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VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

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AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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VEDIC VARIANTS

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

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Volume I
THE VERB

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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

Scope and plan of this work

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

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

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

huve nu (RV. VS. KS MahānU *hwayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam vndram*
RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.
sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*; comm. *ahvayanta*) RV. AV.
KS.

sarvāñ agnīñr apsuṣado huve vah (MS. om *vah*) TS. MS. AB.: *śvāñ agnīñr apsuṣado havāmahe* AV
maruivantam sakhyaṣya havāmahe (SV. *huvemaḥi*) RV. SV.

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

agnim (AV *ukthair*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānU

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

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

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

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

rathīlamau rathīnām ahva (KS. °*nām huva*) *ūtaye* TS MS KS · *āsūn huve* (AV *va*) *suyamān* (AV °*mān ahva*) *ūtaye* AV TS MS KS.

havante vājasūtaye RV *huvema vā°* RV SV. MS KS : *hweya vā°* RV. AV.

bṛhaspatim vah prajāpatim vo *viśvān vo devān viśvataḥ pari havāmahe* GB Vait cf *bṛhaspatim viśvān devūn aham huve* RV.

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

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

sarasvantam avase johavīmi RV

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

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

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

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

huve nu (RV VS KS. MahānU *hvayāmi*) *sakram puruhūtam indram*

RV AV. SV VS TS MS. KS MahānU.

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

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

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

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

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

Ambiguous grammatical forms. augmented and augmentless preterites

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

prācīnam sīdat (MS *sīdāt*), *pradisā prthivyāh* VS MS KS TB

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

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

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

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

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāh* RV. SV VS TS MS. KS PB. ŚB

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

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

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

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

§9. Similarly, in

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

Uncertainty as to the moods of certain presents and aorists

§10 In this work, as elsewhere, it is hard to distinguish modal forms of the root-present and the accented *a*-present (aorist present) from the modal forms of the root-aorist and the *a*-aorist. In two related cases, *marto vurita* (TS. *vṛṇita*, KS *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

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

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

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

In the perfectly clear expression

satvātubhyah pari dadāt (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV TA N.

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

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

Imperatives (?) or Subjunctives in se

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

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

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

Phonetic variants. interchange between t and th in 2d plurals

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

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

§15 In the next, *kr̥tha* is a dubious root present, really a back-formation from aorists such as *kr̥dhi*. Yet it is certainly the original reading: *yad āmayati nṣ kr̥tha* (TS MS KS *kr̥ta*) RV. VS TS MS. KS.

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

devebhyo bhavata (TB °*tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV. VS. MS. KS TB. N. *śvā no bhavata* (ApŚ. °*tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ.

śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajjñyāsah* RV. TA. MC. *tena krīdantīś* (ŚG. *krīl°*) *caṛata* (ŚG °*tha*) *pr̥yeṇa* (AV. *vaśān anu*) TS ŚG PG. ViDh.

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

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

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

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

arālāg udabhartsata (AV mss °*tha*) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. mss at 20.139.1 read thus, in an augmented form *tha* is a monstrosity Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhar yathā*, has of course no standing

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

payasvatih kṛnuthāpa (TS °*tāpa*) ośadhīh śvāh (TS. om. śi°) AV. TS
ud īrayathā (MS MŚ °*tā*, AV KS. °*ta*) marutah samudratah RV AV.
TS MS KS. AŚ. MŚ

yūyam (MS. *dvo*) vṛṣṭim var ayathā (MS °*tā*) puriṣiṇah RV. TS. MS.
KS

§19 Doubtful as to precedence are:

aulaba (HG °*va*) ut tamāpā hvayatha (HG °*ta*) ApMB. HG.

saputrīkāyām jāgratha PG . yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ. Cf. Stenzler's note to translation of PG 1. 16 22.

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

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

hato (SV TB *hatho*) vṛtrāny āryā (AV. TB. *apraṭi*) RV AV. SV TB.

Followed in RV. SV. by the next two:

hato (SV. *hatho*) dāsām satpatī, and: hato (SV. *hatho*) viśvā apa dviṣah

RV SV An entire stanza is changed here from 3d person reference to direct address, see below, §§329, 332.—As in this case, the *t* forms are prior in

śam (ApMB *śam*) ūdho romaśam hatah (ApMB. *hathah*) RV ApMB.

The form *hathah* is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p xx.

purā grḍhrād araruṣah pibātah (TB. °*thah*) RV. MS. TB.

§21 But in the next two the *th* form is evidently prior; while in most of the rest here listed there is little clear evidence supporting either one: citrebar abhar upa tīṣṭhatho (MS. °*to*) ravam RV.† MS Followed by: dyām varṣayatho (MS °*to*) asurasya māyayā RV. MS. The p p of MS.

has °*thah* See §337.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuwāthām (VSK. TS ApŚ *prorṇuwāthām*, MS MŚ † *prorṇuwātām*) VS. VSK. TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ, cf. *vapayā* etc. Kauś, and see Conc under *svarge* (°*geṇa*, *svarge*) *loke(-na) prorṇuwāthām* etc (only MS °*tām*, VS VSK TS. KSA. † [which reads *samprorṇuwāthām*]) ŚB TB. Vait. °*tām*).

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

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

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

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah (MŚ † °*tah*), and, in same passage *vīram janayīṣyathah* (MŚ. °*tah*); and

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

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

dvi (KS *dive*) *vyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS. † °*thām*), same texts. *abhūtām* is anomalous; see §§56, 337.

kāman duhātām iha śakvarībhīh AV.. *rāṣtram duhātām iha revatībhīh* TB. Here, tho the context in AV. requires a 3d person verb, most mss read °*thām* like TB. (but Ppp °*tām*)

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

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

Phonetic variants: interchange between a and u before v

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

abhī pra ṇonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV. SV.

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

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

sammislo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) *dhenubhih* RV. SV
uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS. TS MS KS
 Kauś

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS
nemiś cakram wābhavat (SV. MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS
yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah*) RV SV
yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV °*bhuvah*) RV SV MŚ N
samprīyah (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TA *bhuvat*) MS
 TB TA. ApŚ

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

tad aham nihnave (ŚŚ. *nihnuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ
upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS
 An interchange like *tam ahve* (SV *u huve* = *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV, may be suspected of being a similar phonetic variant across the faint pronunciation of *h*

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

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

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

yad ūrdhvas tṣṭhā (KS *tṣṭhād*) *dravneha dhattāt* RV MS KS. AB TB.

N. P. p. of RV. *tṣṭhāh*: 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou standest erect' All texts have as next *pāda*, *yad vā kṣayo mātur asyā upasthe*, showing up the extreme reprehensibility of the KS reading. Cf. prec., of which this is the reverse.

āprā (AV. *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarīkṣam* RV. AV. ArS. VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB AA. TA.

Here both forms are 3d person, AV has the later form *āprād* for *āprās*. *tān ādityān anu madā* (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. P. p. of MS. *mada*; *madāt* may be a mere corruption, see §315.

bodhā stotre (MS. *bodhāt stomar*) *vayo dadhat* (ApŚ. *vayovṛdhah*) RV. SV MS. ApŚ. In MS part of a different stanza, but a v. 1 *bodhā* is recorded.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB · *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG. (corrupt, see §153), cf. *adho vadādharo vada* HG.

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

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

pra-pra yajñapaḥim tīra (TA *tīrah*; but Poona ed *tīra*) AV VS TS. MS.

KS TA AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ. See §156 for this and the next three.

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

nī dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ.

viśvasmāt (TA. *divo vi*^o) *śīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *uruṣyah*) RV. TA.

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

agne vitād dhavīṣo yad yajāma (TB. *°mah*) RV. TB. See §124, where also, but in the interior of the passage, *dhvarāma*: *dhūrvāmas*, in the item *tam dhūrva* etc.

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

prati bhāgam na dīdhīma (SV °mah) RV AV SV VS. N.

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG

abhiratāh smah (YDh. *sma ha*) VīDh YDh BrhPDh

tasmīn vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ. *sma*) TB MŚ

tau saha (VS ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS.

ŚB. °yāva, MS °yāvah) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

viśvāh pīnvathah (TB °tha) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm
Bibl Ind ed °thah, but Poona ed °tha). Vacillation of sandhi
before s + cons., one ms of MS °tha

Phonetic variants: interchange between e and ai

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

supippalā ośadhīh kartanāsmē (AV *kartam asmāi*, VSK *kartam asme*)
AV VS VSK MS.

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

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

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

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

rayīm yca vanāmahai (SV °he) RV. SV

kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh, sacāvahe (MS. °hai, p.p. °he) *yad avrkam
purā cit* RV MS

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

Phonetic interchanges concerning y in combination with other consonants

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

bhakṣa āgatah TS.: *bhakṣah pītah* VSK · *bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇah* (KS.
bhakṣa°) VS. KS. So the single ms of KS (at that time unedited)

reads, but the now printed text quite properly emends to *bhakṣya-māṇah*, matching VS Similarly,

(*net tvā*) *dadhr̥g vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV *vidhakṣan pariñkhayātai*) RV. AV *net tvā dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TS 'Lest the bold one embrace thee (shake thee about) intending to burn thee', or the like. Many mss of AV read *vidhakṣyan*, which should be adopted Cf. Whitney on AV 18 2. 58

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*; ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ. The aorist *yakṣase* may = the future *yakṣyase*, and *yachase* is certainly a phonetic corruption for *yakṣ(y)ase*.

On the other hand, the fuller *kṣy* is secondary in the following:

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

§28 Similarly the group *ścy* is reduced, secondarily

ā vṛścyanātam (AV. *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV. See §87.

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

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

In a remarkably persistent way the mss read *arātsyam*, improper conditional, for *arātsam*, proper prophetic aorist, in the set formula:

tenārātsyam (ŚŚ MŚ GG. v 1 °*rātsam*) MS ŚŚ. MŚ. GG.; cf. *tan me 'rādhi* (Kauś. *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA Kauś.

CHAPTER II. THE VOICES

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ACTIVE AND MIDDLE AND PASSIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

sa viśvā prati cākṛpe AV 'he hath shaped himself into all things'; *sa viśvam prati cākṛpat* AŚ ŚŚ 'he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe'

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

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

āpo devīh sundhata mā devayajyāyāi MS : *davyāya karmane sundhadhvam devayajyāyāi* VS ŚB.: *sundhadhvam davyāya karmanē* (TS. TB add *devayajyāyāi*) TS. MS TB. ApŚ.

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

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

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

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

madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayisyāmi JB . *madhu janīsyē* (AV.
°*ṣīya*) AV. TS TA. ŚŚ 'I shall produce honey (for myself)'

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

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

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

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

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

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

viśvasmād iṣataḥ (MS *iṣamānah*) *paridhiḥ* TS MS KS. 'the fence
from every attacker', the MS. reading (somewhat uncertain, see
editor's note, 1 1 12· 7 10) seems to mean 'fleeing from every
attack'

jajñānaḥ (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaḥ* RV. SV. In RV. *jajñānaḥ* is absolute, 'when born'; in SV. *janayan* lamely governs *sūryam*. The interchange is of the loosest kind.

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

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

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

dvo mātrayā varinā (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prathasva* VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB.:
ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu dvo mātrayā varinā (VS *varimṇā*)
prathantu VS. MS. KS 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself in breadth'; 'the sages of yore . shall extend thee in breadth.'

ḍṛṇha pṛthvīm PB, and *pṛthivīm ḍṛṇha* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB JB. MG.
 'make firm the earth': *ḍṛṇhasva pṛthivyām* VS. KS ŚB. 'be firm upon earth.'

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

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

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

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

§35. In his admirable *Worterbuch*. Grassmann says (column 1070) under *yaj*, 'Das Medium fugt uberall die bekannte reflexive Bedcutung hinzu' BR s v cite the scholiast to Pān. 1. 3 72, Vop 23 58 to the effect that the active of *yaj* is used of the priest, the middle of the sacrificing householder (*yajanti yājakāh, yajamāno yajate*) However, both BR and Delbruck³ recognize that this distinction is not absolute. The *yaj* variants, below, show at any rate that it is not adhered to very closely in Vedic tradition. The twin of *yajati*, namely *juhoti*, which might be expected to be on all fours with *yajati*, shows scarcely, if ever, any such distinction, being generally active. This may be due to the fact that *juhoti* is conceived as the function of the *hotar*. The root *hū* 'call', produces only middle forms in the RV when the present stem is *hava-*, whereas the other stems show both actives and middles. This is not the place to go into an elaborate investigation of the reason why *hava-* has no actives, the variants, at any rate, show in almost every instance active forms of the other stems interchanging with middle forms of *hava-*. In general, our variants are loftily on the other side of right and wrong, the total of this evanescent distinction has broken down, almost every root showing actives in interchange with middles

§36. Occasionally attendant circumstances show which of the two voices is prior in a given variant. In one case AV. gives us two forms of what is essentially the same pāda: *viṣe viṣam aprkthāh* 7. 88. 1, *aprag api* 10 4 26b: 'in poison thou hast (he has) mixed poison.'⁹ Here, in the first place, metrical considerations come in; 7. 88 1 is prose, and the formula is made metrical in 10. 4 26 by the addition of the 'patch-word' *api*. Aside from the question of meter, when a longer form of one voice is replaced by a shorter one of the other voice, which is then padded out by a patch-word, usually a pronoun or adverb, this latter form of the pāda invariably impresses one as secondary. Other cases are.

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

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

⁹ [In a charm against poison, especially that of snakes; there may be in the middle a suggestion of 'for thyself', the poison being magically directed back against its emitter. F E]

syonam patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu twam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG.N.

maruṭām pītas tad aham grṇāmi (MS *grṇe te*) TS. MS.: *maruṭām pītar uta tad grṇimāh* KS.

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

ni no rayīm subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV. VS. TS. MS KS.

sa no mayobhūh pīto āviśasva (ŚG PG. SMB [Jorgensen] *pītav āviśasva*, AŚ *pītav āviśeha*) TS TB. AŚ ŚG. SMB. PG. See §69.

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

tam manyeta (V1Dh *vai manyet*) *pītaram mālaram ca* SaṁhitopanīṣadB. VāDh V1Dh.

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

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

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

aś 'obtain'
aṣ 'move'
as 'throw'
ās 'sit'
i+adhi 'read'
i+palā 'flee'
īr 'arouse'
edh 'prosper'
kar 'make'
kar 'praise'

kalp (caus.) 'shape'
gam 'go'
gar 'praise'
gup 'protect'
gai 'sing'
grabh 'seize'
ghuṣ 'sound'
cat (caus.) 'drive off'
ci 'observe'
jan 'beget'

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

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

Interchanges between active and middle which occur twice or oftener

§39. *aś* 'obtain' (D. 229)

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

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

yena śravānsy ānaśuh (SV *āśata*) RV. SV.

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

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

tato mā dravinam aṣtu (AB *āṣta*) VS AB SB. ŚŚ. See §130.

§40. *ir* 'arouse'

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā div devāvṛdham (ŚŚ erroneously *devā vṛdhan*) *hoitrām arayat* (KŚ. *arayanti*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *arayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ om) ŚB TA ŚŚ KŚ See §248, end.

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

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

tām nah pūṣaṅ chivatamām erayasva HG : *tām pūṣaṅ* (AV. °*an*) *chivatamām erayasva* RV AV. ApMB.: *sā nah pūṣā śvatamām eraya* PG.

§41. *kar* 'make' (D. 238)

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

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

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

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

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

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

kuruta MS. MŚ LŚ ŚG Kauś GG KhG PG HG *om kuruta* ŚŚ. AG.

MG. *kurudhvam* PG

kr̥ṣim suśasyām ut kr̥ṣe (KS. *kr̥dhī*) MS. KS MŚ. See §165

yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase ŚŚ : *yajñapataye vāryam ā svas laḥ* MS *yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai* TA.

Participles (cf §31).

punah kṛnvānā (KS *kṛnvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS KS. ŚB : *punah kṛnvantah pitaro yuvānah* MS : *punah kṛnvans tvā pitarā yuvānam* TS.

§41a. *gam* 'go'

juṣte juṣtim te gameyam (ŚŚ °*ya*, TS 'šiya) TS KS ŚŚ. LŚ.

nāpa vr̥ñjāte na gamāto antam AV. : *nāvapr̥jyāte na gamāte antam* TB.

§42. *gup* 'protect'

taḍ gopāyata (KŚ °*yadhvam*) KŚ ApŚ.

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

tam gopāya (KS. ŚG. °*yasva*) KS AG. ŚG. ApMB *tām gopāyasva* TA.

asvapnaś ca mānavadrānaś cottarato gopāyetām (KS. MG. *ca dakṣīnato gopāyatām*) KS PG. MG. *asvapnaś ca tvānavadrānaś ca rakṣatām* AV. See also Conc under *gopāyanś ca*, *jāgruś ca*, *ḍīdiviś ca*, and *gopāyomānam gopāyatām* is 3d dual impv. act., rather than 3d sing impv mid.

§43. *grah* (*grabh*) 'seize' (D. 240)

tam ātman (MS. KS. *ātmani*) *pari gr̥hñīmahe vayam* (MS *gr̥hñīmasīha*) TS. MS KS

(*asyed udro madeṣv ā*) *grābham gr̥bhñīta* (SV. *gr̥bhñāti*) *sānasim* RV. SV.

§44. *jan* 'beget'

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

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

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor rdhyāsam (KS.* *devayajyayā prajaniṣṣyāt prajayā paśubhiḥ*; KS.* MŚ. *devayajyayā prajaniṣṣya prajayā paśubhiḥ*) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. See §175.

§45. *juṣ* 'enjoy' (D. 229)

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

†*viprā* (SV *viprāya*) *gātham gāyata yaj juṣoṣati* (AA. °*ṣat*; SV. *yam juṣoṣate*) SV AA ŚŚ

§46. *tan* 'extend' (D 242)

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

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

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

§47. *tar* 'cross'

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

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

§48. *dā* 'give' (D. 242)

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

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

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

ajasrena bhānunā ḍīdyatam (TS. *ḍīdyānam*) VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB

viśvā āśā ḍīdyāno (MS KS *ḍīdyad*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB. TB.

The meter favors *ḍīdyāno*

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

aṅgirasām tvā devānām (ApŚ. *devānām vratapate*; Kauś *devānām ādityānām*) *vratenā dadhe* (ApŚ *dadhāmi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ. Kauś : *bhṛgūṅām tvāṅgirasām* (ApŚ *tvā devānām*) *vratenā dadhāmi* TB. ApŚ And similarly under *ādityānām tvā devānām*, *indrasya tvā* etc , *manos tvā* etc , see Conc.

asmin rāṣṭra indriyam dadhāmi AB.: *asmin rāṣṭre śriyam dadhe* SMB.

parīdam vāso adhīhāh (HG. *adhīdhāh*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG ApMB. The readings of HG. ApMB. are obviously inferior, the sense requires a middle ('thou hast put this garment round thyself unto well-being').

ni me dhehi ni te dadhe (VSK. *dadhau*) VS. VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB. AŚ.

The middle is here proper; VSK. assimilates the voice to that of *dhehi*.

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kaus̄ *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS. *annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS. KS. *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhe* MS. *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ : *agnim annādam annādyāyādadhe* VS

garibham dadhāthām te vām aham dade TB ApŚ : *reto dhattam puṣṭyaḥ pṛajananam* MŚ

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

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dhe*) KS ApŚ. Cf. §139 §50. *nam* 'bend'

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

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

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (AV. *bharati*, TS TA *namati*, KS *namate*, MS °*bhyām adhamati*) *sam patatrāh* (KS *yajatrāh*) RV. AV. VS. TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU.

§51. *nī* 'lead' (D 244)

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

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

devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām upa nayāmy asau (HG *naye 'sau*) ŚG HG. And others, see Conc.

īṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV. *nayāmah*) RV. AV. MG.

§52. *nud* 'expel' (D 244)

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS. *nudasva*) AV. MS

agnis̄ tān asmāt pra nunottu lokāt MŚ : *agnis̄ tān* (VS *tān*; AŚ *tāl lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātv*, SMB *ṇudatv*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. SMB. *agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ.

§53. *pac* 'cook' (D 245)

ity apacah TB ApŚ. *ity apacathāh* MŚ

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

§54. *bandh* 'bind' (D. 245)

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

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

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

§55. *bhar* 'bear' (D 230)

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

§56. *bhū* 'be, become'

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

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

§57. *bhrāj* 'shine'

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

§58. *mad* 'revel'

hotā yakṣad aśvinau somānām pibatu madantām vyantu MS :...
vyantu pibantu madantu (form-assimilation) AŚ The KS. parallel lacks any form of *mad*

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

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

§59. *muc* 'release' (D. 247)

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

Participles (cf §31):

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

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

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

agne devānām ava heda yakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heda agne* (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*; MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ Cf. *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB. ApŚ.

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

asau yaja AŚ. : asau yajate LŚ

mahyañ yajantu (AV. KS °ntām) mama yāni havyā (AV. KS. yāniṣṭā)
RV. AV. TS KS

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

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

§61. yam 'hold' (D. 248)

yachantām pañca VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. : yachantu pañca MS. : yachantu
trā pañca KS.

gharmasyaikū saritakūm ni yachati (MS. KS. °te; PG. °tu) TS. MS. KS.
PG

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

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yosta (HG yūḍhvam) ApŚ. MŚ. HG. : mā 10
(AŚ. no) 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata (AŚ. yuṅgdhvam) AŚ. Kauś.

ni no rayirñ subhojasam yu asia (TS. yuceha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf.
Delbrück, l. c , and §36 above.

§63. rakṣ 'protect' (D 250)

agne havyam rakṣasva (VŚ. ŚB. rakṣa) VS. VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB. TB.
MŚ

viśno havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB. rakṣa) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
MŚ.

vratam rakṣanti vīstahā AV. : vratā rakṣante vīstahā RV. The AV.
reading is in every way secondary, cf. the formulas vratā rakṣante .
in Conc.

§64. vad 'speak' (D 252)

achāṅka tadasta MŚ. tadā AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ : achāṅka radasva yat te
vādyam AB. KB. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

avapatāñtir atadā RV. VS. TS. MS. KS : atapatñ sam avadanta VSK. :
pippalyah samavadanta AV. Here the preposition sam is, of
course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps
better be placed in §30.

satyam vadisyūrn (TA * vadisyē) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG. MG

§65. va* (caus. vā-ya) 'hold in, hold off' (D 230)

anlar evosmāṅam vārayadhvāt (MS. TB. vārayatāt, but most mss. apd
p.p of MS. °dhvāt) MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

varano vārayātai AV. : varāṇo vārayiṣyate AV. : varāṇo (Poona ed.
varāṇo) vārayāt TA. See §171.

§66. vart 'turn' (D. 235)

vrt jāṅ 11 vrtāir āvartan (TA. āvartān') RV. AV. TA. AG. The
monstrous form is found in both edd of TA , text and comm.

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

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

§67. *vah* 'carry' (D. 253)

ta ā vahanti (MS. *layāvahante*) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS. TB.

jātvavedo vahemam (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* (TA. *lokāh*) TA. ŚŚ. The reading of ŚŚ is obviously secondary.

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ. *ayāh san*, and so ApMB. comm. explains, KS *ayās san*; Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS. TB. AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ Kauś ApMB. HG.: *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ See §140

§68. *vid* 'obtain' and 'perceive' (D 253)

videya TS. KS AŚ ApŚ.: *videyam* KS. ŚŚ ApŚ. *videya* TS. is in same passage as *videyam* ŚŚ.

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

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

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

mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (AG. † *vindantu*) AV. AG.

§69. *viś* 'enter' (D. 253)

ny anyā arkam abhito vīśre (AV. 'vīśanta'; JB *vīśyuh*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

sa no mayobhūh pīto āvīśasva (ŚG PG SMB. [Jorgensen] *pitav āvīśasva*; AŚ *pitav āvīśeḥa*; MŚ. *pitur āvīśeḥa*) TS. TB AŚ. MŚ ŚG SMB. PG.: *sa nah pīto* (I) *madhumān ā vīśeḥa* Kauś.. *sa nah pīto madhumān ā vīśeḥa* KS. See §§139, 332, on perfect active and present middle, Renou 14, 144ff

Participles (cf. §31):

vīśo-vīśah pravīśvānsam īmahe AV.: *vīśvasyām vīśi pravīśvānsam* (KS † *pravīśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS KS See §273.

§70. *vyā* 'envelop' (D. 254)

tasmai devā amṛtāh (AV. °tam) *sam vyayantām* (AV. °ntu) AV. TS MS. ApMB.

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

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

§71. *śudh* 'purify, be pure'

yad vo 'śuddhāḥ parā jaghnur etc , see §30

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

§72. *śri* 'set up' (D 255)

vāk patamgāya śiśriye TS · *vāk patamgo aśiśriyat* (KS. °*gā aśiśrayuh*) AV. KS See §219

yā na ūrū uśatī visrayāte (AV °*ti*; ApMB HG *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB HG. See §253

§73. *sad* 'sit' (D 230)

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

sarasvatī (AV °*tih*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °*tām*) RV AV. VS. MS KS. TB N

§74. *sarj* 'loosen' (D 255f)

tena mām indra sam sṛja (MŚ *sṛjasva*) TS TB MŚ

rāyas poṣena sam sṛja (MG *sṛjasva*) AV VS TS MS. KS. ApŚ. SMB.

MG In this and the prec *sṛjasva* in the cadence is bad.

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

pāvamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu*. TS

§75. *stu* 'praise' (D 257)

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

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

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

§76. *sthā* 'stand' (D 257)

śivo me saptarṣīn (KŚ MŚ *sapta rṣīn*) *upa tiṣthasva* (Vait MŚ *tiṣtha*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ

yāvac ca sapta sindhavo vitasthīre (TS. °*tasthuh*) TS. VS.: *yāvat sapta sindhavo viṭasthīre* AV.

yenaīṣa bhūtas tiṣthaty (MahānU. *bhūtais tiṣthate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU.

ḷsutlṛṣṇābhyām tam yo gām vikṛntantam māṅsam bhikṣamāṇa upatiṣthate, TB : *ḷsudhe yo gām vikṛntantam bhikṣamāṇa upatiṣthati*

VS

caus. *sthāpaya* 'place' (cf. D. 257)

ā mātaraḥ sthāpayase jagatnū RV. AV.: *āsthāpayata mātaram jagatnum* AV.

§77. *hu* 'sacrifice'

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

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (ApŚ. *juṣatām*; MŚ. *juhutām*) *havih svāhā* PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§78. *hū* 'call' (D. 261)

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

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

agnīm (MahānU. *ugram*, AV. *ukthair*) *huwema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA. MahānU. The AV. reading is metrically bad.

rtasya patnīm avase huwema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS. KS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*.

prātarjūlam bhagam ugram huwema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB N. As in prec , *triṣṭubh* stanza.

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

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

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

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

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

ās + upa 'revere' (cf. D. 233): *brahmatad upāsvatat* (MahānU. *upāsvatat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. But Poona ed. of TA. as MahānU., v. 1. *upāsvat°*. See §195.

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

- i* + *palā* 'flee'. *palāyīṣyamānāya svāhā* TS.: *palāyīṣyate svāhā* KS
 Participles
- edh* 'prosper' (D 229). *athāsya* (TS. MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait LŚ · *adhāsya* *madhyam edhatām* KSA.
- kar* 'praise'. *sacāyor indras carkṛṣa* (3d sing pres intensive mid.) ā RV.. *sadā va indras carkṛṣad ā* SV. See Grassmann s. v. *kīr*, and Oldenberg RVNoten 2. 325
- kalp*, caus *kalpaya* 'shape' (cf D 234) · *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV. °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV AV. VS.
- gar* 'praise': *marutām pītar ula tad grnām* KS.: *marutām pītas tad aham grnāmi* (MS. *grne te*) TS. MS.
- gai* 'sing' (D. 240). *rājānam samgāyata* (PG. °*gāyetām*) ŚG. PG.
- ghuṣ* 'sound' · *devāsrutau deveṣv ā ghoṣethām* (VS. ŚB. *ghoṣatam*) VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. MŚ.
- cat*, caus. 'drive off' (cf. D. 231) · *ghoṣeṇāmivānās cātayata* (PB. °*mivān cātayadhvam*) PB TB. ApŚ.
- ci* 'observe' · *cakṣuṣā ni cikṛṣate* (MS. °*ti*) VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB.
- ji* 'conquer' (D. 241): *ity amun samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ. *ajayathāh*, ŚB. *ajayat*) ŚB TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
- dah* 'burn' (D 242) *ā te yatante rathyo yathāpṛthak*, *śardhānsy agne ajarāni* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV MS. ApŚ. See §§27, 250.
- dī* 'fly': *parnavīr va dīyati* (SV. °*te*) RV. SV.
- dīkṣ* 'consecrate' (D 234). *agnir dīkṣitah pṛthivī dīkṣā sū mā dīkṣā dīksayatu* (JB. *dīkṣeta*) *tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣe* JB. ApŚ. And others, see §160. The active is better, note the medio-passive *dīkṣe* following in both texts
- dyut* 'shine'. *sam sūryena rocate* (SV *dīdyute*) RV. SV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA . *sam sūryena dīdyutaḍ udadhīr nādihī* VS
- dhar*, *dhāraya* 'hold': *soma* (MS. *somā*) *indro varuno mitro agnis te devā dharmadhṛto dharmam dhārayantu* (KS °*tām te* 'smai *vācam suvāntām*) MS. KS
- dharṣ* 'dare' *nādhrṣa ā dadhrṣate* (AA. *dadharṣa*; ŚŚ. *dadharṣayā*)... *śavah* AV. AV. ŚŚ. 'He is not to be dared against; his might dares.' See Whitney on AV. 6. 33. 2 and Keith on AA. 5. 2 3. 1. ŚŚ. seems to intend a perfect from caus., in sense of primary.
- naś* 'perish': *alakṣmā me naśyatu* (MahānU. °*ta*) TA. MahānU.: cf. *alakṣmīr me naśyatām* . RVKh. See under *bhaj*, below.
- naś* 'attain' *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV. *prat*°) AV. VS TS. MS KS

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

palāya 'flee': see *ι + palā*.

pū 'purify' (D. 234, 245): *tat punādhvam* (and, *punādhvam ca*) *yavā mama* V1Dh.: *sarvam punatha me yavāh* BDh.: *sarvam punatha* (V1Dh. *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh. V1Dh.

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

majj 'dive' (D. 232): *upamañkṣyati syā* (ŚŚ °*mañkṣye* 'ham) *sahlasya madhye* ŚB. ŚŚ : *nīmañkṣye* 'ham *sahlasya madhye* AB.

man 'think' (D. 234): *tam manyeta* (V1Dh. *var manyet*) *pītaram mātaram ca* SaṁhitopB. VāDh. V1Dh. N.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

van 'win': *daiivyā hotāro* (TS. °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°) *pūrve* (KS † *vanīṣan na etat*) RV. TS. KS. Cf *daiwā hotārah sanīṣan na etat* AV.

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

vardh 'grow' (D. 253): *avīr̥dhat* (VSK. *avīr̥dhata*) *purodāṣena* (VSK. *puro*°) VS VSK Cf *avīr̥dhanta* etc. in Conc.

- valh* 'ask a riddle' *etaḍ brahmann upavalhāmasi* (AŚ *apa°*; LŚ. *upabalkhāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ
- śikṣ* 'help'. *indio yajvane prnate ca śikṣati* (AV. *grnate ca śikṣate*) RV. AV TB
- sac* 'follow' (D 230). *anyavratasya* (TA. *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV *saścire*, TA *saścimah*) RV. VS MS. ŚB TA. Read *saścima* in TA §262, c.
- san* 'be effective' (D. 233): *aryo naśanta sanīṣanta* (SV.† *nas santu sanīṣantu*) *no dhvyah* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.
- sar* 'move' (caus): *tā ubhau* (TS. MS KSA ApŚ *tau saha*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāva* (TS. KSA. ApŚ °*yāvahar*, MS. °*yāvah*) VS. TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ.
- sah* 'be able'. *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV AV.: *pra sakṣati pratimānam pṛthivyāh* AV
- sukratūya* 'have excellent wisdom' (denom): *vartir yajñam pariyan sukratūyase* (KS °*si*) RV. KS.
- sev* 'be devoted to'. *grdhrah suparnah kuṇapam ni ševati* (TA.† *ševase*) MS TA
- stan* 'thunder' (D 232). *pra te divo na stanayanti śuṣmāh* (MS. °*yanta śuṣmah*) RV TS MS
- snā* 'bathe', caus (D 232): *prasnāpayanty ūrmīnam* RV.: *prasnāpayanta ūrmayah* SV. Benfey, *Transl.* 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma). The SV passage is thoroly secondary; its comm, as quoted by Benfey, suggests that *ūrmayah* stands for acc sing *ūrmim*, the subject being preempted by *svasārah*. But it may be taken as an additional, asyndetic subject: 'the fingers (and) the waves wash (soma).' Benfey's 'imperfect' is a slip for present.
- svad* 'taste' (D 230). *havyā te svadantām* (MS. *svadan*, and once—erroneously?—*svadam*, KS *asvadan*) VS. TS MS KS. ŚB.
- svap* 'sleep' (D. 236): *ūrdhvas tīṣṭhan mā divā svāpsih* Kauś : *mā divā suṣupthāh* (SMB. GG. HG. *svāpsih*) ŚG. SMB. GG PG HG · *mā suṣupthāh* ŚB ApMB : *divā mā svāpsih* AG.
- han* 'slay' (D 259): *jaghanān upa jighnate* (MS °*tu*; p p. °*ti*) RV. VS. TS MS KSA.
- hā* 'leave' (D 234): *ni vo jāmāyo jihatā* (ŚŚ. *jihatām*) *ny ajāmayah* KB. AŚ ŚŚ
- hi* 'incite' · *ṛtasya yonau* (RV. *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV. *ahēṣata*) RV. TS. KS ApMB.

3. Interchange between active and passive

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

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

§82. There are one or two cases of a present passive form in *ya* appearing with active endings (cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§761b, 774):
yathā tvam agne samadhā samidhyase (SMB † °st) SMB. PG ApMB. HG.

But SMB. has a v. l °se.

yat te krūram tat te śudhyatu etc., see §71.

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

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

§84. On the other hand, in

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

¹⁰ It is to be noted that the well-known 3d person in *ṛ* (Whitney, *Grammar* §§ 842ff), which is the only finite form outside of the present supposed to have exclusively passive function, is used at least once as a middle with active force, interchanging with a perfect active of the same meaning. See *yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (mumoca)*, §59. Cf further Neisser, *BB* 30 305, and the variant *ā gharṃ agnim ṛṣayann asādi* etc., §84

KS.: *ād it pṛthivī gṛtair vy udyate* TS.: cf. *gṛtena dyāvōpṛthivī vy undh*
(KS. *ryundan*) RV. KS.

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

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

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

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

rayatā harati śīḥ MS. *ra. rāh śīḥ harati*, *y. rāy rāyate* (MS *yuṣṣan-
ta*) *varṃatāh* VS TS MS KSA

yat śapṃe anam asīḥ AV. *yad anam adyate naktam* HG *sāyam*)
ApŚ. HG

stṛṇanti (RV * *stṛṇā*, RV * AV. *tstire*) *harṃt anusak* RV. (all three)
AV. SV. VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ. N. *tstire* is passive.

yenākṣā (ŚŚ. *yenā āsā*, SMB. *yen āksā*, PG. *yenākṣy* ṅ | *āhṃyāḥ yanta*
(ŚŚ. SMB *āhṃyāḥ yanta*, PG *āhṃ* AV. ŚŚ SMB PG. See
§332. Subject is *Asvins*, except in AV, where the verse is address
to them too, but turned into passive construction with subject
atṣāh

larca ā dhēhi me tantam (KS. *āhṃyī me tanūh*) AV KS

satyam te dhāy (TB. *dhāyī*, but Poona ed. *dhāy* here and in next, TS.
KSA. *dhām*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ

rtam satye dhāy (TB., see prec. TS KSA. *dhāy*, same texts.

mayi dhāyī MS *āheh* *sutṛyam* MS. TB. TA.

abhi-amasu bhavanta VIdh *abhimṛyatām* MŚ. *āhām* MŚ. ŚG
YDh. BṛhPDh.

gṛtena dyāvōpṛthivī pūryethām VS. ŚB.: *gṛtena dyāvōpṛthivī ā pṛṇo-
thām* (MS. MŚ. *pṛṇa*; LŚ. *pṛṇāthām svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. LŚ.
ApŚ. MŚ.

maiṣām kaṃ canoc chiṣaḥ TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣām uc cheṣi kim cana* AV.:
maiṣām kaṃ canoc chiṣaḥ RV. SV. VS.: *māmiṣām moci kaś cana*
AV.

paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS. KS. ŚB : *tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantīyās caramena paśunā krīnāmi* TS.
pra tve havīṅṣi juhure (*juhumas*) , see §77. *juhure* either mid. or pass.

tat strīyām anu śicyate (ŚG *śīncatu*) AV. ŚG.

saha dharmam cara (GDh *dharmas caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh · *sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh

asmīn goṣṭha upa pṛñca nah AV : *āsu goṣūpa pṛcyatām* RV. TB LŚ.

The AV is secondary in various ways, see Whitney on 9 4 23.

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś. *rāddham*) VS TS TA Kauś : *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ. MŚ GG. °*rātsam*) MS ŚŚ MŚ. GG. See §248.

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

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajann agnih*) *pūrvah pūrvabhyaḥ pavamānah pāvakaś śucir* (ApŚ. *śucih pāvaka*) *īdyah* KS. ApŚ. Cf. Delbruck, *AI Syntax* 266

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

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

harṣamānāso dhrṣatā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB. N. *dhrṣatā* is an adverbial instrumental of the present participle.

4 Interchange between passive and middle

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

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

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

Followed by:

druhadh pāsān nirṛtyai codamoci TB. ApMB. *druhadh pāsād grāhyāś*

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

sam barhr aktam (VS ŚB. *añktām*) *haviṣā ghṛtena* AV. VS ŚB : *sam añktām* ba° ha° ghṛ° TB ApŚ. See §144.

vājino vājayito vājam bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāh (KS *bhāge nimṛjatām*, TS. *bhāge ni mṛddhvam*) VS TS. KS. ŚB : *vājinau vājayitau vājam jivā bṛhaspater bhāge nimṛjyethām* MS The last phrase means: 'Be ye (ye two) cleansed', or 'being cleansed' (mid. participle in VS ŚB), or 'let them be cleansed'. Only MS has a definitely passive form, the rest have middles substantially in passive sense

ā vṛścyanām (AV *vṛścantām*) *aditye durevāh* RV AV. See §28
ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛnethām (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *pṛnāthām svāhā*) TS. MS KS LŚ. ApŚ MŚ. *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī pūryethām* VS. ŚB. The contrast between *pṛnethām* and *pūryethām* brings this variant in here, cf §85.

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

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

Participles·

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

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

nirṛtyai parivīdānam (TB. *parivittam*), and, *artyai parivittam* (TB. *parivīdānam*) VS. TB. Exchange between the two equivalent participles.

[*samjñānāya svāhā* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes *samjñitāya* for KSA]

CHAPTER III. THE MOODS

Observations on the scope and character of modal interchanges

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

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

1. Present Indicative
2. Various Preterite Indicatives, notably Aorist, also predicative Past Passive Participles
3. Imperative (including those in *tāt*)

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

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

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

Interchange of moods in passages repeated in the same text

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

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

ādityair no aditih śarma yachatu 10 66 3;

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

§92. The same criterion governs the choice of *kṛdhi*, aorist imperative, and *kaḥ*, aorist injunctive in the two RV pādas:

asmabhyam indra varivah sugam kṛdhi 1. 102. 4,

asmabhyam mahi varivah sugam kaḥ 6 44 18.

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

vācaspatir vācam nah svadatu 15. 11,

vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti nah 13 14.

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

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

suvedā no vasū kṛdhi RV. 7. 32 25,

suvedā no vasū karat RV. 6 48 15

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

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

jeṣah svarvatīr apah 1. 10. 8c,

jeṣat svarvatīr apah 8 40. 10,

aḡah svarvatīr apah 8 40 11.

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

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

ḡyok pīṛṣv āsātar,

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

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

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

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

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

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

§96. In the next, a RV repetition,

jyok paśyema sūryam uccarantam 10 59 6,

jyok paśyāt sūryam uccarantam 4 25 4,

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

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

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

RV. 10 35 13 *viśve no devā avasā gamantu*, 'may all the gods come hither with help for us', is changed in 1 89.7 to *viśve no devā avasā gamann iha*. The patch-word *iha* helps the substituted subj *gamann* (instead of mixed impv -subj *gamantu*) to make a *jagatī* pāda out of a *trīstubh*.

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

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

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

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

purū sahasrā ni śiśāmi dāśuṣe, yan mā somāsa ukthino amandīṣuḥ 10. 48 4

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

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

pra no yachatād avrkam pṛthu chardiḥ 1. 48. 15,

prāsmat yachatam avrkam pṛthu chardiḥ 8. 9. 1,

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

Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 262, and *RVRep.* 82. Thus we may account for the variation between *kr̥dhi* and *kuru* in ŚŚ *tato no abhayam kr̥dhi* 3 20. 2 and *kuru* 13 2 2 Here the mood is the same, but the archaic aor. impv (inherited from RV. and kept in nearly all of the numerous reproductions of the *pāda* in other texts, see §210, a) is replaced by the commonplace pres impv. *kuru*

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

Instances of more than two modal varieties in the same passage

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

§103 In the formulaic prayer which says 'may I (thou, we, or he) live a hundred autumns', there is a confluence of almost all modal varieties: subj *ṅivāhi*, impv. *ṅiva*, mixed impv.-subj *ṅivātu*, opt *ṅivema*, subj (or impv.) 1st pers *ṅivāmi* and *ṅivāva*, and, finally, present indic. *ṅivāmi* Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance, see e.g. *ṅivāhi śaradah śatam* And compare with these the closely related *trīṣṭubh* *pāda*, *śatam ṅivantu* (*ṅivantah*, *ṅivema*, *ṅivāmi*, *ca ṅiva*) *śaradah purūcīh* (*suvarcāh*), 'may they (we, I, thou) live a hundred numerous autumns' or 'a hundred autumns being in possession of glory'

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

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

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

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

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive

prapitāmāhān bibharti pṛnvamānah (TA † °maham bibharat pṛnvamāne) AV. TA : *svarge loke pṛnvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ. 'It supports (shall support) our great-grandfathers, swelling' or the like.

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

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

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

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

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

(d) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Precative

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

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

(e) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Future:

yāvatinām idam karomi (ŚG. *karīṣyāmi*) *bhūyasīnām uttarām* (ŚG. °mām) *samām kriyāsam* MS. MŚ. ŚG : *yāvatinām-yāvatinām va aīṣamo lakṣaṇam akārīṣam bhūyasīnām-bhūyasīnām va uttarām-uttarām samām kriyāsam* SMB.†

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

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

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

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

(g) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Precative:

nir (KS *nir druho nir*, VS ŚB *svāhā nir*) *varuṇasya pāśān mucye* (KS *mukṣīya*, MS *pāśād amukṣi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB 'I am (have been, may I be) released from Varuna's fetter'

(h) Present Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Subjunctive

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

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

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

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

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

ny anyā arkam abhito vviśre (AV. 'vīśanta, JB *vviśyuh*) RV AV. JB. ŚB AA. 'Others settled (may settle) about the sun'

(l) Imperfect Indicative, Imperative, and Injunctive:

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

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

apaitu mṛtyur amṛtam na āgan (PG *āgāt*) TB. TAA ApŚ. PG. HG : *paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitū* (ŚŚ. SMB *amṛtam ma ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ. SMB 'Let death depart, immortality hath (shall) come to us (me).' As between *āgāt* and *ā gāt* the mss are, of course, indeterminate.

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

(n) Aorist Indicative, Imperative, and Future:

subhūtākṛtaḥ subhūtam nah kṛnuta ŚŚ.: *suhutakṛtaḥ stha suhutam kariṣyatha* (and, *akārṣta*) AŚ.

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive.

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

(p) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Subjunctive-Imperative.

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

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

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

(q) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Injunctive:

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

mandūkyā su sam gamah (Conc *gama*, by error, TA *gamaya*) RV. TA : *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative

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

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

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

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

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

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

(u) Imperative, Optative, and Precative:

tasya na iṣṭasya pṛtasya drav̥ṇehāgameh VS. 'Wealth of this en-

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

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

(v) Imperative, Injunctive, and Optative:

sarvam āyur geṣam (AV. *aṣṭya*, TA *ayāṇi*, ŚB *ihi*) AV. KS. TB. ŚB. TA ApŚ Cf. *sa° ā° asi* TB. ApŚ.

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

apahato 'raruh pṛthivyai (also, °vyā *adevayajanah*, and, °vyai *devayajanyai*) TS. ApŚ. *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā* (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ. *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB. 'Driven away is (drive away; I would drive away) Araru from the earth' etc

(x) Subjunctive, Injunctive, and Optative:

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

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

yad adya hotṛvare (ŚŚ. °vūrye), *jihmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ. °iāt), *agnis tat punar ābharāt* (ApŚ † °rat, ŚB. *ābhriyāt*) ŚB. ŚŚ ApŚ. 'That which, at the choice of the *hotṛ*, may escape the crooked (faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here.'

(y) Optative, Precative, and Future:

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

Change of tense

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

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

Present stem *yacha-*. aorist stem *yans-*

ādityair no aditih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV. (both).

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

uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS KS.

sa (AV. *sā*) *nah śarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS KS TB ApŚ Here both are subjunctives.

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

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

sammīślo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV. SV

samprīyah paśubhir bhava (TS ApŚ *bhuvat*) MS TB. ApŚ.: *samprīyam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA.

tvam bhavādhipatir (AV *bhūr abhibhūti*) *janānām* AV. MS. KS.

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

[*svāveśo anamīvā bhavā nah*; the Conc. quotation *bhuvā* for *bhavā* in ApMB. is to be deleted]

§108. More briefly we find interchange in the root *kr*, 'make', aor. subj *karati* pres. impv *krnotu* (§154), aor. subj *karah* pres. impv *krnotu* (and perf. ind *cakāra*, §104, o), aor. impv. *krdhi* and aor. subj *karat* pres. impv *krnu* (§154). From *dā* 'give' and *dhā* 'place', aor. ind *dāh* and *dhāh* pres. impv. *dehi* and *dhehi*, and *dhāh dadhātu* (§158); also *dhatta*, *datta dāta*, and *dattām dātām*, and *dhatta dhāntu* (§198). From *ji* 'conquer', *jayata jeṣatha* (aor. subj, §154), and *jayema jeṣma* (§174) From *gam* and *gā* 'go', *gamema geṣma*, and *gan gamet* (§174), each pair in this case consisting of different aorist stems From *nī* 'lead', *nīnetu neṣat* (§154). From *pā* 'protect', *pātu pāsati* (§154) From *naś* 'perish', *naśyatu neṣat* (§158) From *vid* 'obtain', *vīdatu vīdat* (*ibidem*) and *vidanta vīdantu* (§159) From *sthā* 'stand', *tṣṭha sthāt* (§158) From *kram* 'stride', *krāma krāmih* (§159).

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

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

SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF MODAL INTERCHANGES

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

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

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

I PRESENT INDICATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

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

adīśantam dāpayati prajānan VS KS. ŚB,

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

adīśantam (AV *utādīśa*^o) *dāpayatu prajānan* AV. TS. MS

Here we find no means for deciding which reading is the better or older. —If this were a question of logic or grammar, and not of temperament or manner of speaking, we might enrich the vocabulary of grammatical terminology by yet one more item, 'hortative indicative'.

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

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

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

Present Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

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

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

kṣatrānām kṣatrapatir asi (VS ŚB KŚ *edhi*) VS. TS ŚB. TB KŚ.

ApŚ. 'Thou art (be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties.' Prayer for a king at his coronation.

syonā cāsi suśadā cāsi VS ŚB 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat'; *syonā ca me suśadā cardhi* TB. ApŚ. 'be thou pleasant to me and a fair seat.' Addressed to earth.

[*pr̥sthena dyāvāpr̥thivī* (MS. adds *āpr̥ṇa*)] *antarikṣam ca in bādhasē* (MS. *bādhasva*, TS. *bādhatām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'With thy (its) back thou sunderest (sunder thou, let it sunder) heaven and earth and the atmosphere', or the like. Addressed to one of the altar-bricks.

ā rohatho (TS VS ŚB. *rohatam*) *varuna mitra gartam* RV. VS TS MS.
KS ŚB. N

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

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

somo vīram karmānyam dadāti (TB. °tu) RV. VS MS TB.

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

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

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

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

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

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

bhūte havīṣmaty asī (AV. °matī *bhava*) AV TS TB.

prīyo me hṛdo (MŚ *huto*, v 1 *huto*) 'sī (MŚ † *bhava*) TS MŚ.

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

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

tīṣṭhantu hatavarcasah AV. 'let them stop still, their glory shattered';
tīṣṭhanti hatavartmanah N. 'they stand still, their way blocked.'

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

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

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ °tā) MS ApŚ *avabādhasva pṛtanāyatah* PG.

indrena yujā pra mṛṇita (TB *sayujā pranīha*, read with Poona ed.
pramṛṇītha) *śatrūn* AV TB. Comm. of TB *nirākuruta* (impv.).

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

pīvasatīr jīvadhanyāh pibantu (KSA °ti) RV. TS. KSA.

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

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

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

prati svasaram upa yāti (AV *yātu*) *pīlaye* RV AV

prajānantah prati grhnantu (TS KS ApŚ °*tu*) *pūrve* AV. TS. KS ApŚ.
MŚ.

yajñam hinvanty adribhīh RV · *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV.

pūr nām vvaṣṭy (SV °*tv*) *āsīcam* RV † 7 16. 11b SV MS

pumānsam jātam abhi sam rabhantām (RV. °*te*) RV. KS. TB ApŚ.

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

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

agne dakṣarīh punīhi nah (TB *mā*; MS *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB

ā pyāyayantu (N. °*ti*) *bhūwanasya gopāh* AV TS. MS KS ŚŚ. N

sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan AV *sarvah sarvā vi caratu pra*° MS.

śvāhsutyām (MŚ *sadyahsutyām*) *indrāgnabhyām...prabravīmi* (ApŚ.

also, *prabrūtāt*) ApŚ. (bis) MŚ KŚ . *śvāhsutyām vā esām*

prabravīmi AŚ. It seems that *prabrūtāt* is used as 1st person, cf.

Whitney, *Grammar* §571b, quoting *jāgrtāt* AV 4. 5. 7 as the 'only
case' of *tāt* as 1st person

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

iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV. AV. MG.
'Reveling in foods, lead (we lead) the cow about'

astī hi śmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣmann avayāh* RV VS TS. MS
KS ŚB. 'For here, O strong (Indra), is (shall be) thy conciliation.'

On *avayāh* see Neisser, *Z Wbch d RV*, s. v.

apī pūṣā ni sīdatu (AV ŚŚ * °*ti*) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB. HG . *īha
pūṣā ni sīdatu* PG . *rāyas poṣo m*° ApŚ ApMB : *vīras trātā ni*°
AB

apah samudrād dvam ud vahanti (Kauś °*tu*) AV Kauś.

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

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

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

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

gharmam śrīnantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śrīnantu prathamasya
dhāseh*) AV. AŚ ŚŚ

utādītantam dāpayatu prajānan AV. · *adītantam dāpayati* (TS MS.
°*tu*) *prajānan* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ūrjo bhāgam pṛthivyā yāty (KS *pṛthvīm ety*, ApŚ °*vīm etv*) *āpṛnan* MS.
KS. ApŚ.

- etām sthūnām pitaro dhārayantu* (AV °tu) *te* RV AV TA
vṛṣānam yantu (MS. *yanti*) *janayah supatnīh* VS MS KS TB
indraujaskāraujasvāns tvam sahasvān deveṣu edhi MS : *indraujasvinn*
ojasvī (VS ŚB *indraujasthaujasthas*, VSK *indraujasvann ojasvāns*;
 AŚ. *indra ṣodaśinn ojasvino*, Vait [read] *indra sodaśinn ojasvāns*)
tvam deveṣu asi VS VSK TS ŚB AŚ Vait
- tiro* (RV VS ŚB. AG *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA Ap Ś **dadhmahe*)
parvatena RV AV VS ŚB TB TA Ap Ś (bis) AG. ApMB
 'Let them block (we block, or hide, remove) death with a mountain.'
vi mimīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV *vi mīme tvā payasvatīm devānām*
 TB Ap Ś
- śṛnvanu* (TS ŚvetU. °tu) *viśve amṛtasya putrāh* (AV. *amṛtāsa etat*)
 RV. AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU
- śṛnvanu* (PB °tv) *āpo adha* (PB 'dhah) *kṣarantīh* RV. PB.
śṛta utsnāti (M Ś °tu) *janitā matinām* TB Ap Ś M Ś
- sa no devah śubhayā smṛtyā samyunaktu* (MahānU °tu) TA. MahānU.
vi (MS KS *pra*) *parjanya* (RV. °yan, TS °yāh) *sṛjanti* (MS KS.
sṛjatām) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS.
- sam aśvaparnāś caranti* (MS. °tu; AV. °parnāh *patantu*) *no narah* RV.
 AV VS TS MS KSA.
- sa yajñyo yajatu* (AV °tu) *yajñyān ṛtūn* RV. AV
sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantiām KS *teṣām iṣtāni sam iṣā madanti*
 RV VS TS MS. N In the same verse
- sa virājam* (KS °jā) *pary eti* (MS *etu*, KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS. MS.
 KS Cf. *sanemi rājā pari yāti vidvān* VS ŚB.
- sa smā kṛnoti* (Ap Ś °tu) *ketum ā* RV Ap Ś
sinanti pākam ahi (ŚŚ.† *adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ.: *si-*
nantu sarve anṛtam vadantiām AV.
- pāvamānasya tvā stomena . vīryenot sṛje* MS · *pāvamānena tvā stomena*
vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu (KS *vīryenoddharāmy asau*)
 TS KS
- ketumad dundubhir vāvadhī* (AV °tu) RV. AV VS TS MS KSA
ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AŚ *harito vahantu*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.:
ghṛtapruṣo hartas tvāvahantu KS
- ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante* (AV. °iām) RV. AV. VS. KS. ApŚ.
āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG . *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG : *āpo havīṣu jāgrta*
 ApŚ.: *āpo jāgrta* MS. KS M Ś.
- yamo dadāty* (VS ŚB TA and v 1 of AV., see Whitney on 18. 1 55,
 °tv) *avasānam asmai* RV AV VS ŚB TA.: cf. *adād idam yamo*
 (VS KS ŚB. *adād yamo*) 'vasānam pṛthivyāh' VS TS. MS KS.
 ŚB. TB. Cf Oldenberg, *Piolog.* 311

tato dadāti (TB. and v 1. of MS. °tu) *dāśuṣe vasūni* RV. AV. ArŚ. MS. TB.

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

devo devān yajatv (ApŚ °ty) *agnir arhan* RV ApŚ.

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

devo devānām pavitram asī TS MS KS : *devo devebhyah pavasva* VS ŚB

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

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomī*) VS VSK. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ. MŚ

tasmāi sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhomī*) MS KS MŚ ApŚ

patho anaktu (AV. KS °ti, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghrtena* AV. VS. TS MS KS

pātrera bhūndan sata eti (AV. *etu*, v 1 *eti*) *rakṣasah* RV. AV N

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

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

madhvā yajñam mīmakṣatam (and, °ti) RV (both).

mayobhūr vāto abhi vātūsrāh (KSA *vāty usrāh*) RV. TS KSA TB ApŚ. AG.

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS °te) *kāme asmīn* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV. AV TS KS.

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

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

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

āpura stā mā pūrayata ŚŚ. *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS. AŚ.

āpṛno 'sī samprṇah (ApŚ corruptly, *āpṛnoṣi samprṇa*) *prajayā mā paśubhir ā prṇa* ŚŚ ApŚ 'Thou art (ye are, be ye) filler(s), fill me up' etc

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

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

reto dadhāt (RV. °ty) *ośadhīṣu garbham* RV. TB. ApŚ

stṛnantī (RV. * *stṛñīta*) *barhīr ānuṣak* RV. (both). SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ N.

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV *sūrih*, TS. ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

sed agnī agnīnr aty asti (TB *ety*) *anyān* RV AB. TB. AŚ

- anv enam viprā ṛṣayo madanti* (KSA °tu) RV. VS TS MS KSA.
adha sma (MS smā) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam asti* (MS astu, KS vrajanam
 astu kṛṣnam) RV SV VS. TS MS KS ŚB
adha pra ṛṣū na upa yantu (SV pra nūnam upa yanti) dhīlayah RV. SV.
aṣṛnā tvam jarayasi (MS KS jaraya) sarvam anyat TS MS KS. PG.
 jarayasi is hypermetric 'unaging, thou makest (make thou) age
 every other thing' To Uṣas.
agniṣ tad viśvam (AV. mss. viśvād, so read with SPP. and Whitney
 Transl) āprnāti (AV °tu) vidvān RV AV TS MS KS.
te arṣantu te varṣantu L Ś te varṣanti te varṣayanti AV
paramena paśunā krīyase (MS krīyasva) VS MS KS. ŚB Cf. tasyās
 te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyaś caramena paśunā krīnāmi TS
viśvasmai bhūtāyādhwaro (KS MŚ °ya dhruvo) astu devāh (TS. °dhvaro
 'sī) TS KS ApŚ MŚ
aśvinā bhīṣajāvatah (MS. °tam, TB † °ta) VS MS. TB. 'The Aśvins,
 physicians, do aid', or, 'O Aśvins (and Sarasvatī, TB.), physicians,
 aid ye'
rohanā (AŚ °tu) pūrvyā ruhah MS. KS TA AŚ ŚŚ. Cf. tṣṭhanti
 svāruho yathā TS.
somā arṣanti (SV. °tu) viśnave RV SV. Cf. *somo arṣati vi°* RV.
athāsya madhyam ejaṭu (ŚŚ °ti) AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.
 (pari .) *mahe kṣatrāya* (and, śrotrāya) dhattana AV : (pari .) *mahe*
rāṣṭrāya (and, śrotrāya) dadhmaṣi HG. 'Wrap ye (we wrap) this
 man up unto great kingship (fame).'
kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŚB °tu) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB.
 ApŚ.
kas tvā vi muñcati sa tvā vimuñcati (KSA. °tu) VS. KSA. ŚB.
stenasyetyām anv ihi taskarasya (KS. °tyām taskarasyānv ihi, TS. °tyām
 taskarasyānv eṣi) VS TS MS KS ŚB.
snuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm and Poona ed text, °nāh) śvaśuro 'yam astu
 (AŚ śvaśuro 'ham asmi) TB AŚ Comm. on TB., yajamānasya
 sapatnāh śatravaḥ snuṣāvat svādhināh santu, ayam tu yajamānaḥ
 śvaśuro 'stu śvaśuravat svāmī bhavatu (!).
tayā mā sam sṛjāmasi HG. ApMB.: *tayā mām indra sam sṛja* RVKh.
 See §304.
ud ud vapatu (KS. °ti) gām avim AV. KS. MS.: *tad ud vapati* etc. VS.
 ŚB.: *ud ut kṛṣati gām avim* TS
tayā (ApMB. wayā) prattam svadhayā madantu (ApMB. °ti, v. l. °tu)
 ApMB. HG.
apa śatrūn vidhyatām (MS. vidhyatah) samvidāne RV. VS. TS. MS.
 KSA. N

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

asau yaja AŚ *asau yajate* LŚ

iha sūrya ud etu te AV. *ut sūryo diva eti* AV And others, see Conc
anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *jogwām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ
evam garbham dadhānu (ApMB *dadhātu*) *te* ŚB BrhU ŚG ApMB.

HG And others, §302

mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.
āsthāpayata mātaram jgatnum AV : *ā mātārā sthāpayase jgatnū* RV
rayim dhattam (and, *dhatta*, *dhattho*) *vasumantam purukṣum* (once,
śatagvnam) RV. (quater) The ind forms occur in relative
 clauses, but the impv. *dhattam* twice in principal clauses See
 RVRep 149

anu svadhā cikītām (KS °te) *somo agnih* AV KS TB

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

ihaiva rālayah santu (MS. *santi sam yajurbhik*) VS MS. ŚB. TA ŚŚ.
 LŚ

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

iśa ūrje pavate (MS *piṇhi*) VS MS ŚB. And others. See also, in
 Conc., *adbhyah*, *ośadhūbhyah*, *vanaspatibhyah*, *brahmavarcasāya*,
dyāvāpṛthivībhyām, *asmar kṣatrāya*, *asmar brahmane*, *asya viśe*,
mahyam jyaīṣṭhāya, etc., *pavate*, and correspondents. [But I
 question any relation here. F E]

aśtāh santu (AV *santy*) *aṣtau* RVKh AV ŚŚ

dakṣīnato vṛsabha eṣi havyah (TS. *edhi havyah*, MS KS. *vṛṣabho havya*
edhi) AV. TS MS KS

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

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

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

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

jaghanān upa ngnate (MS °tu, p. p. °ti) RV VS. TS MS. KSA.

adhaspadam kṛnutām (AV.* *kṛnuṣva*, TS *kṛṇute*) *ye pṛtanjavah* AV
 (bis) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB.

- devasya yanty ūtayo* (KS *yantūtayo*) *vi vājāh* RV KS
atra (ŚB *atrā*) *jahīmo 'sivā ye asan* VS ŚB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahūta*)
ye asann aśevāh (AV. *aśvāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV. AV (bis) TA.
ā tvā śisur ā krandatu PG *enām śisuh krandaty ā kumārah* ŚG
pātam (TS. *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma* TS ŚŚ. *pātho ghṛtasya*
guhyasya (MS. KS *guhyāni*) *nāma* AV MS. KS.
tataś (RV *ataś*, KS *tatra*) *caḡṣāthām* (RV *caḡṣāthe*, MS KS. *cakrāthe*)
aditīm ditīm ca RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB.
sā (KS *yā*) *no dadātu* (KS °*ti*) *śravanam pitṛnām* (TS. *pitṛnām*) TS
 MS. KS AŚ. ŚŚ. N It is significant that KS, in making the
 clause relative, substitutes an ind for the impv which is anomalous
 in relative clauses, see §§122 f.
ayam (AŚ **aham*) *śatrūn* (*śatrūñ*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*) *jarhṣāṇaḡ*
 (AŚ.† **jarhṣānah*!), followed in all texts by·
ayam (AŚ **aham*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. **jayāmi*)
vājasātau VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ. (bis) The first
 person ind form in AŚ is a conscious *vikāra* of the other.
antarā dyāvāpṛthivī vīyanti (MŚ °*tu*, KS. MŚ add *panthānah*) TS. KS.
 SMB MŚ PG BDh
tāh sam dadhāmi (KS. *dadhātu*, AŚ KŚ *tanomi*) *haviṣā* (MS *manasā*)
ghṛtena TS MS KS ApŚ AŚ KŚ.
dīrghāyutvāya jaradaśtir aśmi (MG *astu*) PG. MG On MG. see §323.
 [*susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ *suśadam id gavām asti pra*
khuda AV by R-Wh's emendation, but the mss agree as to the
 verb forms with ŚŚ]
 [*yato bhayam abhayam tan no astu* (AV ed *asti*, by misprint, see Lanman
 ap Whitney on 19 3 4) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ]
 [*vahiṣthebhīr* (MS *bah*°) *vīharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona
 ed text *yāsi*, so read) *tantum* RV. MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ]
 [*grāmān saḡātayo yanti* HG *grāmam saḡānayo gachanti* ApMB.†
 (Conc. quotes ApMB as *gachantu*)]

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

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

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

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

uta prahām ahidvīyā jayāti (AV.* *°divā jayati*) RV. AV (both) 'Moreover the superior gamester shall win (wins) the stake' *jayati* is metrically inferior

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

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

adhurājo rājasu rājayātai (TS *°ti*, MS *°yate*) AV TS. MS

sa no jīveṣv ā yame AV sa no deveṣv ā yamat RV TA 'He furnishes (shall furnish) us (long life) among the living (the gods)' But see note in Whitney's AV 18 2 3, from which it appears that the true reading of AV is *yamet*, aor opt, this variant would then belong in §169 *yame* as 3d sing is doubly suspicious, the present *yamate* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from the Epic and later SPP with many mss. reads *yamet*, or rather *yamed* (followed by *d-*)

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV *rādhānsī codayate*) *mahitvanā RV. SV*

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

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

samjānate manasā sam cikitre RV.: *sam jānāmahaḥ manasā sam cikivā AV*.

