatām* MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds.'

śivena (VSK. *śive*) *me saṁ tiṣṭhasva* VSK. TB. TAA. ApŚ. 'Come together with (in, unto) luck for me.'

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānaṁ*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. The verb is *saṁ-dhā*; see §462.

§606. In one variant involving the root *spṛdh* 'vie', the two cases are differently used. This root takes the instr. of the person vied with, the loc. of the person or thing striven for. For the exegesis of the variant see VV 2 §109.

spardhante dhiyaḥ (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA.

6. Miscellaneous

§607. There remains a relatively small group in which the instr. and loc. seem to be used in definitely different constructions; often different words are used or the passage is otherwise reshaped.

garbha ivet subhṛto garbhiṇībhiḥ (RV. *iva sudhito garbhiṇīṣu*) RV. SV. KU. 'Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women.'

vayaṁ rājabhiḥ (AV.* *rājasu*) *prathamā dhanāni* RV. AV. (both). 'We along with (our?) kings, the first...': 'we first among the kings.' It is not clear who the 'kings' are. The p.p. of both RV. and AV. read *prathamāḥ*; Grassmann and Geldner (*VSt.* 1. 150) understand *prathamā*, n. pl.

saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu* MS. 'This Indra, mingler of the fight (*yudhas*, objective gen.?) with his band (instr. of means).' MS. has distorted the pāda, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660; some AV. mss. have *saṁsṛṣṭā*): 'Indra, in the mingled fights and bands' or 'when the fights and bands are mingled.'

yathā pṛthivyām agnaye samanamann evā mahyaṁ saṁnamaḥ saṁ namantu AV.: *yathāgniḥ pṛthivyā samanamad evaṁ mahyaṁ bhadrāḥ saṁnatayaḥ saṁ namantu* TS. KSA.† 5. 20. The latter seems to have an associative instr.: 'As Agni with the earth made obeisance...' But the mantra is obscure rigmarole; for a different interpretation see Keith on TS. Other parallel formulas in the same context.

yat kusīdam apratīttaṁ (MS. MŚ. TA. °*tītaṁ*, TA. Poona ed. °*tīttaṁ* with v. l. °*tītaṁ*, SMB. *apradattaṁ*) *mayeha* (TS. *mayi*) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB. 'The loan which has not been paid back by me.' In TS. *mayi* perhaps 'the unpaid loan which (rests) upon me.'

mayā gāvo gopatinā sacadhvam AV.: *mayi gāvaḥ santu gopatau* AŚ.: *mayi tiṣṭhantu gopatau* MŚ. Different verbs. For the loc. with *santu* cf. §671.

mahān mahitve tastabhānaḥ (KS. *mahitvā saṁstambhe*) KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Great, taking thy stand on greatness': 'great with greatness on firm foundation.'

śruṣṭī (SV. °*ṭe*) *jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidaḥ* RV. SV. *śruṣṭī* is taken as instr. of an *i*-stem, 'quickly'; Benfey understands *śruṣṭe* as loc. of an *a*-stem, 'der Satzung gemäss.'

svāhā yajñaṁ manasā (KS. °*si*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Others with gen., see §570. Different verbs understood; in TS. *ā rabhe*, in KS. *visṛje*.

§608. The change seems to be due to case attraction in the following:

vaiśvānarasya tejasā (MŚ. °*si*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *śiras tapasy āhitam*. The preceding *tapasi* has influenced MŚ.

7. Phrase inflection

§609. What we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21–2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts:

vaiśvānarasya daṅṣṭrayoḥ (and *daṅṣṭrābhyām*) AV. The form with loc. is followed by *agner api dadhāmi tam*; of these two pādas an unmetrical recast seems to be found in *vaiśvānarasyainaṁ daṅṣṭrayor api dadhāmi* AV.

devī devebhir yajate (and °*tā*) *yajatraiḥ* RV.: *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV. MS.

yat te pavitram arciṣi (AŚ. °*ṣā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. LŚ. VHDh. In all but AŚ. followed by *agne vitatam antar ā*. In AŚ. followed by *kalaśeṣu dhāvati*, which is probably meant to be part of the same formula; in that case AŚ. does not intend a pratīka of the RV. verse.

8. Transfer of epithet

§610. We have noted only one instance of this, and in it the original form is an independent word, which is attracted in a secondary text into a form which is an epithet of the adjoining word:

adṛṅhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Thou hast made thyself firm with pebbles over heaven': '...firm with three-pointed pebbles.'

9. Textually doubtful or corrupt

§611. The few remaining variants are textually doubtful or corrupt:

tviṣim indre na (MS. s.p. *indreṇa*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Mere ritual jargon; it does not matter what is read, but MS. p.p. agrees with the others. Cf. VV 2 §826.

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakudi* (TS. TB. Poona ed. *kakubhi*, TB. Conc. *kakubhiḥ*, MS. *kakubbhiḥ*) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. *kakubhir uttamāṅge* (intending *kakubhy ut*°?). One ms. of MS. *kakudbhi*. Probably MS. like the rest intends a loc.; the strange-looking form *kakubhi* would easily suggest an instr. pl. to a thoughtless copyist. Cf. VV 2 §400. 'Resting (rest thou) on the summit, on the head of royalty.'

samudre na (and *samudreṇa*) *sindhavo yādamānāḥ* RV. Read *samudre na* both times; VV 2 §826.

na māṅseṣu na snāvasu ApMB.: *neva māṅse na pībasi* AV.: *naiva māṅsena pīvari* PG. The last simulates a voc. sg. fem. *pīvari*. This initial corruption brings in its train *māṅsena*, dependent on the following participle *āyatam*. But the reading hardly deserves consideration.

[*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ.: *tanūs tanvā* (*tanuvā*) *me saha* (AV. *sahed antāḥ*) AV. (mss.) TS. TAA. Vait. PG. The vulgate emends AV. to *tanūs tanvāṁ me bhaved antaḥ*; but tho the end of the pāda is obscure and doubtless corrupt, we must surely keep the instrumental *tanvā* with the other texts.]

CHAPTER XXV

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

A. *Dative and ablative*

§612. Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases. They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical. But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives.

sa sutrāmā svavāṅ indro asme (AV.* MS. *asmat*) RV. AV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *ārāc cid dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* (RV.* *yuyota*). 'May Indra, well-saving,... keep very far away from (for) us all hatred.' This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous *asme* in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and *asmat* is unmistakably ablative.

ud uttamaṁ mumugdhi naḥ (MŚ. *mat*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Loose the upmost (bond) for (from) us (me).' But here *naḥ* may (with the comms. on both RV. and TB.) be considered genitive.

idam ahaṁ senāyā abhītvaryai (MŚ. °*yā*) *mukham apohāmi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army.' But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland; note, further, that the ending *-yai* may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III).

yāsyā apaśavyā (etc.) *tanūs tām asyā apajahi* ŚG. SMB.: *yāsyai... tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG.: *yāsyai... tām ito nāśaya* HG. For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first *asyās* or *asyai* is clearly genitive. The second *asyā* occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for *asyās* rather than *asyai*. It may be meant as ablative ('from her'), but also as genitive ('that [form] of hers'), or even dative (§§151–2). Similarly the second *asyai* of PG. may be meant for any one of the three cases.

Only HG. has an unmistakable ablative, *ito*. Since this cannot be said to prove the intention of the other texts, their interpretation remains obscure.

§613. There remain only a couple of miscellaneous cases in which real differences of interpretation seem involved:

iṣṭāpūrtaṁ kṛṇutād āvir asmai KS.: *iṣṭāpūrtaṁ sma kṛṇutāvir asmai* AV.: *iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir* (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇavathāvir*, TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MŚ. The original: 'make clear his *iṣṭāpūrta* for him.' The abl. of MŚ. (all mss.) is rather surprising; perhaps 'the *iṣṭāpūrta* (that proceeded) from him'? (abl. of source?).

yadi varuṇasyāsi rājño varuṇāt tvā rājño 'dhikrīṇāmi Kauś.: *yadi vāruṇy asi varuṇāt tvā niṣkrīṇāmi* (Rvidh. *varuṇāya tvā parikrīṇāmy ahaṁ . . .*) ApG. Rvidh.: *yady asi vāruṇī varuṇāya tvā rājñe parikrīṇāmi* GG. And similarly with *yadi somasyāsi* (*saumy asi, yady asi saumī*) etc. In a pregnancy rite. 'If thou art Varuṇa's (Soma's), from King V. (S.) I ransom thee' or 'for King. . . .' The ablative seems more natural; possibly it was changed to a dative to avoid what might be felt as an implication of hostility to Varuṇa and Soma. Some of the texts have other similar formulas.

B. *Dative and genitive*

§614. The intimate relations between these cases are well known, but our variants make them appear even closer than has commonly been assumed, for the Vedic language at any rate. Later Sanskrit allows the genitive to absorb all the functions of the dative, except perhaps that of purpose; see e.g. Speyer *VSS.* §§71 f. Our variants show at least one case (§627) where a gen. seems to replace a dative even in an expression of purpose (cf. Speyer, fine print at the end of §72); and they suggest that in other functions originally pertaining to the dative it is older and commoner than has been supposed. At the same time there are not wanting instances of the reverse, dative forms where we should expect genitives (cf. *tat puruṣāya vidmahe* etc., §634). The Prakrit languages, as is well known, have merged the two cases pretty completely, genitive forms as a rule taking over all the functions of the dative except that of purpose; but occasionally, especially in personal pronouns, old dative forms survive, usually with genitive functions; see Pischel *Gr. d. Pkt. Spr.* §361, and under the pronominal inflections.

§615. A special complication is the recognized use in Brāhmaṇa texts of the dative ending *ai* of feminine nouns in genitive function, and the

less recognized reverse of this. Undoubtedly the confusion between the endings *ai* and *ās* in feminine nouns goes far beyond anything that is found between other genitive and dative forms, so that we have felt constrained to agree with Wackernagel that some special factor must have been at work in them; this special factor may reasonably be found in the sandhi conditions of final *ai* and *ās*. Accordingly we have inclined to group variations between these endings as formal rather than syntactic variants, in §§137 ff. rather than here. Yet since not only *ai* forms as genitives but also *ās* forms in dative use are found, and since some other variants between the two cases are precisely similar to some of these, it is impossible to separate them wholly. To some extent surely the same syntactic confusion is concerned in that formal interchange, and §§137 ff. must be considered together with the sections which follow here.

1. With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like

§616. We begin with a group of variants in which both dative and genitive are standard from early times, so that the variation is easy and constant at all periods. Cf. Speyer *VSS.* §§46, 71:

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. °*patiḥ*, KB. ŚŚ. °*pateḥ*, TB. °*patyuḥ*) TS. MS. KB. JB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. 'Pleasing to V.'

juṣṭo vāco (GB. AŚ. Vait. KŚ. *vāce*) *bhūyāsam* TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (2. 3. 6. 18).

juṣṭaṁ devebhya (TS. *devānām*) *idam astu havyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

janāya juṣṭo adruhe (SV. °*haḥ*) RV. SV. See the context, quoted under *vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā* (SV. *paniṣṭaye*), §567. SV. probably takes the dat. with the verb *vīty*, rather than with *juṣṭo*.

priyaṁ sarvasya paśyataḥ AV.: *sarvasmai ca vipaśyate* AV. (the latter preceded by *priyaṁ mā kṛṇu...*) Delbrück *AIS.* p. 146 says he knows no certain case of *priya* with dat. A whole series occurs in AV. 19. 32. 8.

agner jihvāsi suhūr (KS. *supūr*, VSK. TS. TB. *subhūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS. TB. *devānām*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'Thou art Agni's tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods.'

śivas tokāya tanvo (KS.† *tanve*) *na ehi* (KS. MŚ.† *edhi*, v. l. *ehi*) KS. MŚ. Kauś.: *śaṁ tokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

tasyās (MS. *tasyai*) *tvaṁ harasā tapan* VS.† 12. 16c, TS. MS. KS. Followed by *jātavedaḥ śivo bhava*. 'Glowing with warmth, be gracious

to her (the *ukhā*), Jātavedas.' So VS. comm. and Griffith; Keith on TS. takes *tasyās* as possessive with *harasā*. If this be correct for TS. it would be equally possible for all the others, and *tasyai* would be a gen. in *ai* (Chapter III). But (§141) MS. does not favor these gens. in *ai*.

2. With nouns of uniting

§617. Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting:

saṁveśanas (RV. AV. °*ne*) *tanuvai* (SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*, RV. *tanvaś*, AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV. AV.: 'uniting to thy body.'

3. Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618. Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive. So especially in YV. dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed; thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman':

aryamṇo (KSA. °*ṇe*) *lopāśaḥ* TS. KSA.

puruṣamṛgaś candramasaḥ (TS. KSA. °*se*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

eṇy ahnaḥ (TS. KSA. *ahne*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

kṣipraśyenāya (TS. KSA. °*nasya*) *vartikā* VS. TS MS. KSA.

vasūnāṁ (MS. *vasubhyaḥ*) *kapiñjalaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

samudrāya (TS. KSA. *sindhoḥ*) *śiśumāraḥ* (KSA.† *śiśū*°, TS. *śiṅśu*°) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

somāya (KSA. *somāya rājñe*, TS. *somasya rājñaḥ*) *kuluṁgaḥ* (MS. *kulaṅgaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

himavato (VS. MS. °*te*) *hastī* (TA. *hastinam*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. TA.

nīlaṁgoḥ (MS. °*gave*) *kṛmiḥ* (TS. *krimiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

pikaḥ (KSA. *pigaḥ*) *kṣviṅkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te 'ryamṇe* (KSA. °*ṇaḥ*) TS. KSA.

ulo halikṣṇo (TS. *ūlo halī*°) *vṛṣadaṅśas te dhātre* (TS. KSA. *dhātuḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ pṛṣatān (MS. also °*taḥ*) VS. MS. (bis): *viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ pṛṣataḥ* VS.

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pitṝṇāṁ somavatām, and *babhravo dhūmranīkāśāḥ pitṝṇāṁ barhiṣadām* VS.: *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān*, and *pitṛbhyaḥ somavadbhyo babhrūn dhūmrānūkāśān* ApŚ.

agnaye tvā TS. TB. MŚ.: *idam agneḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

agnīṣomābhyāṁ (*tvā*) TS. TB.: *idam agnīṣomayoḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

[*pitvo* (VS. MS. *pidvo*) *nyaṅkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. *kaśas*) *te*

'numatyai VS. TS. MS.: *bidvo nyañkuḥ kaśas te 'numatyāḥ* KSA. So Conc.; but KSA. actually reads *'numatyā* followed by *a°* and may just as well stand for *'numatyai*; there is no p.p.]

§619. Similarly with a copulaic verb and a nominal form containing the root *dā* 'give' (or *dhā* used as its equivalent, cf. VV 2 §§100 ff.):

devebhyo (VS. *devānāṁ*) *bhāgadā* (TS. *bhāgadhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.† 'Be he a giver of portions to the gods.'

asmabhyaṁ su maghavan bodhi godāḥ RV. VSK.: *asmākaṁ su maghavan bodhi godāḥ* (and *gopāḥ*) RV.

§620. The exact force of the gen. in the following is less clear, but we are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections:

medobhyaḥ sūāhā VS.: *medasaḥ svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB. The dat. is simple and regular, but occurs in a different context; there is no real variant in the passages containing the gen. With it the VS. comm. supplies *devān* as object of the verb *yaj* (the formula begins *hotā yakṣad agniṁ* (VS. *indraṁ*) *svāhājyasya svāhā* etc.): 'let the hotar worship (the gods) of marrow with hail!' So with the other parallel gens. (there are no datives in the passage). But TB. comm. supplies a copula, paraphrasing... *svāhutir astu*, and this seems more likely to be approximately right.

§621. Less jejune and formulaic, but not very different in psychology, are the following, in which a dative of interest (or a dative which may be felt as an indirect object, or even, when the verb is one of motion [see the first case], of goal) varies with an adnominal (possessive or objective) genitive:

vṛṣṇe (KS. *vṛṣṇo*) *codasva suṣṭutim* RV. TS. MS. KS. Pāda a is *tasmai* (KS. *kasmai*) *nūnam abhidyave*. KS. is anomalous both in using the interrogative stem *kasmai* (which seems due to the initial of the following stanza, *kam u svid asya senayā*), and in detaching *vṛṣṇe* from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree. Its gen. *vṛṣṇo* is felt as dependent on *suṣṭutim*. 'Inspire fair praise to (for, KS. of) the bull.'

imam ū (MS. *u*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *ṣu tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *saniṁ gāyatraṁ navyāṁsam* (*navīyāṁsam*), *agne* (*agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (*voca*). 'Proclaim this new... song of ours (for us).'

tasya guptaye dampatī saṁ śrayethām AV.: *tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpatī saṁrabhethām* TA. 'For protection of it': 'for it, for the family (?).' Comm. on TA. refuses to connect *tasmai* directly with *gotrāya*, probably rightly.

vṛṣā vṛṣṇe (SV. *vṛṣṇaḥ*) *pari pavitre akṣāḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *eṣa sya te madhumāṅ indra somaḥ.* 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve), O Indra.'

vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām (AV. *'ṅgir°*, AŚ. *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) [*stomam ukthaṁ ca cākḷpat*, with varr.] AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indrasya tvā bhāgaṁ somenā tanacmi (VSK. *tanakmi*) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: *indrāya tvā bhāgaṁ somenātanacmi* MS. MŚ.: *somena tvātanacmīndrāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ. 'As Indra's portion': 'as portion (curds) for Indra.'

§622. The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift; but since they concern the fem. endings *ai* and *ās*, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff.):

patiṁ surāyā (TB. *surāyai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. 'A remedy for (of, i.e. against) *surā*.' VS. comm. takes the instr. as associative; it seems that dat. or gen. is required, but either of them would be satisfactory.

uttānāyā (TS. *°yai*) *hṛdayaṁ yad vikastam* (TS. *viliṣṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *saṁ te vāyur mātariśvā dadhātu.* '. . . heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine.'

so 'syai (MG. *'syāḥ*) *prajāṁ muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG. SMB.† PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring) . . .'

athāsyai (TS. TB. MS. *°syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.: *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA.

§623. The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character:

pra sunvānasyāndhasaḥ (SV. PB. *sunvānāyāndh°*) RV. SV. PB. Followed by *marto na vṛta* (*vaṣṭa*) *tad vacaḥ.* 'Let him accept this song of the pressed-out herb (for, on behalf of, the presser of the herb).' In RV. *sunvāna* is generally active in sense, e.g. 8. 31. 16; this is the only passage in which Grassmann assigns passive force to it. Hence the change in SV., which makes it active.

gharmaṁ śrīṇantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śrīṇanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'For the first drinker': 'of the first drink.'

asaṁbādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS.: *asaṁbādhaṁ badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *mānaveṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst': 'unobstructedly

in the midst of men (Ppp. among men, in [their] midst).' Differing from Whitney, we take *asaṁbādhaṁ* as a neuter adverb (§404).

indrāya bhāgaṁ pari tvā nayāmi AV.: *indrasya bhāgaḥ suvite dadhātana* ApŚ. The gen. is apparently felt as possessive with *bhāgaḥ*; §393.

devo devānāṁ pavitram asi TS. MS. KS.: *devo devebhyaḥ pavasva* VS. ŚB. As in prec., the gen. is possessive.

rāyas poṣaṁ (KS. *tvaṣṭaḥ poṣāya*) *vi ṣyatu* (RV. MS. TB.* *ṣyatāṁ*, AV. MS.* KS. *ṣya*) *nābhim asme* (AV. *asya*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB. (bis) ApŚ. 'Let him release (release thou, etc.) [our seminal fluid, *turīpam*] as offspring for us (of it).' Ppp. has *asme*, and Whitney calls *asya* 'senseless', but this is too harsh. It refers to *turīpam* and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV.

§624. In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive. It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal *tubhyam*, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f.); indeed, even in epic Sanskrit *mahyam* and *tubhyam* seem to be used as gens. (Speyer, VSS. §46 note): *tīre tubhyam asau* (HG. *tubhyaṁ gaṅge*) PG. HG.: *tīreṇāsau tava* ApMB. Simply 'on thy bank' seems to be the only possible meaning.

§625. Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal *me*, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive. Naturally *me* is here interpreted as dative of interest; yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense. On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens. *pitṝṇām* etc. in any other sense; Oldenberg on HG. frankly does so, and Bühler's rendering of BDh., 'mayst thou never fail to the (manes of our) fathers,' is hardly more than an evasion of the problem (dragging in a possessive genitive by a very forced ellipsis). In later Sanskrit the gen. replaces the dat. in just such uses (Speyer *VSS.* §72), and we have little doubt that the unmistakably gen. forms of the variant, at least (and perhaps even *me*?), must be so interpreted:

akṣitam asi mā pitṝṇāṁ (ApMB. *maiṣāṁ*, HG. BDh. also *pitāmahānāṁ*, *prapitāmahānāṁ*) *kṣeṣṭhā amutrāmuṣmiṁl loke* ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā*...VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.: *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā me kṣeṣṭhā*...TS. GB. Vait. MŚ.

§626. Similarly in the next, the dative depends on *prati-bhar* 'bring (as a gift)', and if the gen. is textually sound it must be an early case

of the absorption of this dat. function by the gen., as in classical Sanskrit. The SV. reads the form *naraḥ* at the end of a stanza, and the next stanza begins with *ā*; but it would probably be over-bold to suggest that it originally read *nara* for *nare*, with sandhi between the stanzas, and that this was later misinterpreted as *naraḥ*. The SV. comm. glosses with *narāya*:

apaścāddaghvane (SV. *apaścāda*°) *nare* (SV. *naraḥ*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ.

4. Dative of purpose

§627. As has been noted above (§614), the dative of purpose is not usually replaced by the genitive even in later Sanskrit; and when we find it varying with the genitive in the Veda, we can usually see a difference of psychology, as is to be expected. Yet in one case, at least, we find it hard to avoid the feeling that the gen. is the exact equivalent of the dative of purpose. This concerns a series of formulas beginning with *savitā tvā savānāṁ* (*prasavānāṁ*) *suvatām*, and continuing with parallel formulas in which *suvatām* or the like is understood. The dependent nouns (*savānāṁ* etc.) are all genitives in most texts, but in three of the formulas some texts have datives. The dative of purpose is what we should expect in all, and the commentators are hard put to it to explain the gens.; Mahīdhara on VS. supplies *ādhipatye*; similarly Eggeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc. Keith makes the gens. partitive: 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e.g. *rudraḥ paśūnām*, 'Rudra of cattle'!). PG. reconstructs the initial formula thus: *agnir bhūtānām adhipatiḥ sa māvatu*, which makes the gens. simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty. We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gens. as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose:

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS. ŚB. *vāce*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

rudraḥ paśūnām (VS. ŚB. *paśubhyaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

§628. The other cases involving dative of purpose are few and miscellaneous. In the first the gen. is the object of a verb of ruling; the variant is precisely parallel to those between dative of purpose and accusative of direct object (§§70, 420), except that here the verb requires a genitive object:

kṣayantaṁ rādhaso (TS. °*se*, KS. *śavase*) *mahaḥ* (TS. KS. *mahe*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Ruling over (unto) great bounty.'

§629. The next two involve the well-known construction of a dative of purpose with a dependent genitive or a second dative, on which see Delbrück *AIS.* §§103 and (with infinitives) 54:

rāye (ApŚ. *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā* (*dānāya samidhīmahi*) SV. ApŚ. 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches).'

divas (MS. *dive*) *tvā jyotiṣe* TS. MS. A verb like 'I place' is understood: 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light.'

saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (also *triṣṭubhe jagatyā anuṣṭubhe*) *chandase 'bhibhuve svāhā* KS.: *ariṣṭyā avyathyai saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai chandase 'bhibhuve* (ApŚ. *gāyatryā abhibhūtyai*) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ.: *saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai* (PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*, TS. ApŚ. *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhaḥ pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. om.) *'bhibhūtaye* (with varr.) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. On the meaning see Caland's note on ApŚ. 14. 19. 1. 'For the gāyatrī (etc.) meter, for conquest': 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the gāyatrī (etc.).'

§630. The next is not very different; here the dat. or gen. depends not on another dat. but on an acc.:

vidā rāye (AA. *rāyaḥ*) *suvīryam* RVKh. (Scheftelowitz p. 135, vs. 4a) AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth.' But *rāyáḥ* may also be acc. pl., 'wealth (and) hero-abundance'; the variant would then belong with §486.

§631. In the next it is possible to find the influence of formal case attraction:

akūpārasya dāvane (SV. °*naḥ*) RV. SV. N. Here *dāvane* is an infinitive, 'unto giving, that thou mayst give.' SV. attracts it to the case of *akūpārasya*, making it a noun of agent (as often in cpds. of the type *aśva-dāvan*): 'inexhaustible giver.'

5. Dative and genitive with verbs

§632. The confusion between these two cases appears in a few variants in which one case is regularly construed in dependence on a particular verb, and is replaced by the other in one variant form. Cf. Delbrück §110, Speyer VSS. §72.

§633. Thus, in two pādas of one verse, the root *radh* 'be subject to', which regularly takes the dative, has the genitive in secondary texts.

dviṣantaṁ (AV. *sapatnān*) *mahyaṁ* (TB. ApŚ. *mama*) *randhayan* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.: *dviṣaṁś ca mahyaṁ radhyatu* AV.: *dviṣanto radhyantāṁ mahyam* MŚ. (Add to VV 1 §§79, 238, 349.) Followed by:

mo ahaṁ (AV. *mā cāhaṁ*, MŚ. *mā tv ahaṁ*) *dviṣate* (TB. ApŚ. °*to*, MŚ. °*tāṁ*) *radham* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The verb *radh* is otherwise recorded only with the dat., for which the gen. is here clearly a substitute. TB. comm. interprets *mama* as possessive gen., 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel *dviṣato*, which obviously cannot be taken so; TB. comm. takes *dviṣato* as abl., *dvi*° *sakāśān mo radhaṁ mama hiṁsāṁ prāpnuvāni*, which is absurd.

§634. Conversely, the roots *vid* and *dhī*, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive. In the case of *vid*, perhaps the nearly homonymous root *vidh*, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows. It is noteworthy that in the same context TA. and MahānU. present parallel formulas with the regular genitive:

tat puruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi MS. KS. TA. MahānU. Immediately preceded in MahānU. by *tat puruṣasya vidmahe, sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*, in TA. by *puruṣasya vidma, sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi.*

6. Phrase inflection

§635. In a couple of instances we find what we have called phrase inflection (§§21–2), that is the use of formulas in different contexts requiring different construction of the nouns in question:

punānāya prabhūvaso RV. SV.: *punānasya prabhūvasoḥ* RV.

varuṇa mitra dāśuṣaḥ (and °*ṣe*) RV. (both). Sāyaṇa and Grassmann take *dāśuṣaḥ* as gen. sg.; Ludwig as acc. pl.

7. Miscellaneous

§636. The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories:

pra nu vocaṁ vidathā jātavedasaḥ RV.: *pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase* ArS.

sūryo devo (KS.* *divo*, so read both times; once ed. reads *devo*, but there is a v. l. *divo*, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmaṇa passage of the other) *diviṣadbhyo dhātā kṣatrāya* (KS.† *kṣatrasya*) *vāyuḥ prajābhyaḥ* (KS. *prajānām*) [*bṛhaspatis tvā prajāpataye. . .juhotu*] TS. KS. (bis). In KS. understand *diviṣadbhyo* with each genitive: 'Let Sūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātar for (those) of royal power' etc. In the secondary TS. the datives are attracted to the case and construction of *prajāpataye*: 'Let. . . Dhātar offer thee for royal power' etc.

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi*

padyāyai virājo dohaḥ ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB. 'In me [may] the milk of Padyā Virāj (see Oldenberg *SBE.* 29 p. 97, note on ŚG. 3. 7. 5) [dwell],' most texts. ApMB. reconstructs the formula: 'Shine forth for my foot-water' or the like. Used in a foot-washing rite. Note that *padyāyai* is clearly felt as genitive; but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to *padyāya* in ApMB.

8. Errors

§637. There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable:

tuje janā (ArS. *jane*) *vanaṁ svaḥ* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo vanaṁ* (ŚŚ. *balaṁ*, conjecture of Hillebrandt) *sahaḥ* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms and meanings of the words are wholly obscure.

devasya (ŚB.* *devebhyas*) *tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṁ pūṣṇo hastābhyām ā dade* VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. ŚB. (both) TB. TA. Kauś. The dat. form occurs at ŚB. 14. 2. 1. 6 which quotes VS. 38. 1 incorrectly; VS. has *devasya*. Note further that the latter part of the formula in ŚB. omits the word *adityai* before *rāsnāsi*, tho it is found not only in VS. 38. 1 but in the same phrase almost immediately following, ŚB. 14. 2. 1. 8 = VS. 38. 3. Eggeling seems right in assuming that ŚB. has a mere misquotation of its source, VS., rather than a real variant based on contamination with such phrases as *devebhyas tvā*... (see Conc. under these words).

[*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV. *kṛṇuṣva*) RV. AV. Conc. *vasudeyasya* for RV.]

[*niṣkā ete yajamānasya loke* (KS.† *yajamānasya santu*) AV. KS. Conc. *yajamānāya* for KS.]

C. *Dative and locative*

1. After verbs

§638. The extent of the interplay between dative and locative in adverbial constructions has hardly received the emphasis it deserves. That both cases are used to express the goal of motion and of actions of various kinds is indeed well known (cf. Delbrück, *AIS.* §§80, 96; Speyer, *VSS.* §§76, second part, 81b); and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all. Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated. Without claiming

precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used.

The roots *dhā* and *dā*

§639. In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots *dā* and *dhā*, and pointed out that while both are freely used with *dhā* 'place', the simple root *dā* 'give' is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used). In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, *dā* and *dhā* are often genuine synonyms. Moreover the dative and locative after *dhā* are hardly distinguishable in meaning. Such a phrase as *yaśo mayi dhehi* PB. Vait. SMB. is equivalent to *yaśo me dhehi* (TA. *dhāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ., whether we prefer to translate 'put splendor in me' or 'assign splendor to me.' And so with the following variants after *dhā*:

varco dhā yajñavāhase (VS. ŚB. °*si*) RV. VS. MS. KS. AB. TB. ŚB.

dhehy asmabhyaṁ (ApŚ. *asmāsu*) *draviṇaṁ jātavedaḥ*. . .ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

dhattād asmabhyaṁ draviṇeha (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇaṁ yac ca*) *bhadram* TS. MS. ApŚ.

asminn (TB. *asmā*) *indra mahi varcāṁsi dhehi* AV. TB.

āyur yajñāya (MS. *yajñe*) *dhattam* MS. TB. ApŚ.

āyur yajñapataye dhattam TB. ApŚ.: *āyur yajñapatau* (sc. *dhattam*) MS.

sudevam indre aśvinā (MS. *indrāyāśvihā*) VS. MS. TB. The verb *dadhur* follows.

athā naḥ (AV. *adhā naḥ*, TS. *athāsmabhyaṁ*, RV.* *tad asme*) *śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (RV.* MS. °*tana*) RV. (bis) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. But *asme* may be dative.

§640. While the preceding instances show *dhā* alone, in the next we find, beside *dhā* with both dative and locative, forms of *dā* (or rarely other expressions of giving) with dative (not locative, VV 2 §101):

ūrjaṁ mayi dhehi VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ūrjaṁ me dhehi* (TS.* *dhattam*) VSK. TS. (both) KS. GB. TB. Vait. KŚ.: *ūrjaṁ me dehi* (VSK. TS. *yacha*) VSK. TS. PB. LŚ.

śrotraṁ mayi dhehi TS. KSA.†: *śrotraṁ me dhattam* (AV. MŚ. *dāḥ*) AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

cakṣur mayi dhehi TS.: *cakṣur me dhehi* (VS. ŚB. *dehi*, AV. MS. *dāḥ*) AV. VS. MS. KS. KSA. ŚB.

āyur mayi dhehi VS. TS. ŚB.: *āyur me dhehi* VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS.

JB. TB. ApŚ.: *āyur me dhattam* TB. ApŚ.: *āyur me yacha* (ApŚ.* *yachata*) MS. KS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ.: *āyur me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *āyur me dāḥ* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

tejo mayi dhehi AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB.: *tejo me yacha* (TA. *dhāḥ*, AŚ. *dehi* and *dāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe (AV. °ṣī) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: *rāyas poṣaṁ yajamāne dadhātu* AŚ.

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayi dhehi* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *varco me dhehi* (TA. *dhāḥ*) VSK. MS. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ.: *varco me dehi* (MS. MŚ. *dāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. PG.: *varco me yacha* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§641. In other cases the *dhā* form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with *dā*, or occasionally with other expressions of giving:

svas te dadāmi MG.: *svas* (*suvas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG. Also with *bhūs* and *bhuvas* for *svas*, and with *bhūr bhuvaḥ svas*.

saho mayi dhehi (AV. *me dāḥ svāhā*) AV. VS. TB. Also with *balaṁ* for *saho*; and cf. next.

ojo mayi dhehi VS. TB.: *ojo me dāḥ* AV. VS. TB.

payo me dāḥ (ApŚ. *mayi dhehi*) MS. ApŚ.

prajām asmāsu dhehi VS.: *prajāṁ me dāḥ* (KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *yacha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

indro balaṁ balapatir balam asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu (TB. *yajñe yajamānāya dadātu*) *svāhā* ŚB. TB. KŚ. Likewise with *sarasvatī puṣṭiṁ, savitā rāṣṭraṁ, pūṣā bhagaṁ* (*viśāṁ*), *bṛhaspatir brahma, varuṇaḥ samrāṭ, somo rājā, mitraḥ kṣatraṁ, agnir annādo, tvaṣṭā rūpāṇāṁ* (*paśūnāṁ*).

§642. The compound *ā-dhā* has the same two constructions:

bhiyasam ā dhehi śatruṣu (SV. *śatrave*) RV. SV.

rāṣṭrāṇy asmā ā dhehi (MS. *asmin dhehi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

tāsāṁ tvā jarasa ādadhāmi TB. HG. ApMB.: *tāsu tvāntar jarasy ā dadhāmi* AV. (Ppp. has *jarasa*.)

Other expressings of placing and giving

§643. Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc. vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat.:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitāṁ* (intending °*tān*) *dadhātu* TB. 'May he support thee well supported unto (establish us well established in) rule.'

yasmin (Kauś. *yasmai*) *bhūtaṁ ca bhavyaṁ ca* Kauś. HG. ApMB. The following verb is *pratiṣṭhitam* ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś., *śritāḥ* in HG. and *samāhitāḥ* ('based, established') in ApMB.

§644. Other verbs of giving and the like, including some compounds of *dā*, are used with both cases:

taṁ devebhyaḥ paridadāmi ApŚ.: *taṁ deveṣu paridadāmi vidvān* AŚ. MŚ. 'I give him over to the gods.'

astṛto nāmāham asmi sa ātmānaṁ ni dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyāṁ gopīthāya (KS. *sa idaṁ dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānaṁ paridade tayoḥ śraye tayoḥ parākrame*) AV. KS. The verbs *ni-dhā* and *pari-dā* are both used with both cases. Here the dat. is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat. of purpose, the loc. by the locs. with the two other verbs.

ihāsmāsu (MS. *ihāsmabhyaṁ*, TB.* *iha mahyaṁ*) *ni yachatam* RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. (bis).

sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām (ŚŚ. *prajāyai*) VS. ŚŚ. 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring.'

ta āyajanta draviṇaṁ (MS. KS.† °*ṇā*) *sam asmai* (MS. *asmin*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him.' But MS. v. l. *asmai*.

rarāṇas tmanā devebhyaḥ (VS.† TS.† KS.† *deveṣu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. the dat. depends on the following *svadayatu*; but in the YV. texts it as well as the loc. must depend on *rarāṇas* (the pāda division is here different from AV., see Whitney's note on AV.).

śaṁ padaṁ maghaṁ †rayīṣiṇe na kāmam (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. '(Grant) prosperity...to him who seeks wealth.' Keith understands *rayiṣaṇi* as loc. with copula understood, the sense being the same as in SV. Perhaps a verb like *dhā* could as well be understood.

Verbs of uniting

§645. Verbs of uniting may take dative or locative as well as instrumental (§59):

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś. *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś.: *dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG. *pāpam*) SMB. HG. ApMB. '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy.'

apriye (AV.* *dviṣate*, RV. *āptye*) *saṁ nayāmasi* RV. AV. (bis).

yad dha krāṇā vivasvati (SV. °*te*) RV. SV. Followed by *nābhā saṁdāyi* (SV. °*ya*) *navyasī* (SV. °*se*). Apparently both dat. and loc. depend on *saṁ-dā* 'unite'; cf. Ludwig 4 p. 193 and Oldenberg ad loc.

Verbs of bringing and the like

§646. In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion.

devebhyo (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanaḥ* RV. ApŚ. Different contexts. The variant is included here because the governing word, *havyavāhanaḥ*, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force.

mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatāṁ (KS. °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmai*) RV. AV. TS. KS. 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire.'

yajñāya stīrṇabarhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ.: *yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiṣaṁ vivakṣase* SV. The governing verb is *vṛṇīmahe* 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thee to the sacrifice). Cf. §489.

yad vo devāsa āgure (MS. °*ri*) TS. MS. Followed by *havāmahe* 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing; cf. prec.

