

**SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS**  
OF THE  
**LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA**

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**VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES**

**Volume III, 1934**

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**VEDIC VARIANTS**

BY  
**MAURICE BLOOMFIELD**  
**FRANKLIN EDGERTON**  
AND  
**MURRAY BARNSON EMENEAU**

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE  
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

1934



# VEDIC VARIANTS

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

BY

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*Volume III*

**NOUN AND PRONOUN  
INFLECTION**

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SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
PHILADELPHIA

1934

COMPOSED AND PRINTED AT THE  
WAVEFLY PRESS INC  
BALTIMORE MD U S A

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## PREFACE

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

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

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

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

FRANKLIN EDGERTON



## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

**FIRST PART FORMAL VARIANTS**

**CHAPTERS II-X**





## CHAPTER II

### DUALS IN *au* AND *ā*, OF ALL DECLENSIONS

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

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

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

*tasyām suparnāv adhi yau nivṛṣṭau* TB ApŚ *tasyām suparnā vṛṣanā*  
*ni śedatuh* RV

*abhayam mitrāvurunāv ihāstu nah* (AG °*varunā mahyam astu*) AV AG

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

*garbham te āsvinnau devau* (AV *āsvinobhā*, PG HG *āsvinnāu ubhau*) RV  
AV ŚB BṛhU SMB ApMB HG MG PG *garbham yonyām*  
*āsvināsyām* AVPpp 13 2 4c (Barret, JAOS 48 38)

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

*caturakṣau pathirakṣī* (AV *pathiṣadī*) *nṛcakṣasau* (AV TA °sā) RV AV TA. This is the only exception, except that noted in §130, to the rule among the RV variants. It is noted by Lanman 576. The hymn (10.14) containing it is Atharvānic (rather than 'late'), yet, curiously, the AV itself (supported by TA) has the 'regular' form. Note that all three texts are irregular in the preceding *caturakṣau*. Dissimilation or assimilation of ending *as* between these two words? Even tho the hymn belongs by its subject matter to AV rather than to RV, the RV form is, a priori, more apt to be original, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 124.

*ubhohhayāvīn upa dhehī danṣtrū* (AV °rau) RV AV

*yo akṣeneva rakṣiyū* (SV °yau) *sacibhīh* RV SV TB

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

*somam pibatam madyam dhṛtvratā* (AV GB °tau) RV AV GB

*uto te vṣṇā* (ArS *haritau*) *harī* RV ArS

*yajñasya hi sthū ṛtvjā* (TS ApŚ *ṛtvīyau*) RV SV KS PB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

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

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

*ā dhātām* (RVKh Scheft °tam) *puṣkarasrajau* (RV RVKh Scheft

AV ApMB MG °jā) RV RVKh AV ŚB TA MahānU BrhU

AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG *kṛnutam puṣkarasrajā* AVPpp

3.18.5 (Barret, *JAOI* 32.364) Add to VV 1 §332

*dyaus ca nah* (KS TB *tvā*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV KS TB *dyaus ca ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau* AV

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

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

*yam nirmanthato aśvinā* RV ApMB HG MG *yābhyām nirmanthalām*

*aśvinau devau* ŚB BrhU

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

form, we just saw that in several cases where RV has *ā*, AV has *au*  
*tā no muñcatam āgasah* TS MS *tau no muñcatam anhasah* (TS KS  
*āgasah*) AV TS KS

*ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛnasva* VS TS ŚB *hastau pṛnasva bahuvihir*  
*vasavyah* AV TS MS KS

*vitho ghṛtāsya guhyā juṣānā* (AV °*nau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

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

*yā* (AV *yau*) *patyele apratitā* (AV °*tau*) *sahobhīh* AV VS MS SB  
 ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§133 Yet, contrariwise, AV occasionally shows *ā*  
*chandasaṅgā* (AV *chandaḥpakṣe*) *usāsā* (MS KS °*sau*) *pepiśāne* AV TS  
 MS KS ApMB

And, in the same verse

*ketumatī* (TS ApMB *ketum kṛtvāne*) *ajare bhūriretasā* (MS °*sau*) AV  
 TS MS KS ApMB

*ya indrāgnī asanīm sakhāyau* KS *yo agnīṣomāv ujuzē sakhāyā* AV

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

*ukhyasya ketum prathamam juṣānau* (KS † KapS °*nā*) VS MS KS  
 KapS 25 1, ŚB Oertel 83