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

brahmāham anlaram kṛnve (KŚ *karave* = °*va*) AV KŚ 'I make (let me make) the charm my inner (defense)' See §26

(*tenāham asya brahmanā*) *ni vartayāmi* (TB °*ni*, but comm and Poona ed. text °*mi*) *jīvase* TB ApŚ MŚ 'By that charm of his I (let me) return to life.' But ApŚ and the comm suggest that Poona ed. of TB is right in reading an indic

jagatyainam (AŚ erroneously, °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS KS. °*mi*, AŚ °*ni*) TS MS. KS AŚ. 'With the *jagatī* (meter) we (I, may I) settle him among the clans.'

idam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtiyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtatvāya (ApŚ. *lokāya*) *dakṣiṇām nayāni* (ApŚ °*mi*, MŚ *dadāmi*) KB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ : *idam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtiyai tejase yaśase 'mṛtatvāyātmanam dakṣiṇām nayāni* AŚ

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

tam tvendragraha prapadye (ApŚ * *pravśāni*) *saguh*. KS. ApŚ. (bis): *tam tvā pra padye tam tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh*. AV.

yad aham devayajanam veda tasmīns tvā devayajana ā kṣīnomi (SB. *tasmīns tvā vṛścāni*) SB ApŚ Acc. to Caland on ApŚ 10 2. 10, the HŚ reads *āvṛścāmi*.

tau saha (VS ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS. ŚB °*va*, MS °*vah*) VS TS. MS KSA. ŚB ApŚ See comm. on TS 7 4 19 1 (note 9 in Weber)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

somam te krīnāni TS KS : *somavikrayin somam te krīnāni* MS *etaḥ* (ŚŚ *īdam*) *vām tena prīnāni* (ŚŚ. °ni, ApŚ °ti, read °ni, Caland on 2. 20 6, n 2) TB ŚŚ ApŚ. Conc quotes *prīnāti* for TB.

Present Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

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

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

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

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

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś : *annādam annādāyāyādadhē* (KS. *annādāyānnapatyāyādadhē*) TS KS. : *annādam agnim annapatyāyādadhē* MS. : *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhē* AŚ : *agnim annādam annādāyāyādadhē* VS

Present Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses

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

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

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

agnim (AV *ukthair*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA MahānU 'Agni (the mighty one, with songs) we (would) call from the highest seat' AV. is metrically inferior.

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

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

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

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

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

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

indravanto vanāmahe (PB. *vanemahe*) TS PR

- viśvair viśvāṅgair saha sam bhavāmi* (AV *bhavema*) AV MŚ. 'I (may we) come into being with all sound-limbed persons'
- ubhau lokau sanem* (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA. ApŚ MŚ. 'Both worlds (may) I obtain' *sanem* is a strange form, see Whitney, *Roots*, s v *san*
- idam pūrbhūyah pra bhavāmi* (TA *bhavema*) *barhih* AV TA.
- nābhīprāpnōti* (MŚ °*pnuyur*) *nuṛtim parācaih* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ
- ṛcaksasam tū deva soma sucakṣā ava khyesam* (MŚ *kṣeṣam*) TS MŚ. *ṛcaksasam tvā ṛcaksāh pratikṣe ŚŚ*
- haviśmantah sadam it tū havāmahe* RV VS. SMB. ŚvetU : *haviśmanto namasā vidhema te* TS MS KS TAA The final pāda of a verse to Rudra is here modulated in four YV texts, probably under the influence of the RV pāda, *haviśmanto vidhema te*
- evam aham āyusā samindhe* (SMB *samedhīṣya*) SMB PG 'Thus (may) I become aflame (thrive) with life' etc Cf. with active (causative) impv, *evam mām āyusā .samedhaya* ApMB. HG. 'Thus make me thrive with life' See §238
- yad agneh sendasya aham agne sarvavrato bhavāmi svāhā* AG . *yad brāhmanānām tenāham sarvavrato bhūyāsam* ApMB.
- ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo 'smān dveṣti* etc MS : *idam aham tam nuṛnām yo 'smān dveṣti* etc. KS 'I (would) crush (here) him that hates us.'
- viśvā abhiṣṭīh pṛtanā jayati* MS . *viśvā hi bhūyāh pṛtanā abhiṣṭīh* TS. *asminn aham sahasram puṣyāmi* ApMB *asmīn sahasram puṣyāsam* (Kauś *puṣyāsmā*) ŚB BrhU. Kauś.

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

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

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

Present Indicative and Imperative in dependent clauses

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

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

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

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in dependent clauses

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

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

yad aham dhanena prapaṇaś carāmi ApMB : *yad vo devāh prapanam carāma* HG.. *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV

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

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

yam dviṣmas tam sa ṛchatu RV : *yam dveṣāma tam ṛchatu* AV.

yena yamasya (AV. *yamasya yena*, TB. ApŚ. *yamasya*, om. *yena*) *ndhinā* (AV. TS. TB ApŚ *balnā*) *carāmi* (MS. MŚ *carāvah*,

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

devān yajñvyān iha yān yajāmahaḥ (TS *havāmahe*) TS. MS. KS.

avasayatam muñcatam yan no asti (AV *asat*) RV AV. TS. MS. KS

yas tad veda sarituh (MahānU *sa pituh*) *pitāsat* TA MahānU *yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV. VS *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ pitāsat* RV AV TA N.

yathāham uttaro 'sāni (HG *vadāmi*) AV. HG 'That I may be (speak) superior'

yo aghāyur abhidāsāt AV *yo māghāyur abhidāsati* TB

yo na indravāyū mitrāvarunāv abhidāsati bhrātṛvya idam aham tam adharam pādāyāmi TS *yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatno bhrātṛvyaḥ idam* etc MS 'The rival who contends (shall contend) against us him do I here lay low'

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

yam sarve 'nujīrāma TS *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS · *yam bahava upajīvanti* AŚ

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

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

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

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

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

(*apām napād āśuhemā kvnt sa*) *supēśasas karati* (KS *karoti*; but v I *karati*) *joṣiṣad dhi* RV. MS KS ApŚ. 'Will the Son of the Waters

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

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

Present Indicative and Injunctive in dependent clauses

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

ubhe yat tvā bhavato rodasi anu (SV. *tvā rodasi dhāvatām anu*) RV. SV. Furthermore, some variants quoted under Present Indicative and Subjunctive have forms which might be considered 1st person Injunctive as well as Subjunctive, e.g. *yam dīnsmas* (*dveṣāma*) etc., see §124.

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

§126. In one somewhat doubtful instance.
yatra devaḥ sadhamādam madanti (MS TB *madema*) AV MS TB. 'Where they revel (we may revel) in common revelry with the gods' Cf. *athā* (TB. also *yathā*) *devaḥ sadhamādam madema* KS. TB ApŚ But the comm on AV 18 4 10 reads *madema*, the isolated *madanti* is somewhat suspicious, see Whitney's note

II PRETERITES IN INTERCHANGE WITH MOODS

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

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

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

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

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

candramā nakṣatrar anu tvāvīt KS (aor. indic), 'The moon with the constellations has helped thee along.' Another text, using the imperative, says:

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

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

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

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

§130. Aorist Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

sū na āgan (AV. *antū*; KS. *seyam āgād*) *varcasā samvidānā* AV. TS. KS.

TB 'She hath come (let her come) to us endowed with luster.'

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ.

'The eye of Sūrya I have mounted (mount thou)'

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

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

viṣṇus tvākranta (VS ŚB *tvā kramatām*) VS ŚB. ApŚ.

śucām te (SV. ca) *varnam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāriya*) RV. SV.

ud asau sūryo agāt RV AV. *ud asāv etu sūryah* TB.

agnir janavn mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś 'Agni who obtains people hath given me this woman to wife' *agnir janūtā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu* ŚG 'May Agni the begetter give me yonder woman to wife' Similarly with *pūṣā jātvīn*, and *somo vasuvīn (janimān)*.

ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūh (RV. AG Rvidh *edhi*) RV AV. TS. VS. MS. KS ŚB TB AG. Rvidh. 'I have brought thee hither, thou hast entered (enter thou) within'

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

akartām aśvinā lakṣma AV *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvīnā* AV. The second precedes the first in the adjoining stanza, there is this time a clearly intended difference of meaning 'O Aśvins, make (the Aśvins have made) the mark' So also in the next.

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

dharmanā vāyum ā viśa (SV *āruhah*) RV SV.

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

punah prānah punar ātmā na (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūtam*, TA. *punar ākūlam ma*, MG *punar ākūtīr*) *agāt* (VS ŚB. *āgan*, AV MG. *antu*) AV. VS VSK MS. ŚB TB. TA. ApŚ HG. MG.

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

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

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

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

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

(*yam kam ca lokam āgan yajñas*) *tato me bhadram abhūt* VS ŚB.: (*yatra kva ca yajño 'gāt*) *tato mā dravinam aṣtu* SB.. *tato mā dravinam aṣtu* (AB *aṣta*) VS AB SB ŚŚ See Conc. under *divam ṛtīyam*, *antarikṣam ṛtīyam*, and *pṛthuvīm ṛtīyam*, with their correspondents '(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has come to me (thence let wealth reach me)'

indro vājam ajayit TS TB. *indra vājam jaya* VS. MS KS. ŚB *annam me puriṣya pāhi* (and, *puriṣyājugupah*) Kauś (both) *annam me* (no) *budhya* (*budhnya*) *pāhi tan me* (no) *gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt* MS ApŚ. *annam me* (no) *budhyājugupas* (*budhnyā*°) *tan me* (no) *punar dehi* MS ApŚ

sapratha (MŚ °*thah*) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ *pāhi*, and 'jugupah') TB ApŚ MŚ (bis) *sabhya sabhām me pāhi* AV

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tān maṣmaṣā* (MS † *mṛṣmṛṣā*) *kuru* MS KS † TA *sarvān ni maṣmaṣā-karam* AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like *trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān* (MS. °*gah*) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ.

pṛthuvīm uparena dṛnha TS MS *pṛ*° *uparenādṛnhīh* (MS TB KS* °*hī*) VS MS KS. (both) ŚB TB

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

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

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

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

abhūr grṣṭinām (with variants) *abhīśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB : *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV. mss *gr*°) *abhīśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB HG.

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

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

paśūn me (ApŚ * *nah*) *śansya pāhi* MS ApŚ MŚ : *paśūn me* (ApŚ.* *nah*) *śansyājugupah* (ApŚ °*jūg*°) MS. ApŚ MŚ. And other formulas in the same passages

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

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

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

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

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

sakhāya ā śeṣāmah (AV. SV °*he*) RV AV SV. AA ŚŚ AŚ

Aorist Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

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

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

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

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. 'The sacrifice has stood

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

pra tāry (TS *prātāry*) *agne prataram* (TS. °ām) *na āyuh* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ 'O Agni, may our life be (our life has been) extended further'

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

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

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

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

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS PG '(Agni) the all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me'; *bhūyāsmate sumatau viśvavedah* (so MS intends, by its regular sandhi, text °dā, followed by vowel) MS 'May we be in thy favor, O all-possessing (Agni).' Cf the item *bhūyāsmate sumatau* in Conc *taḍ asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām* (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB. TB AŚ. 'May I attain (I have reached) that dear place of his' But Poona ed. of TB, text and comm, reads *aśyām*.

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

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

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

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai PG.: *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG.: *paridam vāso adhithāh* (HG *adhithāh*, ApMB. *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB. The forms *-dhāsyai* (*-dhāsyē*) are uncertain, perhaps infinitives. See §177.

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

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

na yac chūdreṣu alapsata (ŚŚ. *alīpsata*) AB ŚŚ. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among śūdras.' *alīpsata*, imperf. desid.; *alapsata*, 3 pl. aor. ind.; Keith on AB. 7. 17 3 suggests reading *alapsyata*, conditional.

§136. *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

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

pr̥ṣṭheṣu erayā (SV *arayaḍ*) *rayim* RV. SV.

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

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

pāhu (TS ApMB. *āvah*) *kṣema uta yoge varam nah* RV. TS PG. ApMB. MG

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

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

vy uchā (and, *auchō*) *duhitar divah* RV. SV (both in both texts).

asmān rāya uta yajñāh (KS † *yajñāh*) *sacantām* TS. KS. ApŚ.. *asmān rāyo maghavānah sacantām* RV VS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ : *yusmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS

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

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

uṣnena vāya udakenehi (SMB. GG. *udakenaidhi*, ApMB *vāyav udakenehi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG SMB GG PG ApMB. MG. 'With warm water come, O Vāyu (Vāyu came, or the like).' But the MG. reading is a more than dubious imperf., if not merely corrupt, it is likely that it contains the particle *id*.

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

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

§137. *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

ā vo rohito aśṛṇod abhūdyavah (AV °*tah śṛṇavat sudānavah*) AV. TB. 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones.'

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

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

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

duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV *turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān* AV. The latter is grossly corrupt.

yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāh (ArS. NrpU *māvat*) ArS TB. TA. TU. NrpU N 'Who gives me, he verily shall help (? has helped) me.' The form *avāh* or *āvāh* is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption TB. comm *āvṛnoh* (apparently understanding it as a 3d sing *s*-aor of *ā-vr*), TA. comm *avati*, taking it from *av*, but without any suggestion as to how the form is understood A 3d person seems required

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

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

§139 *Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

ni hotāram viśvavidam dadhūdve RV *ni hotāram gṛhapatim dadhūdvam* SV. 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar'; 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord.'

sa nah pto (I) *madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us'; *sa nah pto madhumān ā viśeḥa* KS. 'O food, enter us here, honeyed'. *sa no mayobhūh pto āviśasva* (ŚG PG. SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āvi*°, AŚ *pitav āviśeḥa*) TS TB AŚ ŚG. SMB PG See §69.

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

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dadhe*) KS ApŚ
rudro vasubhir ā cake (TS *ciketu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. 'Rudra with the Vasus hath loved (shall attend to) us'

§140 Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

karṇābhyām bhūri vi śruvam (PG *bhūri śuśruve*) TA. TU. PG —TA.
comm *śiūyāsam* 'May I hear (I have heard, or I hear) abundantly with my ears'

§142 *Perfect Indicative and Optative in principal clauses*

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

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

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV *ānaśa*) RV. TB. ApŚ. 'Ye have obtained (may I obtain, aor opt) the friendship of Indra (and) immortality' Different contexts, in RV. in a relative clause, address to the Aṅgirasas

Past Passive Participles interchanging with moods in principal clauses

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

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

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

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

sam barhūr aktam (VS ŚB *añktām*, TB ApŚ. *sam añktām barhūr*) *hariṣā ghṛtena* AV. VS ŚB TB. ApŚ. 'The barhūs has been anointed (shall anoint itself, i c bc anointed, see §87) with oblation, with ghee' And, in the same stanza

sam devair viśvadevebhūr aktam AV *sam indrena viśvebhūr devebhūr* (VS. ŚB *indro viśvadevebhūr*) *añktām* VS ŚB. TB. ApŚ Cf. prec *tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha* (HG *cendhī*) AG HG. 'By this (firewood) burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle)'

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

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

tān sma mānuvaśatkrthāh AŚ *ete nānuvaśatkrthāh* Vait. 'Do not say *vaśat* after these', 'these are not followed by *vaśat*.'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and prohibitive clauses

§145. In quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses We have quoted above (§99) an example from the RV itself. *yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā* 4 42. 6, *yan mā somāsa ukthino amandīṣuh* 10 48 4 The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in the case just quoted, it is shifted without any restriction The present class of variants does not differ in any essential from the group of interchanges between presents and modal forms in dependent clauses, §§122ff. We have included here a few cases of interchange between augmented and augmentless preterite indicative forms, they differ from the similar cases quoted below §268 only in so far that, on subjective grounds, there seem to us to be reasons for finding injunctive force in the augmentless forms quoted here. But no clear line can be drawn between the two groups, and perhaps it would have been better not to try to separate them, at least each must be considered together with the other.

(a) *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive.*

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

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, and *yan mā somāsa ukthino amandīṣuh* RV. (both) See §99

(b) *Aorist Indicative and Injunctive*

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

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

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

(d) *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

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

yad vāskandad dhanīṣo yatra-yatra Kauś 'or what part of the oblation has dropped anywhere'. *yad vā skandād ājyasyota viṣno* TS. KS 'moreover what part of the butter shall drop, O Viṣnu'

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

[*īsro yad agne śaradas tvām ic*] *chucim ghṛtēna śucayāḥ saparyān* (TB. *°yan*) RV. TB. See §8

(e) *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive*

śatam yo nah śarado 'nayat (MŚ *nayat*) KS MŚ. 'Who has brought (shall bring) us to a hundred autumns' Favorable to injunctive interpretation are the readings of the parallel texts TS has an adjective *aṛītān* for (a)*nayat*; the verb *neṣat* occurs in the following

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

(f) *Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

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

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

Augmentless and Augmented Prohibitives with mā

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

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

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

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

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

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

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *ke cid vi*) *yaman vim* (SV *ke cin ni yemur in*, TA. *ke cin nyemur in* [v. 1, and comm, as SV, so read or understand TA.]) *na pāśnah* RV AV SV VS TA 'Let not any hold thee in check as fowlers a bird.' SV and TA are corrupt. *yemur* really belongs to a parallel categoric construction with *na*, rather than *mā*. See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 283

INTERCHANGES BETWEEN THE MOODS PROPER

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

III. IMPERATIVE IN EXCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

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

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

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

Imperative and Subjunctive

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

§152. *Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person*

ādityās tad aṅgīrasasā cinvantu TB : *viśve devā aṅgīrasasā cinavan* KS.

ApŚ 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Aṅgīrases pile (that).'

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

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

sviṣṭim nas tām (AV. erroneously, *tām*) *kṛnavad* (TS *kṛnotu*) *viśvakarmā* (MS. *tām viśvakarmā kṛnotu*) AV. TS MS

sa no mṛdātīdṛṣe RV. AV. TS MS KS ApMB. N. : *te no mṛdantu idṛṣe* AV. (*vikāra* of the prec., used in same hymn) : *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK. *mṛl^o*) *idṛṣe* RV SV. VS. VSK TS. KS.

varṣvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV. : *vāṣvānarah pavayān naḥ pavitrash* TA.

te no rayim sarvavātram ni yachān (HG. *yachantu*) AV. HG.

agnir havyam (RV. KS. *havih*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ā sidāti (SV. °*atu*) *kalaśam devayur naḥ* (SV. *deva induh*) RV. SV. *sarvam punatha* (VDh. *punāta*) *me pāpam* BDh. V1Dh.

sarvaṃ punatha me yavāh BDh *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*)
yavā mama V1Dh

īṣṭāpūrte (KS °tam) *ḷṣnavāthāvīr* (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvīr*, TS. KS. TB. MŚ. *kṛnutād āvīr*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK. TS KS TB. ŚB. MŚ. *īṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutāvīr asmai* AV.

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

brahmadviṣam dyaur abhisantapāti AV *brahmadviṣam abhi tam śocatu dyauḥ* RV

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

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

tābhīr rahainam (TA *rahemam*, TB ApŚ. *vahāsi mā*, om *tābhīr*; KS. † *vahānsi sā*! [read probably *vahāsi mā*]) *sukṛtām yatra* (RV. AV. °tām u) *lokāh* (KS *lokah*, RV AV *lokam*) RV. AV KS. TB TA. ApŚ.

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

sa gharman invāt (AV. *indhām*) *parame sadhasthe* RV. AV.

idam me karmedam vīryam putro 'nusamtanotu VSK KŚ *idam me 'yam vīryam putro 'nusamtanvat* ŚB

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG. *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ.

nihāraṃ ca harāsi (VSK °ram n'harāsi) *me* VS. VSK. ŚB. *nihāram in ni me hara* (TS † *harā*) TS KS

jyok pitṛṣṇ āstām (and, *āsatai*) AV. 'Sit she long with her fathers.'
Both in the same hymn. a conscious *vikāra*.

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

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

Here belongs also, presumably:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pavamāno vy āsnavat (SV °*na vy āsnuhi*) RV. SV.

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

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

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

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

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

nṣīdan no apa durmatim jahī (TS *hanat*) VS TS. MS KS. ŚB.

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

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

The following two contain corruptions

yamasya loke adhiraṣṣur āyat (TA *āya*; MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA AV has a clear subjunctive, TA.'s form may possibly be understood as a 2d impv, thematic; MS is hopelessly corrupt

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG. The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, as Kirste says *ad loc*

§154. Imperative and Subjunctive with change of tense

aṣyam rātry uchatu AV. 'let this night fade away'; *aped u hāsate tamah* RV. 'now may darkness slink away.'

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But *vanate* may be pres ind.; see §116, 191.

so 'dhvarā karati jātavedāh AB. : *kṛṇotu so adhvareṇ* (VS. TB. °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Let Jātavedas perform the

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

prabudhe nah punas (KS *purās*) *kṛdhi* (TS. *punar dadah*) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. 'Make us again awake', or the like.

sampriyah (TA °yam *prajayā*) *paśubhir bhuvat* (MS. ApŚ. *bhava*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

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

sammislo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV. SV.

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

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

rayim ca naḥ sarvavīram (TS † °rām) *ni yachatu* (AV. *yachāt*) AV. TS MS : *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *somo rayim sahvīram ni yansat* KS.

uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV. *yachatu*) RV. AV. TS KS *jayatābhīvarīm jayatābhīvaryāh* (text, corruptly, °yā) AŚ.: *jeṣathābhīvarīm jeṣathābhīvaryāh* KB. ŚŚ.

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

aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu (KS *kṛdhi*, TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2. 20 (omitted in Conc.) TS. KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ The version with *kṛnu* is also found in TB. 1. 2. 1. 25d

ādityar no aditih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV. (both)

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

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

[By a slip the Conc. quotes: *svāveśo anamivā bhavā naḥ* (Kauś. °mivā *na edhi*) RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB PG. ApMB. with *bhuvā* as ApMB.'s reading, but it has *bhavā* like the rest]

Imperative and Injunctive

§155. The opportunity for interchange between these moods is lessened by the fact that their forms are identical at many points of their respective paradigms. Of course this means that our grammatical classifications break down at this point. Despite this, the interchanges are not much less numerous than those between Imperative and Subjunctive. We present them in four groups: first, those which involve no change of tense or person; second, those which involve change of person, third, those with change of tense, fourth, prohibitive clauses with *mā*, a small group of exceptional interest, presenting a rivalry between

these two moods which begins (practically) in the later Vedic texts (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579c) and continues thruout classical Sanskrit.

Imperative and Injunctive without change of tense or person

§156. The interchanges in the 2d singular concern in most cases presence or absence of *visarga* (e g *vaha' vahah*) and in all (four) such instances happen to occur at the end of a *pāda*; they may to some extent be due to phonetic indistinctness of *h*, see §25.

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

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

nī dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ. 'Bring to the far-famed.'

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

asmabhyam indra varvāh (AV. *variyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyam mahi varvāh sugam kah* RV. See §92.

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

agnim nakṣanta (SV. °tu) *no girah* RV. SV.

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

ābhur (ŚG. *mātur*) *anyo 'pa* (ApMB. ŚG. 'va) *padyatām* (ŚG. °ta) ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

śrīr me bhajatu TA.: *śrī me bhajata* MahānU.

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

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

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

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

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

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

aryo naśanta (SV *nah santu*) *saṁśanta* (SV.† °tu) *no dhiyah* RV. SV.
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

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

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

mahyam (in MŚ this belongs to the prec. pāda) *yajamānāya tiṣṭha* (MŚ. ed. *tiṣṭhatu*, but mss *tiṣṭhat*, so read) TS MŚ.

aṛṣan (SV. *aṛṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV. SV. Soma is subject in both, change to direct address in SV

§158 *Imperative and Injunctive, with change of tense* (in a few cases also with change of person)

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ 'O sacrifice, found thyself upon benevolence, well-disposed', *yajñah praty u śṭhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ. 'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence of thoughts'

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

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhāh*) KS. MŚ. 'May the sacrifice snugly place life (place thou snugly life, sacrifice) in the patron of the sacrifice.'

The rest have no change of person.

tvam bhavādhipatir (AV. *bhūr abhūbhūtir*) *janānām* AV. MS. KS.

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

punaś cakṣuh punah śrotam na āgan (VSK TA. SMB *āgāt*) VS VSK.

ŚB. TA SMB.: *punaś cakṣuh punar asur na antu* AV. Cf. prec.

amaṣām cittam prabudhām (TS KS. °dhā) *vi neśat* (KS. *naśyatu*) RV. AV. TS KS. 'Among themselves let their plan thru thy wisdom (or, the plan of the wise) fall thru.' AVPpp. also has *naśyatu*; the two prec. pādas in AV. are *jaḡatī*.

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

prajām asmāsu dhehi VS *prajām me dāh* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.

ojo mayi dhehi VS. TB. *ojo me dāh* AV. VS. Similarly in items beginning *saho*, *balam*, *āyur*, *śrotam*, *cakṣur*, *vācam*, *varco*, *tejo*, *payo*, *rayim*.

agne rucām pāte . . . mayi rucam dhvāḥ (KS dhvāḥ; ApŚ. rucam mayi dhvāḥ)
MS. KS. ApŚ.

ata ū ŷu madhu madhumābhi yodhi TS : atah su madhu madhumābhi
yodhi RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ. For yodhi see Whitney, Grammar
§339; but the form is probably corrupt; see §25.

yaśo bhogas ca mā vidat PG.: yaśo ! bhogasya (read, bhogas ca) vindatu
ArŚ.

§159. Imperative and Infinitive in Prohibitive clauses with mā

mā saryena dakṣinam atikrāmiḥ (GG. °krāmo) GG. HG. 'Do not cross
the right (foot) with the left.'

mā jñātāram mā pratṣṭhāv. evanto (AG † indantu) AV. AG. 'Let them
find no acquaintance, no support.' It is significant that the late
text AG. changes the inj to impv.

mā somam pāte asomapaḥ Kauś.: mā pāt (text, yāt) somam asomapaḥ
LŚ. 'Let the non-soma-drinker not drink the soma.'

mā nah soma hvarito riharasra MŚ. [so probably to be read, with Cone.;
Knaauer's text, harivo (em for mss. hvarivo; Knaauer in a private
letter suggested 'read hvarito, certainly') riharas (mss. rihvara-
dhvam, one ms. °dhva)]. 'do not, O soma, fail, having gone wrong';
mā no gharma vyathito vryadhut (TA. vryatho nah) MS. TA. 'do
not, O hot drink (let not the hot drink), when shaken, injure (shake)
us.' Somewhat uncertain, because of the bad condition of MŚ.;
see §332

Imperative and Optative

§160. This class is smaller than the preceding and subdivision is
unnecessary. There is but one case of change of tense, the first example;
but change of person is frequent. A certain predilection for the impera-
tive rather than the optative in the second person is noticeable.

aredatā (KS. 5. 3 achedatā (by conjecture in ed., but read are^v with
v Schroeder on 32 3, n. 3) manasā devan gacha (ApŚ ganyat) MS.
KS. (bis) ApŚ. 'With undisturbed mind go thou (may he go)
to the gods.'

agnir dikṣitah pṛthivī dikṣā sā mā dikṣā dikṣayatu (JB. dikṣeta) JB. AnŚ.
'The consecrated one is Agni, the consecration is earth; let that
consecration consecrate me.' The same with vāyur dikṣitah, adityo
dikṣitah, prajāpatir etc.; see ApŚ. 10. 10. 6.

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

- pratīṣṭhām gacha* (GB *gachan*) *pratīṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB. *gamayet*)
 AB GB Gaastra on GB. p 42 considers its reading corrupt and
 would read as AB
- svargam arvanto jayema* Vait : *svargān arvanto jayata* SV. ŚŚ. *svagān*(!)
ar° jayatah AŚ (corrupt).
- matrāya havyam ghṛtavaḥ juhota* (KS °*vad vidhema*) RV KS. MŚ. N.
satyāya havyam ghṛtavaḥ juhota (TS. KS. °*vad vidhema*) TS. KS. TB.
 ApŚ.
- tasmā u havyam ghṛtavaḥ juhota* (TS ApMB. °*vad vidhema*) TS. ŚŚ. ŚG.
 ApMB : *dhātra id dhavyam ghṛtavaḥ juhota* AŚ
- chandonāmānām* (with variants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*, MŚ.
gachet) VS VSK. TS ŚB. MŚ.
- bharatam uddharem anuṣṛiṇca* (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*?) TB. ApŚ.
 MŚ See §304
- uttame nāka iha mādayantām* (MŚ. °*yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ :
nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema AV.
- havyā no asya havīṣah śṛnotu* (AV. *haviṣo juṣeta*, TS. *haviṣāś ciketu*, ŚŚ.
haviṣah kṛṇotu) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ ŚŚ.
- āyajatām* (MŚ. *āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣah* VS MS. KS. ŚB. TB AŚ. MŚ.
āvyaṣam jāgrīd aham AV : *dvyuṣam jāgrīyād aham* RVKh. So Conc.,
 following Aufrecht for RVKh ; but Scheftelowitz reports that his
 ms. reads *jāgrīāmy*, and he emends to *jāgrīām*, which seems the
 only possible reading.

Imperative and Precative

§161. The precative is merely an aorist optative and does not differ, in the Veda, from the regular optative in any way. It interchanges with the imperative about a dozen times, with or without change of person:

- agne tejasvīn tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh* TS : *agna āyuhkārāyuṣmāns*
tvam tejasvān deveṣu edhī MS. 'O Agni .be thou brilliant among
 the gods.'
- āyur dātra edhī* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'be thou life to the giver'; *mayo dātre bhūyāt*
 MS. 'let there be delight to the giver.' Cf. next.
- vayo dātre* (KS PB. add *bhūyān*; VSK. *dātra edhī*) *mayo mahyam* (TB.
 TA ApŚ. *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahītre* VSK. KS. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ.
 Cf prec
- durmutrās* (°*triyās*, °*tryās*) *tasmai santu* (KS * TB TA. MahānU. BDh.
bhūyāsū) *yo 'smān* (MS *asmān*) *dveṣti* VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.
 TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. MahānU. BDh.

druhah pāsān (TS KS *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣta* (AV. *prati muñcatām sah*) RV. AV. TS MS KS.

yo no dveṣṭy adharah sas paḍiṣṭa (MS MŚ *sa padyatām*) RV. AV. MS. KS (The ms of KS *sas*; ed wrongly emends to *sa*)

yena tvam deva veda (ŚŚ *tvam veda*) *devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam* (ŚŚ *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāh* (VSK *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhi*) VS. VSK. ŚB ŚŚ

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

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

yathendram dawīr viśo maruto 'nuvartmāno 'bhavann (TS 'nuvartmāna) *evam imam yajamānam dawīs ca viśo mānuṣīś cānuvartmāno bhavantu* (VSK *bhūyāsuh*) VS. VSK TS. MS. KS.

achidrah prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ. ApMB. HG : cf. *ariṣṭā asmākam vīrāh santu* ApŚ ApMB. *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāśma* (text, *bhuyāh sma*) LŚ

śunam ma iṣtam . bhūyāt MS.. *svam ma iṣtam astu .* KS.

saṃjīvā (°*jivkā*) *nāma siha tā imam* (AŚ. *imam amum*) *saṃjīwayata* MS.

AŚ. ApŚ : *saṃjīvā siha saṃjīvyāsam* AV.

sā me satyāśīr deveṣu bhūyāt (Vait. °*ṣv astu*) TS Vait.

Imperative and Future

§162. The future is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbruck, *AISynt.* 289), but, whenever a future form deals with an event in the future that is not considered quite certain, the barrier between it and the moods falls. And, like other indicatives, it is used in the Veda of things which the poets represent as more certain than they really are, for tactical (magical) reasons. Only a couple of interchanges between it and the imperative have been noted, but compare below the interchanges of future with subjunctive, optative, and precativē. *vāg ārtivjyam kariṣyati* (ApŚ. *karotu*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Speech will (shall) do the office of priest.' Unmetrical, but ŚŚ. is made to simulate meter. *rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvyayasva* AV. HG. ApMB : *rayim ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG.: *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayīṣye* PG. MG. 'Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth'

§163. Imperative and Infinitive

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

brāhmaṇāns tarpayitavā iti sampreṣyati ApŚ 4 16 17. *brāhmaṇāns tarpayeti preṣyati* MŚ. 'He gives the order, Treat the brahmans' This use of the infinitive in direct discourse (not immediately depending on a verb of command, in which case the infin. would be regular, see Delbruck, *Altindisches Verbum* §27, Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Synt.* §217) seems to be peculiar to ApŚ, where it occurs at least twice more: *uccaḥ samāhantavā iti sampreṣyati* 1 20. 1, 'he gives the order, Beat loudly together'; and *triṣ phalīkartavā iti sampreṣyati* 1. 20. 11, 'he gives the order, Thrice clean the grain' On the last the comm. says *phalīkaranam triḥ kartavyam ity arthah*. The *iti* in such phrases seems to exclude the infinitive from direct government by the verb of command. Nevertheless the infin. of command is doubtless the elliptical residue of an infin. dependent on a verb of command [if it is not, after all, felt as governed by the following *sampreṣyati*, despite the *iti*, such illogical mixture of direct and indirect forms of speech is not unknown—F E] For the general and comparative aspects of the infin. as impv. see Delbruck, *Vergl. Synt.* 2. 453ff.

IV IMPERATIVE SECOND SINGULAR IN *si* AND (?) *se*

§164. In the R̥gveda occur a number of modal forms restricted to the 2d singular, they are formed by adding *si* directly to the strong form of the root without other stem or mood formative. See Whitney, *Grammar* §624, Delbruck, *Altindisches Verbum* §30, *Altindische Syntax* 365, Speyer, *Ved. u. Skt. Synt.* §188, n. 2, Neisser, *BB.* 7. 230 ff. Imperative value is generally assigned to them, because they are frequently accompanied by other impv. forms in the same sentence. Now it is interesting to note that our repetitions do in fact, in a case or two, substitute an impv. form for such a form in *si*, and further that forms in *si* are not entirely limited to passages occurring in the RV.:

deva somaṛṣa te lokas tasmaṇ cham ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva (VSK. *lokah pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*; ŚBK. *tasmaṇ cham pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚBK. Cf. *sam ca vakṣi pari ca vakṣi* MS TA ApŚ. 'This is thy station, god Soma; in it thrive thou well and thoroly.' The verb concerned seems to be *vakṣ* 'grow', tho Mahīdhara on VS. refers the form to *vah* 'carry'. In either case we have a modal 2d person in *si*, exchanging with an impv. in *sva*, and that in YV. texts only.

dhryā na (SV. *no*) *vājān upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śakvataḥ* RV. SV. Cf. next.

stuto yāsi (RV. *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV. VS TS. KS ŚB. LŚ 'Praised, O Indra, go after our desire.' In this and the prec., of course, the forms in *si* may be construed as indicative (so Keith on TS) Yet the atmosphere of the passages, together with the unambiguous impv. of the variant forms, seems to suggest modal value.

sam indra no (*no*) *manasā neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhīh* RV AV VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AVPpp. reads *neṣi*, showing that *neṣa* (aor. impv.) is a somewhat precarious nonce-formation

Of equal interest is the substitution in TS of a form in *si* for a RV. injunctive; it is the more remarkable because it occurs in a subordinate clause (introduced by *yad*).

pitṛn yakṣad (TS. *yakṣy*) *rtāvrdhah* RV. VS TS. KS 'When he shall (thou shalt) sacrifice to the fathers who prosper the *ṛta*.'

§165. We append here a couple of cases in which forms in *se* interchange with imperatives in *dhi* (*hi*). It is possible that the *se*-forms are modal (imperative, or subjunctive?) middle forms corresponding to the actives in *si*, but the forms are isolated and ambiguous. Perhaps here belongs *dhiṣe*; see §219, *viśvā adhi śriyo* etc.

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

kṛṣim susasyām ut kṛṣe (KS *kṛdhi*) MS KS MŚ 'The furrow, well-grown with grain, draw thou up' The verb is problematic in form and meaning, one is almost led to suspect that both *kṛṣe* and *kṛdhi* are from *kṛṣ* 'plow' (!).

V. SUBJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§166. The subjunctive exchanges with the indicative (§§117ff, 124, 131, 137, 140, 145, a, d, f), the imperative (§151ff), and further with injunctive, optative, precative, future, and desiderative. The first persons, as already remarked, do duty also as imperatives; we treat them here rather than as impvs. In principal clauses there is no perceptible difference between the subj. and its rival moods. In dependent clauses the 2d person impv. does not alternate with subjs (§95, note 11), but the ind., 3d person impv., inj. and opt. are fairly common and normal.

Subjunctive and Injunctive

§167. Alternation between these moods is not very rare, particularly in principal clauses, and there are a few cases of subordinate clauses which we have classified here. Included are some cases with coincident

change of tense and person, and there is a single instance of a prohibitive clause with *mā*. Some of the forms which we have classified as injunctives may, of course, be regarded perhaps equally well as preterite indicatives without augment, in that case they would belong in §§131, 137, 145.

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS. KS. TB. [comm. and Poona ed. text]

ApŚ *bruvan*) VS TS. MS. KS TB ApŚ. 'May the gods bless him'

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

pra bravāma (MS. *bru*°, v. 1 *bra*°) *śaradah śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB. HG MG.

upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. 'May the blessed (Sarasvatī) listen to us at this sacrifice' *śruvat*, if not merely a corruption, is a tentative and precarious formation modelled on forms like *bruvat* in the two preceding cases, see §23 where such cases are considered from the phonetic point of view.

agnir havyāni sūvadat RV.. *agnir havyā sūśudati* RV.

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

prācīnam sīdat (MS *sīdāt*) *pradīśā pṛthivyāh* VS. MS. KS. TB

yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai TA. : *yajñapataye vāryam ā svaskah* MS. *yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase* ŚŚ.

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

sa tvantebhyah pari dadat (TA *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV. AV. TA. N. 'He shall hand thee over to these manes' Both forms ambiguous, somewhat as in the preceding.

§168. In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is much commoner than the injunctive (cf. §§124f), but some cases of the latter seem to occur, besides those similar forms which we have preferred to regard as preterite indicatives exchanging with subjunctives (§145):

āyusmān (AV. °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsam* (AV. °*sāni*) RVKh. VS. AV.:

yathāeat AV. AG PG. ApMB. See Conc. for similar pādas.

'That I (he) may reach old age.' The pāda occurs in four different verses. one in RVKh. VS, two different ones in AV., and a fourth in the Grhya texts

yad itī mām atimanyadhvam HG : *yadī mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB.

'When (if) you (thus) disdain me.'

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā itī bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV. SV 'Where people may say "gods".' Of course *bruvan* may be considered indie.

The single case of a prohibitive with *mā* is
sakhyāt te mā yoṣam TB. ApŚ. ApMB HG 'May I not be separated from thy friendship' *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh* SMB. 'do not withhold thy friendship.'

Subjunctive and Optative

§169. This interchange is most frequent in first-person forms, where the subj also does duty as impv. But the following examples include several of 3d person, and others, as well as one of 2d person, will be found among the interchanges of more than two modal forms, §104 above. Several cases occur in subordinate clauses. One case involves change of tense. See also §96 for a RV case.

vidād (SV. *vided*) *ūrjam śatakatur vidād* (SV. *vided*) *iṣam* RV SV. 'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtain refreshment'

imā nu kam bhuvanā śiṣadhāma (SV TA. ApŚ MŚ °*dhema*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. KB GB. AA. TA. MŚ ApŚ AŚ ŚŚ. Vait. 'Let us now bring success to these worlds'

śṛnuyāma (TA. ApMB HG. *śṛṇavāma*) *śaradah śatam* VS. MS. TA. PG. MG ApMB. HG.

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

vibhum kāmam (VS. *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśnavai* (MS *aśiya*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

athainam jarimā nayet HG : *yathainam jarase nayāt* AV.

In the last the subj occurs in a subordinate clause, which is made a principal clause with the opt. form. In the following both forms occur in subordinate clauses:

(*bhūmyā vṛtvāya no brūhi*) *yatah khanema* (TS. *khanāma*) *tam vayam* VS. TS. MS. KS

yasyām uśantah praharāma (AV ApMB HG °*rema*) *śepam* (AV. *śepah*) RV. AV. PG ApMB HG N. 'In whom (the bride) we may eagerly insert the member.'

yathā pumān bhaved iha MŚ.: *yatheha puruṣo 'sat* (SMB. *puruṣaḥ syāt*) VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. SMB.

§170. Subjunctive and Precative

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

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

§171. *Subjunctive and Future*

varano vārayātai (and, *vārayiṣyate*) AV. (both) 'the (amulet) made of *varana*-wood shall defend': *varuṇo* (but Poona ed. with comm *varano*) *vāri.yāt* TA.

bhavāsi putrāṇām mātā AV. 'teṣām mātā bhaviṣyasi' ŚG.

agnau karīṣyāmi GG. BDh *agnau karavāni* V1Dh. And others, see §41.

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA. °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ °*yachase*) MS. TA ŚŚ See §27.

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi TS *pred u havyāni vocati* RV. VS KS. 'Thou shalt (he shall) announce the oblations.'

§172. *Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative*

brahma vā yah kriyamānam niniṣāt (AV. *vā yo niniṣat kriyamānam*) RV. AV 'Or whoso shall (seek to) blaspheme our holy charm as it is being performed'

VI. MIXED IMPERATIVE-SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS

§173. Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between impv and subj is the most frequent. This intimacy between the two has gained formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-subjunctive forms. Thus *nudātu* is a blend of *nudatu*, impv, and *nudāti*, subj. No less certainly *karatu* is a blend of subj *karati* and impv *karotu*. The function of this blend corresponds to its form. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§740, 752c. In §104, p, we have quoted several variants showing all three types, true subj, true impv, and mixed. Here we append others in which the mixed form varies with subjunctive alone

sa dr̥ṣto mṛdayāti (MS † °*tu*, VSK *mṛlayāti*) *nah* VS VSK. TS. MS KS.

'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us.'

dirgham āyuh karati (TA. °*tu*) *jīvase vah* RV. TA.

viśve no devā avasā gamantu RV. VS. TS.: *viśve no* (KS. *mā*) *devā avasā gamann iha* RV. VS. MS KS ApŚ Since the thematic aorist *agamati* is rare and dubious in the Samhitās, it is best to classify the Samhitā form *gamantu* here, rather than as impv. to aor. *agam-a-i* Cf. however *gamat sa* (*gamema*). in §174.

lpto vām gharṃ nakṣati (AV *nakṣatu*) *svahotā* AV AB. AŚ ŚŚ.
sa no muñcātu (RV. SV *rakṣiṣad*) *duritād avadyāt* RV. SV TA.
ādityair indrah saha siṣadhātu (VS. °*ti*; RV. AV. *cīkṣpāti*) RV. AV. SV.
 VS TA MŚ. ApŚ.
 [so 'syat (MG. 'syāh) *prajāṃ muñcātu mṛtyupāsāt* AG. SMB PG.
 ApMB. HG. MG. Conc. erroneously quotes *muñcātu* for SMB]

VII. INJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§174. The injunctive alternates with indicative (§§120, 125, 132, 138, 141, 145, b, e), imperative (§§155ff), subjunctive (§§167f), and optative. There is one case of a prohibitive with *mā* in which one text anomalously replaces an inj with an opt, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §579b. Occasionally there is a shift of tense along with that of mood.

Injunctive and Optative

ā mā prānena saha varcasā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'May he come to me along with life-breath and strength.' AV. comm. also *gan*; MS. p p. *agan*.
asyām ṛdhad (ŚB. AŚ. *ṛdhed*) *dhotrāyām devamgamāyām* MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods.'
twayā (VSK. TS. KS. TB omit) *vayam samghātam-samghātam* (TS. TB. omit one *samghātam*, VSK *samghāte-samghāte*) *jeṣma* (KS † once *samjayema*, once *jayema*) VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB. TB '(Thru thee) may we be victorious in every fight'
gamat sa (and. *gamema*, *sa gantā*) *gomati vraṇe* RV. (all) 'He (we) shall go to a stall rich in cattle.' *gamat* is commonly taken as subjunctive of a root aorist; but in view of *gamema*, which can only be opt. of an *a*-aorist, we class it as inj of that type
tena vayam gamema (TS. MS. KS. *patema*, VSK. *tena gamema*) *bradh-nasya viṣtapam* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.. *tena geṣma sukratasya lokam* AV.
nedīya it sṛnyah (TS † °*yā*) *pakvam eyāt* (TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.
na pāpatvāya rāṣīya (SV. *ransiṣam*) RV. AV. SV. The SV. reading is doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter
pra tad voced (TA. MahānU. *voce*) *amṛtasya* (VS. TA. MahānU. *amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU. In AV., 'may (the *gandharva*) knowing of the immortal proclaim that.' TA. comm *provāca* (3d person!). The form *voce* seems well-nigh uninterpretable, the comm seems to be thinking of the 3d sing. perf. mid. *ūce*.

The single case of prohibitive with *mā* is:

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *dhanayīd*, TS. *dhvanayīd*, KSA *dhvanayed*)
dhūmagandhīh RV VS TS MS KSA. 'Let not the fire, smoke-
scented, make thee crackle', or the like On *dhvanayīd* see §285.

VIII. OPTATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§175. The optative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 126, 133, 142), imperative (§160), subjunctive (§170), injunctive (§174), precative, and future.

Optative and Precative

The precative is itself only an aorist optative of specialized type. It interchanges mostly with the present optative, less often with the aorist optative. Some of the forms classed as precatives are, of course, necessarily indistinguishable from regular aorist optatives; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§568, 921ff, these interchanges might therefore be classed under §210, d

tābhyām (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukṛtām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-
āsmā sukṛtasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Kauś. 'With these two
(wings) may we fly to the world of the pious'

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK. *badhyāt*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK. TS.
MS KS ŚB. 'Thru thee may he slay Vṛtra'

anu vīrait anu puṣyāsmā (TB ApŚ *rādhyāma*) *gobhīh* VS. TB. ApŚ
'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle.'

jīveyam ŚB *jīvyāsam* AV

sam aham āyusā sam varcasā sam prajāyā (ŚŚ adds, *sam priyeṇa
dhāmnā*) *sam rāyas poṣena gṛmīya* (VS ŚB. ŚŚ. *gṛmīya*) VS MS
KS But, of course, *gṛmīya* may be considered an *īṣ*-aorist.

ṣṇīvālyā aham devayajyayā paśumān (ApŚ *°matī*) *bhūyāsam* (MŚ.
paśūn vndeyam) ApŚ MŚ Similarly with *kuhvā*, and *rākāyā*.

suprajāh prajāyā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) VSK. TS. ApŚ.
ApMB HG *suprajāh prajābhīh syām* (VS and ŚB. also *syāma*;
ŚŚ. *prajābhīr bhūyāsam*) VS. ŚB AŚ. ŚŚ.

priyo dātūr dakṣiṇāyā iha syām AV.: *priyo devānām dakṣiṇāyā dātūr
iha bhūyāsam* VS.

bhūyāma te sumatau vājino vayam RV. SV.: *bhūyāsmā te sumatau vīsva-
vedāh* MS. (so read, for Conc *°vedāh*; the text has *°vedā* followed by
a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS. means *°vedah*).

bhūyāsmā (SB KŚ. *°yāma*) *putraih paśubhīh* ŚB KŚ AŚ. ApŚ ApMB.
BDh

sahasrapoṣam vah puṣyāsam (KS. *puṣeyam*, MS. *vo 'ṭīya*) TS. MS. KS. HG. · *sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS. ŚB.

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS * *devayajyayā prajāṃṣeyam prajāyā paśubhāh*, KS * MŚ *devayajyayā prajāṃṣīya prajāyā paśubhāh*) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Note the anomalous (thematic) aor opt. *prajāṃṣeyam*.

ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāasma LŚ.: *ariṣṭāh syāma tanvā suvirāh* RV. AV. TS. KS

ā mā stutasya stulam gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS Vait. · *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB.

api jāyeta so 'smākam VIdh · *api nah sa kule bhūyāt* MDh

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāasma*) AV. MS.

KS. *tasya te vayam bhūyīṣṭhabhājo bhūyāasma* ApŚ : *tasyās te bhakṣvānah syāma* (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāasma*, ApŚ. °*vānsa bhūyāasma*, AŚ. *bhāgam aśimahi*) MS. KS TB. ApŚ AŚ.

vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dheṣṭiya (KS. *dhiṣṭiya*) MS. KS · *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi dhiṣṭiya* TS. · *vāmī nāma samdṛṣi viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB. All the verb-forms are ambiguous, and *dhīmahi* doubly so, since it might be injunctive; see Whitney, *Grammar* §837b.

Optative and Future

tau yuñjīta (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV. SV. 'These two may he (I shall) first yoke up (employ) when the conjuncture arrives.' The AV. (vulgate) mss. all read *yokṣe*; Ppp. *yokṣye*.

IX. PRECATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§176. The precativē interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 133), imperative (§161), subjunctive (§169), optative (§175), and future. Two of the three forms here classed as precatives might, however, also be considered aor. optative.

Precative and Future

juṣṭām adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam (ŚŚ. *vācam vadīṣyāmi*) ŚB. ŚŚ.

ApŚ. 'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods.'

madhu vanṣīṣṭiya (ŚŚ. *vanīṣye*) AV. ŚŚ. 'May I (I shall) win honey.'

Whitney would read *vansiṣṭiya* in AV. Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, JAOS. 13, cxviii

madhu janīṣye (AV *janīṣiya*) AV. TS TA. ŚŚ : *madhu karīṣyāmi madhu janayīṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB.

X. FUTURE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§177. The future interchanges with aorist indicative (§134), imperative (§162), subjunctive (§171), optative (§175, end), precative (just above), and desiderative, and in one doubtful case we may have a future indicative exchanging with a future subjunctive. See also under Tense for interchange of future with other indicative tenses (§234); and see §248a for verbal nouns in *tā*, simulating the later periphrastic future, exchanging with various finite verb forms

yad vādāsyān samjagārā jānebhyah TB *adāsyann agna uta samgrnāma*
AV *adīsan vā samjagara jānebhyah* TA 'If I promise, not intending to give, to people', or the like. Participles are here concerned.

parīdhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai (MG *parīdhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē*) PG. MG. If the PG contains finite verb-forms, they must be future subjunctives (Whitney, *Grammar* §938) But Stenzler and Oldenberg follow the Hindu comm in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive (and *yaśodhāsyai* as a compound) Cf §134

XI. DESIDERATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§178. The desiderative—by definition modal in force—exchanges with indicative aorist (§135) and future (§177), and it forms a subjunctive of its own which varies with another subjunctive (§172).

XII. INFINITIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH IMPERATIVE

§178a. See §163.

SUMMARY OF MODAL INTERCHANGES IN DEPENDENT AND OTHER NON-CATEGORICAL CLAUSES

§179. Starting with the observation that the subjunctive is the favorite in relative clauses, we note (§122) that the 2d sing impv is certainly excluded from that construction. This does not apply to the other numbers of the 2d person impv., which are identical in form with injunctives, as may be seen from the example in §168, *yad iti mām atimanyadhvam* HG., *yadī mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB., 'when (if) you (thus) disdain me.' The true or exclusive imperative forms, not capable of confusion with either subj. or inj., are (in the active) the 2d and 3d singular and the 3d plural only. They occur, if only rarely, in prohibitive clauses (§159), and the third person also in relative clauses

(§§122f). We here use the term 'relative' in a broad sense to include clauses introduced by conjunctions derived from the stem *ya-*, as *yadi*, *yathā*, *yad*, *yatra*, *yatah*. Understood in this sense we find the following:

§180. *Interchanges of moods in relative clauses*

Present Indicative and Imperative, §123

Present Indicative and Subjunctive, §124

Present Indicative and Injunctive, §125

Present Indicative and Optative, §126

Preterite Indicatives and modal forms (mostly subjunctives), §145

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Subjunctive and Optative, §169

Subjunctive and Desiderative Subjunctive, §172

§181. *Interchanges of moods and tenses in prohibitive clauses with mā*

Augmented and augmented Preterites, §146

Perfect Indicative and Injunctive, §147

Imperative and Injunctive, §159

Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168

Injunctive and Optative, §174, end

Cf also the interchange between present and aorist prohibitive injunctives, §§209, 211

§182. To show at a glance the possible variations in prohibitive clauses with *mā*, we group examples of them here. The result is a mosaic of unexpected modal variety

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat śraddhā me mā vyāgāt, §146

ganān me mā vi firśah (°śat) ganān me mā vy arīrīśah, §146

mā tvā ke cin ni (cid vi) yaman um (ke cin ni yemur in, ke cin nyemur in) na pāsmah, §147

mā savyena daksīnam atikrāmīh (°krāma), §159

mā jñātāim mā pratīsthām vidantu (vindantu), §159

mā nah soma hvarito vīhvarasva mā no gharma vyathito vvyadhīh (vvyatho nah), §159

mā somam pātū asomapah mā pāt somam asomapah, §159

sakhyāt te mā yośam sakhyam te mā yośāh, §168

mā tvāgnur dhvanayīd (dhanayīd, dhvanayīd, dhvanayēd) dhāmagandhīh, §174, end

grhā mā bibhīta mā vopadhvam (vepīdhvam), §211

mā tvā vṛkśah (°śau) sam bādhiṣ(a) (būdhiṣtām, bādhetām), §211

mainam agne vi daho mābhīśocah (°śūśucah), §211

mainām arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (*mainām tapasā mārcīṣābhi*) *śocīḥ* (*śocah*;
śūśucah), §211

§183. *Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses*

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:

(*apām napād āśuhemā kivi sa*) *supēśasas karati* (*karoti*) *joṣiṣad dhi*

In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with a subjunctive:

mā mā hāsīn (*hāstr*) *nāhīto net* (*na*) *tvā jahāni* (°mi).

CHAPTER IV. THE TENSES. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

§184. Tense interchange in the Vedic Variants may be treated, in its formal and functional aspects, under three heads:

1. Interchanges between different formations of the same tense In general these are devoid of functional distinction. This is true alike of the present and the aorist systems. Except that the reduplicated aorist is associated with causative meaning (Whitney, *Grammar* §856)—and even this exception is by no means a hard and fast rule, as the variants show—the aorist, thruout the history of Sanskrit as of the other Indo-European languages, does not make any functional differentiation of its various formal types Nor do our variants throw any light on the rare and precarious instances in which different present-systems from the same root are accompanied by genuine differences of meaning, as in the perfective *bharati* 'carry to'. imperfective *bibharti* 'carry, wear', see Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 11. cxxvi ff ; Delbruck, *AISynt* 274ff. So far as the variants show, the interchanges between present systems are quite devoid of distinctions of meaning.

2 Interchanges between identical subordinate moods of different tenses, especially present and aorist These, again, do not manifest the slightest difference in sense. Thus, *patim me kevalam kṛdhi (kuru)*, 'make him solely my husband.' We have encountered this tense variation as a very frequent accessory to modal variation in the chapter on moods, see above, §154, etc The cases there presented included only those in which mood as well as tense was shifted, as in *uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (yachatu)*, §154, where an aorist subjunctive varies with a present imperative In the present chapter we shall deal with instances in which the mood remains constant, while the tense changes.

3. True interchange of tense, that is to say, interchange in the indicative forms, which (at least in the Veda) do have more or less clearly recognizable differences of meaning This involves interchanges between present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect, and to some extent future, altho in our view the Vedic use of the future makes it more a mood than a tense and we have accordingly treated it chiefly in the chapter on moods; but see below, §234.

We begin with the first of these classes, which involves two subdivisions: a. Interchange between the Present systems, and b. between the Aorist systems.

1 INTERCHANGES BETWEEN DIFFERENT FORMATIONS OF THE SAME TENSE

a. Interchanges between different Present systems

§185. Interchanges between present systems are carried on in a fairly live fashion, and without the least distinction in meaning between the correspondents. To some extent they represent old established correspondences, such as between the various nasal presents. This is in continuation of prehistoric conditions, largely dependent on the organic derivation of the various nasal classes from different types of 'dissyllabic roots' or bases. See Gustav Meyer, *Die mit nasalen gebildeten praesensstämme* (Jena, 1873); de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indoeuropéennes* 239ff., Hirt, *Ablaut* 76ff. The nasal classes show also a considerable tendency to interchange with other present classes. Next in importance are the transitions from non-thematic to thematic conjugation, part of a wide movement thruout the history of Hindu speech. In a root or two (*mṛd*, *hū*) the accented *a*-class interchanges with ungunated *aya*-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (*hvayāmi* = Avestan *zbayemi*). Intransitive *ya*-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts, cf Delbruck, *AI Synt* 277. There are some interchanges which involve different phonetic treatment of one and the same root, producing the effect of different present systems, such as interchange between *ramnātu* and *ranvatu*, *ūrnuhi* and *vṛnu*, *dhvarati* and *dhūrvati*. Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems *kr̥no-* and *karo-*, involving tangled chronological conditions. And finally there are interchanges between any one and any other system. We shall treat these matters in the approximate order of their frequency or importance, beginning with *kr̥no*: *karo*.

The stems kr̥no (kr̥nu) and karo (kuru)

§186. Of these two stems, *kr̥no-* is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan *kərənaomī*. No less certainly is *karo-* of ancient organic structure (dissyllabic base **kereŋ*), as is shown by *-kūr-man*, *karv-ara*, and the analogous formation *tarute*. See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 16 clx = *BB* 23. 110, Hirt, *Ablaut* 114. The early hieratic language adopted

kṛno-, whereas *karo-* seems likely to have been the true popular form at all times. In the prevalingly hieratic parts of the RV we find, accordingly, *kṛno-*. On the other hand, however, the AV, tho fundamentally and prevalingly popular, does not favor *karo-* as we should expect. Whitney's Index to the AV. shows that *kṛno-* is much the commoner stem; and this is perhaps made even more striking by the evidence of the variants, in which, even tho the other texts (largely popular) read *karo-*, the AV. overwhelmingly favors *kṛno-* (in 13 out of 14 cases, only one *karo-*!) It is quite clear that in this respect, as in some others, AV., which shares many hieratic passages with RV, has come under the influence of its diction. (It is to be noted, however, that of the passages among the variants showing *kṛno-* in AV, only one is borrowed from RV. Evidently AV adopted the hieratic stem very definitely as its own. The passages are grouped just below.) Analogously, we find even in some very late texts that *kṛno-* forms are substituted for *karo-* forms of older texts, by conscious archaism. Thus Vait., certainly a late text but one with hieratic pretensions, employs the doubly archaic *kṛnuhi* (*oḡasvantam mām āyusmantam manuṣyesu kṛnuhi*, see §255), against *kuru* of other and older texts. So also the very late NīlarU. revives *kṛno-* over the heads of all the YV texts in *śivām gṛitra* (MS *gṛiṣa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU. *kṛnu*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU. On the whole both the later hieratic texts (YV, Brāhmana, and Śrauta Sūtra), as well as the popular Grhya Sūtras, incline to *karo-*, but frequently and very inconsistently fall back into *kṛno-*. The edition of ApŚ 7 17 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, *arātīyantam adharam karomī* (7 16 7 *kṛnomī*), the hieratic form here may be due to mere desire for stylistic variation. Just so in adjoining verses of the popular ApMB we have first *karomī*, then *kṛnomī* with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence. *syonam te saha patyā karomī* 1 5 16d, and *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā kṛnomī* 1 5. 17d. There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use *kṛno-* in place of *karo-*. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA, HG, and RVKh lack *kṛno-* forms. The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait poses with *kṛno-* forms three times against other texts with *karo-*, and without a single instance of the reverse.

§187 We seem to see traces of some school tendencies in this regard. Altho it would doubtless be rash to generalize confidently from these few instances, it seems hardly likely to be accidental that the Taittiriya school texts—TS, TB, TA, ApŚ, MahānU., HG., and ApMB—

uniformly prefer the popular *karo-*. So does KS ; while contrariwise MS. and its Śrauta Sūtra, MŚ, show a majority for *kṛno-*.

§188 The capricious interplay of hieratic and popular, old and new, is further tangled by half a dozen examples in which the aorists or aorist-presents *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* interchange with corresponding forms of the bases *kṛno-* and *karo-*, §210, a

§189. The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants is shown conveniently in the following table.

	<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>		<i>kṛno-</i>	<i>karo-</i>
RV.	3	0	Vait	3	0
AV.	13	1	ApŚ.	5	7
SV.	1	0	MŚ.	3	2
VS.	4	4	ŚG.	0	1
TS.	4	9	SMB.	2	0
MS.	8	3	GG.	1	0
KS.	5	9	Kauś.	1	1
AB.	1	0	PG.	2	2
JB.	1	0	ApMB.	4	6
PB.	0	1	HG	0	5
ŚB.	3	2	MahānU.	0	1
TB.	2	6	NīlarU	1	0
TA	0	6	ŚvetU	0	1
AŚ	2	2	RVKh	0	5
ŚŚ.	1	2	BDh	0	1
LS.	0	1			

§190. The following list of about 40 passages is grouped so as to show first those which concern RV. and AV. by themselves:

Passages involving RV.

yadā śṛtam kṛnavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV. TA.

yasmai kṛnoti (TS *karoti*) *brāhmanah* RV. VS. TS.

suputrām subhagām kuru (RV. *kṛnu*, SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB.

HG.

Passages involving AV.

yadā śṛtam kṛnavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV. TA.

agne medhāvīnam kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV. VS. RVKh.

anāgasam brahmane (AV. °*ṇā*) *tvā karomi* (AV. *kṛṇomi*) AV. TB. HG.

ApMB.

prīyam mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) *deveṣu* (ApMB. *mā deveṣu kuru*) AV.

RVKh. HG. ApMB.

priyam rājasu mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV RVKh. ApMB.: *priyam mā kuru rājasu* HG

brahmāham antaram kṛṇve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV. KŚ
mām indra bhaginam kṛṇu AV.: *mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB.
karomi (AV. *kṛṇomi*) *te prājāpatyam* AV. ApMB HG.

kṛṇomi tubhyam sahapatnyai vadhu AV : *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi*
(ApMB *kṛṇomi*) RV. ApMB : *syonam me* (ApMB. *te*) *saha patyā*
karomi TS. TB. ApMB.