Verbs of saying

§647. It is well known that either dat. or loc. (as well as acc.) may be used of the person spoken to. Whether we should render the locs. in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question:

devebhyo mā sukṛtaṁ brūtāt (ŚB. with ūha, *voceḥ*) VS. ŚB.: *deveṣu naḥ sukṛto* (VSK. *mā sukṛtaṁ*) *brūtāt* (KS. *brūta*, PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *sukṛtaṁ mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS.

pra mā (TS. ApŚ. *no*) *brūtād bhāgadāṁ* (TS. °*dhān*, ApŚ. °*dhāṁ*, KS. *dhavirdā* [read °*dāṁ*?]) *devatāsu* (KS. °*tābhyaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

Miscellaneous verbs

§648. The root *sthā* in the sense of 'serve, obey' governs not only the dative (Delbrück *AIS.* p. 143) but also the locative:

jyaiṣṭhye śraiṣṭhye ca gāthināḥ ŚŚ.: *dhṛtyai śraiṣṭhyāya gāthināḥ* AB. Preceded by *devarātāya tasthire.*

devā devebhyo (MS. *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS. °*rīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§649. The verb *jāgṛ* 'watch (over)' also takes either case:

yajamānāya jāgṛta ApŚ.: *evam asyāṁ sūtikāyām, saputrikāyāṁ jāgratha* PG.: *evam asyai suputrikāyai jāgrata* HG.

§650. The verb *hu* 'pour, offer' takes either case, according as the offering is thought of as 'poured in' or 'offered to':

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi, kravi, giri-*) *paraṁ nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

pṛthivyām (KŚ. °*vyā*) *amṛtaṁ juhomi* AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

§651. The root *ci* 'pile up, build':

sahasrākṣa (VS. MS. ŚB. °*kṣo*) *medhāya* (TS. KS. *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Piled up at (for) the sacrifice.' Cf. VV 2 §342.

§652. With the root *grah* 'take' both dative and especially locative may be felt as cases of goal:

mayi (ApMB. *mahyaṁ*) *gṛhṇāmi tvām aham* VS. ApMB. 'I take thee (the oblation) to (for) myself.'

§653. With the root *jan* 'produce' the psychology of the two cases is more distinct. The variation in the first instance may be primarily phonetic, cf. VV 2 §342:

vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

ajījano amṛta martyeṣv ā (SV. *martyāya kam*) RV. SV. 'Thou hast produced among men (for man)...'

2. With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like

§654. That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning 'pleasing' or the like is recognized by Delbrück *AIS.* §79:

suprīto manuṣo viśi (SV. *viśe*) RV. SV.

priyaṁ mā brahmaṇi (ApMB. °*ṇe*) *kuru* ApMB. HG. Parallel pādas have locs. in both texts. But there is no need to read *brāhmaṇe* or *brahmaṇi* in ApMB. (cf. Winternitz p. xxiv), since the dative is equally sound.

uta śūdra utārye AV.: *śūdrāya cāryāya ca* AV. VS. Both preceded by *priyaṁ mā kṛṇu...*

ahaṁ vo asmi sakhyāya śevaḥ MS.: *yuṣmākaṁ sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.

dhīrā deveṣu (KS.* *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV. °*yau*, VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.

sūyavasinī manave (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. °*ye*, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. In RV. *manuṣe* is dative, like *manave*; the others (including TA. *manuṣe*) have locatives.

3. Miscellaneous

§655. The remaining variants are miscellaneous:

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. MG. HG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB. See §636.

daśame māsi sūtave RV. RVKh. AV. ŚB. BṛhU. ApMB. MG.: *daśamāsyāya sūtavai* (ApMB. °*ve*) HG. ApMB. 'In the tenth month': 'tenth-monthly' (adj.).

pūṣṇe śarase (MS.† *śarasi*, p.p. °*saḥ*) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS. ŚB. KŚ. 'Hail to Pūṣan, to the skin of milk (MS. apparently 'to P. in the skin of milk').'

saṁ yujyāva (TS. *babhūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV. TS.: *saṁ sanuyāva varīṣv ā* KS. *sanibhyaḥ* is dat. of purpose (not abl., as Grassmann takes it); cf. Oldenberg *Noten* on 1. 17. 2 and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* s. v. *ā*. On the meaning of KS., 'in the waters', see von Schroeder's note.

iṣe rāye (*rayyai*) *ramasva sahase dyumnāyorje* (VS. ŚB. †*dyumna ūrje*) *'patyāya* . . . (see VV 2 p. 429) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. 'For splendor, for might': 'for might in splendor.'

tanūnaptre śakmane śākvarāya śakmanā (KS. *śakmann*) *ojiṣṭhāya* MS. KS.: *tanūnaptre śākvarāya śakmann* (VS. ŚB. *śakvana*) *ojiṣṭhāya* VS. VSK. ŚB. (see Conc. under *āpataye tvā paripataye*): *śakmane śākvarāya śakmanā ojiṣṭhāya tvā gṛhṇāmi* MŚ.: *śakmann ojiṣṭhāya tvā gṛhṇāmi* TS.: *śakmann ojiṣṭhāya* TS. GB.: *śakmana ojiṣṭhāya tvā* Vait. The original (TS. KS. VSK.) has loc. of noun, 'in strength'; the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjectives, 'for the strong'.

pṛthivyām agnaye samanaman sa ārdhnot AV.: *pṛthivyai sam anamat* TS. TB.

asaṁbādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS.: *asaṁbādhaṁ badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* (Ppp. °*veṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623.

vāce svāhā VS. etc.: *svāhā vāce* GB. AG.: *vāci svāhā* TS. In the latter the context is different and *vāci* depends on the following verb *dhāḥ*, not on *svāhā*.

[*uttānāyai śayānāyai* ŚŚ.: *uttānāyāṁ śayānāyām* AV. RWh. by em., but mss. *uttamānāye śayānāyai*, intending the ŚŚ. reading.]

CHAPTER XXVI

ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

A. *Ablative and genitive*

Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656. The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent. The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive:

tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgachatu MS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ. 'From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me': 'may its blessing aid and increase me.'

yasya (KS. *yato*) *deva dadhiṣe pūrvapeyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god.'

tato no dehi jīvase RV. TB. TA.: *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV. SV. Kauś. 'From (of) it give to us that we may live.'

mā parā seci mat payaḥ (ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. *no dhanam*, ApŚ.* *naḥ svam*, ApMB.* *me dhanam*) ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. ŚG. ApMB. (bis) PG. HG. MG. 'Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc.) be poured away.' The ApMB. reference with *mat payaḥ* should be 2. 9. 14d.

agnir etu prathamo devatābhyaḥ SMB.: *agnir aitu prathamo devatānām* AG. ŚG. HG. ApMB. 'First from among (of) the gods.'

apāsman (KS. *apāsya*) *nairṛtān pāśān* KŚ. ApŚ. 'Away from him (KS. literally, away his) bonds of destruction.'

§657. Once after the preposition *pari* (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen. dual forms occur in one form of the variant. They can only be taken in ablatival sense. The variant is instructive for the confusion of the two cases, which is helped by the fact that in the singular the two have identical forms in most paradigms (in the context adjoining the variant pāda occur such forms as *gireḥ*, *svasuḥ* etc.):

pari sarvebhyo jñātibhyaḥ HG. ApMB.: *pari pitroś ca bhrātoś ca* PG. Followed in PG. by *sakhyebhyo visṛjāmy aham.*

§658. Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative. The contexts are different:
bhiṣagbhyo bhiṣaktarāḥ AV.: *bhiṣajāṁ subhiṣaktamāḥ* AV.

Case attraction

§659. Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction:
tat tvaṁ bibhṛhi punar ā mad aitoḥ (AŚ.† MŚ. *ā mamaitoḥ*) TS. AŚ. MŚ. Both mean 'until my return'; in TS. (doubtless the original) we find *mad* by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf. Delbrück *AIS.* pp. 90, 431 and our §86). See Oertel 92.
tvaṁ nṛṇāṁ nṛpate (KS. *tvaṁ nṛbhyo nṛmaṇo*) *jāyase śuciḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. N. Preceded by *tvaṁ vanebhyas tvam oṣadhībhyaḥ.* 'Thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS. 'and from men, O thou mindful of men').' KS. has *nṛbhyo* by attraction to the case and construction of *vanebhyas . . . oṣadhībhyaḥ.*

B. *Ablative and locative*

1. Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660. The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative, as in:
karkandhu jajñe madhu sāraghaṁ mukhāt (MS. *mukhe*) VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth.'

§661. Here there is little practical difference. Likewise, even when no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in:
tāḥ (VS. ŚB. *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya pṛṣṭhāt* (TS. KS. *pṛṣṭhe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *nāvaś caranti* (*nāvo viyanti*) . . . 'The ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull.' Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read *pra* ('forth'), but also in MS. which does not.

§662. Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the ablative in such a variant as:
yadā mahaḥ saṁvaraṇād (KS. °*ṇe*) *vy asthāt* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclosure.' (*mahaḥ* in KS. must be nom. sg.; in the others it may be this or abl. sg.; Oldenberg decides for the latter.)

§663. These examples will suggest that the psychology of the two

cases generally differs more or less, tho the extent and practical importance of the difference varies greatly, being no doubt least when used with expressions of source or separation or protection. For even with a verb of protecting the threatening danger from which protection is desired may be put in the locative, as denoting the state in which the person finds or fears to find himself:

eṣā tvā pātu nirṛter upasthāt (TA. *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV. *prapathe purastāt*) RV. AV. TA. 'Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction.'

§664. The following additional examples occur; we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least:

śivaṁ prajābhyo 'hiṁsantaṁ (KS.† *ahiṁs°*) *pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthād* (TS. MS. KS. °*sthe*) *agniṁ* (TS. *'gniṁ*) *purīṣyam aṅgirasvat khanāmaḥ* (TS. KS.† °*mi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni...' In the same context:

devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṁ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṁ pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthād (TS. MS. °*sthe*) *agniṁ* (TS.† *'gniṁ*)...VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Add to VV 2 §910. Cf. prec.

apāṁ yo madhyato (KS. *madhye*) *rasas tam aham asmā...gṛhṇāmi* KS. TB. 'I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters...'

vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA. °*yāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. 'Shining in (from) the midst of the waters.'

divaḥ (MŚ. *divi*) *śilpam avatatam* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

taṁ te (TS. *idaṁ te tad*) *vi ṣyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life.'

bāhucyuto (VS. ŚB. *grāvacyuto*) *dhiṣaṇāyā* (VS. TS. ŚB. *dhiṣaṇayor*) *upasthāt* (KS. °*sthe*) RV. VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MŚ. Preceded by *yas te drapsa skandati yas te aṁśuḥ*. Here it seems that KS. must intend a fundamentally different meaning: 'The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS. on!) the lap of the bowl (two bowls).'

agniḥ prātaḥsavane (MS. MŚ. °*nāt*) *pātv asmān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ. Perhaps MS. asks for protection 'from (hostile) soma-pressings'; cf. MS. 4. 7. 7: 102. 5 ff., the brāhmaṇa dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savanas of the Asuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies.

ā mā sucarite (MŚ. °*tād*) *bhaja* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Pre-

ceded by *pāhi māgne duścaritāt* (VS. ŚB. *pari māgne duścaritād bādhasva*). No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding *duścaritāt* is responsible for the ablative in MŚ. Yet it can be defended in a way: 'Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds.'

2. With prepositions

§665. Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions *adhi* and *antar*. Both cases are found with them, but in different senses; and in the first variant *adhi* with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without *adhi*:

tāṁ te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG.: *ā* (HG. om.) *manasyāṁ hṛdayād adhi* HG. ApMB. 'In (from within) thy heart.'

tasyāḥ (TB. *tasyāṁ*) *samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti* RV. AV. TB. ŚŚ. N. 'From (in) her the seas flow forth.'

yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ.† *namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya*. Cf. Bloomfield *JAOS.* 15. 144 ff. on the Namuci story. Some verb, doubtless a form of *su*, is understood: 'which (soma) the Aśvins (pressed out) from (in) the Āsura Namuci.' The word *dadhi* in ŚŚ. certainly contains a corruption of *adhi*.

ye devā deveṣv (MS. KS. *devebhyo*) *adhi devatvam āyan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods).' The abl. with *adhi* seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen.

samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi (RV.* °*paḥ*) RV. (bis) SV. In different contexts. Cf. also *samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (SV. °*pe*) *manīṣiṇaḥ* RV. SV.

ya usriyā apyā (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanaḥ* (SV. °*ni*) RV. SV. 'The cows from within (SV. the cows within) the rock.'

§666. On the other hand, *ā* with the ablative may mean 'up to' and so may interchange with the loc. (and the acc.) of goal with no difference of meaning:

āsya yajñasyodṛcaḥ VS. ŚB.: *svasti mā saṁ vahāsya yajñasyodṛci svāhā* AV.: *svasti mā saṁpārayāsya yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ. See §523.

3. In adverbial forms

§667. Adverbially used ablatives have a tendency to pale out, so that no distinctly ablatival function remains. They then become interchangeable with locative adverbs or locative phrases:

āre (TS. *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS. °*na*) *uta pūruṣaghnam* (TS. °*ne*) RV. TS. Both mean simply 'far off', not 'from afar'.

yās te rudra purastāt (AG. *pūrvasyāṁ diśi*) *senās tābhya eṣa balis tābhyas te namaḥ* (AG. *senās tābhya enat*) AG. PG. Here there may be in the abl. a suggestion of 'from the east', but it is hard to be sure of it.

4. Case attraction

§668. The following (cf. also *ā mā sucarite* etc., §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction:

āre asman (MS. NīlarU. *asmin*) *ni dhehi tam* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. One ms. and p.p. of MS. read *asman* (*asmat*). If *asmin* is sound it must be attracted to the case of *āre*: 'in this distant (place)' instead of 'far from us'.

5. Phrase inflection

§669. Phrase inflection is found in the following:

(*sīse mṛḍḍhvaṁ naḍe mṛḍḍhvam*) *agnau saṁkasuke ca yat* AV.: (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ saṁkasukāc ca yat* AV. Both times Ppp. reads *agniḥ saṁkusikaś ca yaḥ*. Caland *KZ.* 34. 456 f. considers both AV. pādas 'phrase-inflections' of what Ppp. (substantially) reads. See §§433, 450.

tṛtīyasyā ito divaḥ ApMB.: *tṛtīyasyām ito divi* AV. HG. Wholly different contexts.

añgād-añgāl lomno-lomnaḥ RV. AV. ApMB.: *añge-añge lomni-lomni* AV. In the first passage the abls. depend on *vi vṛhāmi*; the second is followed by *yas* (sc. *yakṣmas*) *te parvaṇi-parvaṇi*.

6. Miscellaneous

§670. A few miscellaneous cases remain:

mā te yuyoma saṁdṛśaḥ AV.: *mā te vyoma saṁdṛśi* (LŚ.† *saṁdaśa* [*iti*]) AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG. 'May we not be separated from sight of thee': 'may there be no *vyoman* (lacuna? TA. comm. *chidram*) in thy sight.' In LŚ. a form of *saṁdṛś* (either °*śaḥ* or °*śe* would be possible) must be intended. If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV.), this should be added to VV 2 §631.

varṣīyo (VS. ŚB. *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yajñe yajñapatiṁ dhāḥ* TS. VS. ŚB.: *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñaṁ yajñapatau dhāḥ* MS. KS. Addressed to atmosphere: 'Being more extended, establish the sacrificer in a more extended sacrifice': 'being more extended than the more extended, establish sacrifice in the sacrificer.' The latter is doubt-

less original, the former a lect. fac., with a kind of 'transfer of epithet'.

[*ardhamāsyaṁ prasutāt pitryāvataḥ* JB. (bis). Both passages have the abl.; see Oertel, *JAOS.* 19 (2d half), pp. 112, 115.]

C. *Genitive and locative*

1. Locative of position : adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning. The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen.), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen.). Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw; in the first mentioned cases the gen. seems clearly possessive:

mayy āśīr (Ppp. KS. *mamāśīr*) *astu mayi* (Ppp. KS.† *mama*) *devahūtiḥ* RV. AV. Ppp. TS. KS. 'May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine).'

asmākaṁ (TS. *asmāsu*) *santv āśiṣaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

yad devānāṁ (VS. *deveṣu*) *tryāyuṣam* VS. VSK. ŚG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Preceded even in VS. by *tryāyuṣaṁ jamadagneḥ, kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam* (with slight variations in order). VS. is isolated and so may be suspected of being secondary. Were it original we might think of case attraction to the preceding gens. in the others.

tve rāyaḥ VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *tava rāyaḥ* MS. MŚ.: *tava-tava rāyaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *to-to* (TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

yat pṛthivyāṁ (MahānU. °*vyā*) *rajaḥ svam* TA. MahānU. 'What *rajas* is in (of) the earth.'

yā te patighnī tanūḥ...HG.: *yā te patighnī*...*tanūr*...PG.: *yā te patighny*...ŚG.: *yāsyāṁ patighnī tanūḥ*...ApMB. 'What husband-slaying body (form) is thine (in her).'

dīrghaṁ yac cakṣur aditer anantam AŚ.: *yad āhuś cakṣur aditāv anantam* PB. JB. (See Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases* §48. 24R.)

mā tvaṁ hārṣīḥ śrutaṁ mayi PG.: *śrutaṁ me mā pra hāsīḥ* RVKh.

dhruvaidhi poṣyā (PG. *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. 'Be steadfast...in (with, *bei*) me': 'let this woman be mine, prosperous.'

vihāya rogaṁ tanvaḥ svāyāḥ (TA. *tanvāṁ svāyām*) AV. TA. 'Abandoning disease of (in) their own body.'

anvātāṅsīt tvayi (MS. °*tāṅsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine).'

ahaṁ prajā ajanayaṁ pṛthivyām (MG. °*vyāḥ*, ApMB. *pitṝṇām*) RV. ApMB. MG. 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers).'

akaḥ su (TA. *sa*) *lokaṁ sukṛtaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*vyām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth.' The gen. may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive.

yasyā āśās (KS. *imās*) *tanvo vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* AV. KS.: *yasyā bahvyas* (RVKh. VS. *yasyām imā bahvyas*, TB. *yasyai bahvīs*) *tanvo* (*tanuvo*) *vītaprṣṭhāḥ* RVKh. VS. MS. TB. 'Whose (in whom)...are smooth-backed forms.'

asamātiṁ gṛheṣu naḥ AV.: *gṛhāṇām asamartyai* TS. See §486.

patyau (ApMB. *patyur*) *me śloka uttamaḥ* RV. ApMB. 'My supreme renown rests in my husband (is my husband's).'

sarasvatyām adhi maṇāv acarkṛṣuḥ AV.: *sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; SMB. Jörgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (varr., VV 1 §136) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. Preceded by *madhunā saṁyutaṁ yavam*. 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the Sarasvatī (river)', AV. The form *sarasvatyā* has been interpreted in all sorts of ways, as gen. 'with honey of Sarasvatī' (TB. comm., Stenzler, Caland), as instr. (in spite of the sandhi; Oldenberg *SBE.* 29. 338), as abl. (Jörgensen on SMB.), and as dat. (VV 1 §136). We now think gen. or abl. most likely.

tāsu (sc. *dikṣu*) *tvāntar jarasy ādadhāmi* AV.: *tāsāṁ* (sc. *diśāṁ*) *tvā jarasa ādadhāmi* TB. HG. ApMB. 'I establish thee in old age within them (unto their old age, i.e. unto as long life as the directions possess; so rightly TB. comm.).'

§672. Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following cases, in which the loc. is parallel with another loc., on which the gen. depends in the other form of the variant (cf. §85):

asyā (MG.† *asyāṁ*) *nāryā gavīnyoḥ* (MG. °*nyām*) AV. MG. (the latter also has a v. l. *nāryāṁ*): *asyāṁ nāryāṁ gavīnyām* RVKh. ApMB. 'In this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)': 'in this woman, in her canal.' Assuming that the gen. is original, we may see case-attraction in the loc.

śūṣaṁ na madhye nābhyām (MS. °*yāḥ*) VS. MS. TB. 'In the middle, (viz.) in the navel': 'in the middle of the navel.' As prec.

ye 'do (MS. *amī*, KS. *vādo*, VS. ŚB. *vāmī*, NīlarU. *cāmī*) *rocane divaḥ* (NīlarU. *divi*) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. NīlarU. As prec. The phrase *rocane divaḥ* is standard from RV. on; clearly case-assimilation in NīlarU.

pṛṣṭhe pṛthivyā (AV. *nābhā pṛthivyāṁ*) *nihito davidyutat* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As prec.; Ppp. is reported by Whitney to read *pṛthivyāḥ*, which is standard after *nābhā* (see Conc. under this initial).

§673. To these we may append a case in which the loc. noun which governs the possessive gen. is omitted in the variant form, thus compelling the use of loc. instead of gen.:

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS. GB. Vait.: *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā saṁjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner of all (in the burner of all).'

§674. Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen. depends on an adverb (*madhyato*) which, while abl. in form, is essentially loc. in meaning; Ppp. uses a loc. of the noun instead of the gen.:

asaṁbādhaṁ badhyato (read *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *°veṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623. 'In the midst of men': 'in the midst, among men.'

§675. The gen. after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless to be felt as objective in character:

syāma sumnasyādhrigo (SV. *sumne te adhrigo*) RV. SV. Preceded by *ni nediṣṭhatamā iṣaḥ*. 'Let us be nearest to the draught, to (in) thy grace.'

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it, tam in mahe vṛṇate nānyaṁ tvat RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it, tvāṁ maho vṛṇate* (TB. ApŚ. add *naro*) *nānyaṁ tvat* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Him they choose alike at the small oblation and at the large': 'thee they choose alike for (equal to, equally capable of? Caland 'als gleichen für') the small' etc. For the gen. with words of likeness cf. Speyer *VSS.* §70c.

§676. Definitely objective is the genitive in the following cases, with nouns or adjectives containing verbal force, in which the two forms are practical equivalents:

ahiḥ śayata upaprk pṛthivyāḥ (TB. *°vyām*) RV. MS. TB. N.

nanāndari samrājñī bhava RV. SMB. ApMB.: *nanāndur samrājñy edhi* AV. 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law.' In the same verse:

samrājñī śvaśrvāṁ (*śvaśruvāṁ*) *bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB.: *samrājñy uta śvaśrvāḥ* AV.

prācyāṁ diśi (AV. *prācyā diśas*) *tvam indrāsi rājā* AV. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:

utodīcyāṁ vṛtrahan vṛtrahāsi TS. MS. KS.: *utodīcyā diśo vṛtrahaṁ chatruho 'si* AV.

2. After the preposition *antar*

§677. Delbrück AIS. p. 445 f. ignores the construction of *antar* with the gen., which is however indubitable, cf. §142. In the following

variant gen. and loc. with *antar* interchange. Tho another loc. follows, the gen. cannot depend upon it:

ukhāyāḥ (TS. °*yai*, MS. KS. °*yāṁ*) *sadane sve* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*.

3. Adverbial uses

§678. In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time. On the gen. of time see especially Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1. 79. 6.

dive-diva (AV. *divo-diva*) *ā suvā bhūri paśvaḥ* AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *dive-dive* is certainly loc. in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §295, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, *TAPA*. 62 [1931] 20).

madhu naktam utoṣasaḥ (KS. °*sā*, TS. TA. °*si*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. See §584.

aktor vyuṣṭau paritakmyāyāḥ (and °*yām*) RV. (both). Uncertain; see *RVRep.* on 5. 30. 13 and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg *RVNoten*.

§679. The following variant is also obscure and dubious. We are inclined to feel that both *parīṇasaḥ* and °*si* are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately 'with plenty' or 'plentifully'. Despite Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc. we incline to separate the word from *kasya*. But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive. Ludwig's interpretation makes it adnominal gen. with *dhiyo*, which is perhaps also possible:

kasya nūnaṁ parīṇasaḥ (SV. °*si*) RV. SV. Followed by *dhiyo jinvasi dampate* (SV. *satpate*).

4. Dependent on verbs

§680. Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501):

papuḥ sarasvatyā nadyāḥ (MŚ. °*tyāṁ nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. °*tīṁ nadīm*) . Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

tava (SV. *tve*) *viśve sajoṣasaḥ* RV. SV. Followed by *devāsaḥ pītim āśata*. Here *pītim āśata* 'obtained a drink' may be regarded as a periphrasis for 'drank', and it seems to us that the gen. and loc. are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant; so Ludwig construes *tava*, while Grassmann takes it as possessive, 'thy drink', and Benfey takes *tve* as dependent on *sajoṣasaḥ*. Wackernagel 3 p. 462 quotes *tve* here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form.

§681. The gen. in the following, with root *rā*, seems also to be partitive; it may be influenced by the gen. in the following clause:

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ. *viśobhagīnā tasyāṁ me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāno bhūyāsma* KS. ApŚ. 'Grant us (me) [a share] of (in) her.'

§682. With the verb *adhi-i* 'think on' the gen. (or acc.) is regular. In the following variant MG. has a loc., perhaps influenced by thought of the literal, etymological meaning 'go upon' (*adhi* + loc.). It should also be noted that the following pāda (*yeṣu saumanasaṁ mahat* in MG.) has a loc. which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some influence:

yeṣām (MG. *yeṣv*) *adhyeti pravasan* AV. VS. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚG. HG. MG.

5. Transfer of epithet

§683. Transfer of epithet (§§14–6) is found in the following:

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasīnā (MS. *ahann ojasīne*, KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ. *'hany ojasīnām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §447.

svasty apsu vṛjane svarvati (MG.† *vrajane svarvataḥ*) RV. AB. MG. 'In the bright place': 'in the path of the bright one.' The original has an epithet of *vṛjane*, which MG. changes to an independent form. Some MG. mss. point to the RV. reading.

6. Miscellaneous

§684. The rest are unclassifiable:

ava tara (TS. *avattaraṁ*) *nadīṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. Too obscure to make any interpretation of *nadīnām* worth giving; see VV 2 §833.

saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu MS.: *saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KA. See §607.

agnā u (ŚB. also *agner*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu vaujhak* ŚB. (both) AŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole; various case-forms of *agni* are used in mechanical modulations of the formula.

asūrte (MS. KS. °*tā*, KapS. °*tāḥ*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. *niṣattā*, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of RV. 10. 123. 1, which contains *rajaso vimāne*.

mā no (*mā*) *hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ pṛthivyāḥ* (KapS. °*yām*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. ApŚ. Raghu Vira emends to °*yāḥ* (cf. Oertel 19), but the loc. can be construed with the following pāda.

CHAPTER XXVII

SINGULAR AND PLURAL

1. *Generalizing singular and plural*

§685. Among the variations between singular and plural (see §§112–7 for a summary), the great majority concern the use of a generic singular, in variation with a plural which may be specific, referring to particular individuals of the class, or may itself be general, including them all. As a rule there is little real difference of meaning between the two forms. The singular tends to think of the class as a whole, the plural of the individuals which compose it. Sometimes the singular seems to be a distinct collective; but more often it merely indicates the genus, without centering the attention upon the individuals which compose it. For instance, as in military language today, 'the enemy' may mean the whole hostile army. Likewise 'the sacrifice', as an institution or type, varies with 'sacrifices' as individual acts (but usually not conceived specifically; rather all 'sacrifices' in general). And so one may say equally well 'good deed', generically, or 'good deeds'; 'food' or 'foods'; 'praise' or 'praises'; 'heroism' or 'heroisms' (that is, deeds of heroism), and so forth.

§686. In some of the cases which we shall feel obliged to list under this heading, it is very possible that the singular may have been felt specifically, of a single definite individual. So notably with the word *agni* 'fire' (§691). At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires). Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740). It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular; and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary.

Āmreḍita compounds

§687. Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun: the use of repeated

(*āmreḍita*) compounds. They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus. Once a plural *āmreḍita* varies with a singular modified by the word *viśva* 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent. In another case a singular *āmreḍita* varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like *viśva*, can only mean substantially the same thing:

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

ruho ruroha (TB. *rohaṁ-rohaṁ*) *rohita ā ruroha* AV. TB.

§688. We now proceed to give the lists containing a presumably generalizing singular in variation with a plural, arranging them under semantic categories, beginning with:

§689. (1) *Words connected with the ritual.* Among ritual words we find first the 'sacrifice' itself (*yajña*) and its more specific designations (*havya, havis*, etc.):

asmān rāya uta yajñāḥ (KS.† *yajñaḥ*) *sacantām* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS.

yajñaṁ yad yajñavāhasaḥ AV.: *yajñair vā* (TB. *vo*) *yajñavāhasaḥ* RV. TS. TB.

tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi (AŚ. *rūpeṇa*) *samanaktu yajñaiḥ* (AŚ. *yajñam*) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yajñaiḥ (MŚ. *yajñe*) RV. SV. MŚ. See §602.

yajñāya stīrṇabarhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ.: *yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiṣaṁ vivakṣase* SV.

brahma yajñaḥ (MS. *yajñāḥ*) *pṛthivīṁ dhārayanti* AV. MS.

devebhyo havyaṁ (MS. MŚ. MG. *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Vait. MŚ. Kauś. MG.

havyā marteṣu raṇyati RV.: *havyaṁ martāsa indhate* SV.

jātavedaḥ prati havyā gṛbhāya AV. SMB.: *jātavedo havir idaṁ juṣasva* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

agnir haviḥ (AV. VS. TS. MS. *havyaṁ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *agnir havyāni siṣvadat* RV.: *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.

atandro havyā (SV. *havyaṁ*) *vahasi haviṣkṛte* RV. SV.

yajñair juhoti haviṣā yajuṣā (TB. *juhoti yajuṣā havirbhiḥ*) AV. TB.: *yajñair vidhema namasā havirbhiḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

purā satyād (TB. *diṣṭād*) *āhutiṁ hantv asya* (TB. *āhutīr asya hantu*) AV. TB.

ya āhutiṁ (JUB. °*tīr*) *atyamanyanta devāḥ* AV. JUB.: *tās te gachantv āhutiṁ* (KS. °*tīr*) *ghṛtasya* TS. KS.

pitara āyuṣmantas te svadhayāyuṣmantaḥ (PG. *svadhābhir āyuṣ°*) TS. PG.

§690. The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (*stoma, praśasti, arka, uktha, brahman, mati, sūkta, yajus, sāman*). Here also may be placed the variants involving the words *dhī, veda, chandas,* and several others that have to do with meter.

taved u stomaṁ (SV. *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV. AV. SV.

stomena prati bhūṣati RV.: *stomebhir bhūṣati prati* SV.

apām uta praśastiṣu (RV.† *praśastaye,* AV. VSK. *°tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tava praśastayo mahīḥ (SV. *°śastaye mahe*) RV. SV.

yaṁ mitraṁ na praśastibhiḥ (SV. *°taye*) RV. SV.

ghṛtenārkam abhy arcanti vatsam AV.: *tam arkair abhyarcanti vatsam* TB.

agnir ukthena vāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv aṁhasu* AV.

vocad brahmāṇi (SV. *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV. SV. See §269.

saṁ brahmaṇā (AV. *°ṇāṁ*) *devakṛtaṁ* (RV. AV. *devahitaṁ*) *yad asti* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See §587.

idaṁ brahma pipṛhi saubhagāya MS.: *imā brahma pīpihi saubhagāya* VS. KS. ŚB. (Eggeling wrongly considered *bráhma* a vocative.)

ato matīr (SV. *matiṁ*) *janayata svadhābhiḥ* RV. SV.

imā (TS. *imāṁ*) *rudrāya tavase kapardine, kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe matīḥ* (TS. *matim*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

sūktā (KS. *sūktaṁ*) *brūhi* VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ṛksāmābhyāṁ saṁtaranto yajurbhiḥ (TS. *°bhyāṁ yajuṣā saṁtarantaḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

prastotaḥ sāma gāya MS. ApŚ.: *prastotaḥ sāmāni gāya* MS. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. (MS. p.p. *sāma.*)

udgātaḥ sāmāni (MŚ. 2. 5. 4. 25, 4. 4. 11 *sāma*) *gāya* GB. MŚ. (MŚ. 4. 2. 10 has *sāmāni,* but v. l. *sāma.*)

tatvāya savitā dhiyaḥ (VS. *dhiyam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

vedasya (MG. *vedānāṁ*) *nidhipo bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG.

chandāṁsi (KS. *chando*) *gacha svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

chandasā (MS. *chandobhir*) *haṁsaḥ śucişat* VS. MS. KS. TB.

gāyatraṁ chando anu saṁrabhadhvam MS.: *gāyatrīṁ chandāṁsy anu saṁrabhantām* KS. ApŚ.

dvipadā yā catuṣpadā (VS. *yāś catuṣpadāḥ*), *tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS. *yāś ca ṣaṭpadāḥ*), *vichandā yā* (VS. *yāś*) *ca sachandāḥ* (TS. KSA. *sachandā yā ca vichandāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Supply *ṛc* or *ṛcaḥ.*

avasyuvātā bṛhatīr nu śakvarīḥ (MS. KS. *bṛhatī na śakvarī,* AŚ. *bṛhatī tu śakvarī*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by:

imaṁ yajñam avatu (TS. *avantu*) *yā* (TS. AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS. *°cīḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.: *diśāṁ devy* (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS. MS. AŚ.

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

§691. The sacrificial fire. See above, §686. It is often impossible to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the singular, or 'fire(s)' in general:

te asmā (KS. *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ. MS. v. l. °*yo*) *draviṇaṁ* (KS. °*ṇāni*) *dattvā* MS. KS. ApŚ.

agnir me hotā sa mopahvyatām ṢB.: *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait. The last no doubt refers definitely to the three sacred fires.

agnaye sviṣṭakṛte svāhā TB. TAA. etc.: *agnibhyaḥ sviṣṭakṛdbhyaḥ svāhā* KŚ. The latter refers to the three fires.

agniṁ (ApŚ. *agnīn*) *samādhehi* MS. MŚ. ApŚ.

ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *ihaiva san* (MŚ. *saṅs*; so also TB. Poona ed.) *tatra santaṁ tvāgne* TB. AŚ. MŚ.

raudreṇānīkena pāhi māgne (VS. Vait. *pāta māgnayaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. Vait. 18. 8. Followed by:

pipṛta māgnayaḥ (KS. *pipṛhi māgne*) VS. KS. Vait.

ye agnayo apsv antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye aśmasu AV.: *yo apsv antar agnir yo vṛtre, yaḥ puruṣe yo aśmani* MS. KS. ApŚ. Ppp. also intends the latter reading.

§692. Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual.

ukhyaṁ (AV. *ukhyān*) *hasteṣu bibhrataḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

samidham (Kauś. HG. °*dha*) *ā dhehi* ŚB. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. PG. GG. HG.

asāv etat te vāsaḥ GG.: *etad vaḥ pitaro vāsaḥ* (VS. *vāsa ādhatta*) VS. VSK. AŚ. SMB.: *etāni vaḥ pitaro vāsāṅsi* ApŚ. HG. The 'clothing' is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the Pitṛs.

ā me graho bhavatv (KSA. *grahā bhavantv*) *ā puroruk* TS. KSA.

bṛhaspatisutasya. . . . grahaṁ gṛhṇāmi (KS. *graham ṛdhyāsam*, VS. VSK. ŚB. *grahāṅ ṛdhyāsam*, MS. *grahaṁ rādhyāsam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

nir āhāvān (KS. °*vaṁ*) *kṛṇotana* RV. TS. KS. Followed or preceded by:

saṁ varatrā (KS. °*trān*, i.c. °*trāṁ*) *dadhātana*, same texts.

śṛṇvantv āpo dhiṣaṇāś ca devīḥ (MS.* *dhiṣaṇā ca devī*) VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. ŚB. In MS. both passages show both readings in the mss.; von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages.

upāstāvaḥ kalaśaḥ (MŚ. °*vāḥ kalaśāḥ*) *somo agniḥ* (MŚ. *somadhānāḥ*) TS. MŚ. ApŚ.

sṛkvāṇaṁ gharmam abhi vāvaśānā RV. AV. N.: *trīn gharmān abhi vāva-*

śānā AV. Tho the passages are obscure, there is little doubt that *gharma* is a ritualistic word, probably the pot in which the milk is heated (so Oldenberg *RVNoten*), or perhaps the hot milk itself (Bloomfield *SBE.* 42. 590 is doubtful which is meant).

[*ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB. *kalaśīr*, MG. *kalaśam*) *aguḥ* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. But see §412.]

§693. The drink soma and associated concepts. As for *agni* (§691), it is difficult to distinguish the drink from the god who is the drink.

ukthaśā yaja somānām (AA.* KŚ.* ApŚ.* MŚ.* *somasya*) AA. (bis) KŚ. (bis) ApŚ. (ter) MŚ. (ter): *om ukthaśā yaja somasya* AA.

somasyāgne (ŚŚ.* *somānām agne*) *vīhi* AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (bis) Vait. ApŚ.

suta indrāya vāyave,...somo arṣati viṣṇave RV.: *sutā indrāya vāyave,...somā arṣanti* (SV. °*tu*) *viṣṇave* RV. SV. The pāda *sutā indrāya vāyave* appears in PB. as a pratīka, and again in RV. followed by: *somāso dadhyāśiraḥ.*

te (RV. **sa*) *viśvā dāśuṣe vasu, somā* (RV. **somo*) *divyāni pārthivā* RV. (bis) SV. The *tṛca* containing the plural is surrounded by *tṛcas* referring to *soma* in the sing. It may be suspected (cf. *RVRep.* on 9. 36. 4) that the plurals accompany a plurality in the ritual.

indra piba sutānām RV.: *imam indra sutaṁ piba* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ya ājagma (N. °*muḥ*) *savane mā* (read in AV. *savanemā*, TS. KS. *savanedaṁ*, N. *savanam idaṁ*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ājagmedaṁ savanaṁ*) *juṣāṇāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

made suśipram (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV. See VV 2 §839.