*imān me* (ApS *no*) *mitrāvarunau* (ApS °*nā*) MS KS AŚ ApS MŚ ŚG  
*nirastā sandāmarkau saha tena yam dvīṣmah* KS *nirastau sandāmarkau*  
*sahāmunā* ApS

*apanuttau* (KS °*ttā*) *sandāmarkau* (MS *ṣand°*) *saha* MS KS *apa-*  
*nuttau sandāmarkau sahāmunā* TS TB ApS

*devā* (VS *devau*) *devam avarḍhatām* VS TB

*śubham gamiṣṭhau* (KS °*thā*) *suyamebhīr āsvaih* (KS † *asubhīh*) TS MS  
 KS TB

*añkau nyañkāv* (PB LŚ *añkā nyañkū*, MŚ MG *añkū nyañkāv*) *abhito*  
*ratham yau* (MG *ye*) TS TB PB MŚ HG PG MG ApMB  
 LŚ ApS

*samjugmānau* (KS °*nā*) *divā* (TB ApS *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* MS KS TB  
 ApS MŚ

*yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* MS AŚ MŚ

In MŚ phonetic corruption, see VV 2 §410

*sudughe mātārā* (TB °*rau*) *mahī* VS TB

*indravantā* (TB °*tau*) *havit idam juṣethām* TB ŚŚ

*sam vasāthām* (MS *vasethām*) *svarvidā* (TS *svar°*, KS °*vidau*) VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB

*hotā yakṣad aśvinā* (VS KŚ °*nav*) *chāgasya haṛiṣa* VS KŚ KS

*hotā yakṣad aśvinau* (KS °*nā*) *chāgasya vapāyā* VS KS

*hotā yakṣad aśvinau* (TB °*nā*) *sarasvatīm* VS MS TB

*hotā yakṣad aśvinā* (MS °*nav*) *sarasvatīm* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

§135 The following do not properly belong here

[*gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā* (VS *nāsatyā*, followed without fusion by *aśvāvad*)

RV VS AŚ The VS comm understands *nāsatyā*, not °*yau*, if *au* were intended, *āv* should stand by the VS rule, see VV 2 §885

There is no real variant here, VS writes more accurately what RV also intends, namely final *ā* ]

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

[*urvaṣi ca pūrvarcītis cāpsarasau* (VSK MS KS °*sā*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

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

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

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

*śundāśreha sma me juṣethām* AV (pratika Vait) *śunāśrāv imām vācam juṣethām* (TA om *ju*°) RV TA AŚ ŚŚ N The AV seems to be 'hifalutin', misapplying the hieratic *ā* where it does not belong

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

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

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

[*añkāñkam* (KS *añkañkam*, MS *añkāvañkam*) *chandaḥ* TS VS MS KS  
 ŚB Only MS seems to understand a dual *añkau* here, if *añkāñkam*  
 is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form *añkā*  
 must be understood. Even MS has only one accent, *añkāvañkām*,  
 tho one ms has *añkāvañkam*, and pp analyzes *añkau*, *añkām*.  
 These forms are however probably mere corruptions, the presump-  
 tion is that the unknown (and perhaps artificial) name of a meter  
 here found is meant for a single word. The variant therefore  
 hardly belongs here.]

## CHAPTER III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyū* (KŚ °*ya*) *medaso 'nubrūhi* KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Assign to Indra and Agni (part) of the goat's omentum and fat'. Also, *agnīṣomābhyām chāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubrūhi* ŚB *ukhāyāh* (TS °*ya*, MS KS °*yām*) *sadane sve* VS TS MS KS. Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*. 'Within the firepan, in thine own seat.' The parallels point to a genitive with *antar*, not a genitive of 'equivalence' as Keith takes it. There is no sound evidence for a gen. of 'equivalence' in Sanskrit, while the use of a gen. with *antar* is proved by BR s v, a very clear case is VS 40 5.

*agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai vartanyāgrayanasya vīryena* (KS *jagatyā vartanyā*) *devas tvā savitotsrjatu* (etc.) TS KS *agnēṣ {tvā mātrayā jagatyā vartanyā devas tvā savitonnayatu* MS



*idāyās* (ApŚ °yah) *padam ghṛtavac carācaram AŚ ApŚ MŚ idāyās padam ghṛtaval sarīsrpam AV SMB · idāyāi srptam ghṛtavac carācaram TA HG* Comm on TA takes *idāyāi* as dat of purpose, *gosampādanārtham*, but this seems fanciful

*priyo dātur dakṣiṇdyā iha syām AV priyo devānām dakṣiṇdyāi dātur iha bhūyāsam VS* The AV reading is masked by sandhi, but p p *dakṣiṇāyāh*

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

*yamyāi pātūrah TS yamyāh pātūrah KSA*

*sarasvatyāi (MS KSA °yā) nupakṣatāh VS TS MS KSA*

*indrānyāi (MS °yāh) śaṣṭhi VS MS*

*nirṛtyāi (MS °yāh) pañcamī VS MS*

*adityāh (VS °yāi) pañcamī VS MS*

*adityāi (KSA °yā) dvādaśī TS KSA*

*yamyāi (MS °yās) trayodaśī VS MS*

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

*adityāi (MS °yah) pājasyam VS TS MS KSA*

*devasya tvā savituh prasave sarasvatyā vācā yantur yantren° (VS TS ŚB sarasvatyāi vācō yantur yantren°) °bhīsvīcamī VS TS MS*

*KS ŚB — P p of MS sarasvatyāh*

(*devasya tvā savituh prasave 'svinor bāhubhyām* ) *sarasvatyāi (KS °yā) bhāiṣajyena VS KS TB sarasvatyās tvā vīryena yasase nadya-yabhī śīcamī MS*

*yatra bhūmer juṣase (TA bhūmyāi vṛnase) tatra gacha AV TA (bhūmyāi for bhūmyās = bhumes, cf Wackernagel 3 p 136, and §182 below)*

§144 Genitives of *u* stem nouns

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

*yatrusprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB tanuvam yatra vāsah) AV ApMB yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah HG* The latter has a stupid corruption in *vṛkṣas* for *-sprkṣat* (VV 2 p 105) Its *tanuvai* can only be defended as for *tanvās = tanvas*, a partitive gen (cf §517)

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

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

§145 Genitives of pronouns

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

*imam amum amuṣyāyanam amuṣyāh putram* KS *imam amuṣya* (VSK *imam amum amuṣya*) *putram amuṣyai* (VSK °yāh) *putram* VS VSK ŚB In one of the two occurrences in ŚB *amuṣyai* is printed for *amuṣya*, doubtless by a misprint

*tasyai* (MS KS *tasjā*) *nān mātyā* (TS *māti*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Its, the mind's, daughter, speech'

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

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

§147 From *i* and *ī* stems in the following the alternative to genitive construction would be a dative of possession or interest, see next section *adityā* (VS TB ŚB *adityai*, VSK *aditer*) *bhāgo 'si* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

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

*indrānyai* (MS MŚ MG °yāh, KS °yās) *sannahanam* VSK TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ MG

*prthivyai* (MS °yā) *varmāsi* VSK KŚ ApŚ MŚ

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

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

*yasyai* (VSK *yasyā*) *te yajñīyo garbhah* VS VSK ŚB KŚ PG

*yasyai* (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hṛanyayī* VS VSK ŚB

*yasyai bahvīs* (MS *yasyā bahvyas*) *tanuwo* (MS *tanwo*) *ūtaprṣṭhāh* MS  
TB And others, §671 Comm on TB *yasyai yasyā devyās*  
*tanuvah*

*yāsyā apaśuvyā tanūs tām asyā apajahi* ŚG SMB (also with *yāsyā*

*aputryā*, *yāsyāh patighnī*) *yāsyāh pāpī lakṣmīr yā patighnī tā*

*asyā apahata* SMB *yāsyāh pāpī lakṣmīs tām asyā apajahi* SMB

*yāsyai gṛhaghñī tanūs tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG (also with *pati-*

*ghñī*, *paśughñī*, *prajāghñī*, *yaśoghñī*) *yāsyai ghorā tanūs tām ito*

*nāśaya svāhā* HG (also with *nanditā*, *patighñī*) The first *asyai* is

clearly gen On the second see §612

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

*yo maritasyā diśo abhidāsād agnim sū ṛchatu* MS (also with *indram*,

*maruḥ*, *mitrāvarunau*, *somam*) *agnim sa ṛchatu yo maritasyai*

(KS † <sup>°</sup>*syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS ApŚ (also with *indram*, *aditim* etc )