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu AV *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS.
TA. MahānU.

yasya kurmo grhe havih VS. MS. KS. ŚB. · *yasya kurmo* (AV *kṛṇmo*)
havir grhe AV. TS.

kṛṇvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS MS KS *anyān*, KŚ. 'nyān) *adharān*
sapatnān AV. TS MS KS ApŚ. KŚ.

dirgham āyuh kṛnotu me (vām) AV JB. Kauś. ApMB · *āyusmantam*
karota mā (RVKh *karotu mām*, KS *kṛnota mā*) RVKh. KS. TA.
BDh.

yābhyām karmāni kurvate (SV. *kṛṇvate*) AV. SV This is the only variant
in which AV shows a *karō-* form. It is also the only variant
in which SV. figures at all

Passages involving all other texts

agnih prajāṃ bahulām me karotu (MS. *kṛṇotu*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
ŚŚ ApŚ.

agnih pravivān (MS KS °vān) *iha tal kṛnotu* (ApŚ.* *karotu*; KS. ApŚ.*
dadhātu) MS. KS ApŚ. (bis).

achudram yajñam bhūrikarmā karotu (KS. MŚ. *bhūrivretāh kṛnotu*) KS.
TB. ApŚ. MŚ

arāṅīyantam adharam kṛnomi (ApŚ.* *karomi*) TS. ApŚ. (both).

asya kurmo (RVKh *kulmo*) *harivo medinam tvā* RVKh. TS. TB.: *iha*
kṛṇmo etc KS

ādityās tvā kṛṇvantu (KS *kurvantu*) *jāgatena chandasā* . VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.

Similarly *rudrās tvā*, *vasavas tvā*, *visve tvā devā*, etc.

tena suprajāsam kṛṇu (TA. *kuru*) TA. Vait.

tena mā vājinaṃ kuru (Vait. *kṛṇu*) AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

sinvālī kṛṇotu (KS. *karotu*) *tām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ukhām kṛnotu (TS. KS. *karotu*) *śaktyā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

kṛṇotu (KS. *karotu*) *visvacarṣaṇih* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG.

apsu dhautasya te bhakṣam kṛnomi (PB. *karomi*) KS. PB.

syonam te sadanam karomi (MŚ *kṛṇomi*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

so *asmān* (MŚ *asmān*) *adhīpatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: so 'sman *adhīpatīn kṛṇotu* ŚŚ.

samitāro yad atra sukṛtam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat AB. AŚ . *yo duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś
yena strīyam akṛnutam (ŚŚ *strīyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB. GG . *yena śrīyam akṛnutām* PG.

yāsyām patighnī tanūh jāraghnīm asya tām kṛnomi ApMB.: *yā te patighnī tanūr jāraghnīm tv etām karomi* HG.. *yā te patighnī . tanūr jāraghnīm tata enām karomi* PG.: *yā te patighny alakṣmī . . jāraghnīm tām karomi* ŚG

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB. °*manasam kṛnotu*) PG ApMB.
śvām giritra (MS *girīṣa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU. *kṛnu*) VS TS. MS. KS. NīlarU ŚvetU.

vasūni kṛnvan (ApŚ *kṛnvann asme*, TB. *kṛnvann asmin*, read *asme* with comm and Poona ed text, MŚ *kurvan*) *naryā purūni* TB. AŚ. ApŚ MŚ

yasyām karmāni kurvate (ApŚ *kṛnvate*) KS ApŚ
madhu tvā madhulā karotu (MS. *kṛnotu*) MS TA ApŚ
prajā vikṛvañ (ApŚ. *vikurvañ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ. °*pāh*) KS ApŚ.: *prajāh kṛnvan janayan virūpāh* MS

ojasvantam mām āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait. *kṛnuhi*) TS. MS. AŚ Vait.

Interchange between the various nasal classes

§191. Here we have, first, interchanges between the *no* and *nā* classes: they involve the roots *stabh* and *skabh* (thrice), *kṣi* 'destroy' (twice), and *mī* 'diminish' (once) The rest of the cases are stray examples of various nasal formations, they chiefly concern transfer from non-thematic nasal classes to thematic forms. In principle, of course, thematic verbs of nasal classes are just as old as the non-thematic, but in Sanskrit their appearance is sporadic only. The total of these cases is not sufficient to permit deductions

ājyam uktham avyathāyari (KS. °*ya*, TS. *avyathayat*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *praūgam uktham*, *maruvalīyam uktham*, *niṣkevalyam uktham*, and *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc.

ut te stabhnāmi (TA. *tabhnomi*) *pṛthivīm tvat pari* RV. AV. TA. and (pratīkas) ŚG. AG. Kauś.

adhvana skabhntā (VS. *skabhnuvantah*) VS. TS.: *adhvānam skabhnuvanto* . MS.

kṣinomi (AV. *kṣināmi*) *brahmanāmitrān* AV VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. TA.
idam aham amum āmuṣyāyanam prakṣināmi KS · *idam aham amuṣ-*
yāmuṣyāyanam prakṣināmi MS.: *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyan-*
asyāyuh prakṣinomi ApŚ.

pra smā mināty (ApŚ. *prāsmā minoty*) *ajarah* RV KS ApŚ
bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (TS KS. ApŚ °*ts tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS ApŚ *raṇ-*
vatu) VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ The 'root' *ranv* is best ac-
 counted for as *ra-nv-(*rm-nv-)*. Whitney, *Roots*, regards it as a
 secondary formation from *ran*. This and the next belong equally
 in §196

deva tvaṣtar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS. *rane*) VS TS. MS KS
 ŚB.

āpas tvā sam arinan (MS. *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB *āpah sam arinan* TS
 KS.

agner jhivām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS *jihvayābhi*)
grṇātām (AV. *grnata*) AV. VS. TS MS KS. *grṇātām* is 2d dual of *nā-*
 class, *grnata* 2d plural of accented *a*-class

āñkṣvāsāv āñkṣvāsau HG. *aśāv abhyañkṣvāsāv añkṣva* AŚ : *āñkṣva*
tatāsau ApŚ. *āñjasvānulpasva* PG. The thematic present is
 practically unknown, see Whitney, *Roots*

sā mā samiddhāyusā samintām (1 one ms °*indhatām*) TA : *sā mā*
samiddhā samindhiṣatām MS. Here TA, most mss, has a regu-
 lar non-thematic present from *indh*, the anomalous appearance of
 which doubtless causes the thematic variant °*indhatām* MS. has
 an aorist.

The roots *van*, *man* and *san* may also be included here even tho the
 nasal is in their case radical, in this grouping we merely follow a custom
 which is not only well-established but eminently practical They pre-
 sent, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which
 may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives.

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS. ŚB ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS ŚB. TB.
 AŚ ŚŚ.

The question is, whether *vanate* is a pres. of the *bhū*-class or an aor
 subj.; see §§ 116, 154, and the next.

agnir no vanate (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṅsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS.
 VSK. TS. MS KS See under prec. The question there mooted
 is here further complicated by the indubitably aor. subj. *vansate*.

manas (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūdām aham, śatam dhāmāni sapta ca* RV
 VS. MS KS. ŚB. N But *manas* is dubious as a pres subj; it is
 better taken as aorist, see §§10, 119.

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA ApŚ. MŚ.

Interchange of nasal with non-nasal classes

§192. This rubric is rendered somewhat uncertain in outline because a number of the non-nasal forms in question may be considered as aorists, especially in the case of modal forms. Thus, the SV repeatedly reads *yuñkṣva* for *yukṣva* of the rest, the latter is structurally ambiguous, tho usually treated as present, like *yuñkṣva*. We have followed this custom, altho it seems to us that *yukṣva* might quite as well be treated as aorist. The fact is that, as we have repeatedly observed, our grammatical categories are more or less whited sepulchres, particularly as regards modal forms. The same considerations apply to some other forms classed here, notably to *-viddhi -vinda*, where *viddhi* might be regarded as either perfect in form (*veda*), or aorist (cf. *vidanta: vndantu*, §159), tho we group it as present.

indrānuvinda (AŚ °*viddhi*) *nas tāni* TB. AŚ
agne yukṣvā (SV. PB *yuñkṣvā*) *hi ye tava* RV. SV VS. TS MS KS PB.
 ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ

yukṣvā (SV *yuñkṣvā*) *madacyutā harī* RV AV. SV

yukṣvā (SV *yuñkṣvā*) *hi keśinā harī* RV SV VS ŚB.

yukṣvā (SV *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vājñīvah* RV. SV.

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vṛtrahantama* RV SV ŚŚ

yukṣvā (and, *yuñgdham*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV (both)

athā mandasva (VS *madasva*) *jujuṣāno andhasah* RV. VS.

iṣe pīpīhi (MS. *pīpīhi*) MS TA. ApŚ . *iṣe pinvasva* VS. ŚB KŚ. Similarly with *ūrje*, *ksatrāya*, *brahmane*, and others, see §270.

agne brahma gṛbhñīṣva (MS MŚ. *gṛhñīṣva*, KS *gṛhīṣva*) VS. MS KS. ŚB MŚ.

suśamī śamīṣva (TS. TB. *śamī*°; KS † *śamñīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

yasya yonim patireto gṛbhāya (HG *prati reto gṛhāna*) ŚG. HG.: *vyasya yonim prati reto gṛhāna* ApMB. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§722, 732

Possibly here belongs:

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait. *muñcāte*) RV. Vait. But in §210, b, we have classified *mucāte* as aorist. See that section and the following for one or two other cases which might, less probably, be placed here.

And see further the interchanges between stems *ṭṛmpa* and *ṭṛpya*, *manu* and *manya*, *hṛñī* and *hṛñīya*, §195.

Interchange between non-thematic and thematic presents

§193 This is one of the most extensive movements in the development of the present systems in their history thruout Hindu speech. Regularly the non-thematic form precedes the thematic form, structurally and chronologically. In the variants the priority of the non-thematic form may generally be assumed. Sometimes the thematic forms are nonce-formations, as when *ghnata* takes the place of *hata*, or in the grotesque *bodha*, 'be', which is coaxed out of *bodhi* in the example *pitā no bodhi* (*bodha*). At the head of our list come several cases in which disyllabic non-thematic stems are replaced by thematic ones. Cf. also under nasal stems, §191.

katī kṛtvah prāṇati cāpānati ca (ŚB. *prāṇiti cāpa cāniti*) GB. ŚB.
Better meter in ŚB

yah prāṇiti (AV *prānati*) *ya im śṛoty uktam* RV AV.

yac ca prāṇiti (AV. *prānati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB TB BṛhU. (Correct Conc.)

ni śtanīhi (AV. *abhi śtana*) *durītā bādhamānah* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG : *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG : *āpo havīṣu jāgrta*
ApŚ.: *āpo jāgrta* MS KS. MŚ

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB *kṣeti*) *carṣanīnām* RV MS TB

agne devānām ava heda iḥṣva (ApŚ *vyakṣva*) KS. ApŚ : *ava devānām yaja heda agne* AV. The problematic *iḥṣva* is here appraised as root-present; for *vyakṣva* see §236.

maghavāno vi rapṣante (ŚŚ. *rapṣate*) AV. ŚŚ For the 'root' *rapṣ* see Bloomfield, *IF*. 25 192ff

praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ. *sūhi*, MŚ. *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ KŚ. ApŚ MŚ. In ApŚ. compound of the other readings.

etān ghnataitān grhṇita ApMB : *etān hatatān badhnita* HG. See above.
pitā no bodhi (TA *bodha*) VS. ŚB TA. *bodha* is an extreme analogical formation in the spirit of the *a*-conjugation. Comm. at TA 4. 7. 4, foolishly, = *bodhaya*.

somo dadad (SMB. GG. PG. 'dadad, HG. 'dadād) *gandharvāya, gandharvo dadad* (SMB. PG. 'dadad) *agnaye* (HG. *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. But see §266; and cf. the next four.

tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS. MŚ. *dadat*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

indrāya tvā śṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB.

sa tvatebhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV. AV. TA N. Cf. the prec. three, next, and §§ 167, 11.

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

sam vasāthām (MS MŚ *vasethām*) *starvidā* (KS °*dāu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ And.

vyacasvatī sam vasāthām (MS *vasethām*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB. Stems *vaste* and *vasate* from *vas* 'clothe' [So Bloomfield wrote, but the interpretation is very dubious No **vasate* 'clothes' is recorded. Keith on TS. seems to understand *vas* 'dwell', as if from a type **vaste*, which is equally unknown from this root Mahidhara on VS, *āchādayatam* (apparently '*vas* 'clothe'). The meaning is obscure Possibly MS understands a form of *vas* 'dwell' (*vasate*), and the others *vas* 'clothe' (*vaste*) F E]

[*ye dadate* (JUB *dadante*) *pañca diśah sadhrīcīh* AV. JUB. But here there is no real variant, all mss of AV. read *dadante*, and Whitney's Transl restores it to the text]

Interchange between a and aya formations

§194. Aside from formations which may with more or less confidence be called causatives, and which we treat separately as such (§§237ff), this type includes hardly anything but forms of the two roots *mṛd* 'pity' and *hū* 'call' The popular (rather than 'late') form *hvayāmi* is shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *zbayemi*, it is doubtless a mere accident that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in classical Sanskrit, while *huvā* and *hāva*, both of which interchange with *hvaya*, become extinct See Bloomfield, JAOS 21 48. In the following small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the passages

apasedhan (SV † °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV. SV.

Here *mṛda* (should = *mṛda*, and hence metrically out of place) together with the patchword *no* are clearly inferior readings in SV *tayā no mṛda jīvase* VS VSK TS MS KS. NilarŪ. *tayā no rudra mṛdaya* TS The parallel is only vague

sa nah praṅyāyati haryaśva mṛdaya (AV. KS. *mṛḍa*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

te no mṛdayata (AV. *mṛdata*) AV. TS. ApMB.

te no mṛdayantu (MS *mṛḍantu*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tau no mṛdayatām (MS. *mṛdatām*) TS. MS. ApMB.

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

śarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV *havante*) RV AV. KS. Comm. on AV. *ahvayanta*.

[As to the variant quoted in Conc as: *apām napātam aśvinā huve dhvyā* (TS *aśvinā hwayantām*) AV TS, the word *hwayantām* is an error for *hayantam* (pple of *hi* 'impel') in TS.]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vākhilya hymns the stems *svada* and *svadaya* interchange without difference in meaning, nevertheless, *svadaya* may be considered a causative, cf. §240: *yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ* RV (Vāl): *yam te svadhāvan svadant gūrtayah* RV. (Vāl.)

Interchange between intransitive ya-stems and others

§195. The prevailing intransitive present formation in *ya* occasionally offers refuge to intransitives of other formation. One is inclined to regard the *ya* forms as generally secondary, cf. Delbruck, *AI Synt.* 277. The nasal formation *ṛmpa* (Avestan *θ rąf-*) is old, and *manve* is more organic than *manye*

hutāhutasya ṛpyatam (KS ŚŚ. *ṛmpatam*) KS. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tasya ṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū ŚŚ *tena ṛpyatam anahau* TB. ApŚ.

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB: *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema* Vait. The Conc suggests reading *sadam* in TB · but the comm.

has *adham*, interpreting it by *anantaram*

brahmatad upāsvaitat (MahānU *upāsvaitat*) *tapah* TA MahānU. But Poona ed of TA agrees with MahānU. (with *v l upāsv°*).

manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau ArS *manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī* AV. Vait

tapate (or *ātapate*, so KSA acc to v. Schroeder, TS both, acc. to Weber, VS *tapate*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA TA.

yat te krūram . tat te sudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous *hṛnīya* of SV.:

mā hṛnīhā abhy asmān RV · *vājebhir mā hṛnīyathāh* SV The alternative would be to regard *hṛnīya* as a sort of denominative.

Different treatments of the same root which produce the effect of different present systems

§196. Here and there sundry morphological processes differentiate one and the same root in such a way as to leave behind two forms which may be regarded as two roots, but which in any case manifest themselves in different present formations. The Hindu lexicons postulate a root *ūrṇu* which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended *nu*-present of the root *vr* (**yeru*) 'cover'. The archaic form *ūrnuhi* inter-

changes with the conventional *vṛnu* in one case below. Similarly the roots *dhvar* and *dhūrv* are intricate precipitates of a type *dharu* (cf. *tvar* and *tūrv taru*), as Bloomfield as shown in JAOS. 16 clx = BB. 23. 109. Compare the relation of *ramnātu raṇvatu*, and *rama: ranva*, above, §191

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS. TS ŚB TB.: *yam vayam dhvarāma tam dhvara* (KS *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS. KS.

dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhvara dhvarantam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS.

abhy enam bhūma ūrnuhi (TA. *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV. AV. TA.

Accented and unaccented a-presents (1st and 6th class)

§197. The most conspicuous are those from the root *hū* 'call' The presents *huva* and *hava* interchange with each other, as well as with *hvaya* (§194); the instances are gathered in §2 and are not repeated here. Most of the other cases, and indeed some of the *huva: hava* cases, have phonetic aspects, concerning the phonetic variation of *a'u* before *v*, see §23, where are presented three such variants concerning *brū* (stems *brava.brūva*), and one concerning *hnu* (*hnava hnuva*). The only other instance we have noted is:

(*pra*) *suwīrābhūḥ tīrate* (SV TS. *tarati*) *vājabharmabhiḥ* (SV. TS. °*karmabhiḥ*) RV SV. TS. KS (Correct Conc.) Here *pra tīrate* is superior to *pra tarati*, if for no other reason because *pra tara-* occurs but a single time in RV. (10. 53 8), whereas *pra tīra-* is common. For the stanza as a whole cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 281.

Reduplicated and other presents

§198. In two *pādas* concerning the root *vṛt*, Kauś. has *vavṛtsva* (a R̥gvedic archaism; *ā-vavṛtsva* and *abhi-ā-vavṛtsva* both RV., see Grassmann) where other texts have *vartasva*

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS. *abhi no ni vartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

punar ūrjā ni vartasva (Kauś. *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

The variant *īyāna* of SV. for *iyāna* may be classed as a reduplicated present middle participle; there seems no ground for calling it intensive (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, s.v.):

iyānah (SV. *īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraḥ* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA. *stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav iyānah* (SV. *īy°*) RV. AV. SV.

The remaining cases concern modal forms of roots *dā* and *dhā*, reduplicated and unreduplicated. But the unreduplicated forms may, quite as well, be considered root-aorists (cf. §210, a).

te no dhāntu (SV *dhatta*) *suwīryam* RV SV.

punar dātām (TA. *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. *dattāv* is unaccented in TA and is surely to be read *dattām*, comm. *dattau prayachatām* (understanding perfect passive pple with active meaning!).

devīr āpo apām napād tam devebhyo devatra (MS *devebhyah sukraprebhyo*) *dhatta* (VS. ŚB. *datta*, MS KS. *dāta*) VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB

b. Interchanges between different Aorist systems

§199. Considering the large number of available aorist systems, and their general equivalence in meaning, the number of interchanges between them is not large. The only one which can be differentiated as to meaning is the reduplicated aorist, with its well-known tendency to association with the causative. Even this difference appears but rarely among the variants, which in fact present only a few cases of reduplicated aorist forms exchanging with others, and those few are generally not distinguishable in meaning from their rivals. We may remember that other 'causative' forms are from the earliest period of the language frequently used in senses that are indistinguishable from transitive forms of the simple verb. And even intransitive reduplicated aorists are found; see the variant *ūrdhvā yasyāmātir bhā adidyutat* (*atidyutat*), below.

§200. Otherwise the variations are purely formal, without possible semantic bearings. The old non-thematic s-aorist (Whitney, *Grammar* §888ff.) of the type *askāntsam*, *askān*, *askān*, results in 2d and 3d singular forms which often resemble those of the root-aorist, this has yielded a rather constant interchange between the forms *askān* and *askan*, or compare again the threefold variation between *ruk*, *rok*, and *rauk* from *ruc*, below. These variations may be considered, at least in part, phonetic as much as morphological. Phonetic considerations are even more clearly involved in variations like *acārṣam*: *acāriṣam* (see §286, a) which on their face are s and ṣ-aorists, but in large part are really cases of *svarabhakti* (Whitney, *Grammar* §230c). Phonetic, likewise, is the variant *āprā(h)*; *āprād*, before *dyāvā-* (see §24). On the whole the list of aorist forms is very miscellaneous and presents a rather haphazard aspect. A number of the forms are more or less doubtful as to which aorist class they belong to, or whether they are properly called aorists

at all. Attention will be called to such cases specifically. We number the various aorist types in accordance with Whitney.

§201. *Reduplicated Aorists (Class 3) and others*

gaṇān me mā vī tīrṣah (MŚ °ṣat) TS. MŚ. 'do not (let him not) make my troops go thirsty': *gaṇā me mā vī tṛṣan* VS TS. ŚB. 'may my troops not go thirsty.' Here the proper causative sense of the 3d aor. is apparent, and varies with a non-causative 2d aor

udgrābhenod agrabhī (MS. *aṅgrabhat*, KS. *aṅgrabham* and *aṅgrbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 3 and 5 aor.; no difference of meaning; both active, 'he has (I have) lifted up'

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīh (TS *śūsucāh*, KS. *śucāh*; MS. *hīnstīh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 2, 3, and 5 aor.; all active, 'scorch'; no difference of meaning.

mānām arcīṣā mā tapasābhi (VS KS. *mānām tapasā mārcīṣābhi*) *śocīh* (KS. *śocāh*; TS. *śūsucāh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. As in prec.: 3 and 5 aor (*śocāh* is imperfect injunctive)

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś. *yathābhāgam yathālokaṃ āvr̥ṣāyīṣata* (AŚ. *āvr̥ṣāyīṣata*; ŚŚ *āvr̥ṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Kauś SMB. GG KhG. Both the forms are somewhat problematic; most texts apparently have a 5 aor from a denominative (*vṛṣan*), while ŚŚ has a 3 aor. from the primary root *vṛṣ*, both must mean in the last analysis something like 'they eagerly obtained each his portion.' See §§243, 285

yata ścutad agnāv eva tat AŚ : *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ. : *yatra cuścutad agnāv evantat* MŚ. 'dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat' ApŚ. Both forms intransitive, 'dropped'. But the MŚ. reading *cuścutad* is a very doubtful emendation of corrupt mss; in all probability *ścutad* is the real reading. See further §219, end The 2 aor *aścutat* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from Hindu grammarians.

ūrdhvā yasyāmātir bhā (so divide) *adīdyutat* (VSK *atīdyutat*) *savimani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N The VSK reading is obviously secondary, and phonetic in character; but it is worth noting that the 3 aor. form is here (like the substituted 2 aor.) intransitive ('shone').

Sigmatic Aorists varying with non-sigmatic

§202. *1st and 4th Aorists*

askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ : *askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāh* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askann (ŚŚ. *askān*) *adhuta prājanī* ŚB. ŚŚ KS.: *askān ajani prājanī* TB. TA. ApŚ.

askan parjanyaḥ pṛthwīm KS.: *askān dyauh pṛthwīm* TB. TA. ApŚ
askān (GB. *askan*) *somah* KS. GB.

brahman somo 'skan (KS ApŚ. 'skān) KS. GB Vait ApŚ

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

ahāh śarīram (TB. *ahāc cha°*) *payasā sameti* (TB *sametya*) TB. Vait *ahāh* is 3d person, 'he hath quitted his body' etc.

āprā (AV. **āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthwī antarikṣam* RV. AV. (both) ArS VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TB AA TA. N. *āprā(h)* is 3d sing., the AV. form is certainly secondary, it has phonetic aspects, see §24.

bhūyānso bhūyāsmā ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣṭa Kauś.: *bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta* MS. Same with *annādā bhū°*.

asmaddviṣah sunītho mā parā dah MS : *divṣā sunīte mā parādāh* TA. The MS. form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor, cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §894c, for the closest known parallels. *dāh* might also, tho less probably, be classed as 4 aor.

api panthām aḡanmahī (TS ApŚ. *aḡasmahī*) RV. TS. MS KS AŚ ApŚ. ŚG.

rasena sam aḡanmahī (RV. *aḡasmahī*) RV. KS LŚ

adarśus (ŚŚ. *adrākṣus*) *tvā śāsahastam* AB ŚŚ *adarśus* is altogether irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from *adrākṣus*

mā bheh VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KS. ApŚ : *mā bhah* MS KS MŚ. Best taken as 1 and 4 aor

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS. *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB : *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS. *rauñ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS. KS *rauñ* (*rauk*) is clearly 4 aor., *roñ* and *ruñ* seem both to be best classed as 1 aor.

§203. 1st and 5th Aorists

mā pṛnan pūrtiyā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS. *rādhi*) TS MS. KS. *rādhi* is of course passive, see §87 and Whitney §843.

iṣam ūrjam sam aḡrabham (TS. *aḡrabhīm*) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. Obviously *aḡrabhīm* is a blend of *aḡrabham* and *aḡrabhī*, see §262, d.

§204. 2d and 4th Aorists

āpo malam va prānaikṣīt (ApŚ. *prāñijan*) AV. ApŚ

§205. 2d and 5th (and, once, 7th) Aorists

bahu hāyam (MS. *ha vā ayam*) *avarṣād* (TS *avrṣād*, KS. *avrṣad*) *iti* . TS. MS. KS. But this variant is only very doubtfully placed here. *avrṣād* (see Keith on TS. 2. 4. 7. 2) can only be an error for *avrṣad*, which may perhaps better be regarded as imperfect than as 2 aor.

āditya nāvam ārukṣah (SMB *āroksam*) AV. SMB.: *imām su nāvam* (read *sunāvam*) *āruham* TS KS ApŚ Cf §§276, 133. *ārukṣah* is a regular 7 aor., *āroksam* may be considered 5 aor. with irregular guna-vowel.

§206. Interchanges of various Sigmatic Aorist forms

vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*patayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS. TA Kauś See under next.

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (MS and MŚ. v. 1. *acārṣam*) VS TS. MS. KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG. 4 and 5 aorists. For other variants which simulate the same interchange, but are really cases of *svrabhakti* or the reverse in all probability, see §286.

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV. *ichāt*, TB. *achāt*) RV. AV. KS TB. *achān* is of course 4 aor. from *chand* (*chad*). AV. evidently intended *achāt*, like TB, the form is anomalous (Whitney's Translation adopts the RV. *achān*), but is doubtless felt also as a 4 aor from the same root in its denasalized form.

mā no dyāvāpṛthivī hīdiṣethām (thematic stem from 5 aor., *hīdiṣa-*, cf. *janīṣeyam*, Whitney, *Grammar* §907, end) MS. 'be not angry with us, heaven and earth': *mā dyāvāpṛthivī hīdiṣātām* TA. 'may h and e not be angry.' See §332, end

pītur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °*bhaiṣam*, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB HG. *pītur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh *jagrabham* may best be called augmentless 'pluperfect', cf Whitney, *Grammar* §818a. The others are 5 aor (ApMB anomalous).

vardhiṣimahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣimahi (MS MŚ *pyāyīṣimahi ca*) VS. MS. ŚB TA ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ ŚG HG 5 and 6 aor

vācam paśūn mā nir mārjīh MS. MŚ. *vācam prānam cakṣuh śrotam prajām yonim mā nir mṛkṣam* TS. 5 and 7 aor. Others, see §302.

§207. Interchanges of 1st and 2d aorists

śraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ · *śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat* V1Dh. MDh. YDh BrhPDh AuśDh

ā mā prānena saha varcasā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

2. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN IDENTICAL MOODS OF DIFFERENT TENSES

§208 The general aspects of this relation are discussed in §105, where it is shown that tense variation as an accessory to modal change plays no functional rôle whatever. The cases there referred to are properly a part of the present paragraph. The additional examples of interchange in the present rubric are between the same modal form in differ-

ent tenses, the value of such pairs is *a fortiori* identical. Modal forms from stems other than present or aorist are rare in all periods, so it happens that all the correspondences of this rubric are between present and aorist. Non-sigmatic aorists are, moreover, frequently indistinguishable from formally identical present system forms. This introduces into the group pairs which may be judged, and have been judged in grammars and lexicons, to be merely corresponding forms of different present systems, such as *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* in relation to *kṛnu* (*kuru*) and *kṛnuṣva*, or *pātam* to *pibatam*, or *śrotā* to *śṛṇota*. Contrariwise, some modal pairs rubricated as coming from two different present stems, such as *yukṣva* *yuñkṣva* (§192), may be construed as aorists, such items should, perhaps, be listed in both places. We are inclined to regard the doubtful forms in such pairs as aorists, tho we have followed scholarly tradition in classing *yukṣva* as present. See our discussion §10ff

§209. In Classical Sanskrit the prohibitive with *mā* is regularly an augmentless aorist. In the Veda augmentless imperfects are commoner, and this has produced a group of variants in which augmentless forms of the two tenses vary with each other, in addition to the general instability of the prohibitive moods as summarized in §§181f. The following two rubrics list the tense interchanges in connection with the same mood, first in categorical and then in prohibitive clauses.

§210. *Interchanges of the same mood in different tenses in categorical clauses*

(a) *Imperatives*

tato no abhayam kṛdhi (ŚŚ **kuru*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AB. PB. TB. TA.

AŚ. ŚŚ. (both) ApŚ MŚ. MahānU.

suputrām subhagām kuru (RV. *kṛnu*, SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB.

HG.

patim ekādaśam kṛdhi (SMB. HG. *kuru*) RV. SMB. ApMB HG. In

same stanza as prec. Note that all texts vary the form, except

HG. which has *kuru* both times.

patim me kevalam kuru (AV. ApMB *kṛdhi*) RV. AV. ApMB.

parācānā mukhā kṛdhi (KS. *kuru*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

vi jihṛṣva lokam kṛṇu AV.: *vi jihṛṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA.

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva RV.†: *adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṇuṣva* AV.

(poor meter).

vivasva ādityarṣa te somapīthas tena (KS. *tasmin*) *mandasva*. .TS KS.:

vvasvann (VSK. °*vān*) *ādityarṣa te somapīthas tasmin matsva* VS.

VSK. ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, *Roots*, we regard *matsva* as 4 aor.

rather than present.

āsvinā gharmam pātam (MS. *pibatam*) VS MS ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
pātam may be present.

*dvam gacha svar vinda yajamānāya mahyam MŚ · devān gacha svar
 vinda* (ApŚ *vinda*) etc. TB. ApŚ

rayim grnatsu didhrtam (and *dhāraya*) RV. (both). See *RVRep.* 271,
 528

śrnota (VS ŚB. *śrotā*) *grāvāno viduṣo nu* (VS ŚB. *na*) *yajñam* VS. TS.
 MS KS

devīr āpah śuddhā yūyam devān yuyudhvam (KS *yūdhvam*) MS KS.
 Cf *āpo devīh śuddhāyuvah śuddhā yūyam devān ūdhvam* TS.: *devīr
 āpah śuddhā vodhvam suparivṛitā deveṣu* VS ŚB.

tasmīn (Vait. MŚ. *tasmīns*) *tad eno vasavo ni dhetana* (Vait. *dhattana*)
 RV. TAA Vait MŚ.

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS. ŚB.: *vasūnām rudrāṇām ādityā-
 nām sadasi sīda* TS. TB. ApŚ.

sā mā samiddhāyuṣā samvntām (one ms. *samundhatām*) TA.: *sā mā
 samiddhā samundhīṣatām* MS

See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between
 root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplicating presents, *datta*·
dāta, *dhāntu dhatta*, *dātām*. *dattam*.

(b) *Subjunctives*

sa (AV. *sā*) *nah śarma trwarūtham vi yansat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV.
 MS. KS TB. ApŚ

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait *muñcāte*) RV. Vait. *muñcāte* is
 metrically inferior. But *mucāte* may, less probably, be regarded
 as present, § 192

(c) *Injunctives*

uc chvañcasva (TA. *chmañcasva*) *pṛthivi mā ni bādhatāh* (TA. *vi bādhi-
 thāh*) RV. AV. TA.

(d) *Optatives*

yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhah RV. *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhah*
 TB ApŚ.

pari vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (TB. *vṛñjyāt*) RV TB. Other versions of
 this ancient formula §104, u. The RV. form is archaic.

devasya (*devasyāham*) *savituh save* (*prasave*) *nākam ruheyam* (GB.
roheyam) VS VSK. TS. MS KS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ. LŚ.

marito vūrīta (TS *vṛnīta*, KS *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 See next.

dyumnam (KS * *°ne*) *vṛnīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS. TS.
 MS KS ŚB *vṛnīta* might be called injunctive, but the parallels
 make it preferable to class it as optative

§211 *Prohibitive Injunctives (augmentless preterites)*

Imperfect (one 'pluperfect') and aorist

gṛhā mā bibhāta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ. HG *vepidhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG HG.

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhiṣta* (TA. *bādhiṣtām*, and *bādhetthām*) AV. TA.

mānam agne vr daho mābhī śocah (AV. *śūśucah*) RV AV. TA. AŚ. In a triṣṭubh stanza.

mānām arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS KS. *mānām tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīh* (KS. *śocah*, TS *śūśucah*) VS. TS MS KS.

mā bhairīr (RVKh AV. *bibher*) *na marisyasi* RVKh. AV SMB GG. ApMB.: *na mar° mā bibheh* AV.

ūrdhvas tīṣṭhan mā dvā svāpsīh Kauś. *mā dvā suṣupthāh* (SMB. GG. HG. *svāpsīh*) ŚG SMB GG. PG HG.: *mā suṣupthāh* ŚB. ApMB.: *dvā mā svāpsīh* AG *suṣupthāh* is augmentless preterite perfect, or pluperfect injunctive.

3. TRUE INTERCHANGES OF TENSE

INDICATIVES OF VARIOUS TENSES VARYING WITH EACH OTHER (ALSO A FEW PARTICIPLES)

[§212 These may be called 'true interchanges of tense' in the sense that, in the Veda at any rate, the several tense-forms are commonly understood to carry differences of function. To be sure, as between what we call 'present' and 'preterite', for instance, or between the various types which serve, or may serve, as preterites, the distinctions are not always 'temporal' in a narrow sense. And we shall find here again an elasticity of function quite similar to that which we met in our study of the moods, tho conditioned, of course, by somewhat different circumstances. We shall discuss the examples under three heads a Interchanges between the Preterites, b. Interchanges between Present and the Preterites, and c Interchanges between Future and the other tenses. We may remind the reader that the list of Interchanges between more than two modal varieties (§104) contains several variants which should be added to the following lists.

a. *Interchanges between the Preterites*

§213. The recent work of Renou (*La Valeur du Parfait dans les hymnes védiques*, Paris, 1925) has absorbed and largely superseded most previous

work on the Vedic tenses Chapter III of that book, more especially pages 29-82, is devoted to a searching study of the preterite use of the perfect and its relation to the corresponding uses of the imperfect and aorist The work is carried out with great learning, diligence, and acumen, and its results are not likely to be overthrown in any important respects (cf. the review published in *JAOS.* 49. 64 ff.). Of special interest to us are the remarks on page 41, towards the bottom, where, referring to Bloomfield's article 'On the instability in the use of moods', *AJP* 23 1ff, Renou says 'la variation dans les temps n'est pas moins manifeste.' Such indeed seems from the variants to be the case The aorist was shown long ago by Delbrück *AI Tempuslehre*, 5ff., *Vgl Synt* 2. 240 f to be specially appropriate to facts falling within the experience of the speaker, of which he knows personally, consequently, to recent events, and facts about which special confidence exists or is claimed. Hence what we have referred to as the 'prophetic aorist', which is a special favorite, as we saw, in expressing as already accomplished things which the speaker ardently desires (cf Renou 26f, calling attention to its frequency in magic charms) Hence its variation with the modal forms, described above, and with the present indicative, below. The imperfect and perfect are often used more or less interchangeably referring to events of the remoter past (Renou 30 ff.), such difference as is discernible between perfect and imperfect as narrative tenses appears often in this, that the perfect expresses facts of greater permanence (Renou 49) or importance (65), and is frequently used in standing formulas (64), as distinguished from the normal imperfect of simple narration Meter often plays a part in the choice of tense-form (Renou 45 f), thus in the RV itself we find the variant

ava tmanā dhr̥ṣatā (br̥hatah) śambaram bhīnat (7. 18. 20 *bhet*), 1 54 4 and 7. 18 20,

where *bhīnat*, imperfect, and *bhet*, aorist, are merely *jaḡatī* and *triṣṭubh* forms of precisely the same idea It would be pedantry to try to find any real difference here Metrical convenience certainly plays a part in a number of other variants, tho it is not always as clear as here.

§214. Even the 'prophetic aorist' is paralleled by equally 'prophetic' uses of the other preterites. One evidence of this is the general fact that, as we saw (§§127 ff.), they vary with modal forms only less frequently than the aorist. But further, the aorist appears in direct and apparently unstrained exchange with other preterites, and that too occasionally in places which seem to cry out for a 'prophetic' form. Thus,

trīny āyūnṣi te 'kuraṁ AV, 'I have made three lives for thee.' What could be more 'prophetic' than this aorist, more in keeping with the medicine man's confident blah of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubtless later) form of the same pāda, JUB reads

trīny āyūnṣi me 'kṛnoh, 'thou hast made three lives for me', with imperfect instead of aorist

§215. Again, a formula where our sense demands a perfect, because it refers to Indra's mythic conquests, appears in the RV. itself with perfect and aorist interchanging:

vy āsa (ānad) indrah pṛtanāh svojāh, 'Indra hath conquered all battles, in his great strength'

Can the aorist here possibly be justified as picturing the event as coming within the certain knowledge of the speaker? It seems doubtful. Compare also below, §219, *yena sūryam tamaso nīr amoci (mumoca)*, where aorist and perfect interchange in a pāda for which the imperfect seems demanded by the usual rules.

§216. It is, of course, evident that the mere appearance of the same formula with now one preterite tense, now another, does not prove that both have precisely the same meaning. For it is not difficult to slip from one psychological attitude into another, while still envisaging the same event. And we shall show below (see, e.g., the pāda: *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā ahinvan* etc., §217) that sometimes the alteration is eminently suited to a changed situation. Yet, when all is said and done, and when allowance has been made for the fact that the variants are far less numerous here than in the case of the moods, they seem to show conclusively that there is no very great wrench in substituting one preterite for another, and so furnish presumptive evidence in favor of great laxity in their use.—F. E.]

§217. Imperfect and Aorist

ava tmanā dhṛṣatā (and, *bṛhatah*) *śambaram bhinat* (and, *bhet*) RV. (both).

See above.

trīny āyūnṣi te 'karam (JUB *me 'kṛnoh*) AV JUB. See above.

tābhīh samrabdham anv avindan (TB. *samrabdho avindat*) *ṣaḍ urvīh* AV.

TB. The TB. improves the meter.

avindac charyanāvati (MS. °*dañ śar*°) MS. KS.: *tad vidac charyanāvati* RV. AV. SV. TB.

akarāt sūryavarcaśam ApMB.: *akṛnoh sūryatvacam* RV. AV. JB.:

avakṛṇot sūryatvacam MG.

yadī vṛkṣād abhyapaptat (HG. *vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat*) *phalam* (AV.

phalam tat) AV HG (*yadi vrkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat* ApMB.

apām stoko abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB. °*paptac chivena*; HG. °*patac chivāya*) AV. ApMB HG

ulūkhalā (ApMB. *aulūc*, AV *vānaspatyā*) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG. *akurvata* is shown by the meter to be secondary, the MG. substitutes the ordinary narrative imperfect for the archaic aorist.

ṛtasya yonau (RV *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV. *ahēyata*) RV. TS. KS. ApMB. The aorist is 'the normal tense to describe the operations of the sacrifice' (Renou 31), and so is appropriate to this description of the soma-pressing in RV 9 86 25d. In fact the YV. pāda is a blend of this pāda with RV 10 45. 3d *apām upasthe mahiṣā avaradhan*, and preserves the imperfect which is appropriate to that verse, in a mythic narrative relating to Agni.

pari śya suvāno akṣāh RV (*akṣār*, 3d sing 4 aor). *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV. The SV. has a later and simpler form, which also eases the meter See next

pavitre somo akṣāh (SV *akṣarat*) RV. SV As prec.

asapatnā kilābhuvam (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB. Cf. *asapatnah kilābhuvam* RV. In this and the next four variants phonetic considerations are involved, and help to explain the variation if they do not completely account for it, see §23.

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

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

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

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

apaśyam (and, *adr̥ṣan*) *tvaṅvarohantam* NilarU (both) The second (aor) is a conscious modification of the first (imperf), several stanzas before it, with change of person and number. No more than stylistic reasons can have dictated the change (variety for its own sake, perhaps).

savitā vy akalpayat ŚG.: *sinīvāly aciklpat* AV. The imperfect is clearly secondary; cf. *akarāt: akr̥ṇoḥ* above, to which this is quite similar.

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ. 'po) *aganīgan* (TS. KS ApŚ. *agamat*) VS. TS. MS KSA. ApŚ. MŚ. The imperf. intensive is better than the aorist, as Keith observes on TS. 7. 4. 20. 1; mythic events are referred to

yo mā dadāth sa id eva māvāh (ArS. NrpU. *māvat*) ArS. TB. TA. TU. NrpU N. The comm. on TB. *āvāḥ* = *āvṛṇoti, svīkaroti. āvāḥ*

seems indeed to be 4 aor. 3d sing of $\bar{a} + vr$ But Deussen, 60 Up. 240 and 765 'wer mich ausstellt, der labt mich eben damit.'

[*abhi tvā varcasāsīñcan* (KS. TB °*sīcam*) AV KS TB. But the true AV reading is °*sīcan*, see Whitney's note on 4 S 6.]

§218 Imperfect and Perfect

apām upasthe mahiṣo varardha (RV * VS. ŚB. *mahiṣā arardhan*) RV. (both) AV SV. VS ŚB TA 'In the lap of the waters the mighty one (Agni) throve (thrives)', a statement of permanent truth, in the imperfect version Agni is the object, and the verb is narrative of mythical events, 'the mighty ones increased (Agni).'

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV *vi yo rajānsy amimīta sukṛatuh* RV *agnir hotā nī śasādā yajīyān* RV. TS MS KS · *hotā mandro nī° ya°* RV. MS. KS. TB. *agnir hotā ny asīdad yajīyān* RV. MS KS. AB. AŚ

rṣir hotā ny asīdat (TS † *nī śasādā*) *pitā nah* RV VS TS MS KS. *tvam ā tatanthorv* (ArS *tanor urv*) *antarikṣam* RV ArS VS MS. KS TB. *ny anyā arkam abhito vīśre* (AV. 'vīśanta, JB *vīśyuh*) RV. AV JB ŚB. AA

yā akṛntann awayan yā atanvata (AV. *yāś ca tatnre*) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG Note the precisely parallel verbs, imperf and perf, in AV, apparently the older form, in the others tense-assimilation.

anavas te ratham aśvāya taksan (SV *taksuh*) RV. SV. TS MS. KS But *takṣuh* is regarded by some scholars as aorist, see Renou 56, Wackernagel, I 1, p XV.

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpah TB · *vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpan* AV. *abhi pra nonuvur* (SV. *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV SV *nonuvur* perf. (Whitney, Grammar §1018a), *nonavur* augmentless imperf. But see §23.

aham viveca (KS *astabhnām*) *prthwīm uta dyām* AV KS. *yena tvābadhnāt* (KŚ. *mā°*, TS ApMB * *yam abadhnīta*, MŚ MG. *yaj jagrantha*) *savitā suśevah* (AV °*vāh*, TS. ApMB.* *suketah*; MŚ. MG. *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ. ApMB. MG

prajā ha tīro (AV. JB *tīro ha prajā*) *atyāyam īyuh* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV. JB. ŚB. AA.

kim svīd vanam ka u sa vṛkṣa āsīt (RV. VS. *āsa*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. Renou 43, and next.

āpo bhadrā (MS. KS *devīr*) *ghṛtam id āpa āsan* (TS *āsuh*; MS. *ghṛtam-ivā ū āpah*) AV TS MS. KS Cf prec.

indrāvathuh (VSK °*vadhuh*, KS * TB. ApŚ °*vatam*) *kāvyaṛ* (TB. ApŚ. *karmanā*) *dansanābhīh* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

yena devā amṛtam anv avindan AV. *yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ* RV. *asya made ahim indro jaghāna* RV. *asya made jaritar indro 'him ahan* ŚŚ.

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV. MS KS Kauś SMB. GG KhG. *yā prathamā vyauchat* TS. PG. HG.: *arhanā putravāsasā* (read, *putra uvāsa sā*, see Jorgensen on SMB. 2. 8 1) SMB GG.

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan*) VS. TB If correct, *vavardhayan* would be a nonce-blend of imperf and perf, but Poona ed. of TB reads *yāmannavar°*, and this is doubtless the true reading.

§219. Aorist and Perfect

vy ānad (and, *āsa*) *indrah pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ* RV. (both). See above, §215. *yena śravānsy ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV. Reference is to ancient events, the aor. is inappropriate.

viśvam id dhātam (MS. *dhitam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV AV. SV. MS ApŚ. As prec.

narāśanse (VS. *nārā°*) *somapītham ya āśuḥ* (KS *ānaśuḥ*) VS MS KS. TB. But *āśuḥ* may also, and perhaps preferably, be taken as perfect. The sense certainly does not suggest the aorist

naro yat te duduhur dakṣiṇena TB *naro yad vā te hastayor adhuḥṣan* Vait. Reference is to pressing of the soma, most naturally felt in Vait. as that which has just taken place, the aor. is more appropriate.

yena sūryam tamaso nīr amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS. TA. 'By which (Tṛita) freed (of old) the sun from darkness' An instructive case According to our feeling the imperfect would be required, since reference is to a mythic event Yet TA has the perfect, and MS. the (wholly inappropriate) aorist!

na śim adeva āpat (SV. *āpa tat*) RV SV. ŚŚ. 'No godless man has (ever) attained (or attains, sc. wealth).' A most general statement, to which it would seem that the perfect would be appropriate, yet it is found only in the secondary SV, which may have been influenced by a desire to improve the meter.

achidrośyāḥ kavayāḥ padānutakṣiṣuḥ (so emended; ms. *padāni takṣiṣvat*) KS.: *achidrā usīyāḥ padānu takṣuḥ* TS. Cf. the variant *anavas te* etc, §218.

īsam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS. ApŚ. *ādade*; MS. KS. MŚ *ādī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB ApŚ MŚ.

yad antarīkṣam tad u me (MS.† *nah*) *pīṭābhūt* (VSK *pīṭāsa*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB

vrajāṃ gomantam usiḥo vi vauruh (KS. *usiḥo apa vran*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB 'The eager (fathers, of old) opened the stall of cows' Aorist seems out of place, unless KS feels the act as brought down into the immediate past

vīśvā adhi śriyo dadhe RV : . . *dhita* RV KS. TB . . . *dhiṣe* (present) RV. The aor. '*dhita*' (10 127 1) has Night for subject: 'she has (just now) assumed all glories' The perfect *dadhe* (2 S. 5) is said of Agni, and is a general and more or less permanent statement; and substantially equivalent is the present of 10. 21 3, of which the subject is also Agni Is *dhiṣe* possibly modal? Cf. §165

vāk patanḡāya śiśriye TS *vāk patanḡo aśiśri at* (KS *oḡā aśiśrayuh*) AV. KS See note in Whitney on AV 6 31. 3, and cf Conc
pitur iva nāmāgrabhīsam (ApMB. *°bhaiṣam*, PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG. *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh. See §§206, 267. *jagrabham* is pluperfect.

dyaur yataś cyutad aḡnāv eva tat ApŚ (*dyaur* belongs to the prec *pāda*, and probably *yata ścutad* is the true reading) *°pṛthivyām avacūscotat* TB. ApŚ. *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ.: *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ : *yatra cūscutad aḡnāv evat* MŚ (so emended, but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss., would be *yatra ścutad*) The aorist *aścutat* is quoted only from grammarians in Whitney's *Roots*

§220. Pluperfect and other Preterites

pitur iva nāmāgrabhīsam (*°bhaiṣam*, *nāma jagrabham*). *pitur nāmeva jagrabha*, see just above

prīyām yamas tanvam prārīrcīt (classed as anomalous plup. AV. *tanvam ā rīreca*) RV AV.

punsaḥ kartur mātary āsiṣikta JB *punsaḥ kartrā mātarī mā niṣiñca* (read *niṣiñcata*?) KBU Acc to Deussen, 60 *Up.* 25, three mss of KBU read *mā asiṣikta*

indrāya suṣuvur (MŚ KS *indrāyāsuṣuvur*) madam VS. MŚ. KS TB. But see §267

ayam dhruvo rayīnām ciketa yat (SV. *ciketad ā*) RV. SV. *ciketad* could, of course, be considered modal, but the sense of the passage suggests that it is better taken as augmentless plup. (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §820).

yāś ca (AV. *yā devīr* (SMB *devyo antān* (AV *antān*; PG. *devīs tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (SMB.† *'tatantha*, PG *tatantha*) AV. ApMB SMB. PG The form *'tatantha* is a corruption, evidently felt as 3 plur

plup mid , for °ta (so Stonner, PG comm reads *tatantha* and takes it as 2 sing perf act , despite the impossible sandhi).

toyena jivān vī sasarja (so! TA *vya ca sarja*, comm. v 1 *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA MahānU The text reading of TA is a mere corruption, the variant, an anomalous augmented perfect Hardly belongs here, see §267.

Cf. also the interchange between Present and Pluperfect, §233

b. *Interchanges between Present and the Preterites*

§221. The entire business of tense in the mantras is emasculated, as it were, or at least confused, because these texts are in the main sentimental rather than narrative or historical. Legends and legendary allusions are, of course, narrative, implying some precision in time statements. They occur often enough in the mantras. Indra slew Vrtra, or the Aśvins saved the son of Tugra from the machinations of his father, both in the past. In such cases present or future is unimaginable. But Indra also hath aided, did aid, aids, shall, and will aid him that calls upon him. We are again, a large part of the time, in the domain of modality, either belief, wish, or demand, rather than in the domain of genuinely storable fact. Fixation in point or quality of time becomes precarious, because the thing can be and is supposed to happen in any time. Some of the cases of interchange between present and perfect may concern the 'old' use of the perfect, to express something regarded as permanently established (Renou 7 and *passim*), this is specially suited to such psychological spheres. Thus in

agnim naras triśadhasṭhe sam idhire (SV TS *indhate*) RV SV TS KS 'men have kindled (i.e. regularly do kindle, or, SV. TS., simply kindle) Agni on his three seats', the action described is applicable to any situation and time, RV. conceives it as a quasi-cosmic fact. But, as Renou has shown, even the perfect is normally a preterite tense in the RV, and it is doubtful to what extent we should allow its variation with the present to seduce us into assuming the old, non-preterite function for it. For the other preterites exchange about as commonly with the present as it does, and often it seems clear that whatever difference in meaning exists is purely sentimental, a matter of the way the poet looks at things, rather than factual. So that the line of demarcation between even such tenses as are ordinarily differentiated in Hindu speech is a good deal effaced. In the RV itself we meet the pāda:

ud vām pṛkṣāso madhumanto astihuh (4.45.2 *madhumanta irate*) RV.

4. 45. 2, 7. 60. 4, MS, 'your honeyed steeds (O Aśvins) have started

up (rush forth).’ We take it that what is really meant in both cases is, ‘let them start or rush forth.’ Similarly,

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *marasā so ’yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ., whom we craved (I crave), he hath come.’ The craving is good for all time; a view which would see in the imperfect its regular sense of ‘craved of old’ is of course neither demonstrable nor refutable.

§222. In the sphere of charms and exorcisms especially, where desire hovers before the eye of the speaker, and all results are imaginary, the tenses indifferently lapse into moods, if sounded to the bottom. The formal tense distinction between the prophetic aorist and the present is merged into a substantially identical modal value for both, as in:

abadhiṣma rakṣo taahṣmā . . . asau hōrah VS. etc., ‘we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain’, and *idam aham rakṣo ’va bādhe* VS. etc. ‘I drive off this demon’ Both really mean that the speaker eagerly wants to accomplish the result stated. Naturally, therefore, all the preterites, as well as the present, freely interchange with moods, as we have seen above.

§223. For the rest even in the quasi-narrative sphere of mythology the tenses intermingle because many myths are not sufficiently stable to keep them from doing so. Even the RV. is the final precipitate of ideas and compositions which had a long past—more so the other Vedic texts. Mythic ideas, such as the freeing of the light cows from the demonic Paṇis, are thrown forward into the present, as if to be performed over again at the moment, where they mean extracting *dakṣina*-cows from grudging non-sacrificers. Many other mythic ideas refer not only to definite events in the past, but to habitual performances in harmony with the subject or character of the myth. Thus the pious, sacrificing sages of the Aṅgiras or Uśij character figure primarily in the past, but easily reproduce themselves in the present.

sarasvatim sukrto ahvayanta (AV *havante*) RV AV KS, ‘the pious called (call) upon Sarasvati’ To be sure, AV. comm. reads *ahvayanta*.

tām dhīrāśah kavayo ’nudiśyāyajantu (v. 1 and p. p. °*drśyā*°) MS : *tām dhīrāso anudrśya* (VSK. °*drśya*) *yajante* (KS. † *anudrśyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *tām u dhīrāso anudrśya yajante* VS. ŚB, ‘her (earth) looking after (pointing to) the sages worship(ped)’

§224. Even an epithet like *prathama* is not sufficient to prevent this transfer to the present, if we may trust Knauer’s quotation from an unedited part of MŚ.:

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB. ApŚ. °*māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ. *āsate*) PB TB.

ApŚ MŚ, 'the all-creators of yore performed (perform) a *sattra*-session'

§225. In these cases the presents are logically inferior; in two at least, and probably in all three, they represent secondary readings. But no great wrench is required in order to use them. Similarly in. *oṣadhayah sam vadante* (VS *avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS., 'the plants confer(red) together'

yatrauṣadhīh samagmata RV. VS. *yad oṣadhayah samgachante* (KS. *samagmata*) TS MS. KS. 'where (when) the plants have come (come) together'

These passages allude to slender, myth-like conceptions which may just as well be conceived in the present as in the past.

§226 It may also be remembered that occasionally a present, at all periods of the language, is 'historical', that is used of past events to add liveliness to the narrative. All these considerations, together with the instability of oral tradition, which at times doubtless introduces really faulty variants, account sufficiently for the considerable number of interchanges between present and all sorts of preterites.

§227. We have alluded above to the special position of the perfect, the use of which has recently been made the object of Renou's study. We may conclude these introductory remarks by mentioning a few variants in which perfect forms seem either certainly or very probably to have no preterite value whatever.

anu vām ekah pavir ā vavarta (TB *vavartī*) RV. MS. TB. 'one wagon-tire rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuna).' The present of TB, the secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on *vavarta*. *prajāh puṣa purudhā vi rājati* RV. VS : *prajāh pīpanti bahudhā vi rājati* SV ArS MS. KS. ApŚ. 'he prospers (furthers) our offspring manifoldly' etc.

sam sūryena rocate (SV *didyute*, VS **didyutat*) RV. SV. VS. (both) MS. ŚB. TA. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg* 345. Of course *didyutat* may be modal

nindati *two anu two grnāti* (MS *vavanda*) MS. KS.: *pīyati* *two anu two grnātī* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. N. 'some blame, others praise.' Here the perfect *vavanda*, replacing the present *grnāti* and matching the present *nindati*, can be put down with almost mathematical certainty as non-preterite.

§228 The variants are divided into four groups: Present and Imperfect, Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect respectively. We have not thought it worth while to burden our lists with such a ritual litany as

MS 4. 9. 23-21, where, first, ritual situations are approached anticipatorily, with verbs in the present or future indicative, or in various moods; and then, after the completion of the rite, the same litany is repeated practically verbatim with change of the verbs to preterites, as e.g. *agne vratapate vratam carisyāmi . acārṣam*. A close parallel to this passage in TA. 4. 41. 1-6.

§229. Present and Imperfect

ulūkhālā (ApMB. *aul°*) *grāvāno ghosam akrata* (MG. *akurrata*) ApMB. HG. MG : *aulūkhālāḥ sampravadanti grāvānah* SMB : *vānaspatyā grāvāno ghosam akrata* AV Aorists also concerned here.

catuṣpadīm anv emi (AV. *aitad*) *vratena* RV. AV On the anomalous form *aitat* see Whitney-Lanman on AV. 18. 3 40.

yam auchāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ *sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta* (AV. *havante*) RV. AV. KŚ. But AV. comm *ahvayanta*

tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta etc , see §223

prasnāpayanty ūrminam (SV °*yanta ūrmayah*) RV SV. Note hiatus in SV.

sam bāhūbhyām dhamatī (MS °*yām adhamat*) *sam patatrāḥ* RV. VS. MS. MahānU. ŚvetU And others, see §50

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam (and, *śikṣathah*) RV (both).

uro vā padbhīr (Kaus. *padbhīr*) *āhate* (Kaus. SMB. °*ta*; but Jørgensen °*te*) TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kaus SMB

śrīnānā apsu mṛṅjata (SV. *mṛṅjate*) RV SV

yam narmanthato aśvinā RV ApMB HG. MG : *yābhyām nirmanthātām aśvinā devau* ŚB. BrhU

uta gāva vādanti (TB. *wādan*) RV TB

vśvasṛjah prathame (TB. ApŚ. °*māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ *āsate*) PB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

surayā mūtrāj janayanti (VS † °*ta*) *retah* VS. TB. : *surāyā mūtrāj janayanta* (KS. † °*ti*) *retah* MS. KS

ośadhayah sam vadante (VS *sam avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.

gāvau te sāmanāo itah (AV. *aitām*) RV. AV.

asurās tvā nyakhanan AV : *nīcāḥ khananty asurāḥ* AV.

andhena yat (TA. *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA. °*si*) AV. TA.

sapta svasāro abhi sam navante (AV. *navanta*) RV. AV. The AV. form may be considered injunctive.

adhāyata (ŚŚ. °*te*) *devarātah* AB. ŚŚ.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS. °*nām huva*) *ūlaye* TS. MS. KS.

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV. Phonetic corruption in SV.; see §23, end

āsūn va suyamān ahva ūtaye AV : *āsūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS. MS KS. *mano nv ā huvāmahe* (Vait °*hu*, VS. ŚB. KŚ Kauś *huvāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS AB. ŚB AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ. ApS. Vait. Kauś. See §2.

§230 Present and Aorist

ulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata, etc , see §229.

ud vām prkṣāso etc , see §221.

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

dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urvyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB. ApMB.

gāyatrena chandasā pṛthvīm anu vi krame TS.: *pṛthivyām* (KS. °*vīm*) *viṣnur* (MS. *viṣnuh pṛthivyām*) *vyakransta gāyatrena chandasā* VS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ. And the same with *traṣṭubhena.. antarikṣam*, and *jāgatena divam*.

yad rātriyāt (and, *ahnāi*) *kurute pāpam* TAA : *yad rātriyā* (MahānU. TA v l. *rātriyā*; also, *ahnā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akārīṣam*) TA MahānU. See §30

prānasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB *asmi*, HG. *abhūr asau*) AG. ApMB. HG. MG

brahmacaryam āgām (MG *upemasi*, Kauś text *āgam*, unnoted in Conc., perhaps misprint) ŚB Kauś. SMB. GG PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG A metrical pāda is produced in MG. out of what is prose in the others, the context is different.

yadā tvam abhivarṣasi PraśU . *yadā prāno abhyavarṣit* AV.

pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtam AV . *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV SV. PB

gṛhān aumi (LŚ HG *emi*, ApŚ *āgām*) *manasā modamānah* (AV. *sumand vandamānah*, ApŚ * *modamānah suvarcāh*, LŚ. *manasā darvena*) AV. VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum *asau hatah* (VSK. *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *avadhiṣma rakṣah* TS. MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ.: *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. MS KS. ŚB ApŚ MŚ

ye sarpāh tebhya imam balim ahārṣam AG.. *ye pārthivāh sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi* HG.

rūpam vo *rūpeṇābhyaṃ* (KS. *rūpeṇābhyaṅāṃ*) *īyasā īyāh* MS. KS.
MŚ.: *rūpeṇa vo rūpam abhy āṅāṃ* (TS. ApŚ. *nirū*) VS. VSK. TS.
ŚB. ApŚ.

sam ākūṭir (RVKh. erroneously, *ākūṭir*) *namāmasi* (MS. *anaisata*)
RVKh. AV. MS.

pra cām ratho manojavā asarjī (and, *iyarti*) RV. (both)
samānavartī (MS. MŚ. *samāvṛtat*) *prthivī* VS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.
MŚ.

devā madhor vy aśnate (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

yasmād bhūtā (and, *bhūto*) *nīśidasi* MŚ : *yasmād bhūṣū nīśidasi* (TB. ApŚ.
nyasadah. ŚŚ. nyasadah) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thru fear of
which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down).'

Participles:

tṛpat (SV. *tṛmpat*) *somam apībad iṣṇunā sutam yathāvaśat* (SV. †° *śam*)
RV. AV. SV. TB

§231. Present and Perfect

yasyām karmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ *kṛvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yām karmāṇi cakrire*
AV.

na hi te nāma jagrāha AV.. *na hy asyā* (ApMB *asya*) *nāma grbhūāmi*
RV ApMB.

catustrinśat tantavo ye vi tatnue VS · *trayastrinśat tantavo ye vi tatnire*
(MS *yam vitanvate*, KS AŚ. *yām vitanvate*) TS MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

atra śravānsi dadhire RV. · *tatra sravānsi kṛvate* SV.

purūvasur hi maghavan babhūvitha (RV *sanād asi*) RV. SV.

caratī ananuvratā ApMB. HG : *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ.: *vicarantī*
apativratā ŚG. MDh. (Pres. pple. in the last.) The parallel verb
in the preceding pāda is perfect in all, ApŚ. assimilates the tense
in this pāda.

yasmāj jātā na parā nava kim canāsa (VS *jātam na purā kim canava*)
VS TA.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ : *yasmād*
anyo na paro asti jātah PB.: *yasmād anyan na param kivi canāstī*
Vait.: *yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. 'sti) VS. TB. KŚ.
ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU. · *yasmāt param nāparam asti kim cit* TA.
MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na parah kim canāsa* RV. TB :
tasmād vai nānyat param asti tejah AV.: *yasmān nānyat param asti*
bhūtam AV.