[*pavamāna* (SV. °*nā*, misprint) *vidhharmaṇi* RV. SV.]

§694. Other materials offered, including ghee, *medas*, *māsara*, *iḍā*, *puroḍāśa.*

tvām agne pradiva āhutaṁ ghṛtena (RV. *ghṛtaiḥ*) RV. TB. ApŚ.

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) AV. VS. TS. MS.

ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate (AV.† *pṛthivīṁ vy ūduḥ*) RV. AV. MS. KS. N.: *ād it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS.: *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī vy undhi* (KS. *vyundan*) RV. KS.

ghṛtaṁ (SV. *ghṛtā*) *vasānaḥ pari yāsi nirṇijam* RV. SV.

srucājyāni juhvataḥ AV.: *srucājyena juhvataḥ* TB. Poona ed. (Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed. corruptly *srucānyena juhvata*).

viśvebhyo devebhya (MŚ. °*bhyaḥ*) *usrāṇāṁ chāgānāṁ meṣānāṁ* (MŚ. *ch*° *m*° *usr*°) *vapānāṁ medasām anubrūhi* (MŚ. *medaso 'nubrūhi*) ApŚ. MŚ. Also with *preṣya* for *anubrūhi.*

candravapayor medasām anubrūhi (and *preṣya*) ApŚ.: *hayasya chāgasyosrasya candravapānāṁ medaso 'nubrūhi* (and °*saḥ preṣya*) MŚ.

medasaḥ (VSK. *medasa*) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.: *medobhyaḥ svāhā* VS.

asthi majjānaṁ māsaraiḥ (MS. *māsaram*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

sajūr agnir vaiśvānara iḍābhiḥ TS.: *sajūr vaiśvānara iḍayā* (VSK. *ilayā*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.

iṣaṁ no mitrāvaruṇā kartaneḍām AA.: *ūrjā mitro varuṇaḥ pinvateḍāḥ* SV.

avīvṛdhat puroḍāśena (VSK. °*vṛdhata purolāśena*) VS. VSK.: *avīvṛdhanta puroḍāśaiḥ* (°*lāśaiḥ*) VS. VSK. KS.: *avīvṛdhetāṁ puroḍāśena* (AŚ. °*ḍāśaiḥ*) MS. AŚ.

agnim adya hotāram...puroḍāśaṁ (°*śān*) *gṛhnann* (*badhnann*, etc.)... VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. Six items, see Conc.

§695. Priestly personages and the yajamāna.

somaś ca yo brāhmaṇāṁ (TA. °*ṇam*) *āviveśa* RV. AV. TA.

brāhmaṇaḥ (MS. *brāhmaṇāḥ*) *śāntiḥ* MS. TA.

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*, Ppp. *brahmāṇo*) *vasunītha* (*vasunītir*, °*dhītam*, °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

gīrbhir viprāḥ pramatim ichamānaḥ (TB. **viprāḥ...ichamānāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. TB. (bis) AŚ.: *dhībhir viprāḥ pramatim ichamānāḥ* RV. MS.

sa indra stomavāhasām (SV. °*hasa*) *iha śrudhi* RV. SV.

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne (and, *upasattāro gṛhāṇāṁ śāle*) AV. (both): *mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS. TS. MS. KS.

praitu hotuś camasaḥ pra brahmaṇaḥ prodgātṝṇāṁ (ApŚ. MŚ. *prodgātuḥ*; ApŚ. also ūha, *prodgātṝṇāṁ*) *pra yajamānasya* (ApŚ. adds *pra sadasyasya*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnir daivīnāṁ (ŚB. KŚ. *ha daivīnāṁ*) *viśāṁ puraetāyaṁ* (MŚ. °*yaṁ sunvan*) *yajamāno manuṣyāṇām* ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnir daivīnāṁ viśāṁ puraeteme sunvanto yajamānā manuṣyāṇām* MŚ.

muñcemaṁ yajñaṁ muñca yajñapatiṁ aṁhasaḥ svāhā KS.: *muñcemam aṁhasaḥ* TS. TB.: *muñcemān amūn aṁhasaḥ svāhā* AV.

śravase no maghonaḥ (SV. *maghonām*) RV. SV.

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.: *tenaitu yajamānaḥ svasti* (KS. *ApŚ. *svastyā*) TS. KS. (ter) ApŚ. On this plural see VV 1 p. 258.

nayanto garbhaṁ vanāṁ dhiyaṁ dhuḥ RV.: *nayantaṁ gīrbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ* SV. See §399.

§696. The dakṣiṇā.

yat pūrtaṁ yāś ca dakṣiṇāḥ VS. ŚB.: *yad dattaṁ yā ca dakṣiṇā* TS.

dakṣiṇābhyaḥ (KSA. *dakṣiṇāyai*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

ṛg vaśā bṛhadrathaṁtare garbhaḥ praiṣanivido jarāyu yajño vatso dakṣiṇā (ApŚ. *dakṣiṇāḥ*) *pīyūsaḥ* KS. ApŚ.

yajñaś ca dakṣiṇā ca (ApMB. °*ṇāś ca dakṣiṇe*) ŚG. ApMB.

§697. (2) Divine personages.

yad devā devam ayajanta viśve RV.: *yad devā devān haviṣāyajanta* AV. Different contexts; no specific god seems to be meant in RV.

ādityaṁ (RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. *ādityān*) *viṣṇuṁ sūryam* RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

nama ādityāya divikṣite lokaspṛte (MU. °*smṛte*) KSA. MU.: *nama āditebhyaś ca viśvebhyaś ca devebhyo divikṣidbhyo lokakṣidbhyaḥ* ChU.

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

dīkṣāpālāya vanataṁ (TB. °*pālebhyo 'vanataṁ*) *hi śakrā* TB. AŚ.

āmanasya devā (MS. °*va*) *yā* (MS. *yāḥ*, KS. *yās*) *striyaḥ*...TS. MS. KS.

āmanasya devā (MS. °*va*) *ye putrāḥ* (KS. *putrāsaḥ*)...MS. KS.

āmanasya devā (MS. MŚ. °*va*) *ye sajātāḥ*...TS. MS. KS. MŚ. 'The god(s) of affection' seem to be nonce-gods, whose number of course is also invented for the occasion.

vratānāṁ vratapate (Kauś. °*tayo*) *vratam acārīṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

anu me dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS. *dīkṣāpatayo manyadhvam*) *anu* (ŚB.* °*patir amaṁstānu*) *tapas tapaspatiḥ* (KS. °*patayaḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. GB. Vait.: *anu ma idaṁ vrataṁ vratapatir manyatām anu dīkṣāṁ dīkṣāpatir añjasā* MS.: *upa mā dīkṣāyāṁ dīkṣāpatayo hvayadhvam* MS.

niṣaṅgine (HG. °*gibhyaḥ*) *svāhā* ApMB. HG. *niṣaṅgin* = Rudra; the plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts.

niṣaṅgina upa spṛśata HG.: *niṣaṅginn upa spṛśa* ApMB.

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS.: *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS. ŚB.: *ṛtavo 'dhipataya āsan* MS. KS. Perhaps better to be placed with §709.

vasūnāṁ pavitram asi TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vasoḥ pavitram asi* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.

vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV.: *vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. The latter is original; Ppp. agrees with it (*JAOS.* 42. 108).

indraghoṣas (MS. KS. °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavaḥ pu° pāntu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pāntu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. The meaning of *indraghoṣa* and the corresponding terms in the next two variants is uncertain; some sort of nonce-deity, or strained epithet of a deity. The commentators suggest the gods that are appropriate to the directions named (Agni, Yama, Varuṇa respectively).

manojavās tvā pitṛbhir (KS. *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS. TS.

KS. ŚB.: *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS.: *manojavaso vaḥ pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata upadadhatām* TA.

pracetās tvā rudraiḥ paścāt pātu VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *rudrās tvā pracetasaḥ paścāt pāntu* MS.: *pracetā vo rudraiḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA.

dhiṣaṇās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyavatī*) *pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthe añgirasvad* (TS. *'ñgi°*) *abhīndhatām* (MS.* *abhīnddhām*, **abhīndhātām*) *ukhe* VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. ŚB. Cf. VV 1 p. 255.

varūtrīṣ ṭvā (KS. *°trīs tvā*, TS. *°trayo janayas tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ*... VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: †*varutrī* (and *varū°*) *tvā devī viśvadevyavatī*...MS. (bis). Cf. prec.

revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā ā viśa* VS.† ŚB.†: *revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. The singular, according to ŚB., is Vāc. The plural is variously interpreted of different semi-deified entities.

[*ādakāṁ khādena* TS.† KSA. No variant. The word is explained by TS. comm. as *bhakṣayitrī devatā*, as if 'eater'.]

§698. (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like.

pra ṇo yacha bhuvas (AV. *viśāṁ*) *pate* AV. TS.: *pra no yacha* (KS. *rāsva*) *viśas pate* RV. MS. KS.

svastidā viśas (AV. MahānU. *viśāṁ*) *patiḥ* RV. AV. ṢB. AdB. TB. TA. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. VHDh.

janaṁ ca mitro yatati bruvāṇaḥ RV.: *mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇaḥ* (TS. ApŚ.* *prajānan*, TB. ApŚ.* *janān kalpayati prajānan*) RV. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. N.

janāya vṛktabarhiṣe RV.: *janāso vṛktabarhiṣaḥ* RV.

yakṣmā yanti janād (AV. ApMB. *janāṁ*) *anu* RV. AV. ApMB.

bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janāḥ (TS. *tvā janā viduḥ*) AV. TS.: *yāṁ tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yaḥ saṁgrāmān (TS. MS. *°maṁ*) *nayati* (KS. *jayati*) *saṁ yudhe vaśī* (TS. MS. *saṁ vaśī yudhe*, KS. *saṁ vaśī yudhā*) AV. TS. KS. MS.

saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu* MS.

trāyatāṁ (AV. *trāyantāṁ*) *marutāṁ gaṇaḥ* (AV. *gaṇāḥ*) RV. AV.

aśastihā vṛjanaṁ (SV. *vṛjanā*) *rakṣamāṇaḥ* RV. SV.

grāmaṁ sajānayo gachanti ApMB.†: *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG.

vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutrā RV. VS. ŚB.: *vidmā te sadma vibhṛtaṁ purutrā* TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N. *sadanam*, KŚ. Kauś. °*nāni*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi*, KS. Kauś. *santu*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.

ta āvavṛtran sadanād ṛtasya (TS. *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS.† *sadanāni rātvī*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (both) N.

yeṣām (RVKh. *teṣām*) *apsu sadas* (TS. ApMB. °*daḥ*) *kṛtam* RVKh. VS. TS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *ye apsu ṣadāṅsi* (KS. *'psu sadāṅsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS.

apāṁ sadhiṣi sīda TS.: *apāṁ tvā sadhiṣi* (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sadhastheṣu (RV.* *sadhasthe vā*) *maho divaḥ* RV. (bis) SV.

etaṁ sadhastha (AV. KS. °*sthāḥ*) *pari te* (AV. KS. *vo*) *dadāmi* AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. *sadhastha* = *loka*.

tābhir vahainaṁ sukṛtām u lokam (TA. *vahemaṁ sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.: *vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahāṅsi sā*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokaḥ*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

jātavedo vahemaṁ (ŚŚ. *vahasvainaṁ*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokaḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ.: *jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayāsy*?) *enaṁ sukṛtāṁ yatra lokaḥ* JB.

śundhatāṁ lokaḥ pitṛṣadanaḥ TS. ApŚ.: *śundhantāṁ* (AV. *śumbhantāṁ*) *lokāḥ pitṛṣadanāḥ* AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

vi jihīṣva lokaṁ kṛṇu (TA. *jihīrṣva lokān kṛdhi*) AV. TA.

te brahmalokeṣu (TA. °*loke tu*) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. KaivU.

viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanāni RV.: *vidvāṅ ārodhanaṁ divaḥ* RV. KS.

yasminn idaṁ viśvaṁ bhuvanam adhi śritam TS.: *yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni* (MS. *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasthuḥ* RV. VS. MS.

antarikṣasya dhartrīṁ viṣṭambhanīṁ diśām adhipatnīṁ bhuvanānām (MS. *diśāṁ bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣṭambhanī diśām adhipatnī bhuvanānām* TS.

tvaṣṭedaṁ viśvaṁ bhuvanaṁ jajāna VS. TS. KSA.: *tvaṣṭemā viśvā bhuvanā jajāna* MS.

sa idaṁ viśvam (TS. TB. *sa viśvā bhuvo*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV. TS. TB.: *sa viśvā bhuva ābhavaḥ* RV. AV.

sa viśvaṁ (AV. *viśvā*) *prati cākḷpat* (AV. °*pe*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

na taṁ vidātha ya imā (TS. KS. *idaṁ*) *jajāna* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. *imā* = *bhuvanāni*; *idam* = *viśvam*, or the like.

bhūtasya (PB. *bhūtānāṁ*) *jātaḥ patir eka āsīt* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KSA. PB. ŚB. N.

tena (TS. *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AB. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *roha = svarga.*

svargam arvanto jayema Vait.: *svargāṅ* (AŚ. text, *svagāṅ!*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ. *jayataḥ*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svargāṅ* (text *svagāṅ*) *arvato jayati* AŚ.

abhīmaṁ (TS. MŚ.† °*māṁ*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*, delete MŚ. v. l. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

sa vājī rocanā (SV. *rocanaṁ*) *divaḥ* RV. SV.

ye aprathethām amitā yojanāni (ArS. *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV. ArS.

vidānā asya yojanam (SV. °*nā*) RV. SV.

tredhā ni dadhe padam (AV. MS. *padā*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The adverb *tredhā* probably suggested the change to the plural.

mṛtyoḥ padaṁ (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto*....RV. AV. TA. MG.

parācīm (RV. °*cīr*) *anu saṁvatam* (RV. °*taḥ*) RV. AV.

ūrvān (SV. *ūrvaṁ*) *dayanta gonām* RV. SV. VS.

adhvana skabhnīta (VS. *skabhnuvantaḥ*) VS. TS.: *vājaṁ vājino jaya-tādhvānaṁ* (KS. °*dhvanas*) *skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāḥ* MS. KS. (The MS. passage is entered in the Conc. also under *adhvānaṁ* etc.): *vājino vājajito 'dhvana* (VSK. *vājino vājaṁ jayatādhvana*) *skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāḥ kāṣṭhāṁ gachata* VS. VSK. ŚB.

āgatya vājy adhvānam (TS. ApŚ. *adhvanaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me 'smin pathi devayāne bhūyāt VS.: *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me 'dyāsmin devayāne pathi bhūyāt* PB.: *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no 'dyāsmin devayāne pathi stāt* (read *syāt*) ŚŚ.

tiraḥ purū cid arṇavaṁ jaganvān (SV. *arṇavāṅ jagamyāḥ*) RV. AV. SV.

ghṛtasya kulyām anu...TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya kulyā upa* VS. VSK.

kṣetrasya (VS. TS. KS. *kṣetrāṇāṁ*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

samā bhavantūdvato (TS. °*vatā*) *nipādāḥ* TV. TS. KS.

antān pṛthivyā divaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ.

vavrāṅ anantāṅ (AV. *vavram anantam*) *ava sā padīṣṭa* RV. AV.

[*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādanā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV.† TA. See §496.]

hradāś ca puṇḍarīkāṇi RV.: *hrado vā puṇḍarīkavān* AV. 'Ponds (and) lotus-pools': 'a pond full of lotuses'.

eṣa te janate rājā MS. KS. MŚ.: *eṣa vo janatā rājā* ApŚ. This formula, used in the rājasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate name of the tribe substituted for the collective *janatā*. In ApŚ.

the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type: *eṣa vaḥ pañcālā rājā*, and it is possible (as Keith suggests on TS. 1. 8. 10. 2. n. 6) that their plurals have produced the plural *janatāḥ* of this formula.

§699. (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men); and first, plants.

antarikṣāya tvā vanaspataye (KS. °*patibhyaḥ*) KS. MŚ.

vanaspatayā ulūkān MS.: *vanaspatibhya ulūkān* VS.

vanaspataye (sc. *namaḥ*) ŚG.: *vanaspatibhyaḥ* (sc. *namaḥ*) MG. MDh.

vanaspataye svāhā Kauś.: *vanaspatibhyaḥ svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

addhi tṛṇam aghnye viśvadānīm RV. AV. KŚ. ApŚ. N.: *attu tṛṇāni* SMB. GG., and cf. the other references in the Conc. under this last quotation, all of which have the plural.

aṅśuṁ (AV. *aṅśūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ. *gabhasti*) *haritebhir āsabhiḥ* AV. KS. ApŚ.

dūrvā rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ (AV. *rohatu puṣpiṇī*) RV. AV. Some mss. of AV., followed by comm. and SPP., read as RV., and Ppp. likewise, as reported by Whitney.

śatamūlā śatāṅkurā TA. MahānU.: *śatamūlāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU. The pādas refer to the *dūrvā*-plant, singular or plural.

avakāṁ (MS. KSA. *avakān*, but MS. p.p. *avakāṁ*) *dantamūlaiḥ* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

aghadviṣṭā devajātā, vīruc chapathayopanī AV.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtā, vīḍu chapathajambhanīḥ* ApŚ. Tho ApŚ. is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows. Caland translates as tho singular, evidently using the AV. readings in part.

adhā (*athā*) *śatakratvo* (°*kratavo*, °*krato*) *yūyam*, see §229a. Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing. *amba* in pāda a; to this MS. KapS. assimilate the adjective.

§700. Animals. Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals. The word *prajā* is placed in §702 below.

jagatāṁ (MS. KS. *jagatas*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ā vatso jagatā (AG. *jāyatāṁ*, PG. *jagadaiḥ*) *saha* AV. AG. PG. HG. MG. ApMB. PG.'s *jagada* (cf. VV 2 §60) is said to mean 'attendant, companion'; then 'the calf with its companions.'

gaur aśvaḥ puruṣaḥ paśuḥ AV. TA.: *gām aśvaṁ puruṣaṁ jagat* (AV.

paśum, RVKh. *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh. AV. TA. MahānU. ApMB. HG.: *gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ.

tvayā gām aśvaṁ puruṣaṁ (HG. *gā aśvān puruṣān*) *sanema* AV. HG.

ghṛtenāktau paśūṅs (VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. *paśuṁ*) *trāyethām* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

paśūn (TS. *paśuṁ*) *na gopā iryaḥ parijmā* RV. TS. KSA.

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

askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ.: *askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāḥ* TB. TA. ApŚ.

yad amuṣṇītam avasaṁ paṇiṁ gāḥ (TB. *goḥ*) RV. TB. See §505.

upahūtā gāvaḥ saharṣabhāḥ ŚB.: *upahūtā dhenuḥ saharṣabhā* (AŚ. ŚŚ.† *saharṣabhā*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

nṛbhir yataḥ kṛṇute nirṇijaṁ gāḥ (SV. *gām*) RV. SV. *gāḥ* (*gām*) = milk.

vatsaṁ jātaṁ na dhenavaḥ (SV. *mātaraḥ*, AV. *jātam ivāghnyā*) RV. AV. SV.

payo gṛheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB. ApŚ. *aghniyāsu*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *payo aghnyāsu payo vatseṣu* MŚ.

marutāṁ pṛṣatīr (VSK. *pṛṣatīṁ*) *gacha* VS. VSK. ŚB.

andhāhīn (TS. °*he*, KSA. °*heḥ*) *sthūlagudayā* (MS. *sthūrag*°, TS. KSA. *sthūragudā*) VS.† TS. MS.† KSA.

rabhīyasa (MS. TB. Poona ed. °*bhīyāṁsam*) *iva kṛtvī karad evaṁ devo vanaspatir juṣatāṁ haviḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. The Hotṛ is to 'make stronger' a number of sacrificial animals.

tatraitaṁ (VS. KS. °*tān*) *prastutyevopastutyevopāvasrakṣat* VS. MS. KS. TB. In the same passage as the preceding.

babhravaḥ saumyāḥ VS. MS. ApŚ.: *babhruḥ saumyaḥ* VS. TS. KSA.

viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ pṛṣatān (MS.* °*taḥ*) VS. MS. (bis): *viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ pṛṣataḥ* VS.

ākhuḥ sṛjayā śayaṇḍakas te maitrāḥ (KSA. ms. *śayāṇḍakās te maitryāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śārgaḥ sṛjayaḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. Von Schroeder emends KSA. to the TS. reading—with doubtful justice.

kapota (MS. °*tā*) *ulūkaḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The p.p. of MS. reads *kapotāḥ*; but despite this it is probably only MS.'s peculiar sandhi for *kapótaḥ úlūkaḥ*.

§701. Human beings. General words, such as *puruṣa*, *martya*, as well as the word *mṛta* in one variant; also one variant involving a designation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (*svapant*):

mā hiṁsīḥ puruṣaṁ jagat VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU.: *mā hiṁsīt puruṣān mama* NīlarU.

ajījano amṛta martyeṣv ā (SV. *martyāya kam*) RV. SV.

niveśayann amṛtaṁ martyaṁ (TB. *amṛtān martyāṁś*) *ca* RV. VS. TS. MS. TB.

jīvām ṛtebhyaḥ (read *mṛtebhyaḥ*) *pariṇīyamānām* AV.: *mṛtāya jīvāṁ pariṇīyamānām* TA.

śunaṁ kīnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yā svapantaṁ bodhayati (HG. *svapatsu jāgarti*) ApMB. HG. See §548.

§702. Words denoting family relationships, including *sakhi*, and *prajā* in its various meanings.

suprajāḥ prajābhiḥ (VS. *prajābhi*, ?misprint for °*bhiḥ;* VSK. *prajayā*, ŚŚ. *prajābhir*) *syāṁ* (VSK. ŚŚ. *bhūyāsaṁ*).... VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *suprajāḥ prajābhiḥ syāma* (VSK. *prajayā bhūyāsam*).... VS. VSK. ŚB.

dive pṛthivyai śaṁ ca prajāyai (SV. *prajābhyaḥ*) RV. SV.

dhātā prajāyā (AŚ. *prajānām*) *uta rāya īśe* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB.

prajā (Vait. *prajāṁ*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

prajābhyaḥ svāhā TS. KSA. TB.: *prajāyai svāhā* TB.

prajāḥ (AG. PG. *prajāṁ*) *pra janayāvahai* JUB. AG. PG.: *prajām ā janayāvahai* AV.

prajāḥ (KapS. *prajāṁ*) *piparti bahudhā* (RV. VS. *puposa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. KapS. ApŚ. Oertel 12.

prajāpatir janayati prajā imāḥ AV.: *prajāṁ dadātu* (KS. *pipartu*) *parivatsaro naḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *prajāpatī ramayatu prajā iha* KS.: *ā naḥ* (AV. *vāṁ*) *prajāṁ janayatu prajāpatiḥ* RV. AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. SMB. ApMB.

prajāpatiḥ prajayā saṁrarāṇaḥ AV. VS. MS. JB. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *prajāpatiḥ prajayā* (Ppp. Vait. Kauś. *prajābhiḥ*) *saṁvidānaḥ* Ppp. TS. KS. PB. TB. TA. MahānU. NṛpU. Vait. ApŚ. Kauś.

garbhaṁ (ŚŚ. *garbhān*) *dhattaṁ svastaye* TB. ŚŚ.

sa naḥ piteva sūnave (AV. KS.* *putrebhyaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (ter) ŚB. The contexts are different.

putraṁ pautram (ApMB. HG. *putrān pautrān*) *abhitarpayantīḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

piteva putram (AV. Kauś. *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG. *iha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS. ŚB. *imān*) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. Kauś.: *piteva putraṁ jarase ma emam* (Ppp. KS. HG. ApMB. *nayemam*) Ppp. MS. KS. HG. ApMB.

vīraṁ (VSK. *vīrān*) *videya tava devi* (TS. KS. TA. om.) *saṁdṛśi* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

vīraṁ dhatta (AŚ. *vīraṁ me datta*, MŚ. *vīraṁ no datta*) *pitaraḥ* AŚ. ApŚ.

MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ pitaro dhatta* ViDh.: *vīrān me pitaro* (also *tatāmahā* and *pratatāmahā*) *datta* Kauś.

tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA. *pitaraṁ ca putram*) AV. TA.

svadhā pitāmahāya (Kauś. °*mahebhyaḥ*) AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. In the same texts with the same variation in number: *svadhā pitre* (*pitṛbhyaḥ*), and *svadhā prapitāmahāya* (°*mahebhyaḥ*).

prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānaḥ (TA.† °*mahaṁ bibharat pinvamāne*) AV. TA.

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

samrājñī śvaśure bhava RV. ŚG. SMB. ApMB.: *samrājñy edhi śvaśureṣu* AV.

o cit sakhāyaṁ sakhyā vavṛtyām RV. AV.: *ā tvā sakhāyaḥ sakhyā vavṛtyuḥ* SV.

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devaraś ca AV.: *pratīkṣantāṁ †śvaśruvo devarāś ca* ApMB. Change of gender also (§782). As to *devaraś* (°*rāś*), both are plural, one from stem *devṛ*, one from *devara* (correct Whitney's note).

§703. (5) Words meaning 'enemy', 'demon', 'evil', 'sin' (for the Hindu point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloomfield *Atharvaveda*, p. 83), 'disease', and the like. It is often difficult to distinguish between 'enemy' and 'demon', as in the case of the words *arāti* and *rakṣas*.

ayaṁ śatrūn (KapS. *śatruṁ*) *jayatu* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. Oertel 76.

bhiyasam ā dhehi śatruṣu (SV. *śatrave*) RV. SV.

tādītnā (TB. Poona ed. *tādīknā*) *śatruṁ* (TB. *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. *vivatse*, Poona ed. *vivitse*) RV. TB.

dviṣantas tapyantāṁ bahu MŚ.: *dviṣan me bahu śocatu* TB. ApŚ.

dviṣatāṁ pātv aṁhasaḥ RV.: *duritāt pātv aṁhasaḥ* AV. The reported reading of Ppp. is *dviṣatas pātu tebhyaḥ*.

yavaya (v. l. °*yā*) *dveṣo asmat* MS.: *yāvayāsmad dveṣam* (v. l. °*ṣaḥ*) KS.: *yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ* (TA. *aghā dveṣāṁsi*) VS. TS. ŚB. TA. Kauś.

dviṣantaṁ (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV. *mahyaṁ*) *randhayan* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.: *dviṣaṁś ca mahyaṁ radhyatu* AV.: *dviṣanto radhyantāṁ mahyam* MŚ.

mā cāhaṁ dviṣate radham AV.: *mā tv ahaṁ dviṣatāṁ radham* MŚ.: *mo ahaṁ dviṣate* (TB. ApŚ. °*to*) *radham* RV. TB. ApŚ.

avāhaṁ bādha upabhṛtā sapatnān (KS. *dviṣantam*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV.: *yo no dveṣṭi tanūṁ rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣṭy anu taṁ ravasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ.

prayutaṁ dveṣaḥ VS.: *prayutā dveṣāṁsi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The VS. comm.: 'hostility is removed.' This may be the interpretation of the plural also; or both singular and plural may mean: 'the enemy (is) are destroyed.'

mākīṁ brahmadviṣo (SB. °*ṣaṁ*) *vanaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

turyāma dasyūn tanūbhiḥ RV.: *sāhyāma dasyuṁ tanūbhiḥ* SV. (Benfey's text has *dasyūṁ*. Is this a misprint for *dasyuṁ*? B.translates by a singular.)

(*yo naḥ suptāṁ jāgrato vābhidāsād...*) *tān pratīco nirdaha jātavedaḥ* AV.: (*agne yo no anti śapati yaś ca dūre...*) *taṁ pratyañcaṁ saṁ daha jātavedaḥ* ApŚ.

mā tvā pariphariṇo (TS. *pariparī*) *vidan* (TS.† *vidat*, KS. *tvā pariphariṇo vidan mā paripanthinaḥ*, MS. *tvā pariphariṇo mā paripanthinaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tvaṁ tān agne menyāmenīn kṛṇu svāhā AV.: *tam agne menyāmeniṁ kṛṇu* TB.: *tayāgne tvaṁ menyāmum ameniṁ kṛṇu* TB. Preceded in all three passages by a relative clause with *yo...abhidāsati* (AV. *abhidāsāt*) and various methods of attack in the instrumental.

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: *yo asmāṅ abhyaghāyati* AV.

pra sakṣati pratimānaṁ pṛthivyāḥ AV.: *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

amī ye vivratā (MS. °*tāḥ*, KS. °*tās*) *sthana* (MS. *stha*) AV. MS. KS.: *asau yo vimanā janaḥ* RVKh.

bhettāraṁ bhaṅgurāvataḥ (VSK. °*tām*) VSK. TS.: *hantāraṁ bhaṅgurāvatām* (AV. °*taḥ*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. The precise nuance of meaning denoted by *bhaṅgurāvat* is uncertain; 'treacherous' and 'destructive' have been suggested.

śaphārujaṁ (AV. °*rujo*) *yena paśyasi yātudhānam* (AV. °*nān*) RV. AV.

utārebhāṇāṁ ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānān AV.: *ālebhānād ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānāt* RV. See §495.

yātudhānaṁ kimīdinam AV.: *yātudhānān kimīdinaḥ* AV.

amūn kṛtyākṛto jahi AV.: *ava kṛtyākṛtaṁ jahi* (Ppp. *prati kṛtyākṛto daha*) AV. Ppp.

ni duryoṇa āvṛṇaṅ mṛdhravācaḥ (and °*vācam*) RV. (both).

yavayārātīḥ (MS. Kauś. °*tim*, MS. p.p. and KS. *yāvayārātim*) VS.TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

sahasvārātīḥ (MS. KS. °*tiṁ*) *sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ* (TS. *sahasvārātīyataḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sugārhapatyo vidahann arātīḥ (AV. *vitapann arātim*) AV. TB. ApŚ.

alakṣmīr (RVKh. Scheft. °*mīn*, i.e. °*mīṁ*) *nāśayāmy aham* RVKh. TAA. Comm. on TAA. interprets by *alakṣmīm*.

saṁjānānau vijahatām arātīḥ TB. ApŚ.: *āprīṇāṇau vijahatā arātim* MS. KS.

pratyuṣṭaṁ rakṣaḥ pratyuṣṭā arātayaḥ (MS. KS. *pratyuṣṭārātiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

hanti rakṣo bādhate pary arātīḥ (SB. °*tim*) RV. SV.

nirdagdhā arātayaḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: *nirdagdhārātiḥ* MS. KS.

parāpūtā (VSK. *pratipūtā*) *arātayaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *parāpūtārātiḥ* MS. KS.

avadhūtā arātayaḥ (MS. KS. *avadhūtārātiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

sahasva no abhimātim AV.: *sahasva me arātīḥ* VS.

ni mitrayur aratīn atārīt MS. KS.: *vi mitra evair arātim atārīt* TS. TB. Different words.

śiśīte śṛṅge rakṣase (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS. °*nakṣe*) RV. AV. TS. KS. N.

idam ahaṁ rakṣasāṁ (VSK. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. °*so*) *grīvā api kṛntāmi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

sṛjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV.: *sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavaṁ han* RV. N.

tam ito nāśayāmasi RV. AV. MG.: *tān ito nāśayāmasi* AV. Both *tam* and *tān* refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes.

apāṁ napāt pratirakṣann asuryam (MS. °*kṣad asuryān*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *asuryam* is usually translated 'the demons' power.' Is it not rather collective 'the demon(s)', with MS.'s variant referring to the individual demons?

apa protha (AV. *sedha*) *dundubhe duchunā* (AV. *duchunām*, TS. *duchunāṁ*, p.p. °*nān*) *itaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. *duchunā*, 'misfortune', is perhaps personified as a demon.

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇaṁ naḥ (TB. TA. *ṛṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anudattānṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni*).

enāṁsi cakṛmā vayam AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: *enaś cakṛmā vayam* TS. KS. TB.

cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam AB.: *cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā* KS. TA.

yat kusīdam apratīttaṁ (*apratītaṁ, apradattaṁ*) *mayi* (*mayeha*) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: *yāny apāmityāny apratīttāny* (°*tītāny*) *asmi* TB. ApŚ.: *apamityam apratīttaṁ yad asmi* AV.

idam ahaṁ taṁ valagam (MS. KS. *tān valagān*) *ut kirāmi* (VSK. TS.

MS. KS. ApŚ. *ud vapāmi*)...*yaṁ* (*yān*)...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

atrivad vaḥ krimayo (Ppp. *atrivat tvā kṛme*) *hanmi* AV. Ppp.: *atriṇā tvā krime hanmi* TA. ApŚ.: *hatas te atriṇā krimiḥ* (GG. *kṛmiḥ*) SMB. GG.

tā no amīvām (TB. *amīvā*) *apabādhamānau* MS. TB.

apāmīvām (TB. ApŚ. *apāmīvā*) *apa rakṣāṁsi sedha* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adadhrāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS. The meaning of the word *snehiti* or *snīhiti* is uncertain; it appears clear, however, that it must be something dreaded.

ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne (KS. *yaje hīḍyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.

tasmin pāśān pratimuñcāma etān MS. KS.: *yaṁ dviṣmas tasmin prati muñcāmi pāśam* TS. ApŚ.

aditiḥ pāśaṁ (MS. KS. *pāśān*) *pra mumoktv etam* (MS. KS. *etān*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

druhaḥ pāśān (TS. KS. *pāśaṁ*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV. *prati muñcatāṁ saḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

ayasmayaṁ vicṛtā (KS. *viśṛtā*) *bandham etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayasmayān vicṛtā bandhapāśān* AV.

[*indrānamitraṁ naḥ paścāt* (VSK. °*traṁ paścān me*) AV. VSK. KS. The sole ms. of KS. reads °*mitrān*, and so Conc.; but v. Schroeder is obviously right in emending to °*traṁ*.]

§704. (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as 'aid', 'sustenance', 'food', 'wealth', 'bounty', etc.

śataṁ bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ (SV. VS.* *ūtaye*) RV. AV. SV. 2. 34c. VS. (bis, add in Conc. 27. 41c with *ūtaye*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

maghavañ (°*vaṁ*) *chaṇdhi tava tan na ūtibhiḥ* (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. *ūtaye*) TV. AV. SV. PB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.

vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ (SV. °*ṭaye*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ.

sadā pāhy abhiṣṭibhiḥ (°*ṭaye*) RV. (both).

vyaciṣṭham annai (TS. MS. KS. *annaṁ*) *rabhasaṁ dṛśānam* (TS.† KS. *vidānam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

annānāṁ (MS. *annasya*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

śataṁ kumbhāṁ asiñcataṁ surāyāḥ (and *madhūnām*) RV. (both).

iṣaṁ no mitrāvaruṇā kartaneḍām AA.: *ūrjā mitro varuṇaḥ pinvateḍāḥ* SV.

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

rāyo (AV. *rayiṁ*) *devī dadātu naḥ* (AV. *dadhātu me*) RV. AV.

rāyo (AV. *rayiṁ*) *dānāya codaya* RV. SV. AV. Grassmann considers *rāyó* genitive singular; Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative plural, and the AV. reading, tho its verse shows some corruption, bears out his view.

te asmā (KS. *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ. MS. v. l. *agnayo*) *draviṇaṁ* (KS. °*ṇāni*) *dattvā* MS. KS. ApŚ.

dhattād asmabhyaṁ draviṇeha (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇaṁ yac ca*) *bhadram* TS. MS. ApŚ.

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇeha bhakṣīya TS.: *tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ* VS.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya draviṇehāgamyāt* MS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* (KS. *draviṇehāgamyāḥ*, ApŚ. *draviṇehāgameḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya draviṇaṁ māgachatu* KS. (for the reading see VV 1 §104u). The first TS. passage has the plural, and MS. may possibly have a plural; see §346.

ta ā yajanta draviṇaṁ (MS. KS.† *draviṇā*) *sam asmai* (MS. *asmin*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

datto asmabhyaṁ (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsma*°, SMB. *dattāsma*°) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS.

ahaṁ dadhāmi draviṇaṁ (AV. *draviṇā*) *haviṣmate* RV. AV.

dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā (SV. *dhanam*) RV. AV. SV.

yo devakāmo na dhanā (AV.* *dhanaṁ*) *runaddhi* RV. AV. (bis).

maho ye dhanaṁ (MS. KS. *dhanā*, TS. *ratnaṁ*) *samitheṣu jabhrire* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dadhad ratnaṁ (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣaṁ pitṛbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dakṣapitṛbhya*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṁṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV. *rādhāṁsi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV. SV.

somo rādhasām (TS. °*sā*) TS. MS. KS.

pūṣā sanīnām (TS. ApŚ. *sanyā*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

dyumnaṁ sudatra maṁhaya SV.: *dyumnā sukṣatra maṁhaya* RV.

ayaṁ (AŚ.* *ahaṁ*) *vājaṁ* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ.* *jayāmi*) *vājasātau* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis).