*agnim sa diśām devam devatānām ṛchatu yo maritasyai diśo 'bhidā-*

*sati* TB (also with *indram* etc ) *iyam diḡ yo maritasyai* (KS

<sup>°</sup>*syā*) etc KS TB ApŚ

§150 From *ṛ* and *ī* stem nouns

*gāyatryai* (MS KS <sup>°</sup>*yā*) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*sūryas tvā* (MS *tvā rasmibhīh*) *purastāt pātu kasyās cid abhiśastyai* (TS

MS KS <sup>°</sup>*astyāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Striking because the

modifying pronoun *kasyās*(*cid*) has *ās* even in VS ŚB Cf next

*āsanyān mā mantrāt pāhi* (MŚ *pāhi purā*) *kasyūs cid abhiśastyāh* (AŚ

<sup>°</sup>*tyai svāhā*) TS AŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf prec

*pṛthivyai* (MS KS <sup>°</sup>*yā*) *mā pāhi* TS MS KS

*pañktyai* (MS KS <sup>°</sup>*yā*) *nidhanavat* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai* TS ApŚ *apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyai devayajanai*

TS ApŚ *apahato raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayajanah* TS ApŚ (p p of

TS *pṛthivyāh*!) *apāraram adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanāḡ*

(ApŚ †*adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ (the latter ambiguous) *apāra-*

*rum pṛthivyā* (p p <sup>°</sup>*vyāh*) *adevayajanam* MS MŚ *apāraram adeva-*

*yajanam pṛthivyā* [*iti*, ambiguous] ApŚ *apāraram pṛthivyai devaya-*

*janād badhyāsam* VS ŚB

*pāpāt* (KŚ *pāpah*) *svapnyād* (KŚ <sup>°</sup>*nād*) *abhūtyāh* (KŚ <sup>°</sup>*yai*) AV KŚ

*agne dabdhāyo pāhi prasityai pāhi durīṣtyai pāhi duradmanyai* (TS

TB add *pāhi duścaritāt*) TS VS ŚB TB † (in VS text has *durad-*

*manyū iti*) *agne 'dabdhāyo pāhi prasityāh pāhi durīṣtyāh pāhi*

*duradmanyāh* KS (text °manyā it) — Also listed in Conc under *pāh*

*adbhyah sambhūtah pṛthivyai rasāc ca* TA ApŚ *adbhyah sambhūtah pṛthivyai* (MS KS † °yā) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS MS KS  
*kṣetṛiyāi tvā nṛṛtyā jānuśānsāt* AV *kṣetṛiyai tvā nṛṛtyai tvā* TB ApMB  
 HG (*kṣetṛi* = *kṣetṛiya* occurs only in this passage)  
 [amoci (AV *amukhā*) *yakṣmād dūrūtād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV TB ApMB No ās form here ]

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

§152 The variants are

*yā te agne rudrīyā tanūs tayā nah pāhi tasyas* (MS KS *tasya*) *te svāhā* TS MS KS

*ya ta iṣṭr yuva nāma tayā no mṛda* (MS *tayā vidhema*) *tasyās* (MS *tasyai*) *te namas* TS MS

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

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

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

*kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi* VS ŚB *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °pāya, p p °pāyāh) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS TA pratikas, *brahmanas tvā paraspāyā* [iti] ApŚ MS (could stand for °pāyai or °pāyāh) In the same passage the next two

*divas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °pāya, not repeated in p p), *antarikṣasya*

MS TA (and ApŚ pratika, with °pāyā [iti]) and

*prānasya tvā paraspāyai* (MS °pāya, v l °pāyāś, p p °pāyāh) *cakṣuṣas*

MS TA (and ApŚ pratika as before) In these three adjoining

formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended 'for the protec-

tion of ' Note that TA has °pāyāh twice and °pāyai once—

all in the same passage VS has only one of the formulas, in which

it uses the dat of a neuter stem °pa- (§801), equivalent to °pā-

This same neuter form is read thrice in MS s p, but once the v l

°pāyāh occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA has the

regular dative form °pāyai!), and its p p reads °pāyāh in the two

cases which it repeats at all

## CHAPTER IV

### STEMS IN A

#### 1 Nominative and vocative plural in *ās* *āsas*

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

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

*yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh* RV *yena devā amṛtam anv amndan* AV  
*dhruvāsah* (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV KA TB ApŚ  
 SMB MG Here TB ApŚ compensate for the lost syllable by  
 the patch-word *ha*