ād ut prthivī ghṛtair vy udyate TS : *ād id ghṛtena prthivī vy udyate* (AV.
prthivīm vy ūduh) RV AV MS KS N

ye prthivyās samājagmur iṣam ūrjam vasānāh KS.: *samāgachantīṣam*
ūrjam vasānāh (ApŚ *duhānāh*) MS ApŚ.

agnim naras tṛṣadhasthe sam ṛdhire (SV. TS *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS.
agnim indhe (RV. *ṛdhe*) *vivasabhīh* RV SV

anu vām ekah pavr ā vavarta (TB. °*ti*) RV. MS. TB.

nahr tad drśyate divā (ApŚ *tad dadrše divā*, HG. *tad divā dadrše divah*)
 AV. ApŚ HG.

manye (KS. *mene*) *bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi* AV TS MS. KS

yac cham ca yoś ca manur āyeje (TS *āyaje*) *pitā* RV. TS KS. The TS.
 reading is anomalous in form and meaning, and is obviously due to
 metrical considerations (better cadence)

yadi vāham anṛtadeva āsa (AV °*devo asmi*) RV AV

prajāh pīpartī bahudhā (RV. VS *puṣosa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV. SV. ArS.
 VS. MS KS ApŚ

eṣu vānaspatyeṣu ye 'dhi tasthuh AV.. *eṣu vṛkṣeṣu vānaspatyeṣu āsate*
 ApMB

pīyati (MS KS *nindati*) *tvo anu tvo grnāti* (MS *vavanda*) RV. VS TS.
 MS KS. ŚB. N.

apām napātam pari tasthur (ArS °*tam upa yanty*) *āpaḥ* RV. ArS TS.
 MS. KS

sam tvā tatakṣuh (LŚ °*kṣnuh*) Vait LŚ KŚ If *tatakṣnuh* is entitled
 to standing, it is a nonce blend of perfect and present (*takṣnuwanī*)
indrasya tvā jathare sādāyāmi (AŚ *dadhāmi*) VSK. KB. GB AŚ ŚŚ
 LŚ ApŚ Kauś. *brahmana indrasya tvā jathare dadhuh* MŚ † See
 §315.

dāsyann adāsyann uta sam grnāmi (TA *uta vā kariṣyan*, and so AVPPP.,
 Barret, JAOS 30 213) AV. TA *adāsyann agna uta samgrnāmi*
 AV.: *adutsan vā samjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. *dhīpsyam vā samcakara*
janebhyaḥ MS *yad vādāsyān samjagārā janebhyaḥ* TB

§232. Present and other Participles

Since Renou has shown (121-38) that participles in the Veda often
 appear to be independent of the finite stems with which they are for-
 mally connected, we list the participial variants in a separate list The
 first six variants all occur in the same context, soma is referred to:

yamah sūyamānah VS : *yamo 'bhīṣutah* TS. KS.

rudra āhutah TS.: *rudro hūyamānah* VS. KS.

pitaro nārāśansāh sannah (VSK. *sādyamānah*) VS. VSK.: *pitṛṇām nār-*
āśansah TS.

viṣnuh śipviṣta ūrāv (VSK † *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS. † VSK : *śipviṣta āsādītah*
 (KS † °*viṣta ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS.

asurah krīyamānah (KS *krītah*, VS *panyamānah*) VS. TS KS.

riśve devā arisusu nyarobāh (VSK. *nyarobā māneṣu*) VS. VSK.

uttīṣṭhāns | ŚŚ. *uttīṣṭasi* | *tracī bhāṭ* | AB ŚŚ.

jayānāh (SV. *janāyān*) *sāryam apīno a kath* RV. SV. See §238, end.
atārātram varṣan pūrta r ārt (MS. *atārṣān pūrta rārt*; KS. *rarṣān*
pūrta rārt) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

tepāno (SV. *tapāno*) *deva varṣasāh* RV. SV.

samākurānāh (TB *samācūrānāh*) *praruho ruhas ca* AV. TB.

dhṛṣṭānam (AV. °no, read °ṣam acc. to Whitney: AA. *dādṛṣṭānam*)

dhṛṣṭam (AV. °taḥ, Whitney em. °tam) *śauah* AV. AA. ŚŚ.†

harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭi (TB. °atā) *maruṭāh* RV. TB. N. *dhṛṣṭā* is an ad-
 verbial instr. of the pres act. pple.

[*viśvasyām riśi praviśiśvānsam* (KS. °viśvānam, quoted in Conc. as
praviśānam) *īmahe* TS MS KS. See §§69, 273.]

§233. Present and Pluperfect

rudrān devān yajñenāpīpreṃ ApŚ. *rudrān prīṇāmi* Vait.

c. Future and other Tenses

§234. The future is rare in the Mantras, its place being taken by the moods, especially the subjunctive. Its own modal value comes to the fore notably in its interchanges with the moods (§177); and in the rare instances where it interchanges with preterite indicative forms, it is rather as a mood than as a tense (§134). For this reason the few scattering finite futures varying with preterite tenses are treated above. Here are gathered, first, a couple of variants between present and future indicatives, and between present and future participles, and then a group of variations between future participles on the one hand and aorist and perfect participles on the other. Some of the future-aorist cases, concerning sigmatic forms on either side, have obvious phonetic bearings which have been dealt with in §§27f. The present-future cases need no comment; since the present designates not a point of time but a quality of action, it is always ready for use as a future. See also §104, c.

Below, in §248a, we shall find a few cases of verbal nouns in *tar* (nominative, *tā*) varying with finite verb-forms; attention may be called to them here, because they are forerunners of the later periphrastic future (Whitney §946).

(a) Present and Future

tebhya imam balim hariṣyāmi tebhya imam balim ahārṣam ApMB.:

tebhyo namo 'stu balim ebhyo harāmi PG. *tebhyo balim puṣṭikāmo*

harāmi (AG *dadāmi*) TAA. MahānU AG. Cf. *balim ebhyo harāmīmam* PG

agne vratapate vratam ālapsye (KS *ālabhe*) MS. KS. MŚ. Cf. *agne vratapate vratam carīṣyāmi* VS etc, see Conc.

(b) *Participles, Present and Future*

agnim khananta (TS *khanīṣyanta*) *upasthe asyāh* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *bhūtam asi bhavad asi* Kauś · *bhūtam asi bhaviṣyad asi* ŚŚ. 8 21 3.

(c) *Participles, Aorist and Future*

ratho na vājam sanīṣyann (SV *sanīṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. See §28, and Bloomfield, *SBE*. 42 418

(*net tvā*) *dadhr̥g vidhakṣyan paryañkhaṣyāte* (AV *vidhakṣan pariñkhaṣyātar*) RV. AV.: *net tvā dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhaṣyātar* TA See §27 The AV. reading was probably *vidhakṣyan*.

samhānāya svāhā VS MS.: *samhāsyate svāhā* TS KSA

(d) *Participles, Perfect and Future*

(*suṣvāṇāsa indra stumasi tvā*) *sasavānsaś ca* (SV. *sanīṣyantaś cit*) *tuvr̥nmna vājam* RV SV. 'We praise thee, O Indra, strong in manhood, after we have pressed (the soma) and after we have gained (or, about to gain) booty.'

vājam tvāgne jīgīvānsam sasanvānsam (and, *jeṣyantam sanīṣyantam*) *sammārjmi* Vait. (both).

CHAPTER V. THE SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

§235. Of the conjugations included by Whitney under this heading, one, the Passive, has been treated above in the chapter on Voice, where it naturally belongs. Another, the Desiderative, is patently a mood in function, and appears in the Variants only in a very few cases where it interchanges with other moods; it has been treated in that connexion (§178) This leaves the Intensive, Causative, and Denominative The interchanges concerning them are not numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, do they mark any very important conditions or tendencies in the language of the mantras.

1. INTENSIVE

§236. As the intensive is a fairly frequent form in the Veda, the natural affinity between such ideas as 'lead forth' 'drag out', 'call': 'clamor', 'kill'. 'slaughter', etc , manifests itself in corresponding interchanges between intensive and primary verb Occasionally the interchange is promoted by another, outside locution; thus in the example *tam sarasvantam avase huvema (havāmahe, johavīmi)*, we detect contamination with RV. 1. 34 12 *śr̥nvantā vām avase johavīmi*, or RV. 3 62. 2 *śaśvattamam avase johavīti*—In two examples, the last of our list, the form of the intensive itself is varied.—Of course all intensive forms are reduplicated, most of the alternative forms in the list are not reduplicated, but in the first four they likewise show reduplication

pavamānasya jañghnatah (SV PB. *ṅghnatah*) RV. SV PB
indro vrtrāni jighnate (ŚŚ. *jañghanat*) RV AV ŚŚ The ŚŚ passage is in a different context.

asndrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (TS *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nidhītah*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB See §248.
sarasvatyā (AV. °*tyām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; AV. erroneously *maṅāv*; SMB. *vanāva*, corrected in Jorgensen to *manāv*) *acar-kr̥ṣuḥ* (KS. *acakar*°, v. l. *acarkr*°; SMB. *car̥kr̥dhi*, but Jorgensen *acakar̥ṣuḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. See §136. Jorgensen assumes that *acakar̥ṣuḥ* is a phonetic variant of *acark*°, by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*, KS. *johavīmi*) RVKh. AV. TS. etc , see §78

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG. *yūdhvam*) ApŚ. MŚ HG : *mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yuñgdhvam* AŚ. : *mā vo 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* Kauś *dakṣiṇam* (and, *soṃyam*) *pādam avanenīze* AB. SMB. GG. : *imau pādāv avanīktau* Kauś.

upaveṣopaviddhi nah TB. ApŚ. : cf. *veṣo 'sy upaveṣo dvīṣato grīvā upa veriddhi* VSK.

yam tvām ayam (TS. KS. *tvāyam*) *svadhītis tejamānah* (TS KS. *tetiṣānah*; MS. *tiḡmatejāh*) RV. TS MS. KS.

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ. 'po) *aganīgan* (TS KSA. ApŚ. *agamāt*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ MŚ.

ava devānām yaja hedo agne AV. : *agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ Both *iyakṣva* and *ikṣva* are problematic, see §193. *pra bādhamānā* (RV. and p.p of MS. *prabābadhānā*) *rathyeva yāti* RV. MS.

Variant forms of Intensive

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB. : *ni jalgulīti* (KSA.† ed. *jalgalīti* by em., ms. *jalgalūti*) *dhānkā* TS. KSA. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 1002d; *galgalīti* is irregularly reduplicated

kanīkhunad va sāpayan TB. : *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. Unintelligible stuff.

2 CAUSATIVE

§237. The interchanges of the causative are grouped under four heads:

a. Perhaps the most frequent and typical are those in which a neuter verb with subject expressed or implied is transposed to causative verb with another subject. The nominative subject of the first form then becomes accusative object in the second form. Thus in one and the same text (AV), *vedīr bhūmīr akalpata*, 'the earth shaped itself into a vedī' *vedīm bhūmīm kalpayitvā*, 'he having shaped the earth into a vedī' Or, in different texts, *apām sadhiṣi sīda* TS. *apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS ŚB

b. In a few cases, not all of them clear in their bearings, the causative still has causative meaning, being thus distinguished from the primary verb; but the subject and object remain the same, so that there is a more or less definite variation in the sense of the passage.

c. In a considerable number of cases, perhaps nearly as many as in the first group, causative and primary appear indifferently with the same meaning; these are, in other words, early examples of the fading out of the distinctive causative meaning of verb-forms in *aya*, which in

the later language becomes so noticeable, and which led in the Pāli-Pra-krit languages to the vast extension of the *-paya-* type, as a more clear and unmistakable causative formation

d. Different forms of the causative

a. *Causatives and primary verbs with transfusion of construction, resulting in equivalence of meaning in both clauses*

§238 There may be discovered in some of these cases a flavor of greater assurance or certainty in the causative form of expression, which would possibly bring these variants into the general sphere of modal variations. Nevertheless it seems to us that in general they are hardly more than mechanical equivalents. Besides the two cases mentioned above, we find:

viśvāsu tvā dikṣu sādāyāmi KS. ApŚ. *viśvāsu dikṣu sīda* MS ApŚ MŚ.
arnave tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB : *arnave sadane sīda* TS
ApŚ.

sarīre (MS *sahlle*) *tvā sadane sādāyāmi* VS. MS KS ŚB : *sahlle sadane sīda* TS.

samudre tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS. MS KS. ŚB : *samudre sadane sīda* TS.
apām tvā ksaye sādāyāmi VS MS KS ŚB : *apām kṣaye sīda* TS

apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi samudrasyoḍmann avatāś chāyāyām MS.
MŚ : *apām tvodman sādāyāmi* VS. TS MS KS ŚB *apām gam-bhan sīda* VS. ŚB.

prthivyā mūrdhan sīda yajñīye loke KS : *prthivyās tvā mūrdhan sādāyāmi yajñīye loke* ApŚ.

un nambhaya prthivīm TS. MS. KS ApŚ. 'split open the earth': *pra nabhasva prthivī* AV. 'burst open, O earth' AVPpp agrees with the others

evam aham āyusā medhayā varcasā samedhiṣṭya SMB. *evam mām āyusā samedhaya* ApMB HG Cf. *brahmavarcasenānnādyena samedhaya* AG HG. 'May I prosper (make me to prosper) with life' etc

brahmavarcasam māgamayāt TS 'let holy splendor come to me': *brahmavarcasam mā gamayet* Vait 'let him make holy splendor come to me.'

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB. ŚŚ. *mā cakrā avṛtsata* MS. †: *apa cakrāni var-taya* TB. ApŚ.

drnhantām daivīr viśah kalpantām manuṣyāh KS. †: *kalpayatam daivīr viśah kalpayatam mānuṣyāh* TB. ApŚ.

rṣayah (sc. *trpyantu*) AG. ŚG. (om) *rṣīns tarpayāmi* BDh. Also with *nakṣatrāni*, etc.

agnis tṛpyatu ŚG : (om) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh.

brahmā (sc. *tṛpyatu*) AG. ŚG : (om) *brahmānam tarpayāmi* BDh. Also with *prajāpatiḥ*, *viṣṇuḥ*, *vāyuh*, etc.

saṃjīvā (ApŚ. AŚ *^o*vkā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ. *imam amum*) *saṃjīva-yata* MS AŚ. (bis) ApŚ . *saṃjīvā stha saṃjīvyāsam* AV.

uttamam nākam (VS. MS KS. ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS. MS KS ŚB. *rohayānam*, TA. *rohemam*) AV VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB TA The TA. version may be rendered at a pinch, 'ascend thou this highest heaven.' But the meter, and text-chronology, show that it is really a corruption, phonetic in character (*aya*, *aye e*)

jaṅñānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaḥ* RV. SV. 'Born, thou didst swell the sun (begetting the sun, thou didst swell him) with light.'

We may add one similar case in which the reduplicated (causative) aorist figures, cf. §201:

gaṇān me mā vi tīrṣaḥ (MŚ. ^o*ṣat*) TS. MŚ 'do not make my troops go thirsty': *gaṇā me mā vi tīrṣan* VS. TS. ŚB. 'may my troops not go thirsty.'

§239. b. *Causative and primary verbs with corresponding change of meaning*

te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛnvantu LŚ. 'they (waters) shall flow, shall rain, shall perform': *te varṣantu te varṣayantu* AV 'they rain, they cause to rain'

maṇḍūkyā su saṃgamah (TA. *gamaya*) RV † TA.: *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV. 'Unite (thyself, or, unite it, sc. the ominous funeral fire) with the female frog' Addressed to the water-plant (or plants) which are spoken of in the preceding pādas. The AV has a mere corruption. TA. comm reads *mandūkyāsu* (= *maṇḍūka-plavanayogyāsv apsu*) *saṃgamaya* (= *imam pretadeham prāpaya*, which is unintelligent).

(*vi na indra mṛdho jahī*) *kanīkhunad iva sāpayan* (AŚ *canīkhudad yath-āsapam*) TB. AŚ. Dubious; TB comm. connects *kanīkhunad* with *khan*; cf Whitney, *Roots*, s. v *khud*

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB. ŚŚ. See §30.

Participles·

viṣṇuḥ śipwīṣṭa ūrāv (VSK. *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS VSK *śipwīṣṭa āsādītaḥ* (KS ^o*viṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS. KS Both forms may be rendered by the English 'seated', yet the sense is not quite the same, since *sannah* is neuter (intransitive), 'having taken his seat', while the other forms mean 'having been (or being) seated, given a seat.'

rucito gharma MS. KB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ · *rocito gharma*
rucīya TA.

deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣu ā MS.: *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣu*
asī TA

c *Causative and primary verbs, both in the same sense*

§240 The line between this and the last group is not always easy to draw, but in most of the following instances, at any rate, there seems to be no real difference in meaning between the causative verb-form and the non-causative, while in the preceding we seem to find at least a shade of difference. The meaning is, of course, always transitive, unless middle, and generally the primary verb is capable of an intransitive meaning too, which may often be suspected of being the older. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether we should speak of 'causative in primary sense' or of 'primary in causative sense' In the RV itself we find such pairs as

mādayasva (and, *mandasvā su*) *svarnare*, 'enjoy thyself at Svarnara('s sacrifice)', or,

mitro janān yātayati bruvānah, 3 59 1, and *janam ca mitro yatati bruvānah*, 7. 36. 2· 'calling himself Mitra, he orders (sets in order) the folk' (somewhat differently Geldner, *Wed St* 3 15ff). To find a difference in these cases would seem to us like hearing the grass grow. And, if possible even more surely, there cannot be the slightest difference in the following:

ud vandanam arayatam svar dṛṣe 1. 112. 5, *ud vandanam aratam dansanābhāh* 1 118 6, 'ye (Aśvins) brought forth Vandana' etc.

In the Vāḷakhilya passages *yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah*, and, *yam te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayah*, the form *svadayanti* may not be causative, see §194.

§241 In the following list the approximation of the causative stem *janaya* to its primary correspondent is worthy of note. In the RV. already it is practically impossible to differentiate these two forms in the active, as in 3 31 15, *indro ajanad sūryam*: 9. 110. 3, *ajjano hi pavamāna sūryam*

iśām svasṛ ajanayat (MS. *svar ajanan*, KS. † *svasṛ* [ms. *svasūr*] *ajanan*)
pañca-pañca TS. MS. KS. The TS. is poor metrically.

madhu janīṣye (AV. *janīṣīya*) AV. TS. TA. ŚŚ. 'I shall (may I) generate honey': *madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayīṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati*
JB.

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*;
TS. ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV. AV. VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

arejetām (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā g.rā* RV. TB The meter shows that TB. has a mere blunder, phonetic in character (hyper-Sanskritic *aya* for *e*, as a reaction against dialectic *e* for *aya*; our Phonetic Variants will show a considerable number of analogous cases) It is more or less the reverse of what has happened in the variant *uttamam nākam* etc., §233.

ūrdhvām enām (VS ŚB. LŚ also, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS. ŚB. also, *uc chrāpaya*, MS *uñ chrāpaya*) VS TS. MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait LŚ. ApŚ. Both forms (in adjoining verses in VS. etc.) mean simply 'lift her (him) up'

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

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA. *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayān*) AV AA ŚŚ See §140.

ud dharsantām maghavan vājūnān AV *ud dharsaya maghavann* (AV. *satvanām*) *āyudhān* RV AV. SV. VS TS See §30 This variant properly belongs here since the difference in meaning between the verbs is obviously due to the difference of voice, not to that between causative and primary.

prāṇam me tarpayata (ŚŚ *tṛpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ *satyena tvābhīghārayāmi* (AŚ 'bhīgharmi) TS. MS AŚ MŚ 'I sprinkle thee with truth.' Cf *satyābhīghṛtam* (KS 'tam asi) *satyena tvābhīghārayāmi* MS. KS

athaithe dhiṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva HG. *atho yatheme dhiṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG.: *ime ye dhiṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read 'ntām) AG.: *punar agnayo dhiṣnyā* (ŚŚ 'yāso) *yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV. *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva* ŚŚ *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*) AV. ŚB. BrhU ŚŚ. Cf *yathāsthānam kalpayadhvam* ApŚ.

sūctbhīḥ śamyantu (TS. KSA. *śamyantu*, MS. *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS KSA

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both *śamyantu* and *śamayantu* seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill'. For *śamyantu* see Keith on TS. 5. 2. 11. 1.

vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu AV.: 'Vaiśvānara the purifier shall purify me': *vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān nah pavitraiḥ* TA. 'Vaiśvānara shall purify us with purifiers.'

[*nama uccairghoṣāyākrandayate* VS. TS. *nama ākrandayata uccairghoṣāya* MS. KS.† The Conc quotes *ākrandata* for KS.]

d. *Different forms of the Causative*

§242 In a few cases the grade of the root varies between the *guna* and *vr̥ddhi* stages (Whitney, *Grammar* 1042e, g), and in one the stems *sūdaya* and *svadaya* interchange, but the 'causative' value is here somewhat dubious.

yavayārātīh VS. TS. ŚB. *yavayārātīm* (KS. and MS. p. p. *yāv°*) MS. KS. Kauś.

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS. *yavayāsmad dveṣah* TS. VS. ŚB. Kauś : *yavaya* (v. 1 *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS : *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TS. *vasoṣpate ni ramaya* (N. and 2 mss. of AV. *rām°*) AV. N : *vasupate vi ramaya* MS

agnir havyam (RV. KS. *havīh*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS The AV. reading is metrically poor

[*tatra havyāni gāmaya* (KS. Conc. *gamaya*; but von Schroeder reads *gām°* with one of three mss.) RV. KS TB ApŚ MŚ]

3. DENOMINATIVE

§243 The variants under this head are few Most of them concern different vocalism before the denominative sign *ya*: *a*-stems appearing with *a* or *ā* (Whitney §1059 a, b), and variations between *i* and *ī*, zero and *ī*, in this position. These changes were possibly rhythmic in origin, compare §§259ff. below, and see our volume on Phonetics, which will deal more systematically with such cases

devān devayate (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ. *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ MŚ.

agne prehi prathamo devayatām (AV. *devatānām*; MS KS. *devāyatām*) AV. VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. *amitrā°*) RV. AV. TS KS

janīyanti nāv agravaḥ AV.: *janīyanto nv agravaḥ* RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

putrīyantah (AV *putrīyanti*) *sudānavah* RV AV. SV. In the same stanza as the prec., the *ī* (*i*), in place of stem-final *a* (*putra*), is probably suggested by the *ī* (*i*) of *janīya-* (stem *janī*, *janī*); cf. however Whitney §1059d.

devā devebhyo (MS. *deveṣv*) *adhvaryanto* (KS *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB.

apo vrnānah pavate kavīyan (TS. *kavīyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

The remaining variants are unclassifiable. In the next following, both *a-* and *aya-* stems are best regarded as denominatives (*dikṣā*)—*agnir dikṣitah pṛihvī dikṣā sā mā dikṣā dikṣayatu* (JB. *dikṣeta*) JB.

ApŚ. And others; see §§79, 160

In a single case a sigmatic aorist from a denominative interchanges with a problematic reduplicated aorist made from a primary root: *amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam* (Kaus. °gam yathālokam) *āvṛṣāyṛṣata* (AŚ. °yṛṣata, ŚŚ *avīvrṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ LŚ. Kaus. SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 285.

The stem *hr̥ṣya*, in *vājebhir mā hr̥ṣyathāḥ* SV.: *mā hr̥ṣāhā abhy asmān* RV., is considered a denominative by some authorities; but see §195.

CHAPTER VI. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

(In a broad sense, including participles, gerunds, etc.)

§244 We have previously dealt, as part of the chapter on modal variations, with a number of instances in which a perfect passive participle with or without copula interchanges with a modal form (§§143f.). Those cases are to be regarded as part of this chapter also. Additional interchange between finite verbs and verbal nouns is found on a considerable scale, and is here treated under three aspects. First, a finite form interchanges with a verbal noun without copula, most commonly a past participle, which performs the same function as a finite verb. Second, the finite form exchanges with a periphrastic combination of verbal noun plus copula or similar verbal form. Thirdly, in a combination of two coordinate finite verb forms, one exchanges with an attributive verbal noun which leans on the other verb in syntactic dependence.

1. *Interchange between predicative finite verbs and independent predicative verbal nouns without copula*

§245. Such cases are quite numerous. The older grammar was in the habit of defining this type of verbal noun as the elliptic residue of a combination of verbal noun and copula, the copula being 'understood' or 'supplied'. These correspondences support the now generally accepted theory that the verbal nouns in question perform rather the function of predicate verbs, directly and of themselves. They are far more frequent than the cases in which the copula is expressed (see 2, below), the copula is quite superfluous and originally was, no doubt, expressed only for emphasis or for some special reason. A good example of the perfect equivalence of such finite verbs and verbal nouns, without copula, is seen in the opening pādas of RV. 10. 17. 12 and 13 respectively: *yas te drapsa skandah yas te anśuh*, and *yas te drapsa skanno yas te anśuh*.

§246. In many of these cases the finite verb is active, the participle passive. These belong not only in this group, but also in the larger class of Active and Passive; see §§80ff. We begin with them:
yuktās tīro vimṛjah sūryasya PB.: *yunajmi tīro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te*
(MŚ. *tīro vīṛtaḥ sūryaḥ sava [iti]*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha PB · *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena te* (MŚ.
tena) saha TS ApŚ. MŚ

manyunā kṛtam BDh. *manyur akārṣit* TAA MahānU. ApDh.

śtrasā dhārayiṣyāmi (MahānU. *dhāritā devī*) TA MahānU.

caritrāns te śundhāmi VS ŚB. *śuddhās caritrāh* TS. ApŚ.

stomasya dhāman nihitam (KS *nyadhām*) *puriṣyam* MS. KS.

āpāma manasā VS. ŚB. KŚ (VS comm. *prāptavantah*): *āptam manah*
TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ

upasrjāmi ApŚ. MŚ.: *upasrṣtah* ŚB.

yasmin devā adhi viśve niṣeduh (Mbh. *viśaktāh*) RV. AV TB. TA. Ma-
hān U. Śvet U. Nṛp U N. Mbh. (ed. Sukthankar, 1. 3 65c).

hato me pāpmā AG MG.: *pāpmā me hatah* AG. *pāpmānam te 'pahan-*
mah KŚ.: *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś. 'pa jahī) MG Kauś. And
others, see Conc. under *pāpmānam me*.

āhatam (VS. ŚB *āhanī*) *gabhe pasah* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. *āhatam*
pasō nicalcalīti MS

hataś te atrinā krimih (GG *kṛ°*) SMB. GG. KhG.: *atrinā tvā krime han-*
mi TA ApŚ . *atrivad vah krimayo hanmi* AV. 'Slain is thy worm by
Atri', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (like) Atri.'

athaiṣām bhinnakah kumbhah SMB. 'then their receptacle has been
miserably smashed' (imprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous,
diminutive). *bhinnadmi te kuṣumbham* AV. (for which Ppp. has,
atho bhinnadmi tam kumbham).

ghanena hanmi vṛścikam RVKh AV . *hatam vṛścika te viṣam* Mahābh.
apśīrnā u pṛṣṭayah and, *pṛṣṭir api śrñimasi* AV (both)

mithunam karnayoh kṛdhi (SMB. *kṛtam*) AV SMB. 'Mark the pair (of
calves; or, the pair is marked) on the ears'

śraddhāyām prāne niviṣyāmṛtam hulam (TAA *niviṣto 'mṛtam juhomi*)
TA. TAA. MahānU BDh VHDh : *amṛtam ca prāne juhomi* Prā-
nāg U. Also with *apāne*, *udāne*, *vyāne*, *samāne*; and the same with-
out the word *śraddhāyām*, see Conc.

[*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhrato*) *jātavedāh* AV KS : *yatra-yatra jāta-*
vedah sambabhūtha (TB Bibl Ind. ed. °va, Poona ed correctly °tha)
TB. ApŚ. But both AV. (most mss. *bibhṛto* or *bibhrato*) and KS.
(v. l. *bibhṛto*) are very obscure; it is questionable whether the
variant belongs here.]

§247. In a smaller group the finite verb is middle (reflexive) with
active value Again the interchange is in effect the same as between
active and passive, to be regarded in connexion with those treated in
§80ff .

teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh. : *yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS ApMB *sadah*)
kṛtam VS. TS ŚB NīlarU. ApMB : *ye apsu ṣadānsi* (KS. 'psu
sadānsi) *cakrue* MŚ. KS 'Their (whose) seat was made in the
 waters': 'who made their (own) seats in the waters'

tvaṃ yaḡṇeṣv ṛdyah RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB : *tvaṃ yaḡṇeṣv ṛdate*
 RV.

antar dadhe parvataḥ HG ApMB 'I interpose with the mountains':
antarhītā gṛayah ŚG 'the mountains have been interposed.'

antar dadha ṛtubhīḥ HG ApMB : *antarhītā ma ṛtavah* ŚG. As prec.
rocate VADh.: *rocitam* MDh.

dakṣīnam (and, *savyam*) *pādām avaneniḥ* AB. SMB GG. KhG 'I scrub
 the right (left) foot': *imau pādāv avanīktau* Kauś. (in different
 connection), 'these two feet have been washed.'

§248 In the majority of cases, however, the verbal remains upon the
 same plane with the finite verb, whether active or middle, that is, both
 predicates, whatever their forms, express the predicative idea in the
 same voice. The difference between this and the class just listed will
 be made clear by contrasting the variant *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam*, etc.,
 above, in which the middle with active meaning exchanges with a passive
 participle, with the following:

nānā hi vām devahītam sadas (TB. ApŚ. *sadah*) *kṛtam* (TB.* ApŚ.* *sado*
mitam) VS MS. KS AB. ŚB TB. AŚ ApŚ. *nānā hi devaṃś cakrpe*
sado vām KS. Here *cakrpe* (see Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins Circu-*
lars, December 1906, p 10) is passive in force, like *kṛtam*: 'vari-
 ously by the gods a seat has been made for you.'

pūrvō ha (TA MahānU *hi*) *jātaḥ* (JUB. *jaḡṇe*) *sa u garbhe antah* VS
 TA ŚvetU. MahānU. ŚirasU JUB *prathamō jātaḥ* etc. AV. :
 'he was the first born (of old), and he is yet within the womb.'

yo agnir agner adhyaḡyāyata (TS MS KS. *agnes tapaso 'dhi jātaḥ*) VS.
 TS MS. KS ŚB

yas ta ātmā paśuṣu praviṣtaḥ TB. ApŚ MŚ. : *yas te prānah paśuṣu pra-*
viṣtaḥ KŚ VSK *yā te tanūḥ pūṛṣv āvveṣa* AV. Here the par-
 ticiple, tho passive in form, is active in meaning, since the verb is
 intransitive.

ya āvriṣto vayassu yo mṛgeṣu AV. : *vayānsi ya āvveṣa yo mṛgeṣu* MS. KS.
 ApŚ.

āikṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanah MS. MŚ. : *āikṣito 'yam brāhmaṇah* ŚB. :
ādīkṣīṣṭāyam brāhmaṇah TS. ApŚ.

aindra udāno aṅge-aṅge nidhītaḥ (VSK. *nidīdhe*) VS. VSK. ŚB. : *aindra*
 'pāno (and, *vyāno*) aṅge-aṅge vibobhuvat (MS. † *ni bo*°, KS. *nidīdhyat*)

TS. MS. KS This and the following item are full of morphological and etymological problems Perhaps render: 'Udāna (etc) from Indra has been sucked (?) into every limb.'. On the active *nididhyat* cf. the next

andrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nididhyat (TS *ni dedhyat*, VSK *nidhitah*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB Cf. prec. The active is anomalous, Mahīdhara, *nhitah*, Keith, 'may be set'. It seems that it cannot be transitive.

yatrā (MS **yatra*) *nah pūrve pitarah paretāh* (RV. MS.* *pareyuh*) RV. AV. MS. (both). *yenā te pūrve pitarah paretāh* AV.

yasmād bhīṣā samjñaptāh (ApŚ *samajñāsthāh*) ŚŚ ApŚ 'from fear of which thou (the animal victim) hast been slain (from that make us exempt).'

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś *rāddham*) VS TS TA Kauś. *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ. MŚ. GG v 1. °*rātsam*, the correct reading) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ GG. See §§28, 85 As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first group above

om svadhocyatām AG.: *astu svadheti vaktavyam* Vait : *prakṛtebhyah svadhocyatām* YDh

ṛtubhih prabhuh (KS. *prābhavat*) TS KS.

samvatsarena paribhūh (KS. *paryabhavat*) TS. KS.

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV SV.

bāhū rājanyah kṛtah (AV °*nyo 'bhavat*) RV. AV VS. TA. VāDh

tapasā ye svar yayuh (TA. *suvar gatāh*) RV. AV TA.

amṛtatvāya ghoṣayah (SV. °*yan*) RV SV The subject is soma, there is no finite verb in the passage with the SV. reading (nom. sg. act. pple.) Cf. next

bradhnah samūcīr uśasah sam arayat (AV. °*yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. With the AV reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whitney reads *arayat* with the rest, but cf. prec.

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā dvi devāvṛdham hotrām arayat (KŚ °*yant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *arayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ. omits) ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. KŚ.

vavakṣa (3 sg. perf mid) *rṣvo aśṛtah* RV. AV.: *vavakṣur* (adj., desiderative) *ugro aśṛtah* TB. ApŚ.

vaśāyā dugdham apiban, and (next vs) *va° dugdham pītṛā*, AV.

patnī yīyapsyate (ŚŚ. *yīyapsyamānā*) *jaritah* AŚ. ŚŚ.

varebhīr varān abhi ṣu pra sīdatah (ApMB. °*ta*) RV. ApMB. In RV. a gen sg pple., agreeing with Indra; *varebhīr* applies to the Maruts, is *sīdata* of ApMB. addressed to them?

[*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS. MS. ŚB.: *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* TA. 4. 7. 2 and 5. 6. 6. So Poona ed. in both places Conc with Bibl. Ind. ed. quotes *gataḥ* for 4. 7. 2, this is read by one ms. and comm. in Poona ed]

Anticipations of the Periphrastic Future in -tā

§248a We group separately a few variants in which the verbal noun which varies with a finite verb is the nominative of a *nomen agentis* in *-tar*. These forms are, of course, interesting as precursors of the later periphrastic future, cf. Whitney §946. They are found varying with the present indicative, imperative (including that in *tāt*), optative, and injunctive (? subjunctive), the copula is not used with them:

yo dāśuṣaḥ sukrto havam eti (TS. MS. KS. *havam upa gantā*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

somah punānah kalāṣeṣu sīdati (and, *sattā*) RV (both)

yantā no avrkam chardih; pra no yachatād (*prāsmar yachatam*) *avrkam pṛthu chardih* RV. (all)

gamat sa (*gamema, sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV (all) On *gamat*, commonly regarded as subj but taken by us as *a*-aor. injunctive because of *gamema*, see §174.

2. *Interchange between finite form and periphrasis of verbal noun and copularic verb*

§249. We have drawn attention above to the rarity of this construction compared with the use of the verbal noun without copula as predicate. In the first two of the following brief list we have variation between active and passive constructions, as in §246 above:

ahnā yad enah kṛtam asti kim cit (ŚŚ. *enaś cakṛmeha kim cit*, ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. *asti pāpam*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB.

ayam vai tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhi jāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ.: *asmāt tvam adhi jāto* 'si tvad ayam jāyatām punah VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmaṇ. *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhi jāyatām asau* (AG. *asau svargāya lokāya*) *svāhā* AG. Kauś.: *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatām* JB.

kim it te viṣno paricakṣyam bhūt (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV. TS. MS. N. *devo devebhyah pavasva* VS. ŚB.: *devo devānām pavitram asi* TS. MS. KS. *viśvā rūpāni pari tā babbhūva* (AV. *paribhūr jajāna*) AV. VS. ŚB.

tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca ApMB. *vardhaṣimahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣimahi* (MS. MŚ. *pyāyṣimahi*) VS. MS ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG.

prathasva VS ŚB : *pratho* 'sī TS. MS. KS. ApŚ

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham paśubhiś ca brāhmanavarcaśena ca ruciṣīya (MS *tvam rucyā rocasa evam aham rucyā rociṣīya*) AV MS.

And similarly *sa yathā tvam bhrājatā* etc , see §57

rociṣīyāham manuṣyeṣu TA.: *surucitam mām devamanuṣyeṣu kuru* MS. *kuru* is a sort of causative copula.

3. Interchange between one of two coordinate verbs and a verbal noun dependent on the other verb

§250. These cases are much commoner than either of the two preceding groups. The verbal noun, whether participle, gerund, or other non-finite form, takes the place of a finite form in cases where there is another finite verb upon which the verbal noun may lean as an attributive; and vice versa. Or, stated otherwise, two correlative finite verbs exchange with a finite verb and a dependent verbal noun. We might antecedently have expected that there would appear a tendency for later texts to tend to prefer the dependent verbal noun, but we are unable to discover any clear evidence for such a tendency among the variants.

varcayā mukham mā na āyuh pramoṣīh HG. 'make lustrous our face, do not steal our life': *śundhī śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣīh* AG PG. ApMB. MG. 'purify his head, do not steal his life'. *śumbham mukham mā na āyuh pra moṣīh* AV. 'purifying our face, do not steal our life.' In AV. Whitney proposes to read with one ms and Ppp *śumbhan*; he calls *śumbham* unintelligible, but it seems to us interpretable as a gerund (Whitney, *Grammar*, §995) SPP *śubham*.

(*manīṣibhih pavate pūrnyah kavir, nṛbhīr yatah pari kośān acikradat,*) *tritasya nāma janayan madhu kṣarad,* (*īndrasya vāyoh sakhyāya kartave*) RV. 9 86 20, 'thru the wise (sacrificers) the sage of yore (Soma) purifies himself, held by men he hath shouted thru the vessels Begetting the name of Trita he shall make flow honey in order to procure the friendship of Indra and Vāyu' In SV. 2. 172c the participle *kṣaran*, 'flowing', replaces the finite verb *kṣarat*, 'shall make flow', the construction is equally easy either way, because *kṣaran* leans on the finite verb of the first line. This type of interchange between RV. and SV. will be found several other times below.

(*ā tvā vatso gamed ā kumāra*) *ā dhenavaḥ sāyam āsyandamānāh* AV.: (*enām śīśuh krandatī ā kumāra*) *ā syandantām dhenavo mtyavatsāh* ŚG (*ā tvā śīśur ā krandatī*) *ā gāvo dhenavo vāśyamānāh* PG.

vājino vājajito 'dhvana skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāh kāsthām gachata
 VS ŚB.: *adhvānam skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāh kāsthām gachata*
 MS.: *vi yojanā mimādhvam adhvana skabhñta kāsthām gachata* TS.
 Here two participles, dependent on a following finite verb, vary
 with two finite verbs correlative with the latter

ghnanto (MS. ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāny aprati* AV. TS. MS KS. ApŚ. The
 interchanging forms are preceded by finite verbs.

[*indra va vṛtrahā tṛṣṭha* (MS *dasyuhā bhava*),] *apah kṣetrāni samjayan*
 (MS °ya) MS TB. ApŚ

āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (MS. KS. °tā) *avhrutam* RV. SV. ArS. VS.
 MS. KS. LŚ ApŚ . *āyur yajñapatāv adhāt* (JB. *ayām*) AB JB. ŚB.
 TB AŚ. ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ Each is the 2d pāda of its stanza, but
 the two stanzas are otherwise wholly different However, each has
 a parallel finite verb in pāda a, on which the pple *dadhat* depends
pari dyāvāpṛthivī sadya āyam (VS. *itvā*) AV. VS. Followed by (different)
 finite verbs

tam tvābhīh suṣṭutabhir vājayanta, ājīm na jagmur gṛvāho aśvāh RV.
tam tvā grah suṣṭulayo vājayanty, ājīm na gṛvavāho jgyur aśvāh SV.
anavahāyāsmān (KS adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS *patheta*,
 KS *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS MS KS

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV *rāṣtrasya*) *kakubhi* (TB Poona ed. also °bhī,
 but comm and Bibl Ind. ed °bhīh; comm gloss *uttamāṅge*, MS
kakubbhīh; AV. *kakudī*) *śisṛiyānah* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS.
 MS. TB Followed in all by *tato na ugro vi bhajā vasūni*.

viśvāvasur abhi tan no grñātu, divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānah, yad vā
ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhīyo hinvāno dhīya in no avyāh RV.
 TA . *vīrebhir adhi tan no grñāno, rajaso vimāno, yad vā ghā satyam*
uta yan na vidma, dhīya invāno dhīya in no avyāt MS (apparently
 defective and corrupt)

[*upa no matrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS. *utā no matrāvarunā ihāgatam*)]
anvādīdhyāthām iha (MS. *manmā dīdhyānā utā*) *nah sakhāyā* MS.
 TB. TA.

dāsyann adāsyann uta samgrñāmi (TA. *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV. TA.:
dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyaḥ MS.: *yad vādāsyann samjagārā*
janebhyaḥ TB. Ppp. also reads *vā kariṣyan* for *samgrñāmi* of AV.
 6. 71. 3. For others, see §231.

uśasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat (so read with Poona ed. of TB) TB.
 ApŚ.: *uśām-uśām śreyasīm dhehy asmai* AV. Joined in TB. ApŚ. to
 what in AV. is the next verse, ending: *rāyaspoṣam iṣam ūrjam*
asmāsu dhehi TB. ApŚ., *aṣām ūrjam rayīm asmāsu dhehi* AV.

tirah purū cid arātam jagamān (SV. °iñ jagamyāh) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV. AV. by *caṅṅyīm* (SV. °caṅṅyuh).

[*iyarti dhūman amṣam* (MS. KS. °iṅ ḥaribhrat) *uc chukreṇa śociṣṭ dyām inakṣat* (TS. ApMB. °iṅṣat) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ApMB. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 299.

upastjan (AŚ. °jam; ŚG. *upa stjam*) *dharunam mātṛe* (AB. AŚ. omit *mātṛe*) *dha-uno mātaram* (AB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. *mātaram dharuno*; ApŚ. *mātara dharuno*) *āhaya* (followed by, *rāyas poṣam. . . amāsu dīdharat*, VS. AB. ŚB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. But the reading *-stjan* is doubtful: perhaps *-stjan* is to be read everywhere. 'Loosing (I have loosed) the suckling (to his dam), the suckling as he milks his dam—may he maintain growth of wealth among us.'

[*rdhad yas te sudānave*] *dhiyā mar-tāḥ śasante*, [°iñ sa bhāto dīto, dīṣo anho na tarati] RV. 'der mann geduldet welcher dir dem reichen dienet andachtsvoll. er durch des grossen himmels schutz durchsetzt den feind wie eine schlucht' (Grassmann): [*sa ghā yas te divo nara*] *dhiyā martasya śamataḥ*, [°iñ sa bhāto dīto, dīṣo anho na tarati] SV. (very corrupt hardly deserves citation under this rubric; *śamataḥ* gen. sg. pple. with *martasya*.)

sahasrapoṣam puṣyanti parameta paśurā kṛīyase (KS. *kṛīyase*) MS. KS.: *parameṇa paśurā kṛīyase sahasrapoṣam puṣyam* VS. ŚB.: *tasyaś te sahasrapoṣam puṣyanti* IS. *parameta paśurā kṛīyāmi* TS.

saha jarāyuyāna sarpatu (ApMB. °yuyān sarpatya) HG. ApMB. Prec by *ejatu* in both. For other forms cf. the variant see §329.

[*hineāno vācān iṣyasi*, *paramānā rādharmarī*] *airān devo na sūryah* RV.: [*ajāñāro tācān iṣyasi*, *paramānā rādharmarī*] *krandaṁ devo na sūryah* SV.

tā devīr devatremam yajīam kayata (KS. *kṛtā*, TS. MS. *dhatta*), followed by *upahūtāḥ somasya pibata*, VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dīrgham āyur yajamānā ja kṛtān (MŚ. °nda) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.; followed in TB. ApŚ. by *aṅgdhi*, in MŚ. by *āsīdasā*

te (masc. plur.) *no nakṣatre havām āgamsthāh* ('most coming', followed by *juṣantām*) TB. 3. 1. 1. 6c. *te* (fem. dual) *no nakṣatre havām ā gametam* (2 dual opt.) TB. 3. 1. 3. 1d.

svargān (AŚ. text *svagān*; Vait. *svargam*) *arranto jayata* (AŚ. °taḥ; Vait. *jayema*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Preceded by *agman*. AŚ., if not corrupt, understands *jayataḥ* as nom. plur. pple.; cf. §306.

arimuktacakra (sc. *tīre*) *āsīran* PG.: *vīrttacakra* (sc. *prajāḥ*) *āsīnāḥ* ApMB. HG. (here preceded by *āhuh*).

ahāḥ śarīram (TB. *ahāc charīram*) *payasā sameti* (TB. *sametya*) TB. Vait. Followed by *bhāṅat*.

- patyur anuvratā bhūtvā* AV. · *agner anuvratā bhūtvā* TS KS TB. MŚ. ApMB *mām anuvratā bhava* HG. The first two versions are followed by finite verbs.
- sarāh patatrīnīh sthana* (KS. *stha*) TS. MS. KS · *sarā patatrīnī bhūtvā* AV. (here followed by *ehu*): *sīrāh patatrīnī sthana* RV. VS.
- abhyaṛṣan* (SV. *abhy arṣa*) *stotr̥bhyo vīravād yaśah* RV. SV. In both *paṇate* precedes.
- (*ā te yatante rathyo yathā pṛthak*) *chardhānsy agne ajarāni* (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV MS ApŚ. See §27.
- tiṣṭhann* (GB. *caratv*) *āsīno yadi vā svapann api* ŚB. GB. Prec in both by *śramād anyatra parivartamānah* (not °*nāh* as Conc. reads).
- (*vi yat pavitram dhiṣṇā atānvata*) *gharmam śocantah* (AŚ *śocanta*, ŚŚ. °*tam*) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB. AŚ ŚŚ. We have no confidence in the edition of AŚ. on such a reading as *śocanta*.
- abandhv eke dadatah prayachanto, dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva* AV. 'some without relatives, giving, bestowing—if they be able to give, that is very heaven' (Whitney): *abandhv eke dadata prayachād, dātum cec chaknuvānsah svarga eṣām* TA. Both forms are poor and probably corrupt. In TA. read *dadatah* with comm. and Poona ed. text; probably also *chaknavān* (or better °*vān*) *sa* with Poona ed. text, which notes v. 1 *chaknuvānsah*; the comm. explains *prayachāt* as *prayachanti*, which suggests that *prayachān* is to be read with AV Ppp.
- caraty ananuvratā* ApMB. HG.: *vicaranty apatvratā* ŚG. MDh. Both preceded by finite *pralulubhe* or *pralulobha*.
- trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān* (MS. °*gah*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *samsarpa* (KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. °*gānl lokān*) KS. ApŚ. Followed by *gacha*. See §130.
- yajāno* (or *yajā no*, so Garbe's ed of ApŚ., followed by Caland's Transl., the others all *yajāno*, MS. p. p. *yajānah*, some mss. *yajamāno*, TB. comm. interprets as pple.) *devān* (MS. *devo*) *ajarah svīrah* (associated with *gopāya nah*) MS TB. AŚ. ApŚ. It is questionable whether *yajā no* has any standing.
- datto* (= *datta u*) *asmābhyam* (KS. *datvāyāsma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāsma°*, SMB. *dattāsma°*) *draviṇeha bhadrām* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadrām* MS. Followed by sundry finite verbs.
- sa im vṛṣājanayat* (KS. *vṛṣā janayans*) *tāsu garbham, sa im śikur dhayati tam rihanti* RV. KS. The Conc. suggests emendation of KS. to *-janayat*; but von Schroeder keeps his text, which is no doubt interpretable if somewhat harsh.

śatam jīvanu (AV. °*lah*) *śaradah purūcīh* RV. AV. VS ŚB TB. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. Followed by *antar* (*tiro*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (*dadhmahe*) *parvatena*

āprīṇānu vjahaṭā arātīm (TB. ApŚ *saṃjānānu vjahaṭām arātīr*), *dvi* (KS. *dive*) *jyotir uttamam* (TB. ApŚ *ajānam*) *ārabhethām* (TB. ApŚ °*tām*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ *vjahaṭā(u)*, dual pple.; °*tām*, 3 dual impv.

prajām ajaryām nah kuru, rāyas poṣena sam sṛpa SMB.: *prajām suvīrām* (PG. *suvirām*) *kṛtvā, viśvam* (PG *dirgham*) *āyur vy aśnavat* (PG. °*va*) TS. PG

ahar-ahar (AV. TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*; MS KS ŚB * *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV. VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. *ahar-ahar balim it te harantah* AV · *viśvāhā te sadam id bharema* AV. Followed by finite verb.

(*upakṣaranti juhvo ghṛtena*) *priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayanti* (*sc srucah*) TB . *abhikṣaranti juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanti* (one ms. °*ti*, pointing also to °*tīh*) Vait

sa pūrvavaṅ janayañ (TA ApŚ °*yaṅ*) *jantave dhanam* RV PB. TA ApŚ. Followed by *pary eti* (*pari yāti*) in next pāda The secondary character of *janáyaj* (so!) in TA. is emphasized by its retention of the accent of *janáyan*.

tat tvam ārohāso medhyo bhava TA (Poona ed. *bhavam*, but v l. and comm. *bhava*), 'do thou, O spirit, ascend, become sacrificial' *tad ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan* AV 'ascend that, O man, becoming sacrificial' See Whitney's Transl and note Most mss. do not accent *bhavan*

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB. °*yet*) AB. GB. Gaastra considers GB corrupt

dyumnam vṛñta puṣyase (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB : *dyumne vareta puṣyatu* KS Cf §163. *puṣyase* is infinitive *tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha* (HG *cendhi*) AG. HG. The word *indhi* (*iddha*) is better taken, with Oldenberg, as part of the following phrase, *vardhaya cāsmān* (in both)

ahīnś ca sarvāñ jambhaya, sarvās ca yātudhānyo, 'dharācīh parā suva KS.: *ahīnś ca sarvān* (TS. °*vāñ*) *jambhayan, sarvās ca yātudhānyah* (VS. MS. °*dhānyo, 'dharācīh parā suva*) VS. TS. MS.

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantau (PB *abhisam*°) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB : *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss. *vātāgnim*, both texts) *abhi ye sam caranti* MŚ MG The principal verb follows in the last pāda.

sāhyāma (RV *sāhvānso*) *dasyum avratam* RV. SV. Prec. in both by 1 plur. finite verbs

samānam yonim anu samcarantī (AV MS °carete) RV AV. TS MS KS ApMB Followed by *caratah* The ed. of KS reads °carete also, but the single ms. °carante, which as the editor observes might quite as well stand for °carantī

ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhi (TS KS *samañjan*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB. Followed by *parurṅgdhi*.

ubhayor lokayor ṛddhvā (MŚ ṛdhnomi) TB TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by (*ati*) *tarāmi*.

[*punāno vāram pary ety* (SV. *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam*] *śyeno na yonim ghr̥tavantam āsadam* (SV. °dat) RV. SV. ApŚ *āsadam* is infn, 'to sit', SV. makes it a finite verb, 'he has sat', which goes very ill with the 2d person *eṣi* which SV substitutes for RV *eti* Compare the pāda *śyeno na yonim āsadat*, RV. etc, which seems to have influenced SV

janīyanti nāv agravaḥ, putrīyanti sudānavah AV.: *janīyanto nv agravaḥ, putrīyantah sudānavah* RV SV. (followed by *havāmahe*).

[*vṛṣṭim divah pavasva rītīm apām* (SV. *apo*)] *ṛivā* (SV *ṛivan*) *gaviṣṭaye dhīyah* RV. SV.

jyok ca sūryam dṛṣe (LŚ *dṛṣeyam*) RV AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TA. LŚ Kauś ApMB HG.

(*parārciṣā mūradevāñ chṛñīhi*) *parāsutṛpah śośucatah śṛñīhi* (RV. °tṛpo *abhiśośucānah*) RV AV

devā amuñcann (AV *muñcanto*) *asṛjan vy* (AV *nir*) *enasah* AV. TB. HG ApMB.

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayīm dhīmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV. AA. ŚŚ. See Keith, AA. 285, note 7

(*yo . .*) *hr̥dārāṭīyād* (KS °yann) *abhidāsad agne* KS TB ApŚ. Caland on ApŚ not unnaturally thinks of reading *abhidāsād*, to match *arāṭīyād*, but KS is against it.

marmṛjyante (SV *marmṛjantīr*) *divah śiśum* RV. SV Prec. by *abhy anūṣata*

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣtam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim āvīśantau* (KS *āvīśāhah*) MS KS. *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim āvīśantī* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *āvīśan*) VS. KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ.

ut tiṣṭha (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *utthāya*) *br̥hatī* (TA. *br̥han*) *bhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. MŚ.

(*yad dha kr̥ṇā vvasvati*) *nābhā samdāy nāvyaśi* (*adha pra sū na upa yantu dhītayaḥ*) RV.: (*yad dha kr̥ṇā vvasvate*) *nābhā samdāya nāvyaśe* (*adha pra nūnam upa yanti dhītayaḥ*) SV.

stuṣeyyam puruvarpasam ṛbhvam RV. AV N.: *stuṣva varṣman puruwart-*

mānam samṛbhvānam AV. *stuṣeya* is a gerundive formation, 'him that should be praised', dependent on a verb of the prec. stanza. In the other form a different stanza precedes, and the finite *stuṣva* (which, as impv., transfuses the same idea into other words) is therefore substituted.

venas tat paśyat paramam guhā yat (VS. *paśyan nihitam guhā sat*; TA. MahānU. *paśyan viśvā bhuvanāni vidvān*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Here there is no verb on which the participle *paśyan* can depend, TA comm lamely supplies *variate*.

[*bradhnaḥ samīcīr uṣasah samarayāt* (AV. °*yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ MŚ. Again there is no finite verb here on which the pple. might depend, and Whitney adopts the SV reading.]

[*ariṣṭair nah pathibhiḥ pārayantā* (GB. °*tu*) RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. But GB. is merely corrupt. Gaastra reads with one ms. °*tā* (dual pple.).]

[*dansanābhir aśvinā pārayantā* (TB. °*tām*) RV. TB. Poona ed. also °*tām*; but comm. °*tā*, dual pple., which is the only possible form, a plural verb being uninterpretable.]

CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN EQUIVALENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

§251. The variants avail themselves freely of the possibilities of equivalent personal verb endings. The ranging of these interchanges covers nearly all the grammatical territory concerning this matter. We deal with them as follows:

1. *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*
2. Subjunctive endings in *si* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *tai*, *vahs* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*.
3. Imperatives in *tāt* interchanging with other imperatives.
4. Presence or absence of imperative 2d singular *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*.
5. Second plural active endings with or without final *na*.
6. Endings in *a* sometimes rhythmically lengthened to *ā*.
7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings.

1. *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*

§252. There are two variations between *ram* and *ran* with wavering chronological indications (RV. *adr̥śram*, AV. *adr̥śran*; but also RV. *asṛgran*, SV. *asṛgram*) On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in *re* and *rre*, (Whitney, *Grammar* §550d) the more archaic forms in *re*, *duduhre* and *dadr̥śre*, belong to RV, *duduhrre* and *dadr̥śrre* to later texts. Unexpectedly, archaizing *r*-endings replace the normal 3 sing imperfect middle *adhata* (RV AV) in *adhadr̥āh* (SV.), *adadr̥ām* (KS.), and *athadr̥ām* (TA, corrupt) Very anomalously the form *adr̥śran* seems to be used as an active in several YV. texts, only TS NilarU. having the regular *adr̥śan*. And the 3 plural present middle *duhate* varies with *duhrate*, not only once in the RV itself, but also once between RV. and AV., the AV. showing the more archaizing *duhrate*: *ghṛtam duhrata* (and, *duhata*) *āsīram* RV. (both). See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and next.

te dakṣiṇām duhate (AV. *te duhrate dakṣiṇām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV.

See prec.

asṛgran (SV. °*ram*) *devavītaye* RV. SV.

adṛśram (AV.* ArS MS. KS MŚ °*rann*) *asya ketavah* RV AV. (both)
ArS. VS. MS. KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ

trv asmaṁ sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh. °*hrire*) RV. SV Svidh.
Here the SV. smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an
otherwise *jagatī* stanza, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 287

śṛṅgānīvec chṛṅgīṇām sam dadṛśre (TB. ApŚ °*śrire*) RV. KB. TB ApŚ
Here the stanza is *triṣṭubh*.

śerate (AB *śere*) '*sya sarve pāpmānah* AB ŚŚ On these forms see Whit-
ney, *Grammar* §§550d, 629 The AB, in an *anuṣṭubh* stanza, has
better meter, Hillebrandt suggests deletion of '*sya* in ŚŚ

apa snehitṛ (SV. *snīhitm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhadrāh*, KS *adadrām*)
RV. AV. SV KS. *upa stuhī* (Poona ed *snuhi*) *tam nṛmnām atha-*
drām TA. In RV., 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the
enemies.' The *r*-forms of even SV. and KS are highly proble-
matic, as to TA., the only certain thing about it is that it is badly
corrupted, and this applies to more than the one word *athadrām*
(the comm. has a *v* 1 *athodrām*; its gloss is *adhodravanaśīlam*!)

utainam gopā adṛśran (TS. *adṛśan*) VS TS. MS KS.. *uta tvā gopā*
adṛśan NilarU. The anomalous *adṛśran* is obviously felt as 3
plural with active meaning, Mahīdhara, *paśyantī* It might, per-
haps, be included under variations between active and middle
without change of meaning, §38ff This variant is followed in
VS. TS by *adṛśrann* (TS † *adṛśann*) *udahāryah* VS. TS

2. *Subjunctive endings in s₁ and s, t₁ and t, te and tai, vahe and vahai,
mahe and mahai*

§253 These optional endings of the subjunctive interchange, in
general without chronological indications, but metrical criteria are
sometimes involved, since the shorter endings *s* and *t* help to produce
shorter lines. As to the *e* and *ai* endings the phonetic relations between
these two sounds must be considered, as set forth in §26, and further-
more some of the *e*-forms may be considered indicatives, cf §§118, 124.

yathā naḥ subhagāsasī (AV *sumanā asah*) RV AV TA

yathā naḥ suphalāsasī (AV *suphalā bhuvah*) RV. AV TA.

subheṣajam yathāsati (AV °*s₁*, LŚ. °*sat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. (the last
secondary and metrically poor).

vīprā gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA. °*ṣat*) AA. ŚŚ.: *vīprāya gātham*
gāyata yam jujoṣate SV

sa no nedīṣtham havanāny āgamat (and once, *havanāni joṣat*) KS (ter):
sa no nedīṣthā havanāni joṣate (MS *havanā jujoṣa*) TS MS · *sa no*
vīśvāni havanāni joṣat VS ŚB.

teṣām yo ayyānīm ('*jyānīm*) *ajītim āvahāt* TS. SMB.† (in Jorgensen as TS) PG. BDh.: *teṣām ayyānīm* (MŚ. °*nam*) *yatamo na āvahāt* (AV. *yatamo vahāti*) AV. KS. MŚ.

anu nau śūra mansate (TS. °*tai*) RV. TS. KSA.

yā na ūrū uśātī vīśrayāte (AV. °*ti*; ApMB. HG. *vīśrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

pari śvajāte (AV. °*tai*) *lbujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV N.

pra yah satrācā (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB °*tai*) RV. TB.

(*net tvā*) *dadhad vīdhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TA : (*net tvā*) *dadhṛy vīdhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vīdhakṣan pariñkhayātai*) RV AV. See §§234c, 27.

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

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babbhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS. °*hai*) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV MS. But in §124 we have treated *sacāvahe* as indicative.

3. Imperatives in *tāt* exchanging with other imperatives

§254 On this interchange see §150. It begins in the RV. itself, in the first of the following list, where there is reason to regard the form in *tāt* as the older, see §100:

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthū chardih RV 1. 48. 15 *prāsmar yachatam avṛkam pṛthū chardih* RV. 8 9 1

vīśucīnān (VSK °*nā*) *vyasyatām* (VSK °*tāt*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB. *ūrdhvām enām* (or, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS * ŚB * MS *chrāpaya*) VS (both) TS. MS. KSA ŚB. (both) TB AŚ. ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ.

nir anhasah pīpṛtā (TB. °*tān*) *nir avadyāt* RV. VS. MS TB Is TB. (both editions, text and comm) reliable? Comm *pīpṛtāt pālayata*.

punar māvīśatād (MŚ °*tām*) *rayih* VS TS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

sā (HG *sa*) *mām āvīśatād iha* (MG *āvīśatām iharva*) ApMB HG. MG : *sā medhā vīśatād u mām* RVKh. 10. 151 3d (correct reference in Conc.) For RVKh Scheftelowitz reads exactly as ApMB

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmṛjyam gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*, MŚ *gachel*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ

etam jānātha (TB *jānītāt*, KS *jānīta*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *jānīta smainam* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enam*) *parame vyoman* AV. TS. MŚ. See §104, s.

īśtāpurte kṛṇavāthāvīr (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇavāthāvīr*, TS TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvīr*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS ŚB TB. MŚ.: *īśtāpūrtam* (AV. °*tam sma*) *kṛṇutād āvīr* (AV. *kṛṇutāvīr*) *asmai* AV. KS. The patchword *sma* in AV suggests that its reading is likely to be secondary.

jaitrāyā (ApMB. HG °*tryāyā*) *viśatād u mām* (ApMB. °*tān mām*, HG. °*tām mām*) RVKh. VS. ApMB HG

4. Presence or absence of imperative 2nd sing ending *dhī* (*hī*), and interchange between *dhī* and *hī*

§255. As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with *dhī* or *hī* should be anterior to those without ending, and *dhī* anterior to *hī*; and the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, *kṛnuhī* of Vait. is hyper-archaic as regards the stem *kṛnu-* §186 And in the second, *tanuhī* of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological deductions On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, *MSL* 23 176; he regards *hī* (rather than *dhī*) as the regular ending with polysyllabic bases, and explains *śṛnudhī* (as in our fourth example) as due to the analogy of *śrudhī* from a monosyllabic base

abhy enam bhūma ūrnuhī (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV AV. TA.

asāv (asā) anu mā tanu (LŚ *tanuhī* [printed in text as *tanu hī*] *jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ

ojasvantam mām āyusmantam varcasvantam (MS. *mām sahasvantam*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait *āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhī*) TS. MS. AŚ. Vait.

nṛnḥ (MS *nṛnṣ*) *pāhī śṛnudhī* (SV. °*hī*) *gīrah* RV SV. VS. MS. KS ŚB.

5. Second plural endings with or without *na*

§256. The endings *tana* and *thana* contain an extra syllable, as compared with *ta* and *tha* The longer forms are suitable for even syllable cadences (◡-◡◡, iambic dipody), the shorter forms for the corresponding catalectic cadence (◡-◡) The RV itself uses this correspondence to construct otherwise identical *jaḡatī* and *trīṣṭubh* pādas: *asmabhyam śarma bahulam vi yantana* 5 55 9, and *yanta* 6 51 5, *adhī stotrasya sakhyasya ḡātana* 5 55 9, and *ḡāta* 10 78 8.

See *RVRep* 530, 563, where these appear among similar metrical and grammatical devices for procuring practically identical or very similar pairs of *jaḡatī* and *trīṣṭubh* lines At times the use of the shorter form is accompanied by the introduction of a patch-word as metrical compensation, or the longer form replaces such a patch-word, as in:

tḡmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB. N.

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in: *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ *pareta*) *ḡitarah somyāsah* (TS. ApŚ *somyāh*) TS MS KS. AŚ ApŚ, which doubtless read originally *paretana ḡitarah somyāsah*

We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind:

§257. Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical:

tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana RV. 10. 37. 11d: *athā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °tana) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *adhā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* AV.. *athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dadhāta* TS
In MS. the p.p. reads *dadhāta*; the longer form disturbs the meter of the (*triṣṭubh*) stanza. Yet, most interestingly, one AV. ms. also has *dadhātana*. This reading is obviously due to the influence of RV. 10. 37. 11d, which occurs in a *jagatī* stanza, and where °tana is therefore in order.

paretana (*pareta*) etc , see above; the two RV. repetitions quoted above are likewise not repeated here.

athā rayīm sarvavīram dadhātana RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *rayīm ca nah sarvavīram dadhāta* AV 18. 3. 14d, 44d. All texts except AV. 18. 3. 14 have the pāda in an entirely *jagatī* stanza, where *dadhātana* is therefore appropriate, and so the AV. comm. reads on 18. 3. 44. AV. 18. 3. 14 is *triṣṭubh*, and so has properly *dadhāta*.

amī ye vīratā (MS. °tāh, KS °tās) *sthana* (MS. *stha*) AV. MS. KS. The form *stha* is metrically poor.

sarāh patatrīnīh sthana (KS *stha*) TS MS. KS . *sīrāh patatrīnī sthana* RV. VS Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary.

svāveśā nā āgata MS : *anamīvā upetana* AV

ye ke ca bhrātaraḥ sthana (ŚŚ. *sthāh?*) AB. ŚŚ. The form of ŚŚ. 15. 26c is difficult. Tho it is written *sthā* and followed by a vowel, Hillebrandt (Index) understands it (doubtfully) as = *stha* + *ā* (rather than *sthāh* as given by Conc). It is in any case secondary.