śriyaṁ ca lakṣmīṁ ca puṣṭiṁ (TAA.* *śrīś ca lakṣmīś ca puṣṭīś*) *ca kīrtiṁ cānṛṇyatāṁ brahmaṇyaṁ bahuputratām* TAA. (bis): *śrīś ca puṣṭiś cānṛṇyaṁ brahmaṇyaṁ bahuputriṇam* MahānU.

tayāhaṁ śāntyā sarvaśāntyā mahyaṁ dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntiṁ karomi TA.: *tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ sarvaśāntibhiḥ śamayāmy aham* AV.: *tvayāhaṁ śāntyā sarvaśāntyā mahyaṁ dvipade ca catuṣpade ca śāntiṁ karomi* MS.

svāhāgniṁ na bheṣajam (MS. °*jaiḥ*) VS. MS. TB.

svāhā vanaspatiṁ priyaṁ pātho na bheṣajam (MS. °*jaiḥ*) VS. MS. TB.

hiraṇyena varcāṅsi (KSA. *varcaḥ*) KS. KSA.

ataś ca viśvā (MuṇḍU.† *sarvā*) *oṣadhayo rasāś* (MuṇḍU. MahānU.† *rasaś*, MahānU. v. l. *rasāś*) *ca* TAA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.

divo dhārā (KS. °*rām*) *asaścata* TS. MS. KS.

ānandā modāḥ pramudaḥ AV.: *ānando modaḥ pramodaḥ* TB.: *modaḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB.

sugebhir (AV. *sugena*) *durgam atītām* RV. AV. SMB. ApMB.

atho ariṣṭatātaye RV. AV. PB.: *atho ariṣṭatātibhiḥ* RV. AV.

marmāṇi te varmaṇā (TS. *varmabhiś*) *chādayāmi* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.

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

anv aśvair anu sarveṇa (TB. ApŚ. *sarvair u*) *puṣṭaiḥ* VS. TB. ApŚ. In VS. *sarveṇa* is paraphrased by the comm.: *anyenāpi kāmena*. In TB. ApŚ. we may have merely the plural of this, or *sarvair* may agree with *puṣṭaiḥ* (so TB. comm. and Caland). In the latter case this is an instance of number attraction.

pūṣā svāhākāraiḥ (TA. *svagākāreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *svagākāraiḥ*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛṇasva VS. TS. ŚB.: *hastau pṛṇasva bahubhir vasavyaiḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.

ūrjaṁ puṣṭaṁ vasv āveśayantī AV.: *viśvā rūpāṇi vasūny āveśayantī* TS.

saṁ patnī patyā sukṛteṣu (TB. ApŚ. *sukṛtena*) *gachatām* MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This and the following variants are not quite at home under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB.: *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS. Cf. prec.; tho *sukṛt* and *sukṛta* are distinct words, the phrases in which they appear with *loka* are equivalent.

tābhyāṁ (MS. KS. add *vayaṁ*) *patema sukṛtām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Cf. prec.

chandobhir yajñaiḥ sukṛtāṁ kṛtena AV.: *brahmaṇā guptaḥ* (ApMB. *saṁpṛñcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* HG. ApMB. Here *sukṛt* 'righteous man' is personal in both forms of the variant, which strictly speaking does not belong here; cf. the preceding three, and see §580.

§705. (7). Words meaning act of heroism, power, rulership, majesty, fame, ordinance, and the like.

pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryeṇa* (AV. *vīryāṇi*, TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛpU.

ita indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akṛṇod devatābhiḥ samārabhya MS.: *ita indro akṛṇod vīryāṇi* TS. TB.: *ita indro vīryam akṛṇot* VS. KS. ŚB.

haviṣā yajña (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

svāhā somam indriyam (MS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. TB.

rudrasya gāṇapatyān (VS. ŚB. °*yaṁ*, KS. °*ye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. probably acc. pl., tho in TS. abl. sg.; see §§495, 526.

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Phonetic in character; as are also the following; VV 2 §706.

mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ (AŚ. °*tye*) TS. KS. MS. AŚ.

sve dakṣe (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asmin rāṣṭram adhiśraya* TS.

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitāṁ* (read °*tān*) *dadhātu* TB.

tad aśyāma tava rudra praṇītau (RV.† KS. °*ṇītiṣu*) RV. TS. KS.

ut parjanasya dhāmabhiḥ (MS. *dhāmnā*, TS. TA. ApMB. *śuṣmeṇa*, KS. *vṛṣṭyā*, PG. *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.

ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīḥ AV.: *kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāḥ* MS. See §269.

etāvān (ArS. ChU. *tāvān*) *asya mahimā* RV. VS. TA. ArS. ChU.: *tāvanto asya mahimānaḥ* AV.

abhi śravobhiḥ pṛthivīm RV.: *uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA.

vyānaśiḥ (SV. °*śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmaṇā*) RV. SV.

dyāṁ (AV. *divaṁ*) *ca gacha pṛthivīṁ ca dharmaṇā* (AV. *dharmabhiḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

ā jāgṛvir vipra ṛtā (SV. *ṛtam;* PB.† *kṛtaṁ*, misprint for *ṛtaṁ*?) *matīnām* RV. SV. PB.

ṛtaṁ (RV. *ṛtā*) *vadanto anṛtaṁ rapema* RV. AV.

pitre putrāso apy avīvatann ṛtam (AV. *ṛtāni*) RV. AV.

vrataṁ rakṣanti viśvahā AV.: *vratā dadante agneḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV.

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vaḥ kṛṇomi AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayaṁ* (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayaṁ te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayaṁ te astu* HG.

kṣatraṁ (TA. ApŚ. *kṣatrāṇi*) *dhāraya* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

brahma (MS. *asme brahmāṇi*) *dhāraya* VS. MS. ŚB.

naras tokasya tanayasya sātau (and *sātiṣu*) RV. (both).

vāmī te saṁdṛśi viśvaṁ reto....MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato*...*viśvā retāṁsi*...TS.

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. But the interpretation of *svadhā(ḥ)* is doubtful, both as to its meaning and its form; see §474.

§706. (8). Words denoting various abstract concepts.

aty acittim aty arātim agne (MS. KS. *ati nirṛtim adya*) VS.† TS.† MS. KS.: *aty acittīr ati dviṣaḥ* AV.

amīṣāṁ cittaṁ pratilobhayantī (AV. *cittāni pratimohayantī*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

mama cittam anu cittebhir eta AV.: *mama cittaṁ cittenānvehi* HG.

brāhmaṇena vācam (KS. *vācaḥ*) TS. KS. KSA.

[*vācā mendriyeṇāviśa* (KS. *vācām indr°*) TS. KS. MŚ. But see §589.]

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS. ŚB. °*ce*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śīle ca (v. l. *śīleṣu*) *yac ca pāpakam* SMB. (The Conc. records the text as reading *śīleṣu*.)

bhiyo (AV. *bhiyaṁ*) *dadhānā hṛdayeṣu śatravaḥ* RV. AV.

sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti saṁgiram (AV. °*raḥ*) RV. AV. SV.

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīṇām TB.: *vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām* AV.

namas (KS. NīlarU. *namāṁsi*) *ta āyudhāya* VS. MS. KS. NīlarU. MŚ. BṛhPDh.

deva savitas tvaṁ dīkṣāyā (KS. *dīkṣāṇāṁ*) *dīkṣāpatir asi* MS. KS.

ud rathānāṁ jayatāṁ yantu ghoṣāḥ (TS. *jayatām etu ghoṣaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS.: *ud vīrāṇāṁ jayatām etu ghoṣaḥ* AV.

śriyo (AV. TB. *śriyaṁ*, Ppp. *śriyo*) *vasānaś carati svarociḥ* (TB. °*cāḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. KS. TB.

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV. AV.: *ariṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV.

sam ākūtīr (RVKh. Scheftelowitz °*tiṁ*, Conc. with Aufrecht °*tir*) *namāmasi* (RVKh. Scheft. *manāmasi*, MS. *anaṁsata*) RVKh. AV. MS.

samānī va ākūtiḥ RV. AV. TB. AG.: *samānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtāni* MS. KS. MG.

saṁpaśyan pañktīr (AV. *pañtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānaḥ* RV. AV. The meaning of the whole verse is obscure; we suspect meter-names, in which case this would belong in §690 above.

akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS.: *kuyavaṁ* (MS. v. l. *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣitiś* (VS. *'kṣitaṁ*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS.

§707. (9). Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or psycho-physical entities.

suṣadā yonau svāhā vāṭ (TS. TB. *yoniṁ svāhā*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *sudhīn yonīn suṣadāṁ pṛthivīm* (ms. °*vī*) KS. See §550.

saṁ vaḥ sṛjāmi hṛdayāni (KS. °*yam*, MŚ. °*yāni vaḥ*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vaḥ kṛṇomi AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayaṁ* (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayaṁ te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayaṁ te astu* HG.

prati prāṇeṣu (SMB. *prāṇe*) *prati tiṣṭhāmi puṣṭe* (SMB. *puṣṭau*, MS. *tiṣṭhāmy ātman*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. SMB. HG.

prāṇaṁ (MS. *prāṇān*, p.p. *prāṇaṁ*) *na vīryaṁ nasi* VS. MS. TB.

prāṇā (MahānU. *prāṇo*) *vā āpaḥ* TA. MahānU. All Jacob's mss. but one *prāṇā(ḥ)*.

tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi (AŚ. *rūpeṇa*) *samanaktu yajñaiḥ* (AŚ. *yajñam*) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

tvaṣṭur ahaṁ devayajyayā paśūnāṁ rūpaṁ puṣeyam (MŚ. *dev° sarvāṇi rūpāṇi paśūnāṁ puṣeyam*) TS. MŚ.

nakṣatrāṇi rūpeṇa (TS. KSA. *pratirūpeṇa*, MS. *rūpaiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

māṁsāya (VS. *māṁsebhyaḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

na māṁseṣu na snāvasu ApMB.: *neva māṁse na pībasi* AV.: *naiva māṁsena pīvari* PG. The reading of PG. is clearly a corruption of AV.; see §611.

śaṁ te parebhyo gātrebhyaḥ, śam astv avarebhyaḥ VS. TS. KSA.: *śaṁ me* (Ppp. *te*) *parasmai gātrāya, śam astv avarāya me* (Ppp. *parāya te*) AV. Ppp.

niśīrya (MS. *praśīrya*) *śalyānāṁ mukhā* (MS. KS.† *mukham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. *mukha* is used figuratively: 'the point(s) of the arrows.'

śiprāḥ śīrṣan hiraṇyayīḥ RV.: *śiprāḥ śīrśasu vitatā hiraṇyayīḥ* RV. See *RVRep.* on 5. 54. 11.

valmīkān klomnā (VS. *klomabhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

marīcīr vipruḍbhiḥ (MS. °*pruṣā*) VS. MS.

§708. Also the word *tanū*.

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaṁ pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS. °*pāya*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS.

tena cinvānas tanvo (TS. *tanuvo*, MS. *tanvaṁ*) *ni ṣīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tan nas trāyatāṁ tanvaḥ sarvato (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.: *tan me tanvaṁ trāyatāṁ sarvato bṛhat* AV.

yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ (AV. °*vaḥ*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS. *kalpayāti*) RV. AV. VS.

yat kiṁ ca (KS. *cit*) *tanvo* (TS. *tanuvāṁ*) *rapaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *ghṛtena tvaṁ tanvaṁ* (TS. *tanuvo*) *vardhayasva* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The 'body' or 'bodies' belong to a plurality of persons; hence the secondary plural in TS. instead of the generalizing sing.

§709. (10). Seasonal and meteorological.

ahā (AV.* *ahar*) *mimāno aktubhiḥ* TV. AV. (bis) ArS. N.

sūro ahnāṁ pratarītā uṣasāṁ divaḥ AV.: *somo ahnaḥ* (SV. *ahnāṁ*) *pratarītoṣaso* (SV. °*sāṁ*) *divaḥ* RV. SV.

sajūr abdo (MS.* *abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *'yāvabhiḥ*, MS.* MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*, MS.* KS. *āyavobhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS.* KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.— MS. 3. 4. 4 reads *abdo āyavobhir*, error or misprint for *abdā āya*° or *abdo aya*°.

saṁvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Case- and number-attraction; see §585. Similar are the two following:

trivṛn no viṣṭhayā (KS. *trivṛd viṣṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāṁ (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

śaradbhyaḥ (ŚG. *śarade*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. ŚG.

ṛtuś ca me vrataṁ ca me TS.: *vrataṁ ca ma ṛtavaś ca me* VS.

samā (VS. KS. *samāś*) *ca mā* (VS. KS. *ma*) *indraś ca me* VS. MS. KS.

samā (VS. TS. *samāś*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. KS. has v. l. *samāś*.

uṣasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr dadhat TB. ApŚ. (TB. Poona ed. reads as ApŚ.; so read): *uṣām-uṣāṁ śreyasīṁ dhehy asmai* AV.

hiraṇyavarṇam (RV. *hiraṇyarūpam*) *uṣaso vyuṣṭau* RV. MS. KS. MŚ.: *hiraṇyarūpā uṣaṣo viroke* VS. ŚB.: *hiraṇyavarṇāv uṣasāṁ viroke* TS. TB.

rathā aśvāsa uṣaso vyuṣṭau (and *vyuṣṭiṣu*) RV. (both). 'At the first light(s) of dawn.'

jyotiṣaṁ na prakāśate RVKh.: *na jyotīṁṣi cakāsati* Suparṇ.

vāta (MS. *vātaḥ*, KS. *vātas*) *spṛtaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *vātā spṛtāḥ* TS.

māsaś (TS. *māsāṁ*) *caturthaḥ* TS. KSA. Gens.

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

abhīpato vṛṣṭyā (RV. *vṛṣṭibhis*) *tarpayantam* RV. AV. TS. KS.

dūṣīkābhir hrādunim (KSA.† *hrad*°) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhiḥ* VS. MS. 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes.'

aśrubhiḥ pṛṣvām (KSA. *pruṣvām*) TS. KSA.: *pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ* VS. MS. 'Hoar-frost (we gratify) with tears.'

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*)

sūreḥ (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. In KS., 'as the sun on its path'; TS. ŚvetU. have 'successive suns', i.e. the sun day by day.

sa śukrebhiḥ śikvabhī (TS. *śukreṇa śikvanā*) *revad asme* (TS. MS. *agniḥ*) RV. TS. MS.

§710. (11). Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual.

vi te muñcāmi raśanām AV.: *vi te muñcāmi raśanāṁ* (TS. °*nā*) *vi raśmīn* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. MG.

ā raśmīn (RV. *raśmiṁ*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. *svaśvaḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (KS. TB. *akṣeṣu vṛṣ*°) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ* ViDh.

āntrāṇi sthālīr (KS. TB. *sthālī*) *madhu pinvamānāḥ* (KS. TB. *pinvamānā*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

jāmi bruvata āyudham (SV. °*dhā*) RV. AV. SV. The reference is to Indra's weapons.

yaḥ puruṣe yo aśmani MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ye puruṣe ye aśmasu* AV. (Ppp. as the others.)

ā tvā pariśritaḥ (MG. *parisṛtaḥ*, PG. ApMB. *parisrutaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† °*bhāḥ*) AG. PG. MG. ApMB. Cf. *pūrṇān parisrutaḥ kumbhān* ŚB., in an entirely different context.

§711. (12). In a number of interesting cases of variation between singular and plural, the plural is of the type known as plurale tantum. E.g. *grīvā* is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural. So also *gṛha* is the plural 'the apartments of the house', *vāra* in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sieve', *śmaśru* in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard'. In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on *a priori* grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the plurale tantum rather than vice versa. The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural. In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here; e.g. those involving *lokāḥ*, *rakṣāṁsi*, etc. See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class.

anāgā devāḥ śakuno gṛheṣu (AV. *gṛhaṁ naḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp. MG.

indrasya gṛho 'si...AV. TB. TA.: *indrasya gṛhā vasumanto*...ApMB. PG.: *indrasya gṛhāḥ śivā*...ŚG.

mā te gṛhe (SMB. *gṛheṣu*) *niśi ghoṣa utthāt* SMB. ApMB. HG.

grīvāyāṁ (KS. *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS. *apipakṣa āsan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdhvadhā bhuvat*) RV. SV.

avyo (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* RV. SV. (bis).

avyo vāre (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyam* RV. SV.

vārān (SV. *vāraṁ*) *yat pūto atyèṣy avyān* (SV. *avyam*) RV. SV.

astaṁ (SV. *astā*) *rājeva satpatiḥ* RV. SV. The plural of *asta* is unusual if not isolated; it is likely to be due to thought of the use of *gṛha* in the plural.

apo (*udno*) *dattodadhiṁ bhinta* (*dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi*), see §502. Here TS. KS. have the sing. stem *udan*, the others the plurale tantum *ap* (acc. pl.).

§712. (13). Adjectives and pronouns, without clearly expressed noun. Here we include cases of substantially equivalent singular and plural forms of pronouns and adjectives, referring to entities not clearly expressed in the context. Psychologically they belong with the preceding sections dealing with nouns. Thus in the first variant *soma*, singular or plural, is referred to (cf. §693). Since the tṛca containing the plural passage is surrounded by tṛcas with singular, it is possible that some ritualistic plurality is concerned in the change of number (cf. *RVRep.* on 9. 36. 4, and *te*[*sa*] *viśvā* etc., §693); yet the mere change in number is, in the light of the numerous other changes of the same sort adduced here, not enough to prove it:

śumbhamānā (RV.* °*na*) *ṛtāyubhiḥ* RV. (both) SV.: *mṛjyamānā* (and °*no*) *gabhastayoḥ* RV. SV. (both in each).

§713. So in the next, the 2d person pronouns are addressed to the sacrificial fire or fires; the sing. to the āhavanīya alone, the plural perhaps to the three sacred fires (but cf. our remarks §686):

ned eṣa yuṣmad (TS. TB. *tvad*) *apacetayātai* TS. MS. TB. MŚ.: *eṣa net tvad apacetayātai* VS. KS. ŚB. But MS. MŚ. use singular pronouns, with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza.

§714. Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of entities:

atho (TS. MS. *athā*) *yūyaṁ stha* (MS. KS. *tvam asi*) *niṣkṛtīḥ* (TS. *saṁk*°, MS. *saṁkṛtiḥ*, KS. *niṣkṛtiḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Addressed to plants, or a plant; plurals occur in the rest of the stanza.

asmadrātā (TS. *asmaddātrā*, MS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*, TS. adds *madhumatīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Addressed to *dakṣiṇā*, sg. or pl. (cf. §696); see VV 1 p. 256.

mā vo riṣat (Kauś. *te riṣan*) *khanitā, yasmai cāhaṁ khanāmi vaḥ* (Kauś. *ca tvā khanāmasi*) RV. VS. TS. Kauś.: *yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham* VS. To plant(s).

jyotiṣā tvā (TB.* ApŚ. *vo*) *vaiśvānareṇopatiṣṭhe* TB. (both) AŚ. ApŚ. To the fire.

taṁ vo (MS. *te*) *gṛhṇāmy* (MS. *gṛbhṇāmy*) *uttamam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. To one or perhaps all five of the cups (graha).

devatābhyas tvā devavītaye gṛhṇāmi KS.: *devavītaye* (MS. °*vītyai*) *tvā* (KS. *vo*) *gṛhṇāmi* TS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. To the oblation.

adityās tvopasthe sādayāmi TS. MS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *adityā va upasthe sādayāmi* MS. MŚ. To the oblation.

āchettā te (TB. ApŚ.* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (*riṣat, mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

§715. Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker is thinking of the individuals which compose it; cf. §836. Thus:

yuvaṁ tān (SV. *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV. SV. Reference is to *senā* 'army'; but AV. thinks of the individual men who make it up. To be sure the AV. comm. reads *tām*, and Whitney would emend to this, but it seems to us unnecessary.

§716. The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring to a plurale tantum, conceived as a single entity. Thus:

samudrasya vo 'kṣityā (VS. ŚB. *tvākṣityā*) *un naye* (VS. ŚB. *nayāmi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. In the same ritual context, referring to water (*āpaḥ*); hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj. school uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing.

§717. So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially *anya* and *sarva*, may be used in either number without essential difference (cf. also the indefinite neuter, §727):

anyāṅs (TS. AŚ. *anyaṁ*) *te asmat tapantu hetayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ.

anyam asman (MS. *anyāṅs te asman*, KS. *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. If *anye* is sound, it can be nothing but a Prakritic acc. pl.; cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Spr.* 425, 433 (and for nouns, 367a).

sarvaṁ taṁ bhasmasā (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāṅs tān*

mṛsmṛsā (KS. TA. *maṣmaṣā*) *kuru* MS.† KS. TA.: *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV.

yat tvā kruddhāḥ pracakruḥ AV.: *yat tvā* (KS. *te*) *kruddhaḥ parovapa* (KS. ms. °*vāpa*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'If angry ones have thrown thee out': 'if I in anger have (KS. ms. if an angry one has) thrown thee out.' The other texts state bluntly what AV. puts diplomatically, using the indefinite third person so as not to admit in words the sin which it really implies. It is the speaker, nevertheless, who is conceived as the doer of the act, even in AV. Cf. VV 1 §315.

§718. Other cases show pronouns or adjectives referring to the person or persons, not definitely expressed, on whose behalf the rite is being performed:

pātainaṁ prāñcam VS. ŚB.: *pāta prāñcam* (KS. *prāñcaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

pāta mā tiryañcam TS. TB.: *pātainaṁ tiryañcam* VS. ŚB.: *pāta tiryañcam* (KS. *tiraścaḥ*) MS. KS.

pāta (*pāta mā, pātainaṁ*) *pratyañcam* (KS. *pratīcaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

pātānvañcam (KS. °*nūcaḥ*) MS. KS.: *anvañcaṁ mā pāta* TS. TB.

utālabdhaṁ (AV. *utārabdhān*) *spṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ* RV. AV.

yasyāham asmi purohitaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ* AV.

piteva putram (AV. Kauś. *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG. *iha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS. ŚB. *imān*) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. Kauś.: *piteva putraṁ jarase ma emam* (Ppp. KS. HG. ApMB. *nayemam*) Ppp. MS. KS. HG. ApMB.

§719. (14). This brings us to the use of pronouns, singular or plural, referring in a more or less vague and general way to the priests and their associates. In VV 1 §290 we have discussed this type of number variant in the verb. In so far as nominative pronouns in varying numbers accompany singular and plural verbs, there will appear some duplication between the following lists and those quoted in VV 1; but for the most part the materials are different, tho related psychologically. They must be regarded as complementing each other, and must be considered together. As we saw l. c., different persons may be used, as well as different numbers. Hence we find, here also, cases in which pronouns of different person as well as number are used. We quote a few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf. §9):

§720. First and second persons:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV. Ppp.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitāṁ* (read °*tān*) *dadhātu* TB.

ā tvā (TB. *na*) *svo viśatāṁ* (TB. *aśnutāṁ*) *varṇaḥ* AV. TB.

§721. First and third persons. Here we find a number of variations between the forms *asmai* 'for him' and *asme* 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704. The shift between *e* and *ai* is very easy. Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading. See also §738 for some formally similar cases.

asmai (TB. *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam* AV.† TB.

asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhatta vasavo vasūni* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhārayataṁ* (MŚ. °*tāṁ*) *rayim* RV. AV. MŚ. Different contexts.

asme (KBU. *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin* RV. KBU. AG. PG. N.

asmai (MS. *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS. MS. AŚ.

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

savitrā prasavitrā...indreṇāsme (VSK. °*smai*)...VS. VSK.

asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya (KŚ. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asme kṣatrāṇi dhārayer anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne* AV. Different contexts.

asme (AŚ. *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspatī* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Doubtless misprint in AŚ.

yachā naḥ śarma saprathaḥ (°*thāḥ*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.: *yachāsmai śarma saprathāḥ* AV. TS.

ud enam uttaraṁ (°*rāṁ*, §814) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *ud asmāṁ uttarān naya* ApŚ. In same verse:

prajayā ca bahuṁ (ApŚ. *bahūn*) *kṛdhi* AV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722. The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates. Little need be said of them; they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers. Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff., which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms. Their number is, however, remarkable and impressive.

§723. As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number

is more or less inconsistent with the context. The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary. We shall list these inconsistent variants first:

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ. *viśobhagīnā tasyāṁ me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāno bhūyāsma* KS. ApŚ. Note 1st plural verb.

mayīdam indra indriyaṁ dadhātu VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *asmāsv indra indriyaṁ dadhātu* TS. MS. KS. MŚ.: *mayīndra indriyaṁ dadhātu* TS. TA. TAA. AG. The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

bhavataṁ naḥ samanasau VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. BDh.: *avataṁ mā samanasau samaukasau* TB. Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB.

sūryo mā (MS. *nas*) *tebhyo rakṣatu* TS. MS. KS. Also with *vāyur* and *agnir* instead of *sūryo*. (Delete reference to KS. under *agnir nas* in Conc.) The following pāda has 1st plural in all.

devi vāg yat te vāco (*yad vāco*) *madhumat* (*madhumattamaṁ*, °*tamaṁ juṣṭatamaṁ*) *tasmin mā* (KB. ŚŚ. *no adya*) *dhāḥ* (*dhāt*) TS. KB. GB. PB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. A 1st sg. verb precedes in all.

vājo no (MS. KS. *me*) *adya prasuvāti dānam* VS. MS. KS. 1st sg. pronoun in the same verse in VS.

vīhi havyaṁ prayatam āhutaṁ me (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Both have plural elsewhere in the verse.

śṛṇotu mitro aryamā bhago naḥ (KS. *me*) RV. VS. KS. N. 1st sing. verb in the verse even in RV.

śraddhe śrad dhāpayeha naḥ (TB. *mā*) RV. TB. 1st plural verb in both; here TB. is secondarily inconsistent.

cittasya (TB. SMB. *yajñasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaraṁ*) *suhavā no* (TB. SMB. *me*) *astu* AV. TB. The AV. has *me* in the next pāda.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ TA.: *vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu* AV. The rest of the verse has 1 sg. in both. Ppp. intends to read with TA. (Whitney on AV. 6. 119. 3).

ā mā ghoṣo gachati vāñ māsām (TS. KS. *vāñ na āsām*, MS. *vār nv āsām*, p.p. *vāk, nu, āsām*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Note that TS. KS. are inconsistent within the same pāda!

tvaṣṭā me (SV. *no*) *daivyaṁ vacaḥ* AV. SV. Kauś. Plural follows in both.

ayaṁ te asmy upa mehy (AV. *na ehy*) *arvāñ* RV. AV. Ppp. In the same verse:

manyo vajrinn abhi mām (AV. *abhi na*, Ppp. *upa na*) *ā vavṛtsva*, same texts. The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing. with *manyu*!); RV. is the only really consistent text.

māṁ dhehi TS. TB. TA.: *asmān dhehi* KSA. The latter is emended by von Schroeder to *māṁ*, because the next mantra has *mayi*. In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable.

ā no (VS. *mā*) *jane śravayataṁ yuvānā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by two pādas with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular.

paraitu mṛtyur amṛtaṁ na aitu (ŚŚ. SMB. *amṛtaṁ ma ā gāt*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. The two latter texts combine this with a pāda containing a plural.

pātaṁ no (ApŚ. *mā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe* RV. MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by a plural in all.

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (AV. *baladāvā na ehi*) RV. AV. Singulars in the rest of the verse in AV.

viśve devāso adhi vocatā naḥ (TS. *me*) RV. TS. And others, §154. RV. is inconsistent, having sing. pronouns in the rest of the vs.; all later texts restore consistency.

dyauś ca naḥ (KS. TB. *tvā*, AV. *ma idaṁ*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* (AV. °*sau*) RV. AV. KS. TB. See §488. Plur. pronoun follows in AV.

rāyo (AV. *rayiṁ*) *devī dadātu naḥ* (AV. *dadhātu me*) RV. AV. Plural precedes in AV.

idam ahaṁ taṁ valagaṁ (*tān valagān*) . . . *yaṁ* (*yān*) *me* (VSK. TS. KS. *naḥ*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. Note *ahaṁ* in all.

maruṭāṁ manve adhi no (AV. *me*) *bruvantu* AV. TS. MS. KS. A plural follows in AV.

ādityā rudrā uparispṛśo naḥ (KS. °*śaṁ mā*) AV. KS.: *vasavo rudrā ādityā uparispṛśaṁ mā* RV. VS. TS. Plurals in the context; only the secondary AV. is consistent.

abhūn mama (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG. All have singulars in the rest of the verse.

amitrān no vi vidhyatām AV.: *mamāmitrān vi vidhyata* (and °*tu*) AV. (both). In different contexts; the sings. are inconsistent with their surroundings.

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ.† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś.

§724. The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context. The long list follows:

agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ (TB. *mā*) RV. TB.

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me...VS.: *adhvanām adhvapate* (ŚŚ. *adhvano adhipatir asi*) *svasti me* (ŚŚ. *no*)...PB. ŚŚ.

pāvamānīḥ (°*nyaḥ*) *punantu naḥ* (RVKh. TB. *mā*, MG. *tvā*, YDh. *te*) SV. RVKh. TB. MG. YDh.

upa mā (ŚB. ŚŚ. *māṁ*) *bṛhat saha divā hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. (also with *rathaṁtaraṁ saha pṛthivyā*, and *vāmadevyaṁ sahāntarikṣeṇa*): *upāsmāṁ iḍā hvayatāṁ*... AŚ.

pari ṇaḥ (and *mā*) *pāhi viśvataḥ* AV. (both). Different contexts.

tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ VS.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya draviṇehāgamyāt* MS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya*...TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya draviṇaṁ māgachatu* (cf. VV 1 §104u) KS.

yo naḥ (AV. *mā*) *kadā cid abhidāsati druhā* (AV. *druhuḥ*) RV. AV.

devasyāhaṁ (VSK. *devasya vayaṁ*) *savituḥ save*...VS. VSK. ŚB.

mā no hārdi tviṣā vadhīḥ RV.: *mā me hārdi tviṣā* (MŚ. *hārdiṁ dviṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ.

varṇaṁ pavitraṁ (MG. *purāṇaṁ*) *punatī ma* (ŚG. *na*) *āgāt* ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *śarma varūthaṁ* (HG. *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB. HG.

āyantu naḥ pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ VS.: *ā me yantu* ViDh. (pratīka of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS.).

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

yad antarikṣaṁ tad u me (MS.† *naḥ*) *pitābhūt* (VSK. *pitāsa*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB.

asme te rāyaḥ MS. KS.: *asme rāyaḥ* VSK. TS. ApŚ.: *me rāyaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. On *mé* (loc.) see Wackernagel 3 p. 462.

imaṁ stomaṁ juṣasva naḥ (and *me*) RV. (both).

imaṁ (HG. *etaṁ*) *yajñaṁ pitaro me* (HG. *no*) *juṣantām* AV. HG.

imaṁ no (MS. KS. *me*) *deva savitaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

imān me (ApŚ. *no*) *mitrāvaruṇau* (ApŚ. °*ṇā*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.

ud uttamaṁ mumugdhi naḥ (MŚ. *mat*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ.

ihāsmāsu (MS. *ihāsmabhyaṁ*, TB.* *iha mahyaṁ*) *ni yachatam* RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. (bis).

ṛtena naḥ (ApŚ. *mā*) *pāhi* MS. ApŚ.

upa mā (Vait. *no*) *rājan sukṛte hvayasva* TB. Vait.

ūrdhvo naḥ pāhy aṁhaso ni ketunā RV. MS. KS. AB. KB. TB.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy aṁhasaḥ* VS. ŚB.

ṛtāvarī yajñiye mā (AV. *naḥ*) *punītām* AV. MS. TB.

evā me astu dhānyam Ppp. TAA.: *evāsmākedaṁ dhānyam* AV.

ghṛtena no (MS. KS. *mā*) *ghṛtapvaḥ* (TS. °*puvaḥ*) *punantu* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

cakṣur no (KS. *me*) *dhehi cakṣuṣe* RV. MS. KS. MG.

tato no (KS. *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (VS.† KS.* °*āva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (both) ApŚ. MŚ.

tan ma (TA. *na*) *indro varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ* TA. MahānU. BDh.

tan ma ācakṣva (ŚŚ. *naḥ prabrūhi*) *nārada* AB. ŚŚ.

dyaur me (AV. *naḥ*) *pitā janitā nābhir atra* RV. AV. N.

nadasya nāde pari pātu me (AV. *no*) *manaḥ* RV. AV.

ye māmakāḥ pitaraḥ ViDh.: *ye 'smākaṁ pitaraḥ teṣāṁ barhir asi* AV.

idaṁ brahma juṣasva naḥ (TAA. MG. and TA. v. l. *me*) TA. TAA. MG. MahānU.

pūṣā bhagaṁ (AŚ. *bhagaṁ pūṣā*) *savitā me* (TB. AŚ. *no*) *dadātu* ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. PG.

prajāṁ me dāḥ VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.: *prajāṁ me yacha* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *prajām asmāsu dhehi* VS.

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayi dhehi* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *varco me dāḥ* MS. MŚ.: *varco me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *varco me dhehi* (TA. *dhāḥ*) VSK. MS. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ.: *varco me yacha* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

prajāṁ me narya pāhi MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.: *prajāṁ no narya pāhi* ApŚ.

prajāṁ me naryājugupaḥ (ApŚ. MŚ. v. l. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *prajāṁ no naryājūgupaḥ* ApŚ.

paśūn me śaṁsya pāhi MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *paśūn naḥ śaṁsya pāhi* ApŚ.

paśūn me śaṁsyājugupaḥ (ApŚ. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *paśūn naḥ śaṁsyājūgupaḥ* ApŚ.

annaṁ me (ApŚ.* *no*) *budhya* (ApŚ. *budhnya*) *pāhi, tan me* (ApŚ.* *no*) *gopāyāsmākaṁ punar āgamāt* MS. ApŚ. (bis).

annaṁ me (ApŚ.* *no*) *budhyājugupas* (ApŚ. *budhnyā*°) *tan me* (ApŚ.* *naḥ*) *punar dehi* MS. ApŚ. (bis).

tāṁ me (ApŚ.* *no*) *gopāyāsmākaṁ punar āgamāt* MS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. Also with *tān* for *tāṁ*, but not in MŚ.

tāṁ me (ApŚ.* *naḥ*) *punar dehi* KS. MS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. Also with *tān* for *tāṁ*, but not in KS. or MŚ.

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

mā parā seci no dhanam (ApŚ. *naḥ svam*, ApMB. *me dhanam*) ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB.

mā vayam āyuṣā varcasā ca MS.: *māham āyuṣā* (KS. adds *varcasā virādhiṣi*) TS. KS.

yaḥ potā sa punātu naḥ (VS. MS. KS. ApŚ. *mā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *yaḥ pūtaḥ sa punātu mā* TB. (so Conc., but Poona ed. reads *potā*).

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

yo naḥ kaś cābhyaghāyati AV.: *yo mā kaś cābhidāsati* AG. PG. MG.

yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam MŚ.: *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena jeṣam* TS.

yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā TB. : *yo 'smāṅś cakṣuṣā manasā citīyākūtyā ca* AV.

yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣma idam asya grīvā api kṛntāmi TS.: *idam ahaṁ yo me* (KS. *nas*) *samāno yo 'samāno 'rātīyati tasya grīvā api kṛntāmi* MS. KS.: *idam enam adharaṁ karomi yo naḥ samāno yo 'samāno 'rātīyati* TS.

tan me tanvaṁ trāyatāṁ sarvato bṛhat AV.: *tan nas trāyatāṁ tanvaḥ sarvato* (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.

viśve no (KS. *mā*) *devā avasā gamantu* (RV.* VS.* MS. KS. ApŚ. *gamann iha*) RV. (both) VS. (both) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

vaiśvānaro adabdhas (AV. *no adabdhas*, TA. *me 'dabdhas*, MS. ApŚ. *'dabdhas*) *tanūpāḥ* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. The preceding pādas, which show much variation in their enumeration of protectors, show the following number variants:

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

punar manaḥ punar āyur (SMB. *ātmā*) *mā* (MS. *nā*, ApŚ. om. the word) *āgāt* (VS. ŚB. *āgan*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. The texts are consistent thruout in their use of singular or plural.

śāntir no astu MS.: *śāntir me astu śāntiḥ* TA.: *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS.

śivā tvaṁ mahyam edhi HG.: *śivā na ihaidhi* AV.

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

sarvaṁ sviṣṭaṁ suhutaṁ karotu (AG. HG.† *karotu me*) ApŚ. AG. ApG. HG.: *sviṣṭaṁ suhutaṁ karotu svāhā* (BṛhUK.† *karotu naḥ svāhā*) ŚB. BṛhU. BṛhUK.

sarvān mac chapathāṅ adhi AV.: *asmat su śapathāṅ adhi* ApŚ.

sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā (HG. *naḥ*) *priyāḥ* ApMB. HG. Followed by:

abhi rakṣantu mā (HG. *sravantu naḥ*) *priyāḥ* ApMB. HG.

sahasva no abhimātim AV.: *sahasva me arātīḥ* VS.

sā nas samantam anu parīhi bhadrayā ApMB.: *sā mā* (MG. *naḥ*) *samantam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG. SMB.

sā naḥ (KS. *mā*) *suprācī supratīcy edhi* (VSK. MS. KS. *supratīcī bhava*, TS. *supratīcī saṁ bhava*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

surāṣṭrā iha māvata (MS. *no 'vata*) TS. MS. KS.

suhavā nā ehi saha rāyaspoṣeṇa MS.: *suhavā mehi saha prajayā saha rāyaspoṣeṇa* KS.

sa māṁ pātu KS.: *so 'smān pātu* TS.

deva varuṇa devayajanaṁ no dehi svāhā (ApŚ. °*yajanaṁ me dehi*) PB. ApŚ. Cf. *deva savitar devayajanaṁ me dehi devayajyāyai* AB.

agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. SMB.: *agnir nas tasmād enasaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.

evāsmān (KS. *evā mām*, AV. *tenāsmān*) *indro varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *tena no rājā varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ* TS. ŚŚ.

mā mā (SMB. *no*) *hiṁsiṣṭa* VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. Vait.

mā no (VS. VSK. ŚB. *mā*) *hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ pṛthivyāḥ* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ. *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ. °*āmi*) AV.† KS. MŚ.: *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB. ApŚ.: *mā no hiṁsīd dhiṁsito dadhāmi* (some mss. om. *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi* AŚ.

yajatrā muñcateha naḥ (TB. *mā*) AV. TB.

yad bhadraṁ tan na (TB. TA. ApŚ. *ma*) *ā suva* RV. VS. TB. TA. ApŚ. Kauś. MahānU.

yo no (AV. *mā*) *divā dipsati yaś ca naktam* RV. AV.

vājo naḥ (MS. *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradiśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:

vājo no (MS. KS. *mā*) *viśvair devair* VS. TS. MS. KS.

vaiśvānaro raśmibhir mā (AV. *naḥ*) *punātu* AV. MS. TB.

śaṁ ca no mayaś ca naḥ AV. Kauś.: *śaṁ ca me mayaś ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ubhe ca no (ŚB. *cainaṁ*, ŚŚ. *cainaṁ* [*na iti vā*]) *dyāvāpṛthivī aṁhasaḥ pātām*...MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚB. also has the reading *ubhe ca mā* etc., which it rejects, since *mā* would refer to the hotar, whereas the yajamāna should be indicated. The difference between 1st and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic theorizing. However, MS., TB., AŚ., a school contested by ŚŚ., and the Kāṇva recension of ŚB. read *no*, making no difficulty about including the officiating priests in the benediction.

ṛtān mā muñcatāṁhasaḥ TB.: *kṛtān naḥ pāhy aṁhasaḥ* (TA. *enasaḥ*) MS. TA.

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

kalpatāṁ me yogakṣemaḥ AB.: *yogakṣemo naḥ kalpatām* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB.

gṛhān naḥ pitaro datta VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. SMB. GG.: *vīraṁ me* (MŚ. *no*) *datta pitaraḥ* AŚ. MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ* (Kauś. *me*) *pitaro dhatta* (Kauś. *datta*) Kauś. ViDh.

goposaṁ ca me (MŚ. AŚ. *goposaṁ ca no*, TB.† ApŚ. *goposaṁ no*) *vīrapoṣaṁ ca yacha* (AV. MŚ. *dhehi*) AV. TB. 3. 7. 2. 7. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

tāsāṁ te sarvāsāṁ vayam (and °*sām aham*) AV. (both).

tasya bhājayateha naḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. ApMB.: *tasyāgne bhājayeha mā* TB.

tayāhaṁ vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca ApMB.: *vardhiṣīmahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣīmahi* (MS. MŚ. ApŚ.† *pyāyiṣīmahi ca*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG.

tan no (MahānU. *me*) *varuṇo rājā* TA. MahānU.

tan me (VS. *no*) *astu tryāyuṣam* VS. VSK. ApMB. HG. MG.

tan (GB. *etan*) *no gopāya* MS. KS. GB. ApŚ.: *tan me gopāya* (Kauś. *gopāyasva*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

tarpayata me (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) *pitṝn* VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. BDh.

tasya no (TS. *me*) *rāsva* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

tasmai no (AV. *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*, PG. °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ.† *viśve*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh.

tābhir no (MS. *tebhir mā*) *devaḥ savitā punātu* MS. ApŚ.: *tābhiṣ ṭvā devaḥ savitā punātu* ApMB.

agnir naḥ (VSK. *mā*) *pātu duritād avadyāt* VS. VSK. ŚB.

agnir nas (TA. *mā*) *tasmād indraś ca* MS. TA.

agne jātān pra ṇudā naḥ (AV. *me*) *sapatnān* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS. *abhi no nivartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

adhā cid indra me (SV. *naḥ*) *sacā* RV. AV. SV.

anamitraṁ no adharāt (VSK.† *me adharāk*, KS. *no adharāk*) AV. VSK. KS. In the same verse:

indrānamitraṁ (KS. ms. °*trān*, see §703 end) *naḥ paścāt* (VSK. °*traṁ paścān me*) AV. VSK. KS.

abhayaṁ mitrāvaruṇāv ihāstu naḥ (AG. °*varuṇā mahyam astu*) AV. AG.

abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā me (AV. *naḥ*) RV. AV.

abhiṣṭir (HG. *abhiṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG. *ca no gṛhe*) RVKh. HG.: *abhiśrīr yā ca no gṛhe* ApMB.

arvācīnaṁ vasuvidaṁ bhagaṁ naḥ (AV. *me*) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TB. ApMB.

māṁ (AV. *asmān*) *punīhi* (MS. *punāhi*) *viśvataḥ* (AV. *cakṣase*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS.

ahar no atyapīparat SMB. MahānU.: *ahar māty apīparaḥ* AV.

ādityās tasmān no (TB. *mā*) *yūyam* AV. TB.

ā no (VS. ŚB. *mā*) *goṣu viśatv auṣadhīṣu* (MS. *oṣadhīṣu*, VS. KS. ŚB. *ā tanūṣu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āśīr ṇa (TS. KS. KŚ. *ma*, MS. *nā*) *ūrjam uta sauprajāstvam* (TS. MS. KS. KŚ. *supra°*) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

abhayaṁ vo (ŚŚ.* *te*) *'bhayaṁ no astu* (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (both): *abhayaṁ no astu* MS. KS. ŚŚ. ŚG.: *abhayaṁ me astu* (AB.† *'stu*) AB. ApŚ.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātaraḥ śundhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*, TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

āganta pitaraḥ pitṛmān ahaṁ yuṣmābhir bhūyāsaṁ suprajaso mayā yūyaṁ bhūyāsta TS.: *āganta pitaraḥ somyāsas teṣāṁ vaḥ prativittā ariṣṭāḥ syāma supitaro vayaṁ yuṣmābhir bhūyāsma suprajaso yūyam asmābhir bhūyāsta* MŚ.

pūṣā nā ādhāt sukṛtasya loke MS.: *pūṣā mādhāt* (AV. *mā dhāt*) *sukṛtasya loke* AV. TS. KS.

bandhur me (AV. *no*) *mātā pṛthivī mahīyam* RV. AV. N.

bodhā me (TS. *no*) *asya vacaso yaviṣṭha* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

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, *vocaḥ* for *brūtāt*) VS. ŚB.: *sukṛtaṁ mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS.

pra mā (TS. ApŚ. *ṇo*) *brūtād bhāgadāṁ* (TS. *°dhān*, ApŚ. *°dhāṁ*, KS. *dhavirdā*) *devatāsu* (KS. *°tābhyaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

§725. Of essentially the same sort are a few variants in which adjectives agreeing with the subjects of 1st person verbs vary between singular and plural:

edhamānaḥ (Kauś. *°nāḥ*) *svagṛhe* (Kauś. *sve gṛhe*) ŚB. BṛhU. Kauś.: *edhamāna sve vaśe* ApMB.

jīvā (TB. ApŚ. *jīvo*) *jīvantīr upa vaḥ sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

devā dhanena dhanam ichamānāḥ HG.: *dhanena devā dhanam ichamānaḥ* AV. ApMB. The verbs *carāma*, *°mi* occur in the preceding.

āyuṣmāṅ jaradaṣṭir yathāsāni AV.: *āyuṣmanto jarām upagachema devāḥ* (KS. *jīvāḥ*) KS. ApŚ.

gātrāṇāṁ te gātrabhājo bhūyāsma (KS. *gātrabhāg bhūyāsam*) TS. KS.

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭṛi°*, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *tvaṣṭṛīmatī* (TS. ApŚ. *tvaṣṭī°*, and so TA. Poona ed. with v. l. *tvaṣṭrī°*) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. §849.

ihaiva santaḥ prati tad yātayāmaḥ (AV. *prati dadma enat*) AV. TB. ApŚ.:

ihaiva san niravadaye tat TS. On this variant see Whitney's notes to AV. 6. 117. 1 and 2.

§726. And a couple of others of the same sort in which there is inconsistency with the context:

yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ṢB. ŚB. TB. TAA. SMB. ApMB. N.: *yatkāma idaṁ juhomi tan me samṛdhyatām* TB. The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural.

yac cāham eno vidvāṅś cakāra yac cāvidvāṅs...VS. ŚŚ.: *yac cāham eno vidvāṅsaś cāvidvāṅsaś cainaś cakṛma*...MahānU. The comm. to the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying *akārṣam* with *aham*.

2. The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf. §807) a tinge of generalization; and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives), which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders. (On neuter adverbs see §734.)

kṛṣṭapacyāś (TS. KS. °*yaṁ*) *ca me 'kṛṣṭapacyāś* (TS. KS. °*yaṁ*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*. '(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation': 'that which ripens' etc.

ekaśapham asṛjyata MS.: *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛjyanta* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. In MS. ('the whole-hoofed [kind of cattle]') followed by a parallel formula, *kṣudrāḥ paśavo 'sṛjyanta*.

āsyai brāhmaṇāḥ snapanīr (ApMB. °*naṁ*) *harantu* AV. ApMB. 'Let the brahmans bring her bathing-water.' With *snapanīr* sc. *āpaḥ*. Cf. next.

āpaḥ pādyāḥ ApŚ.: *pādyam* (Kauś.—not HG.—*pādyaṁ bhoḥ*) Kauś. HG. '(Water) for the feet.' Cf. prec.

hotṛṣadanaṁ haritaṁ hiraṇyayam AV.: *hotṛṣadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ* TB. ApŚ. With the latter supply *darbhāḥ*: '(grass) for the hotar to sit on, yellow, golden.' AV. feels *hotṛṣadanaṁ*, which means the same thing, as a neuter abstract: 'a seat for the hotar' etc. Cf. *darbhaiḥ stṛṇīta haritaiḥ suparṇaiḥ* (KS.† *suvarṇaiḥ*) KS. MŚ.

samṛddhikaraṇaṁ tava (HG. °*karaṇān mama*) PG. HG. Preceded by *imāṁl lājān ā vapāmy agnau* (HG. *vapāmi*, om. *agnau*); followed by *tubhyaṁ* (PG. *mama tubhyaṁ ca*) *saṁvananam*. 'I cast these kernels...as increase-makers (a making of increase)...a harmonizing.'

tṛmpantu hotrā madhvo yāḥ sviṣṭāḥ (VSK. *yat sviṣṭam*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Followed by:

yāḥ suprītāḥ suhutā yat svāhā VS. ŚB.: *yat subhṛtaṁ yat svāhā* VSK. In VS. ŚB.: 'Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice' etc. In VSK. *yat* etc. might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb: 'let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered' etc. But the change was surely suggested by *suhutā yat svāhā* of VS., in which *yat* is a conjunction, 'when well offered with *svāhā*'. Most likely, therefore, *yat* is to be taken thus all three times in VSK. and the neuters are indefinite: 'let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made' etc.

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV. AV.: *turaś cid viśvam †arṇavat tapasvān* AV. The AV. is corrupt; but *viśvam* seems clearly an indefinite neuter.

prajā vikṛṇvan (ApŚ. *vikurvan*, MS. *prajāḥ kṛṇvan*) *janayan virūpāḥ* (KS. °*pam*) MS. KS. ApŚ. *virūpam* indefinite neuter in KS. (probably original); in the others *prajāḥ* is understood with it.

taj (RV. *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The RV. *tā* refers back to *dārūṇi*; the other texts substitute the indefinite sing. *tad*, with the same reference, possibly; but see §737. In different context, *taṁ ju*° *ya*° RV.

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. The pāda originally (in RV. AV.) occurs in the Yama-Yamī hymn; the fem. adjectives apply to Yamī. The YV. texts apply it to a wholly different context, by 'phrase-inflection' (§848). Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV. text use the indefinite neuter singular: 'that what is manifold may become of one sort'. (In VS. ŚB. only this can be intended, as *viṣurūpaṁ* shows; *salakṣmā* is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV. original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final *a*, VV 2 §§459–60; the comm. interprets as neuter.) In TS. the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc. pl.: 'that ye, manifold, may become of one sort.'

§728. So the indefinite *sarvam* 'everything' varies with *sarvān* 'all (men)'; but the variant *sarvāñ*, nom. sg., 'heading everywhither', is likely to be more original than either:

amāsi (SMB. *amā hy asi*, ŚG. *amo 'si*) *sarvāñ* (AŚ. *sarvān*, SMB. *sarvam*) *asi* (SMB. *anu*) *praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. ŚG. SMB. Kauś.

§729. Also *tad* and *tāni*, neuter sg. and pl., both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also *yasmāj jātaṁ* [*jātā*] etc., §810).

yas tad veda (AV.* VS. *tāni veda*, RV. AV.* TA.* N. *tā vijānāt*) *sa pituṣ* (VS. MahānU. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. (bis) VS. TA. (bis) MahānU. N.

§730. In substantive use, a pronoun introducing a predicate noun commonly agrees with that noun in number and gender, but may also be neuter singular without regard to the number and gender of the predicate, as in German ('das bin ich, das sind die besten Leute' etc.); cf. §§776, 812. So:

tad (VS. *tā*) *āpaḥ sa* (VSK. *tat*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS. VSK. TA. MahānU. Note that TA. MahānU. are inconsistent, having the neuter in one of the two phrases, but agreement in gender (and number) in the other. VS. and VSK. are (in different ways) consistent.

3. Plural of *viśva* with singular noun (?)

§731. Twice the text of TS. presents the form *viśve*, apparently nom. pl., where other texts have *viśvo* (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS.) with a singular (*martaḥ*); both are parts of the same stanza. The TS. version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls *viśve* 'senseless'. Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait. reading; moreover ApŚ. has the same. Either it is a Māgadhism, intended as nom. sg. (cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Spr.* §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject. Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS. may have so intended; it would be an illogical blend of *viśvo martaḥ* 'every man' with *viśve martāḥ* 'all men.'—The same *viśve* apparently with a sing. noun occurs a third time in TS., *atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhaḥ*, §457, q. v.

viśvo (TS. ApŚ. *viśve*) *devasya netuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. (delete KSA. in Conc.).

viśvo (TS. *viśve*) *rāya iṣudhyati* (TS. °*si*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

Other shifts of sing. and pl. with no essential change of meaning

§732. With this we conclude the subject of the generalizing singular and plural. There are however a few other variants in which, for one reason or another, singular and plural may interchange with virtually no difference of essential meaning. We shall take them up before proceeding to the cases of real and important change of meaning.

4. Elliptic plural

§733. First, an elliptic plural may vary with the singular of one member of the group:

mitraḥ (SV. *mitrās*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *yaṁ maruto yam aryamā*; in SV. *aryamā* is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural *mitrās*, which means Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman; cf. §§746–7.

5. Adverbs

§734. Adverbial forms, singular and plural, and equivalent in meaning, may vary; or a neuter singular adverb may vary with a plural adjective without essential difference of meaning:

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcair uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV.

trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Both *guhā* and *guhāsu* are quasi-adverbial.

agnaye vo juṣṭān prokṣāmy amuṣmai vo juṣṭān MS. MŚ.: *agnaye vo juṣṭaṁ prokṣāmi* TS. TB. ApŚ. *juṣṭān* agrees with *vo* = offerings of food; *juṣṭaṁ* is doubtless an adverb: 'agreeably to Agni' (otherwise Keith).

bhūyaś ca śaradaḥ śatāt VS. MG.: *bhūyasīḥ* (mss. °*sī*) *śaradaḥ śatāt* AV.

sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS.: *sa no nediṣṭhaṁ havanāny āgamat* (and *havanāni joṣat*) KS. *nediṣṭhaṁ* adverb in KS.

6. Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group

§735. An adjective or participle may variously agree with all the members of a coordinate group of nouns (plural), or with only one, the nearest. In the latter case, however, we may assume that its application to the others is not really excluded. Cf. Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2: *King.* Thanks, Rosencrantz, and gentle Guildenstern. *Queen.* Thanks, Guildenstern, and gentle Rosencrantz.—The same variation in verb forms, agreeing either with a plurality of subjects or with the nearest one alone, was noted in VV 1 §§353ff.

candreṇa jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ (KS. TB. Poona ed. and comm. °*nā*) VS. KS. TB.: *śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānā* MS. (p.p. °*nāḥ*). The sing. agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject; the plural with S. and the Aśvins. On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf. VV 2 §381.

tvaṣṭā viṣṇuḥ (MS. *viṣṇus tvaṣṭā*) *prajayā saṁrarāṇaḥ* (VS. KS. ŚB. °*ṇāḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. The verb, in the following pāda, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS., which has the mantra three times with plural pple., the verb

is twice singular in the edition (but with v. l. plural in one case). See VV 1 p. 262 under *yajamānāya draviṇaṁ dadhāta* (°*tu*). Probably the plural should be read all three times.

(*iḍā sarasvatī mahī*) *bhāratī gṛṇānā* AV. MS.: (*iḍā sarasvatī bhāratī*) *mahī gṛṇānā* (KS. *mahīr gṛṇānāḥ*) VS. TS. KS.: *iḍā sarasvatī bhāratī mahīḥ* (TB. *mahī*) VS. TB. In the last formula (in which the Poona ed. of TB. separates *mahī* from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB. comm. interprets *mahī* as a plural (*mahatyaḥ*), going with all the nouns (!).

Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning

§736. The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of 'meaning' in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned; we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects. The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups. First, 'transfer of epithet': the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number. Second, 'phrase inflection': the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word. Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context: without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other; the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different. Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved; in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term 'transfer of epithet') seems to have been influential.

7. Transfer of epithet

§737. We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases; see §14 for a general statement. Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number; these will not be repeated here. The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural:

indreṇa devaiḥ sarathaṁ turebhiḥ (AV. *tureṇa*) RV. AV. Tho the contexts of the mantra are different, the epithet *tura* is transferred within its pāda from *devaiḥ* to *indreṇa*.

viśvā rūpāṇi saṁbhṛtā (JB. °*tam*) SV. JB. ṢB. LŚ. Preceded by *gāya-*

tram traiṣṭubham jagat; JB. makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda.

taj (RV. *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *yad agne kāni kāni cid, ā te dārūṇi dadhmasi* (with slight variants). RV. refers *tā* to *dārūṇi*; the others with *taj* refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by *yad*.

niṣkrītaḥ sa (TS. *niṣkrīto 'yaṁ*, KS. MŚ. *niṣkrītās te*) *yajñiyaṁ bhāgam etu* (KS. MŚ. *bhāgaṁ yantu*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. Singular refers to *paśupati*, plural to the cattle themselves.

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāḥ (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *priyā vo nāma huve ṭurāṇām*. The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of *tṛpat*; Ludwig makes the plural refer to this! The verse however is very troublesome; see Oldenberg.

īḍāno (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. °*niṁ*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The latter makes the epithet agree with *sruco* in the next pāda; see §399.

uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV. The YV. texts make *uru*° agree with *dvāras;* AV. has a false verse division and makes it agree with *dhāmnā*.

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ (KS.† °*naḥ*, mss. *vamānaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānaḥ* TS. Pischel *VSt.* 2. 213 has made it probable that the original had *vasānaḥ*, epithet of Varuṇa in the following pāda. In VS. MS. it is transferred to *āpaḥ* in the preceding; the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift.

mayobhuvo vṛṣṭayaḥ santv asme RV. KS.: *mayobhūr vāto viśvakṛṣṭayaḥ santv asme* TA. In the latter the adjective is made to agree with *vāto*, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA.

dhanur hastād ādadāno (TA. °*nā*) *mṛtasya* RV. AV. TA. AG. 'Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man.' With Oldenberg on RV. 10. 18. 9 we understand *tvam* in the following half verse (*atraiva tvam iha vayaṁ suvīrāḥ* [*suśevāḥ*]) of the dead man; TA. comm. understands it of the widow and makes *ādadānā* fem. sg. agreeing with it; we take the pple. as *ādadānāḥ* nom. pl. masc. going with *vayaṁ*, cf. Oldenberg's remarks; the sg. doubtless refers to the son of the deceased.

tābhiṣ ṭvābhiṣiñcāmi MG.: *tena tvām abhiṣiñcāmi* YDh. Preceded by *sahasrākṣaṁ śatadhāram ṛṣibhiḥ pāvanaṁ kṛtam*, and followed by

RVRep. on 1. 47. 8, which calls the sing. an ūha of the dual; it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas.

āyur vāṁ (AV. MG. **āyuṣ ṭe*) *śaradaḥ śatam* AV. MG. (both).

anu (MS. *nu*, read *anu*, KB. ŚŚ. *upa*) *vāṁ jihvā ghṛtam ā caraṇyat* MS. KS. KB. ŚŚ.: *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caraṇyet* (MS. KS. °*yat*, VS. ŚB. °*yat svāhā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *prati vāṁ jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV.* TS.* †*ā*) *caraṇyat* (AV. °*yāt*, TS. °*yet*) AV. (bis) TS. (bis) MS. KS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

catuḥśikhaṇḍā yuvatiḥ supeśāḥ (KS. *supatnī*) KS. TB. ApŚ.: *catuḥśikhaṇḍe yuvatī kanīne* ApŚ. In the latter a largely new verse is constructed for a different context. See next.

ghṛtapratīkā (ApŚ.* °*ke*) *bhuvanasya madhye* TB. ApŚ. (both). Follows the prec.

dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me (AV.* ApMB. *vām*) AV. (ter) JB. Kauś. ApMB.

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS. It seems that MS. has adapted the SV. original to a different ritual context. The interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS. is obscure; see ApŚ. 4. 10. 4, with Caland's translation, which deals with the same ritual With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual; *imām* of MS. would seem to refer to *iḍā*.

nīlalohitaṁ bhavati RV. AV.: *nīlalohite bhavataḥ* ApMB. Whitney says that ApMB. speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away were two (or better, made of two parts). Perhaps the variant did originate in that way; but ApG. uses the mantra in referring not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding rites.

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA. °*ṭām*, and *bādhethām*) AV. TA. (bis). According to Kauś. 82. 32 the AV. verse is used in burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree. TA. uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in constructing the funeral pyre; the 'two pieces of wood' refer to the *paridhis* (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre; the verse is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and west pair.

vidhṛtir asi TA. ŚŚ.: *vidhṛtī sthaḥ* MS.

§766. Phrase inflection; variations between dual and plural:

indravantā (TB. °*tau*) *havir idaṁ juṣethām* TB. ŚŚ.: *indravanto havir idaṁ juṣantām* TB. ApŚ.

trir ā divo vidathe patyamānaḥ (°*nāḥ*) RV. (both).

yatamānā (°*no*) *raśmibhiḥ sūryasya* RV. (both).

ratnaṁ devasya savitur iyānaḥ (°*nāḥ*) RV. (both).

rakṣohaṇo (VS. ŚB. °*haṇo vo*) *valagahanaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ.* °*vam*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. (bis). In ApŚ. 11. 12. 5, where *vaiṣṇavān* is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS. and the rest; the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes'. In 12. 2. 15 the skin (*carma*) for the soma-pessing is addressed in a different context, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing. *vaiṣṇavam* beng appropriate. Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of the formula; perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring to any 'demon-slaying' entities.

rāyas poṣe yajñapatim ābhajantīḥ (TS.* °*tī*) VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB.

rodena kṛṇvatīr (*kṛṇvaty, kṛṇvanto*) *agham* AV. (ter).

saṁjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṁjagmānā abibhyuṣīḥ* (MS. *avihrutāḥ*) AV. MS.

kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu (VS. ŚB. °*ti*) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu* ApŚ. MŚ.: *kas te yunakti* MG. Also with forms of *vi-muc*; to different ritual entities.

adabdhena tvā (KS.* ApŚ.* *vaś*) *cakṣuṣāvapaśyāmi*...VS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *adabdhena tvā* (ApŚ.* *vaś*) *cakṣuṣāvekṣe*...TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. (delete KS. reference in Conc.).

sumṛḍīkāṁ abhiṣṭaye RV. TS. MS.: *sumṛḍīkām abhiṣṭaye* RV. VS. BSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tasya vayaṁ sumatau yajñiyasya RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *teṣāṁ vayaṁ sumatau yajñiyānām* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. N. Several different contexts.

yathāham asya vīrasya RV. ApMB.: *yathāham eṣāṁ bhūtānām* (AV. *vīrāṇām*) RV. AV. The sing. is said by a woman of her husband; RV. *bhūtānām* by a king of his subjects, and so AV. *vīrāṇām*, but apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of *vīrasya* in the different RV. context.

evā triṇāmann ahṛṇīyamāṇaḥ (TS. °*ṇāḥ*) AV. TS.

ghṛtapruṣā manasā (TB. *madhunā*) *havyam undan* (VS. *manasā modamānāḥ*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Several different contexts.

aṁhoś cid asmā urucakrir adbhutaḥ RV.: *aṁhoś cid urucakrayaḥ* RV.: *aṁhoś cid urucakrayo 'nehasaḥ* RV.

ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi TB.: *ado yad avadhāvati* AV.: *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG. ApMB.

asmabhyaṁ gātuvittamāḥ (RV.* °*maḥ*) RV. (bis) SV. As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different.

īśānaṁ vāryāṇām RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.: *īśānā vāryāṇām* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.

tāṁs te paridadāmy aham ApŚ.: *tāṁ te paridadāmy aham* (TA. *paridadāmi*) TA. ApŚ.

ya (AV.* *ye antarikṣa*) *oṣadhīṣu paśuṣv apsv antaḥ* (KS. *paśuṣv āviveśa*) AV. (bis) KS.

bhakṣīya te (and *vo*) *'vaso daivyasya* RV. (both). Sing. Indra; pl. the Maruts.

bhūtyai tvā (Kauś. *vaḥ*) KS. TA. ApŚ. Kauś. Hardly true variants.

tān (TS.* *taṁ*) *rakṣadhvaṁ mā vo dabhan* (TS.* *dabhat*) VS. TS. (bis) MS. KS. ŚB.

mayi vaḥ kāmadharaṇaṁ bhūyāt (ŚŚ. om. *bhūyāt*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mayi te kāmadharaṇaṁ bhūyāt* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

āyātu (TB.* *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣāṇaḥ* (TB.* °*ṇāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both).

subhūtāya tvā (ŚŚ. *vaḥ*; HG. adds *paridadāmi*) ApŚ. ŚŚ. HG. Hardly true variants.

anehasas tvotayaḥ RV.: *anehaso va ūtayaḥ* RV.

ayaṁ vo garbha ṛtviyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayaṁ te yonir ṛtviyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. JābU. Different contexts and probably not true variants.

mayi vo (TS.* *te*) *rāyaḥ śrayantām* TS. (both) MS. KS. LŚ.

indraghoṣas (KS. MS. °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavaḥ pu*° *pāntu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pāntu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA. (with plural acc. pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg.) to the altar. The settings are wholly different; obviously TA. has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose. Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under *manojavās*... and *pracetās*...The other two are:

tvaṣṭā tvā rūpair upariṣṭāt pātu KS. ApŚ.: *tvaṣṭā vo rūpair upariṣṭād upadadhatām* TA. And:

viśvakarmā tvādityair uttarataḥ (MS. KS. *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA.

devas tvā savitā punātv (MŚ. GG. KhG. *savitotpunātv*) *achidreṇa*...TS. MS. KS. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *devo vaḥ savitā punātv achidreṇa*...MS. KS.

upahūta (LŚ. °*tā*) *upahavaṁ te* (LŚ. *vo*) *'śīya* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ.

akṣaṅs tān VS. KS. TB.: *aghat tam* VS.: *aghastāṁ tam* MS. TB. 3. 6. 15. 1. The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but related contexts.

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vaḥ kṛṇomi AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayaṁ* (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayaṁ te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayaṁ te astu* HG. The AV. addresses the subjects of a king; the others the guru's śiṣya at the upanayana.

rakṣāṅsi tayā (and *tābhir*) *daha jātavedaḥ* Kauś. (both).

irāṁ vahanto (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irāṁ vahantaḥ sumanasyamānāḥ* HG. In different contexts; MG. refers to the bride. But the adaptation of the formula in MG. is imperfect; we fail to see how Knauer can defend the correctness of his text as he does.

ayakṣmāya tvā saṁsṛjāmi prajābhyaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmā vaḥ prajayā saṁsṛjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. Different contexts.

9. Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740. Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where there is no formal 'transfer of epithet', the ritual entity designated by the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one: or vice versa. For example: *ṛtena* (MG. *ṛteva*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. MG. *sthūṇāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vaṅśaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG., 'mount, O pole, upon the post(s)' or the like. The dual form of ApMB. HG. can have no standing and is best regarded as a phonetic corruption (*v* for *m*, VV 2 §237). The verse is used in mounting the ridge-pole of the house on the middle post (and others); either singular or plural makes sense, but not dual. The plural of MG. may be defended, tho KG. 11. 3 has *sthūṇām*; Ppp. is quoted by Roth as *sthuṇā dhi*.

Other instances:

mahad adya bharatasya (and *bharatānām*) ŚB. (both): *mahākarma bharatasya* AB. The singular refers to Bharata Dauḥṣanti, the plural to the Bharata family.

atharvaṇe svāhā ŚB.: *atharvabhyaḥ* (sc. *svāhā*) BDh. Hardly to be considered variants. The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva Veda, the singular the ṛṣi Atharvan.

ādityaś ca me sāvitraś ca me TS.: *ādityāś ca mā indraś ca me* MS. Same context; sc. in both 'prosper by the sacrifice'. In TS. *grahaḥ* is understood: 'the cup for Āditya (or Aditi)'; in MS. 'the Ādityas'.

brāhmaṇas tvā nāthakāma upadhāvāmi (ApMB. °*kāmaḥ prapadye*) SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *brāhmaṇo vo nāthakāma upadhāvāmi* SMB. Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods; plural to them all collectively.

abhayaṁ vo (ŚŚ.* *te*) *'bhayaṁ no astu* (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (both). The formula with *te* is repeated at each of the three altars, and then with *vo* referring to all three as in the other texts.

idaṁ tam (and *tān*) *ati srjāmi taṁ* (and *tān*) *mābhy avanikṣi* AV. (both). Both in the same litany, addressed to various ritual entities.

eṣa vo deva savitaḥ somaḥ TS. ApŚ.: *deva savitar eṣa te somaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Followed by *mā tvā* (TS. *vo*) *dabhan* (TS. *dabhat*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural pronoun refers to the gods including Savitar.

mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratīkṣe (with variants) VSK. TS. KS. KB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā prekṣe* (*cakṣuṣānuvīkṣe*) MS. AŚ. MŚ. Reference to various ritual entities, in same context.

utemāḥ paśya TS.: *utemaṁ paśya* MS. MŚ. In the same context, but with different reference; in TS. to waters, in MS. MŚ. to *yajña*.

devasya tvā (MS. *vaḥ*) *savituḥ prasave...saṁvapāmi* VS. MS. TB. ŚB. (Delete reference to MS. under *devasya tvā* in Conc.) Singular refers to rice, plural to rice and water.

aniśitāsi sapatnakṣit VS.: *aniśito 'si sapatnakṣit* VS. ŚB.: *aniśitāḥ* (KS. ApŚ. add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayaṇīḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ. Used in the same ritual context of various implements, one or several (sruc, sruva).

rakṣohaṇaṁ tvā valagahanam avasiñcāmi (and *avastṛṇāmi*) *vaiṣṇavam* MS. MŚ.: *rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasiñcāmi* (and *'vastṛṇāmi*) *vaiṣṇavān* KS.: *rakṣohaṇo* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastṛṇāmi vaiṣṇavān* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. Four holes are referred to; MS. MŚ. address them one by one.

yā (ApMB. HG. *yām*) *āharaj jamadagniḥ* PG. ApMB. HG. In the same context; singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers.

pratnaṁ ni pāti kāvyam RV.: †*pratnāni* (Conc. *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyaḥ* KS. See §403.

10. Form assimilation

§741. Among the remaining, miscellaneous variants between singular and plural, some seem to involve external form attraction—that is, the shift is due to the influence of some other form in the vicinity, altho the variant cannot be classified as showing 'transfer of epithet'. Thus:

triḥ sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi vindan RV.: *triḥ sapta paramaṁ nāma jānan* ArS. Preceded in both by *te manvata prathamaṁ nāma dhenoḥ*. 'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow).' The change to singular in ArS. is due to the preceding singulars.

abhi priyā (SV. *priyaṁ*) *divas padam* RV. SV. It is obvious that SV. has assimilated the adjective to *padam*. This is a lect. fac.; the sense requires such a construction. The RV. *priyā* must be taken with Lanman *NInfl.* 349 and Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc. as acc. pl. neut., sc. *padāni*: 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven.' Cf. RV. 9. 12. 8.

vāto vā (VSK. *vā vo*) *mano vā* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *vāyur vā tvā manur vā tvā* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The pronoun *tvā* refers to the horse mentioned in pāda c (*aśvam* in all); *vo* of VSK. can scarcely have any other reference; the plural may be due to thought of the 'horses' mentioned in the preceding verse.

kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV. *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. See §487.

11. Change of words or meanings of a word

§742. In the rest different words are used, or else the same word in different meanings, requiring different numbers:

ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (TS. *rājasūyāya*, MS. KS. *rājasūyāś*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise unto king-creation).' In this *rājasū* or °*sūya* as adjective varies with the commoner abstract noun *rājasūya*. Cf. next.

svāhā rājasūyāḥ MS. MŚ.: *svāhā rājasūyāya citānāḥ* TS.: *svāhā rājasvaḥ* VS. ŚB. Cf. preceding, which comes shortly before this in the texts.

drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV. *caskanda prathamāṅ anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Here the two meanings of the stem *div* are concerned. RV. 'thruout the earliest days'; the others 'thru earth and heaven.'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (TA. *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA. Whatever *brāhmāś* of AV. may mean, which is uncertain, TA. has a different word and means the personalized Brahman.

indrasya hārdy (AV. *hārdim*) *āviśan manīṣibhiḥ* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV. 'By the wise (priests)': 'by wisdom'.

jaghāna vṛtraṁ yatir na SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *vṛtraṁ yo jaghāna yatīr na* AV. Obscure; cf. Whitney on AV. 2. 5. 3.

prāvaṇebhiḥ (MS. KS. *pravaṇena*) *sajoṣasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Uncertain; see VV 2 §491.

yo agnaye dadāśa havyadātibhiḥ (SV. °*taye*) RV. SV. See §567.

mitraḥ satyānām (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. PG. Abstract noun: adjective.

12. Doubtful or erroneous

§743. Doubtful or erroneous variants:

trayastriṅśat tantavo ye vi tatnire (MS. *yaṁ vitanvate*, KS. AŚ. *yāṅ vitanvate*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The singular makes no sense; tho MS. p.p. also reads *yam*, it seems as if *yān* must be intended. Perhaps it is to be connected with the peculiar sandhi of final *ān* before vowels (in MS. this appears as *aṁ*), cf. von Schroeder 1 p. xxix.

[*pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* AV. KS. (bis). Add KS. 30. 10, for which Conc. has *pari tvā*...]

[*arkaṁ* (TS. *bṛhad arkaṁ*) *yuñjānāḥ svar* (*suvar*) *ābharann idam* TS. MS. KS. Conc. *yuñjānaḥ* for TS.]

CHAPTER XXVIII

DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

1. Elliptic dual, and devatā-dvandvas

§744. The most interesting group of variants between the dual and other numbers is that which concerns the elliptic dual and double-duals, known to the Hindus as *devatā-dvandvas*. These double dual forms denoting a pair of entities have been explained by Edgerton (*KZ.* 43. 110 ff., 44. 23 ff.) as an outgrowth of the Indo-European elliptic dual, in which a pair is denoted by the dual form of one member alone, an idiom which is still very much alive in the Veda. The first step in the development was the addition to the elliptic dual of the singular of the second member of the pair (*mitrā* [= Mitra and Varuṇa], followed by *varuṇaś ca*). We then have an illogical association of a dual and a singular form, referring together to only two entities. There is evidence for the view (Edgerton, l. c.) that this illogical association existed in Indo-European. In most languages, however, it was supplanted by an association of two singulars; so also to a large extent in Sanskrit. In Indo-Iranian, however, the assimilation of the two forms may work the other way, the complementary singular being replaced by a dual, so that the result is a double dual, e.g. *mitrā-varuṇau*.

§745. The variants illustrate these rather complicated processes at various points. To begin with, an elliptic dual may vary with the singular of the prior member of the pair. The meaning is then of course different; the singular can scarcely have been felt as including the unexpressed member:

añghriṇā viṣṇo mā tvāva (KS. *viṣṇū mā vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS. TB. ApŚ. In most texts including KS. the pair Agni and Viṣṇu are addressed (in KS. by the elliptic dual *viṣṇū*), while VS. ŚB. address Viṣṇu alone.

kṣāman (KS. *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS. KS. *ketunā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §547. The original *kṣāman* = 'on the earth'; KS. has an elliptic dual, 'the two earths' = heaven and earth. More commonly *dyāvā* 'the two heavens' is used in this sense.

tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA. *pitaraṁ ca putram*) AV. TA. The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA. by the singular 'father'.

§746. Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual. In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV.) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual; yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain:

dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī (ApŚ. °*vīm*) SV. ApŚ.

§747. More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undoubtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular; a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulars:

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. There is no reason to emend the ŚB. reading with Eggeling and the Conc.; *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuṇa.