§258 Passages in which the short form is filled out with a patch-word:

srucā juhuta no (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havīh* TB ŚŚ ApŚ

ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat (Kauś *bibhītana*) AV. Kauś

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepīdhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ.

ŚG. HG. Cf. *grhā māsmad bibhītana* AV. HG.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu nah (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB N. See §365.

Here, of course, the shorter form, in *-tu*, not *-ta*, is not the equivalent of the longer one, the variant is quoted as showing a similar trend.

6. Endings in *-a* sometimes rhythmically lengthened to *-ā*

[§259. These cases do not concern primarily the Verb Variants, but rather the Phonetic Variants, and we shall reserve a full treatment of them for that section of our work, contenting ourselves here with a very brief summary and a bare list of the instances. The forms in *ā* are not regarded by the texts themselves as variant endings, but merely as phonetic forms of the endings in short *a*, on a level with the alterations required by sandhi. This is evidenced by the facts that all the pada-pāthas regularly substitute the form in short *a* for *ā*, that the *ā* is not allowed to stand at the end of a pāda; and that in TS it is not allowed at the end of a *kanḍikā* (cf. Wackernagel I §265a, note). For this last reason, in two variant pādas, where all other texts have final *ā*, the TS. has short *a*, for the sole reason that the word in question happens to come at the end of that purely mechanical division of its text:

vīrebhr aśvar maghavā bhavā (TS *bhava*) *nah* RV. VS. TS. MS KS
brhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV VS. TS. MS KS
 There is among the variants one case where some texts have the *ā* at the end of a pāda, namely:

vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS *sṛja*) AV VS TS MS KS.

Here KS alone has the short *a* which is required at the end of a pāda. The case is however peculiar, and it is by no means certain that AV. means to end the pāda here. Indeed, all the mss., both editions, and the Anukramanī add to this pāda the next following word, *rarāṇah*, after which the text proceeds, *tmanā devebhyo agnir havyam samitā svadayatu*. Whatever may have been the real intent of AV., there is no doubt that the YV. texts end the pāda with *sṛjā*. However, the whole stanza is a bungling reminiscence of RV. 3 4 10ab, *vanaspate 'va sṛjopa devān, agnir havh samitā sūdayāti* (in the last pāda the YV. texts agree with RV) And there is obviously a connection between the *ā* of *sṛjā* and the fact that in the oldest form (in RV.) the word did not end the pāda, as indeed it does not, according to the unanimous tradition, in AV.

§260. The lengthening of the final *a* is rhythmic, not metrical. See Wackernagel I. §266a. The poets, to be sure, make free use of the license to lengthen the final *a* in syllables where the meter requires *ā* long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements, but of sentence rhythm. It occurred, originally, in places where the next word began with a single consonant, so that the syllable would be otherwise short (be it remembered that it *never* occurred before a pause!), and regularly where the following syllable was short; perhaps in the beginning when the preceding syllable was also short. That is, it was due to

avoidance of a succession of short syllables unrelieved by a long. In the variants clear traces of this fact will appear, we shall show, in our section on Phonetics, that the following word almost invariably begins with a single consonant, and that the following syllable is usually short. The preceding syllable, however, is short only about half the time, among the cases occurring in the variants. That it is not a matter of metrical requirements is shown by the fact that the lengthening occurs most often (among the variants) in syllables where metrical length is not required, it is much commoner in the first part of the pāda than in the cadence.

§261. All these matters will be duly set forth, along with other precisely similar cases of rhythmically lengthened final *a* in other than verb forms, in our section on Phonetics. The variant pādas which show it in verbal endings are the following, in addition to the above. The reader may be reminded of the somewhat similar variations between long and short vowels in the interior of causative (§242) and denominative stems (§243) and in reduplicating syllables (§271), these are probably also rhythmic in character. F E.]

tam ā pr̥na (TB *pr̥nā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

ā juhōtā (TB. ApŚ °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB TB (ApŚ, Pratikā)

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

apo devīr upa sr̥ja (MS *sr̥jā*) *madhumatīh* VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB.

aditsan vā (MS. *dhupsyam vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyān*) *saṃjagara* (TB. °*ja-gārā*; MS °*cakara*) *janebhyah* MS. TB. TA.

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīnr*) *ā pr̥nasva* (TS KS. TB. °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

varvasya mahāmaha (SV. °*syā mahonām*) RV. SV.

indra somam imam piba RV. ŚŚ *indra somam pibā imam* RV AV SV.

MS The p p of both RV. and MS *piba*, not *pibāh*, see Oldenberg, RVNoten, on 8 17 1.

vayam rāstre jāgryāma (MS KS. °*mā*; TS and MS. p p. *jāgryāma*) *purohitāh* VS VSK. TS. MS. KS

vidma te svapna janitram AV. *vidma* (text °*mā*; read °*ma*?) *te svapna* (pratikā) Kauś.

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

hinva (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harvah* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ MŚ.

gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā*; MS. °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS *vet*, TA *vat*) VS MS ŚB. TA It is not likely to be accidental that TA, the only text which has a short syllable following, lengthens the final *ā*.

idam me prāvata vacaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS TB : *oṣadhayah prāvata vācam me* MS : *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś.

juhota (AV. °tā) *pra ca tṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA.

ut tṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °tā) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś.

pari ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. °vā) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. *yasmād yoner udārithā* (KS °tha) *yaje* (MS. KS *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ud īrayathā (MS. MŚ. °tā, AV. KS °ta) *marutah samudratah* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ and *pratika* MŚ.

dyumantam śuṣmam ā bharā (SV. bhara) *svarindam* RV. SV.

vahā (TB. N. vaha) *devatrā dadhiṣo* (MS *dadhiṣo*, but most mss. *dī*°) *havīṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

janṣṭa (TS. *janṣvā*, MS. °ṣva) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

ramayata (KS °tā) *marutah śyenam āyīnam* (MŚ *marutah pretam vāyīnam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. also read *ramayata*.

pretā jayatā narah RV. AV. SV. VS. °upa *preta jayatā narah* TS.

yatrā naś cakrā (KS Conc *cakra*, with one ms., but ed *cakrā*) *jarasam tanūnām* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

7 Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

§262. Here are grouped various sporadic cases of interchanges concerning endings

(a) Precatives 3d singular in *yās* and *yāt*.

See Whitney, *Grammar* §838

pari no hetī rudrasya vrjyāh (VSK °yāt) RV. VSK : *pari vo hetī rudrasya vrjyāh* (TB *vrñjyāt*) RV. TB See §104, u, and *RVRep.* 573.

indras te soma sutasya peyāh (SV *peyāt*) RV. SV.

narāśanso gnāspatir no avyāt (RV. *avyāh*) RV. MS. TB.

dhryo hinvāno dhrya in no avyāh (TA *avyāt*) RV. TA.: *dhrya invāno dhrya in no avyāt* MS

(b) s-aorist 3d singular in older and later forms

The older non-thematic type of conjugation of s-aorists calls for a 3d singular active ending *s*, for *st*; and after a consonant even the *s* is lost (Whitney, *Grammar* §888). This form exchanges twice with 3d singulars of the later type in *sīt*. With these may be compared the forms which we have classified §202 as root-aorists from roots in *ā* (*ahāt*, *apṛāt*) which vary with s-aorists from the same roots (*ahās*, *apṛās*, 3d sing.), the *t*-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category.

agnis te tanwam māh dhāk TS. TB. ApŚ.: *agnis te tejo mā prati dhākṣī* JB.

yan me 'dya retah pṛthivīm askāntṣī (TA. *askān*) ŚB. TA. BṛhU.

(c) Confusion of 1st plural *mas* and *ma*.

Aside from cases which may be considered different tenses, we find the following small group, on which cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§548a, 636d, 795a. They have of course a phonetic aspect; the final *visarga* was lightly pronounced, see §25 above. It is noteworthy that all occur at the end of *pādas*, or practically so (followed by a particle of interjection only).

tasmān vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ. *sma*) TB. MŚ.

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) VīDh. YDh. BrhPDh.

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG. PG.

prati bhāgam na dādihma (SV. °*mah*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N. Whitney, *Roots*, s. v. *dhī*, regards both forms as 1 plur. perfect.

īśānam tvā śuśrumo (KS °*mā*) *vayam* KS. ApŚ.

anyavratasya (TA. *anyad vra°*) *saścima* (RV *saścire*, TA. *saścimah*) RV.

VS. MS. ŚB TA 1st plural perfect of *sac*. But in TA. *saścima* should be read, with Poona ed text and comm (v. l. one ms. °*mah*).

(d) 1st singular preterites active in *am*, exchanging with *m*

In a case or two the preterite 1st singular active ending *am* is replaced by *m*, preceded by another vowel (that of the 2d and 3d persons), by analogy with the 2d and 3d persons. Thus, we have in the RV. itself this repeated *pāda*·

vadhīd vṛtram vajrena mandasānah 4 17. 3; *vadhīm* etc., 10. 28. 7, where *vadhīm* is certainly made in direct imitation of *vadhīd*, see *RV Rep.* 220, 564. Cf. also:

tveṣam vaco apāvadhīt (TS. TB. °*dhīm*, MS. °*dhāh*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB As (*a*)*vadhīm* is a blend of *avadham* and *avadhīt*, so *agrabhīm* in the following is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt*, and *abhūm* of *abhūvam* and *abhūt*

īṣam ūrjam sam agrabham (TS. °*bhīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB

abhyaskṣi rājābhūm (MS v. l. °*bhūt*, ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.. *abhiṣikṣa rājābhūvam* (v. l. °*bhūvam*) MŚ. Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §830a.

The MŚ passage is quoted on Knauer's authority from unedited mss.

(e) Subjunctive sign *ā* interchanging with *a* in non-thematic forms.

The forms with short *a* are, of course, morphologically at least, the primary ones, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§560e, 701.

yathā jyok sumanā asai (ApMB. *asāh*) ApMB. HG.

yathāso mitravardhanah AV KS.: *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanah* TB. (no need to read *yathāso* as suggested in Conc.)

yat sanavatha (MS KS °*vātha*) *pūruṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

īṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir (VSK. ŚB °*vathāvir*, TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmar* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS. VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ

punas te prāna āyati (so TS. † TA. *āyāti*; AŚ *āyātu*) TS. TA. AŚ.

(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of *babhūtha* and *babhūva* *tvam hi hotā prathamō babhūtha* (MŚ. SMB MG *babhūva*; and so 2 mss. of Kauś) TS KS MŚ. Kauś SMB MG Comm at SMB. *babhūva*, *babhūtha*

patyur janatvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA °*va*) RV. AV. TA. 'Thou hast entered into the relation of wife to husband' The comm. on TA., which reads *babhūva* in both edd, glosses *samyak prāpnuhi*. These two cases suggest interesting reflections on commentators' psychology, but they are not really as bad as they look, *babhūva* is probably due to a blend construction, with thought of *bhavān* or *bhavaṭī* understood. Such constructions are not unknown in the later language. See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 43. 297, and below, §332.—A third interchange between *babhūtha* and *babhūva* is rectified in the Poona ed. of TB, see §342.

(g) The endings *masi* and *mas*.

A single time, in late texts, these interchange, the form in *masi* being apparently the original, or certainly metrically superior:

yatra vayam vadāmasi (HG. °*mah*) ApMB HG.

(h) 3d plural *ūh* for *uh*.

upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh (TB *gūh*) RV. MS. TB 3d plural root-aor of *gā*; TB (both edd) anomalous; comm. *gachanto vartante*.

(j) *īre* for *ire* in 3d plur perfect middle (passive)

tāh prācyā (Vait. °*yah*; MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjgāhire* (KŚ † °*hīre*; Vait *sam-jgāire*, all mss.) KŚ. Vait. MŚ · *prācīs cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

(k) Precative 2d plural with primary *tha* for secondary *ta*.

ye 'tra pitarah bhūyāstha AV. ŚŚ : *ya etasmīn loke .bhūyāsta* TS. TB The form in *tha* is of course wholly anomalous, but appears to be read by all mss. of both AV. and ŚŚ.; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86, and §17.

CHAPTER VIII. MATTERS PERTAINING TO AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION

§263 This chapter is concerned with two topics: presence or absence of augment in preterite forms, and various changes in the form of reduplication.

PRETERITES WITH AND WITHOUT AUGMENT

§264 Augmentless forms are ambiguous, being either preterites or injunctives, the functional relation of augmentless forms to corresponding augmented forms is therefore indeterminate. This uncertainty is increased by the frequent correspondence otherwise between preterites and all sorts of definite modal forms which we have met as one of the established features of the variants. Just as those correspondences take place both in principal clauses (§§130 ff.) and in dependent clauses (§145), so the interchanges between augmented and augmentless preterites may be conveniently divided into the same two groups. The following list rests on the assumption that both are preterites. But in the circumstances of Vedic diction there is nothing to prevent one or another of them from harboring interchange between preterite and modal (injunctive) force. Thus,

bhargo me 'vocah: bhargam me vocah,
might be respectively, 'thou hast bespoken for me luster', and, 'bespeak for me luster'. Such a case would then have to be transferred to the rubric Aorist and Injunctive, §132. And, conversely, various of the forms which we have tentatively grouped under Preterites and Injunctives might perhaps equally well be placed here. See also §146 for a few cases of augmented and augmentless prohibitives.

§265. When the word preceding the variant verb-form ends in *e* or *o*, we must further remember that the following augment *a* is usually (and especially in late texts) represented, if at all, only by the *avagraha* in our manuscript tradition; and the presence or absence of this *avagraha* in our edited texts is often a matter of editing only, since the manuscripts are apt to be very undependable. Thus, in the above-mentioned example *bhargo me 'vocah*, the Conc. records MŚ. 5. 2 15. 2 as *'vocah*, and Knauer's text reads so; but his note tells us that his mss. omit the *avagraha*, both here and generally. In such cases, therefore, little im-

portance is to be attached to this seeming variation. Hence we have separated in the following list the cases in which the verb is preceded by *e* or *o* from the rest

Preterites with or without augment in principal clauses

§266. a. Preceded by a word ending in *e* or *o*.

indrūya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. Cf.

§193. Oldenberg regards *dadat* as modal, which is of course possible. *tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt* (KS. MŚ *dadat*) KS. ApŚ MŚ Again *dadat* may be modal.

somo dadad (SMB. GG PG. '*dadad*, HG '*dadād*) *gandharvāya, gandharvo dadad* (SMB. '*dadad*) *agnaye* (HG. *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG ApMB HG. MG. See the preceding two items.

bhargo me 'vocah (PB. text *vocah*, comm *avocah* = *uktavān asi*, on MŚ. see above) PB. ApŚ. MŚ AG : *bhargam me vocah* ŚŚ Also with *bhadram, bhūtm, yašo*, etc.

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (KS. TS. TB. '*yāt*) VS. TS KS ŚB. TB : *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS. KS. Here both forms seem to be preterites, 'I have (thou hast) sacrificed away', no modal force is likely.

(*agnis ca viṣno tapa uttamam maho*) *dikṣāpālebhya 'vanatam* (AŚ. *dikṣā-pālāya vanatam*) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ. So the Bibl Ind ed. of TB reads, in text and comm, but the comm treats (*a*)*vanatam* as modal; and the Poona ed, text and comm, reads *vanatam*. Probably no real variant.

[*satyam ṛte* (and, *ṛtam satye*) *dhāyi* (ApŚ. '*dhāyi*; TS. KSA. '*dhām*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed of TB reads '*dhāyi* See §85. Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved]

§267. b Not preceded by *e* or *o*.

ā gharṃ agnim ṛtayann asādī (TA. °*ḍī*) RV. TA. : *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto na sādī* MS.

uktham avācīndrāya ŚŚ : *uktham vācīndrāya* TS AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. : *ukthyaṃ vācīndrāya śṛṇvate tvā* AŚ.

pitur iva nāmāgrabhīsam (ApMB. °*bhairīsam*; PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG. : *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh. Stenzler renders PG. 1. 13. 1 'moge ich den Namen eines Vaters erlangen.' But three preterites besides *jagrabham* make the construction of the latter (pluperfect; cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §818a) as preterite more likely. See §§206, 219f.

turīyenāmanvata (ŚŚ. *turīyena manvata*) *nāma dhenoh* AV. ŚŚ
utem anamnamuh (KB. ŚB KŚ. ŚŚ *uteva namnamuh*) TS MS AB. KB.
 ŚB AŚ ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ.

ayam punāna uśaso vi rocayat (SV *uśaso arocayat*) RV. SV. The RV.
 form is clearly preterite; cf. the parallel *abhavat* in the next pāda.
pary abhūd (RV. *uśarbhud bhūd*) *atithir jātavedāh* RV. MS.

indrāya suśuvur (MS. KS *indrāyāsusuṣuvur*) *madam* VS. MS KS. TB.
 Cf. §220 The form *asuśuvuh*, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really
 nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to
suśuvuh; MS p p *indrāya suśuvuh* —Yet more anomalous is the
 next:

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (TA. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA Mahān U. The
 TA. has a monstrosity, see §220.

gṛhān ajūgapatam yuvam AŚ : *gṛhān* (MŚ *gṛhāñ*) *jugupatam yuvam*
 MS. MŚ. Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with
gṛhān gopāyatam yuvam, see Conc.

§268 *Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses.*

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG. *vyuchat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB.
 ApŚ ŚG. HG. ApMB.

ūrdhvā yasyāmātr bhā adidyutat (VSK. *atidyutat*) *savīmāni* AV. SV VS.
 VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ. N. The variation is really pho-
 netic (*t*: *d*, surd: sonant).

(*yam*) *svādhyo* (TB. *svādhyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajījanan*)
 RV. TB.

anūdā yadī jījanad (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*)
 RV. SV.

yad enam dycur ajanayat (RV. *janayat*) *suretāh* RV. VS TS MS KS
 ŚB. ApMB. Clearly the RV. form is archaic, see Oldenberg,
Proleg. 306, 313.

yenāpāmṛśatam (SMB. v. l. °*śatam*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.. *yenāvamṛśatām*
surām PG In a series of preterite formulas. PG. comm. explains
 the lack of augment as Vedic license

yame va yatamāne yad aitam (TA. *etam*; but Poona ed *aitam*) RV AV.
 AB. KB. TA. AŚ. 'When like two twins in step ye went.' Prob-
 ably no real variant.

INTERCHANGES CONCERNING REDUPLICATION

§269. Many of these concern the quantity of the reduplicating vowel,
 and belong to the class of Rhythmic Changes in Quantity (cf. §§259–261);

they belong really to the section on Phonetics. Obscuration of the original principles of the rhythmic change has resulted in great irregularity, however.

§270. In a series of formulas *pīpīhi* of MS. exchanges with *pīpīhi* of TA. (and ApŚ.), we thus have forms presenting the aspect of a double or compensating rhythmic shift of quantity. [It seems to me likely that MS. understands *pīpīhi* as 'drink', root *pā*, while *pīpīhi* certainly means 'swell', root *pyā* F E]

subhūtāya pīpīhi (TA. *pīpīhi*) MS TA. And so with *brahmavarcasāya; iṣe, ūrje; asyaṃ viṣe* (TA. omits these) *mahyam jyaṣṭhyāya; asmaṃ* (TA. omits) *brahmaṇe*, and *kṣatrāya*. ApŚ. also has *iṣe*, and *ūrje, pīpīhi*. See §192.

§271. The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in character.

udgrābhenod ajigrabhat MS . . . *ajigrabham*, and *ajigrbham*, KS.

vyapasyata (AŚ *yī°*) *iva te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ.

imam agne camasam mā vi jihvarah (TA. *jī°*) RV. AV. TA AG.

grhān ajūgapatam yuvam AŚ.: *grhān* (MŚ. *grhāñ*) *jugapatam yuvam* MS MŚ

prajām me (ApŚ also, *no*) *naryājūgupah* (ApŚ. and MŚ v 1. *°jūgupah*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ Also:

paśūn me (nah) śansyājūgupah (ApŚ *°jūgupah*) MS. ApŚ MŚ. And similar formulas in the same passage.

śucanto agnim vavrdhanta (AV *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV. KS. Whitney, *Grammar* §786a

trita enam (read, *trita enan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamrje* AV : *trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* TB. The AV. form is the more usual, but that of TB. is metrically better See Whitney, l. c.

§272 There is, next, a small group showing confusion between the reduplicating vowels *i* (characteristic of the present) and *a* (perfect), which marks a certain blurring of the regular tense distinction between these types. Cf. the item in the Conc : *hastagrābhasya didhiṣos* (AV. *dadhiṣos*) . . . RV. AV. TA.

pra bhānavah śsrate (SV. *sasrate*) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MŚ.

Here *sasrate* is anomalous, cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 281.

vṛṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV. : *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV. The forms *cakradat* (*°das*) are counted perfect subjunctives; Whitney, *Grammar* §810

tāḥ prācya (Vait *°yah*; MŚ. *°cīr*) *ujjūgāhire* (KŚ.† *°īre*; Vait. *saṃjigāvre*)

KŚ Vait MŚ *prūcīś cajjagūhure* ApŚ Perfect forms; *ī* is anomalous

§273. The rest are odds and ends which concern reduplication in various ways; they are mostly problematic. There are a couple of apparent perfect active participles with unreduplicated stems, one obviously due to haplology, the other perhaps corrupt.

viśo-viśah pravīśvānsam īmahe AV · *viśvasyām viśi pravīśvānsam* (KS † *pravīśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§790, 803a, and on AV 4. 23. 1.

viśām vavarjuṣīnām (AV *viśām avarj°*) RV. AV. See Whitney on AV. 7. 50 2.

Once the reduplicated *sasṛjmahe* exchanges with *samsṛjmahe*, the preposition *sa* replacing the reduplicating syllable *sa*:
agne sasṛjmahe (MS. *samsṛj°*) *gīrah* RV. SV MS. KS.

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious: *sam tvā tatakṣuh* (LŚ. *tatakṣnuh*) Vait LŚ. KŚ. See §231, end. We have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ.

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vidvīr yāmann avarḍhayan* (TB *vidvīr yāman vavarḍhayan*) VS. TB. See §218, end; read probably *avarḍhayan* in TB.

[*jajanad* (TB *prajanad*; but Poona ed. correctly *jajanad*) *indram indriyāya svāhā* (MS. *om*) MS. TB. TA. ŚŚ.]

CHAPTER IX. VARIATIONS IN GRADE OR QUANTITY OF STEMS AND ALLIED MATTERS

§274. The matters included in this chapter are more or less homogeneous in that they all deal with verbal stems or bases which present, in alternative readings, both quantitatively fuller and less full forms. We have found it convenient to subdivide them as follows, without very much regard for conventional grammatical categories, but so as to bring together forms which seem to us really to belong together:

1 Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak.

2 Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems).

3 Strong and weak Perfect forms.

4 Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *r* (*ra*, *ari*), and other variants of *r*.

5. Interchanges between radical short and long *i* before *y*.

6. Other long and short *i* and *u* in radical syllables

7. Long and short 'intermediate *i*' (in *set* roots).

8. Presence or absence of intermediate *i*

9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms.

1. *Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak*

§275. As compared with the almost complete rigidity of Classical Sanskrit in regard to the separation of strong and weak stems in non-thematic presents, the Vedic language shows remarkable fluidity on this point, see Bloomfield's article 'On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives', *AJP* 5 16ff This is particularly the case in the 5th and 9th classes, and it usually manifests itself in encroachment of the strong stem on the weak. The variants, at least, show no case of the converse spread of the weak stem at the expense of the strong; whereas they repeatedly show the normal *kṛṇota* or *punīhi* or the like replaced by *kṛnota* or *punāhi*. In one formula, *barhi strīhi* or *strnāhi*, ApŚ. shows both forms. Of course the strong forms are to be regarded, at least morphologically, as secondary, and due to analogical spread from forms where the strong stem is regular. But it frequently happens that the chronology of the variants runs counter to this; that is, an older text

has the 'secondary' or analogical form, which is replaced by the regular form in a later text. Meter sometimes seems to have been concerned in the choice of the irregular form.

nu: no

kṛṇota (AV. *kṛṇuta*) *dhūmam vṛṣanam* (AV. °ṛah) *sakhāyah* RV. AV. *urvā rodasī varivas* (TS. KS. °vah) *kṛnotam* (KS. *kṛnutam*) TS. MS. KS.

Here KS. is metrically inferior, we may guess that metrical considerations dictated the use of the analogical *kṛnotam*.

sunuta ā ca dhāvatah RV.: *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV. Cf. *sunoty ā ca dhāvati* RV. The form *sunota* is well-known in RV.

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

nī: nā, and analogous forms

ṛjātavedah punīhi (MS. *punāhi*) *mā* RV. VS. MS. KS.

pavitrena punīhi (MS. *punāhi*) *mā* VS MS. KS TB. ŚŚ.

punīhīndrāya (SV. VS. *punāhī*^o) *pātave* RV. SV. VS. Vait.

asmān punīhi cakṣase AV.: *mām punīhi* (MS. *punāhi*) *visvatah* RV. VS. MS. KS.

barhi (MS. MŚ. *barhih*) *strīnīhi* (TS. MS [text *strīnātī*] MŚ. ApŚ. [once] *strīnāhi*) TS. MS. GB. ŚB. Vait KŚ. ApŚ (quater) MŚ.

sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛnāhi (PG. *pṛnīhi*; KS. *tad grīnīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

ivasvadvāte abhi no grīnīhi (TS. *grīnāhi*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

etam jānātha (KS. *jānīta*, TB. *jānītāt*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

In one case the root *hā*, whose present inflection is analogous to that of the 9th class (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 661a), presents a similar variation:

atrā jahāma (AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV. *aśivāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV. AV. (bis) TA.: *atra* (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'śivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.

2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including *r*-stems)

§276. Owing to the considerable mix-up between the various aorist systems, there is sporadic interchange between their stem-grades; a stem-grade appropriate to one formation is analogically transferred to another. In some cases there is doubt as to which aorist formation we are dealing with, and the variation in the form of the stem is itself often taken as evidence for the fact that different formations are concerned, it is, indeed, not infrequently the only such evidence available. See §§202 ff. for such examples. But the line between them and the class now under consideration is by no means always clear. Thus, in the first

example, it is customary to regard *bheh* and *bhairh* as respectively 1st and 4th aorists, and we have so treated them above, while *rok* and *ruk* are placed in this group as being both, apparently, root-aorists

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS. *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB : *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS. *rauñ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS.

§277. Similarly in several cases of *s*-aorists active, the *vrddhi* vowel alternates with the *guna* (Whitney, *Grammar* §887a), sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original:

abhyarakṣīd (AŚ °*rākṣīd*) *ōsmākam punar āgamāt* (AŚ *āyanāt*) MS AŚ. *iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat* (TB * *vākṣit*) VS. MS KS. TB. (both) N. See §167.

pra sakṣati pratimānam pṛthivyāh AV.: *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

ud akramīd dravinodā vāṅy arvā VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ud akrāmīt* (pratika) ApŚ.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣena vi yauṣma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

ihava stam mā vi yauṣtam (ApMB *yoṣtam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§278 In two cases the dissyllabic stems *grabhai* and *śarai* interchange with their reduced forms *grabhi* and *śari*, see Whitney, *Grammar* §904b; Bloomfield, *ZDMG* 48 574ff

pitur wa nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB. °*grabhaiṣam*, PG. *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB HG *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh.

indra enam (TB. ApŚ *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV TB. ApŚ. cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarat* AV But for this last SPP. with most mss. and Ppp reads °*śarīt*, the regular form.

§279 In a similar manner the 1st singular middle forms of the *s* and *iṣ* aorists show variation between reduced vowel and *guna*, in four variants These forms may also be considered precatives, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§567a, 568, 923.

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham paśubhiś ca brāhmanavarcasena ca ruciṣīya (MS *tvam rucyā rocasa evam aham rucyā rociṣīya*) AV MS. The MS. has the regular form, Whitney, *Grammar* §899b; cf. §907, where these forms are called precatives.

vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣ°*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇīyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya* TS The *i*-form is regular; Whitney, *Grammar* §879b, cf. §884.

somasīyāham devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ *dheṣīya*) TS ApŚ. MŚ.. *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā suretodhā reto dhiṣīya* KS.

tad adyu vācaḥ prathamam masīya (N. *masīya*) RV. AŚ. ApŚ N. The N. reading is not worthy of trust, tho formally regular enough; the meter is against it See Roth's note, p. 28 of Erläuterungen. For aorists in radical *ṛ* varying with *ra* or *ar*, see below, §281

3 Strong and weak Perfect forms

§280. The root *sah* 'be strong', exhibits interchange between *a* and *ā* in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist (see the item *pra sakṣati* or *sākṣate*, etc., under the preceding rubric). Long *ā* appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (*sāhata*, *sāhyāma*, *sādha*, *sādhvā*, *sādhṛ*, see Whitney's *Roots* s v), in some of these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated; possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms *bibheda valam* (AV. AŚ *balam*, but SPP *valam* for AV.) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV SV. AŚ ŚŚ.

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS.† *sāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atrīnam* RV. SV. KS.

Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges:

krūram ānanā (KS.† ApŚ *ānāsa*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV KS. ApŚ.

Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root *aś*, *anś*, *naś*

nirjaganvān (TS. °*jagmvān*) *tamaso jyotiṣāgāt* RV. VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. Alternative perfect participles, Whitney §805a

svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanvam*) *pīprayasva* (AV. *pīprā*°) RV AV. TA. MahānU. Both forms are anomalous, they are classed as perfect imperatives. Whitney on AV. 6. 110. 1 would read *pīprayasva*, but we do not see that this is a particularly better form than the other.

ād id antā adadrhanta pūrve KS.: *yaded antā adadrhanta* (TS. *adadrhanta*) *pūrve* RV. VS TS. MS. Pluperfects.

4. Interchanges between strong and weak stems in *ṛ* (*ra*, *arī*), and other variants of *ṛ*

§281. Here we group a few cases, mostly aorists (and therefore belonging also with No. 2, §§276 ff. above), in which we suspect that the variation between strong and weak *r*-forms is more due to phonetic change or corruption. The three cases of *grbh*: *grabh* are part of a tendency to reduce *r* + vowel to *ṛ*; they will be treated along with similar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on Saṁprasāraṇa in our section on Phonetics The solitary case of *jāgrāya* for the more

normal *jāgaritāya* is best accounted for as due to the same tendency. In the sixth example, *bhartam*: *bhrtam*, we have root-aorist forms, analogous to *ruk*: *rok* above (§276). Somewhat similar to the variation between *r* and *ra*, *ari*, is that between *r* and *ri* in two variants presently to be quoted, viz *vayam rāstre jāgryāma* (*jāgryāma*) etc., and *āpaprvān* (*āpaprvān*) etc., §287.

agr̥bhūt VSK : *agr̥bhūt* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agr̥bh̥ṣata VS.: *agr̥bh̥ṣata* KS.

udgrābhenod agr̥bhūt (MS. *ajigrabhat*, KS. *ajigrabham*, and *ajigr̥bham*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB.

jāgaritāya (KSA. *jāgr̥tāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

śritas tvam śr̥to 'ham ApŚ *śritas tvam śr̥to 'ham* KS. Apparently pples. from monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms of the same base

bhartam (VS. ŚB. *bhrtam*) *agnim puriṣyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Whitney, *Grammar* §831a.

5 Interchanges between radical short and long i before y

§282. Before suffixal *y*, final radical *i* appears alternatively as *ī* in a couple of variants:

sarvān patho anr̥nā ā kṣīyema (AV. *kṣī°*) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The *ī* is bad metrically as well as formally.

yūpāyocchr̥yamānāyānubrūhi (MŚ. °*chr̥iya°*) ApŚ. MŚ. But most mss. of MŚ. read °*chr̥iya°*, and as this is (before the *ya* of the passive) the grammatically regular form, it should probably be read.

§283. Somewhat similar to these variants, which are really phonetic in character and will be dealt with in our Phonetics section, are the two variants showing *i* or *ī* in denominative stems (§243, *janīyanti* and *janīyanto*, *putriyanti* and *putriyantah*); and likewise, from another standpoint, the variant *vayam rāstre jāgryāma* (*jāgryāma*) etc., §287, where influence of the following *y* may be suspected in the form with *ri* for *r*.

6. Other long and short i and u in radical syllables

§284. A miscellaneous list, as follows:

avāmba (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *adi°*, and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., with MS. p. p.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist from *dā* 'share'. The meter favors *ī*.

prati śma (SV. *śma*) *deva riṣatah* (SV. *riṣ°*, and so RV. p. p.) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

vājino vājajito vājam sasṛvānso (KS. *ṛgṛvānso*, TS. *sasṛvānso vājam ṛgṛvānso*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. Roots *ṛ* and *ṛyā, ṛī?* Cf. next.

ajitāh (TA. *ajitāh*; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *ajitā*) *syāma śaradaḥ śalam* TA. ApMB. HG. Cf. prec. TA. comm. paraphrases by *ajitāh*.

samāṅgayati (ŚB *samāṅg°*) *sarvataḥ* RV. ŚB. BrhU. The true reading of BrhU. is that of ŚB., °*ṅg°* is Boehtlingk's emendation.

praśāstah pra suhi (KŚ *sūhi*, MŚ. *suva*; ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *sūhi* looks like a blend of *sūhi* and *suva*.

mā hinsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB. *ūh°*) AV. ApMB.

7. Long and short 'intermediate i'

§285. There are a few cases of unstable quantity in the *i* which may be called, broadly speaking, the Sanskrit representative of the schwa-vowel in the second syllable of dissyllabic (*seti*) roots, we include here *i* and *ī* before the *s* of the aorist, since that originally belonged in this category. Among the latter, it is noteworthy that we find both instances of 3d singular forms with short *i* where it should be long, and plural or dual forms with long *ī* where it should be short. The cases are very few in number, and probably analogical in both instances.

suśami śamīṣva (TS. TB. *śamiṣva*, KS † *śamnīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sa idam devebhyo havih (*havyam*) *śamīṣva* (TS. TB. omit) *suśami śamīṣva* (TS. TB. *śamiṣva*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB : *devebhyo havyam śamīṣva* MS.

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś. °*gam yathālokaṃ*) *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (AŚ. *āvṛṣāyīṣata*; ŚŚ. *avīṛṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. See §§201, 243.

tato no matrāvaruṅāv aviṣtam TB : *tena no matrāvaruṅāv* (MS °*ṅā*) *aviṣtam* RV. MS. *aviṣtam* doubtless analogous to *avī*.

mā tvāgnir dhanayīd (TS. °*yīd*, KSA. °*yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhīh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA See §174; Whitney, *Grammar* §1048; and cf. *indro vājam ajayit*, TS. 1. 7. 8. 1, TB.

8. Presence or absence of 'intermediate i'

§286. The principal group under this head consists of aorist forms in *-ṛṣ-* or *-ṛīṣ-*, from roots in *ṛ*. Only the first two variants concern a root (*car*) which regularly forms both *s* and *iṣ* aorists; on these see §206. Otherwise the variants are apparently rather phonetic than morphological in character; they concern *svarabhakti*, on which cf. Wackernagel

1. §§49-53; they will be dealt with in our chapter on Insertion and Expulsion of Vowels, in the section of this work on Phonetics. They are of two sorts. Some concern roots which form aorists of the simple *s* type (Whitney's 4th aorist), in which an *i* is alternately inserted before the *s*. The others concern roots of the *iṣ* type (Whitney's 5th aorist), from which the *i* is sometimes dropped by a kind of 'hyper-Sanskritism', the pronunciation *-riṣ-* seems to have been sometimes felt as dialectic and vulgar, and is occasionally 'restored' to *-rṣ-* by late texts in forms where *-riṣ-* is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś reading *tārṣat* for *tāriṣat*, below. There are thus three divisions of these variations between *-rṣ-* and *-riṣ-*:

(a) From roots which form aorists in both *s* and *iṣ*

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (MS and MŚ v. 1 *acārṣam*) VS TS. MS.
KS † ŚB. ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ. HG

vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*patayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS
TA. Kauś

(b) From roots regularly forming only *s* aorist:

dakṣam te bhādrām ābhārṣam RV. *dakṣam ta ugram ābhārṣam* AV.
Most mss of AV. agree on *ābhārṣam*, tho the comm reads *ābhārṣam*, which the meter supports. No *iṣ* aorist of *bhṛ* is recorded.

dāteḥ putrāṇām adāter akārṣam (MS *akāriṣam*) AV. MS. The verse is otherwise *jagāṇi*, so that probably *akāriṣam* is to be read in AV. with many mss and SPP., Ppp, however, has *akārṣam*, and if *akāriṣam* is the true reading it is a matter of phonetics rather than morphology, no 5th aorist from *kr* is recorded.

yad rātriṣyā (MahānU. and v. 1 of TA. °*tryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v. 1. *akāriṣam*, not recorded in Poona ed) TA. MahānU. Cf. prec. The meter supports the regular form *akārṣam*.

tan nah pariṣad (MS. *pariṣad*) *atī dviṣah* TS MS KS TB. (Read *pariṣad* twice in MS., in 2 7 12c von Schroeder reads *parṣad* against all his *samhitā* mss. Acc. to his note l. c. KapS. also has *pariṣad*) The form *pariṣad* is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV. has *pāriṣat*).

(c) From roots regularly forming only *iṣ* aorist.

pra na (SV. MS. PB. *na*) *āyūṅṣi tāriṣat* (Kauś. *tārṣat*) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N. The isolated form of Kauś. (all mss.) can only be an ignorant attempt to 'correct' the supposedly dialectic pronunciation with *i*. This is shown not only by the meter, but by the fact that a 4th aorist from

the dissyllabic root *tṛ* is monstrous and unheard of. Cf Wackernagel, 1. §53c end

āchettā te (TB ApŚ **vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS. *riṣat*, MS *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB ApŚ MŚ. In MŚ. also *mārṣam* should be read, with all Knauer's mss. But the form is monstrous. Strictly speaking it is a 2d (thematic) aorist, from the root *riṣ*, the *s* as well as the *i* being radical. But it belongs here as being an instance of hyper-Sanskritic pronunciation or *rṣ* for *riṣ*.

§287. There remain only a few cases, more or less dubious in character, which present the aspect of alternative loss or insertion of an 'intermediate *i*' in other cases than when preceded by *r* and followed by *ṣ*.

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśvān*) *voce* RV. SV N. Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §803a. *dāśvāns* is frequently trisyllabic in RV; Grassmann and Oldenberg assume that the *v* is vocalic. The SV. here presents a secondary attempt to improve the meter.

āpaprivān (MS. °*prvān*, but p. p. °*privān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB These may be regarded as from by-forms of the same root, *āpaprivān* is connected with *prā*, while the dubious nonce-form of MS, if correct, harks back to *pr*, which has no perfect active. The variation, if real, resembles the cases of Samprasāraṇa mentioned §281.

vayam rāstre jāgryāma (KS MS °*mā*; TS. and p. p. of MS *jāgryāma*) *purohitāh* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS The regular form of the opt of *jāgr* is *jāgryāma*. This recalls not only the Samprasāraṇa variants, like the preceding item, but also (since the following sound *y* may be suspected of being concerned in the insertion of the vowel *i*) the variants mentioned under 5, §§282f.

[*utkransyate* (KSA. *utkransyate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. So Conc, but the sole ms. of KSA reads *utkrāmyate*, which von Schroeder properly emends to *utkransyate*]

9 Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms

§288 Three cases which fall in nowhere else:

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānah* (AV. *prar*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Ppp. has *prīṇānah* with the rest.

agne yat te tejas tena tam atejasam kṛnu (KS. *tam prati tityagdhi*; MS. ApŚ. *tam prati titgdhi*). AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. The strange *tityagdhi* of KS 6. 9 (p. 59, l 20) is supported by the present *prati-tyakti*, KS. 7. 6 (p. 68, l 11). It is an adventurous formation, on

the pattern, say, of *vdh. vyadh*; possibly, however, a thought of the root *tyaj* may have helped to form it.

añjapata (TS. TB *añjapata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS. KS. TB. MŚ. Reduplicated (causative) aorists from the root *ji* 'conquer', both, but especially *añjapata*, are highly anomalous.

Cf. also the variant causative stems listed §242, and denominatives, §243.

CHAPTER X. PERSON AND NUMBER

Introductory remarks

§289 The very numerous variations in person and number of verb forms are superficially quite different in character from the other verbal variants. Yet fundamentally they resemble them more than appears at first sight. Like the rest, broadly speaking, they mark and illustrate temperamental fluidity, or shifts in psychological attitude. Thus, to begin with, an activity to be performed or a result to be obtained by the ritual action of a priest or sacrificer may be expressed by a verb in either first, second, or third person, and either singular or plural number. For many variants alternatively conceive the result accomplished, or the action performed, either by the priest or sacrificer (who may be identified with the speaker, the verb being in the first person, or addressed in the second person as being an associate of the speaker), or by some natural or supernatural potency, agency, or implement, in which power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which may be addressed in the second person or spoken of in the third. For instance, as the priest cleans various sacrificial implements, he says, addressing the implement: 'do not wipe off (from me) speech or cattle', *vācam paśūn mā nir mārjīh* MS MŚ. But other texts, in precisely similar contexts, say 'may it not wipe off', or 'may I not (by this action) wipe off', etc.: *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ · *vācam prānam mā nir mṛkṣam* TS.: *rūpam varnam paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ. The real meaning is essentially identical in all. A very considerable proportion of the variations between first person verbs, on the one hand, and second or third (or both) on the other, belong to this category in which the matter is credited now to the medicine-man or priest himself, now to an agency or potency, whether human, divine, or merely instrumental, which is associated with him and thru which he operates. See §§302, 304, 312.

§290. As between first and second person, another important group contains variations in which the subject of the verb is really the same in either case, namely the priest or priests and his or their associates, who may be spoken of indifferently in the first or second person. See §307. Thus, in *mitrāya (satyāya) havyam ghṛtavaḥ juhota* ('vad vidhema), 'to Mitra (the true one) offer ye (let us offer) oblation with ghee', it makes not the slightest real difference whether the persons who are to offer

oblation are called 'we' or 'ye', both forms of the pāda occur in precisely the same stanza. Moreover, either or both of the verbs may in such cases be either singular or plural: 'I' or 'we', 'thou' or 'ye.' Indeed, nearly all variations between first person singular and first person plural are cases of precisely this sort, see the long list in §345, of which the following may serve as an example *yad dhastābhyām cakara* (AV *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāni* AV MS. TB. TA, 'if I (we) have committed sins with the two hands' In such cases it is often impossible to say whether the plural expression really thinks of a group of individuals of whom the speaker is one, or whether it is 'editorial', referring really to none but the speaker himself. In many cases, undoubtedly, the latter is true; nor is it at all necessary to suppose then that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in the plural form, altho such may occasionally be the case. See §344 for a few instances where first plural verbs are certainly used referring to the single speaker alone, e.g. *śatam jīvema* (PG. *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradaḥ purūciḥ* PG MG, which is spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil. 'may we (which means 'I', as in PG.) live a hundred numerous autumns' Even MG has first singular verbs in the rest of the stanza where this pāda occurs — For a few similar cases of second person singular and plural, referring to associates of the priestly speaker, see §347, and for mixed cases (first singular and second plural, or vice versa) see §307, end, e.g. *tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (*juhomi*), 'to him, Indra, offer ye (I offer) the pressed drink'

§291. Another class of variations, involving both person and number, consists of generalizing statements, in which the subject is really indefinite, 'people' in general, 'one' (French *on*, German *man*) Such expressions are usually third person, most commonly plural, but sometimes also singular, as in *brahmajāyeyam itī* (AV. *°jāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV. *°cat*) RV AV., 'if they (indefinite) have (one has) said, she is a brahman's wife' See §359 for others of this type. Such generalizing third persons also vary with 1st or 2d person forms, which are sometimes definite (as are some of the third person singulars which vary with indefinite third plurals), but sometimes also indefinite. Thus we have a 1st plural indefinite varying with a 3d plural, also indefinite, in: *yathā kalām yathā śapham yatha ṛṇam samnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṇam samnayanti*), *evā duṣvapnyam sarvām āptye* (AV. *apṛiye*, or *dvīṣate*) *samnayāmasi* RV. AV. (bis), 'as we (= people in general, or, they) load up a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trita) Āptya (or, the enemy).' And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may be used in this indefinite sense: *tam tvā bhaga sarva ṛ johavīmi* (RV. VS.

°ti) RV AV. VS TB. ApMB, 'on thee, Bhaga, every one calls lustily', or, 'on thee, Bhaga, do every I call' Whitney on AV. 3 16 5 renders mechanically 'do I call, entire', but obviously it can only mean 'do I and every one like me call', or the like, the surrounding pādas have 1st person verbs, and have influenced this The TB. comm glosses *johavīmi* by *āhvayati*, which is by no means as foolish as it might seem at first sight, indeed, it may be called rather exceptionally acute.—On the other hand it is commoner for definite 1st or 2d person forms to exchange with indefinite 3d persons, whether singular or (more often) plural, as in *vacānsy āsā* (SV *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV *takṣuh*) RV SV, 'I (they = people in general) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (for this mighty one)' Or, 2d person *yenendrāya samabharah* (MS KS. °ran) *payānsi* AV TS MS KS, 'by which thou (= Agni) didst (or, they, indefinite, did) collect milk for Indra' See §§314, 360

§292 Among the variations concerning Person, interchanges between 1st and 2d person are relatively rare, those between 1st and 3d are somewhat commoner, but by far the most numerous are those between 2d and 3d. The great majority of these last do not present any very startling features. Most commonly they simply concern shifts from direct address to a person or thing to indirect reference, in contexts where both are equally suitable. See §§327 ff Not infrequently an entire stanza, containing several clauses, and several verb-forms, is remodelled in this way, so that we have a series of 2d person verbs varying with a series of 3d persons, as in

navo-navo bhavati (AV JUB °si) *jāyamānah, ahnām ketur uśasām ety* (AV. † *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °sy) *āyan, pra candramās tirate* (TS °ti; AV † °nas *tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV. TS MS KS. N; first pāda also TB AŚ HG. BDh. JUB VHDh., 'Ever new he becomes (thou becomest) born, as banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at the head of the dawns, arriving he shares (thou sharest) out fortune to the gods, the moon lengthens (thou, O moon, lengthenest) out long life'

§293. It will be noted that, consistently with the verbs, the subject here shifts from nominative to vocative when 2d person replaces 3d, and that the change is made with all verbs in the stanza. In the majority of cases the syntax is thus consistent in both 2d and 3d person passages. There remain, however, a good many passages where the change results in more or less inconsistency Not seldom we find a third person verb with vocative subject This occurs three times in the same stanza in the PG. version of the following

yena śrīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛnutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatam* (PG. °*vamṛśātām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ °*kṣām*, PG °*kṣyāv*) *abhyasīñcatam* (PG °*tām*), *yad vām tad aśvīnā yaśah* ŚŚ PG SMB. Here the direct address to the Aśvins (note the 2d person pronoun *vām*, showing that *aśvīnā* can only be vocative) in the fourth pāda makes the 3d person verbs unconstruable by strict syntax. Naturally there is a temptation to emend in such cases. But the thrice repeated 3d person forms of PG seem to prove that such a temptation should not be yielded to lightly. Stenzler quite properly keeps the 3d persons in his text of PG, altho he translates them as if they were 2d persons. The comm. supplies *bhavantau* as subject. Harsh as the construction seems to us, it was clearly the reading intended, and it is supported by many similar cases, listed §332. In the same pages we find also cases of the converse condition, namely, 2d person verbs with nominative subjects, as in

tā enam pravīdvānsau śrapayatam MS : *tāv imam paśum śrapayatām pravīdvānsau* TB

Here only the TB is syntactically consistent; not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects of *śrapayatam* in the preceding, are nominative in MS.

§294 A milder form of inconsistency is found in the long list of passages found §333ff, where we find no internal inconsistency of the type just mentioned, as between subject and verb within the same clause, but rather a shift from direct address to third-person reference (or vice versa) in parallel and adjoining passages. This produces an effect of more or less harshness. It is not always, to our feeling, so intolerable as it seems in the SV reading of the following

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV. *sānv āruhaḥ*) RV. SV.

This is followed by the pāda *bhūy aspasta kartvam* 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor'. The SV appears to say, 'When thou (Indra) didst mount from peak to peak and he (Indra) beheld much labor', unless, indeed, we may suppose that SV. understands *āruhaḥ* as an anomalous verbal noun or adjective, depending on the subject of *aspasta* ('when, mounting etc., he beheld etc.'). But the occurrence of very many other cases where the parallelism is broken almost or quite as harshly justifies us in supposing that the shift in person was not too much for SV. to tolerate.

§295 Attention may be called here to a curious detail which crops out among the variants between 2d and 3d person. When the SV. repeats a RV. mantra containing a verb of which the subject is Soma, it shows a marked tendency to replace a third-person indirect reference

by a second-person direct address to Soma. For example, this occurs in each of the four pādas of the following stanza, the subject being appropriately made vocative instead of the nominative of the RV.:

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV °si), *agre vāco agrīyo goṣu gachati* (SV °si), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV °se mahad dhanam), *svāyudhah sotrbhah pūyate vrsā* (SV °bhah soma sūyase) RV SV.

And so in practically every case found among the Variants as between RV and SV in which the subject of the verb is Soma. In seven other cases besides the stanza just quoted the accompanying text is syntactically consistent in both cases, these are listed §328. But in another half-dozen cases, listed §334, the second-person forms of SV are more or less inconsistent with the context, which presents parallel third-person verbs even in SV. The reverse change of 2d to 3d person in verbs of which Soma is the subject is extremely rare in SV, and due to special reasons, see §335.

§296. Among the variants concerning number, perhaps the most interesting are those in which a verb with singular subject is made dual or plural by a simple process of multiplication of the subject, or by inclusion within the subject of another entity or entities, or vice versa in either case. The instances of the first type are grouped in §348 ff. They call for no comment, the following will serve as an example.

sundhantām lokāh pṛiṣadanāh VS MIS KS ŚB. MŚ *sundhatām lokah pṛiṣadanah* TS ApŚ, 'let the worlds (or, world) where the fathers sit be purified'

For the second type see §§353 ff, the cases are somewhat less numerous, but still common enough, for example:

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhisi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV. SV VS TB

Followed by *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*. The real subject in RV. is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples, *Sāyana, yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah devāh* etc. The plural is here the original form, and the alteration is a case of subtraction or division rather than addition or multiplication of the subject. Both SV. and TB were troubled by the seeming disagreement between verb and subject (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the construction, SV by making the verb singular, agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro*; and TB. by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three subjects instead of two for the plural verb, in defiance of the meter.

§297. Of great interest, tho of equally great rarity, are the cases (§358) in which a grammatically plural or dual subject (either a *plurale*

tantum, or more than one noun felt as constituting a single unit) is alternatively construed with a singular verb, because the subject is thought of collectively as a unit'

drupadā wa muñcatām (TB °*tu*, so read with Poona ed.) AV TB The subject is found in the preceding pāda, *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca*, 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post' It would be mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of TB as agreeing with the nearer subject *bhavyam*, as under the type mentioned last. Rather, the two subjects are felt in TB as forming a single unitary concept

§298. There remain, finally, a rather considerable number of shifts in either person or number, or both, which are due to real syntactic reconstructions of the passage involving change of subject. Either the mantra may be applied in a different connexion, with a different subject for the verb, or the context may remain the same, but owing to an internal reconstruction the subject may be different and may require a different person or number. The following examples may serve to illustrate these two types, as between second and third person, and between the various numbers, they are hardly capable of further subdivision, and will be found grouped in §§338-41, 361-71. Most of the variants between first and second person, and between first and third, naturally involve change of subject, in so far as they include recognizable groupings, attention has already been called to them.

§299. First, cases in which the formula appears in different contexts. The first example is a pāda occurring in the RV itself in no less than four different stanzas, three of which are repeated in other texts, in three of the four the verb is second person, the varying subject being directly addressed in each, while in the fourth the subject is referred to indirectly and the verb is therefore third person. The anomalous form (*bhūtu*) of this last version shows that it is a secondary adaptation of one of the others

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VS TS. MS KS. *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV MS TB. TA. MahānU.: *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV. AV. TA ; 'be thou (let him be) aider of our chariots (our persons)'

Or, a case in which all three numbers, as well as second and third persons, appear, each form being appropriate to its special context:

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV., 'he presses and adds water', *sunuta ā ca dhāvatah* RV, 'they two press and add water', *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV. 'press ye (plural) and add water!'

§300 Secondly, cases in which the context is essentially the same, but an internal reconstruction furnishes the verb with a different subject, requiring different person or number or both

aḥar no atyapīparat MahānU SMB, 'the day has brought us across':
aḥar mātyapīparah AV, 'thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day'
ṛbāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣte* (AŚ ŚŚ.
iṣṭayah) AV. AŚ ŚŚ, 'let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at
 the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him).'

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthwī ā prnethām (MS MŚ *prṇa*, LŚ *prīnāthām*) TS.
 MS KS. LŚ ApŚ MŚ. 'O heaven and earth, be filled (gratified) with
 ghee', or, 'fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee'

nṣkam iva praṇ muñcata (°tām) AV. (both) 'Fasten ye on (another)
 like a necklace', or 'let him fasten on himself like a necklace' Here,
 and not infrequently, a change of voice goes with the change of person
 and number, see §30 Somewhat similarly, but without a change of
 voice, the verb is used in a different meaning in the following:

indrām samatsu bhūṣata SV.. *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV. AV. Pre-
 ceded by: *ā no nṣvāsu havyah* (SV. °yam) 'Let Indra associate himself
 with us (SV., praise ye Indra), (Indra) who is to be invoked (of us) in
 every conflict'

§301. After these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to list the
 variants concerning Person and Number As usual thruout this work,
 we have followed the lines of practical convenience in classifying them,
 without being too much bound by formal and external schemes Thus,
 in the case of the Person variants, we have found it practicable to divide
 them first into the four natural groups of those which show (1) all three
 persons, (2) first and second persons, (3) first and third, and (4) second
 and third Cross-references from one group to another will enable the
 reader to bring together such subdivisions of each group as belong
 together But as regards the Number variants, such a primary division
 has seemed to us inadvisable, and our first division has been psychologi-
 cal rather than formal We begin with variations between first and
 second persons singular and plural as referring to the priests and their
 associates Next come cases in which the same subject appears as
 singular, dual, or plural, with accompanying change in number of the
 verb; and, following this, those in which a more inclusive subject varies
 with a less inclusive one (§296). After this we place the very few varia-
 tions in which a singular verb goes with a subject felt as collective, tho
 formally dual or plural, and next the cases of generalizing plural and
 singular. Then come the variations in number due to change of subject

within the same context, then those due to change of subject involved in a change of context, and finally a few cases which seem to involve errors and corruptions with which little or nothing can be done. Within each of these groups, however, we have separated the variants which occur into the natural formal subdivisions of singular and plural, dual and each of the other numbers, and variations of all three numbers. Occasionally, and in so far as it seems desirable, we have also recognized accompanying changes of person in our subdivisions.

A VARIANTS CONCERNING PERSON

1 Variants between all three Persons

§302. (a) Most of these are of the sort mentioned in §289 above. Namely, they concern cases in which a result is conceived as accomplished either by the priest or sacrificer (first person), or alternatively by some god, potency, agency, or implement, in which magic power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which is either addressed (in second person), or merely referred to (in third person). The considerable number of such variants, swelled by a still larger number in which only first and second persons appear (§304), or only first and third (§312), illustrates very interestingly this aspect of Vedic sacrificial psychology. Thus

tveṣam vaco apāvadhīt (TS TB °dhīm, MS. °dhāh) VS TS MS. KS
 ŚB TB. Preceded in all by *yā te agne 'yāsayā* ('yahsayā)
tanūr 'That form of thine, O Agni has driven away harsh
 words'; or, ' (by it) I have driven away' or 'thou hast driven away'
 etc. Also *ugram vaco* etc., see Conc.

Here the real agency is the same in either case, the practitioner operates thru an implement or a force which he controls, and it makes no difference whether the activity is attributed to the one or the other. Similarly.

vācam paśūn mā nīr mārjīh MS MŚ . *vācam prānam mā nīr mṛkṣam*
 TS . *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛṣat* MŚ *rūpam varnam paśūnām mā*
nirmṛkṣam ApŚ. And other similar formulas in the same context.

[*tam mā hiraṇyavarcaṣam* (RVKh *tena mām sūryatvacam*)] *karotu*
 (RVKh. *akaram*) *pūruṣu priyam* (ApMB. *pūruṣu priyam kuru*)
 ApMB. HG. RVKh '(O name,) make me here of golden luster,
 beloved among the Pūrus!' or, 'let it (the name) make me' etc., or,
 'by it (the name) I have made myself sun-colored' etc.

evam garbham dadhām (ApMB. °tu) *te* ŚB. BrhU. ŚG ApMB. HG.:

and (in different but related context) *evam tam* (ApMB *tvam*) *garbham ādhehi* (ApMB *ādhatva*) RVKh ApMB MG, *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV. 'Thus I fix (let him fix) the germ for thee', or, 'fix thou this germ' In the second version of ApMB, but only there, the woman is addressed. 'Receive thou the germ' Note the middle voice, and see §30 In all the others the subject is either the practitioner (1st person) or some divine or magical potency (addressed in RVKh MG, referred to in 3d person in the first version of ApMB.)

mā devānām mihuyā karma (TS *mihuyā kar*, MS *yūyupāma*, AŚ. *momuhad*, AVPpp *yūyavad*, for *mi° karma*) *bhāgam* (AVPpp TS. MS AŚ *bhāgadheyam*) AV AVPpp. TS MS. TB. AŚ. So to be read, see Whitney on AV 4 39. 9 'May we (he, mayst thou) not cheat the share of the gods' or the like TS *kar* is 2d person, with subject Agni who is addressed in the preceding pāda Agni is also the subject of the 3d person forms of AVPpp AŚ, which have 3d person references to him in the preceding pāda.

pari nah pāhi (also *pātu*, and *pari mā pāhi*) *visvatah* AV. (all). *pari tvā pāmi sarvatah* RVKh. 'Protect us (me, let him protect us; I protect thee) on all sides' In several different contexts

brahma tena punāhi nah (LŚ *mā*; KS VS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punīmahe*) RV VS MS KS TB. LŚ *idam brahma punīmahe* TB. 'The charm (O Agni, that is in thy light), by that purify us (me; may we be purified)' The first person is here due to shift to middle (passive) value, see §30 The subject of the 3d person in VS KS can only be Agni, tho the vocative remains in these texts, VS comm. *bhavān punātu* Cf §332

§303 (b) The rest are of different sorts, and can hardly be classified except as *vikāras* of one another adapted to different situations, the real, as well as the grammatical, subject is generally different, and to a large extent the formulas are used in different contexts At most two of the three persons may refer to the same subject, as in the 1st and 2d person forms of the following, where the same individual speaks in one form of the variant and is addressed in the other (cf. §308):

śatam jīvantu (AV.* *°tah*, TB.* ApŚ.* MG. *jīvema*, AV.* SMB. PG.* ApMB.* HG. *ca jīva*, PG.* *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradaḥ purūcāh* (*suvarcāh*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Somewhat complicated are the variations of this oft-repeated pāda, occurring in several texts more than once. It occurs in three stanzas, at least, which may be considered quite distinct from one

another In one all texts read *jīvantu* and *purūcīh* except AV. which has the correlative participle *jīvantah*. A second, reading *jīvema* and *purūcīh*, is found only in TB ApŚ The remaining occurrences seem all to concern variant forms of what is essentially the same stanza, sometimes two forms of it occurring in juxtaposition in the same text (as in ApMB. 2 2 7 and 8) It is used variously; at the marriage ceremony, at the *upanayana*, at the ceremony marking the close of studentship, and the verb is always 2d person (addressed to the bride or to the *brahmacārin*) except in PG 2. 6 20 and MG 1 9. 27, where it is put into the mouth of the *brahmacārin*; see §308

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS. TB ApŚ. MŚ *nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV. Same context In all but AV. the subject is *devāh* in the preceding (voc in MŚ, nom in TS TB ApŚ, see §329) In AV it is replaced by *devaiḥ*, the subject being 'we': 'let (the gods) revel (O gods, revel ye) here in the highest heaven', or 'may we revel together (with the gods) with food on the back of heaven.'

viśvam āyur vy aśnavat RV TS MS TB Kauś *aśnavat* (AV °*vam*) AV. VS MS KS. TB *aśnutah* RV *aśnutam* (AV * °*tām*) RV. AV ApMB In several different contexts, which account fully for the variations of both person and number.

suprajāh prajayā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) VSK TS ApŚ HG ApMB : *suprajāh prajābhi(h) syām* (VS ŚB also *syāma*) .VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ *supośah pośais suprajāh prajayā syām* JB *supośah pośaih syāt* MS KS TB MŚ In several different contexts

yad vo 'suddhāh (VSK. °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānartad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK ŚB *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad va etena śundhantām* KS : *yad vo 'suddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS See §30

mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā sarvāni bhūtāni samīkṣantām, mitrasyāham cakṣuṣā samīkṣe, mitrasya cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe VS (all, in same passage; the subject of *samīkṣāmahe* is reciprocal and includes *sarvāni bhūtāni*) *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe*, and *samīkṣadhvam* MS. (in same passage). And others, see Conc under *mitrasya vaś, mitrasya tvā*.

tena tvāyuṣāyusmantam karomi TS. PG. ApMB : *tasyāyam* (and, *teṣām ayam*) *āyuṣāyusmān astv asau* KS *tenāyuṣāyusmān edhi* MS

2. Variants between First and Second Person

§304. (a) We find under this head, first, a considerable group of the type described above in §§289, 302, in which the action or result is conceived as brought about sometimes by the priest or sacrificer (first person), sometimes by a divine or natural or supernatural agency or implement, which is addressed in the second person. Thus:

ṛtenāsya nīvartaye (MŚ. °ya), *satyena parīvartaye* (MŚ °ya) TB ApŚ.

MŚ. 'By his divine order do I (thou, addressing the razor) return, by his truth do I (thou) move about.' Spoken in the shaving ceremony, while wielding the razor.

The potency address or referred to is not always clearly indicated; we have seen this illustrated in some of the similar variants of all three persons, and shall find the same in not a few of the following ones, as for instance in this.

(*pari*) *mahe kṣatrāya* (also: *śrotrāya*) *dhattana* AV. (*pari* .) *mahe rāṣṭrāya* (also: *śrotrāya*) *dadhmaṣi* HG. 'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like. In AV. apparently address to undefined gods

vi mīmṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV. *vi mīme tvā payasvatīm devānām* TB. ApŚ. 'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be address) the milk-rich, ghee-full (cow)', or 'I measure thee out, the milk-rich (cow) of the gods.'

payo divy antarīkṣe payo dhāh (TS *dhām*) VS. TS MS KS. 'Milk do thou place (sc. for me, acc to VS comm. Agni is address) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc.

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (TS KS. TB 'yāt) VS. TS KS. ŚB. TB: 'yāsiṣam VS ŚB LŚ *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS. 'I have (thou—[O bath]—hast) removed by sacrifice the god-wrought sin by the gods' Similarly (but in different context). *ava devānām yaja heda agne* (KS *yaje hedyāni*, MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ: *agne devānām ava heda yakṣva* (KS *īkṣva*) KS ApŚ 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like

vācam te mā hīnsīṣam KS.: *vācam asya mā hīnsīh* MS. And so with *cakṣuh*, *caritrān*, *śrotram*, and others. At the slaughtering of an animal: 'may I not harm thy voice etc.', or 'harm not his voice etc.', addressing the animal, or the instrument of slaughter.

garbhān (sc. *prīṇāmi*) Vait: *garbhān prīṇāhi* ApŚ. 'I gratify (, or, gratify thou—address to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos'

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ °tā) MS ApŚ *ava bādhasva pṛtanāyatah* PG.