§748. More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair. The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words:

viṣṇum agan varuṇaṁ pūrvahūtiḥ AV.: *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °*tim*) VS. MS. ṢB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnim indraṁ vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham (MS. °*haṇaṁ huvema*) AV. MS.: *agnī indrā vṛtrahaṇā huve vām* TB. The double dual *indrā . . . agnī* occurs twice in RV., and the compound *indrāgnī* (often pronounced as four syllables) is common. Note the singular adjective in MS.; cf. §757.

§749. It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars:

ā mitrāvaruṇā bhagam RV.: *ā mitre varuṇe bhage* SV.

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB.: *indraḥ sūraḥ prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ.

śatam indrāgnī (AV.* *śataṁ ta indro agniḥ*) *savitā bṛhaspatiḥ* RV. AV. (both) N. Note that AV. is metrically bad.

iṣaṁ no mitrāvaruṇā kartaneḍām AA.: *ūrjā mitro varuṇaḥ pinvateḍāḥ* SV.

ayaś śaṇḍo marka upavīra ulūkhalaḥ ApMB.†: *śaṇḍāmarkā* (HG. *śaṇḍo marka*) *upavīraḥ* PG. HG. The ed. of PG. prints *śaṇḍā markā* as separate words.

namo dive namaḥ pṛthivyai AV. VSK. TS. MS. GB. TA. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.: *namo dyāvāpṛthivībhyām* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ŚG.

§750. The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom.-acc. dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph:

ṛṣī bodhapratībodhau AV.: *ṛṣir bodhaḥ prabodhaḥ* ApMB.: *bodhaś ca tvā* (KS. MG. *mā*) *pratībodhaś* (MG. *prati°*) *ca* AV. KS.† MG. ApMB. Note sing. *ṛṣir* in ApMB.; see §757.

śākvaraṁ raivataṁ sāma KS.: *śākvararaivate sāmanī* VS. TS. MS. KS. Again cf. §757.

mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ VS. MS. TB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.: *mayi dakṣakratū* ApŚ. AG. HG.

vairūpaṁ ca vairājaṁ cāparau AB.: *vairūpavairāje anūcī* LŚ.

śarma varūthaṁ (HG. *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB. HG. But for the separate accents, *śarma-varūthaṁ* of ApMB. might be considered a singular dvandva, cf. next §.

bṛhatā tvā rathaṁtareṇa traiṣṭubhyā (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā*...MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathaṁtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā*...TS.

bṛhac ca te rathaṁtaraṁ ca pūrvau pādau bhavatām AB.: *bṛhadrathaṁtare te pūrvau pādau*...LŚ.

§751. Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives). We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas:

kṣutpipāsābhyāṁ (TAA. °*sāya*) *svāhā* SMB. TAA. GG.

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

dakṣakratū (MS. ed.† °*tu*, v. l. °*tū*) *te maitrāvāruṇaḥ pātu* MS. ApŚ.

jīmūtān hṛdayaupaśābhyām (VS. °*śena*, VSK. °*sena*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. The p.p. of TS. divides *hṛdaya-aupaśa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahīdhara takes the cpd. as a tatpuruṣa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva.

2. Collective singular varies with dual

§752. Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

nostrils) dual. Such variants occur especially with parts of the body, but also with other entities. We shall mention first a case which is particularly interesting as presenting a neuter singular collective instead of a fem. dual. This reminds us of the use of the neuter singular in dvandva compounds, mentioned in the last paragraph; and so far as we know neither this nor any similar form has been noticed heretofore:

viśākhe nakṣatram TS.: *viśākhaṁ nakṣatram* MS. KS.† So von Schroeder reads in KS. with two mss.; one ms. *viśākhā*, which must be fem. and may be understood as either sing. or plu. Only one ms. of MS. has *viśākhe*. The constellation is made up of either two or four stars, and its name occurs in sing., dual, and plural, but is otherwise recorded only in the fem. gender, cf. §798.

§753. The other words recorded here keep the same gender in sing. and dual:

apānena nāsike (MS. °*kām*) VS. MS.

asyā (MG.† *asyāṁ*) *nāryā gavīnyoḥ* (MG. °*yām*) AB. MG.: *asyāṁ nāryāṁ gavīnyām* RVKh. ApMB. The word *gavīnī* (and *gavīnikā*, AV.) is regularly dual; it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen.

ānandaṁ nandathunā (KSA. °*thubhyām*) TS. KSA. *nandathu* is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context. The dual of KS. suggests perhaps 'testicles'; 'penis' would be more natural and may be intended in TS. (comm. *guhyendriyam*). A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS. is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these.

aṣṭrāṁ tāḍaṁ pratīnāhā (ApŚ. *tālaṁ pratīnāham*) MS. ApŚ. Refers to some unknown part of the plow. Caland adopts the MS. reading for ApŚ., but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing.

punarvasur (TS. °*sū*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. Usually dual.

3. Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754. Like the singular (*ante*), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body; usually both are comprehensible. Thus the word *jambha* or *jambhya* means either 'tooth' or 'jaw' (originally 'crusher, grinder'); in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual:

jambhābhyāṁ (VS. TS. °*bhyais*, KS. °*bhyebhis*) *taskarāṅ* (°*raṅ*, °*rān*) *uta* VS. TS. MS. KS.

javaṁ jaṅghābhiḥ (VS. °*bhyām*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper; VS. must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only.

girīn plāśibhiḥ (MS. °*śibhyām*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The stem *plāśi* is usually sg. or plu.; its meaning is quite unknown and the guesses of the comms. are not worth quoting.

4. Other entities conceived as dual or plural

§755. Besides parts of the body, other entities may be thought of as dual or plural groups. Thus the constellation *phalgunī* is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural:

phalgunīr (TS. °*nī*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS.

phalgunīṣu (ApG. °*nībhyāṁ*) *vy uhyate* (ApG. *ūh*°) AV. Kauś. ApG.

marutaḥ sadohavirdhānaiḥ (TA. °*dhānābhyām*) MS. TA.: *aditiḥ sadohavirdhānābhyām* KS. The *havirdhāna* itself is referred to as either sg. or dual (cf. TS. 3. 1. 3. 1); combined with the sg. *sadas*, the compound is either dual or plural.

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV.: *vi yo rajāṅsy amimīta sukratuḥ* RV. The 'spaces' (*rajas*) are either two or three (or even more) in number.

5. Generalizing dual (for sing.) and plural

§756. In one group we find dual and plural forms varying in essentially the same way as the 'generalizing singular and plural' forms treated above, §§685 ff. Here, instead of the singular, we find the dual because the 'single' entity happens to be a pair; otherwise the psychological relation between the two variants, and the motivation of the change, is exactly the same. The dual may be a single uncompounded word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound; in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning:

ud eṣāṁ bāhū (MS. MŚ. *bāhūn*) *atiram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible; but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity.

apochatu (AV. °*ntu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV. *ye kimīdinaḥ*) RV. AV. The *kimīdins* are apt to go in pairs (§764); the RV. dual here is the

substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means *any* pair of demons, or all of them.

ahorātrayoḥ saṁdhibhyo jatūḥ VS.: *ahnaḥ saṁdhibhyāṁ jatūḥ* MS. Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'.

ahorātrās (KS. TA. °*trāṇi*) *te kalpantām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB. 'Day-and-night': 'days and nights'.

śam ahobhyaḥ (TS. *ahobhyām*) VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. Here the relation is not quite the same; TS. has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night'; the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights. That *ahan* may mean this is proved e.g. by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day.

utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam VS.: *utkūlavikūlābhyāṁ tristhinam* TB. Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puruṣamedha. The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities.

6. Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757. An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair; cf. the like variation between singular and plural, §735. Some cases of this sort will be found in §750. Also:

yasya dyaur urvī pṛthivī ca mahī AV.: *yena dyaur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛḍhā* (TS. *dṛḍhe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Here the original makes *dṛḍhā* apply only to *pṛthivī*; TS. applies it to *dyaus* also.

§758. Similarly an adjective or epithet may vary between dual, applying to a dual entity, and plural, including some other entity:

vipipānā (VS. °*nāḥ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī.

(*āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī svadhāvantau*) *gopā me staṁ...ātmasadau me stam* AV.: (*āyuṣ ṭad āyupatni* [read *āyuṣkṛd āyupatnī*?] *svadhāvo*) *gopā naḥ stha rakṣitāraḥ* KS.: (*āyukṛd āyuḥpatnī svadhā vo*) *goptryo me stha...ātmasado me stha* ApŚ. Explained VV 1 §357.

§758a. Once a sing., doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet:

savitur bāhū stho devajanānāṁ vidharaṇiḥ (KapS. °*ṇī*) KS. KapS. (Oertel 137.) Two blades of grass are addressed; KapS. surely intends a dual, 'two supporters'; KS., 'a support'. The stem *vidharaṇi* is not recorded in the lexicons.

§759. Two dual epithets of an adjoining dual noun may vary with two singulars, each then applying to one of the pair:

ugraṁpaśye ugrajitau tad adya AV.: *ugraṁpaśyā* (MS. text *ugraṁ paśyāc*, VV 2 §405) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TA.: *dūrepaśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* TB. Followed by *apsarasāv...*; the epithets agree with this word (AV.), or apply to the two individuals denoted by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case).

§760. Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form, is allowed to agree with a singular noun (!); in the other form of the variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular. The variant strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible:

anuvatsarīṇāṁ svastim āśāste TB. ApŚ.: *anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse* MŚ. 'He desires well-being lasting for an anuvatsara': 'I desire well-being lasting for an anuvatsara and for an udvatsara.'

§761. Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the dual in MŚ. is the dual character of the adjective compound rather than its reference to two entities. The context deals, however, with the *śukra* and *manthin* drafts of soma, and it may be that MŚ. thinks of the word as applying to two oblations only (tho the neuter gender makes it impossible to supply *śukramanthinau* [*grahau*] with it, and in fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts, which are not, of course, offered by the *camasādhvaryus*):

madhyataḥkāriṇāṁ camasādhvaryavo vaṣaṭkṛtānuvaṣaṭkṛtāñ (MŚ. °*te*) *juhuta* ApŚ. MŚ. '...offer the (MŚ. two?) oblations (in ApŚ. *somān* is apparently understood) accompanied by *vaṣaṭ* and by the secondary *vaṣaṭ*.'

7. Transfer of epithet

§762. As with cases of transfer of epithet between singular and plural (§737), we shall list here only variants which do not involve change of case, these latter being treated above under case variations. Variations between singular and dual are:

te asya yoṣaṇe divye (KS. *divyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The sing. of KS. agrees with *yonir* in the next pāda.

ubhā kavī yuvānā (PG. *yuvā*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. PG.: *mahā kavī yuvānā* MŚ. Followed in PG. by *yo no dharmaḥ parāpatat*; Stenzler translates *yuvā* with *dharmaḥ* but observes that the text is corrupt, and Oldenberg abandons it.

dīrghaprayajyum ati yo vanuṣyati RV. TS. MS. N.: *dīrghaprayajyū haviṣā vṛdhānā* MS. TB. The latter occurs in a modification of

the RV. verse (which MS. elsewhere repeats without change), with transfer of the epithet to the dual divinity addressed (originally Indra-Varuṇa, here Mitra-Varuṇa).

viśvakarmaṅs tanūpā asi ŚB.: *viśvakarmāṇau tanūpau me sthaḥ* ŚŚ. Explained VV 1 §351.

indrasya vāṁ (TB. *te*) *vīryakṛto*...VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. See §521.

aśvinendraṁ na jāgṛvi (TB. °*vī*) VS. MS. TB. Comm. on VS. takes *jāgṛvi* as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR. and VV 2 §525). In TB. it is made to agree with *aśvinā*.

§763. Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are:

navena pūrvaṁ dayamānāḥ syāma (VS. TB. *dayamāne*) VS. MS. KS.† 19. 13. TB. (both). The plural agrees with the subject, the dual with *devī* to whom the passage is addressed.

sa viśvācīr (KS. °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīḥ* (KS. °*cī*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The original probably applies to sacrificial ladles, tho no noun is mentioned; cf. ŚB. 9. 2. 3. 17. KS. attracts the adjectives into agreement with *rodasī*. For the phonetic aspects of the change see VV 2 §357.

8. Phrase inflection

§764. Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due to adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes all three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms. Thus:

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB.† °*padā babhūva*) ApMB. HG.: *sakhā* (PG. *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB. PG. °*dā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. KauŚ. ApMB. PG. SMB. MG.: *sakhāyaḥ saptapadā abhūma* TB. ApŚ. See VV 1 p. 274.

yātudhānaṁ kimīdinam AV.: *yātudhānān kimīdinaḥ* AV.: *yātudhānā kimīdinā* RV. Different contexts. Fiends are otherwise known to go in pairs (*mithunā* precedes in RV.), cf. *apochatu* etc., §756.

tā no mṛḍāta īdṛśe RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.: *te no mṛḍantv īdṛśe* AV.: *sa no mṛḍātīdṛśe* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.

§765. Variations between dual and singular:

gṛṇānā (RV.* SV.* °*no*) *jamadagninā* RV. (both) SV. (both) AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG.

tanvāno (TB. °*ne*) *yajñaṁ purupeśasaṁ dhiyā* RV. TB. The latter lifts the pāda from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to *dyāvāpṛthivī*.

yajñasyāyuḥ pratiran (KS.* †2. 7, MŚ. *pratirantau*) MS. KS. (both) MŚ. Two wholly different contexts in KS.; MS. agrees with one, MŚ. with the other.

viśvair devaiḥ pitṛbhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ RV. TS.: *viśvair devair yajñiyaiḥ saṁvidānau* (TS. KSA. °*naḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. AŚ. In TS. KS. two different verses, one adopted from RV.; in TB. AŚ. this single pāda is used in a wholly different context.

devī devebhir yajatā (and °*te*) *yajatraiḥ* RV. (both): *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV. MS.

tasyāṁ (ApŚ. *tayor*) *devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *tasyāṁ devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV.: *yasyāṁ* (v. l. *asyāṁ*) *devā abhisaṁviśantaḥ* MŚ. Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ.

jyotiṣe tvā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *jyotiṣe vām* KS. ApŚ. Different contexts; dual only in one passage of KS. ApŚ. Also *tejase tvā* (*vām*), *cakṣuṣe tvā* (*vām*), *varcase tvā* (*vām*), and *prajābhyas tvā* (°*bhyo vām*); sings. in various texts, duals only KS. ApŚ.

āśāsānā medhapatibhyāṁ (MS. KS. °*pataye*) *medham* MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The ūhas *medhapataye* and °*patibhyaḥ* are prescribed in the sequel in AB.; see Schwab, *Tieropfer*, 102. Really this involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764.

bhadrā te pūṣann (TA.* *bhadrā vāṁ pūṣaṇāv*) *iha rātir astu* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (both) N. Here a whole stanza is adapted to a different context in TA. The sing. is addressed to Pūṣan, or according to the TA. comm. to *saṁvatsara*; the dual, to *dyāvāpṛthivī*. The next two occur in the same verse:

śukraṁ vām anyad rajataṁ (Poona ed. *yaj*°, v. l. *raj*°) *vām anyat* TA.: *śukraṁ te anyad yajataṁ te anyat* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. TA. AŚ. Svidh. N. And:

viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvaḥ (SV. °*van*, TA.* *avathaḥ svadhāvantau*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (both) N. See prec.

devas tvā (ApŚ. *devo vāṁ*) *savitā madhvānaktu* VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ.

viśvet tā te (RV.* *vāṁ*) *savaneṣu pravācyā* RV. (both).

stomebhir havanaśrutam (and °*tā*) RV. (both).

dīrghaṁ vām (and *ta*) *āyuḥ savitā kṛṇotu* AV. (both). In different parts of the marriage ceremony; sing. is the wife, dual husband and wife. Might perhaps be called a vikāra and placed in §769.

patī (RV.* *patiṁ*) *turasya rādhasaḥ* RV. (both) KS.

rājantam adhvarāṇām RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *rājantāv adhvarāṇām* RV.

sāmrājyāya sukratuḥ (RV.* °*tū*) RV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

arvāñcā vāṁ (and *arvāñcaṁ tvā*) *saptayo 'dhvaraśriyaḥ* RV. (both). See

RVRep. on 1. 47. 8, which calls the sing. an ūha of the dual; it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas.

āyur vāṁ (AV. MG. **āyuṣ ṭe*) *śaradaḥ śatam* AV. MG. (both).

anu (MS. *nu*, read *anu*, KB. ŚŚ. *upa*) *vāṁ jihvā ghṛtam ā caraṇyat* MS. KS. KB. ŚŚ.: *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caraṇyet* (MS. KS. °*yat*, VS. ŚB. °*yat svāhā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *prati vāṁ jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV.* TS.* †*ā*) *caraṇyat* (AV. °*yāt*, TS. °*yet*) AV. (bis) TS. (bis) MS. KS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

catuḥśikhaṇḍā yuvatiḥ supeśāḥ (KS. *supatnī*) KS. TB. ApŚ.: *catuḥśikhaṇḍe yuvatī kanīne* ApŚ. In the latter a largely new verse is constructed for a different context. See next.

ghṛtapratīkā (ApŚ.* °*ke*) *bhuvanasya madhye* TB. ApŚ. (both). Follows the prec.

dīrgham āyuḥ kṛṇotu me (AV.* ApMB. *vām*) AV. (ter) JB. Kauś. ApMB.

tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS. It seems that MS. has adapted the SV. original to a different ritual context. The interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS. is obscure; see ApŚ. 4. 10. 4, with Caland's translation, which deals with the same ritual With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual; *imām* of MS. would seem to refer to *iḍā*.

nīlalohitaṁ bhavati RV. AV.: *nīlalohite bhavataḥ* ApMB. Whitney says that ApMB. speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away were two (or better, made of two parts). Perhaps the variant did originate in that way; but ApG. uses the mantra in referring not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding rites.

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA. °*ṭām*, and *bādhethām*) AV. TA. (bis). According to Kauś. 82. 32 the AV. verse is used in burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree. TA. uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in constructing the funeral pyre; the 'two pieces of wood' refer to the *paridhis* (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre; the verse is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and west pair.

vidhṛtir asi TA. ŚŚ.: *vidhṛtī sthaḥ* MS.

§766. Phrase inflection; variations between dual and plural:

indravantā (TB. °*tau*) *havir idaṁ juṣethām* TB. ŚŚ.: *indravanto havir idaṁ juṣantām* TB. ApŚ.

yahvī ṛtasya mātarā RV.: *yahvīr ṛtasya mātaraḥ* RV.

uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV.

puruṣe 'dhi samāhitāḥ (and °*te*) AV. Both in the same verse; the dual goes with *amṛtaṁ ca mṛtyuś ca*, the plural with *nāḍyaḥ*.

asme vo (*vām*) *astu sumatiś caniṣṭhā* RV. (both).

agner vo 'pannagṛhasya (TS.* TB. ApŚ.* *vām apanna*°) *sadasi sādayāmi* VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

ayaṁ śraiṣṭhye dadhātu naḥ (PG. *nau*) ŚG. PG. The dual refers to the householder and his wife; the plural, in a different context, is generalizing or 'editorial'.

ṛtāvānā (°*vāno*) *jane-jane* RV. (both).

sam u vāṁ (*vo*) *yajñaṁ mahayaṁ* (°*yan*) *namobhiḥ* RV. (both).

saha naḥ sādhukṛtyā ŚB. LŚ. KŚ.: *sahaiva nau sukṛtaṁ saha duṣkṛtam* Kauś.: *sukṛtaṁ nau saha* Kauś.

saṁ vāṁ (AV. MS.* KS.* *vo*) *manāṁsi saṁ vratā* AV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. (both) ŚB.

9. Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767. The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with a change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different. Included are some ritual ūhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting. It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group; we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual ūhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding.—When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff.; and when, without such transference, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff.

§768. Variations of all three numbers:

tasya te dattāṁ yasya (and *yayoḥ*) *prāṇo 'si svāhā* TS.: *tasya te dadatu yeṣāṁ prāṇo 'si svāhā* TS.: *tasya te dadātu yasya prāṇo 'si svāhā* TS. Modulations in the same passage. For *yasya* after *dattāṁ*, *yayoḥ* is to be expected; perhaps a mere error?

tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda VS. TS. etc.:...*dhruvaḥ sīda* VS. ŚB. TA.:...*dhruve sīdatam* VS.:...*dhruvāḥ sīdata* TS. Also *tena brahmaṇā* etc., see Conc.

āgneyaḥ kṛṣṇagrīvaḥ VS. TS. KSA.: *āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau* TS. KSA.: *kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe* (MS. *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS. MS.: *kṛṣṇagrīvā āgneyāḥ* VS. MS. ApŚ. All in lists of animals at the aśvamedha. TS. KS. have sg. and dual in adjoining formulas. Probably the plural is a substitute for the dual; but this may itself be a mere ūha of the sing.

yāni gharme kapālāni TS. MS. KS. KŚ. MŚ. In MŚ. two ūhas: *yad gharme*, and *ye gharme*.

agnim adya hotāram avṛṇītāyaṁ yajamānaḥ...MS. (and the next five items in Conc.): *agnim adya hotāram* (*avṛṇītām imau yajamānau*, and *avṛṇateme yajamānāḥ*...) ŚŚ. See Conc.

agnaye prahriyamāṇāyānubrūhi ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.: *agnibhyāṁ prahriyamāṇābhyām anubrūhi* KŚ.: *agnibhyaḥ prahriyamāṇebhyo 'nubrūhi* ŚB.

asāv (*asā*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ. *tanuhi jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ.: *amū anu mā tanutam*, and *amī anu mā tanuta* MŚ. Ūhas.

punaḥ kṛṇvaṁs tvā pitaraṁ yuvānam TS.: *puṇaḥ kṛṇvantaḥ pitaro yuvānaḥ* MS.: *punaḥ kṛṇvānā* (KS. *kṛṇvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS. KS.† ŚB. We cannot interpret this passage. It seems that the dual, as in VS. KS., is probably original; Mahīdhara takes *kṛṇvānā* as plural, for °*nāḥ*! Even such violence helps little.

§769. Dual and singular:

saṁjagmāno (KS. °*nā*, MS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. °*nau*) *divā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Same context, but in VS. ŚB. the formula is repeated, once each with the śukra and manthin grahas, while in the others it goes with both together. See §576. In VS. MS. KS. immediately followed by:

śukraḥ śukraśociṣā VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS. As preceding, but here KS. follows with a separate formula *manthī manthiśociṣā*, while TB. ApŚ. do not connect this immediately with the preceding.

kṛṇutāṁ tāv adhvarā jātavedasau MŚ.: *kṛṇotu so adhvarāñ* (VS. TB. °*rā*) *jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.: *so adhvarā* (AB. *'dhvarā karati*) *jātavedāḥ* AB. ŚB. See VV 1 p. 263, under *ayāḍ agnir*...; also next.

yakṣat svaṁ mahimānam VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ.: *yakṣataḥ svau mahimānau* MŚ. In same context as prec.; *mahiman* pertains to the subject and varies in number with it.

prāṇāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *prāṇāpānābhyāṁ me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ. See VV 1 §368.

tasyai (*tābhyām*; in 11. 2. 27 read *tasmai*) *namo yatamasyāṁ diśītaḥ*

AV. (all three). All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon; practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §765.

veṣāya vām (TS. TB. ApŚ. *tvā*) VS.† 1. 6, TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. Sing. used by TS. addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS. in addressing both together. Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications.

te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye TS.: *tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vāṁ*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. In a Viṣṇu hymn; the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn. Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣṇu alone in the sing. The secondary change to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural.

aśmeva tvaṁ sthirā (MG. ApMB.* HG.* †1. 4. 1 *sthiro*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. (bis) MG.: *aśmeva yuvāṁ sthirau bhavatam* MG. Sing. fem. refers to the wife, dual to wife and husband, in the same context. The masc. sing. is used in a different context.

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanī sthaḥ* VS. ŚB. Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS. 18. 27.

eṣā te agne samit tayā (MŚ. *tayā tvaṁ*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. HG.: *ete vām agnī samidhau tābhyāṁ vardhethāṁ cā ca pyāyethām* KŚ. (an ūha quoted in KŚ. comm.).

āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī svadhāvantau AV.: *āyuṣ ṭad āyupatni* (ms. °*niḥ*) *svadhāvaḥ* KS.: *āyukṛd āyuḥpatnī svadhā vaḥ* ApŚ. The reference seems to be to the sacred fires; so at least in ApŚ.; obscure in the others. AV. continues with dual forms, KS. ApŚ. with plurals; see *gopā me staṁ* (*gopā naḥ stha, goptryo me stha*...), §758.

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV. AV.: *āsthāpayata mātaraṁ jigatnum* AV. In RV. the 'two mothers' (parents?) are heaven and earth. In AV. *mātaraṁ* possibly refers to Indra's mother, suggested by Indra's heroic deeds in the following pāda; cf. RV. 8. 45. 4, 77. 1.

grāvacyuto dhiṣaṇayor upasthāt VS. ŚB.: *bāhucyuto dhiṣaṇāyā* (TS. *dhiṣaṇayor*) *upasthāt* (KS. °*sthe*) RV. TS. KS. GB. Vait. MŚ. See Hillebrandt, *VMyth.*² 1, p. 426 ff. According to H. *dhiṣaṇā* originally means 'earth' (dual in RV. only 'heaven and earth'); then the *vedi* identified with the earth. If so, VS. TS. have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense; the comm. makes it refer to the 'pressing planks.'

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthaḥ (Kauś.* *pūtam asi*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. (both) GG. KhG. Refers to two 'purifiers' of *kuśa* grass, or once in Kauś. to a single one.

ṣaṣṭiś cādhvaryū (ApŚ. °*yo*, AŚ.† °*yor*) *navatiś ca pāśāḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Spoken by the hotar as he touches the adhvaryu and the agnīdh; in the dual form both are addressed. Since the agnīdh belongs to the class of adhvaryu priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic. The AŚ. probably has a misprint (§369).

upasṛjan (ŚG. *upa sṛjaṁ*) *dharuṇaṁ mātre dharuṇo mātaraṁ* (LŚ. MŚ. *mātre mātaraṁ dharuṇo*, ApŚ. *mātre mātarā dharuṇo*) *dhayan* VS. ŚB. JB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.: *upasṛjan* (AŚ. *upasṛjaṁ*) *dharuṇaṁ mātaraṁ dharuṇo dhayan* AB. AŚ. The 'dam' is earth. Caland suggests that the dual *mātarā* may mean 'heaven and earth'; this may be the intention but it seems inappropriate. Obscure.

§770. Variants between dual and plural:

saṁpṛca (°*caḥ*, °*cas*) *stha*...VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *saṁpṛcau sthaḥ*...VS. ŚB. Also, in same passage:

vipṛca (°*caḥ*, °*cas*) *stha*, and *vipṛcau sthaḥ*, same texts. See VV 1 p. 259.

etā asadan sukṛtasya loke TS. TB.: *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etāv asadatām* (pratīkas) ApŚ.

srucaḥ saṁmṛḍḍhi ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.: *srucau saṁmṛḍḍhi* MŚ.: *sruvaṁ ca srucaś ca saṁmṛḍḍhi* ApŚ.

ā mā gantāṁ (VSK. *gantaṁ*) *pitarā mātarā ca* (VSK. †*yuvam*) VS. VSK. 10. 3. 12c, TS. KS. ŚB.: *ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ* MS. It is not clear who are meant by the 'parents' or 'fathers'. For the added *ca* after a double dual see Macdonell *Ved. Gr.* p. 156. Add to VV 1 §§337, 352.

mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha AV.: *madhavyau stokāv* (MS. *stokā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS. Why TS. MS. should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us. Followed by:

saṁ nas tābhyāṁ (AV. *tebhiḥ*) *sṛjatu viśvakarmā* AV. TS. MS. The interpretation depends on that of the preceding.

svasāro mātaribhvarīr (AV. text °*śvarīr*, read doubtless as RV.) *ariprāḥ* RV. AV.: *svasārau mātaribhvarī* (text em. °*śvarī*, read with mss. and Whitney °*bhvarī*) *aripre* AV. Part of a mystic verse; it is not clear who the 'sisters', dual or plural, are. Ludwig suggests 'heaven and earth' and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, *ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū*, cf. §769. But this would involve the rash assumption that AV. is more original than RV.

daivyā (AV. Ppp. *daivā*) *hotārāv ūrdhvam* (VS. °*rā ūr*°, KS. *hotārordhvam imam*, MS. °*rā ūrdhvam imam*, AV. °*ra ūrdhvam*, Ppp. °*ra* [but intending °*rā* since dual verb follows] *imam*) *adhvaraṁ naḥ* AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. 18. 17a.

§771. In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724; while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker:

yathāyathaṁ nau (KS. *no*) *vratapate* (KS. °*pā*) *vratāni* (TS. MS. *vratinor vratāni*, KS. *vratināṁ vratāni*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The dual includes Agni (*vratapati*) and the yajamāna; KS.'s plural either refers 'editorially' to the yajamāna alone or to his associates. From the phonetic standpoint this and several others in this paragraph belong in VV 2 §732.

tan (AV. *tatra*) *nau saṁskṛtam* AV. VS. 4. 34, KS.: *tan naḥ saṁskṛtam* TS. MS. The dual is taken to refer to the sacrificer and the offering addressed (perhaps better to him and his wife?); the plural refers to him and his associates, or perhaps really to him alone.

sā no (AV. *nau*) *nābhiḥ paramaṁ jāmi tan nau* RV. AV. The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse. The dual of AV. is doubtless secondary (cf. Oldenberg on RV. 10. 10. 4); it refers to Yama and Yamī, and is doubtless assimilated to the following *nau*, which has the same reference.

puṁsāṁ bahūnāṁ mātara syāma (MG. °*rau syāva*) ApMB. MG. Addressed to the wife by the husband; the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'.

ṛṣabhā janayanti naḥ (ApMB. °*yantu nau*, HG. °*yantu naḥ*) ApMB. (bis) HG.: *puruṣā janayanti naḥ* ŚG. Spoken by the husband, as in prec. ApMB. has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context.

asthūri no (*ṇo*, KS. *ṇau*, MŚ.† *nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* (VSK. adds *śataṁ himāḥ*), *tigmena nas tejasā* (TS. *no brahmaṇā*, KS. *nau brahmaṇā*) *saṁ śiśādhi* RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs'; the plural is 'editorial'. Note the inconsistency of MŚ.

§772. Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest):

iḍaivāsmān (RVKh. Müller, followed by Scheft., *iḍaiva vām*) *anu vastāṁ vratena* (RVKh. as before *ghṛtena*) RVKh. AV.: *iḍāsmān anu vastāṁ ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.

10. Form assimilation

§773. In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way; the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation; in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation. Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of *vāyu* are found in the HG. form of the following. With cunning inanity, HG. makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts. Oldenberg fails to understand HG., not having in mind the MS. parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending *vāyo* to *vāyuḥ*, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns:

ete te vāyo (HG. *vāyavaḥ*) MS. HG.: *eṣa te vāyo* MS. MŚ. HG.: *etau te vāyū* HG.: *vāyav eṣa* (and *ete, etau*) *te vāyo* ApŚ. 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG. also O Vāyus, dual and plural).' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun *te* is always singular, even in HG.

§774. Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are:

vṛṣaṇam (MS. °*ṇā*) *āṇḍābhyām* VS. MS. In the aśvamedha. 'I gratify the bull (the two bulls) with his testicles.' The bull or bulls are imaginary, transcendental beings, and there is no reason for the duality except the duality of *āṇḍābhyām*. So with the next two, which occur in the same context.

karṇābhyāṁ śrotram (MS. *śrotre*) VS. MS. See prec.

vidyutaṁ kanīnakābhyām (MS. KSA. *kanīni*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Cf. prec. two.

śrotraṁ (AV. *śrotre*) *te cakre āstām* RV. AV. The AV. makes *śrotra* dual because of the predicate *cakre*, 'thy two wheels'.

yena striyam (PG. *śriyam*, ŚŚ. *striyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*, ŚŚ. *akurutam*) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. 'By which ye two (Aśvins) made woman (two women).' ŚŚ.'s variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Aśvins.

§775. In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality:

putraḥ pitarāv (AV. °*ram*) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* RV. AV. In both texts the reference is to the Aśvins; the singular of AV. is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, tho phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237).

duhāthāṁ gharmadughe iva dhenū AV. (in Conc. preceded by *vāmaṁ*, which belongs to the preceding pāda): *saṁduhāthāṁ gharmadugheva dhenuḥ* TB. The dual entity heaven and earth is compared to a milch cow, or in AV. to two cows; the assimilation in this case is natural enough, and is doubtless the original form.

§776. A special case of this form-assimilation is constituted by the variation in the form of substantive pronouns, which may be either neut. singular (indefinite) without reference to the number and gender of the predicate noun, or on the other hand may agree in gender and number with the predicate; the latter is the more common usage in the Veda, and is found in the original (RV.) form of the following variant, while secondary texts use a neuter singular (cf. §§730, 812):

mukhaṁ kim asya (VS. *asyāsīt*) *kau* (AV. VS. *kiṁ*) *bāhū, kā* (TA. *kāv*, AV. VS. *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA. †*pādāv*) *ucyete* RV. AV. VS. TA.

§777. Form assimilation between dual and plural occurs in the variant *sā no* (*nau*) *nābhiḥ* etc., §771, and in the following:

śeṣe vaneṣu mātroḥ (SV. *mātṛṣu*) RV. SV. 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers.' Dual in RV. because reference is to the two *araṇis*; plural in SV. by attraction to *vaneṣu*.

vājino vājajito vājaṁ...VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vājinau vājajitau vājaṁ*...MS. KS. MŚ. See the several entries in Conc. Two associated formulas; in KS. (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf. KS. 14. 7: 206. 22 f.). The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other; both are dual in MS., both plural in VS. TS.

11. Corruptions and errors

§778. The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors:

devī dvārau (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā saṁtāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed). The plural is equally familiar. But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait., and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it. The form *dvāro* may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for *dvārau* (VV 2 §732).

saha nau vratapate (TS. MS. add *vratinor;* KS. text *vratapā vratināṁ*) *vratāni* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural of KS. is inexplicable, in view of the dual *nau*; the best ms. in fact omits *vratināṁ*, and so KS. should probably be read; *vratināṁ* probably crept in in the

inferior mss. of KS. from the mantra *agne vratapā. . . punar vratapā vratināṁ vratāni*, which shortly precedes.

tā mandasānā manuṣo duroṇa ā RV. ApMB.: *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV. The original refers *mandasānā* (dual) to the Aśvins, to whom AV. also refers in the sequel. Apparently *sā*, nom. sg. fem., is due to a stupid misunderstanding of the endings *-ā*; no feminine entity can be concerned here.

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇāni (AV. *ṛṇaṁ naḥ*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anu dattānṛṇāni* MS. Phonetic corruption in MS.; VV 2 p. 122, 1 p. 282.

[*śākhābhyaḥ svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Conc. quotes *śākhābhyāṁ* for VS. TS.]

[*śrotrāya me varcodā varcase* (MŚ. *me varcodāḥ*) *pavasva* VS. VSK. ŚB. MŚ.: *śrotrāya* (*me varcodau varcase pavethām*) TS. Conc. Similarly under *añgebhyo me*. See VV 1 §372a.]

CHAPTER XXIX

GENDER

1. Male and female persons and animals

§779. We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118–25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other. They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate; sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none. Thus, first, male and female animals:

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīṁ meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *vapāyā*...VS. KS. It is likely that KS. uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī. So in the next two:

ayāṭ sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *haviṣaḥ*...VS. KS.

yatra sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *haviṣaḥ*...VS. KS.

ṛṣabhāya (MS. *vṛṣ*°) *gavayī* VS. MS.: *ṛṣabhāya rājñe gavayaḥ* TS. KSA.

yad dhariṇo (TS. KSA. TB. °*ṇī*) *yavam atti* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Possibly gender-attraction from *śūdrā*, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse.

anāśur aśvo 'yāmī (ŚŚ. and AV. mss. *aśvāyāmī*) AV.† ŚŚ.†: *svāśur aśvaḥ suyāmī* (ŚŚ. *aśvā yāmī*) AV. ŚŚ.

ākhuḥ sṛjayā śayaṇḍakas te maitrāḥ (KSA. ms. *śayāṇḍakās te maitryāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śārgaḥ sṛjayaḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. Name of an unknown animal, male or female. The ed. of MS. follows the p.p.; the other mss. have *sṛjayā*.

ajo (TS. *ajā*) *hy agner ajaniṣṭa śokāt* (TS. *garbhāt*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§780. Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS. makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to *ajo* or *ajā*:

so (TS. *sā vā*) *apaśyaj janitāram agre,*

tena (TS. *tayā*) *devā devatām agra* (*agram*) *āyan,*

tena (TS. *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AV. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsaḥ;* all in the same texts.

§781. Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female:

śilpā vaiśvadevyaḥ (MS. °*vīḥ*) VS. MS.: *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS. KSA. 'The (three) varicolored (animals) are for the Viśvadevas.' The animals are male in TS. KSA., female in VS. MS.

§782. Names of human or superhuman beings, varyingly male and female:

śīlāyāñjanīkārīm (TB. °*ram*) VS. TB. 'An ointment-maker' (female VS., male TB.).

piśācebhyo bidalakārīm (TB. °*ram*) VS. TB.

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakakāram (VS. *kaṇṭakīkārīm*) VS. TB. Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for 'thorn', which is fem. in the compound 'female thorn-worker', masc. in the other.

pra devāḥ (AV. *devīḥ*) *prota sūnṛtā* RV. AV. TS. MS. Possibly gender-attraction to *sūnṛtā* in AV.

kātyāyanāya (MahānU. °*yanyai*) *vidmahe* TA. MahānU. Epithets of Śiva or his consort.

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS.: *ākramāyāyogūm* (Poona ed. *ākrayāyā*°) TB. A nonce-deity, *ākraya* or °*yā*.

yamāya (TB. *yamyai*) *yamasūm* VS. TB.

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devaraś ca AV.: *pratīkṣantāṁ †śvaśruvo devarāś ca* ApMB.

2. Variation of nouns in grammatical gender

§783. We come now to variants involving shift of grammatical gender in nouns. This shift may be signalized by a change in the form of the noun itself, as when a masculine or neuter *a* stem varies with an otherwise identical feminine *ā* or *ī* stem of like meaning; or when an *n* stem appears now with a nominative in *ā* (masc.), now with one in *a* (neut.). It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders; this is true for instance of many case-forms of the *i* and *u* declensions and of the diphthongal stems. We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word. In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context.

Masculine and feminine

§784. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least

historically secondary. Thus the word *yoni* is always masc. in RV., and the fem. is rare in the older language; its origin may be connected with the word's meaning, 'womb', which suggests fem. gender. Among the variants, MS. and KS., the oldest YV. texts, show only masc. gender, with one exception (the first) in MS:

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīṅr*) *ā pṛṇasva* (°*vā*) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

svaṁ (TS.† only *svāṁ*, thrice) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

svāṁ (MS. KS. *svaṁ*) *yonim gacha*...AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *svayoniṁ gacha*...MG. (with v. l. *svaṁ yoniṁ*, which Conc. suggests reading because of the MS. reading).

agne svaṁ (TS. TB. *svāṁ*, ŚB. *tvaṁ*, for *svaṁ*?) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

dhruvaṁ (TS. *dhruvāṁ*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svāṁ (MŚ. *svaṁ*) *yonim*...TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

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.: *mainaṁ hiṁsiṣṭaṁ svāṁ yonim āviśantau* AB.

ebhyo (Kauś. *ābhyo*) *yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. AŚ. Kauś.

yasyai (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *atho yonir hiraṇyayī* TS.: *yonir yas te hiraṇyayaḥ* KS.

§785. Next the stem *rayi* or *rai*. Wackernagel 3 p. 216 notes that the word is regularly masc. in RV. and suggests that the fem. is due to influence of *puṣṭi* or the like.

sa no dadātu taṁ (AV. *tāṁ*) *rayim* AV. AA. ŚŚ.

athāsmabhyaṁ sahavīrāṁ (AV. VSK. MS. KS. °*vīraṁ*) *rayiṁ dāḥ* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Wackernagel l. c. mentions *rayiṁ sahavīram* and *sarvavīram* (see next) among the RV. phrases in which AV. keeps masc. gender; otherwise the word is regularly fem. in AV. But note that this pāda, as a whole, is not Rigvedic.

rayiṁ ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ (TS.† °*rāṁ*) *ni yachatu* (AV. *yachāt*) AV. TS. MS.: *sa no rayiṁ sarvavīraṁ ni yachatu svāhā* (VSK. om. *svāhā*) VS. VSK. ŚB.: *somo rayiṁ sahavīraṁ ni yaṁsat* KS. Cf. RV. 10. 15. 11d, and see prec.

§786. The stem *div* (*dyu*) is regularly masc. in the early language, later fem.; see Wackernagel 3 p. 221.

abhīmaṁ (TS. MS.† °*māṁ*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*, delete MŚ. v. l. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§787. The word *kalaśa* is regularly masc.; in the following ApMB. seems to show a fem. form *kalaśīr*, but this may be a phonetic corruption for *kalaśair*, cf. §412 and VV 2 §701:

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB. °*śīr*, MG. °*śam*) *aguḥ* (*ayān*, etc.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

§788. We come now to words in which fem. gender appears to be regular or at least historically original:

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. The word *iṣu* is regularly fem. in the older language (always in RV.). Here the masc. pronoun may have been due to the series of masc. *ye*'s in the preceding and following formulas.

avakāṁ (MS. KSA. *avakān*, but MS. p.p. *avakāṁ*) *dantamūlaiḥ* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

vy amīvāś (TB. °*vāṁś*) *cātayasvā viṣūcīḥ* RV. TB. Both edd. of TB. *amīvāṁś*, and comm. likewise *amīvān rogān*, finding no difficulty in making *viṣūcīḥ* agree. No masc. is otherwise recorded, and in view of the fem. adjective *viṣūcīḥ* we may assume an ancient corruption.

pravayāhnāhar jinva VS.: *pravāyāhne 'har jinva* MS.: *pravāsi* TS. KS. Vait. (*prāvo 'sy ahnāṁsi* GB. Gaastra, corrupt.). The masc. is otherwise unknown, but MS. p.p. gives *pravāya*.

[*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛteva*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṁśa* (MG. *vaṁśaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. See §740.]

§789. In the rest we find no criterion to determine clearly the original gender. In some cases both seem equally regular; one is a ἅπ.λεγ.

emāṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ AV.: *enaṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhyā* ŚG. Other GS. texts preserve *kumbhaḥ* which seems to be original in this formula.

dadhi manthaṁ (ŚŚ. *manthāṁ*) *pariśrutam* (ŚŚ. *parisrutam*) AV. ŚŚ.

agner akṣṇaḥ kanīnakam (VSK. °*kām*, TS. MS. KS. °*nikām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vṛtrasyāsi kanīnakaḥ (MS. MŚ. MG. °*nikā*...) VS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *mitrasyāsi kanīnikā* KS.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*nakāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

śimāḥ (VS. *simāḥ*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.* *śamyantu*) *śimyantaḥ* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. (bis) TS. KSA.† An unknown word; cf. VV 2 §§278, 572.

Masculine and neuter

§790. Among the masc.-neut. variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun. Special attention will be called to these.

§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine. Thus, first, the word *asu* as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.). Even Benfey's Glossary to SV. gives the gender as masc. Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV., and here it is obviously neuter; the VSK. reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility. We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation:

asuṁ (SV. *asu*) *riṇann apaḥ* RV. SV.

vyānaś (KS. *apānaś*) *ca me 'suś* (VSK. *'su*) *ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

kṛṇotu so adhvarāñ (VS. TB. °*rā*) *jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.: *kṛṇutāṁ tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ.: *so adhvarā* (AB. *'dhvarā karati*) *jātavedāḥ* AB. ŚB. Nowhere has *adhvara* been recorded as neuter; but this case is well attested and certain. VS. comm. interprets *adhvarān*; TB. comm. considers the form a loc.!

grīṣmo dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ (MS. *dakṣiṇaṁ pakṣam*) MS. TB. TA. Followed in MS. by *varṣā uttaram* (sc. *pakṣam*). MS. unmistakably makes *pakṣa* neuter. Neither BR. nor pw. record such a usage; Monier Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is not cited.

[*gātuṁ yajñāya gātuṁ* (TA. once *gātu...gātu*) *yajñapataye* RVKh. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. (both) N. But TA. Poona ed. has only *gātuṁ*, which is doubtless the true reading.]

§792. In several cases a masc. noun is made anomalously neuter, apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun:

nikāyaś (MS. KS. °*yaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In this and the next it is quite likely that the original form of the variant pāda had the variant word in neuter gender, by assimilation to *chandaḥ*, and that the regular masc. form is actually secondary.

samudraṁ (VS. ŚB. °*raś*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vivadhaś chandaḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: *vīvadhaṁ* (KS. °*dhaś*) *chandaḥ* MS. KS.

yajñas (TA. *yajñaṁ*) *tapaḥ* TA. MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. has v. l. *yajñas*; and so the comm. reads in both edd.

§793. Next words which are regularly or originally; neuter there are several cases of *hārdi*:

indrasya hārdy (AV. *hārdiṁ*) *āviśan manīṣibhiḥ* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV.

mano me hārdi (VSK. *hārd*) *yacha* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *mano hārdiṁ yacha* MS. MŚ. Once (out of three occurrences) the MS. p.p. reads *hārdi*.

mā me hārdi tviṣā (MŚ. *hārdiṁ dviṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ.: *mā no hārdi tviṣā vadhīḥ* RV. Three mss. of MŚ. *hārdi*.

avakrandena tālu (TS. KSA. *tālum*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Regularly neuter; occasionally masc., but BR. cite no Vedic instance.

vatso jarāyu (KS. *garbho jarāyuḥ*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. *jarāyu* is regularly neuter; the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc. or fem. KS. may be thus interpreted; or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter *us*-stems, cf. the next.

[*svaṁ* (JB. TA. *punar*) *jarāyu* (TA. °*yur*, Poona ed. text °*yu*, but note seems to indicate that all mss. read °*yur*) *gaur iva* AV. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ. Here the word is accusative; consequently if *jarāyur* be read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter *us*-stem.]

yāni kṣetrāṇi yā vanā AV.: *yāni dhanvāni ye vanā* (read *vanāḥ* with two mss.) ApMB. *vana*, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc. in BR., from the Rāmāyaṇa.

[*catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādāḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ. N. Conc. quotes *śṛṅgās* for GB.; but Gaastra reads *śṛṅgā* with all mss., and obviously this is the only possible reading.]

§794. In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage:

dhartraṁ (TS. °*raś*) *catuṣṭomaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter *dhartra* in TS.

vyomā (TS. *vyoma*) *saptadaśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ. The regular neut. gender of *vyoman* is found only in TS. Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was *vyomā*, masc. by assimilation to *saptadaśaḥ* (*stomaḥ*).

ayaṁ sahasramānavo (so read)...*vidharma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ. to the subject *ayam*.

nāko 'si bradhnaḥ (MŚ. *bradhno 'si*) *pratiṣṭhā saṁkramaṇam* (ApŚ. °*ṇaḥ*, MŚ. °*kramaṇatamam*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. No masc. *saṁkramaṇa* is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective; but it seems likely that ApŚ. assimilates either to the gender of *nāko* and *bradhnaḥ*, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise.

§795. We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, tho textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas:

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV. *sānv āruhaḥ*) RV. SV. Both genders in RV.

yeṣu saumanaso bahuḥ (MG. *saumanasaṁ mahat*) AV. VS. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚG. MG.: *eti saumanaso bahuḥ* HG. As an abstract the word would be expected to be neuter, but the masc. is otherwise known (e.g. AV. 3. 30. 7) and is clearly primary in this variant.

adityā uṣṇīṣam asi MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *indrāṇyā uṣṇīṣaḥ* VS. ŚB. Both genders are familiar; probably the neut. is primary here.

akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS.: *kuyavaṁ* (MS. v. l. *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣitiś* (VS. *'kṣitaṁ*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS. The word *yava* is masc., and is followed by *kūyava* in TS. This stem seems to occur only here except that RV. has *kuyava* as a demoniac name or epithet (here of course masc.). Most likely the majority of texts have the original gender (neut.).

[*prajananaḥ* (MahānU. °*nam*) TA. MahānU. So Conc.; but both edd. of TA. read *prajanaḥ*; MahānU. has vv. ll. *prajanaḥ* and *prajananaḥ*. Either *prajanaḥ* or *prajananam* must be read; both would be regular.]

§796. We may mention here a few cases concerning the masc. and neut. stems *brahman*, which are properly different words distinguished by shift of accent; in unaccented texts their oblique cases are indistinguishable. See VV 2 §460 for some of these and other somewhat similar cases considered from the phonetic aspect (*a* : *ā*).

yam (MahānU. *yad*) *antaḥ samudre kavayo vayanti* (MahānU. *vadanti*) TA. MahānU. Referring to *bráhman* or *brahmán*; even in TA. other neuter pronouns occur in the context.

ṛtasya brahma prathamota jajñe TB.: *bhūtānāṁ brahmā prathamo ha* (mss. °*mota*) *jajñe* AV.

tan no brahmā (TAA. °*ma*) *pracodayāt* MS. TAA. (not TA.!) MahānU.

brahma (ApŚ. °*mā*) *devānāṁ prathamajā ṛtasya* PB. ApŚ.: *brahmadevī prathamajā ṛtasya* JB. 2. 258 (Caland, PB. transl. 21. 3. 7 note).

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *brahmā devakṛtopahūtā* ŚB. The context is the same and refers to the cow; in ŚB. only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the cow, the pple. being made fem. and the stem *brahman* personal (quasi-fem.?): 'she, god-created, has been invoked as Brahmā'. VV 2 §460 is incorrect.

Feminine and neuter

§797. Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to assimilation to adjoining words. We begin with words which are usually or originally fem.:

varṣāś cākṣuṣyaḥ VS. ŚB.: *varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi* TS. MS. KS. The rainy season is meant; the gender is usually fem., but occasionally neut., doubtless because *varṣa* 'rain' is neut. in the early language; and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut. gender.

ājyam uktham avyathāyai (TS. *avyathayat*, KS. *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Instead of *avyathā*, which is to be expected, KS. uses an otherwise unknown *avyatha* 'firmness' (probably neut., less likely masc.). The same with *praügam uktham*, *marutvatīyam u°*, *niṣkevalyam u°*, *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc.

§798. Due to assimilation to an adjoining word:

niṣṭyaṁ (KS. °*yā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This rare name for the constellation *svāti* occurs as *niṣṭyā* in TB. (see BR. s. v.). We assume that KS. has the 'proper' form and that MS. assimilates to *nakṣatram*, as in the next.

viśākhaṁ (TS. °*khe*, KS. v. l. °*khā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. See §752.

§799. The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group:

tābhir yāsi dūtyāṁ (MS. °*yaṁ*) *sūryasya* RV. MS.: *yābhir yāsi dūtyāṁ sūryasya* TB. See Pischel *VSt.* 1. 22. The regular form is *dūtya*; but in this variant, of course, the fem. is older.

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV. AV.: *ariṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV.

[*idaṁ tava prasarpaṇam* (JB. °*ṇā*) RV. JB.† 3. 169c. Oertel and Caland emend JB. to °*ṇam*, as the gender of *idam* seems to require.]

[*ihi tisro 'ti rocanāḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *etu tisro 'ti rocanā* AV. So Conc. There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by *y-*; AV. p. p. to be sure reads *rocanā*, as if neut., which is the regular gender of the word; but the fem. adjective *tisro* proves that *rocanāḥ* fem. must have been understood.]

§800. Due to assimilation:

viśo yantre (KS. *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātim* KS. TB. ApŚ. The word is in appositon with *devī* (dual fem.), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS.; *yantre* is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem. **yantrā* as well as from neut. *yantra*.

pṛthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā TS.: *udapurā nāmāsy annena viṣṭā* MS. KS. A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS. is rather to be expected (*pura* neut.); it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS. KS. (probably original).

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable; mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains *svasti* or °*tiḥ*, in which both genders are known:

paraśur (TS. *parśur*) *vediḥ paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tiḥ*) AV. TS. The loss of final visarga is an easy phonetic change (VV 2 §381), and *svastiḥ* occurs just before, even in AV. On the other hand TS. may have *svastiḥ* by assimilation to this preceding form.

kiyāmbv atra rohatu RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA. The word is known only here.

asyopasadyāṁ mā chaitsīt ŚB. BṛhU.: *asyopasadye mā riṣāma* ŚG.† 3. 7. 3c, Kauś. *upasadī* : *upasadya*, probably 'worship'; neither known elsewhere.

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaṁ pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS. °*pāya*, p.p. °*pāyāḥ*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS. TA. (pratīka, °*pāyā* [*iti*], ApŚ. MŚ.). Stems *paraspa* : °*pā*; as abstracts ('protection') both recorded only here. See §152. In the same passages:

prāṇasya tvā paraspāyai (MS. °*pāya*, v. l. °*pāyāś*, p. p. °*pāyāḥ*) *cakṣuṣas* ...MS. TA. (pratīka ApŚ.). And:

divas tvā paraspāyāḥ (MS. °*pāya*) *antarikṣasya*...MS. TA. (pratīka ApŚ.).

§802. Apparently due to assimilation:

varuṇasya skambhanam (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. KS. MahānU. ApŚ. Nonce-word; either gender is formally good; KS. doubtless assimilates to the gender of *śamyā́* 'yoke-pin', which is addressed. So in the next, in the same context:

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanī sthaḥ* VS. ŚB. On the dual see §769.

3. Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'

§803. An interesting little group of cases concerns words which refer to feminine entities and appear in one variant in distinctively feminine forms, while the other variant shows forms that are masculine or at least not distinctively feminine; they may be called 'common gender' forms. Thus the acc. pl. of the 2d personal pronoun is, of course, regularly *yuṣmān* without regard to gender. But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form *yuṣmās* is twice used in VS. (followed by ŚB.) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p. 468):

yuṣmān (VS. ŚB. *yuṣmā*) *indro 'vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

śivam āyantam abhy atra yuṣmān (VS. ŚB. *yuṣmāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§804. Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotrāśaṅsin* is once feminized when it is made to refer to *āpaḥ*, fem., in a ritual passage: *āpo me hotrāśaṅsinaḥ* (AG. °*sinyaḥ*) ṢB. ApŚ. AG.

§805. In the preceding the masculine ('common') form is regular, the feminine unusual and analogical. In a couple of other cases the feminine form is regular. Thus stems in the agent suffix *tar* regularly have feminines in *trī* (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p. 202), but in one variant the 'common gender' form is used with a feminine noun: *adbhir viśvasya bhartrībhiḥ* ApMB.: *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG. The latter doubtless feels *bhartṛbhiḥ* as an appositional noun: 'the waters, bearers of all.'

§806. Yet more anomalously, MS. once uses the masculine form *adhipati* instead of the fem. *adhipatnī* referring to Aditi. The formula occurs in a list of similar ones with different god-names, mostly masc., so that *adhipati* is properly found in most of them; this doubtless helps to determine the use of the common gender form in MS. But all the other texts have the 'proper' fem.: *aditir adhipatny* (MS. °*patir*) *āsīt* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

4. The indefinite neuter

§807. A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word 'thing' or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction. Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc. or fem. form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to. The masc. or fem. form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case; such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff. and will not be repeated here; they belong, of course, equally in this group.—We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal ('such and such a one'), the former impersonal ('such and such a thing'). Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf. §§730, 776).—Hirt, *IGGr.* 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist

§808. Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows:

indrasya (also *viṣṇor*) *dhruvo 'si* (TS. ApŚ. *dhruvam asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. A knot (*granthi*, m.) is addressed; hence masc. in most texts. 'Thou art Indra's (Viṣṇu's) firm one (firm thing; Keith 'fixed point'; Caland 'Festes').'

brahmavani tvā kṣatravani rāyaspoṣavani paryūhāmi VS. ŚB.: *brahmavaniṁ tvā kṣatravaniṁ* (TS. KS. add . . . *rāyaspoṣavaniṁ*) *paryūhāmi* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. *tvā* refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, *audumbarī* (sc. *sthūṇā*), and is fem. (cf. TS. 6. 2. 10. 3, and KŚ. 8. 5. 31). In VS. ŚB. it is made neuter: 'thee, a brahman-winning thing' etc. Mahīdhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for °*vaniṁ* with loss of ending, referring to Pāṇ. 7. 1. 39.

abhi tvādhāṁ sahīyasā RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhāṁ sahīyasīm* AV. The RV. original has a neuter indefinite, 'with that which is stronger, a stronger thing', but really means a plant just like AV., which makes the adjective agree in gender with *oṣadhi*.

ya (*yas, yaḥ*) *strīṇāṁ jīvabhojanaḥ* VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.: *yat strīṇāṁ jīvabhojanam* Vait. The 'antecedent' is *añjim*, 'the slippery one', referring to the male member; it is masc. even in Vait. which follows with these indefinite neuters, 'the thing that is . . .'

agnir ekākṣareṇa (MS. KS. °*kṣarayā*) *prāṇam* (MS. TS. KS. *vācam*) *udajayat* (VS. ŚB. add *tam ujjeṣam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so *aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa* (°*kṣarayā*), *viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa* etc., 17 items in same passage. With the fems. doubtless *vācā* is to be supplied: 'with monosyllabic (etc.) utterance'. The accent (*ék*°) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, 'with one syllable'). Mahīdhara supplies *chandasā* with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite: 'with the monosyllabic (thing).'

indrasya vajro 'si vārtraghnaḥ TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB.: *indrasya vārtraghnam asi* VS. ŚB. Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vāj. school, VS. ŚB. may understand *dhanus*; yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite ('thing relating to the Vṛtra-slayer, victorious').

§809. Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc. or fem.:

tad aśvinā paridhattaṁ svasti TS.: *tam aśvinā paridhattaṁ svasti* (MŚ. *svastaye*) KS. MŚ. The masc. refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual. The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference.

saṁ taṁ (KS. ApŚ. *tat*) *siñcatu rādhase* (KS. ApŚ. °*sā*) RV. KS. Vait. ApŚ. *taṁ* refers to soma-drops (*drapsa, aṁśu*); this is repeated in KS. once with the indefinite neuter *tat*. Another KS. passage adapts the formula to a different context, where *tat* refers to *chidram*; this is repeated in ApŚ.

yām āśām emi kevalī sā me astu AV.: *yad ichāmi manasā sakāmaḥ* TB. Followed by:

videyam enāṁ manasi praviṣṭām (TB. *enad dhṛdaye niviṣṭam*) AV. TB. The definite 'what desire I go to' of AV. is replaced by 'what (thing) I desire' in TB.; hence neut. for fem. in the following pāda.

pumāṅ enaṁ tanuta ut kṛṇatti RV.: *pumān enad vayaty udgṛṇatti* AV. 'This' in RV. refers to *yajña* in the preceding. In AV. no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and *enad* is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort.

yam āśirā (VS. *yad āśirdā*) *dampatī vāmam aśnutaḥ* VS. TS. In VS., 'what good thing'; in TS. gender influenced by the following *putra*, which is the specific boon obtained.

yad indro apibac chacībhiḥ VS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *yam asyendro apibañ śacībhiḥ* MS. Preceded by *yad atra śiṣṭaṁ* (*riptaṁ*) *rasinaḥ sutasya*. The relative is made masc. in MS. in reference to *sutasya* (m.) which immediately precedes. Followed by:

ahaṁ (AB. AŚ. *idaṁ*) *tad* (MS. *tam*) *asya manasā śivena* (MS.* *ghṛtena*), same texts.

deva savitar etaṁ (LŚ. *etat*) *te yajñaṁ prāhur*...ŚŚ. LŚ.: *etaṁ te deva savitar yajñaṁ prāhur*...VS. ŚB. The context of LŚ. refers to *samidh* (fem.), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing').

ya etad (TA. MahānU. *enaṁ*, MahānU. v. l. *etad*) *vidur* (ŚB. BṛhU. *ye tad vidur*) *amṛtās te bhavanti* ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. 'Those who know this (him; TA. comm. *paramātman*).'

tad (MŚ. *tam*) *ahaṁ manase prabravīmi* VSK. TB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Vait. 'I proclaim this (truth; MŚ. him, referring to Savitar).'

kaṁ (KapS. ms. *kiṁ*) *svid garbhaṁ prathamaṁ dadhra* (KapS. °*rur*) *āpaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. Raghu Vira em. to *kaṁ*, wrongly; Oertel 18. In RV. etc. *kaṁ* is adjectival to *garbhaṁ;* in KapS. substantival, 'what (thing)?' On *dadhrur* see Edgerton, *Language* 10.243f.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB.: *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS. It seems that *tam* must go with *lokam*; there is then no expressed object of the verb in TS. KS. The VS. has a lect. fac.; *tad* is the object and refers back to *yad*...of the preceding.

eṣa (MahānU. *etat*) *te kāma* TAA. MahānU.: *kāmaitat te* AV. etc. The TAA. comm. supplies *ājyabhāgaḥ*; that on MahānU. *haviḥ*, but the latter with *etat* is surely indefinite. The formula *kāmaitat te* occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here. In the same passage:

eṣa (MahānU. *etat*) *te manyo* TAA. MahānU.

§810. In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal. This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one' : 'nothing':

ahir jaghāna (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kiṁ*) *cana* AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing).'

ṛtaṁ nātyeti kiṁ (GG. *kaś*) *cana* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. GG.

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

nakir (SV. *na ki*) *indra tvad uttaraḥ* (SV. °*ram*) RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed by:

na jyāyāṁ (SV. *jyāyo*) *asti vṛtrahan* RV. SV. And:

nakir (SV. *na ky*) *evā* (SV. *evaṁ*) *yathā tvam* RV. SV. Wackernagel 3 p. 562 considers (*na*) *ki* (found only in SV.) a mere corruption. To us it seems clear that it is a deliberate variant, a neuter to RV.'s masc., formed on the analogy of the endingless neut. nom.-acc. of *i* stem nouns. See also §820 where both *naki* and RV. *nakis* are adverbial.

yasmāj jātaṁ na purā kiṁ canaiva VS.: *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* (*'sti*) VS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.: *yasmāt paraṁ nāparam asti kiṁ cit* TA. MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kiṁ canāsa* RV. TB.: *yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kiṁ canāsa* TA. Only the forms *jātā na parā* of TA. need explanation. The comm. takes them as fem. sg., supplying *prajā*. But more likely they are Vedic neuter plurals (indefinite).

§811. But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing'; sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first:

gopāyamānaṁ (KS. °*naś*) *ca mā rakṣamāṇaṁ* (KS. °*naś*) *ca . . . gopāyetām* (°*yatām*) KS. PG. MG. 'The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect . . .' Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (masc. or fem.) in all texts except

for this formula in PG. MG. Parallels in AV. 8. 1. 13. Why PG. MG. provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear.

avasphūrjan (MS. KS. °*jad*) *hetiḥ* (TS. *prahetiḥ*, MS. KS. *dhetiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon.' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder'. The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects. The following one has *vidyut*; perhaps MS. KS. have adapted the form of *ava*° in an external, mechanical way to the ending (*-t*) of this word. But *vidyut* is regularly fem. (exceptionally neut. according to pw., without quoting any occurrence).

bṛhad (ŚB. *mahad*) *dha tasthau bhuvaneṣv antaḥ* RV. ŚB. AA.: *bṛhan ha tasthau rajaso vimānaḥ* (JB. *vimānaiva*) AV. JB. Both 'the great one', masc. or neut.

śukro bṛhan dakṣiṇayā (TB. *bṛhad dakṣiṇā tvā*) *pipartu* AV. TB. The comm. on TB. understands by *bṛhad* the *sāman* of that name. That on AV. takes *śukro bṛhan* as Sūrya; Whitney, Soma.

[*yan* (ŚŚ. *yaṁ*) *naḥ pitā saṁjānīte* AB. ŚŚ. Indefinite in both. AB.: 'what (i.e. the situation which) our father approves.' ŚŚ. might be interpreted: 'whom (whatever person; really thinking of Śunaḥśepa) our father approves.' But the ŚŚ. comm. reads *yan*, clearly understanding *yad* (gloss: *yan no 'smākaṁ pitā saṁjānīte tasminn ādeśe vayaṁ tiṣṭhāmahe*). It seems that *yaṁ* is only a bad writing for *yan*.]

Substantive pronouns in equational sentences

§812. In introducing equational sentences, pronouns may be in the indefinite neuter singular without regard to the gender or number of the noun referred to, or they may agree in gender and number with the latter. Cf. §§730, 776, where other examples are quoted, and §826.

kā (TS. TB. *kiṁ*) *svid āsīt pilippilā*,

kā (TS. TB. *kiṁ*) *svid āsīt piśaṅgilā*,

kā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *kiṁ*) *svid āsīt pūrvacittiḥ*, all VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB., the last in ApŚ.

kaḥ (VS. *kiṁ*) *svit pṛthivyai varṣīyān* (VS. °*yaḥ*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The answer expected is 'Indra'; hence masc. *kaḥ* in most texts.

5. Adverbial forms

§813. Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs; it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which

makes it the favorite form of adverbs. When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun; altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs. Among the variants we find distinctively fem. as well as neut. adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs.

§814. We begin with the rare instances of fem. adverbs varying with masc. adjectives:

ud enam uttaraṁ (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. °*rāṁ*) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *ud asmāṅ uttarān naya* ApŚ.

divaś cid antād upamām (TA.† *upa mām*, RV. *antāṅ upamāṅ*) *udānaṭ* RV. AV. SV. TA. Whitney adopts the v. l. *upa mām* for AV. Benfey takes *upamām* as an adverb. See §495.

§815. Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives:

āgne yāhi suvidatrebhir arvāṅ (MS. *arvāk*, p.p. *arvāṅ*) RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

yuktvā (so Poona ed. of TB. for *yuktā* Conc.) *harī vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvāṅ* (MS. *arvāk*, p.p. *arvāṅ;* KS. ms. *arvāṭ*, ed. *arvāk*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

prāṅ (VS. TB. *prāṅk*, MS. *prāk*, p.p. *prāṅ*) *somo atidrutaḥ* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pratyak (p.p. *pratyaṅ*) *somo atisrutaḥ* MS.: *pratyaṅ* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.* TB. *pratyaṅk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (VS.* †10. 31b, MS. *atisrutaḥ*) AV.† (see Whitney's note) VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ.

etat tvā deva savitar vṛṇate...ŚB.: *deva savitar etaṁ tvā vṛṇate*...AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

tam u tvaṁ (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by: *yad dha tyaṁ māyinaṁ mṛgam.* SV.'s *tyan* can only be construed as an adverb. It is due in some part to the preceding *tyaṁ.*

tam idaṁ (ApMB. *imaṁ*) *vi vṛhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. 'I here (now) pluck it out for thee.' *idaṁ* is an adverb; ApMB. makes it into a pronoun agreeing with *tam.*

svasti naḥ pūrṇamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG. °*mukhaṁ pari krāmantu*) ApMB. HG. See §404.

ava tara (TS. *avattaraṁ*, MS. p.p. *avataram*, AV. *avattaro*) *nadīṣv ā* (AV. *nadīnām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avattaraṁ* is apparently an adverb. See §404.

tad āsata ṛṣayaḥ sapta sākam AV.: *tasyāsata ṛṣayaḥ* (TS. TAA. °*āsate harayaḥ*) *sapta tīre* TS. ŚB. BṛhU. TAA. *tad* seems to be adverbial.

aśvinendraṁ na jāgṛvi (TB. °*vī*) VS. MS. TB. See §762.

taṁ tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguḥ...saha yan me 'sti tena AV.: *taṁ* (KS.† *tat*) *tvendragraha prapadye* (ApŚ. *praviśāni*) *saguḥ...saha yan me 'sti* (*asti*) *tena* KS. ApŚ. *tat* in KS. adverbial.

viṣvak patantu didyavaḥ RV.: *viṣvañco asmac charavaḥ patantu* AV.

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyaḥ śuciḥ (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* may be an adverb; but cf. VV 2 §381.

taṁ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA. Perhaps bad writing (*tan* for *taṁ*).

tan (JB. *taṁ*) *mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam* JB. KBU. As prec.

somaḥ prathamo vivide RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. 'Soma was the first to marry thee': 'thou wast Soma's wife first.'

ye 'do (MS. *amī*, KS. *vādo*, VS. ŚB. *vāmī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: *ye cāmī rocane divi* NīlarU. *adas* adverb, 'there'.

§816. A special group under this heading may be formed of the variants involving the pronominal neuter *yad*, used as a conjunction, in variation with masculine forms of the same pronoun:

arundhatīṁ ye (ApMB. *yad*) *dhruvatāṁ ha ninyuḥ* ApMB. HG. '(The ṛṣis) who have led...': 'since (the ṛṣis) have led...'

toke vā goṣu tanaye yad (and *yam*) *apsu* RV. (both).

nava yat puro navatiṁ ca sadyaḥ RV. AV.: *nava yo navatiṁ puraḥ* RV. AV. SV.

pūrvo yat (MŚ. *yaḥ*) *sann aparo bhavāsi* ApŚ. MŚ.

pra ye (SV. *yad*) *gāvo na bhūrṇayaḥ* RV. SV.

yad (MŚ. *ya*) *āgachāt pathibhir devayānaiḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

ya (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB.† *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. TB. TA. KŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. GG.

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. (bis) MG.

viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāḥ (KS. *vimanā yo vyomā*, MS. *vimame yo vihāyāḥ*, TS. *manasā yad vihāyāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N.

yad (SV. *yo*) *devasya śavasā prāriṇāḥ* RV. SV.

yad agne kavyavāhana TS. TB. ApŚ.: *yo agniḥ kravyavāhanaḥ* (VS. KS. *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.

yad (LŚ. *yaṁ*) *devāso lalāmagum* AV. VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.

anu yaṁ viśve madanty (AV.* *anu yad enaṁ madanti* †*viśva*) *ūmāḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. N.

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. ApŚ. *rathe*) *adhi tarn* (VS. ŚB. *yarn*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

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

§817. Feminine adjectives varying with neuter adverbs. The first case involves the conjunction *yad*, as in the last paragraph:

andhena yat (TA. *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA. °*tāsi*) AV. TA. 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness.'

yajñasya jihvām avidāma guhyām (MG. *guhyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS. 'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice.'

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. °*taṁ*) *marudbhiḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The original fem. adjective applies to *sītā* 'furrow'. In TA. it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc. (§849). In KS. the connexion is the same, and the neut. must be taken as an adverb.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *vicaranty apativratā* ŚG. MDh.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ. See §404.

asaṁbādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ MS.: *asaṁbādhaṁ badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* AV. Kauś. See §623.

achidrāṁ tvāchidreṇa. . .juṣṭaṁ (KS. °*ṭāṁ*, v. l. °*ṭaṁ*) *gṛhṇāmi* MS. KS. ApŚ. The fems. refer to *surā*. Caland on ApŚ. would read *juṣṭaṁ* (adverb) in KS., and since the best ms. reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right. But *juṣṭāṁ* as fem. adjective would be equally construable.

§818. And once a fem. noun, in the dative (quasi-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb:

taṁ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA. 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly'. See §487.

§819. Neuter adjective varying with fem. adverb:

upamaṁ (SV. °*māṁ*) *devatātaye* RV. SV. *upamaṁ* goes with *śavaḥ* preceding; *upamāṁ* must be an adverb.

§820. In the rest both variant forms seem to be adverbial. The only clear case of masc.-neut. variation here concerns the Rigvedic *nakis*, formally a nom. sing. masc., but sometimes used adverbially; twice in the same verse SV. replaces it by *na ki*, on which see §810 above: *nakir* (SV. Svidh. *na ki*) *devā minīmasi* (SV. Svidh. *inī*°) RV. SV. Svidh. *nakir* (SV. *na ky*) *ā yopayāmasi* RV. SV.

§821. Once, also, SV. substitutes *nakiḥ* for RV. (*nū*) *cit*:

nū cit (SV. *nakiḥ*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV. SV.

§822. We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc.-neut. variation with the forms *kam* : *kim*, altho of course *kam* cannot be, historically, an acc. sg. masc. of the stem *ka*:

prajāyai kam (AV. *kim*) *amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇīta* RV. AV.

§823. As to fem.-neut. variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs *pratarām* and °*ram* (once *saṁtarām* : °*ram*):

pra tāry agne prataraṁ na āyuḥ RV. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *prātāry agne pratarāṁ na āyuḥ* TS.

jīvātave prataraṁ (SV. SMB. °*rāṁ*) *sādhayā dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. SMB.

indremaṁ prataraṁ (VS. TS. ŚB. °*rāṁ*) *kṛdhi* (*naya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

drāghīya āyuḥ prataraṁ (TA.† °*rāṁ*, MG. *pratiraṁ*) *dadhānāḥ* (AV. **te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. (ter) TA. AG. MG.: *āyur dadhānāḥ prataraṁ navīyaḥ* AV.

sāmrājyāya prataraṁ (ApŚ. °*rāṁ*) *dadhānaḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

adhi kṣami prataraṁ dīdhyānaḥ RV. AV.: *asmin kṣaye pratarāṁ dīdyānaḥ* SV.

pra taṁ (RV.* *no*) *naya prataraṁ* (TS. ApMB. °*rāṁ*) *vasyo acha* RV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

saṁśitaṁ cit saṁtaraṁ (VS. TS. KS. °*rāṁ*) *saṁ śiśādhi* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§824. Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both variant forms are parts of the pple. of a compound verb and are perhaps hardly to be classified here; cf. VV 2 §505:

svaṁkṛto 'si KS.: *svāṁkṛto 'si* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

6. Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825. Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the plurality of the nouns; or else they may be masc. if the series includes both masc. and fem. nouns:

tās (ApMB. *te*) *tvā vadhu prajāvatīm* AV. ApMB. Preceded by *yā oṣadhayo yā nadyo yāni kṣetrāṇi yā vanā* (ApMB. *yāni dhanvāni ye vanāḥ*, so read). In AV. *tās* follows the gender of the fems. of the first pāda; in ApMB. *te* follows that of the nearest noun, *vanāḥ* (on which see §793), or is masc. as including both masc. and fem. (see next).

rohit kuṇḍṛṇācī golattikā tā apsarasām (VS. *te 'psarasām*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Since *rohit* is regularly fem., the fem. pronoun is expected (with only fem. nouns). The masc. of VS. is apparently due to

taking *rohit* as masc. (so VS. comm.); with a series including masc. and fem. nouns, a masc. pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, *Gram.* p. 500).

7. Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun

§826. When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantive pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf. §812).

namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta uttaraḥ pakṣaḥ LŚ.: *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttaraḥ pakṣaḥ* AA.: *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta uttaraḥ pakṣaḥ* ŚŚ. *bṛhat* means the sāman of that name. Similarly *namas te rathaṁtarāya* (*rāthaṁ°*)..., and *namas te vāmadevyāya* (*rājanāya*)..., see Conc.

(*yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat phalaṁ tat*) *yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva* AV.: (*yadi vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*) *yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva* HG.: (*yadi vṛkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva* ApMB. The neuter *tad* of ApMB. HG. refers back to *phalam* and keeps its gender, despite the masc. predicate *vāyur*. The masc. *sa* of AV. is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho *apāṁ stokaḥ* of the preceding verse may also have been influential.

striyaḥ satīs tāṁ (TA. *tā*) *u me puṁsa āhuḥ* RV. AV. TA. N. 'Those that are women, they declared to me to be men.' The original makes the pronoun agree in gender with the predicate; TA. changes it to agree with the antecedent.

§827. Somewhat similarly, an adjective epithet in the following variant agrees in gender either with the subject (Agni; so most texts), or with an adjoining noun—predicate of a different clause this time, but one which immediately precedes and is closely associated in TA., the text which makes this agreement:

saṁpriyaḥ paśubhir bhava (TB. ApŚ. *bhuvat*, KS. *°yaḥ paśubhiḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *saṁpriyaṁ prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA. Subject is Agni in all; the formula *purīṣam asi* precedes in TA. and KS., and follows in MS.

8. Compound nouns

§828. On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751. Peculiar is the case of the dual stem *ahorātra*; for the masc. or neut. gender of compounds in *-rātra*, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p. 40. Note that there is nothing in

the context of the following variant to disprove that *-rātrās* and *-rātre* may be fem. (which gender the word has at least in VS. 14. 30):

ahorātrās (KS. TA. °*trāṇi*) *te kalpantām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB.

§829. Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadhāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuvrīhi, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies. Thus:

ayakṣmayā (KS. °*meṇa*) *pari bhuja* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Preceded in all by *yā te hetir mīḍhuṣṭama, haste babhūva te dhanuḥ, tayāsmān viśvatas tvam* (with slight variants). Since KS. has fem. *tayā* (referring to *hetir*) in pāda c, like the rest, the neut. *ayakṣmeṇa* of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadhāraya, 'with non-disease'.

pīvoannāṅ (VS. °*nā*, MS. °*naṁ*, p.p. °*nān*) *rayivṛdhaḥ sumedhāḥ* RV. VS. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. All texts but VS. intend *pīvoannān*, a bahuvrīhi, 'he seeks men with rich food...' Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS. in the same way, calmly stating that the final *n* of the acc. masc. is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf. VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadhāraya, acc. pl. neut.: 'he seeks rich foods.'

tatrāpi dahre (MahānU. *dahraṁ*) *gaganaṁ viśokaḥ* (TA. Poona ed. °*kam*, v. l. °*kaḥ*) TA. MahānU. *viśokaḥ* 'freedom from grief', coordinate with *gaganam*, which is modified by *viśokam* 'free from grief'.

9. Nom. agentis (masc.) : nom. actionis (fem. or neut.)

§830. Occasionally the same (or virtually the same) word is used either as a noun of agent (masc.) or a noun of action (neut. or fem. according to formation):

eṣa vas tadvivācanaḥ ŚŚ.: *eṣa vaḥ sadvivācanam* AB. Comm. on AB. paraphrases by *adhyāpanam* and supplies *kariṣyati*. Better, 'he (shall be) to you instruction in what is right.' ŚŚ., '...instructor in that.'

sā (MS. *yā*) *prathamā saṁskṛtir viśvavārā* (MS. *yajñe asmin*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *sa prathamaḥ saṁkṛtir viśvakarmā* TS. TB. ApŚ. The latter make a noun of agent out of *saṁkṛti*.

10. Substitution of one noun for another

§831. Sometimes the change of gender in an epithet is due to the substitution of one noun for another, altho the context is in general the same. Thus, as between masc. and fem.:

avasṛṣṭā (TB. ApŚ. °*taḥ*) *parā pata* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. TB. Vait. ApŚ. AG. Followed by:

śaravye brahmasaṁśite (TS. °*tā*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *śaro brahmasaṁśitaḥ* TB. ApŚ. For *śaravyā* TB. ApŚ. substitute the synonym *śara.*

ūrvaṁ gavyaṁ pariṣadanto agman RV. KS. ('surrounding it they penetrated into the prison-cave of the kine'): *urvīṁ gavyāṁ pariṣadaṁ no akran* AV. (a far-reaching Verballhornung; Whitney, 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine').

gireḥ pravartamānakaḥ RV.: *girer avacarantikā* AV. Preceded by *kuṣumbhakas tad abravīt* RV., *karṇā śvāvit tad abravīt* AV. The fem. gender of *śvāvidh* is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the dictionaries.

§832. As between masc. and neut.:

yaṁ (AV. TS. ApŚ. *yat*) *te devī nirṛtir ā babandha,*

pāśaṁ (AV. TS. *dāma*) *grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS. ŚB. *avicṛtyam*, AV. *avimokyaṁ yat*),

taṁ te (AV. *tat te*, TS. *idaṁ te tad*) *vi ṣyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*, AV. *āyuṣe varcase balāya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., and the first in ApŚ. MŚ. Here the two synonyms are *pāśa* masc. and *dāman* neut.

§833. As between fem. and neut.:

yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. The latter has a far-reaching reconstruction; *idaṁ* agrees with *strīpautram.*

§834. These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough. More dubious are some cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all. A simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the late RV. hymn 6. 75 speaks of the bow as 'father of many daughters' (arrows?), *bahvīnām* fem., for which MS. substitutes 'of many sons', *bahūnām* masc. (no one would want many daughters!):

bahvīnāṁ (MS. *bahūnāṁ*) *pitā bahur asya putraḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ.

§835. In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are in one or both cases often uncertain. Masculine and feminine:

tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe RV. VS.: *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV. The AV. 6. 15. 1a repeats RV. 10. 97. 23 with change of gender, apparently referring to an unnamed plant with masc. name (according to the comm. *palāśa*, but Kauś. uses barley).

[*ati dhanveva tāṅ ihi* RV. AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanveva tā ihi* TA.: *nidhanveva tāṅ imi* TA. The TA. repeats the verse in the same context, once recording *tā(s)*, fem., which seems to us to make no possible sense. We believe that it has merely lost final *ṅ* by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added.]

tāsāṁ viśiśnānām (KS. *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS.: *teṣāṁ viśipriyāṇām* (VS. ŚB. °*ṇāṁ vo 'ham*) VS. TS. ŚB. Preceded in same verse by *yās* (TS. *yeṣāṁ*) *tisraḥ paramajāḥ* (MS. *prathamajāḥ*). Reference is to soma-cups (*graha*), and we do not understand the fem.; yet note *tisraḥ* even in TS. (The TS. comm. supplies *prakṛtayaḥ*.) Keith ignores the point. Perhaps a fem. synonym of *graha*, such as *āsuti*, is understood.

jīvaṁ (ApMB. *jīvāṁ*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV. *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV. °*ram*) RV. AV. ApMB. In an obscure stanza used in the wedding rite; see Bloomfield *AJP*. 21. 411 ff., Oldenberg *Noten* on 10. 40. 10. The fem. of ApMB. surely means the bride; it is still problematic who is meant by *jīvaṁ*.

emāṁ (ŚG. *enaṁ*) *kumāras taruṇaḥ* AV. ŚG., and:

emāṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ AV.: *enaṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhyā* ŚG. The fems. refer either to the house (*śālā*) or to the chief post (*sthūṇā*); the masc. apparently to the latter under its name *sthūṇārāja*.

utemaṁ paśya MS. MŚ.: *utemāḥ paśya* TS. See §740.

asyai (TS. *asmai*) *saṁ datta vīryam* (TS. *bheṣajam*) RV. VS. TS. *asyai* refers to an herb, into which all herbs are to put their healing power, of course for the benefit of the yajamāna, to whom TS. refers directly with *asmai*.

śivebhir (AV. VSK. TS.* *śivābhir*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (*vṛdhe*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. (both) MS. KS. TB. The masc. agrees with *pāyubhiḥ* in the preceding in some texts; in others some such masc. (or neut.?) word has to be supplied, or else it is an indefinite, quasi-adverbial neuter. With the fem. the AV. comm. supplies *ūtibhiḥ*; it might however be considered adverbial.

anu manyatām anumanyamānaḥ (TS. °*mānā*) AV. TS. And:

tasya (TS. *tasyai*) *vayaṁ heḍasi māpi bhūma* AV. TS. These two pādas occur in a hymn addressed to Anumati, to whom the fems. refer; the masc. forms of AV. are well attested but we can explain them no better than Whitney (see his note).

viśvā (MS. *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573.

sam eta †*viśve vacasā* (SV. *viśvā ojasā*) *patiṁ divaḥ* AV. SV. By *viśve*

AV. undoubtedly means 'all men'. Benfey suggests either that *viśvā(ḥ)* is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case masc., or else that *stutayaḥ* is to be supplied with it. Ppp. is reported by Roth as reading *viśvā*.

[*anābho mṛḍa dhūrta* (MS. *dhūrte*, v. l. °*ta*) MS. MŚ.: (*anārbhava mṛḍa*) *dhūrta* (KS. °*te*) *namas te astu* (*'stu*) KS. ApŚ. Knauer on MŚ. would read *dhūrta* also in MS. Rudra is addressed and no voc. fem. seems possible; if a voc. form is concerned it can only be *dhūrta*. But *dhūrte* occurs in KS., KapS. (4.6:45.1, see Oertel 101), and in two mss. and p.p. of MS. The persistence of the form suggests that *dhūrta* is a lect. fac. Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun *te*, or some sort of noun form, dat. sg. or loc. sg.]

[*mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. Followed by:

[*devī devebhir nimitāsy agre* AV.: *devo devebhir vimitāsy agre* HG. The fems. *vimitā* and *syonā* are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG.; Oldenberg adopts the AV. readings.]

§836. A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem.) to a collective noun such as *senā* 'army', or (in the masc.) to the individuals which compose the collectivity. Cf. §715:

indra āsāṁ (AV. MS. KS. *eṣāṁ*) *netā bṛhaspatiḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The fem. pronoun refers to *senāḥ* 'armies', in the context; the masc. to the men who compose them.

yuvaṁ tān (SV. *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV. SV. As in prec.; here *senā* sing.

āmūr aja pratyāvartayemāḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *prāmūṁ jayābhīme jayantu* AV. The original *amūr* probably refers to armies (Geldner). Whitney takes the AV. form as *amūn*, referring to the individual enemies; but p.p. *amūm* (comm. *śatrusenām*).

nama āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantībhyaś (KS. *vividhyadbhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding *senā* plu.; the masc. of KS. to the individual members.

§837. Masculine and neuter:

māteva putraṁ bibhṛtāpsv enat (MS. *bibhṛtā sv enat*, TS. KS. *bibhṛtā sv enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The neut. refers to the ashes put into water (mentioned in the context); the masc. apparently to Agni, the fire here carried in a pan.

vardhamāno (TS. °*naṁ*) *mahāṅ* (TS. MS. *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS. °*ram*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The half-verse accompanying this one in VS. 11. 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (*puṣkara* or *puṣkaraparṇa*, both neut.) on which is laid a lump of clay representing Agni. Our pāda is followed by *divo mātrayā variṇā* (*varimṇā*) *prathasva*. Mahīdhara on VS. thinks that *vardhamāno* still refers to the lotus leaf, with 'Vedic' change of gender. With Griffith we must rather understand Agni, in the form of the lump of clay, as addressed. In VS. 13. 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of the āhavanīya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in the 2d half verse. TS. uses neuters, referring to the lotus leaf as in the other half verse.

ya enad veda sa id enad (AV. *enam*) *arhati* RVKh. AV. The neut. refers to *hiraṇyam*; the masc. apparently to an unexpressed *maṇi* or some masc. name of a jewel (Bloomfield, *SBE*. 42. 669).

svasty uttarāṅ (MS. MŚ. °*raṅ*, TS. ApŚ. °*rāṇy*) *aśīya* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Used in the shaving ceremony; the neut. we take to refer to *śmaśrūṇi*, with Caland and Henry (otherwise comm. and Keith). The masc. pl. (intended also in MS. MŚ.) may refer to *keśān*; it is hardly necessary to emend as Schroeder suggests.

devaśrud imān (sc. *keśān*) *pravape* MS. MŚ.: *devaśrūr etāni* (sc. *śmaśrūṇi*) *pravape* TS. HG. As prec.

[*viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Followed by *s*-; doubtless phonetic corruption in TB., cf. VV 2 §381.]

[*saṁśitaṁ kṣatraṁ jiṣṇu* (Ppp. MS. KS. TA. *kṣatraṁ me jiṣṇu*, AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇuḥ*) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *jiṣṇuḥ* can only be a blunder; VV 2 §381.]

§838. Feminine and neuter:

gāthayaiti pariṣkṛtam (AV. °*tā*) RV. AV. See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10. 85. 6. Apparently the neut. refers to Sūryā's garment (*vāsaḥ*). AV. makes the fem. refer to Sūryā.

haviṣ (*haviḥ*) *kṛṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam* (MG. °*rīyam*, HG.† SMB.† °*rīṇām*) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Both Kirste and Jörgensen confess inability to interpret the fem., and we can do no better. But its occurrence in two texts, of different schools, is very strange.

[*ya ābabhūva* (PB. *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāḥ*!) VS. PB. JB. ŚŚ. Vait. *viśvāḥ* is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381); the comm. has *viśvāni*.]

§839. Masculine, feminine, and neuter:

ūrṇamradasaṁ (*ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*, Kauś.

ūrṇamradaṁ prathasva) *svāsastha*ṁ (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthāṁ*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. Kauś. ApŚ. Masc. in TS. TB. ApŚ. (applying to *prastara*); fem. in VS. ŚB. (to *vedi*); neut. in KS. Kauś. (to *barhis*?).

11. Transfer of epithet

§840. The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context. These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case; these will not be repeated here. Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms:

īḍāno (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. °*niṁ*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §399.

aṅgāny ahrutā yasya (TS. and vikāra of ŚB. *yasyai*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *taṁ mātrā* (KS. *taṁ devās*, TS. and vikāra of ŚB. *tāṁ devaiḥ*) *sam ajīgamam* (KS. *acīklpan*). The masc. (original) makes the pronouns refer to the embryo (*garbha*) of the cow; the vikāra of ŚB. contemplates the possibility that the embryo will be female (and belongs with §782). TS., on the other hand, contains a genuine and obvious 'transfer of epithet', making the pronouns refer to the cow herself (who, to be sure, is referred to in the stanza only by second person pronouns).

tad agnir anumanyatām ayam (PG. *iyaṁ svāhā*) PG. HG. The simpler, and presumably original, reading is *ayam*, referring to Agni; *iyam* is difficult; Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion; Oldenberg renders by 'N. N.', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom); the comm. on PG. makes *iyaṁ* agree with *svāhā* as n. pr., 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort).'

dvāro devīr anv asya viśve (MS. KS. *viśvāḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The masc. *viśve* is a coordinate subject, along with *dvāro*; in MS. KS. it becomes an epithet of the latter.

tāṁ tvaṁ svadhāṁ tais sahopa jīva ApMB.: *taṁ svadhām akṣitaṁ taiḥ sahopajīvāsau* HG. Most likely HG. is original: 'upon that (wave, *ūrmi*, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these.' ApMB. makes the pronoun agree with *svadhām*.

kasmai (KS. *tasmai*) *deva vaṣaḍ astu tubhyam* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tasmai ca devi vaṣaḍ*... TS. The voc. masc. refers to Prajāpati (or

'Ka'); the fem. of TS. to Pṛthivī (denoted by *uttānāyai* in the preceding).

garbhaṁ sravantam agadam akaḥ (AŚ. *akarma*) TS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *garbhaṁ sravantīm agadām akarma* ApŚ.: *ukhāṁ sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ. MŚ. The masc. forms go with *garbha*, the fems. with *ukhā* (which is clearly understood even when not expressed).

apāsya ye †sināḥ pāśāḥ KS. ApŚ.: *apāsyāḥ satvanaḥ pāśān* Kauś. The fem. refers to Nirṛti, preceding; the masc. apparently to the yajamāna.

indreṇa dattaṁ prayataṁ (TS. *dattāṁ prayatāṁ*) *marudbhiḥ* TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* (MS. *nābhim*). The masc. pples. agree with the last word, the fems. with *dhārām*.

mā hiṁsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB.† *ūhyamānām*) AV. ApMB. 'Let them not injure the procession as it proceeds': 'let them not injure the procession and her (the bride) that is being carried off.'

§841. In some of the above the 'epithet' is in one form more or less independent; in a couple of others it is quite distinctly so, that is not really an 'epithet' of another word at all (cf. §15):

pratyañ̃ ud eṣi mānuṣān (AV.* °*ṣīḥ*) RV. AV. (both) ArS. N. Preceded by *pratyañ devānāṁ viśaḥ*. The RV. *mānuṣān* = 'humans, men'; in AV. sc. *viśaḥ*.

mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣībhir arcinaḥ (TB. *taviṣebhir ūrmibhiḥ*) RV. TB. The orig. *taviṣībhiḥ* is apparently a noun, 'with might'; TB. feels that a form of the adjective *taviṣa* is required, and supplies *ūrmibhiḥ*, perhaps recollecting RV. 6. 61. 2.

§842. Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter:

anāptā yā (AV. *ye*) *vaḥ prathamā* (AV. p.p. °*māḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See §552, end.

eṣa vasūni pibdanā (SV. °*naḥ*) RV. SV. The adj. is transferred from *vasūni* to *eṣa* (= Soma).

śambhu mayobhu (TB. TA. *śambhūr mayobhūr*) *no hṛde* RV. SV. TB. TA. Kauś. N. Preceded by *vāta āvātu bheṣajam*; the adjectives go with *bheṣajam*, or with *vātaḥ*.

asmin have puruhūtaḥ purukṣuḥ (AV. TS. °*kṣu*) RV. AV. Ppp. TS. KS. Preceded by *uruvyacā no mahiṣaḥ śarma yaṅsat* (*yachatu*). Transfer from *mahiṣaḥ* to *śarma*.

kakubhaṁ (*kakuhaṁ*) *rūpaṁ vṛṣabhasya* (*rūpam ṛṣ*°) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VSK. *bṛhan* goes with *somaḥ* following.

codad rādha upastutaś (ArS. °*taṁ*) *cid arvāk* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to *rādhas*.

tad ayaṁ (MG. *idaṁ*) *rājā varuṇo 'numanyatām* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In MG. *idaṁ* (with *tad*) replaces *ayaṁ* (with *rājā varuṇo*).

vīḍuharās tapa ugro (AV. *ugraṁ*) *mayobhūḥ* RV. AV.

matsvā suśipra (SV. °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV. 'We wish that': 'we pray to [thee] here.'

yenā samatsu sāsahaḥ (SV. °*hiḥ*, MŚ. °*hi*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original *sāsahaḥ* is a verb form; in SV. it becomes an adjective epithet of the subject: 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in battles'. In MŚ. this adjective is made to go with the preceding *manas*.

brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtaṁ*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syāṁ*, MG. *svarākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svarārakṣāṇaḥ*) *svāhā* (MG. omits) AG. PG. MG. In MG. the first word is attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (*bhūtaṁ bhaviṣyad uta bhadram astu me*); in the others it goes with the 1st person subject.

dhṛṣāṇaṁ (AV. °*ṇo*, but Whitney translates °*ṇaṁ*; AA. *dādhṛṣāṇaṁ*) *dhṛṣitaṁ* (AV. °*taḥ*, but Whitney translates °*taṁ*) *śavaḥ* AV. AA. ŚŚ.† The masc. forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the subject of the preceding pāda, instead of to *śavaḥ*. The passage is very troublesome.

§843. In the next (cf. §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an independent word; *amṛto* modifies *panthā(ḥ)*, but MS. uses *amṛtaṁ* as an independent noun, 'nectar':

prāṇasya panthā amṛto (MS. °*taṁ*) *grahābhyām* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§844. Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter:

upasthāśānāṁ mitravad astv ojaḥ TS. MS. AŚ.: *upasthāśā mitravatīdam ojaḥ* KS. In KS. *mitra*° agrees with *āśā*, in the others with *ojaḥ*.

tebhir mā (ApŚ. *tābhir no*, ApMB. *tābhiṣ ṭvā*) *devaḥ savitā punātu* MS. ApŚ. ApMB. Preceded by *śataṁ pavitrā vitatā hy* (MS. *vitatāny*) *āsu* (sc. *apsu*). The pronoun refers to *pavitrā* in MS., in the others to *āsu* (*apsu*).

§845. The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15); but the reconstruction of the secondary ApMB. is very sweeping. It means 'shine thou for my foot-water (*padya*, neut.).' In the original, *padyā* is used as an epithet of the noun Virāj:

mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚG. ŚŚ. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB.

12. Phrase inflection

§846. In many cases variation in gender accompanies and signalizes the adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes several pādas, or even an entire verse, is thus readapted. For example, the Rigveda itself contains a verse which is used twice, once in a woman's charm against feminine rivals, and once in a man's charm for dominion and victory. The two verses are practically identical thruout, but the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other. Hence the variants:

asapatnā (RV. also °*naḥ*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB.; followed immediately in both RV. and ApMB. by:

asapatnaḥ sapatnahā RV. AV.: *asapatnā sapatnaghnī* RV. ApMB.

§847. Such a variation may properly be called a vikāra in the technical sense. Many of the variants here included are nothing but technical vikāras or ūhas; often they appear in the same passage, modulated according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV. in a single hymn applies the epithets once to *mitrāvaruṇau*, masc., and once to (*dyauḥ* and) *pṛthivī*, fem.:

jarāmṛtyuṁ kṛṇutāṁ saṁvidānau (and °*ne*) AV. (both).

§848. We find the following variants of this sort; first some in which all three genders appear:

vānaspatyo 'si PB. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *vānaspatyam asi* KS.: *vānaspatyāsi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

jāgatam asi MS. TA. ApŚ.: *jāgatāsi* MS.: *jāgato 'si* MS. MŚ. Also *gāyatram asi, gāyatro 'si, gāyatry asi; traiṣṭubho 'si,* °*bham asi.*

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 §727.

§849. Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted, occur:

tṛpto 'ham MS. KS. MŚ.: *tṛptāham* (v. l. *tṛpto 'ham*) MŚ. In the last the words are spoken by the *patnī*; it is a simple ūha of the other, recollection of which is responsible for the v. l. with masc.

tās te (TS. MŚ. *te naḥ*) *kṛṇvantu bheṣajam* RV. AV. TS. MŚ. PG. Different contexts; perhaps not true variants.

agniṁ kulāyam abhisaṁviśantīḥ (ApŚ. °*vasānāḥ*) MS. ApŚ.: *agniṁ gṛhapatim abhisaṁvasānāḥ* TB. ApŚ. The entire verse is repeated, with subjects respectively *prajāḥ* and *paśavaḥ*

aiḍo me bhagavo 'janiṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇaḥ MS.: *aiḍī me bhagavaty ajaniṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇī* MS. Ūhas; followed by the respective directions: *iti pumāṅsaṁ jātam abhimantrayeta,* and *iti striyaṁ jātam abhi°*. In the same passages the next four:

citrā citram (and *citrām*) *asūt* MS.,

citrāś citrā (and *°rān*) *asuvan* MŚ.,

puṇyā puṇyam (MS.* *puṇyām*) *asūt* MS. MŚ.,

puṇyāḥ puṇyā (and *°yān*) *asuvan* MŚ.

jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛṇvatī (and *kṛṇvan*) RV. (both). To Uṣas and Savitar respectively.

tam (KS.* *tām*) *agne heḍaḥ pari te vṛṇaktu* VS. TS. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. To Agni and *māyā*; in adjoining stanzas in KS.; the others also have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of *tām*...KS. has allowed one stanza to influence the other.

tasya te bhaktivāṅsaḥ syāma (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasya te vayaṁ bhūyiṣṭhabhājo bhūyāsma* ApŚ.: *tasyās te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. ApŚ.†* *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma,* AŚ. *bhāgam aśīmahi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (bis) AŚ. Different contexts.

tāṅs te paridadāmy aham ApŚ.: *tāṁ te paridadāmy aham* (TA. *°dadāmi*) TA. ApŚ.

trir ā divo vidathe patyamānaḥ (and *°mānāḥ*) RV. (both).

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri°*, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS. ApŚ. *tvaṣṭī°*, so also TA. Poona ed. with v. l. *tvaṣṭrī°*) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. The fem. subject is the patnī; see §725.

pari tmanā viṣurūpo jigāsi (and *°rūpā jigāti*) RV. (both).

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. *°taṁ*) *marudbhiḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Different context in TA.; on KS. see §817.

indrāya somaṁ suṣutaṁ bharantaḥ (and *°tīḥ*) RV. (both)

aśmeva tvaṁ sthirā (Ppp. MG. ApMB.* HG.† *[1. 4. 1b] sthiro*) *bhava* Ppp. (for AV. *aśmā bhavatu te tanūḥ*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The fem. to the bride, the masc. in different context to a boy.

pari dhatta dhatta no varcasemam AV.: *pari dhatta dhatta vāsasainām* (HG. ApMB. *°nam*) SMB. HG. ApMB. As prec.

śatāyuṣaṁ (SMB. *°ṣīṁ*) *kṛṇuta dīrgham āyuḥ* SMB. ApMB. HG. As prec.

āyuṣmatīdaṁ pari dhatsva vāsaḥ AV. SMB. PG. MG.: *āyuṣmann idaṁ*...MG.: *āyuṣmān idaṁ*...ApMB. HG. As prec.

upahūto 'yaṁ yajamānaḥ (...) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *upahūteyaṁ yajamānā* TB. The whole of the second passage in TB. is a vikāra of the other. It contains the next six.

divye dhāmann (°*many*) *upahūtaḥ* (TB.* °*hūtā*) TS. MS. TB.*

uttarasyāṁ devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ (TB.* °*tā*) TS. ŚB. TB.

tasminn upahūtaḥ (TB.* °*tā*) MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇe (*haviḥk*°) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇa upahūtaḥ* (TB.* °*tā*) TS.† 2. 6. 7. 5, TB. (bis) ŚB.

viśvasya priyasyopahūtasyopahūtaḥ (and °*tā*) TB. (both)

viśvam asya (TB.* *asyāḥ*) *priyam upahūtam* TS. TB. (both)

vṛṣāsi vṛṣṇyāvan (Kauś. °*vati*) AV.† Kauś.† Different contexts, tho both in rites for virile power; AV. addresses the man concerned, Kauś. the magic herb.

irāṁ vahanto (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irāṁ vahantaḥ sumanasyamānāḥ* HG. See §739.

īśānaṁ vāryāṇām RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.: *īśānā* (sc. *āpaḥ*) *vāryāṇām* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.

mayi puṣṭiṁ (AV. *puṣṭaṁ*) †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭa*°) *dadhātu* (AG. †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.: *mayi puṣṭiṁ puṣṭipatnī dadhātu* KS. The latter in a different context.

yatamānā (and °*no*) *raśmibhiḥ sūryasya* RV. (both)

rākāyā ahaṁ devayajyayā prajāvān (and °*vatī*) *bhūyāsam* ApŚ. (both). Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining passages. In the same the following:

sinīvālyā ahaṁ devayajyayā paśumān (°*matī*) *bhūyāsam*, and

kuhvā ahaṁ devayajyayā puṣṭimān paśumān (*puṣṭimatī paśumatī*) *bhū*°.

rodena kṛṇvatīr (°*vaty*, °*vanto*) *agham* AV. (ter).

viṣūcīṁ (and *viṣvañcaṁ*) *vi vṛhāmasi* AV. (both)

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

saṁvatsarasya ṣaṣṭhaḥ (TS.* KS.* *ṣaṣṭhī*) TS. KSA. Both in a series of formulas; with the masculines different parts (*avayava*, m.) of the shoulder are offered; with the fems. various ribs (*vaṅkri*).

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, v. l. *cāyyo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (*bhṛjāsi*, *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. See §334.

sa cakārārasaṁ (and *sā cakarthārasaṁ*) *viṣam* AV. (both)

sa jīva śaradaḥ śatam ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. N. Mbh.: *sā jīva śaradaś śatam* ApMB. An ūha.

saṁjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṁjagmānā abibhyuṣīḥ* (MS. *avihrutāḥ*) AV. MS.

sa (and *sā*) *no viśvā ati dviṣaḥ* RV. (both)

sā (HG. *sa*) *mām ā viśatād iha* (MG. *viśatām ihaiva*) ApMB. HG. MG., and RVKh. Scheftelowitz 10. 151. 3d.

sa (and *sā*) *no dohatāṁ suvīryam* (MŚ. *suvīram*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (both in all texts). Ūhas, in same passages.

sumṛḍīkāṅ abhiṣṭaye RV. TS. MS.: *sumṛḍīkām abhi°* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yasmād bhītā (*bhīto*) *niṣīdasi* MŚ. (both)

yantā rāṭ TS. KSA. TB.: *yantrī rāṭ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. And, in same passages:

yantāsi yamanaḥ VS. TS. KS. KSA. ŚB. TB.: *yantry asi yamanī* (TS. *yamitrī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

sa (AV. *sā*) *naḥ śarma trivarūthaṁ vi yaṁsat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

ūrdhvām enām (VS.* ŚB.* LŚ.* *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (*chrāpaya*) VS.* TS. MS. KSA. ŚB.* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.* ApŚ. In same passages the next:

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

ut tiṣṭha (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *utthāya*) *bṛhatī* (TA. *bṛhan*) *bhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MŚ. Followed by:

ūrdhvā (TA. *°vas*, VS. ŚB. *ud u*) *tiṣṭha dhruvā* (TA. *°vas*) *tvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

yamena tvaṁ yamyā saṁvidānā (TA.* *°naḥ*) VS. TS.† MS. KS.† ŚB. TA. (bis). The fem. of all but TA. applies to Nirṛti. In the two TA. passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed; the form should according to the sense be masc. both times. Yet once TA. reads... *saṁvidānottamaṁ* (combining with *uttamaṁ*, first word of the next pāda); for which the comm. says *saṁvidānā saṁvidāna aikamatyaṁ prāptaḥ*. Here we must either understand *saṁvidānaḥ* with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts.

amṛtā martyebhyaḥ RV.: *amṛtaṁ martyābhyaḥ* TB. ApŚ.

soruḥ satī na nivartate TA.: *uruḥ san na nivartate* TA. Ūhas, in adjoining passages.

aniśitāsi sapatnakṣit VS.: *aniśitāḥ* (KS. ApŚ. add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayaṇīḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *aniśito 'si sapatnakṣit* VS. ŚB.

bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi Kauś.: *bhavān bhikṣāṁ dadātu* AG.

ahaṁ vo asmi sakhyāya śevaḥ MS.: *yuṣmākaṁ sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV. The next is in the same passage:

itthaṁ śreyo manyamānedam āgamam AV.: *idaṁ śreyo manyamāno vā āgām* MS.

ugraś ca bhīmaś ca VS. MS. MŚ.: *ugrā ca bhīmā ca* TA.

apadyamānaḥ pṛthivyām TA. ApŚ.: *apadyamānā ṭpṛthivi* TS. ApŚ.: *avyathamānā pṛthivyām* (MS. v. l. °*vī*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

adharācīḥ (AV. *adharāñcaṁ*) *parā suva* AV. VS. MS. KS.

āśāsānā (TS.* ApŚ.* MŚ.* °*naḥ*) *saumanasam* (TS.* ApŚ.* *suvīryam*) AV. TS.* KS. TB. Vait. ApŚ.* MŚ.* ApMB.

edhamānaḥ (Kauś. °*nāḥ*, ApMB. °*na*) *svagṛhe* (Kauś. *sve gṛhe*, ApMB. *sve vaśe*) ŚB. BṛhU. Kauś. ApMB.: *edhamānā sve gṛhe* (HG. *vaśe*) ApMB. HG. On the m. (sg. or pl.) see §725. The fem. is used in a different context.

niveśanī saṁgamanī vasūnām TS.: *niveśanaḥ saṁgamano vasūnām* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *rāyo budhnaḥ saṁgamano vasūnām* RV.

aditir achinnapatrā priyā (and *achinnapatraḥ priyo*) *devānāṁ*...KS. (both). Ūhas, in same passage.

etā u tyāḥ praty adṛśran purastāt RV.: *eta u tye praty adṛśran* RV.

sā (AB. *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (and the like) KS. AB. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG. The fem. (original) refers to the bride; the masc. to the purohita, whose relation to his king is paralleled to that of wife to husband. In the same passages:

amo 'ham asmi sā (AB. *sa*) *tvam* AV. KS. AB. etc.: *amūham asmi sā tvam* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

svāsasthas (TS. °*sthā*) *tanuvā saṁviśasva* TS. TB. ApŚ.

asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīḥ (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś. Originally referring to cows; used in Kauś. in a new context, referring to *gṛhāḥ*.

§850. Phrase inflection, masculine and neuter:

tasmin ma etat suhutam astu prāśitram GB. Vait.: *tasmin ma eṣa suhuto 'stv odanaḥ* Kauś. As in §846, an entire verse is here adapted to different contexts. Followed by:

tan (Kauś. *sa*) *mā mā hiṅsīt parame vyoman* GB. Vait. Kauś.

anādhṛṣṭāsa (ŚŚ. °*ṭāny*) *ojasā* RV. ŚŚ.

bārhaspatyam asi MŚ.: *bārhaspatyo 'si* PB.

vāji tvā...ApŚ. MŚ.: *vājinaṁ tvā*...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ado yad avadhāvati AV.: *ado* (adverb) *giribhyo adhi yat* (conjunction) *pradhāvasi* TB.: *asau yo 'vasarpati* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG. ApMB. Diff. contexts; hardly variants.

amṛtam asi VS. TS. MS. etc.: *amṛto 'si* SMB. Hardly variants.

ghṛtād ulluptaṁ madhumat suvarṇam (AV. *madhunā samaktam*) RVKh. AV.: *ghṛtād ullupto madhumān payasvān* AV. In this and the

next two (same stanza) we have adaptation of almost an entire verse; the masc. words refer to an amulet of *darbha*-grass, the neuters to a 'triple' amulet called *trivṛt*, neut.

bhūmidṛṅho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ AV.: *bhūmidṛṅham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *dhanaṁjayaṁ dharuṇaṁ dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh. See prec. and next.

bhindat (AV.* *nudan*, RVKh. *ṛṇak*, 10. 128. 10) *sapatnān adharāṅś ca kṛṇvat* (AV.* *kṛṇvan*), same (see prec.).

akṣitam asi mā pitṝṇāṁ...ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā*...TS. GB. Vait. MŚ. Cf. *akṣitir asi mā*...VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

taj (RV. *tā*, see §727) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *taṁ juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV.

tad asmān pātu viśvataḥ AV.: *so asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: *so asmān sarvataḥ pātu* AV.

tat te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcase balāya AV.: *taṁ te badhnāmi jarase svastaye* AV.: *taṁ te badhnāmy āyuṣe* (and *āyuṣe varcase*) AV.

tena (and *tais*) *tvaṁ garbhiṇī bhava* HG. (both). *tena* is masc. (*garbha*); *tais* neut. (*vīryāṇi*).

viṣūcīnān (VSK. °*nā*) *vyasyatām* (VSK. °*tāt*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Diff. context in VSK.

satyaṁ (RV. °*yaś*) *citraśravastamam* (RV. °*maḥ*) RV. TS. KS.

§851. Phrase inflection, feminine and neuter:

sam asya (Kauś. *asyai*) *tanvā* (*tanuvā*) *bhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Kauś.

na vi jānāmi (AB. *jānanti*) *yatarat* (AV. °*rā*) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB.

viṣṭhitāḥ (AV. °*tā*) *pṛthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB.

tayā (and *tena*) *sapatnān pari vṛṇādhi ye mama* AV. (both). Modulations, in the same hymn.

pṛthivyā adhy udbhṛtam (and °*tā*) AV. (both).

subhagaṁkaraṇī mama AV.: *subhāgaṁkaranaṁ mama* SMB.†

§852. The following variants hardly belong here but may be added as an appendix because superficially they look like gender variants. In reality they are variations between (relatively) primary nouns and derivatives thereof. In the first two, *gāyatrī* is the name of the meter, while *gāyatra* is the adjective derived from it, meaning 'of the *gāyatrī* (meter)'. In the third, *gāyatra* is the name of the sāman so called (fundamentally, of course, the neuter of the adjective just mentioned), while *gāyatrī* may either be felt as adjectival ('the wheel, *vartani*, of the *gāyatra*-sāman [of the *gāyatrī*?]'), or as an appositional noun ('the *gāyatrī* [meter] as wheel').

vatsaṁ gāyatrīm anu tā ihāguḥ AV.: *gāyatraṁ vatsam anu tās ta āguḥ* TB.

gāyatraṁ chando anu saṁrabhadhvam MS.: *gāyatrīṁ chandāṁsy anu saṁrabhantām* KS. ApŚ. (Add to VV 1 §337.) The latter means 'the *gāyatrī* (and the other) meters.'

pāvamānasya (TS. KS. *pāvamānena*) *tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS. °*tryā*) *vartanyā*... TS. MS. KS. See §586.

pāvamānyaḥ (ŚG. °*nāḥ*) AG. ŚG. Sc. *tṛpyantu*. 'The pāvamānī hymns· the (ṛṣis) of the p. hymns.'

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