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūryo agre śukro agre tāh prahinomi (ApŚ. °hinvo) MS ApŚ 'These I send forth', or 'these send thou forth' (addressed to the sun? see Caland on ApŚ 10 12 4)

apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ *apārarum pṛthivyaḥ devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Drive away (I would drive away) Araru' etc

śucim te (SV. *ca*) *varnam adhi goṣu dādham* (SV. *dhāraya*) RV SV. In SV addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV also

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS ŚB . *sarvāns tām maṣmaṣā* (MS † *mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS KS † TA *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV. 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like *manasaspata imam deva yajñam* (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB . *manasaspata imam no divi deveṣu yajñam*, *svāhā divi svāhā pṛthivyām svāhāntarikṣe svāhā vāte dhām svāhā* AV . *manasaspata imam no deva deveṣu yajñam svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāh* TS . *manasaspate sudhātṛv imam yajñam divi deveṣu vāte dhāh svāhā* MS The AV version is harsher, the voc *manasaspate* requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV

stotāram id didhīseya (SV *dadhīse*) *radāvaso* RV SV. Similar to prec., here SV. has a lectio facilior.

With change of number as well as person:

pra tvā (KŚ *mā*) *muñcāmi* (RV * *pra no muñcatam*) *varunasya pāsāt* RV. (both) AV. AŚ KŚ AG ApMB Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra

tam (TS. KS add *vah*) *supṛitam subhṛtam akarma* (KS *abhārṣam*, VS °*tam bibhṛta*) VS. TS. KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you', or 'maintain ye' etc.

nih kravādām nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS *niṣ kravādām sedha* VS. TS KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ. In AV, 'we drive out the flesh-eating (fire)', in YV addressed to Agni Different contexts

bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti*? doubtful text) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Addressed to the cake (*purodāśa*) at the *darśapūrṇamāsa*. TB comm. understands *uddhara im* (= *imam*), and Caland on ApŚ follows him; *bharatam* means the *yajamāna* according to comm., according to Caland possibly Agni. Both variants are doubtful.

tayā mā samsṛjāmasi HG ApMB. *tayā mām indra sam sṛja* RVKh. 'With it (*lakṣmī*) we unite me', or 'with it unite me, O Indra.'

tābhīr ā vartayā punah TS ApMB . *tābhya enā nī vartaya* RV.†. *tābhyaś tvā vartayāmasi* KS. 'By (from) them bring them (we bring thee) back.'

§305. Sometimes the change between first and second person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a change between active and middle or passive voice, or between causative and primary verb-forms. These will be found easily from the lists recorded above in §§30, 83ff, 238f.; it is hardly necessary to repeat them here; as examples we may quote: *agne dakṣaś punīhi nah* (TB *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB. 'O

Agni, purify us (me; may be become pure) by thy power!' *saṃjīvā* (AŚ * ApŚ °*vikā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam anum*) *saṃjīva-yata* MS AŚ ApŚ.: *saṃjīvā stha saṃjīvyāsam* AV 'Ye are enlivening (by name), do ye make this man live', or 'may I live'.

§306. In some other cases we find essentially the same psychology, but with a slightly different turn in formal expression; as when a phrase of MS.,

bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta, 'be ye more, who have made us more',

is (as it were) glossed by the variant of Kauś,

bhūyānso bhūyāśma ye ca no bhūyasaś kārṣta, 'may we be more, and likewise ye who have made us more' (Also the same texts with *annādā bhūyāsta* etc.)

The real point is, 'may we be more!' in both cases alike, but this is definitely stated in only one form of the variant, while in the other (MS.) the desired result is nominally wished upon the agency used. Cf. with 1st and 3d persons, §313 below. Similarly in the next subject and indirect object exchange places, without real difference of meaning:

trīny āyūnśi te 'karam (JUB °*śi me* 'kṛnoh) AV JUB. Addressed to an amulet 'Three lives have I made for thee', or 'hast thou made for me', the last is, of course, the real intention even in AV. *āditya nāvam ārukṣaś* (SMB *āroksam*) AV. SMB: *imāni su nāvam āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sūrya nāvam ārukṣaś* AV *sunāvam āruheyam* VS 'O Sun, I have mounted (may I mount, mount thou) fairly upon a ship', or the like.

The isolated AV. reading (even Ppp. has 1st person forms both times) is curious, and can hardly mean anything fundamentally different from the others, it is explained by the other variants in this section. The comm. on AV. optionally allows the 2d person to be interpreted as 1st person (!).

sannān māvagām (ApŚ. °*gāta*) MS. ApŚ MŚ 'May I not go (go ye not) to those that are sunk.' Addressed to the sacrificial posts

sūryasya laksur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ
 'I have mounted (mount thou) the eye of the sun'

payasvān (°vān) *agna āgamam* (RV. *āgahī*) RV AV VS. TS MS KS
 JB ŚB. TB LŚ ApMB. 'With milk, O Agni, I have come (come
 thou)' The context is the same, and the 'milk' is in either case
 for the benefit of the speaker.

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS. *rane*) VS. TS. MS KS.
 ŚB.

svargān (AŚ. corruptly *svagān*, Vait. *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (Vait
jayema, AŚ *jayatah* [!]) SV AŚ ŚŚ Vait 'Conquer ye, swift
 (steeds, *vājīno*, *pāda* a) heaven' or 'may we swiftly conquer heaven'
 Vait is obviously secondary but probably gives the real sense of
 the other, original reading On AŚ see §250 In AŚ follows an
 alternative form of the *pāda*, *svargān arvato jayati*, which the comm
 says is designed to indicate that either *arvanto* or *arvato* may be read,
 he does not notice the difference in the last word In fact, *jayati*
 and (dual) *jayatah* are equally unconstruable.

§307 (b) We come next to a quite different group of first and second
 person variants, namely those in which both forms alike refer really to
 the same individuals, viz the priests or their associates, including the
yajamāna with whom they frequently and naturally identify themselves
 in speech. See §290 above As is well known, the ritualists may say
 either 'we' or 'you', about equally well, in speaking of themselves and
 their fellows Singular forms, especially of the first person, are also
 not rare, cf. below, §§344ff, 347, for variants between first singular and
 plural, and second singular and plural, in this sense In this place we
 list such of these variants as concern either person alone, or both person
 and number, beginning with those between first and second person
 plural.

mitrāya (TS KS.* TB ApŚ *satyāya*) *havyam ghṛtavaj juhota* (TS KS.
 °vad *vidhema*) RV TS KS TB. ApŚ. MŚ N See §290 The
 next is really a mere *vikāra* of this.

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavad vidhema (ŚŚ ŚG. °vaj *juhota*) TS. ŚŚ. ŚG.
 ApMB.: *dhātra id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ. Dhātar is meant
 by *tasmai*.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV.
 KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS. 'Then may we be
 (be ye) fragrant in the house.' AV. has different context from the
 others.

atra (ŚB *atrā*) *jahīmo 'kivā ye asan* VS. ŚB : *atrā jahāmo* (A.V. *jahīta*) *ye*

asann aśevāh (AV *aśvāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV AV. (bis) TA. 'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious.'

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni*) *yopayonto yad aita* (TA *aita*, AV. *yopayanta eta*, MG *lopayante yad eta*) RV. AV. TA MG (Read probably *etad* in MG)

yathā me bhūrayo 'sata AV *yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayah* TA The AV. form is very doubtful, mss '*satah*'; both edd '*sata*', comm also '*sata*', glossing *syāta*, as if the form were *asatha*, 2d plural subj.

pāpmānam te 'pahanmah KŚ *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś '*pa jah*) MG. Kauś

anadvāham anv ārabhāmahe VS VSK TA *anadvāham plavam anv ārabhadhvam* AV. MG In different contexts.

īṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV. AV. MG

First and second person singular:

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'I produce (produce thou) with the heart a lovely hymn to Agni'

tena te vapāmy āyuse MG · *tenāsyāyuse vapa* ApMB. See §124. The first form is addressed to the boy who is shaved, the second to the officiating priest who shaves This might be classed with the following subdivision

sakhyaṭ te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ ApMB HG.: *sakhyaṃ te mā yoṣāh* SMB See §168 A reciprocal relation is here expressed in both cases 'may I not be separated from thy friendship', or 'do not withhold thy friendship (from me)'

indro vde tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuh*) AA Mahānāmnyah. See §165. To be classed here if *stuṣe* is first person, as Keith takes it.

With change of number.

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK. MS. KS. ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Followed by:

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

vīśvān devāns tarpayata (BDh *tarpayāmi*) TB BDh

Somewhat similar is the following variant between first dual and second singular.

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB. corruptly, °*padā babhūva*, cf. Winternitz, p. xvi f.) ApMB. HG : *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. °*dā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. ApMB. SMB. The first is spoken by the bridegroom, referring to himself and the bride; the second is addressed to the bride alone. See §367.

§308 (c) We come next to a group in which the same person is the

subject of both 1st and 2d personal forms, but in one he is represented as speaking, while in the other he is spoken to. We have met this type already, §303, and a similar interchange is found between 1st and 3d persons, below, §316f. Thus:

parīdam vājy ajnam (PG. °*dam vājnam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajnam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG. HG ApMB. 'I put (put thou) on this skin with vigor' or the like In HG spoken by the *guru* to his pupil, in the others, by the pupil himself.

prānasya brahmacāry asī (ApMB *asmi*, HG *abhūr asau*) AG. HG. ApMB MG Exactly like preceding, here spoken by the pupil only in ApMB

marutām (MS. *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave jeṣam* (MS *jaya*) TS MS TB. ApŚ. 'On the impulse of the Maruts may I conquer (conquer thou).' The subject is the king at the *rājasūya*, who speaks in TS etc, while in MS he is spoken to In a way this might be classed with the preceding group, the king being the *yajamāna*, cf. the variant *tena te vapāmy āyuṣe, tenāsyāyuṣe vapa*, quoted above, which may be said equally to belong here. Other forms, see §§158, 370.

syonām āsadam susadām āsadam LŚ . *syonām āsīda suṣadām āsīda* VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'I have sat (sit thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat' Apparently addressed to, or spoken by, the king at the *rājasūya*

śatam jīvāmī (MG. *jīvema*, AV ApMB HG. *ca jīva*) *śaradah purūcīh* AV. ApMB PG HG. MG (and others similar, see §303), followed directly in PG. MG and once in AV by the following, which occurs in a similar context in the others also

rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvyayasva AV. HG. ApMB.: *rayim ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG . *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayīṣye* PG MG In the PG MG. form of these two pādas, the graduate brahman-pupil speaks in person; in the others he is addressed.

samitam samkalpethām VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG.: *sam ayāva sam kalpāvaharī* ApMB Here a formula belonging originally to the *śrauta* sphere (addressed to two fires, cf. Keith on TS 4 2 5. 1) is secondarily applied in two *gṛhya* texts, MG. and ApMB. In the former it is addressed without change to the bride and groom by the officiating priest in the marriage rite, while in ApMB. it is spoken by the bridegroom, of himself and the bride.

samnahye (KS. °*hya*) *sukṛtāya kam* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV. The bride (AV. ApMB.) or the sacrificer's wife (the others) speaks or is addressed. 'I gird myself (gird thyself) unto goodness (immortality)' On KS, see §30.

§309 (d) Of the few remaining first and second person variants little need be said. For the most part they are simply cases in which a phrase is adapted to a wholly new context, and provided therefore with a wholly different subject. In the first pair of variants we have in one form a deliberate *vikāra* of the other, in adjoining passages.

ati dhanveva tān ihi RV AV. SV. VS. *dadhanveva tā ihi*, followed by:
nidhanveva tān imi TA 1 12 2d (both) And in the same stanza:
yāhi (TA. also *yāmi*) *mayūraromabhīh* RV. AV SV VS TA The second version (in 1st person) of TA is deliberately modelled on the first (in 2d person). Note the anomalous form *imi*, for *emi* (which the meter forbids), under the influence of *ihi*

No less surely, in the following variant, is the MS. form secondarily adapted from the original (as in RV) to fit its wholly new context while TA., altho it has the same new context as MS, retains or restores the original form of the verb as in the different context of RV.:

atāriṣma (MS °*ṣta*) *tamasas pāram asya* RV MS KS. TA. ApŚ In MS. TA the preceding pāda is *vimucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA °*nyā*) *devayānāh*: 'be released, O cattle, going to the gods, ye (TA we, under the influence of the original form) have crossed to the farther shore of this darkness' In RV KS the context is wholly different

§310. In the next we are reminded of the cases listed in the preceding subdivision, but here the subject is changed, the context being a different one, a god speaks of himself in one variant, while two gods are addressed in the other. See on this point Bloomfield's important observation, *RVRep* 384. 'We may perhaps accept it as a general principle, that in hymns in which a god speaks for himself, repeated pādas, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the 2d or 3d person, are secondary and epigonal' If this is so, the 1st person form in the following would be secondary:

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣathah (*śikṣam*) RV (both).

§311 Of the rest it is unnecessary to speak in detail, they contain changes of person to suit very miscellaneous contexts:

vajro 'si (MŚ. *hāsmi*) *sapatnahā* Kauś MŚ.

sūryasyāvṛtam anvāvarite (SMB. GG. *anvāvartasvāsau*) AV VS. KS. ŚB.

SMB. GG.

indrasya sakhyaṃ amṛtatvam aśyām (RV. *ānaśa*) RV. TB. ApŚ. 2d pl. perf. in RV.

saḥjātānām madhyamasthā edhi (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāh*; MS. KS. °*meṣṭhe-*
yāya) AV. VS. TS. MS KS. ' *sa*° *madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV.

3 Variants between First and Third Person

§312. (a) Here again we find a considerable number of cases in which the statement of something effected by the speaker (expressed in 1st person) varies with a statement of the same thing as effected by the potency on which he relies, which in this case is expressed in the third person, the potency being not addressed directly, cf above, §§289, 302, 304.

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS *aṅgrabhat*, KS *aṅgrabham*, and *aṅgrbham*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'With elevation he (Indra) has elevated me', or ' I have elevated myself' The context is the same, and Indra's instrumentality is implied also in KS

tāh san tanomī (TS MS. ApŚ *dadhāmi*, KS *dadhātu*) *haviṣā* (MS *manasā*) *ghṛtena* TS. MS KS AŚ KŚ ApŚ 'These (offerings) I unite (let him, in KS Viśvakarman, unite) with oblation, with ghee' The passages are similar, tho not exactly identical, and 1st or 3d would go well enough in all

tau yuñjīta (AV *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV. SV. 'Them (Indra's arms) let him (I shall) yoke first' etc

preto muñcāmī (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu*, PG *muñcau*, ApMB *muñcātu*) *nāmutah* (ŚG MG. SMB † *māmutah*; PG *mā pateh*) RV. AV. AG ŚG. SMB PG ApMB MG. Two different contexts: one in RV. AV ApMB, followed by

subaddhām amutas karam (ApMB *karat*) RV AV ApMB 'I release (he, i e some god, shall release) her (the bride) from here, not from there; I have (he has) made her well-fastened there' In the other (GS) texts. the subject of the verb is Aryaman or Pūṣan, previously mentioned, so, perhaps, ApMB is to be interpreted. A related but still different formula, *ito mukṣīya māmutah* (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ, is spoken (in a different context) by the bride herself, hence medio-passive, see §30

īdam asmākam bhujē bhogāya bhūyāt (MŚ *bhūyāsam*) KS ApŚ MŚ. 'May this be (may I be here) for enjoyment and feasting unto us.' MŚ doubtless secondary

abhi tvā varcasāsīcam (AV. °*sīcan*, read °*sican*, see Whitney on 4. 8. 6) AV. KS. TB. Followed in AV. by *āpo divyāḥ payasvatīḥ*, in KS. TB. by *divyena* (KS. *yajñena*) *payasā saha*; Ppp. agrees with TB. The preceding stanza ends in all. *abhiṣīñcāmī varcasā*, perhaps KS. TB have altered the original under the influence of this, but the Ppp. version makes it doubtful whether the AVŚ. can contain the original form of the pāda 'I have (the waters have) poured out upon thee' etc.

nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŚ ApŚ : *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV. VS 'Let (the herbs) free me from the (effect) of the curse': 'I free myself from the curse.'

mama vrate te hṛdayam (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG. 'In my power I set (let him, sc. some god, set) thy heart' See Conc. for other, vaguer, parallels. *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat* Kauś : *annādam annādāyādadhe* (KS. *annādāyānnapatyāyādadhe*) TS KS. *annādam agnīm annapatyāyādadhe* MS. *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ : *agnīm annādam annādāyādadhe* VS The subject in Kauś is apparently Aditi, who is addressed in the others also, they all have 1st person verbs, of which the priestly speaker is of course the subject.

pāvamānasya tvā stomena vīryenot sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena .vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu* (KS *vīryenodधारāmy asau*) TS KS

bṛhātā tvā rathamtarena vīryenod dhare (KS. *vīryenotsṛjāmy asau*) MS. KS *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena savitot sṛjatu* .TS.

prajāṃ asyaī jaradaśtim kṛnotu (and, *kṛṇomi*) SMB (both). Subject of *kṛnotu* is Agni

sa pūrvyo nūlanam ānvāsāt (SV. *ājigīṣam*) AV SV. Subject of the 3d person is the sun, Conc suggests that SV should read *ājigīṣāt*, and this would certainly be simpler.

sam ākūtīr namāmasi (MS *anansata*) RVKh AV. MS

garbham sravantam agadam akah (AŚ. *akarṃa*) TB. ApŚ AŚ : *ukhām* (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarṃa* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ. MŚ. ApŚ Followed in next pāda by a series of names of gods, in most texts in the nominative (e.g. *agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam* AŚ. ApŚ.*; *agnir indras tvaṣtā bṛhaspatih* TB. ApŚ*) *akah* is 3d sing, the subject being the following *agnir* (not all the following nouns collectively, as TB comm says). The reading with *akarṃa* may be rendered: 'We have made whole the slipping embryo (fire-pot, or, her that drops the embryo),—(and also) Agni, Indra, etc. (have made it, or her, whole)' Caland on ApŚ 9 18. 12 assumes, apparently, that *akarṃa* corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither necessary nor likely.

rūpād varṇam (ApŚ. *rūpam varṇam paśūnām*) *mā nirmṛkṣat* (ApŚ. *°kṣam*); [see §302,] followed by:

vāji tvā sapatnasāham sam mārṣti (ApŚ. *mārjmi*) ApŚ. MŚ. After these two formulas comes the command: *iti sammārṣti*, in MŚ. 1. 2. 5. 7; see Knauer's note. Knauer speaks of 'stellvertretende Spruchrecita-

tion', that is, he supposes that the formulas are recited by another priest than the one who does the cleansing. The simple command *iti sammārṣti* seems to make this improbable, and we prefer to think that it is spoken by the same priest, but that, as in so many other similar formulas, he attributes the effect to the instrument of cleansing, instead of to himself 'It shall not wipe off' etc. So in the following, where MŚ (altho its mss vary, and in one case they read 1st person) seems to have regularly had a 3d person (or at least so Knauer thinks).

agne vājajud sam mārjmi VS ŚB TB ApŚ Vait : *ājim tvāgne sammārṣti* MŚ (two formulas, see Conc.) In one case all MŚ mss agree on *°mārṣti*

§313. As in the case of 1st and 2d persons (§306), this group is swelled by some cases in which the activity or result is, in one variant, nominally attributed to the instrumental potency rather than the speaker

so *'mṛtatvam aśīya* (VSK *aśyāt*) VS VSK. MS ŚB ŚŚ 'May I (he) attain immortality.' The subject in VSK is apparently understood as Varuna

upānsunā sam amṛtatvam ānat (ApMB *aśyām*) RV. VS MS KS TA AŚ. ApMB MahānU. 'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality' The original subject is *ūrmur madhumān*; the ApMB has a facile and slipshod alteration.

pañca (AV. *trīni*) *padāni rupo* (AV. *rūpo*) *anv aroham* (AV. *°hat*), *catuṣpadīm anv emi* (AV *artad*) *vratena, akṣarena prati mima etām* (AV. *mimite arkam*), *ṛtasya nābhāv adhī* (AV. *abhī*) *sam punāmi* (AV *°ti*) RV AV. An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV in the *havirdhāna*, in AV. in the funeral rites, see Oldenberg, *RV Noten*, ad 10 13 3. In RV. the subject is probably the *hotar* (Oldenberg), at any rate the same as in the first-person verbs of the preceding verse, in AV. it is probably Yama as in the following verse.

gāyatrena chandasā pṛthvivim anu vi krame TS · *pṛthivyām* (KS *°vim*) *viṣnur* (MS. *viṣnuh pṛthivyām*) *vyakransta gāyatrena chandasā* VS MS KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. And the same with *traiṣṭubhena antarīkṣam* etc., and *jāgatena ..divam* etc

Here would belong the following, if the TA version were to be accepted as a 1st person form:

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS *amṛtam nu*; TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU. In AV. 'may he (Gandharva), knowing of the immortal, proclaim.' On *voce* see §174. It seems that only a 3d person form can be intended here, so the TA. comm., *provāca*, evidently thinking of *ūce*, 3d sing perfect middle.

§314. (b) We referred above (§291) to the fact that third personal forms, either plural or (less often) singular, are frequently used in a generalizing sense, equivalent to French *on*, German *man*; and to the further fact that first person plurals sometimes vary with them in this same sense (and even, once, a first person singular). In the first cases about to be presented both 1st and 3d persons seem to be generalizing or indefinite

[*yathā kalām yathā śapham*] *yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṇam samnayanti*), [*evā duṣvapnyam sarvām āptye* (AV. *apriye*, or *duṣate*) *saninayāmasi*] RV AV (bis). See §291.

[*yat kim cedam varuna dawye jane*] *abhidroham manuṣyāś carāmasi* (AV. *caranti*) RV. AV TS MS KS 'Whatever here, O Varuna, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk.' AV. is less appropriate metrically.

yām (PG. *yā*, KS MG *ye*) *tvā* (PG *tām*) *īātry* (PG MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* (AV. PG *upāsmahe*, SMB *rātri yajāmahe*) AV TS KS SMB PG. MG. Preceded by *samvatsarasya pratimām* (PG. °*mā*) 'Thee whom, O night, we (they, both indefinite) revere as the image of the year', or the like

Perhaps here belongs the following.

pra tve havīṣi juhure (KS *juhumas*) *samiddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīṣi*) RV VS. TS MS KS. ŚB The form *juhure* (see §77) may be taken as middle with indefinite subject, 'they offer oblations in thee when kindled' (so Keith on TS), or as passive with *havīṣi* as subject, 'oblations are offered', much less likely as a 1st sing with Ludwig The KS. reading, 'we offer oblations', favors the first interpretation

And, once at least, even singular forms are used in the same way: *tam tvā bhaga sarva i johavīmi* (RV VS. °*ti*) RV. AV VS. TB ApMB. See §291

§315 The rest are generalizing only in the 3d person form, while the 1st person (always singular) is perfectly definite In the first couple of variants the indefinite 3d person is singular, in all the rest plural:

tān ādityān anu madā (MS. *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. If *madā* is 1st singular subjunctive: 'I will (one shall) revel (? revel thou) to the Ādityas unto welfare' But MS. p.p. reads *mada* (2d sing. impv), 'revel thou', which would make this variant belong in §307, or §261, according as RV. *madā* be taken as 1st or 2d person.

[*yadī jāgrad yadī svapannī*] *ena enasyo 'karam*, [*bhūtām mā tasmād bhavyam ca drupadād va muñcatām*] AV : [*yadī divā yadī naktam*] *ena enasyo*

'*karat*, [*bhūtam muñcūlu*] (so read with Poona ed.) TB. 'If waking or sleeping I, sinful, have committed sin (if by night or day a sinful person has committed sin), may what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a log.' TB. comm. *kṛtavān asmi* for *akarāt!* Note also *mā* in TB.; there is no doubt that TB. like AV really means to refer to the speaker's own sin. But by a touch of sly squeamishness the TB. dodges the incriminating first-personal verb, and speaks of himself as if he didn't know who was meant, 'some one or other'

yat tvā (KS. *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (KS. ms. °*vāpa*, 3d person, which may be kept', AV. *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'If I, angry (if an angry man, or angry men) have thrown thee out' *na v jānāmi* (AB. *jānanh*) *yatarat* (AV. °*rā*) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB. 'I (they = people in general) do not know which is superior.' (In AV. different context from the others) *apām rasam udayansam* (TA. °*san*) KS TA. Comm. on TA. *sarve lokā udgatāh*.

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV : *prācīm avācīm ava yann arīṣṭyā* TA. The 3d plural of TA. can only be indefinite, comm. *vayam avaimo jānīmah!*

vacānsy āsā (SV. *asmat*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuh*) RV. SV. 'I (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (or, for this mighty one).'

atrā te rūpam uttamam apaśyam (VSK. °*yan*) RV. VS. VSK TS. KSA. 'Here I (they = people) have beheld thy highest form.' To the sacrificial horse in YV. In the stanza before this:

śtro apaśyam (VSK. °*yan*) *pathabhīh sugebhīh*, same texts.—But the VSK. reading is suspicious here, since if Weber's ed. can be trusted, it reads 1st person *ajānām* like all the others in the first pāda of the same stanza. Furthermore Weber records no variant for VSK. on *apaśyam* in the preceding, precisely similar stanza (*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam*)

yam tvā somenātīrṣpāma (TS °*pam*, MŚ. °*pan*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. And, in same stanza:

yam tvā somenāmīmadam (MŚ. °*dan*) TS. MŚ.

ghṛtam mīmākṣe (TA. °*kṣre*) *ghṛtam asya yoniḥ* RV. VS. TA. MahānU. *sam u vām* (vo) *yajñam mahayam* (°*yan*) *namobhīh* RV. (both). Grassmann, 'man schmucket' for *mahayan*.

apo devīr (VS ŚB. *devā*) *madhumatīr agrbhīdām* (TS. ApŚ. *agrīḥṇan*, VS. ŚB. *agrībhīṇan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'I (they) have taken

the sweet divine waters', the subject is indefinite in TS ApŚ, in VS. ŚB it is made definite, 'the gods have taken the sweet waters.'

indrasya tvā jathare sādāyāmi (AŚ *dadhāmi*) VSK. KB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ
 LŚ ApŚ Kauś *brahmana indrasya tvā* (Conc omits *tvā*) *jathare dadhuh* MŚ As one eats (*prāśnāti*), he says: 'I place (they, indef., have placed) thee in the belly of (Brahman, of) Indra' The parallel formulas are all 1st singular even in MŚ, and this is certainly an easier reading, one wonders how the 3d plural indefinite crept in to MŚ

ratham na dhīrah svapā atakṣam (RV * *atakṣiṣuh*) RV. (both) TB. The 3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding, even tho a subject (*āyavah*) is here expressed in the preceding pāda. The first person has priority, see *RVRep* 133f.

§316 (c) In a number of cases first and third person forms are used referring, in one way or another, to the same individual as subject. Some of these remind us of the subdivision (b) under First and Second Person variants (§307), in that the subject is both times an associate in the ritual performance, a priest or the *yajamāna*, who either speaks or is indirectly referred to, as

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm. and Poona ed. text, °*nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ 'ham *asmi*) TB AŚ. See §116. The subject is the *yajamāna* both times

sarve vrātā varunasyābhūvan (MS. °*bhūma*) TS MS KS. TB. Spoken by the *yajamāna* at the *rājasūya* 'They (we) all have become the hosts of Varuna' In either case the associates of the *yajamāna* are meant

havante vājasātaye RV.: *huvema vā*° RV SV. MS. KS : *huveya vā*° RV AV The contexts are different (see *RVRep*. 255f), but the variant may properly be classified here, since in the 3d person form the subject, *janāsah* or *kanvāh*, is really identical with the speaker and his associates

§317. Again, there are cases reminding us of subdivision (c) under First and Second Persons (§308), in that the change is conditioned by the fact that the same person speaks himself in one variant, while in the other he is spoken of:

anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse MŚ. (spoken by the *yajamāna*).
anuvatsarīnām svastim āśāste TB. ApŚ. (said of the *yajamāna* by the *hotar*). The same with *parvatsarīnām* etc., *samvatsarīnām* etc

§318 As will be seen from this illustration the dividing line between these different types is not clear. The majority of the variants in this

subdivision are perhaps best described by saying that in one form a statement is couched in more or less general terms, the subject being not clearly identified with the speaker, while in the other (with first person) this identification is definitely made. In a way, therefore, these cases resemble those listed under the preceding sub-section, §315. The difference, which is not by any means sharp or clear, is that in the cases listed here the subject of the third person form is not so indefinite as in those mentioned above, it could not be rendered by German *man* or French *on*, since in fact a subject is expressed, or at least very clearly understood. But this subject is clearly identified with the speaker only in the first-person form of the variant. Thus:

śnananti pākam ati (ŚŚ † *adhv*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ, followed in the first two by:

ṛtasya panhām anv emi (ApŚ *eti*) *hotā* AŚ. ApŚ. 'They (fettors) bind the simple, the wise passes over them (I, being wise, pass etc.); along the path of holy order goes (I go as) the *hotar*.' Spoken by the *hotar*

āchettā te (vo) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS *mārṣam*) TS MS. KS. TB ApŚ MŚ. 'Let (me) your cutter not suffer harm.' Even in the 3d person form the subject is really identical with the speaker

yad devayantam avatahah śacībhih, pari ghraṅsam omanā vām (TB *pari-ghraṅsa vām manā vām*) *vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS. TB N. 'When you (Aśvins) aid the pious man mightily, then he (I) shall go to refreshment, passing over heat by your aid', or the like. TB is badly corrupted, and the comm.'s explanations are mostly worthless, but his *gachatu* for *gām* is at least interesting, and not far wrong. The speaker identifies himself with the 'pious man', as to *gām* TB., while undoubtedly secondary, need not be considered corrupt.

yam sarve 'nujivāma TS : *yam bahavo 'nujivān* MS · *yam bahava upaṣṭivanti* AŚ 'On whom many (we all) may depend'

tiro (RV. VS. ŚB. AG. *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA. ApŚ * *dadhmahe*) *parvatena* RV. AV VS ŚB TA ApŚ (bis) AG. ApMB 'Let them block (hide, or remove, or, 'we hide') death by a mountain' After the funeral, the living are separated from the dead by a barrier; the subject of *dadhatām* is 'the living'.

§319 If the first-person form is textually sound, the following belongs here, the verb occurs in a relative clause, in one form of which the subject is identified with the speaker, and the verb put in the first person; presumably even the other form really refers to the speaker or his associates

mā yah somam imam pibāt (KŚ. *pibā*, KS *somam pibād imam*) KS. TB. KŚ ApŚ. See §331.

§320 Once a speaker is represented as quoting some one else's words about himself, in the included quotation the subject of the verb, referring to the speaker of the main clause, should logically be third person, but in just half the texts it is made first person, by a natural laxity:

abhy aṣṭhām (MS. MŚ *asthām*, TS. KS ApŚ. *asthād*) *viśvāh pṛtanā arāṅh* AV TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ 'I have (he has, referring to the speaker) conquered all battles and hostilities' [thus spake Agni, etc., sc of me]

§321 In a way the converse of this is found in the next variant, in which in one out of three texts the speaker is made to refer to himself in the third person, because the poet thinks of him in the third person:

upamañkṣyati syā (ŚŚ *upamañkṣye 'ham*, AB *nīmañkṣye 'ham*) *salilasya madhye* AB. ŚB ŚŚ 'I shall (she, the earth, will) plunge into the middle of the ocean' The earth is the speaker

§322. In a still more strange passage both forms refer to the same subject, so far as we can see, which ought to be first person, no justification for the third person is apparent.

prajāpateh prajā abhūma (KS *abhūvan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB.

Preceded or followed in all by: *sva devā* (TS. TB. *devān*) *aganma* (MS *agāma*), and, *amṛtā abhūma*. 'We have gone to heaven as gods (or, to the gods), we (KS they) have become creatures of Prajāpati, we have become immortal' In KS, as in most texts, this is the order, with first-person expressions flanking the variant formula on either side. Unless 'the gods' is felt as the subject in KS, which seems unlikely, we cannot explain the 3d person.

§323. (d) The remaining cases concern miscellaneous changes of subject, either in the same context (in about half the cases, those which are listed first), or conditioned by a change of context, a few definite *ūhas* or *vikāras* are included towards the end, and the section concludes with a few corruptions or errors. First, change of subject in what remains essentially the same context.

viśvāvasum namasā gīrbhar īde (ApMB. *itte*) RV. ApMB. 'I worship (she, the bride, worships) Viśvāvasu with homage and songs' The gandharva Viśvāvasu is banished from the bride. All mss of ApMB agree, see Winternitz, Introduction, p. xix.

dīrghāyutvāya jaradaṣṭu asmi (MG. *astu*) PG. MG. In MG. *jaradaṣṭu* is understood as a *tatpuruṣa*, while in PG. it is a *bahuvrīhi*; both mean the same thing. 'I am one that attains old age unto long life,' or, 'let there be (for me) attainment of old age' etc

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*; MS *bhūyāsma te*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* (MS. † °*dah*, so text intends with its reading °*dā*, followed by initial vowel) TS MS KS PG. 'Viśvavedas is in good-will towards me (us)', or, 'may we be in thy good-will, O Viśvavedas'

nahi te nāma jagrāha AV.: *nahy asyā* (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhñāma* RV ApMB. See Whitney on AV 3. 18 3

vandadvārā vandamānā vvaṣṭu SV · *vande dārum* (read *vandārur*, or *vandār-vā*?) *vandamāno vvakmi* RV. See Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, p. 1062, Ludwig, 4 367, Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 7. 6. 1.

apah prerayam (SV. *prarayai*, TB. *prarayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV. SV. TB. Preceded in all by: *indrāya giro anikṭasargāh* Only the RV. version is really sensible; the others are careless distortions. Benfey is forced to take the preceding pāda as a separate sentence, making Indra the subject of *prarayai*. TB comm gives *giro* as the subject and *apah* as the object of *prarayan* Cf §138.

yad ahnāt (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. (followed by: *tad ahnāt*, or *rātriyāt*, *pratimucyate*) *yad ahnā* (and, *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA. MahānU. The form *kurute* is evidently felt as passive: 'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc.

o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām RV AV. (Yami speaks to Yama). *ā tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh* SV. (unintelligent revamping of the same pāda, Benfey, 'dich mochten Freunde zu Freundschaft gewinnen')

havyā te svadantām (MS. *svadan*, and once *svadam*; KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS MS ŚB 'Let thy oblations taste sweet' or the like If *svadam* is right, it must be transitive, 'I have enjoyed thy oblations.' But probably *svadan* should be read

§324 In some of the above it will be noticed that number as well as person varies in one form of the variant Likewise the now following list of variants, in which change of subject is conditioned by a change of context, contains cases with change of both person and number [*apa dveṣo apa hvaro*] *'nyavratasya* (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*; TA. *saścimāh*, but read °*ma* with Poona ed.) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. In a different context in RV. from the others.

āyusmān (°*mān*, °*māñ*) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsat* (RVKh. VS. °*sam*, AV. also °*sān*) AV. (both) RVKh. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Used in no less than four different stanzas; two in AV., one in RVKh. VS., and one in the GS. texts.

yatra devaḥ sadhamādam madema (AV. *madanti*) AV. MS. TB. In

three different contexts, no two alike But AV. comm. reads *madema*

ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB *λρινομι*) RV. ApMB.: *ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG : *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS. Similar stanzas, but extensively recast. 'I set thee (let him set me. may I be) uninjured with thy (my) husband.' In the last two forms the woman speaks.

saṃjānate manasā sam cikitre RV.: *saṃjānāmahai manasā sam cikitrā* AV

sarvam āyur vy ānaṣe (MS. *aśnavai*) MS TB. ApŚ : *viśvam āyur vy aśnavai* (AV mss °vat) AV VS KS. TB *dirgham āyur vy aśnavai* PG The vulgate text of AV emends to °vam, unnecessarily, subject is *sabhā* The context is different from the rest

Deliberate *ūhas* or *vikāras*

ayam (AŚ **aham*) *śatrūn jayatu* (AŚ.* *jayāmi*) *jarhṣānah* (AŚ.* *ṭjarhṣānah*), *ayam* (AŚ **aham*) *vājam* (VS. VSK. ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ.* *jayāmi*) *vājasātāu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). In AŚ. 2 11 8c we have a *vikāra* of the other passage.

divyam dhāmāśāste (and, *ūha*, *āśāse*) ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

adṛṣan (and, *apaśyam*) *tvāvarohantam* NilarU. (both). The first is a *vikāra* of the other

tam tvā parameṣṭhīn pari rohita (*pary agnur*, *pary aham*). *dadhātu* (*dadhāmi*) AV. 13 1 17d. 18d, 19d

jyotiṣe tantava āśiṣam āśāse (KS 7 2 °ste) KS. 7 2, 9 (so, correct Conc.)

If these are the correct readings, we have another case of *ūha*. But the sole ms used by the ed. for 7.2 reads *āśāste* also in 7.9; if corrupt in one passage, it is likely to be corrupt in the other too. The better reading seems to be *āśāse*, probably read so both times, with ms. D on 7 9 and KapS (see editor's note).

gamat sa (*gamema*, *sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV. (all).

jyok paśyema (RV also *paśyāt*, and *paśyema nu*, omitting *jyok*) *sūryam uccarantam* RV (all) AV.

§325. Corruptions or errors:

idam vām tena prīnāmi ŚŚ.: *etad vām tena prīnāti* TB. ApŚ. So Conc., and so Garbe reads in ApŚ. But TB. (both edd.) has *prīnāmi*, and this is to be read also in ApŚ., see Caland on 2. 20. 6, note 2.

vājino me yajñam vahān (MŚ. text *vahāni*, followed by *iti*; probably read *vahān* with v. 1) MS. KS. MŚ

rāyas pośyotsṛje (MS. erroneously °jet) MS. MŚ.

idm te vācam āśya ādatte (read *ādade*) PG. 3. 13. 6 (see Stenzler's critical note). *ā te vācam āśyā* (*āśyām*) *dade* HG. ApMB

sthāmny aśvān atīṣṭhīpam AV.: *sthāmni vṛkkāv atīṣṭhīpan* AV vulgate, misprint for °*pam*, see Whitney on 7 96 1

Under. *prānena vācā manasā bibharmi*, Conc. quotes TB. 2. 5 8. 7 as reading *bibharti*, this is an error, there is no variant

4. Variants between Second and Third Person

§326 These are much more numerous than those between first and either second or third person Nor are they by any means lacking in interest But little comment is needed on most of them The great majority are simply cases in which the same subject is alternatively addressed in second person or indirectly referred to in third, and the most interesting feature of this large class is that sometimes one or the other form is inconsistent with its context. This inconsistency may be of two kinds either the subject of the second person may be a nominative or that of the third person a vocative, or parallel expressions in the surrounding context may be of the opposite type (direct address by the side of third-personal reference) in one form Examples of all these types have been quoted above, §293f., they will form the basis of the following classification We shall conclude with the smaller, but still not inconsiderable, number of cases in which the change of person is associated with a real change of subject, either in the same context, or owing to the use of the phrase in a different context

§327. (a) First, then, variations between direct address and third-personal indirect reference to the same subject, in which there is no inconsistency with the context in either variant The subject, if expressed, is nominative with the 3d person and vocative with the 2d, and if there are parallel expressions associated, they present no inconsistencies. In not a few instances, as we shall presently see, a whole stanza, containing several parallel verbs, is recast, each verb being changed from 2d to 3d person or vice versa.

§328 Attention must first be called to the little group of cases in which Soma is referred to in the 3d person in RV., but directly addressed in the 2d person in a repetition in SV.; see §295, and for cases in which the context is inconsistent, §334.

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV. °*si*), *agre vāco agrīyo goṣu gachati* (SV. °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. °*se mahad dhanam*), *svāyudhah sotṛbhīh pūyate vṛṣā* (SV. °*bhīh soma sūyase*) RV. SV. Here an entire stanza is recast; note that the nominative subject of RV. becomes a vocative in SV.

[*ayā somah* (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā,*] *mahaś cid abhy avardhata* (SV. *ma-*

hato (SV. TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāṅy āryā* (AV. TB *apratī*) RV. AV. SV. TB.: followed in RV SV by.

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsāni salpatī*, *hato* (SV *hatho*) *vīśvā apa dīṣah* RV. SV. In SV. the entire stanza is changed to a direct address. The first pāda is used in AV. TB in a different stanza, addressed however to the same gods (Indra and Agni), who are directly addressed in the 2d person, as Whitney remarks, only *hatho* (as in TB) is construable, yet all AV. mss., followed by both edd., read *hato*. This AV. reading belongs to §332 below. It seems clear that it is a very ancient perversion, due to recollection of the Rīgvedic form of the pāda.

pitṛn yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah*, preceded by, *yo agnih* (TS. *yad agne*) *kavyāvāhanah* (TS. °na; RV *kravya*°), and followed by:

pred u (TS *pra ca*) *havyāni vocati* (TS *vakṣyasi*) RV. VS. TS. KS.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ. °yadhvam) TS. TB. ApŚ MŚ. See above, §303

akartām aśvinā lakṣma AV.: *kṛnutam laksmāśvinā* AV. See §130.

agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām SB *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS ApŚ. MŚ: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait.

agnināgnih samvadatām TA. *agne agninā samvadasva* TA. ApŚ

iha rama MS AB AŚ ApŚ: *iha ramah* HG. 1 12 2 (not *rama*; construe as noun): *iha ramatām* VS ŚB HG. Used in various connexions, but in VS and MS. in precisely the same set of formulas. The immediately preceding formula in both is addressed to gods, referring (in 3d person) to the sacrificial horse, but just before this the horse is directly addressed in a series of formulas, hence it is easy for MS. to address *iha rama* directly to the horse, no harshness is felt. VS, however, is equally natural in referring to the horse in the third person; the prayer in *iha ramatām* may quite as well be addressed to the gods just mentioned. Mahidhara, however, thinks the horse must be addressed, and supplies *bhavān* with *ramatām*.— There seems to be nothing inconsistent with the person in the other texts

dyām (VSK. *divam*) *agrenāsprkṣa āntarikṣam madhyenāprāh pṛthvīm uparenādṛñhāh* VS. VSK. (for which read in Conc. °āsprkṣah) KS. ŚB (address in all to the *yūpa*); *devo vanaspatir* (sc. *yūpo*) *varṣaprāvā ghṛtanirṅg dyām agrenāsprkṣad āntarikṣam madhyenāprāh pṛthvīm uparenādṛñhī* MS. KS. TB. Note that *aprās* may be either 2d or 3d person, and that KS. has both forms of the variant. *uṣo dadṛkṣe* (PB *ūṣā*, read *uṣā*, *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB.

- tvēna mā* (ApMB. *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā paśyatāpah* (ApMB *paśyantv āpah*),
śivayā tanvopa sprśata tvacam me (ApMB *sprśantu tvacam te*) AV.
 TS MS. AB ApMB *āpah* nom in ApMB, voc in the rest.
- stego na kṣām aty eti pṛthvīm* (AV. *eṣi pṛthvīm*) RV AV. In a riddle-
 some verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form;
 there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context.
- svargena lokena samprornuvāthām* Vait., *svarge* (TS TB *svarge*) *loke*
prornuvāthām (TS KSA.† TB. *sampror*^o; VSK TS TB. *°rnvā*^o, MS.
^o*tām*) VS VSK. TS. KSA. MS. TB. ŚB Address to (in MS said of)
 the queen and the horse in the *āsvamedha*
- ghṛtena* (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām* (VS. TS ApŚ.
prornuvātham, MS MŚ *prornuvātām*) VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB.
 ApŚ MŚ Kauś The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, is nom in MS. MŚ.
- sam arīr* (MS. KS. *arīr*) *vidām* (KS. *vidah*) VS. MS KS. ŚB The
 formula is obscure; see Eggeling on ŚB 3 9. 4. 21. No basis for
 preference as to person.
- kurvato me mā kṣeṣṭa* (GB. Vait. *kṣeṣṭhāh*) MS. GB. Vait : . *mopadasat*
 TS KS. TB ApŚ And· *sadato me mā kṣāyī* (GB *me mopadasah*,
 MS ^o*sat*), same texts
- āsvnā pibatam* (VS KŚ. ^o*tām*) *madhu* (TB ApŚ *sutam*) RV. VS. TB.
 ApŚ. MŚ and (pratika) KŚ. *āsvnā* nom. or voc
- ity adadāh* (ŚB. ^o*dāt*) ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ The subject is the *yajamāna*,
 who is praised either in direct address or indirect reference by
 singers. 'Thus thou didst (he did) give!' Similarly: *ity ayajathāh*
 (ŚB ^o*ta*), and *ity ayudhyathāh* (ŚB and, as quoted in Conc,
 MŚ. ^o*ta*), and· *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ *ajayathāh*, ŚB.
ajayat), same texts [I question the quotation from MŚ. 9 2 2
ayudhyata, since it is inconsistent with all the others; it was fur-
 nisht by Knauer from mss for the Conc, and has not been pub-
 lished even yet F. E.]
- idam vātena sagarena rakṣa* (MS *rakṣatu*) TS. MS KS. AŚ Subject in
 prec. pāda, *indra* (MS *indrah*) *stomena*.. Note that *indra* before
st- might be understood as = *indrah*. The MS makes this single
 pāda (in a *trṣṭubh* verse) *jaḡatī*, and is clearly secondary.
- devā deveṣu śrayantām* (TB. *śrayadhvam*), *prathamā dvitīyeṣu śrayantām*
 (TB. *śrayadhvam*), *dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB. ^o*dhvam*) KS.
 TB Subj *devāh*, voc. or nom.
- no asmin ramate jane* (AV. *ramase patau*) RV. AV. ApMB. Subject is
 a rival wife.
- mahyam* (this goes with prec. pāda in MŚ) *yajamānāya tṣṭha* (MŚ.
tṣṭhatu, mss. *tṣṭhat*) TS. MŚ.

yato na punar āyasa (AV. °ti) AV TB ApŚ Address to, or spoken of, a rival AVPPP agrees with TB ApŚ.

ślakṣnam evāva gūhati (ŚŚ °si) AV ŚŚ. And (prec. vs) :

tīṣṭhantam ava gūhati AV. *tīṣṭhann evāvagūhasi* ŚŚ. (but here the mss. of AV. have *gūhasi*) Unintelligible stuff.

sam revatīr jagatībhīh pṛcyaṅtām sam (VSK om *pṛ° sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhīh pṛcyaṅtām* VS VSK ŚB. ŚŚ.: *sam revatīr jagatībhīr madhumatīr madhumatībhīh sṛjyadhvam* TS. TB. The adjectives are noms. even in TS TB., but no noun subject is express, so that this cannot be called a syntactic inconsistency

yadā prāno abhyavarṣit AV . *yadā tvam abhivarṣasi* PraśU *tvam* refers to *prāna*, the stanza is identical

kāmam duhātām iha śakvarībhīh AV *rāṣtram duhāthām iha revatībhīh* TB The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, is nom in AV, despite which most of its mss. read *duhāthām* (but Ppp. °tām) In TB. it is made voc.

gām copasṛṣtām vīhāram cānta; ena mā samcārīṣta ApŚ (followed by *iti samipreṣyati*) *vīhāram ca gām copasṛṣtām antarena mā samcārīṣuh* MŚ (followed by *iti brūyāt*). '(He orders, or he shall say:) "Do not (they, the people, shall not) step between the cow and the vīhāra "'

agnir āyus lenāyuyūṣmān edhi MS : *agnir āyūṣmān tasyāyam āyuyūṣmān astv asau* KS And others, see Conc.

agne vīhi AB ŚB. AŚ MŚ . *agnir hotā vetv.* TB AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnīṣ tān asmāt pra nunottu lokāt MŚ . *agnīṣ tān* (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātv*, SMB *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ. ApŚ SMB . *agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ

athemā vīsvāh pṛtanā jayāsi (RV * °ti) RV (both) SV AB. TB. The subject is Indra both times, tho the context varies, *jayāti* is probably secondary See *RVRep* 397

aditīh keśān vapatu AG MG. ApMB *aditīh śmaśru vapatu* AV. MG.: *adite keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru vapa* PG

antar mahānś carati (and, °si) *rocanena* RV (both) Agni is the subject both times, tho the context varies

annapate 'nnasya (annasya) no dehi VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrānāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *annasyānnapatīh prādāt* PB.: cf *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehi* Kauś.

abhi prayānsi sudhātāni hi khyah (and, *khyat*) RV. (both). Agni is the subject both times.

ararur (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *araro divam mā paptah* VS ŚB. Vait

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB ApŚ.: *avasānam me 'vasānapatir vinda* MŚ

avāsṛjat (RV.* °*jah*) *sartave sapta sindhūn* RV. (both) AV JUB.

avyo (SV. PB. °*yam*) *vāram vi dhāvati* (RV.* °*si*) RV (both) SV PB.:
avyo vāram vi pavamāna dhāvati (subject is here *rasa*) RV

asmānāv eha gachatam RV AB. AŚ ŚŚ : .. *gachatām* (TS. TB °*tam*, in the same stanza) RV TS. TB N The subject is nom with 3d person, voc with 2d

asmabhyam citram vṛṣanam rayim dāh RV SV MS TB.: *dāt* (but so only p p in MS, its *samhitā* mss *dāh*!) MS TB Indra is the subject in both, but the stanzas are otherwise different, in the first direct address, in the second indirect reference The *samhitā* mss. of MS. were influenced by recollection of the other form of the pāda.

kṣeme tīṣṭhāti (ŚG *tīṣṭha*, PG. *tīṣṭhatu*, HG *tīṣṭhatī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā* AV. ŚG PG. HG. The subject is a house (*śālā*), which is directly addressed in the sequel even in AV. Nevertheless the 3d person is logical and natural, since the house is indirectly referred to in the preceding

(*pr̥ṣihena dyāvāprthivī* (MS adds *āpr̥na*)] *antarikṣam ca vi bādhasē* (MS. *bādhasva*, TS *bādhatām*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB. See §116. Addressed to, or said of, one of the altar-bricks The preceding contains an address to Indra-Agni, the sudden shift to a direct address to the brick may have seemed harsh to the redactor of TS, hence his (evidently secondary) change to third person

asmāsu nṛmnam dhāt MS. TA ŚŚ : *asmāsu nṛmnam dhāh* KB. Same context, but KB's version is fragmentary, it contains nothing inconsistent with the 2d person

svāttam cit sadēvam havyam āpo devīh svadatānam TS ApŚ. *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu* MS.: *āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK. *sad*°) *svāttam cit sad devahaviḥ* VS. VSK ŚB Subject *āpo devīh*, voc. or nom.

dyātu varadā devī TAA TA MahānU.: *āyāhi viraje devī* MG

(*abaddham mano*) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS. KŚ. BDh.:
(*adabdhām cakṣur*) *dikṣen* (sc. *dikṣā-id*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ.

The KŚ. reading, with voc. subject and 3d person verb, belongs in the next subdivision, but is doubtless corrupt; read probably *dikṣen* in KŚ Cf however Keith's AA. 237, note.

(*indrah*, SV. *indra*) *kratum punāta* (SV. °*ṣa*) *ukthyam* RV SV.

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

uṣṇena vāya udakenehi (SMB GG. *udakenaidhi*, ApMB *vāyav udakenehi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. On the very dubious form of MG see §136

apātām aśvinā gharmam VS ŚB. ŚŚ LŚ.: *gharmam apātām aśvinā* (accented in MS! but not in TA, TA. adds *hārdvānam*) MS TA. ApŚ. *aśvinā gharmam pātām hārdvānam* (MS *pibatām hārdvānam*, TA. *pātām hārdvānam*, LŚ *pātām aharvyānam*) VS. MS. ŚB TA. ŚŚ. LŚ ApŚ (in the last *aśvinā* is voc. in all; this precedes the other form of the variant in all). The MS form of the first-quoted formula is inconsistent (if not corrupt) and belongs in the next subdivision

devān ā sādāyād (TB ApŚ. °yā) *īha* RV. VS KS TB ApŚ Agni is the subject in both, but the contexts are otherwise different.

nṛmnā punāno arṣasi RV. SV : *nṛmnā vasāno* (SV *punāno*) *arṣati* RV. SV. Subject is Soma Pavamāna both times Contrast §328

punāno vācam iṣyati (and, °s) RV. (both) As in preceding *sāvitrīm bho anu brūhi* AG. ŚG. ApG MG *sāvitrīm me bhavān anu bravītu* GG.

madhvā yaṅnam nakṣati (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīṅānah* (AV *prar*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *narāśanso agnih* (VS TS KS *agne*). All are consistent except KS, which belongs with the next subdivision

syūtā devebhīr amṛtenāgāh (MS KS °gāt) TS MS KS. ApŚ The stanza is radically reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same. *prthivi mātā mā mā hīnsīh*. VS TS ŚB ŚŚ : *mā mām mātā prthivi hīnsī* TS MS

bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kauś. *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG.

yudhendro mahnā varvaś cakāra RV AV : *yudhā devebhyo varvaś cakārtha* RV. AV. The subject of *cakārtha* is Indra in one (and that probably the older one) of the two occurrences in RV., see *RVRep* 87.

svayam pibantu (TS. *juhudhvam*) *madhuno gṛtasya* VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB

śṛṇotu (RV.* *rakṣā ca*) *no damyebhīr anākaḥ* RV. (both) AB. See *RVRep* 110.

rājā pavitraratho vājam āruhaḥ (and, °hat); followed by:

sahasrabhṛṣṭir jayasi (and, °ti) *śravo bṛhat* RV. (both). Subject is Soma Pavamāna.

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta evam mahyam pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG. °tah) *svadhā bhava* (HG. *bhavatām*) ApMB. HG. And the same

with *yathā tāyur* , *yathādityo* Subject is *ūrmih* (waters offered to the manes). either directly addressed or indirectly referred to

risvederāso adhi vocatā nah (TS me) RV. TS : *risve deid abhi rakṣantu* (KS *anu tṛṣṭhantu*) *meha* AV. KS.† 'O All-gods, bless us (me)', or 'let the All-gods protect (attend) us.' The All-gods are not otherwise mentioned in the stanza. nevertheless the direct address to them seems rather harsh. hence, no doubt, the change to 3d person in AV KS : and hence, perhaps, Keith's presumably accidental translation (of TS 4 7 14 2d) as 3d person ('may the all-gods befriend me', 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of *adhi-vocatā*).

vy antarikṣam a'irah RV. AV .*atirat* RV. AV. SV AB GB. AŚ. Vait. Subject is Indra. in different stanzas, both consistent

śyeno na vaṅsu śīdati RV SV *śyeno na rikṣu sīdati* RV. SV. : *śyeno na vansu kalacēṣu sīdasi* RV Soma Pavamāna is the subject in all. *sam devi* (KS *devī*) *divyrcvasyā paśyasi* (KS °*orasyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

sa yajñam pāhi (ŚŚ *pātu*) *sa* (AŚ om) *yajñapatim pāhi* (ŚŚ. omits) *sa mām pāhi* (ŚŚ *pātu*) TB GB AŚ Vait ŚŚ ApŚ

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ : *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau mafinān* MŚ. See §158

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

sahāvaitu jarāyunā ŚB BrhU *saha jarāyunāva sarpatu* (ApMB. °*yujā niṣkramya*) HG ApMB : *sahāvehi jarāyujā* RV.. *sakam jarāyujā pata* AV The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent

indriyam me rīryam mā nir vadhīh (MŚ *vadhīṣṭa*) TS. MŚ The subject is soma in either case The variant belongs here if *vadhīh* is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS. 3. 1. 8 3: but since MŚ. has a 3d person, *vadhīh* may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, *L'Agnistoma* 153 (Keith's objection, l. c. , is not valid).

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV. °*rah*) *kalpayāti* (RV °*yasra*) RV. AV. VS. Context contains *svarād*, nom. (in apposition to subject), even in RV.; this is doubtless responsible for the lectio facilior of AV. VS.; no subject is formally expressed in RV.

vājino vājajito vājam sarīṣyanto (TS. ApŚ. add, *vājam jeṣyanto*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ . *vājinau vājajitau vājam jītvā bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighratam* (KS °*tām*) MS. KS. MŚ. The same noun forms, alternatively taken as noms. or vocs So also in next.

vājino vājayato vājam sasṛvānso (KS *jigvānso*, TS *sasṛvānso vājam jigivānso*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāh* (KS. *bhāge ni mṛjatām*, TS *bhāge ni mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB : *vājinau vājayatau vājam jtvā bṛhaspater bhāge nimṛjyethām* MS MŚ
aram aśvāya gāyati (SV. °*ta*) RV. SV. Subject is the n. pr. Śrutakakṣa in next pāda, nom in RV, voc. in SV. Note plural verb despite singular subject in SV

asme dhārayatam (MŚ °*tām*) *rayim* RV MŚ . *asmai dhārayatam rayim* AV. Subject *agnīṣomā*, originally voc, felt as nom in MŚ

om utsrjata (MG °*tu*) TA. ŚŚ AG. PG ApMB. ApG. HG MG *utsrja* (LŚ. °*jata*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG See §347.

ṛtunā somam pibatam (KS °*tu*, MŚ † °*tām*) KS MŚ ApŚ. Subject Aśvins in ApŚ MŚ. (nom or voc), in KS a priest.

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (KS °*ni*) AV. KS. MŚ : *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāmi* TB ApŚ . *mā no hīnsīd dhīnsīto na tvā jahāmi* AŚ. The subject, in prec, is nom in all; but the rest of the verse, including the latter part of this variant (note *tvā*), is thrown into a direct address in 2d person, and MŚ. assimilates its *hāsīs* to this, instead of *hāsīt*. Neither form can therefore be called inconsistent with the context.

asau yaja AŚ . *asau yajate* . . LŚ

bhuvad vīsvam abhy ādevam ojasā RV . *bhuvo vīsvam abhy ādevam ojasā* SV Subject is Indra Preceded by direct address in 2d person, but followed by reference in 3d person, thus neither form is inconsistent with surroundings

aśvīnā bhīṣajāvatah (MS °*tam*, TB † °*ta*) VS MS TB See §116.

yā (AV. TS. *yāv*) *ātmanvad bābhṛto* (KS † °*tho*, AV. *vīśatho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (KS. † AV °*thah*) AV. TS MS KS. Followed in same texts by

yau vīsvasya paribhū (KS. *vīsvasyādhīpā*) *bābhūvathuh* (TS † °*tuh*) These are pādas b and c of a verse in which the subjects, Vāyu and Savitar, are in all texts referred to in 3d person in a, and directly address in d Therefore no text is completely consistent in the verse; and the variant pādas are in every case consistent with a part of the context.

śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñīyāsah* RV. TA. MG. Also in pāda a MG. recasts the expression to make the verb 3d person instead of 2d; it is internally consistent, altho secondary and poor.

imam no yajñam vhave juṣasva (AV. *śṛnotu*) RVKh AV. TS. KS. TB.

The AV is consistent with the prec half verse (3d person) the others, with the following pāda (direct address in all). Subject Indra.

rāyas poṣam (KS *tvastah poṣāya*) *vi svatu* (AV. MS KS *vi śya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV *asya*) AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ The subject, Tvaṣṭar, is nom with 3d person, voc with 2d On the dual form of the variant (*u.syaṭāri*) see §368

§330. With accompanying change in number

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG.. *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG. *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno tapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB. AG. ŚG PG. HG. ApMB *tena brāhmaṇo tapatu* MG *tenāsyāyūṣe vapa* ApMB. 'By that (razor), O priests, shave his (head) here' or 'by that let the priest shave (him)', or (a kind of *ūha* in ApMB.) 'by that shave thou his (head) unto long life

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (AŚ *sambharatām*, MŚ. *sambharetām*) TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ address to god Agm (2d sing.); in AŚ MŚ subject is two fires (3d dual)

rājānam samgāyata (PG. °*yetām*) ŚG PG Stenzler renders PG. as a direct address, as if °*gāyethām* were the reading, tho he quotes no such reading There seems to be no reason why the two lute-players should not be referred to in the 3d person 'let them sing of the king' In ŚG a plurality of lute-players is directly address.

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viśurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*paṃ*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūa*) RV. AV VS MS KS ŚB : *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS See §104, h In the YV texts used of the animal victim, who is addressed in the sequel, hence the change to 2d person in TS, which is however evidently secondary

anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām MS : *anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām* (KS °*patayo manyadhram*, ŚB.* °*patir amansta*)... VS. TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait See §130.

§331. There are a few variants in which a verb in a relative clause is alternatively made 3d person, because of the relative pronoun serving as subject, tho the person referred to is still directly address. This psychological shift is familiar in other languages:

yā tvaścī nīpadyase (AŚ ŚŚ. SMB. °*te*) ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. ApMB HG The same person is directly address in all: 'thou who liest (lies) down across ...'

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*; VS MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV. VS. TS MS KS ŚB. N. '(O gods) who have come' etc., gods are directly address in all Only N makes verb 3d person, because of the relative

yad aīṣi manasā dūram PG.: *ya eti pradīśah sarvāh* ApMB. The subject is addressed in the 2d person (pronoun *tva*) in the sequel even in ApMB, the third person is due to the relative 'Who goest (or, if thou goest) to all directions (to a distance with thy mind)' is the real meaning of both

yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS KS '(O Mitra-Varuna,) who go, two kings, mighty, against the (warrior) with his chariot (or, who go, mighty, against the king with his chariot)'—[do ye free us from sin]

Possibly the following also belongs here ·

mā yah somam imam pibāt (KŚ *pibā*, KS *somam pibād imam*) KS TB KŚ. ApŚ See §319 The next pāda begins with *s*, possibly *pibāh* (if not even *pibāt*) is to be read in KŚ If the text is correct, of course *pibā* is 1st person, not 2d

§332. (b) There remain a number of cases of this same sort in which one form of the variant is more or less inconsistent with its own context. Thus, first, there are cases in which third-person verbs are used altho the subject is vocative, or is referred to with second-person pronouns, pointing to direct address These cases, naturally, tempt to emendation, but probably the temptation should usually be resisted, as it certainly should in the following verse of PG Such third-person verbs occur no less than three times in it, and are translated by Stenzler as second-persons, altho he very properly did not venture to emend his text in view of the insistent tradition The comm supplies *bhavantau*, and this familiar classical third-personal expression for what is really a direct address is, no doubt, influential in many of these expressions in later texts Cf *bhavati bhikṣām dehi* (*bhavān bhikṣām dadātu*), §329

yena śrīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛnutam* (PG °*tām*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatām* (PG. °*vamṛśatām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ. °*kṣām*, PG. °*kṣyāv*) *abhyasīcatam* (PG. °*tām*), *yad vām tad aśvinā yakāh*, ŚŚ. PG. SMB. The first pāda also GG. (reading as SMB.); the third also AV, reading *yenākṣā abhyasicyanta* (the dice are made the subject of the now passive verb). See §293.

Or, conversely, one form of the variant has a 2d person verb with a nominative subject, as:

- tā enam pravivānsau śrapayatam* MS. *tāv imāñ paśum śrapayatām pravivānsau* TB Not only the pronoun and adjective referring to the subject in this pāda, but the noun subjects in the prec., are nom in MS.
- mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhīt* (TA *vivyatho nah*) MS TA.: *mā nah soma hvarito vihvarasva* MŚ (so read, see §159). followed in same verse by
- mo śvatvam asmān tarādhāt* (so read with p p) MS · *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo śv*) *asmāñs tamasy antar ādhāh* TA *mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt* (mss *ādāt*) MŚ In view of the voc *gharma* (*soma*), it would appear that MS MŚ must understand the subject to be indefinite, but it can hardly be anything else than the *gharma* The formula is a *prāyaścitta* spoken upon ominous performance of the *gharma* or *soma*-offering
- adabdhō gopāh* (KS † *gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS. *pari pātu viśvatah*) RV. TS KS *tvam no gopāh pari pāhi viśvatah* AV The subject (in prec pāda) is *agne* RV. AV, *agnir* TS. KS TS is inconsistent (2d person with subject nom)
- agnir dād* (TS. *dā*) *dravinam vīrapesāh* RV TS The subject being *agnir*, TS. is inconsistent, but note the following *dr-*, and cf §24.
- srjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han* SV : *srjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han* RV. N The subject is *indra*, voc, even in SV., and the prec. parallel verbs are 2d person.
- kadā sutam tṛsāna oka ā gamah* (SV *gamat*) RV SV AV The subject is the voc *indra*, followed by *sr-* and perhaps felt as nom. (for *indrah*) in SV? Benfey baldly translates 3d person verb with voc. subject.
- devebhyo havyam* (MS MŚ MG. *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV. AV. VS TS MS KS. ŚB TB Vait. MŚ. Kauś. MG · *devebhyo havyam vaha nah* (Kauś omits *nah*) *prajānan* TB. AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ Kauś. There are three different contexts here, one with the second variant, and two with the first All are consistent with their contexts except that MŚ alone has the form *vahatu* with a preceding voc subject
- patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha* (TA. *babhūva*) RV. AV. TA. See §262, f. The subject is *tvam*, and TA. comm. glosses *babhūva* with a 2d person
- ptū mātariśvāchdrā padā dhāh* (KS. AŚ. *dhāt*) TS. KS. AB. AŚ. 5. 9. 1. In TS. AB nom. subject with 2d person verb; KS. AŚ. are consistent.

vy astabhñā (VS ŚB *aska°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣta°*, TS. *askabhñād*, TA. *aṣtabhñād*) *rodasī viṣnav* (VS MS KS *viṣṇa*, TS *viṣnur*) etc. followed by·

dādhartha (TS *dādhāra*) *pṛthwīm abhito mayūkharh* RV VS TS MS. KS ŚB TA The prec half verse is address to Heaven and Earth; hence, no doubt, TS changes these pādas to a 3d person reference to Viṣnu, which seems less harsh than a direct address to him TA. has a blend, being internally inconsistent, or at least harsh, despite the voc subject and the 2d person verb retained in pāda d, it joins TS. in having a 3d person verb in pāda c

tasya na istasya pṛtasya dravnehāgameh, etc (see § 104, u) Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom with 3d person, voc. with 2d) except MS, which has *dravnāgamyāt*; its p p reads *drāvna* (accented!), is this form possibly felt as a nom pl neuter, with sing verb? The following parallel formulas in MS have 3d person verbs with nom subjects

yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati (TA. *dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi*), followed by

gṛdhrāḥ suparnāḥ kunapam niṣevati (TA † *niṣevase*) MS TA. The TA comm regards the *gṛdhra* as address, despite the nom form

[*viśvasya devī mṛcayasya* (ŚŚ *mṛśayasya*) *janmano*] *na yā roṣāti na grabhat* (ŚŚ *grabhaḥ*) AB AŚ ŚŚ ‘The goddess of the imperishable (?) kind, who shall not be angry, shall not (or, do not) seize us.’ Keith takes *grabhat* as part of the relative clause, which leaves no main verb in the passage, it seems better to regard *grabhat* as the main verb, with subject *devī* It may be that the original reading was *devi* (voc), followed by *grabhaḥ*, and that *grabhat* is due to secondary form assimilation to *roṣāti*, whose 3d personal form is justified by the relative (cf §331). As it stands, ŚŚ. is inconsistent, since the only possible subject for its 2d person verb is nominative.

ajātasatruḥ syonā no astu TS MS AŚ. *ajātasatrus suhavo na edhi* KS The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all noms, KS. is harsh

yajamānāya dravnam dadhātu (VS. ŚB. KS * *dadhāta*) AV. VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The subject is nominative, and parallel clause 3d person, in all. On the plural see § 355.

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *apratī*) RV. AV. SV TB. The AV. variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb, see §329.

sa no mayobhūh pto (*pītaḥ*) *āviśasva* (*āviśaha*; MŚ. *pītur āviveśa*) TS TB.

AŚ. MŚ ŚG SMB. PG. *sa nah pto madhumān ā vveṣa* Kauś. Voc with 2d person verb in all but MŚ. Kauś, in MŚ nom. with 3d person (equally consistent), in Kauś, however, if the text is right, we have voc with 3d person verb! See §69

madhvā yaḡñam nakṣatī (°se) *prīnānah* (prā°) AV. VS TS MS. KS See § 329 KS. is inconsistent

mau vīryam (TB *rayim*) *yaḡamānāya dhattām* (TB *dhattam*) MS. TB. The 2d person of TB is inconsistent with its nom subject, *asvīnā* (accented). The comm finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent and taking it as voc But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb *rakṣatām*, with the same subject Even this does not disturb the comm, who calmly interprets it as if it were 2d person (*sarvalo bhayāt pālayatam*) In truth, of course, it is rather *dhattam* which must be an error for 3d person *dhattām*

śarad dhemantah svrite dadhāta (MŚ °tu) KS MŚ. śarad varṣāh *svritam* (ŚG *sukrtam*) *no astu* (AV *svrite no dadhāta*) AV TS ŚG. SMB In AV. KS the six season-names which precede are directly addressed in 2d person, tho they are nom in form, not voc Doubtless for this reason MŚ substitutes a 3d person, and since the 3d plural would not fit metrically, makes it singular, agreeing with the nearest of the six subjects, see § 355 The other texts dodge the difficulty by making *svritam* the subject of a copulative verb, *astu*

deveṣu nah sukṛto (VSK *deveṣu mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*; PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt* (ŚB. with ūha, voceh) VS ŚB. *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 2d person is required, and PB comm reads *brūtāt*, probably MŚ (in an unpublished part of the text) is likewise to be read *brūtāt*

inder (VS KS ŚB *inded*) *agnir* (VSK ŚBK *agner*; MS MŚ *agne*) *nabho nāma* VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB ŚBK MŚ See Keith on TS 1 2 12 1, note 2 The TS is inconsistent (2d person verb with nom subject) The others all rectify the syntax by one change or another

mā no dyāvāpṛthivī hīdīṣethām MS. *mā dyāvāpṛthivī hīdīṣātām* TA In MS. as well as TA *dyāvāpṛthivī* is nom (accented); and the preceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person.

akarāt sūryavarcasam ApMB. *akṛṇoh sūryavacam* RV. AV. JB : *avakṛṇot sūryavacam* MG. The subject, in the preceding pāda, is *indra* (voc) in all but MG., even ApMB. 1 1.9 reads so, despite 3d person verb, cf Winternitz, Introduction, p xvi. And indeed even MG., tho it makes the subject nom, *indras*, to agree with the 3d

person verb, still retains the voc. epithet *śatakrato* in pāda b, agreeing with it! Only RV AV JB are really grammatical *brahma tena punīha nah (mā, punātu mā, punīmahe), idam brahma punīmahe*, see §302
 (abaddham mano .) *dīkṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ. *hāsīt*, corrupt?) TS KŚ BDh · (*adabdhām cakṣur*) *dīkṣen mā mā hāsīt* . MŚ. The KŚ is inconsistent.

§333. (c) In a very large number of other cases, while there is no inconsistency between the case of the subject and the person of the verb, we note more or less inconsistency between the person of the verb and the surrounding context, in one form of the variant (See §294) That is, for instance, in a passage containing several parallel verbs with the same subject, one is suddenly shifted from 2d to 3d person, or vice versa Or, a 3d person verb is found when in an adjoining passage direct address to the subject is indicated by a 2d person pronoun; or the like. The result is a more or less harsh anacolouthon. This condition is not by any means always secondary; indeed, it happens very frequently that the anacolouthic syntax appears to characterize the older form of the variant, and a later text smoothes it out by a change of person in one verb

§334. In half a dozen cases, however, of verbs of which Soma is the subject, and which in the RV are third person, and occur in the context of other (parallel) third-person expressions, the SV. changes the 3d person to 2d, producing a direct address to Soma which is inconsistent with the context (cf. above §§295, 328)·

adhā tripr̥ṣṭha uṣaso vi rājati (SV °s̥i) RV SV. The subject, soma, is spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV.

āpr̥chyam dharunam vājy arsaṭi (SV °s̥i) RV SV. The subject, soma, is referred to in the 3d person in the prec pāda

punāno vāram pary ety (SV *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam* RV SV. ApŚ The subject, soma, is referred to in 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse.

viśvā yad rūpā pariṣyāty (SV °sy) *ṛkvaḥh* RV. SV. Otherwise 3d person in the verse

vṛthā pājānsi kṛnute (SV °ṣe) *nadīṣv ā* (RV.† once omits *ā*) RV. (bis) SV. Otherwise 3d persons in the verse

arṣan (SV *arṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV. SV. Parallel verb in the preceding is 3d person in both.

§335. In two cases, however, the reverse change takes place in SV in verbs of which Soma is the subject, there are special reasons for both.

ṛṣṣo acikradad vane SV. 2 430b, 480b ṛṣṣāta cakradad 9. 107. 22b cakradad vane RV 9 7 3b, 9 107 22b In SV 2. 430b = RV. 9. 107. 22b Soma is addressed in the latter part of the stanza: yet he is here referred to in the 3d person in SV, probably under the influence of the parallel passage 2 480b = RV. 9. 7 3b, which has 3d person in both texts

prṣṭheṣu erayā (SV *arayaḥ* *erayam* RV SV. Here RV. is inconsistent; the subject, Soma, is the subject of a 3d person verb in the next pāda In SV this is smoothed out.

§336. We may note that it is only Soma for which SV. seems to feel this urge towards direct address, e.g., in the following, where the Maruts are the subject. SV changes secondarily a 2d person address to a 3d person reference, despite direct address to the Maruts in the preceding:

viśte pibata (SV *pibantu*) *lāmīnah* RV. SV

§337. The long list of remaining cases is as follows:

yat sānoḥ sīnum āruhat (SV. *sīki āruhaḥ*) RV. SV The subject is Indra, who is otherwise spoken of in the 3d person even in SV.; the next pāda is *bhūry aspaṣṭa karṣam* 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor' A 2d person verb here is intolerably harsh, one is tempted to guess that SV felt *āruhaḥ* as a verbal noun, dependent on *aspaṣṭa* (!) This would perhaps be no worse than other forms of which SV is guilty. But probably it merely shifts to direct address to Indra, see § 294

yena bhūryaś (PG *bhūriś*) *carāty ayam* (AG *ca rātryam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG *carā duam*), *jyol ca paśyāt*: (PG *si*, MG. *ṣyati*) *sūryam* (MG *ṣyah*) AG PG ApMB MG The subject is the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG makes it *sūryah* in the 2d pāda, perhaps also in the first? doubtful) he is address in the 2d person in the rest of the verse in AG. PG MG, spoken of in the 3d in ApMB. As to persons, PG and ApMB are consistent, AG flagrantly inconsistent, MG patches together a makeshift reading, keeping 3d person but changing the subject

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ *ṣyāi*) *abhūthām* (MS *ṭhām*): and (in same verse) *divi* (KS *dive*) *jyolur ajaram* (MS. KS *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS. *ṭhām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. In prec pāda both MS. and KS. have the 3d person *gachatām*; both are therefore inconsistent. On *abhūthām* (middle!) see §§21, 56.

antaś carati (MahānU. PrānāgU. *ṣi*) *bhūteṣu* TA. TAA. MahānU. PrānāgU. LVyāsaDh ŚāṅkhaDh. The subject (*paramātmā*, TA. comm) is address in the second person in the 2d half of the verse.

samprīyah paśubhir bhava (TB ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS TB ApŚ : *samprīyam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA The subject (Agni) is referred to in the 3d person even in MS in the preceding

viśvo (TS. *viśve*) *rāya iśudhyati* (TS °*si*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. Both variations in TS. are corrupt, see Keith (p 21, n 3), who translates the RV. reading. As K remarks, the 2d person is apparently intended to match *puṣyase* in the next line, but this is an infinitive, not a finite form.

mā no hṛnātām atithir (SV *hṛnāthā atithim*) *vasur agnih* RV SV The subject can only be Agni in SV, which seems to understand the last two words as a separate sentence: 'Be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni!); Agni is good'

ūrdhvo adhvaro āsthāt (VS ŚB *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS. *'dhware sthāh*, ApŚ *adhware sthāt*) VS MS KS. ŚB ApŚ 'The offering has stood upright', or (KS) 'thou (Agni) hast stood upright at the offering', or (ApŚ) 'he (Agni, who is directly address in both the preceding and following) has stood' etc Caland assumes *'sthāh* as the true reading of ApŚ.

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS. PG *dhukṣva*, MS *duhe*, SMB *duhā*?) RV. AV TS MS KS SMB PG The subject (*ekāṣṭakā*) is spoken of in the 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse even in TS. PG, which here address it directly For the doubtful reading of MS. SMB. see §104, b

subheṣajam yathāsati (AV °*si*, LŚ *yathāsati*) AV TS MS KS. LŚ. Different contexts, but, as Whitney remarks ad loc, the 3d person would suit better in AV.

tat satyam yad vīram bibhrīhah (MŚ † °*tah*); *vīram janayiṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah*), *te mat prātah prajānayiṣyethe* (MŚ °*te*); *te mā prajāte prajānayiṣyathah* (MŚ °*toh prajāyā paśubhih*) TB ApŚ MŚ. Preceded, even in MŚ, by a direct address in 2d person.

(*indraś ca nah śunāsīrāv*) *imam yajñam mimikṣatam* (ŚŚ. °*tām*) TB. ŚŚ Followed by *garbham* (ŚŚ °*ān*) *dhattam svastaye*, so that ŚŚ is inconsistent Its reading is evidently a reminiscence of the form of the pāda which occurs elsewhere, in a different context, with *mimikṣatām*; see §341.

arakṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (TS MS. *juṣasva*; KS. *juṣethāh*) RV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. See §160 In the following 2 pādas Agni is referred to in 3d person

imam yajñam abhi grñāta viśve RV VS : *idam no havir abhi grñantu viśve* AV The subject is the *pītr*s, who are address in the next line in the 2d person even in AV, and AV. comm reads *grñāta* here.

nātārīd (TB. °rīr) *aspa samrjñīm tadhōmīm* (TB. hā) RV. TB. The parallel verbs are all 3d person. TB comm. glosses as *prāptārīd*. *nīśidar*, no apa *nīśārīdīm yahu* (TS karat) VS TS MS KS. ŚB. The subject is understood as Agni. The first part of the verse refers to him in 3d person and is directly address to plants; the majority of the texts change to a 2d person address to Agni, while TS. alone, more consistently but presumably secondarily, continues the indirect reference.

parāvata ā jagānāhī (AV jagamyāt. TS jagāmā) *parasyāh* RV. AV. SV. VS MS KS. Subject Indra, who in the following is address in 2d person in all.

pitarah p.tārahāh pare tare tatās tatārahā iha māvata (PG māvantu) TS PG. The last of a series of similar formulas. the preceding ones are 3d person in both texts.

purā grdhṛād araruṣah pibātaḥ (TB. p.bāthaḥ) RV. MS. TB. In the following TB also has 3d person verb

prādāh (SMB *prādāt*) *pitṛbhyah svadhayā te akṣan* RV. AV VS TS. ApŚ. SMB Subject Agni, address in 2d person thruout the verse in most texts, but in SMB only in the last pāda, in this (the 3d) pāda, and in the 1st (which is a different one from that of the other texts), it has 3d person forms. in the 2d pāda the form is ambiguous (either 2d or 3d).

mā mā hinsit (VS † KS ŚB *hinsih*) VS. TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ. Prec. by *mā tvā hinsit* (KS ms *hinsih*) In the Tait. school texts the verb-form is mechanically assimilated to the preceding: just as in the one ms of KS the form of the prec verb is assimilated to the following (properly emended by von Schroeder, since the object *tvā* makes 2d person verb obviously impossible) Subject *kṛṣṇājina* (Mahidhara on VS)

yathā jyok sumanā asāh (HG. *asa*) ApMB. HG. The prec formula addresses the boy in 2d person even in HG

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS °thād) *dravineha dhattāt* RV MS KS. AB TB. N. In KS inconsistent with context. see §24.

vākpā vācam me pāhu (MS. *pātu*) TS. MS. AB. AŚ. And the same with *śrotapāḥ śrotam, cakṣuṣpāh* etc. *vākpāh* is nom., which makes 3d person at least easier; and the prec. is a 3d person statement in TS

viśvasmā id iṣudhyate (TB. °se) RV. TB Followed by:

devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (RV. *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. (bis) SV. TB. On the relation of the RV. forms see *RVRep* 131f The SV. occurrences repeat RV. 8 19 1 (which has *ohire*) but seem influenced by RV.

1. 128 6 (*ohiṣe*) TB. repeats RV 1. 128. 6 but makes it more natural; *ohiṣe* (p p. *ā ūhiṣe*) is surrounded by 3d person verbs referring to the same subject (Agni), so that attempts have even been made to explain *ohiṣe* as an infinitive (see *RVRep* loc cit., and Oldenberg's *RVNoten* ad loc). In TB the whole passage is made a direct address to Agni—a much easier reading.

śarma varūtham āsadat svah (TS *āsadah svah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. In TS. the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where Agni is directly address in all Tho more consistent, it is doubtless secondary

jayanta upaspr̥ṣatu HG : *jayantopa spr̥ṣa* ApMB Only HG. is consistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB, are 3d person

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV *bhaveha*) AV. TS MS. Subject is a king, equated with Indra; in 1st half verse all texts refer to him in 3d person, here AV changes to direct address (AV. 3 4. 1 has the same pāda in a different context.)

anu (AV **prati*) *dyāvāpṛthivīā tatantha* (AV.**viveśa*, AV *TS *TB *tatāna*) RV AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TB Occurs in two different verses. one (A) is address to Soma, with verbs in 2d person; the other (B) refers to Agni, with verbs in 3d person Only A occurs in RV., only B in AV TB ; both occur in VS TS MS KS , but VS MS. KS read in B the 2d person form taken from, and appropriate to, A, while only TS keeps the distinct forms appropriate to each

andhena yat (TA. *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA *āsa*) AV. TA The subject (acc to both comms a cow, but see Whitney's note on AV. 18 3 3) is referred to in the 1st half verse in 3d person in both texts.

āṣta (MS KS *āṣtāh*) *pratiṣthām avidad dhi* (MS. *avido hi*, KS *avido nu*) *gādham* TS MS KS PG So the Conc. The subject, *Viśvavedas*, is referred to in the prec pāda in the 3d person in TS KS (while in MS he is directly address). If, as we believe, the Conc presents the true text of KS, it alone of the texts is inconsistent with its surroundings. The matter is, however, not certain. The single ms of KS is quoted as reading *āṣtāh* and *avide*, which seem most likely to represent *āṣtāh* and *avido*; but von Schroeder (doubtless for the sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it seems, to *āṣta and andan*

ganān me mā vi tūrṣah (MŚ. *ṛṣat*) TS MŚ. 'Do not (let him not) make my troops thirsty.' Only the 2d person is proper, referring to Indra,

to whom the whole verse is address Knauer on MŚ. 2. 4. 1 35b defends °*śat* of all his mss by supposing it to refer to Vāyu, understood In the same context *ganān me mā vy arīṛṣah* Vait. In different contexts *gaṇā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TB ŚB ; *ganair mā mā vi tṛṣata* MS. 'Let not my troops be thirsty' or 'make me not thirsty with my troops', shift between causative and simple verbs, with consequent inversion of subject and object.

abhi no viro arvati kṣameta RV TB · *tvam no viro arvati kṣamethāḥ* AB. In a repetition of the RV stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) is address with 2d person verbs in the preceding pādas, AB makes this pāda consistent with them

ā *yantu pitaro manojavasah* ApŚ · *eta pitaro manojavāḥ*, and: *āgantā pitaro manojavāḥ* MŚ (in same sūtra): *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ. *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ *somyāḥ*) TS MS KS. AŚ MŚ. ApŚ. (in different context from the above in ApŚ, but in the same context, separated by one sūtra, from *eta* etc in MŚ, in the next sūtra but one MŚ has a 3d person reference to the same subject, *śundhantām pitarah*, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person)

rtūnr (TB *rtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj jāyate punah* (AV. *jāyase navah*) RV AV. MS TB. Preceded by the correlate *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣte* (so AV, the others similarly). Said of the sun and moon respectively. The change to direct address in AV. is harsh and is pretty surely a mere corruption, the comm reads *jāyate*

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV The waters seem to be addressed in RV, they are referred to in 3d person in the preceding The AV reading is uncertain, SPP. adopts *śumbhatu*, and so Whitney's Translation, see §360

dvo jyote (and, *jyotr*) *vivasva āditya āsuvadhvam* KS · *devayūte vvasvann āditya āsuvadhvam* MS *vivasvān aditur devayūtib* *vyantu* TS Two parallel pādas preceding have *vyantu* with nom. subject in MS KS also

yo devānām carasī prānathena VS MS KS ŚB · *devānām yaś carati prā°* TS Here, paradoxically, it is the 2d person of most texts which is inconsistent with the 2d (not 3d) person verb of the preceding line; for the subjects of the two must be different, being masc and fem. respectively. Doubtless this is the reason for TS's change to 3d person here, and for its further change in the next pāda (*devi* for *deva*), which makes the entire stanza address to the feminine entity mentioned in the first half. TS. is, of course, secondary.

yasmād bhāta udavāṣṣta (and, *udaveṣṣta*) MŚ : *yasmād bhīṣāvāṣṣthāḥ*

(and, *bhīṣāvepiṣṭhāh*) TB ŚŚ. ApŚ Surrounding and parallel formulas (addrest to the animal victim) are 2d person even in MŚ

aśvināv eha gachatām (TS TB *~tam*) RV. TS TB. N. *aśvināv* is voc in TS. TB, *aśvināv* nom in RV The same pāda with °*tam* (and *dśvināv*) in RV and other texts, in a direct address to the Aśvins, who are here (in RV) referred to in the 3d person, the stanza being addrest to a priest (the *adhvaryu* according to comm on RV, the *hotar* according to that on TB). The preceding pāda in TB. as well as RV. is: *prātaryujā (= aśvinau) vi bodhaya*. TS changes this to °*yujau vi mucyethām*, making it also a direct address to the Aśvins. TB is inconsistent in that the first pāda is addrest to a priest and refers to the Aśvins in 3d person, while the second addresses them directly. TS by its further change in the first pāda restores consistency. No doubt the 2d person form of the second pāda is due to influence of the other form of the variant with *gachatam*, in a different stanza in RV.

vyaty agra āsīt (KS TA ApŚ *āsīh*) VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ. In two different stanzas (used in similar connexions), one in KS ApŚ., the other in the remaining texts The KS ApŚ stanza is consistently in the 2d person, according to ApŚ addrest partly to a lump of earth, partly to pebbles The other stanza likewise refers to a lump of earth, which is addrest directly in the next pāda in MS at any rate (with vocative *dev*), and according to Mahidhara also in VS.; M thus interprets the pronoun *te*, as referring to the earth, with *āsīt* Mahidhara supplies *bhavatī*, taking the whole as direct address There is, then, inconsistency between the two pādas in VS MS In TA., which has the same context as VS MS, this inconsistency is removed by changing *āsīt* into a 2d person

īṣam tokāya no dadhat (KS *dadhah*) RV SV KS, and AVPpp in its version of AV. 7 20. 2, see Whitney's note on this The RV. SV passage is not pertinent since *dadhat* is a participle, the context is different. But both KS and AVPpp have finite verb forms, the stanza in them is otherwise a direct address, and AVPpp is therefore inconsistent. In both the next pāda reads:

pra ṇa (MS *na*) *āyūnṣi tāriṣah* (AVPpp. MS. KS. mss. °*ṣat*) AVPpp. VS. TS KS. ŚŚ. N. See preceding. (In all but AVPpp KS. MS the preceding pāda is different.) This pāda, with *tāriṣat*, is found repeatedly in other contexts (see Conc), in most of which the 3d person is appropriate. Doubtless the reading with *tāriṣat* here

(and probably in AV. 4 10. 6e, where a 2d person also seems required) is due to contamination with that form of the phrase.

rdhag ayā (TS MS. KS *ayād*) *rdhag utāsamiṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*samiṣṭa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB N : *dhravam ayā dhravam utāsamiṣṭhāh* RV : *dhravam ayo dhravam utā saṁṣṭha* AV. The forms *ayā(s)* and *ayād* are both 2d persons, but because the latter looks more like a 3d person, MS. KS secondarily make the following verb 3d person, despite direct address in the preceding and following pādas. On the corrupt version of AV see Whitney on 7 97 1

cutrebhūr abhratr upa tiṣṭhatho (MS °*to*) *ravam* RV † MS. Followed by *dyām varṣayatho* (MS °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV MS The preceding pādas speak of the subject (*mihāvarunau*) in the 3d person, hence the change to 3d person in MS, which makes the syntax smoother. Nevertheless MS p p reads *varṣayathah*.

dhartā dīvo rajaso vibhāti dhartā (TA *dīvo vibhāsi rajasah*, VS ŚB. *dīvo vibhāti tapasas pṛthivyām*) VS MS ŚB TA. The context has a parallel verb *yacha*

dhruvadhi poṣyā (PG °*ye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG. PG ApMB : *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. The AV is inconsistent, for the woman referred to by *iyam* is addressed in 2d person in the rest of the stanza

aredatā (ahe°, see §160) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamīyāi*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Parallel verbs are 3d person in all

janīṣṭa (TS °*svā*, MS °*ṣva*) *hi janyo agre ahnām* RV. TS MS KS. The subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel.

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB. °*yet*) AB. GB. Direct address in the preceding in both. Gaastra considers GB. corrupt

marya wa yuvatibhāh sam arṣati (AV *wa yoṣāh sam arṣase*) RV SV. AV. Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all

namo viśvakarmane sa u pātū asmān TS MŚ.: *viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān* AV. Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV

muñcatu (KS *muñcemam*) *yaṣṇam* (ApŚ *yaṣṇo*, KS adds *muñca*) *yaṣṇapatim anhasah svāhā* MS. KS ApŚ. 3d person forms are used in parallel formulas in KS

meṣa iṅa vai sam ca vi corv acyase AV.: *meṣa wa yad upa ca vi ca carvatī* (ApŚ. erroneously, *carvari*) KS. ApŚ. 3d person forms in the rest of AV.; but the stanza is very obscure.

vaptā (ApMB *vaptrā*; HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasī* (PG. °*ti*) *keśasmasru* (AG. PG MG *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The fourth pāda has 2d person verb in all: the 3d person of PG. is evidently due

to the nom *vaptā*, felt as subject, tho in the original form (AV) it is merely appositional to the subject. Note that HG. MG. also feel this as inconsistent, and try to smooth out the syntax by the converse change of *vaptā* to voc. *vaptar*; while ApMB. has an instrumental *vaptrā*

sam gachatām (RV.* *gachaeva*) *tanvā* (TA. *tanuvā*) *suvarcāh* (RV * TA *jāavedah*) RV. (bis) AV (bis) TA In AV 18 3 58 is repeated RV. 10 14 8, with change in this pāda of *gachasva* to *gachatām*, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly address. The change is obviously due to the influence of the very similar pāda RV 10 16 5d = AV 18 2. 10d (this also in TA), which has, consistently, *gachatām*. Note that conversely AV. substitutes *suvarcāh* of 18 3 58d = RV 10 14 8d for *jāavedah* of RV 10. 16 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike.

sam (ApMB. *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV. ApMB See Winternitz, p xx of ApMB Introduction, *hathah* is senseless *sarvam tad asmān mā hīnsīh* (HG *hīnsī*) ApŚ HG Parallel verbs are 3d person; there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ, which Caland translates by a 3d person.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmṛāyam gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt*; MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ The subject is Soma, who is address directly in the preceding formulas.

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS. °*gah*) VS MS ŚB · *samsarpa* (KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargān lokān*) KS ApŚ. The subject is address in 2d person (*gacha*) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ., secondarily no doubt, makes *samsarpa* consistent with this. Mahīdhara on VS understands even *samasṛpat* as direct address (*he kūrma yo bhavān . . . samasṛpat*), but the only express subject is nom in all (*apām patir vṛṣabha iṣṭakānām*).

viśvā ḍena pṛtanā abhiṣya TB ApŚ. HG *viśvās ca deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG † °*syak*) KS PG 'O god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts' *abhiṣyak* for *abhiṣyat*, 3d sing injunctive, see Stenzler's Critical Note on PG 3 1. 3b The 'god' is Agni, who is address directly in the preceding pāda even in PG (*sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛṇīhi*).

§338. (d) We come next to a group of variants in which the change of person is due to a change of subject, while the general context remains essentially the same. Thus:

tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsī (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB. AŚ.

ApŚ.: *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (one ms *hāsīl*) MŚ.† The subject of the 2d person forms is Agni, who is address in the prec.; that of the 3d persons is *āyuh*.

kāmam (AV. PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā vīśa* (AV. *viveśa*; KS. PB *vīśat*) AV. KS PB TB TA. AŚ ApŚ 'Desire has entered the ocean' or the like; 'enter thou the ocean (of) desire' (TA. comm : *he dakṣiṇe samudrasamam kāmam praviśa*)

ūrdhvo adhvāro asthāt etc, see §337

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU. SMB · *ahar mātyapīparah* AV. 'The day has brought us across'. 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day'

pra yam rāye niniśasi RV · *pra yo rāye niniśati* N. 'Whom thou (Agni) wilt lead to wealth'. 'who will lead (thee, Agni) to wealth'

mā hinsīh puruṣam jagat VS TS. MS KS ŚvetU *mā hinsīt puruṣān mama* NīlarU The entire verse is address to Rudra, who is the grammatical subject of this verb except in NīlarU, where the subject is his weapon

rarātam ud wa vidhyati (HG. °*si*) HG. ApMB Prec. by: *yat ta etan mukhe 'matam* (HG *matam*) 'If thou shootest up this thought in thy face' · 'if this bad thought shoots up'

devi vāg yat te vāco tasmīn mā dhāh (KB ŚŚ *no adya dhāt*) TS KB. GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ The subject in KB ŚŚ is Vācaspati, mentioned in the prec

vācaspatē 'chidī ayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvrdham (ŚŚ erroneously, *devā vrdhan*) *hotrām arrayat* (KŚ. *arrayant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *arrayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ omits) ŚB TA ŚŚ KŚ The passage is troublesome, see Eggeling's note in *SBE* 44 122 Sāyaṇa interprets *arrayat* as equivalent to a 2d person, and refers the whole passage to Vācaspati; if he is right, this variant would belong with those listed in §332. But Eggeling translates *arrayat* as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the *yajamāna*; the formula is used under certain conditions at his consecration (*dhikṣā*); and this seems likely to be correct. The 2d person form of the variant is, of course, address to Vācaspati.

yo devayānaḥ panthās tena yajño devān apy etu (KS. *tena devān gacha*) TS. KS. Subject in KS. is *idā*.

āyur dātra edhī VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS : *vayo dātre* (VSK. *dātra edhī*; KS. PB. *dātre bhūyān*) *mayo mahyam* (TB TA. ApŚ. *mahyam astu*) *pratgrahītre* VSK. KS PB TB. TA. ApŚ. 'Be thou (potency address) life (or the like) to the giver' etc, or, 'may there

be strength (or the like) to the giver' etc The meaning, of course, is virtually the same. Cf next.

śāntir no astu MS *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA : *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS Mahidhara on VS *mā, mām prati, edhi, astu, purusavyatyayah* (text by error, °*vyatyamah*) But this is, of course, a pedantic and unnecessary assumption, the 2d person is of the same sort as in the preceding variant

dyaur nah pitā pitryāc (TA *pitryāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA °*si*) AV TA In AV the subject is *dyaur*, in TA the comm takes it as the *yajamāna*, no doubt correctly, but the entire stanza is obscure

viśvasmaḥ bhūtāyādhwaro 'sī (ApŚ °*ro astu devāh*, KS MŚ *bhūtāya dhruvo astu devāh*) TS KS ApŚ. MŚ The subject in TS is Soma, in the others *yajña*; all refer to *yajña* in the 3d person in the preceding.

sūryam (TA adds *te*) *cakṣur gachatu* (AV *cakṣuṣā gacha*) *vātam ātmā* (AV. *ātmanā*) RV AV. TA. 'Let thy eye go (or, go with thy eye) to the sun' etc. In the following pādas the dead man is addressed with *gacha* in all, AV. makes this pāda consistent with them, but the others are not syntactically inconsistent, since *cakṣuh* is the grammatical subject in them

sūryasya rāsmīn anv ātatāna (MŚ *ātatantha*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ. Preceded by *yad agne pūrvam prabhrtam* (*prahrtam, nihrtam*) *padam hi te* In MŚ. the subject is Agni, in the others, his *padam*.

svīstakṛd indrāya devebhyo bhara MS. KS ApŚ. *svīstakṛd devebhyo indra ājyena havṣā bhūt svāhā* VS. ŚB The subject in most texts is Agni, in VS ŚB it is (obviously secondarily) changed to Indra

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāh*) KS. MŚ. See §158

yat te krūram tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām*, MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS. ŚB ApŚ. 'Let that of thee become pure (by this)', or, 'as to that become thou pure by this'

§339. We think it unnecessary to list here cases in which the change of person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a shift of voice, as between active and middle or passive; such a shift naturally involves very often a change of person, and the instances can easily be found from the lists in §§30, 83 ff.; to these should be added the variant: *tās tvā devīr* (*devyo*) *jarase* (°*sā*) *sam vyayantu* (*vyayasva*), §70

§340. For cases of this sort in which there is a change of number as well as person, see §365; and for a couple of cases in which a 2d person singular of direct address varies with an indefinite 3d plural, see §360.

§341. (e) We come now to cases in which the 2d and 3d persons appear in different contexts, with different subjects, each appropriate and consistent. We may begin with a pāda which occurs in the RV. itself in no less than four different verses.

asmākam edhy avitā ıathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV. AV SV. VS TS. MS. KS. *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV.. *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS TB TA MahānU : *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV. AV. TA. The last, with its anomalous form *bhūtv*, is obviously a secondary adaptation to a new context with change of person

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG.† (corrupt. read as ApMB, as Kirste and Oldenberg both assume): *adho vadādharo vada* HG The last, which is the only genuine variant, is a conscious imitation of the other, with change of person to suit different context

te devāso (TS *devā*) *yajñam imam juṣadhvam* (AV *juṣantām*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB . *te devāso harir idam juṣadhvam* AV It is the last-quoted form of AV which appears in the same context with the others, AV 7 28 1, which reads *juṣantām*, is in a wholly different context

tṛptā mā tarpayata (MG *mām tarpayantu*) KS. MG Contexts only vaguely similar

antaś carasy (MS °*ty*) *arnave* AV MS Different contexts

adhaspadam kṛnutām (AV * *kṛnuṣva*; TS *kṛñute*) *ye pṛtanyavaḥ* AV. (bis) VS TS MS KS ŚB

bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat MS *bodhā stotre vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayovr-dhah*) RV SV ApŚ See §§24, 153 The contexts are different, and MS is interpretable as it stands, but it has a v 1 *bodhā*.

mā nah prajām rīriṣo (TB 3 1 1 3 *rīriṣan*) *mota vīrān* RV. VS ŚB. TB. (bis). TA. TAA ApŚ SMB HG MG. N One case in TB. uses the pāda in a quite different context, found nowhere else, the person of the verb is consistent with its surroundings

san me bhūyāh (Kaus° *°yāt*) TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ. MŚ Kaus Different contexts.

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhı*) RV. ŚŚ.

yathāsthānam kalpanām (ApŚ. *kalpayadhvam*) ŚB. BṛhU. ApŚ : *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva* AV.: *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva* ŚŚ. Hardly comparable. See §241.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG : cf. *āyus te* (AV. *āyur no*) *vīsvato dadhat* AV. etc. Hardly comparable

nyāññ uttānām anu eti (and, *eṣı*) *bhūmim* RV. (both). Subjects Indra. Agni

- agnī rakṣānsi sedhati* RV AV MS KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ Kauś.:
apa ra° sedhasi (PrāṇāgU *cātayat*) AV. PrāṇāgU
- jeṣah* (and, *jeṣat*, *ajah*) *svarvatīr apah* RV. (all) Indra is the subject each time, but the contexts are different. See *RVRep.* 39 *ajah* is 2d person. The original is *jeṣah*, RV. 1. 10. 8.
- abhy arṣanti* (and, *arṣati*) *sustutum* RV. (both). *abhy arṣata sustutum gavyam ājīm* RV VS KS. ApŚ The addition in the latter indicates that it is secondary, but it is consistent with its context
- āsmā bhavatu nas* (AV. *te*) *tanūh* RV. AV. VS TS MS. KSA · *aśmeva twam ethirā* (MG ApMB. * *sthiro*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB. PG ApMB HG. MG. Cf also *āsmā bhava paraśur bhava*; see Conc The AV context is related to that of the GS texts, and Ppp reads *aśmeva twam sthiro bhava*, the vulgate AV. has an interesting contamination with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV. etc.
- ā barhih sīdatam sumat* RV · *sīdatām barhir ā sumat* RV. Subjects Aśvins Night and Dawn
- ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi* TB. · *ado yad avadhāvati* AV · *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG ApMB (see Winternitz, Introduction, p xxvi, he supposes that *avadhāvata* is intended, while Kirste and Oldenberg assume *avadhāvanti* for HG) · *asau yo 'vasarpati* VS TS MS. KS. Four different contexts with different subjects
- imam yaḡñam mīmakṣatām* (TB °*tam*) RV VS TS MS KS JB TB ŚB ŚŚ. LŚ. Quite different context in TB ŚŚ from the others, see §337.
- juṣethām* (and, °*tām*) *yaḡñam iṣṭaye* RV. In three different contexts, two with direct address, one 3d person, different subjects each time.
- punar no naṣtam ākr̥dhi* (RV AV *ājatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ.
- yat sīm āgās cakrmā tat eu mṛdatu* (and, *mṛda*) RV. (both)
- viśvam ā bhāsi* (RV * *bhāti*) *rocanam* (AV * *rocana*) RV (tris) AV. (bis) ArŚ VS. TS. MS KS TA MahānU. Subjects Uṣas, Sūrya, and Indra
- viśvā adhi śriyo dadhe* RV.:. · *'dhita* RV. KS. TB .. *.dhise* RV
- viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam* (AV. *mādayadhvam*; VS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. *mādayantām*) RV. AV. VS TS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. ApMB.: *viśve devā iha mādayantām* (KS. *vīrayadhvam*) TS. KS. TB Two different contexts, with appropriate persons of verbs in each.
- sam sūryena rocate* RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA : *.rocate* RV. AV. Subjects Soma Pavamāna: Uṣas.

ॐ मन्व्यान्मि उस्त्रिभू VS ŚB.: ॐ मन्व्याध्वाम अग्नि्या (TA. ApŚ. अग्नि्या) देवाग्निभू VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. **Hardly** variants of each other.

sa cakārtārasam. ११sam AV.: sã cakārtārasam ११sam AV.

saçātānām asad (AV. १-०) vasī AV. (both) VS TS. MS. KS.

sadyo saçātānāḥ hantvo bahūtha (and. bahūva) RV. (both). **Subjects**
Agni Indra

sa ११sã bhūta āḥ hantvo RV. AV : sa ११sã bhūvo (AV. sa idam ११sam)
āḥ hantvo sa āḥ hantvo AV. TS TB.

stirandī (RV* stirandī) barkir ānusak RV. (both) SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
TB. ApŚ N

११: ११sam. aḥ ११hī. and. aprāç apī AV. (both).

madhu ११ AV. ११ madhūnā karotu AV. karah, RV. cakāra, MS.
krutu RV AV MS TA. ApŚ

sa no ro-ñāḥ āḥ hantvo SV bhārī RV. SV AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. **Differ-**
ent context in SV

avisam ११h pṛatī ११m (KS. k-dha. TB. ApŚ. karat) VS. 2.20 (omitted
in Cenc. TS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ In the last two texts the context
is different

For other cases in which there is a change of number as well as person,
see §371

§342. f) Finally, some instances which include either gross corrup-
tions or errors of various kinds. Others, involving number as well as
person, will be found below, §372

ihaita kve a edhi. ११ prahāḥ mām amum (ApŚ. prahāḥin māmum)
ānuçāyānam (AŚ. mā prahāḥ amum māmnuçāyānam) MS. AŚ.
ApŚ. MŚ. The true reading of ApŚ. can hardly be anything but
prahāḥ, as Caland assumes

yatra-yatra ātaçāḥ sambabhūtha (TB. bhūta. but Poona ed. text and
comm. correctly °tha) TB. ApŚ.: çat a-yatra rībhṛto (KS. bībhṛato)
jātateḍāḥ AV. KS. See §262. f.

samjñānānesu tai hrūyāt AB samjñānānesu tai brūyāḥ ŚŚ. Several mss.
of ŚŚ read brūyāt. Bur Aufrecht 357, conjectures brūyāḥ for
AB., and this is approved by Keith, HOS. 25.307, who so translates.

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA. vṛkṣau) sam bādhiṣta (TA. once °tām, once bādhetām)
AV. TA. The form bādhetām can hardly be anything but a cor-
ruption for °tām: vṛkṣau is accented, and a 3d person is required;
comm. sambādhitām mā kurutām. But perhaps this might be
placed in §332.

- āsrīram* (TB † *āślīlam*) *cit kṛnuthā supratīkam* RV. AV TB. Conc quotes *kṛnuyāt* for TB ; Bibl Ind ed. reads in fact *kṛnuthāt*, but its comm. and Poona ed. text have the correct *kṛnuthā*
- teṣām yo aṅyānīm* (PG 'jyā°) *aṅīm ā vahāt* (SMB Conc *aṅīm āvahāh*, but Jorgensen as the others) TS SMB. PG BDh.
- nwarto yo ny avīrtat* (HG *avīrdhah*) ApMB. HG The HG form is corrupt; Oldenberg adopts *avīrtat*
- madhye pośasya tṛmpatām* (MG *puśyatām*) ŚG MG *madhye pośasva tṛsthanīm* AG For *pośasva* read *pośasya* (Stenzler, Transl.)
- yamasya loke adhiraṅgur āyat* (TA *āya*, MS *loke nādhir aṅarāya*) AV MS TA. See §153. TA. is probably corrupt, MS is still worse.
- adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā* ApMB. *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG. The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, see §153
- barhi* (*barhah*) *stṛnāhi* (TS MS MŚ ApŚ * *stṛnāhi*) TS MS. GB ŚB. Vait KŚ ApŚ. MŚ The text of MS. reads *stṛnāhi*, presumably by misprint.
- nir ā yachasi madhyame* AV. ŚŚ The vulgate of AV. reads *yachati*, by Roth's emendation

B VARIANTS CONCERNING NUMBER

§343. We have explained above (§§289–301, especially 301) the principles of classification adopted for the Number variants, and quoted examples of the principal types. We now proceed to give the lists in full, beginning with—

1. First Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates

§344. In many—possibly even in most—of these (see §290) the first person plural is only formally plural, and actually refers to a single person, the speaker, alone. That is, we have a kind of 'editorial we'. It is not necessary to suppose that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in such cases, tho one or the other may at times be suspected. We begin with a few cases where the 'editorial we' seems particularly clear, but in general we have made no attempt to sift out such instances from the general run of variants in which the priest says 'I' or 'we' in referring to himself and his associates. For it seems to us practically impossible to do so in the large majority of instances. This lies in the very nature of the case; there is as a rule nothing to show whether the priestly 'we' means the speaker alone, or includes others of his class.

But in the first three variants, at least, it seems clear that it means the single speaker:

idam vatsyāmo bhoh AG.. *om aham vatsyāmi bhoh* ŚG · *idam vatsyāvah* HG In AG. ŚG alike spoken by the brahman-pupil when about to leave his teacher on a journey. In HG. spoken by the teacher at the *upanayana*, the dual includes the boy

brahmacaryam āgām (MG *upemasī*, Kāuś text† *āgam*, misprint?) ŚB Kāuś SMB GG PG ApMB ApG HG. MG. Again spoken by the *brahmacārin*. The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical. MG makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose

śatam ca jīvāmi (MG *śatam jivcma*) *śaradaḥ purūcīh* PG MG In the same verse, spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil, MG otherwise has 1st singular verbs. For other forms of the variant see Conc. and §103. The other texts which show plural verb (*jīvantu*) have a different context.

Once this 'editorial we' varies with a definite first-person dual: *puṅsām bahūnām mātara syāma* (HG *rau syāva*) ApMB MG. In a verse spoken by wife to husband, the dual includes the two spouses, while the plural is evidently 'editorial'

§345. The remaining long list is as follows

yad aham dhanena (AV *yena dhanena*, HG *yad vo devāh*) *prapaṇam* (ApMB. °nans) *carāmi* (HG °ma) AV ApMB HG

vairūpe sāmān iha (MS *adhī*, KS *vairūpena sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS. *chakema*, MS *tañ śakeyam*) TS MS KS AŚ. Followed by: *jagatyainam* (AŚ °tyenam) *vikṣv āveśayāmi* (AŚ °ni, TS °mah), same texts

mā mā (TB AŚ ApŚ no) *hāsīn* (MŚ *hāsīr*, AŚ. *hinsīd*) *nāthito* (TB. ApŚ. *metthito*, AŚ. *dhānsito dadhām*, some mss omit *dadhāmi*) *net* (AŚ MŚ na) *tvā jahāmi* (AV KS °ni, TB. ApŚ. °ma) AV. KS. TB AŚ. ApŚ MŚ

idam pṛṭhbhyah pra bhārāmi (TA *bharema*) *barhih* AV. TA. Followed by

jīvam devebhya uttarami strnāmi AV *devebhyo jīvanta uttaram bharema* TA. TA spoils the meter.

yad dhastābhyām cakara (AV. *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TB. TA.

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

samānena (TB. *saṃjñānena*) *vo haviṣā juhomi* (TB. *yajāmah*) RV. AV. MS. TB

emam panthām arukṣāma AV : *sugam panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB.

tena tvā pari dadhmasi (PG *dadhāmy āyuṣe*) AV PG. Different contexts, only vaguely parallel

bhūpate bhuvanapate tvā vṛnīmahe (MŚ *vṛne*) TB Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ
pragāyāmasy agratah PG. ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG Note the metathesis of the syllable *ya*!

abadhiṣma rakṣo VS VSK ŚB : *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS MS
KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ . *avadhiṣma rakṣah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ.
Hardly true variants

apaśyam yuvatim nīyamānām AV · *apaśyāma yu° ācarantīm* TA
achīdrah prajāyā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB. HG cf *ariṣṭā asmākam vīrāh (santu)*, *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsmā*, etc , see Conc. Hardly true variants.

lasya doham aśimahi (KS *aśiya*, AŚ *aśiya te*) VS. MS KS TB. ŚB TA.
AŚ ŚŚ

idm adya gāthām gāsyāmi (MG. °mah) PG MG.

te yam dviṣmo yaś ca no dveṣti tam eśām (TS ApMB * *vo*) *jambhe dadhmah*
(TS KS ApMB * *dadhāmi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB (both).
anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*) TS MŚ. But most mss. of MŚ read *yajeha (yaja iha)*, which would make *yaja* a 2d person address to Agni like *anu manyasva*.

asman sahasram puṣyāsam (Kauś *puṣyāsmā*) ŚB BṛhU Kauś
ugram sahodām iha tam huvema (MS *huve*) RV. VS TS MS KS. TB
ŚB. Bad meter in MS

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB. TA AŚ ApMB. *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG *abhūma*) AV. HG

gātrānām te gātrabhājo bhūyāsmā (KS °*bhāg bhūyāsam*) TS KS. Prose.
prchāmi (LŚ °*mas*) *tvā param antam pṛthivyāh*,
prchāmi (LŚ °*mo*) *yatra* (TS KSA TB *tvā*, AV. *viśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīh* (AV. TS KSA TB. °*im*),

prchāmi (LŚ °*mas*) *tvā* (AV omits) *vṛṣno aśvasya retah*,
prchāmi (LŚ °*mo*) *vācah paramam vyoma*. RV. AV. VS TS KSA TB
LŚ , and the first pāda in ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait.

brahman prasthāsyāmāh (GB ŚB KŚ ŚŚ °*mi*) TS KB GB ŚB AŚ.
ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

brahmann apah prañeṣyāmi AŚ. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *brahman prañeṣyāmāh* KB.

yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham (Kauś. *khanāmasi*) VS. Kauś.: *yasmai cāham khanāmi vah* RV. VS. TS.

vācah satyam aśimahi (VS. ŚB. *aśiya*) RVKh. VS. ŚB. TB. Bad meter in VS. ŚB.

- vaiśvānarāya prati vedayāmah* (AV °ma) AV TA. BDh.
agnim indram (TB *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB *vām*; MS. °hanam *huvema*) AV MS TB.
etam yuvānam patim (TS *pari*) *vo dadāmi* TS ŚG PG. ViDh · *etam vo yuvānam prati dadhmo atra* AV
sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N °nam) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS TS. MS ŚB. KŚ Kauś. ApŚ. N *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.
jīvā (TB ApŚ *jīvo*) *jīvantir upa vah sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS. TB MŚ ApŚ.
tam (RV omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*; RV. KS. *johavīmi*) RV RVKh AV. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ.
bṛhaspatim vah havāmahe GB Vait *bṛhaspatim viśvān devān aham huve* RV. It is doubtful whether these are really related
marutām pitas tad aham grnāmi (MS *grne te*; KS *pitara uta tad grnīmah*) TS MS KS
mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyasposena vi yauṣma* VS. MS ŚB : *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS KS TA ApŚ
mitrasya (MS adds *vaś*) *cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe* VS MS · cf *mitrasyaḥam cakṣuṣā samīkṣe*, etc, see Conc and §303.
rudrasya sūnum havasā grnīmasi (and, *vvāse*) RV. (both) The change is metrical, *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī* verses
vājasyedam (AV VS ŚB *vōjasya nu*) *prasava ābabbhūva* (AV °ve *sambabbhūvima*) AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
viśvair viśvāngarih saha sambhavema (MŚ *bhavāmi*) AV MŚ
sam jyotiṣābhūma (TS °bhūvam) VS TS MS KS. ŚB ŚŚ *sam sūryasya jyotiṣāganma* AV In most texts, but not in TS, juxtaposed with formulas containing 1st plural expressions.
tasmin pāsān pratimuñcāma etān MS KS *yam dviṣmas tasmin pratimuñcāmi pāsān* TS ApŚ
suprajāh prajāyā (*prajābhīh*) *bhūyāsam* (*syām*, *syāma*, *bhūyās*) See Conc, an intricate tangle of formulas, it is doubtful to what extent they are true variants of each other The plur. *syāma* only in VS ŚB, which elsewhere have the sing form too, VSK has sing. in the passage corresponding to the plur. of VS
yam tvā somenātīṛpāma (TS. °pam, MŚ. °pan) VS TS ŚB. MŚ.
ena enasyo 'karam (TB 'karat) AV. TB. (see §315): *enānsi* (TS. KS.* TB.* *enas*) *cakṛmā vayam* AV. VS TS MS KS.* TB.* And others, see Conc In adjoining stanzas of AV
huvema vājasātaye RV SV MS KS . *huveya vā°* RV. AV. Cf *havante vā°*, §316.

anu tvendrārabhāmahe AV · *anu tvā rabhe* AV etc (see Conc) The latter is prose, the former is made metrical

ava (RV *abhī*, MS *ā vah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi*, VS ŚB *ava nayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

āganta pitarah pitṛmān aham yuṣmābhūr bhūyāsam TS *āganta pitarah supitaro vayam yuṣmābhūr bhūyāsmā* MŚ.

tāni te pari dadmasi AV . *tām* (ApŚ * *tāns*) *te paridadāmy aham* (TA. omits *aham*) TA ApŚ In different contexts.

tebhīś chīdram api dadhmo yad atra MS AŚ *tesām chīdram pratī dadhmo yad atra* KS . *teṣām chīnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam imam*, TS. *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS TS ŚŚ

devasyāham (VSK. MS KS MŚ *devasya vayam*) *savituh prasave* (save) *jeṣam* (VSK MS KS MŚ *jeṣma*) VS VSK TS. MS KS. ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ.

devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save aruham* (VSK. *aruhāma*) VS VSK. ŚB Other texts have *ruheyam*, see §133

vājīnam tvā vājīno 'vanayāmah (MS *vājīny avanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ *teṣv* (ŚG *anyeṣv*) *aham sumanāh sam viśāmi* (AŚ. °ni; MG. *vasāmi*; ŚG *viśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB MG See §104, c

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS ApŚ The ApŚ. reading is worthless

jaḡṛhmā (RV °*bhāmā*, TB. °*bhā*) *te daksīnam indra hastam* RV. SV. MS TB. The TB form may be felt as 1st person sing (subj), but see Ludwig on RV. 10. 47 1

[*agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam*, for this Conc. quotes KS as *acāriṣma*, by error]

§346. In the following, one form or the other is more or less at variance with the context. This does not necessarily mean that the consistent form is more original.

śvam praḡābhyo 'hīnsantam agnīm khanāmah (TS KS °mi) VS TS MS KS ŚB A parallel formula just before this has *khanāma* in all texts

idam śreyo (AV *idam uc chreyo*) *'vasānam āgām* (ApMB *āganma devāh*; ApŚ. °*nam yad āgām*) AV ApŚ. ApMB Even in ApMB (tho it has a different context) first-singular verbs occur in the preceding line of the stanza.

yac cāham eno vidvāns cakāra . VS. ŚŚ.: *yac cāham eno vidvānsāś* . . *cakṛma* . MahānU. The latter is obviously and flagrantly inconsistent with its context. The comm lamely supplies a separate verb, *akārṣam*, with *aham*.

- indrasya manmahe satad in asya manmahe* AV. *indrasya manve prathamasya pucchah* TS MS KS. In the following pāda all have the sing. pronoun 'me'
- tam tū juiṁmahe* VS MS KS ŚB : *tan. tvā juṣe* . . TS ApŚ. The preceding and parallel formula is 1st sing. in all. presumably TS. has secondarily changed this to be consistent with it.
- anhomuce pra bhareṁ.* (AV *bhare*) *manṁsām* AV TS. MS. KS. Hap-
 lology naturally suggests itself to us, as it did to Lanman ap. Whitney on AV 19 42 3 the meter. and the Ppp reading *bhareṁā*, seem to confirm the suggestion. Yet the curious fact is to be noted that at the end of the next pāda MS has the singular participle *āṛṇānah* as in AV. (while yet reading *bhareṁā!*), TS. KS. consistently show plural participles
- śarman* (MS °*mans*) *te syāma* (VS *tava syāma sarmans*, TS *tava syām śarman*) *triv arūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhut*) VS. TS MS. KS TA. Note that VS is hypermetric. TS, with the same order and non-enclitic *tava* for *te*, corrects the meter with its *syām*: it is however clearly secondary plural pronouns referring to 'us' occur in all texts in the preceding pāda
- adveṣe* (MS °*ṣye*) *dyāvāpṛthwī huveṁa* (MS *huve*) RV. VS MS. The MS reading is not only bad metrically but inconsistent with the pronoun *asme* in the next pāda
- edho 'sy edhiṣimahi* (AV °*ṣiya*) AV VS. etc etc. Not only in AV., but also in several texts showing plural verb, the same verse contains the phrase *tejo mayi dhehi*, with sing pronoun.
- sarvān agnīnr* (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS. *huve*; AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS MS AB. The AV is inconsistent with *mayi* of the next pāda. but it probably has the original reading, 'corrected' in the others. We infer this from the bad meter of MS. and the fact that TS AB. use the 'patch-word' *vah* to correct the meter.
- sutarmānam adhi nāvam ruheṁa* (KS *ruheyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The KS. reading is inconsistent with *tareṁa* of the preceding pāda. But to call it 'absurd' and 'a mere blunder' (Keith on TS. 1. 2. 2. 2) is an exaggeration. Keith would probably not have used such strong language if he had seen the evidence of the Variants as to the frequency of such things
- taṁ vah supṛītaṁ subhṛtaṁ akarma* (KS. *abhārṣam*) TS. KS. In the next formula KS. also has *nah*.
- vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dheṣīya* (KS. *dhiṣīya*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi*

dhiṣṭya TS.: *vāmī nāma samdṛṣi viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB. The last is inconsistent.

For a few similar variants between first plural and second singular, see §307, end

2. Second Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates

§347. As we found above (§307, cf. §290) the 2d person varying with the first in reference to the *yajamāna* or priest, the participant in or beneficiary of the rite, so we have here a few cases of 2d person verbs, singular and plural, used variously in reference to such persons. But the instances are very rare compared to the corresponding ones in the first person.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB : *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS Mahādhara says, *he rtvijah*. In TS. KS. presumably the *yajamāna* is meant

yamam rājānam hariṣā duvasya (TA. °*syata*, AV. *saparyata*) RV AV. MS TA The priest here addresses either himself or an associate: Sāyana, *he madīyāntarātman yajamāna vā*. The plural of TA AV. is a lect. fac.

ut sṛjata (SMB. GG *sṛja*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG : *om utsṛjata* (MG °*tu*) TA. ŚŚ AG PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. (But Jørgensen reads in SMB with comm.—his text mss omit the formula—*om ut sṛjata*!) The object (generally understood) is the cow at the Arghya rite. 'Let it loose' is spoken by the recipient if he does not wish it killed. Address to the person(s) holding the cow, or the giver of it—Some texts have in the same context various forms of the following variant (meaning 'do it', i e. 'kill the cow', if he wishes it killed). But the word occurs also in various other connexions:

om kuruta kuru: kuruta kuruṣva kurudhvam. See Conc Only in part belonging to related contexts and variants of one another, see under prec.

pāpmānam me hata (Kauś 'pa jah) MG Kauś

abhi (AV. *pari*) *strṇāhi pari dhehi vedim* AV. TB. ApŚ. *pari strṇāta pari dhattāgnim* TB. ApŚ.: *strṇāta barhiḥ pari dhatta vedim* KS. MŚ. The second occurrence of TB. ApŚ. is in a different verse, but one modelled on the other and in the same vicinity. The comm on AV. and also that on TB (both times) regard *darbha*-grass (sing. or plur) as address. But ApŚ. introduces the formula with *sampreṣyati*, indicating that it is a command to an associate priest. The

ApŚ. com. remarks that, since no other priest than the *adhvaryu* (who speaks here) 'strews' the *āhita* *ya* addresses himself with this command! (cf. Śāyana on *yavanti rā-āram* etc. above). That priests, or at least a priest, and not *darīha*-grass, are address seems clear from the KŚ. MŚ variant, where *barhih* is the *object*. *agnīh, y, i śrutāh kṛvata* (MŚ *ku tu*) ApŚ. MŚ. 'Light the fires!' Address to priest(s) or attendant(s) not clearly specified.

3 Subject pluralized or dualized, varying with the same subject in the singular

§348. We have referred (§296) to the variants in which a singular verb with singular subject is, as it were, multiplied to a dual or plural. They fall naturally into two groups. The first, with which we are here concerned, includes those in which the same subject, in the same or at least a very similar context, and without the inclusion of any different entity, is pluralized or dualized, the number of the verb changing with it. The second group (§§353 ff.), in which the dual or plural is formed by the inclusion of another entity or entities than the singular subject, will be treated in the next subdivision. Instances of the converse, that is substitution of a singular for plural in the like circumstances, are equally common and are included in the list which follows. We begin with cases of

§349. Singular and Plural

ra parjanyam (TS °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS. In RV the subject is the Maruts; in the others, Parjanya, singular or plural. The RV. form in relation to the others belongs in §361 below, q.v.

agne grhapata upa mā hwayasva KS ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait., cf. *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SB 'O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me'

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS. ŚB.. *rtavo 'dhipataya āsan* MS KS 'The season(s, or the like) was (were) overlord(s)'

dviṣan me bahu śocatu TB ApŚ.: *dviṣantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ. In the preceding *pāda* all texts refer to a singular 'hater'.

upahūtopahwayasva, upahūtā upahvayadhvam MŚ. (both)

ekasapham asṛjyata MS.: *ekasaphāḥ paśavo 'srjanta* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural: 'one-hoofed (animals) were created.'

dhiṣaṇās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīh (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyā-*

vati). .*abhīndhatām* (MS once *abhīnddhām*, once *abhīndhātām*) VS TS. MS. KS ŚB and (pratika) MŚ. Since a dual form cannot be construed, it seems that the form *abhīndhātām* (if not corrupt) is a bastard subjunctive-imperative blend, intended to be 3d singular (like *abhīnddhām*, the proper form)

manojavās tvā pṛṭbhīr (KS *pitaro*) *dakṣīnatah pātu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS KS ŚB . *manojavaso vah pṛṭbhīr dakṣīnata upa dadhatām* TA : *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣīnatah pāntu* MS In the same passage The form *manojavās* is plural in MS. KS , singular in the others *śundhantām lokāh pṛṣṣadanāh* VS. MS KS ŚB MŚ. . *śundhatām lokah pṛṣṣadanah* TS ApŚ. 'Let the world(s) where the fathers sit be purified'

dūrvā rohantu puṣṣinīh (AV. *rohatu puṣṣinī*) RV AV. 'Let flowering *dūrvā*-plant(s) grow' Some mss of AV , followed by comm. and SPP , read as RV , and Whitney reports Ppp likewise *mīham na vāto v ha vāti bhūma* RV . *māhi no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.

indraghoṣas (KS °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhīh* (KS † *vasavah*) *purastāt pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS TS. KS ŚB. ApŚ

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne AV : *mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS TS. MS KS

imam yajñam avatu yā (AŚ *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS *avantu no ghṛtācīh*) TS MS. KS AŚ Subject is the *śakvarī*-verse(s), singular or (TS) plural.

śunam kīnāsā abhi (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāsō abhy etu*) *vāhanh* (AV TS. *vāhān*) RV AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

vāk patamgo aśīśriyat (KS °*gā aśīśrayuh*) AV KS The same pāda is read : *vāk patamgāya dhūyate* (TS *śīśriye*, MS *hūyate*), with middle or passive verb and different subject, in RV. AV SV ArS VS TS. MS ŚB.

anavahāyāsmān (KS. adds *devi dakṣīne*) *devayānena pathā* (TS *patheta*, KS *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS MS KS Plural in TS MS. because the *dakṣīnās* there addrest are plural, in KS they are considered collectively, or (better) as a personified abstraction, and hence singular. In the same context, and due to the same circumstances:

asmadrātā (TS. *asmaddātrā*; MS ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*; TS. adds *madhumatīh*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB ŚŚ. ApŚ. And

pradātāram ā vīśata (KS *vīśa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

Quite similar to the preceding three variants is the group of the next three, all in the same passage in the YV Samhitās

raudrenānikena pāhi māgne (VS *pāta māgnayah*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ.:

Followed by

pīpīhi mā (KS *māgne*) TS MS KS ŚŚ *pīpīta māgnayah* (PB ŚŚ. *mā*) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait And —

mā mā hinsīh (*hinsīṣṭa*), see Conc (This last occurs very frequently, and in other connexions) In these three cases either various altar-fires are addrest, or Fire collectively, or the same personified, as Agni(s)

yad aśuddhah parājaghāna KS . *yad vo 'śuddhāh parā jaghnur* (VSK. *'śuddhah parā jaghānastad*) VS VSK ŚB See §30

pracetās tvā rudrah paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB *pracetā* (here felt as plural) *vo rudrah paścād upa dadhatām* TA . *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS

yat paśur māyum akṛta TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ. SMB GG *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś In Kauś *vaśā(h)* is plural, all mss *akrata*.

ye no dveṣṭy anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ. : *yo no dveṣṭy anu tam raiasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ

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

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*; TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūriah*) RV AV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

anu me dīkṣān dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS *°patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.* *°patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait.

ā me graho bhavatv (KSA *grahā bhavantv*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA

abhy arsatī (and, *arṣanti*) *sustutīm*, *pavamānā abhy arṣanti sustutīm* RV (all). Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing or plur, see *RV Rep.* 437

aido me bhagavo 'janīsthā maitrāvarunah MS *aidā me bhagavanto 'janīdhvan maitrāvarunāh* MŚ And, in same passage, *ūrjā me bhagavah saha janīsthāh* (MŚ *bhagavantah sahājanīdhvam*) MS MŚ : *jñātram me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*), *samvīdam me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*) MS MŚ. : *pun्यā punyam* (and, *°yām*) *asūt*, and *citrā citram* (and, *°rām*) *asūt* MS , *punyah* (and, *citrās*) *punyan* (*°yā*, and *citrān*, *citrā*) *asuvan* MŚ

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB. Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG ApMB · *tena brāhmano vapatu* MG *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB See §330

tena yantu yajamānāh svasti MS *tenaitu yajamānah svasti* (KS * ApŚ *svastyā*) TS KS ApŚ The real motive for MS's change may have been metrical, the plural may be understood as one of respect but for plurality and duality of *yajamānas* see in Conc under *agnim adya hotāram* (*avṛnītām*)

āyusmatyā (°*tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait *māpagāyā*, Kauś *mā satsi*) TS AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś One or more priests are address Caland on Vait would read °*gāyata*, presumably because the surrounding parallel phrases are plural, but the sing is supported by Kauś

ud rathānām (AV *vīrānām*) *jayatām yantu ghoṣāh* (AV TS °*tām etu ghoṣah*) RV AV VS SV TS

upatu mām devasakhah RVKh Rvidh · *upa yantu mām devaganāh* MG *niṣāṅgna upa sprśata* HG *niṣāṅginṇ upa sprśa* ApMB Rudra is meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the context of HG, we may understand the plural to refer to the Rudras, or Rudra's 'hosts'

pavantām āntarīksyā RV SV *pavatām ā* °RV And

pavante vāre aryaje RV SV *pavate v° a°* RV The subject is soma, singular or plural The plural occurrences are found in the midst of *ṛcas* with singular soma referred to, see Bloomfield, *RVRep* 427

atho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asī*) *niskṛtīh* (TS *samk°*, MS *samkṛtīh*, KS *niskṛtīh*) RV VS TS MS KS Address to herbs, or (MS KS) to an herb, but the singular reading is inconsistent with the rest of the verse, both prec and following *pādas*, where even MS KS have plur

trāyatām marutām ganah RV · *trāyantām marutām ganāh* AV.

bhaga(s) stha bhagasya vo lapsīya KS ApŚ · *bhago 'sī bh° la°* MŚ Addressed to cakes, one of which is taken by each of the participants in the rite Plur thinks of the plurality of cakes, sing thinks of each person addressing his own cake. 'Ye are (thou art) luck' etc.

idā (p p *idāh*; MS. *idāh*; KS *idās*) *stha* . TS. MS. KS . *ilāsī* ŚŚ.

§350. Singular, Dual, and Plural

asā (*asāv*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ. *tanuhī jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ ApŚ. MŚ And *vikāras* in MŚ · *amū anu mā tanutam, amī anu mā tanuta.*

§351. Singular and Dual

tatra rayīsthām anu sambharantam (AŚ. *sambhavalām, MŚ sambharetām*) TB. ApŚ AŚ MŚ. See §330.

nīlalohitam bhavati (ApMB °*te bhavatah*) RV. AV ApMB. The bridal garment, which is made dual (i e of two pieces) in ApMB., 'becomes blue-red'

viśvakarmans tanūpā asi ŚB *viśvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah* ŚŚ. Followed in both by a series of formulas address to two sacred fires; in ŚŚ. this formula is assimilated to them, *viśva*° being made an epithet of the fires

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthah (Kaus also, *pūtam asi*) MS KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kaus (both) GG KhG Strainers are referred to. two are mentioned in Kaus in the sūtra just preceding the one which has the s. 3. 6. form

mā tvā vṛk sa (TA *vṛksau*) *sam bādhiṣta* (TA. °*tām*, and *bādhetām*) AV. TA. (bis) The TA refers to two pieces of wood

so'dhīrā karati jātavedāh AB *krnotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB ApŚ *kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ.

§352. Dual and Plural

ahorātrās (KS TA °*tūni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB. TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night'. *rājānam sangāyata* (PG °*gāyetām*) ŚG PG Subject, lute-players, two in PG, more than two in ŚG, who are commanded to 'sing of the king'

agner jihām abhi (MS *jihābhi*, p p *jihvām*, *abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*) *grñitam* (AV *grñata*) AV. VS TS MS KS The subject is certain 'divine hotars', plural in AV, dual in the others, according to Mahidhara on VS they are Agni and Vāyu, acc to Griffith on VS, Agni with Āditya or Varuna, or Agni celestial and terrestrial The AV comm. is missing, Griffith on AV understands 'priests of the gods', Ludwig omits the verse in his translation, and Weber omits the entire hymn

samprca (°*ah*, °*as*) *stha sam mā bhadrēna prñkta* VS. VSK KS. ŚB TB ApŚ. MŚ. *samprcau sthah sam mā bhadrēna prñktam* VS ŚB And, in same passage

virpca (°*ah*, °*as*) *stha vi mā* (MŚ. omits *mā*) *pāpmanā* (VSK. *pāpena*) *prñkta* *virpcau stho vi mā pāpmanā prñktam*, same texts. VSK. has plural in place of the dual of VS. Address to *grahas*, in the dual passage only two in VS ŚB. (*somasurāgrahau*, comm.); but in the preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is address in these texts also.

vājino vājayito vājam sariṣyanto etc, and *vājinau vājayitau vājam jitvā* etc, also.

vājno vājan̄to vājam sasṛvānso etc., and *vājinau vājayitau vājam jtvā* etc., both VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ For the various readings see §329 Either two horses of the racing team, or the entire team, are alternatively address or referred to in this ritual formula
agnim adya hotāram (avṛnītām, and avṛnata) ŚŚ, see Conc under this item

4. Subject pluralized or dualized by the inclusion of a different entity or entities from that designated in the singular form

§353. Here the dual or plural goes with a subject which includes both the subject of the singular form and some other entity or entities, referred to in the context It differs from the preceding class in that the 'multiplication' is accomplished by including a disparate person or thing As before, the process works both ways, sometimes addition or multiplication, sometimes subtraction or division Very frequently this manifests itself in the following way a series of coordinate nouns is the joint subject of a plural verb, while in another form of the same formula the verb is made singular, agreeing nominally with the nearest subject alone There is, of course, no real difference in the sense in such cases All three numbers occur in the first variant, which is somewhat complicated

§354. Singular, Dual and Plural

indram karmasv āvatam (MS. VS ¹ 'ta) RV AV VS (both) MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ *indram karmasv avatu* MS *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (see below). All in essentially the same stanza, with sometimes extensive modifications The original (RV) subject is the Aśvins, who are meant by the dual verb The plural includes Sarasvatī, named (in this version) in the preceding pāda, or Sarasvatī and Indra, in the variant reading *indra* (voc) In the singular form the subject is Sarvasvatī alone, as nearest subject (MS) The TB, if the reading were correct, would be interpretable with India as subject, but the Poona ed text and comm, and the comm of the Bibl Ind ed, read *indra 'vata*, like the second version of VS KS

§355. Singular and Plural

āsīdantu (SV. *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā* RV. SV. VS TB Followed by *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*. The real subject in RV. is the gods in general; *mitro aryamā* are merely examples (Sāyana *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah devās* etc) But both SV and TB. were troubled by the seeming disagreement (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the

construction—SV. by making the verb singular (agreeing with the nearer subject, *matro*), TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three subjects

mā vo riṣat (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanitā* RV. VS TS Kauś. The rest of the verse reads in Kauś *yasmai ca tvā khaṇāmasi, dvipāc catuṣpād asmākam mā riṣad devy oṣadhe* The plural in a is awkward, but is evidently conditioned by thought of the other subjects in b, c 'may they (all) not be harmed, (namely) thy digger, he for whom we dig thee, our bipeds and quadrupeds' etc Perversely, Kauś has a singular in d (*mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*) where a plural would be simpler. it is to be explained as a collective, see under §358 The others have a different pāda d

samvatsarā ca kalpatām (most mss of TA. *kalpantām*) TA MahānU Preceded by *ardhamāsā māsā ṛtavah* The TA comm knew both readings, after explaining *kalpatām*, with subject *samvatsarāh*, he goes on *kalpantām uti bahuvacanapāthe sarve 'pr kālānśeṣāh uti yojyam*—The formulas *samvatsaro me kalpatām* and *samvatsaras te kā°* (see Conc) have no real connexion with this one.

apām garbham vy adadhāt (MS °*dhuh*) *purutrā* VS TS MS KS The subject in VS TS KS is *pitā*, mentioned in the prec pāda, in MS it either includes the three personages mentioned in pādas a-c (Viśvakarman, gandharva, and *pitṛ*), or possibly it is a generalizing plural (cf §359).

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah TB *kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS TA In the prec two pādas first *dvāvāpṛthivī* are addrest, then *sarasvatī* The verb agrees with the nearer subject in MS TA, while in TB it includes both

santā varca ādadhāt (MG °*dhuh*) TB MG Preceded by *tubhyam indro* (MG adds *varuno*) *bṛhaspatih* In MG. the subject is made to include the gods mentioned in the prec. pāda, while in TB it agrees with *santā* alone

rucam no dhatta (MS *dheh*) *bṛhaspate* VS TS MS KS Preceded by: *indrāgnī tābhuh sarvābhuh* The plural verb includes *indrāgnī* as well as *bṛhaspate* as subject

ūrdhwayā dīśā (ŚŚ. *dīśā saha*, TS AŚ *ūrdhwayām dīśi*) *yajñah samvatsaro* (TS ŚŚ add *yajñapatih*; AŚ. °*rah prajāpatih*) *māṛjayantām* (MS. AŚ °*yatām*) TS. MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ.—KS. is unsyntactical in that it has a plural verb with only two subjects. In MS. AŚ the verb is made singular, agreeing with the nearest subject only.

yajamānāya dhavnam dadhātu (VS ŚB KS + *dadhāta*) AV VS VSK. TS MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ A long series of gods named in the preceding, in the majority of texts the verb is sing agreeing with only the last. On the change of person see §332.

śraddhā prajā (read *prajānā*?) *ca medhā ca tilāh śāntim kurvantu svāhā* MahānU *śraddhāmedhe prajānā tu jātavedah samidadātu svāhā* TAA In the latter the verb agrees with *prajānā*, the nearer subject *sūryah* (also, *somah*) *pavitram sa mā punātu* ApŚ *vāyuh somah sūrya indrah pavitram te mā punantu* N

hotā yakṣad aśvinau (°nā) *śarasvatīm indram surāmnām somānām pibatu madantām vyantu* (KS *indram sutrāmānam somānām surāmnām juśantām vyantu pibantu somān surāmnah*, AŚ *indram* [as KS] *pibantu madantu somān* etc.) MS KS AŚ In MS subject of *pibatu* is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god, he is more-over the soma-drinker par excellence), while all the gods named are the subjects of the other verbs in MS, and in KS AŚ of *pibantu* likewise

dārgham āyuh kṛnotu me etc., see §365

śarad dhemantah svite dadhāta (°tu), etc., see §332

§356. Singular and Dual

tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi (MŚ *vṛścāvo*) *yo 'smān* (MŚ. *asmān*) *dveṣṭi* ApŚ MŚ 'By its name I (we two, i e I and the fireplace addressed) cleave him who hates us'

yena yamaśya (AV *yamaśya yena*, ApŚ TB omit *yena*) *nidhīnā (balīnā) carāmi* (MS MŚ *carāvah*, SMB † *carāmi*) AV TS MS TB TA ApŚ MŚ SMB 'With what treasure (tribute) of Yama I (we two) go about' The dual cunningly draws the god Agni (addressed in the context) into partnership with the sinner'

punar ātman dadhātu me ApŚ *punar me jathare dhattām* GB Vait Preceded in the latter by *agnis ca tat savitā ca*; in ApŚ by *agnis ṭat somah pṛthivī* (verb agrees with last subject)

sam yuṣyāva (TS *babhūva*) *sanubhya ā* RV TS. *sam sanuyāva varīsv ā* KSA Preceded in all by *aham ca tvam ca vṛtrahan* The dual is the natural form, TS. (excluding *tvam* from the subject) is bizarre.

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB.: *prānyā tantūns tṛate dhatte anyā* AV. Inclusive dual in TB.; two separate singulars, each with subject *anyā*, in AV. That is, two separate actions are performed by the members of the pair, one apiece, in AV, both actions are done by both together in TB

samyajñāne rodasī sambabhūratuḥ TB ApŚ · *samānam yonim abhisambabhūva* MŚ Preceded by *yad .dan* (MŚ *ado*) *duo yad adah* (MŚ. *idam*) *prthumjāh*. In MŚ the real sense implies a dual subject, but the verb agrees syntactically with the nearer of the two, note that it has no dual noun referring to the subject, as have the others.

saha dharmam cara (GDh *dharmas caryatām*) GDh NāradaDh. · *sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh

ayād (ŚŚ *ayāl*) *agnī* (MŚ *ayāštām agnīarunāv*) *agneh priyā dhāmāni* MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ MŚ And, in the same passage *ayāt* (MŚ *ayāštām*) *somasya* . *ayād* (*ayāštām*) *devānām* . . *yaksad agner hotuḥ* (*yakṣoto 'gnīvarunayor hotroḥ*) . *yaksat svam mahimānam* (*yaksataḥ svau mahimānau*), *āyajatām* (*āyajeyātām*) *eyyā iṣah*: *kṛnotu so adhvairān* (°ā) *jātavedāh* (*kṛnutōm tāv adhrarā jātavedasau*), *juṣatām* (*juṣetām*) *harīh* Duals all in MŚ ; singulars (subject Agnī) in various of the others, see Conc

mā mā (KS *mām*, AB *mainam*) *hinsīstam svam* (AB *svām*; KS *yat svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS KS AB *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS *svam*) *yonim āviśanti* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ The dual is addressed to *soma* and *surā* together (both are mentioned in the preceding), the singular to *surā* and *soma*, respectively, alone

§357. Dual and Plural

āsvinā bhisajāvatah (MŚ °*tam*, TB °*ta*) VS MS TB 'O Aśvins, physicians, aid', or, 'let the Aśvins' etc In TB the plural is due to the inclusion of Sarasvatī (mentioned in the preceding) along with the Aśvins in the subject

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ °*mahai*, MŚ *visījāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait. ApŚ MŚ PG The formula is used in dissolving the ritual bond between *yajamāna* and priests, and dual pronouns occur in the preceding the dual of MŚ is therefore quite rational But the other texts think of the plurality of priests, together with the *yajamāna* *agnīsomau tam apa nudatām* (Conc quotes °*tam*) VS ŚB *agnir agnīsomau tam apanudantu* ŚŚ Very simple case of 'addition' to the subject.

*[*āyuskr̥d āyuspatnī svadhāvantau*,] *gopā me stam*, *gopāyatam mām*, *ātmasadāu me stanī mā mā hinsīstam* AV. 5 9 8: [*āyuskr̥d āyuspatnī* (ms. °*nih*; read *āyuskr̥d āyuspatnī*?) *svadhāvo*] *gopā nah stha* KS 37 15· [*āyukr̥d āyuhpatnī svadhā vo* (so text, and so Caland interprets, not as voc *svadhāvo*)] *goptryo me stha*, *gopāyala mā*, *rakṣata mātmasado me stha* ApŚ 6 21 1 The dual verbs of AV are apparently

address to the *svadhāvantau* (note masculine predicates) KS has plural with masc predicates, the masc being really common gender, inclusive of *āyuspatnī*, fem, ApŚ has fem plural, presumably including the sing *āyukrā* (understood as fem ?) and the dual fem *āyuhpatnī* as subjects, if Garbe and Caland are right in dividing *svadhā vo*, ApŚ has no unmistakably masc subject

5 Singular verb used alternatively with plural or dual subject felt collectively

§358. As we mentioned above, §297, a plural or dual verb, justified by strict grammar, may be replaced by a singular verb because the subject is felt collectively as a unit. In the first instance the plural is a *plurale tantum*, *āpah* 'waters', which is unquestionably construed with a singular verb here.

āpo 'mṛtam stha (PrānāgU °*iam asi*) Kauś PrānāgU. 'O waters, ye are (thou art) nectar' We believe the context makes it clear that PrānāgU really feels *āpah* as a collective singular in sense, to explain the form *asi* as attracted to the number of the predicate noun *amṛtam* would be, in our opinion, a mechanical and uninspired interpretation of the passage

Singular and Dual

drupadā wa muñcatām (TB °*tu*, so read with Poona cd) AV TB
Preceded by *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca* 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a post' The singular in TB might, possibly, be explained as under (e), that is as agreeing with the nearer of the two subjects alone, but this seems to us false and mechanical. Rather, the two subjects are taken together as forming a single unitary concept

See also the Kauś reading, 33 9d, quoted under *mā vo riṣat* etc, §355

6 Generalising forms, with subject indefinite

§359. We saw above (§291), that the commonest Vedic form used to express an indefinite subject (French *on*, German *man*) is the third plural. This varies frequently with a third singular, which is often likewise indefinite, but sometimes has a definite subject. Indefinite third person forms, either singular or more often plural, likewise vary with first and second person, generally with definite subjects. Such variations between first and third person have been listed above §314 f, the rarer cases of third plural varying with second singular, with one somewhat similar case of second plural and indefinite third singular, are

listed below. The great majority of cases concern only third person forms, in which the 3d plural is indefinite, while the third singular is either definite or indefinite.

agnaye sam anamat prthivya sam anamad TS KSA : *prthivyām agnaye sam anaman sa ādīhnot* AV (And the like with *antarikṣāya sam* etc., see Conc. and others) 'To Agni, to the earth, one (they) made obeisance, he (it) thrive'. Both singular and plural are indefinite. In the sequel of the same formula, however, TS has a definite 3d singular, with subject Agni, while the 3d plural of AV is still indefinite.

yathāgnih prthivya sam anamad TS *yathā prthivyām agnaye sam anamann* AV 'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on the earth they made obeisance to Agni'.

na yac chūdreṣu alapsata (ŚŚ *alapsata*) AB ŚŚ 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among *śūdras*' 3d plural aor 3d sing desiderative, both indefinite. See §135.

svasti nah pūnanukhah pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB HG As the priest (only one, even in HG) walks around (cows etc. used in the ritual) he says 'With luck may one (they) walk around full-faced (or, around our full face)'. The plural, at least, seems to be generalizing and indefinite in character.

nābhi prāpnoti (MŚ °*nuyur*) *nirrtim parācah* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ *na tat prāpnoti nirrtim parācah* (KŚ *nirrtih parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ. The isolated reading of MŚ is probably a mere blunder, the passage is otherwise corrupt in the MŚ mss., see Knauer's note. But it can at a pinch be interpreted as generalizing, 'they' = 'people', 'man'.

brahmayeyam itī (AV °*jāyati*) *ced avocan* (AV °*cat*) RV AV. Both sing and plur are indefinite 'if they have (one has) said, She is a brahman's wife'.

yat te grānā cichuduh (MŚ *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait. MŚ Both sing and plur generalizing 'what with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off, O King Soma'.

yat te grāvā bāhucyuto acucyavuh (Vait *acucyot*) TB Vait. In a stanza which immediately follows the preceding. The plural of TB is really uninterpretable (comm *acyānyat*); it must be rendered. 'what of thee (soma) the press-stone, arm-dropped, has let fall'. But it seems to be felt vaguely as a generalizing plural, no doubt in mechanical imitation of the plural verb in the preceding and similar passage, just quoted.

yebhūr vācam puṣkalebhū anyayan (TB °yat) KS TB The plur is certainly generalizing, and acc to TB comm also the sing (*sarvo jantuh* is supplied as subject), altho it might be understood as having *sūrya* of the prec pāda as subject, cf next

yebhūr vācam vīśvarūpebhūr anyayan (TB °iūpām samanyayat) KS TB In the same passage as the prec Again the plur is certainly generalizing, and the sing may be considered so with as much right as in the prec, altho this time TB comm supplies Prajāpati from the prec pāda

vāyuh paśūr āsīt tenāyajanta (KSA °jata) VS TS KSA ŚB And the same with *agnih*, and with *ādityah* (*sūnyah*) Both forms are generalizing 'therewith they (= people, or, one) sacrificed'

tāsām svasṛr ajanayat (MS svar ajanan, KS † svasṛi [ms svasūr] ajanan) pañca-pañca TS MS KS In TS the subject is *dhātū* of preceding pāda in the others there is no definite subject (generalizing plural)

purutrā te manutām (AV vanvatāni) viśhitam jagat RV AV VS TS MS KSA N The subject in AV can only be indefinite, 'they', if the reading is correct, the comm reads *vanutām* In the others *jagat* is the subject

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ In the latter the subject is indefinite, in AV it is *yah* = Agni (who is referred to by *yena* in the others)

§360. For variations between indefinite 3d plural and definite 1st singular, see §315 above In a few cases we find the same indefinite 3d plural varying with a definite 2d singular, and once or twice, in the first two variants, a somewhat similar variation between a generalizing 3d singular (subject once a relative pronoun used as indefinite) varying with a definite 2d plural

samitāro yad atra sukṛtam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat AB AŚ *yo duṣkṛtam karavot tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś

tena mā saha śundhata (AV vulgate śumbhantu, but SPP śumbhatu, adopted by Whitney on 18 3 56) RV AV In RV apparently the waters are address, in AV the plural form (which is read by some mss) might also refer to them (and then concerns §337), the singular, if correct, can only be indefinite (Whitney, 'one')

yenendrāya samabharah (MS KS °ran) payānsi AV TS MS KS. In AV. TS the subject is Agni, in MS KS indefinite 'By which thou didst (they did) collect milk for Indra'

nayanto garibham vanūm dhīyam dhuh RV.: *nayantam gīrbhīr vanā dhīyam dhāh* SV The subject in RV. is indefinite 3d plural; in SV it is Agni, to whom the hymn is address See Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, on 10 46 5

yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsi*) AV TB. 'By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered'

ranan (SV *ranā*) *gāvo na yavoṣe* RV SV 'May they (indefinite, Ludwig 'man'. in SV, 'do thou') rejoice as cows do in pasture' Subject Soma in SV

[*sarasvatyā* (^o*tyām*) *odhī manūv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuh* (*acarkṛṣuh*) AV KS TB Apś Mś SMB PG See §§136, 236 The SMB is quoted in the Conc, following the older edition, as *sa° adhī vanōva carkṛdhī*, the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not address) in the sequel But the true reading is no doubt *manūv acarkṛṣuh*, as given by Jorgensen]

7 Change of Number due to Change of Subject, in the same context

§361. In many cases the shift in verbal number is due to a rearrangement of the syntax of the passage, involving a change of subject Cf above, §§ 323, 338 Naturally, there is often a change of person as well as number We begin with cases in which number alone is changed; and first cases of

Third Person, Singular and Plural

brahma devā avīrḍhan (MS *devan*, KS *derān*, MS KS *avīrḍhat*) VS. MS TS KS ŚB Apś 'The gods have increased brahman', or, 'brahman has increased the gods'

catuṣṭomam adadhād (TS ^o*ṣtomo abharad*) *yā turīyā* TS MS KS : *agnīsomāv adadhur yā turīyāsīt* AV Subject in AV must be *ṛsayah* in the sequel if the text is correct. but Whitney on 8 9. 14 would emend to *adadhād*

apām upasthe mahīso vavardha (RV VS ŚB *mahīsā avardhan*) RV. (both) AV SV VS ŚB TA *vavardha*, intrans, subject Agni, who is the object of *avardhan* (trans, subject *mahīśāh*).

tayā devāh sutam ā babhūvuh TS KSA. TB. *sā no asmīn suta ā babhūva* VS MS. See Keith on TS 4. 1 2 1, note 6

yathāmīṣām (AV *yathaiṣām*, SV. *yathateṣām*, VS. *yathāmī*) *anyo anyam na jānāt* (VS. *jānan*) RVKh AV. SV VS The plural in VS is due to the fact that *amī* is made the subject 'So that one of them may not know another', or, 'so that they may not know one the other'

ekapādī dvīpadī bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā TS . *ekapādam dvīpādam tripādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS *ekapādīm catuṣpādīm aṣṭāpadīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS ŚB The TS form is intrans, 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds', the others have a trans verb with indefinite subject, 'let them spread her out' etc This might be grouped under the preceding subdivision, but for the change of subject

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ See §30, end
tābhīh samrabdham anv avindan (TB *samrabdho avdat*) *ṣad urvīh* AV. TB In AV *ṣad urvīh* is the subject, in TB it is made the object, the subject being *samrabdho* (= Rohita).

anvātānsīt tvayī (MS *anvātānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB. The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases, Mahidhara on VS understands *ṛsayah*, despite singular verb! MS seems to take the subject to be *pitarah* in the preceding pāda (the others have *pitarā* or °ram).

apochatu (AV °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV AV. In RV the subject of the (transitive) verb is doubtless Indra, who is mentioned in the preceding verse, 'let him shine away the paired *kimīdins*' In AV the verb is intransitive, and the subject *kimīdinah* 'let the *kimīdins* fade away.'

achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh KS *achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cū*) AV TS VS MS Keith on TS 4 1 8 1 not unfairly calls the KS reading 'absurd', but the psychology of it is plain, it is thinking of *srucah* in the next line In the others the subject is Agni

āvīr bhuvad (ArS *bhuvann*) *arunīr yaśasā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV ArS The subject is changed from *arunīh* (singular in RV) to *gāvah*, no doubt because ArS feels *arunīh* to be a plural adjective

pībāt somam mamadad (AS ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣte* (AŚ ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May it (soma) exhilarate him at the sacrifice', 'may the sacrifices exhilarate him'

aryamno agnīm pary etu pūṣan (ApMB *pari yantu kṣīpram*) AV ApMB The subject is the bride in AV., the kinsfolk (or priests?) in ApMB.

āpo malam va prānarkṣīl (ApŚ *prānṛjan*) AV. ApŚ Subject is a plant in AV., in ApŚ. waters, the verb being drawn into the simile.

tam rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhat TS . *tam rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan* MS. 1 2 13 22 12, VS 5 39, KS 3 1 (in Conc quoted under the two parts separately, but this is the true parallel to the TS passage, instead of *tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan*, to which Conc gives a

cross-reference but which is an unrelated passage). *ukṣasta* is address to Savitar. *vaśsa* *Itam* to the gods in general (cf. Keith on TS. 1.3.4.2). *ta* refers to soma, which in TS is made the subject of *dabhat*, 'may it not fail you'; the others understand *dabh-* in a different sense 'may they (indefinite, acc. to Mahidhara, the asuras) not injure thee (Savitar)'.

niṣkr̥taḥ sa TS *kr̥to 'ya n*, KS. MŚ *kr̥tās te* *yajñīyam bhāgam etu* (KS MŚ. *bhāgam yantu*.) AV TS. KS MŚ. The subject varies from the *pasuṇāḥ* to cattle.

ti pariṅya TS *ṅi* *srjant*; MS KS *pra pariṅyaḥ srjatām* *rodasi anu* RV TS MS KS In RV, the subject is the Maruts; in the others Parjanya sing or (TS) plural (cf. §349).

sūro aṅtuḥ *ī, amān* SV *yamat* RV SV Preceded by *amā na indrābhy ādīśah* RV O Indra, let not (evil) intentions aim at us in the light of the sun (or, intentions of the sun by night) cf. Neisser, *Zum Wich. des RV* sv *āto* Oldenberg, *RV Noten* 2.144. In SV, *sūro* is evidently conceived as nom. subject of *yamat*, presumably with *ādīśah* object.

§362. Second Person, Singular and Plural

vo su asman muñcātīy anhaḥ RV MS. KS ApŚ *erū tvam asmat pra muñcātīy anhaḥ* TS The Vasus are address, even in TS., in the preceding half verse TS here changes rather lamely to an address to Agni, who is address in the following pāda

thehaisām krnuhi (TS MS KS. TB. *krnuta*) *bhojanāni* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB TB. Subject in RV is doubtless Indra, to whom the hymn is address, but no subject is mentioned in this verse (Mahidhara on VS understands Soma). several texts make the verb plural, referring presumably to gods in general

annam payo reto asmāsu (ŚB *smāsu*) *dhatta* (MS ApŚ. *dhehi*) VS. MS. KS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ All texts have adjoining formulæ where Agni is spoken of in the third person. in this, MS ApŚ obviously regard Agni as address directly, while the other (and presumably more original) reading addresses it to some plural concept (TB. comm. gods, VS. comm. priests).

sam pra cyavadhvam upa (TS. *anu*) *sam pra yāta* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB : *agne cyavasva sam anu pra yāhi* MS Followed by:

agne (MS *āvīṣ*) *patho devayānān krnudhvam* (MS.* *krnuṣva*) VS. TS. MS (both) KS ŚB : *agne pathah kalpaya devayānān* AV. In MS. both forms are consistent with the context, since they are address (in adjoining stanzas) to Agni and to *devāḥ* respectively.

In the others only AV is grammatically 'correct', since no other subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational; Mahīdhara on VS blithely takes *kṛnudhvam* as meaning *kṛnuṣva*, but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV texts, and they, like *kṛnudhvam*, are evidently address to the gods in general

revati predhā yajñapatim āvīṣa MS KS · *revati yajamāne priyam dhā āvīṣa* VS ŚB *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāvīṣata* TS ApŚ Acc to the Tait ritual texts (see Keith 45 n 5), address to the *vapāśra-vanās*, the two *darbha*-stalks and the *plakṣa*-twig, but acc to TS comm, to the members of the sacrificial animal Acc to VS. comm, Vāc is address

vratam kṛnuta (VSK adds *vratam kṛnu vratam kṛnuta*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Acc to Mahīdhara on VS 4 11 and KŚ, the formula *vratam kṛnuta*, 'prepare the fast-food', is to be repeated thrice The comm on KŚ says it is address to the *adhvaryu* etc, i.e. the *adhvaryu* and his assistants The three-fold repetition is actually found in VSK, but the second time with singular instead of plural, we may no doubt assume that this form (if textually sound) was address to a single priest (the *adhvaryu*?)

anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *joguvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ. On this obscure verse see Edgerton, *AJP* 40 188, 192 Four other parallel verbs, before and after this one in the same stanza, are all singular, address to Agni The subject of *vayata* is doubtful KS. makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily

ā mātūrā sthāpayase jgatnū RV AV : *ā sthāpayata mātaram jgatnum* AV. Followed by:

ata inoṣi karvarā purūni RV AV · *ata invata karvarāni bhūri* AV. In an obscure hymn to Indra, who is the subject in RV : in one AV. passage there is a sudden change of subject (to whom?) in the second half of the stanza, the first half of which is still addressed to Indra, here also

§363. Singular and Dual

dhattam rayim sahavīram (ApMB. *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV. ApMB : *rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam* AV. Dual address to the Aśvins, who are address in the next pādas also in AV. The singular must be understood as address to the bride, but it is not unfairly described as 'senseless' (Whitney)

yad uttaradrāv uparāś ca khādatah AV. : *yad apsaradrāv uparasya* (so Conc., but KS. ed °*drūr upa*°, see note in text, ApŚ *apsararūpara-*

syā) khādati KS ApŚ In AV the subject is apparently the two *aranis*, in the others it must be Agni, but the passage is so obscure that Caland in his translation of ApŚ makes no attempt to render it

atha jivir (ApMB *athā jivīrī*, RV *adhā jivīrī*) *vdatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB (The true AV reading seems to be *jivir*, see Whitney's note) In RV address to the married couple, altho in the preceding *pāda* the bride alone is address For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this *pāda* to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding

ṛtunā somam pibatam (KS °tu, MŚ °tām) KS MŚ ApŚ Subject Aśvins in ApŚ MŚ (*aśvinādhvaryū* MŚ), an unnamed priest in KS

ghṛteṇa dyāvāprthivī ā pṛnethām (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *pṛināthām svāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ 'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (address to the post)

varunasya skambhasarjanam asi (KS °ny asi, VS ŚB °nī sthah) VS TS. MS KS ŚB MahānU See Keith on TS 1 2 8 2, note 7

§364. Dual and Plural

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB *emām anu sarpata* MS In SV said of a pair of horses

yenāksā (ŚŚ *yenā ksām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenāksyār*) *abhyaścicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB °sīñcatam, PG °tām) AV ŚŚ SMB PG. In AV. the expression is made passive, with *aksā(h)* as subject, see §§332, 293.

§365. Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3d person forms, singular and plural, interchange A few stray cases of 1st person interchanging with 2d and 3d, with shift of number, will be found above, §§302, 304, 312, 323

svar (TS *svar*) *na śukram uśaso vi didyutuh* (RV °tah) RV TS MS 'Like bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth)'

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS ŚB *vasūnām rudrānām ādityānām sadasi sīda* (KS *sadanam asi*; MS *sado* 'sī *srucām yonih*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ

paktaudanasya sukṛtām etu lokam AV. (in next stanza) *imam paktvā sukṛtām eta lokam* AV Subject of *eta* is the grains composing the porridge (*odana*), that of *etu* is *paktā*, the cooker of the *odana*. Conscious *vikāra*

hṛdo astv antaram taj juṣaṣat (TA *tad yuyota*) RV KS TA 'Let (our song) be within (Parjanya's) heart, may he enjoy it' TA comm regards *yuyota* as addressed to the priests 'unite it (viz our song, to Parjanya's heart)' But the reading is hardly more than a corruption, it has phonetic aspects (j y).

deveṣu nah sukṛto (*mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (*brūta, brūyāt*), and others, see §104, t The 3d person *brūyāt* is probably corrupt

yās ca (*yā devīr* (*devyo*) *antān* (with variants) *abhito* 'dadanta (*tatantha*), see §220 The form *tatantha* is corrupt, and may not even be intended for a 2d person

niṣkam wa prati muñcata (*°tām*) AV (both) 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc

indrām samatsu bhūṣata SV · *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV Preceded by *ā no viśvāsu havyah* (SV *°yam*) 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV praise ye Indra),—who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict'

salakṣmā (MS KS *°ma*) *yad visurūpam* (RV AV *°pā*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB. *visurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS In RV AV of Yama (and Yamī), in YV different context, and scarcely interpretable 'when what is (ye that are) different become(s) similar'

tugmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV TB N 'Bring ye (a hymn) to him of sharp weapons, may he hear us (hear ye)!' In TB the verb is assimilated mechanically to *bharatā*, its secondariness is attested by the strong form of the stem

ā sve yonau niṣidatu (KS *°ta*) RV TS. MS KS AB 'May he (the god) sit (or, sit ye—priests) in his (your) own home.'

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (MŚ *°tām*, ApŚ *juṣatām*) *haviḥ svāhā* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

indrāya pathubhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS MS. KS TB Original subject is Aśvins and Sarasvatī; in MS awkwardly changed to a priest *yānti śubhrā rinann apah* RV · *śubhā yāsi rinann apah* AV Subject Maruts in RV, in AV. Rohita

ud dharṣaya maghavan (AV. *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* RV. AV SV. VS. TS.: *ud dharṣantiām maghavan vājynāni* AV. 'Let the energies be aroused, O Maghavan' or, 'arouse the weapons, O M. (the weapons of the warriors)'

tās tvā devīr (SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG *°sā*) *sam vyayantu* (PG *°yasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG: *tās tvā jarase sam vyayantu* AV. 'Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age'; or, 'wrap thyself up' etc.

śrā nah śantānā bhava (TA also *bhavantu*) AV. AA. TA. (both).
AŚ LŚ. TA by an addition in one form of the variant introduces a
different subject, see Whitney on AV. 7 6S 3

śadhābhīr yajñām svāntai juṣasta (TB *yajñām praṣatam juṣantām*)
RV VS TB In the original the subject is Agni, in TB. it is made
the *p*re, obviously because in Brāhmana times *śadhā* belongs
particularly to them

dirgham āyur karātu me (AV * ApMB *tām*) AV. JB. Kauś ApMB.:
āyurśāntām karota mā (RVKh *karotu mām* KŚ *kr̥ṇota mā*)
RVKh KŚ TA BDh. *sarvam āyur dadhātu me* ApŚ. Occurs in
several contexts in AV, one of these (7 33 1) is the same which
occurs in all the other texts except Kauś and ApMB, the others are
quite different. In the one verse found in the majority of texts,
this *pāda* is found at the end, in the prec. various gods (last, Agni)
are invoked in the 3d person for blessings on 'me' ('you' KŚ ApŚ.),
here Agni alone is invoked, likewise in the 3d person, in all but
KŚ TA BDh. where we have instead a 2d person address to
the plurality of gods mentioned before. Note that the strong stem-
forms *karota* and *kr̥ṇota* are poor. This variant might be classed
in §355

8 Change of Number, due to Change of Context, with different Subject

§366. In a large number of cases, as in the case of variations in
Person, the shift of number is due to the use of the formula in a different
context, involving change of the verb's subject. In some cases, as in
the preceding subdivision, both person and number are changed, we
list these cases at the end of this subdivision in so far as they concern
shifts between second and third persons along with shift of number. A
few cases of the same sort showing first person in variation with second
or third, and accompanying shift of number, will be found among
the Person variants, above, §§303, 304, 310, 324. Included are some
ritualistic *ūhas* and *rikāas*

§367. Singular, Dual, and Plural

aḥṣans tān VS KŚ. TB. *oghaśtām tān* MS. TB. *aghaś tam* VS. All
aorists from root *ghas*. Contexts are different tho related, and
with different subjects. See also under *aḥṣan* in Conc

tayā devatayājñrasvād dhruvā sīda VS TS etc (see Conc): *dhruvāḥ*
sīda VS ŚB TA...*dhruve sīdatam* VS... *dhruvāḥ sīdata* TS.
Also. *tena brahmaṇā.. dhruvāḥ sīdata* (and, ..*dhruvā sīda*) KŚ.
(both), *tena chandasā* . and *tenarṣiṇā* .., see Conc.

sa no mṛdātīdṛṣe RV AV TS MS KS ApMB N.: *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK *mṛ^o*) *īdṛṣe* RV SV VS VSK TS KS. *te no mṛdantv* *īdṛṣe* AV The last is a *vikāra* of the singular form, used in the same hymn in AV

maho jyāyo 'krta ('*krata*, '*krātām*). all three in MS (4 13 9. 212 4-9), TB AŚ ŚŚ *Vikāras*, same formula modulated with different subjects Cf *akrata*, and *akrātām*, AŚ In the same connexion, *avīṛdhata* (*°dhanta*, *°dhetām*) The formula begins *agnu* (*indrāgnā*, *devā ājyapā*, etc) *īdam havir* (also *ājyam*, etc) *ajusata* (*°ṣanta*, *°ṣetām*)

īdam vatsyāmo bhoh etc, see §344

āsadyāsmīn barhiṣi mādayadhvam RV AV VS TS MS ŚB TB: *mādayasva* RV. *°yethām* RV AV The three RV occurrences concern different subjects, *Viśve devāh*, *Sarasvatī*, and *Indra-Varuna* respectively On the AV. occurrences (two of which repeat RV 10 17 8, which has *mādayasva*, but awkwardly substitute *mādayadhvam*, changing the subject to *pitarah*) see *RV Rep* 298

sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma TB ApŚ *sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva* (ApMB † *°padā babhūva*, see Winternitz, p xvif) ApMB HG. *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB *°dā*) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB ApMB MG The singular and dual are used in the wedding-rites, address to bride alone, or spoken by the groom of himself and the bride The plural form is said by the *yajamāna* as the *adhvaryu* steps in the seventh footstep of the soma-purchase cow, it is followed by parallel formulas in the 1st person sing, as *sakhyam te gameyam*, 'may I go to thy (= the cow's) friendship' In our pāda we might expect a dual, including cow and *yajamāna*, 'we have become friends with seven steps', but it may be the ordinary plural referring to the *yajamāna* alone (§344), or, perhaps better, it may include the whole sacrificial *entourage*, note that the actual stepping is done not by the *yajamāna* who speaks, but by the *adhvaryu* On the change of person see §307

gopāyata (MS *gopāya*, AV *gopāyatam*) *mā* AV VS MS. Varit ApŚ Different contexts, hardly proper variants

premam sunvantam yajamānam avatu (*°tām*, *°ntu*) ŚŚ (all.) And: *śravad* (*°van*, *śrutām*) *brahmāny āvasā gamat* (*°an*, *gatām*) ŚŚ. (all.) *Vikāras*, with subjects *Indra*, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, *Rbhus*

§368. Singular and Dual

tasmān nah pāhy (Kauś *pātam*) *anhasah* RV Kauś

prānāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB. · *prānāpānābhyām me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ In MŚ address to Upāṅśu and Antaryāma cups, in the others to Upāṅśu alone.

ā no yātam (yāhy) upaśrutī RV. (both) Address to the Aśvins or to Indra

mdhṛtir asi TA ŚŚ *vidhrtī sthah* MS Different contexts

dvaś ca gmaś ca rājathah (rājasī) RV (both) See *RVRep* 59

rayim grnatsu didhrtam (dhārāya) RV (both) See *RVRep* 271, 528.

rāyaspoṣam yajamāneṣu dhattam (dhehi, dhārāya) RV (all)

sulānām pitīm arhathah (arhasī) RV. (both): *somānām pī° arhathah* RV SV See *RVRep* 137

mā mā sam tāptam (ApŚ tāpsih) VS TS KS TB PB ŚŚ LŚ

ApŚ ApMB HG MG · *mā modoṣītam (ŚŚ modoṣih)* MS ŚB ŚŚ.

The contexts are quite different and the formulas are only in part related to each other E g in TS Indra-Viṣṇu are the subject, in ŚB two fires, in ApŚ Agni, in ŚŚ *pṛthwī*

*viśurūpe ahanī dyaur wāsī (TA * wa sthah)* RV. SV TS MS KS TA.

(thrice) N In one TA passage address to *dyāvūpṛthwī*, in the rest to a single deity Followed in same passage by.

viśvā hi māyā avasī svadhāvah (SV. °van, TA ° avathah *svadhāvantau*), same texts

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś † muñcatam) AV Kauś In Kauś address to the Aśvins, in AV probably to an amulet Cf *apriyah prati muñcatām*, §30

pā indra (and, pātam narā) pratibhrtasya madhvah RV. (both) Dual address to Indra-Vāyu

*āre bādhetām (MS * KS * bādhasva) nṛrtim parācah* RV TS MS (both) KS (both): *bādhasva (AV bādhetām) dūre (AV. dūram, TS dveso) nī° pa°* RV AV TS There are three different contexts, the sing is addressed to Varuna, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-varuna In some cases this is followed by.

*kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV TS * mumuktam) asmat (KS asmāt)* RV. AV TS (both) MS KS See preceding

*ā modṛcah pātam (KS * pāhi)* MS. KS. (both): *te mā pātam āsya yaj-ñasyodṛcah* VS TS. ŚB. The sing form of KS is a *vikāra* of the other (in close proximity).

rāyas poṣam (KS. tvaṣtah poṣāya) vi śyatu (AV MS. KS śya) nābhīm asme (AV āsya) AV VS TS. MS. KS TB ApŚ · r. p *vi śyatām n a* RV MS TB Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūṣan, of the sing. *Tvaṣtar* (nom. or voc, see §329, end).

ehy aśmānam ā tiṣṭha AV ŚG Kauś MG : *ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam*
ApMB HG . *ā rohemam aśmānam* PG : *imam aśmānam ā roha*
AG SMB GG : *etam aśmānam ā tiṣṭhatam* MG. Followed by.

aśmeva tvam sthūrā (MG ApMB * AVPpp *sthūro*) *bhava* AVPpp (for
AV vulgate 2 13 4b *aśmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG. SMB PG.
ApMB HG MG . *aśmeva yuvām sthūrau bhavatam* MG The 2d
(dual) version of MG in a *vikāra* of the other

aśmān su jigyūṣas kṛdhi (*kṛtam*) RV (both) Subjects Indra: Indra-
Varuna

aśme (AV.* *asya*) *rayīm sarvavīram ni yachatan* (AV **yacha*) RV AV
(both)

bādhatām (TB °*etām*) *dveṣo abhayam* (AV * adds *nah*) *kṛnotu* (TB *kṛnu-*
tām) RV. AV. VS. TS MS KS TB Subjects Indra Tīṣya and
Bṛhaspati

§369. Dual and Plural

sumnāya sumnīni sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ . *sumne sthah sumne*
mā dhattam VS ŚB : *sumnāyuvah* (KS °*yavah*) *sumnyāya sumnam*
(KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS The plural occurs in a different
context from the dual

anu tvā viśve devā avantu (KS *viśve avantu devāh*) KS TB : *anu mām*
mitrāvarunāv ihāvatām AA

śansāmo AB ApŚ . *śansāvom*, *śansāvo* AB 3 12 1 GB Vait
And other forms, see Conc Sacrificial exclamations, based upon
verb-forms (dual referring to *hotar* and *adhvaryu*, plural to priests
as a group?)

te māvantu AV. TS PG : *te* (and, *tau*) *māvatām* AV (in same hymn,
vikāras). See further in Conc under *tāni no 'vantu*

pra na spārhābhīr ūtibhīs tīreta (°*tam*) RV. (both) Maruts Indra-
Varuna

rayīm dhattam (*dhattha*, *dhattho*) *vasumantam purukṣum* (*śatagvīnam*)
RV (all) See *RVRep* 149

śarma ca stho varma ca sthah VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ . *śarma ca*
sitha varma ca stha KS ApŚ Quite different contexts and subjects
sapatnān sahiṣmahī AV. 3. 6 4d; *sa° sahiṣvahi* AV 19 32 5d; *sapat-*
nīm me sahāvahai RV. AV. 3 18. 5d ApMB So the AV vulgate;
but *sahiṣvahi* is an emendation (see Whitney's note); the mss of
19 32 5 read °*mahi* This stanza is a repetition, with modifications
to suit the new context, of 3 18 5, the dual is there proper, as the
subject is *ubhe sahasvatī* of pāda c, referring to the amulet and the
speaker of the charm (there a woman, in 19 32 5 changed to

ubhau sahasvantau because the speaker is a man) The dual is equally required by the sense in 19 32 5. Yet the vulgate Atharvan reading here is clearly *sahasimahi* (all mss and comm, altho Ppp has the correct °*vahi*, Barret, *JAOS* 46. 42), which should be retained, obviously the entire pāda 3 6 4d, which belongs to a quite different context where the plural is required, has been mechanically imported without change into 19 32 5

etā asadan sukṛtasya loke TS TB : *pratikas, etā asadan,* and (ūha) *etā asadatām,* ApŚ

§370. Singular and Plural

marutām prasave (VS ŚB °*rena*) *ḥaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS address to the horses, in the others to the chariot
Different contexts

tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛnuta praśastam (AV *kṛnuhi supraśastam*) RV AV
anu mā rabhadhvam (ŚŚ *rabhasva*) KS ApŚ ŚŚ Hardly to be called variants, different contexts

indrasya bhāga stha AV i° *bhāgo 'si* VS. TS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also *devasya savitur bhāga* etc and others

dnṣatām (AV *durītāt*) *pātv anhasah* RV AV : *durītāt pātv anhasah* (LŚ *viśatah*) AV LŚ Two different contexts, verb appropriate in both In AV we may suspect a mutual *rapprochement* in phraseology

edam barhūr nū śidata (AŚ. ŚŚ *śida nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Different contexts

caḥṣur me tarpayata (PG *tarpaya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Applied to a different context in PG Similarly with *śrotam, apānam, prānāpānau,* etc, and likewise:

prānam me tarpayata (ŚŚ *ṭṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

mohayitvā nṛpadyate (RVKh *nṛpadyante*) RV 10 162 6b (correct ref), AV. RVKh MG.

viśvābhyo mā nāstrābhyah (VS ŚB °*bhyas*; MS *danstrābhyas*) *pāhi* (TS TB *pāta*. PG *pariḥpāhi saṁvatah*) VS TS MS ŚB TB TA PG In TS address to the arrows used in the *rājasūya*, in VS acc to Mahidhara to *mahāvīradakṣinabhūmi*.

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ : *varco mayi dhehi* etc, see Conc Numerous items in different contexts, hardly to be considered variants

apo (TS *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhīnta* (or *bhīnta*) VS. TS MS KS . *udno dehy udadhīm bhīndhi* KS † There are two different contexts, both of which occur in TS MS KS In one the plural is appropriate,

gods being the subject In the other (TS 4 7 13 2, MS 2 12 3, KS. 18 15) only a singular is appropriate, the subject required being Agni, altho KS is the only text that has the proper sing form Apparently MS TS copied mechanically from the other passage where the plur is required VS has the formula only in this latter (properly sing) context, but nevertheless has like TS MS plur forms, blandly interpreted by Mahidhara as singulars (*datta dehi, bhntta bhnddhi'*)—At the end of the same passages occurs the following formula

tato no (KS *mā*) *vr̥ṣṭyāvata* (VS † and KS once, °*āva*) VS TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Again KS varies consistently according to the subject, and is this time joined by VS (not noted in Conc), leaving only Tait and Maitr texts with inconsistent plurals where singulars are required

yām indrena (AV adds *sandhān*) *samadadhvam* (TS *samadhadhvam*, AV *samadhatthāh*) AV TS MS KS (so correct Conc), see also Conc under *iyam vah sā*, *esā vas sā*. The contexts are different, and both verbs are appropriate

āyātu (TB * *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no jusānah* (TB. °*nāh*) VS MS KS TB (both) Different contexts, subjects Indra. Ādityas

apa jahī (*hata*) *pariḡham* ChU (both) Address to singular and plural deities respectively

āyur me yacha (ApŚ * *yachata*) MS KS ApŚ (both) MŚ

ūrjam no dhehī (MS KS each once, *dhatta*) *divpade catuṣpade* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AG ŚG ApMB PrānāgU Occurs frequently, in several different contexts, sing number is appropriate in all but one which is address to *agnayah*, plur, the prec pāda being *te virājam* (KS. *samrājam*) *abhisamyantu sarve* (correct Conc for MS), MS 1 6 2d. 88 2 and 89 7, KS 7 14d Here KS, and once MS, have the correct form *dhatta*. In MS 88 2 the *samhitā* mss have incorrectly *dhehī* (note that this form of the variant occurs, in another context which requires the singular, in the same section of MS 86 19), the p p *dhatte* (!), pointing to the correct *dhatta*, which should probably be read here

yasyauśadhīh prasarpatha RV VS : *yasyāñjana prasarpasi* AV. Followed in same verse by:

tato yakṣmam vi bādhadhve (AV *bādhasē*) RV. AV. VS.

tatremam yajñam yajamānam ca dhehī (MŚ 5 2 16 14d *dhatta*, correct Conc) Vait KŚ. MŚ (both) ApŚ. Kauś. In one of the two

occurrences in MŚ the verb is made plural because several priests are address, in the others only one is address.

mayi ramosra (I.Ś *ramadhram*) SMB GG LŚ Hardly to be considered variants

karat AŚ · *karan* (ūha of *karat*) AŚ

gātum vittrā qātum ihi MS ApŚ. *dcvā gātuvido gātum vittrā* (VSK. °*tum* *itvō*) *gātum ita* AV. VS. VSK TS MS. KS ŚB. TB In the sing.

form secondarily address to the animal as it is slaughtered

tasyāgne bhājateha nū TB · *tasyo bhājayateha nah* RV. AV. SV VS. TS.

MS KS TA ApMB The plural is address to waters

ye 'smūn abhyaghūyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghūyatī* AV

mama cittam upāyasi AV *mama cittam cittenānvehi* HG · *mama cittam anu citlebhīr ita* AV Hardly variants

pranaya Vait MŚ *pranoyata* AŚ To plurality of priests in AŚ. Hardly variants⁷

mā me prāvā (correct Conc) *prosrpa matsrpa* (also, °*pata*, °*pata*) TA 1 14 2-4 (teach thrice) Modulations of the same formula with different subjects

yuksvā (nuṅgham) *hy avusī rathe* RV (both) Subject Agni: Maruts *rayim ca nah sarvavīram ni yachata* MS KS AŚ SMB *ni yacha* AV (see Conc for other sing parallels) As between singular and plural, quite different contexts and subjects

rāṣṭram amusmai datā VS. TS. MS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ *rā° om° dehi* VS. ŚB The latter in stanza preceding the former, modulation with change of subject

śarma yacha catuspade AV *śarma yachata dvīpade catuspade* RV

sindhon ū. mī vy aksaran (SV °*rat*) RV SV Different contexts, subject in RV *indavah*, in SV *ayam* (= *somah*) *sa yah*

sukrtām loka sīdota (AV *sīda*) AV TS MS Subjects *dalśināh: oḥmah*

śradontu (śradāti, °*tu*) *horyam (yajñam) madhunā ghrtena* Different contexts and subjects plural form RV AV VS MS KS. TB N; sing VS MS KS TB The form *śradātu*, MS only, seems to be a blend of the other two.

yaśah stha yaśasvī bhūyāsam ApŚ (subject waters): *yaśo 'si yaśo 'ham tvayī bhūyāsam* (ApMB. adds *asau*) ApMB. HG. (subject a man)

vīśvā rūpāni puṣyala (°*yasi*) AV (both)

lokañ me yajamānāya vinda (and, ūha, *vindata*) ChU (both) Subjects Agni or Vāyu Ādityas

yajñam nah pātu (TB *pāntu*) *rajasah* (TB *vasavah*) *parasmāt* (TB. ApŚ. *puraslāt*) MS KS TB ApŚ

agna ājyasya vyantu vaughak, *agnim ā° vetu vau°*; *agninājyasya vyantu vau°*, *agnir ā° vetu vau°*, all ŚB 2 2 3 19

apām ośadhīnām rasa stha TS TB (not MŚ !): *apām puspam asy ośadhīnām rasah* PB TB LŚ ApŚ

āpura stā mā pūrayata ŚŚ · *āpūyā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ : *āprno 'si sampṛnah* (ApŚ corruptly, *āprnosi sampṛna*) *ā prṇa* ŚŚ ApŚ. Four quite different contexts with different subjects

imam me agadam kṛta (AV *ḷṛdhi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB To one or more herbs, different contexts

kratum punāta (and, *punata*) *ānuṣak* RV (both). 3d sg and pl impf mid

divas (SV. *divah*) *prsthāny āruhan* (AV * °*hat*) AV (both) SV Subjects Añgrasas Agni.

§371. Change of Person (between 2d and 3d) with Change of Number

(a) Singular, Dual, and Plural

sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV : *sunuta ā ca dhāvatah* RV : *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV Cf *RVRep* 315 Verbs are all appropriate to the respective contexts

(b) Singular and Dual

chintam śiro api prstih śrñtam AV *prstir vo 'pi śrñātu yātudhānāh* AV. Subjects are Aśvins and Rudra, hardly comparable

pibatam somyam madhu RV (quinques) SV · *pibāti so° mā°* RV (semel) SV.

madhvā yajñam mumikṣatam (and, °*ti*) RV (both)

śam no bhūtam dvipade śam catuspade RV. MS KS · *śam no bhava* etc., *śam na edhi* etc, *śam no astu* etc, in many texts and different connexions, see Conc.

(c) Dual and Plural

madhye divah svadhayā mādayante (RV * °*yethe*) RV. (both) AV VS. See *RVRep* 118.

ye kilālena tarpayatho (and, *tarpayanti*) *ye ghrtena* AV (both) Subjects Heaven and Earth: Maruts

indravantau (ŚŚ °*tā*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB ApŚ. ŚŚ : *indravanto ha° i° juṣantām* TB. ApŚ *Vikāra*; subjects *śunāsīrau*: *pitarah*.

(d) Singular and Plural

ganān me mā vr tīrṣah (MŚ. °*ṣat*) TS. MŚ · *ganān me mā vy arīrṣah* Vait : *ganā me mā vr tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB : *ganav mā mā vr tīrṣata* MS. See §337

- rāyaś ca pośair abhi nah sacadhīam* (and. *saculām*) AV (both).
juṣāśa haḡam āhutam RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS · *juśantām*... TS.
 MS. KS. The last occurs in the same stanza as in RV 3. 22 4 =
 VS 20 90, both of which read *juśantām yajñam adihahā*. Con-
 tamination between the two pādas is obvious
svām yonim api gachata (TB ApŚ * °tu) TB ApŚ (both) AŚ. ApMB.
 HG
iha sphātū som ā vahān (vaha) AV. (both). The second is a *vikāra*
 of the first
ārāc cid dīśah sanutar yuyotu (RV.* °ta) RV (both) AV VS. TS. MS.
 KS N · *ārāc cid dīśo vrsaro yuyota* RV.
iṣam ūjam yajamānāya dhehi (Vait *dattvā*; AV *duhrām*) AV. VS. TS.
 MS KS ŚB Vait Three different contexts, in AV, Vait., and
 YV texts respectively
mamāmitūn vi vidhyata (and, °tu) AV (both) Cf also *amitrān no*
vi vidhjatām AV
vīśram puśyanti ūyam RV AV : *vi° puśyati vā°* RV AV SV. See
 RVRp 99
svasti rūye maruto dadhātana (MG °tu nah) RV KS AB MG Knauer
 assumes that *maruto* is understood as a nom sing and made the
 subject of *dadhātu* (perhaps for *māuto*) Certainly no 3d person is
 construable. Knauer's suggestion is hardly more than one of despair
 But all his mss read thus, and the Baroda ed (GOS 35, 1926) agrees.

9 Corruptions and Errors

§372. The following are merely corruptions or errors of one kind or another Some involve variants of person as well as number

(a) Singular and Dual

- antas tiṣthotu* (MG °to) *me mano 'mrtasya ketuh* SMB HG MG All
 mss of MG. read °to, and the Baroda ed agrees The form cannot
 be interpreted grammatically It must be either a phonetic
 variant (*u o*) or a mere corruption See Knauer's note
śrotāya me varcodā (TS °dau) *varcase* (MŚ. omits) *pavasva* (TS *pave-*
thām) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB MŚ. So the Conc wrongly supplies in
 TS 3. 2. 3 2, after the abbreviation *śrotāya* which is all that the
 text reads It is address to a soma-cup (*graha*), and clearly a
 singular expression, not a dual, is understood No variant exists
 Similarly under *añgebhyo me*

(b) Dual and Plural

supippalā osadhūh kartanāsmē (AV *kartam asmarī*, VSK *kartam asme*)
AV. VS VSK MS Subject is *Śunāsīrā* (dual). Mahīdhara can
find nothing to say except that the plural form *kartana* is used in the
sense of the dual It is, indeed, hard to imagine who else may be
included in the subject (gods in general?)

viśvāh pṛvathah (TB °*tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB The TB
form is to be taken as intending *pṛvathah*, dual (sandhi before
s+cons).

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah (TB TA *rnāni*) AV TB TA *apsara-*
sām anudattānrnāni MS The MS reading is badly corrupt,
anudatta is uninterpretable, p p *anu*, *dattāni*, *ṛnāni*, which is just
as bad

indrāvathuh (VSK °*dhuh*; KS ° TB ApŚ °*tam*) *lāvyaṛ* (TB ApŚ
karmanā) *dansanābhuh* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB
ApŚ The VSK reading is only a corruption, phonetic in char-
acter (sonant for surd), and yet a 3d person (dual!) seems required
in all texts, see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 131 5

(c) Singular and Plural

punsah kartur mātary āsīsikta JB *punsā kartiā mātarī mā ni śīṅca*
KBU The Conc says 'read *śīṅcata*' for KBU In any case a 2d
plural form must be read, according to Deussen, *60 Up* 25, three
mss read *mā asīsikta*, nearly as in JB

mātā jaghanyā sarpatī (HG *gachanti*, read *gachati*, Kirste) ApMB HG
pibā somam indra mandatu (Svidh erroneously *mandantu*) *trā* RV AV
SV TS AB KB PB AA AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh

hastacyutī (SV °*tam*) *janayanta* (SV † °*yata*) *praśastam* RV SV KS KB
ApŚ MŚ N Subject is *naro*, in preceding pāda, unless this is
felt in SV as singular, from the later stem *nara*, the verb-form is
uninterpretable Benfey translates as plural, regarding the form
as anomalous

aram aśvāya gāyati (SV. °*ta*) RV SV Subject is the n pr Śrutakakṣa
in the next pāda (nom in RV, voc in SV) The plural verb in
SV is anomalous, it is perhaps vaguely felt as including the asso-
ciates of Ś (cf §§353 ff), or as a plural of respect (? unlikely)

agnihotrenedam havir ajuṣatāvīvr̥dhata (AŚ. °*vīvr̥dhanta*) *maho jyāyo*
'kr̥ta TS AŚ Read in both texts (with TB. Poona ed) *agnir*
hotrenedam °*vr̥dhata* AŚ is doubly corrupt In the same
passage, just before this, the same formula with *devā ājyapā(h)* as
subject; read in AŚ (1 9 5) *maho jyāyo 'kr̥ta* (text *'kr̥ta*; this
section is listed as a separate formula in Conc, see §367)

tam te duścaksā māva khyan TS 3 2 10 2 (so Conc, but the reading is *khyat*, followed by *m-*, hence *n* by sandhi) *duścaksās te māva ksat* (*khyat*, *ksat*) MS KS

sarasvatyā (^o*tyām*) *adhī manāv* (with variants) *acarkṛsuh* (KS *acarkṛ*^o, SMB *carīkṛdhi*, but Jorgensen *acarkṛsuh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG See §§136, 236

adārasṛd bhavata (AV ^o*tu*) *deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bharata* is apparently assimilated mechanically to *mṛdatā* of the next pāda, of which *maruto* is the subject. Here *soma* is addressed, and the subject is *adārasṛd*, *bhavata* makes no sense. Caland renders *bhavatu* in ApŚ. Yet *bhavata* is read in both edd. of TB, and was clearly the Tart. school reading. TB comm. fatuously makes *bhavata* equivalent to *bhava*.

ā pitaram iaiśvānam atase kah (PB *kuh*, comm. *kah* = *kuru*) PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Perhaps only a misprint in PB.

duodūsāya randhayaḥ (SV ^o*yan*) RV SV Tho Benfey keeps *randhayan* in his text, he translates 'du ubergabst', as if ^o*yah*, so the comm., *samīlān asi*, *randhayan* is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom. sg. pple.)

svasti caratād iha (SMB *ayam*; MG. *caratā dīśah*) Kauś. SMB. ApMB HG MG. Spoken by the *guru* at the *upanayana*, *caratād* is 3d person, subject is the boy. In MG *caratā* is only a corruption, phonetic in character, note the following *d-*, and compare the extensive section on 'False Divisions' which will appear in our volume on Phonetics.

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