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

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

*ā yāta pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV HG *eta pitarah somyāsah*  
 SMB GG ViDh *parā yāta pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV  
 HG *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ  
*somyāh*) TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf VV 1 §256

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

secondary to *ye devānām yajñīyā yajñīyādnām* RV The AV introduces *rtvijā*, exalting the priests at the expense of the gods

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

*tubhyam sūtāsah somāh* SV *tubhyam somāh sūtā ime* RV The SV in its eagerness for archaism has crowded out *ime*, and left a *pāda* which is metrically bad

*asmān* (MS KS TS † *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*)  
RV SV TS MS KS *asmān devāso 'vata haveṣu* AV †

*mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāh* (Ppp *durevā yātudhānāh*) RV AV  
Ppp *mā tvā dabhan durevāsah kaśokāh* AV

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

*ete pūtā vijaścitah* RV *te pūtāso vj°* SV

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

§156 In the following variant two adjoining adjectives vary in both readings, the longer and shorter endings interchanging in the two forms  
*harṣamānāso dhr̥ṣitā* (TB *dhr̥ṣatā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā dhr̥ṣitāso marutvan* AV The ms of Ppp has *rṣamānāso rṣadā marutvam*, emended by Barret, JAOS 35 60, to *hr̥ṣamānāso dhr̥ṣatā* (for which *dhr̥ṣitā* or *hr̥ṣitā* would seem at least equally possible) *marutvan*

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

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

- trayo gharṁāso anu jyotiṣāguh* (MS KS *relasāguh*) TS MS KS ApMB  
*trayo gharṁā anu rela āguh* AV
- vīṣve devāso* (AV *devā*) *adīth sajoṣāh* AV Ppp TS MS ApMB Cf also  
*vīṣve devāh sajoṣasah* AV MS TA
- ye devā* (RV VS AB AŚ ŚB *devāso*) *divy ekādaśa stha* RV AV VS  
 TS MS KS AB ŚB MŚ AŚ Sāyana at AV 19 27 11 appar-  
 ently read *ye devā divyā divy ekādaśa stha*
- yena devāso* (AV *devā*) *asahanta dasyān* RV AV
- vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa* (KS *avasṛṣṭā*) *āhutāh* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ  
*devāso barhur āsadan* RV *devā barhur āsata* PB
- te devāso* (TS *devā*) *yaḥām imam* (Ppp *havir idam*) *juṣadhvam* (AV  
*juṣantām*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *te devāso havir idam*  
*juṣadhvam* AV
- vīṣve devā iha mādayantām* (KS *vīrayadhvam*) TS KS TB *vīṣve devāsa*  
*iha vīrayadhvam* (AV *mādayadhvam*, VS ŚB Vait LŚ *mādayan-*  
*tām*) RV AV VS TS ŚB Vait LŚ ApMB

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

- ye stha traya ekādaśāh* (ŚŚ *ekādaśāsah*) KS ŚŚ This is really prose and so should not strictly be counted here, but its cadence simulates an anuṣṭubh pāda in KS, the presumably original form
- suddhā bhavata yaḥṛyāh* AV *suddhā bhavantah śucayah* (N *bhavanto yaḥṛyāsah*) *pāvakāh* AV N Cf also *abhūma yaḥṛyāh suddhāh* AV Since *pāvakāh* must be read metrically *pāvākāh*, the line is tri-ṣṭubh and the AV reading is correct. Very likely N intended it as jagatī, reading *pāvākāh*, and altered the preceding case ending to fit its conception of metrical requirements

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

- ānānasya devā* (MS *deva*) *ye putrāh* (KS *putrāso*) MS KS

## 2 Neuter plural in *ā* or *āni*

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

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



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

*brahmajyeṣṭhā sambhṛtā vīryāni* AV *bra° vīryā sambhṛtāni* TB  
*samyopayanto duritāni viśvā* RV MG *samlobhayanto duritā padāni* AV  
*atīkrānanto duritā padāni* (N *duritāni viśvā*) AV N

§162 Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter, and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either  
*indrasya vocam pra kṛtāni vīryā* RV *indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam*  
 RV Ppp ArS MS AB KB TB AA N *indrasya nu prā* (so read, see Whitney) *vocam vīryāni* AV Jagati and triṣṭubh  
*nakṛ asya pra minanti vṛtāni* RV AV *nakṣ ta etā vṛtā minanti* RV  
 Triṣṭubh and dvipadā virāj

*sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS *havanā jyoṣa*) TS MS Jagati and triṣṭubh Cf also *sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgumat* (and, *havanāni joṣat*) KS (both)

*duritāni yāni kām ca cakṛma* MS *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA  
 Jagati and anuṣṭubh

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

*sa hi viśvāti* (RV \**viśvāni*) *pārthivā* RV (both) KS  
*kṛtāni kartvāni ca* RV *kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* RV  
*atī* (RV \**agne*) *viśvāni duritā tarema* (RV \**rājānah*, \**svastaye*, \**pṛpar-*  
*tana*, \**itāni parṣan*) RV (5 times) PB

*skannemā viśvā bhuvanā* TB TA ApS *askannemā* (so text, for *skan-*  
*nemā* or *āsk*?) *viśvā bhūtāni* KŚ Different words, *bhuvana* and  
*bhūta*, the latter being shorter and so requiring the longer ending  
*āndā śuṣṇasya bhedatī* RV *śuṣṇasyāndāni bhedatī* RV

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

*agnir havyāni sīsvadat* RV *agnir havyā sīśvudati* RV

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

*abhi yo vśvā* (and, *abhi vśvāni*) *bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV (both) See *RVRep* 117

*talo vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu* (AV °*nānu*) *vśvā* RV AV

*vśvā rūpābhi* (MS *rūpāny abhi*) *caṣṭe śacibhiḥ* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

The MS tries to improve the meter, which in the original is read with hiatus, *rūpā abhi*

*aṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanti* Vait and AV Ppp, *JAOS* 30 221

*priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayanāḥ* TB (probably secondary)

*tutṛdhatās trīni śatāni śaṅkuvah* AV *tasmīn sūkum trīśatā nu śaṅka-*  
*vah* RV N

*apa cakrā avṛtsata* KB ŚŚ *mā cakrā avṛtsata* MS † *apa cakrāni varṭaya*  
TB ApŚ The last clearly secondary

*vśvā devānām* (TS *vśvāni devo*) *janimā evakti* AV TS KS Cf *sarvā*  
*devānām janimāni vdvān* Kauś, which, if a true variant of the  
other, would show the only *āni ā* variation noted for an *n* stem,  
cf §§160, 269 Of the others, AV KS are more apt to be original  
than TS

*ata inoṣi karvarā purūni* RV AV Ppp *ata invata karvarāni bhūri* AV  
*sugā vo devāh sadanā* (N °*nam*) *akarma* (Ppp MS *kṛnomi*, KŚ Kauś  
*sadanāni santu*) AV Ppp VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *svagā vo*  
*devāh sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ *sugā vo*  
*devās sadanedam astu* KS

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

*yatremā vśvā bhuvanādhi tastuh* RV AV N *yenemā vśvā bhuvanāni*  
*tastuh* TA

*yas tā vjānāt sa pituṣ* (TA *savtuh*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N *yas tāni*  
*veda sa pituṣ* (VS *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS

[*achidrā uśiyah padānu takṣuh* TS *achidrosiyah kuvayah padānutakṣi-*  
*suh*, em from ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*, KS ]

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

*kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny* (TA MahānU *devo atiduritūty*) *agnih* AV TA  
MahānU

*priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṅṣi* (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūni*) TB Vait

*purāntu vśvā bhūtāni* (MS *bhūtā mā*, TB *vśva āyavah*) AV VS MS  
KS TB

*śalam pavitrā vṛatā hy* (MS *vṛatāny*) āsu MS ApŚ ApMB  
*ā devo yātri bhuvanāni prakāyan* (TS MS *bhuvanā vṛakāyan*) RV VS TS  
 MS

*ya imā vīśvā bhuvanāni cākṛpe* AV ŚirasU *yo rudro vīśvā bhuvanānveśa*  
 TS KS ApŚ MŚ Probably not a real variant  
*prajāpate na tvad etāny anyah* (MS \**na hi tvat tūny anyah*, KS *nahī*  
*tvad anya jēlā*) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) KS SB ŚB TB TAA  
 BṛhU AŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB ApMB N

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

*hiva* (Vait *hivā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrām*) *harivah* TS KŚ ApŚ MŚ  
 Vait

*aṣṭau śatā yān matam tad vadanti* ŚB *aṣṭau ca śatāni* [*samvatsarasya*, inserted in Gastra with all but two mss.] *muhūrtān yān vadanti*  
 GB

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

*vīśvāny anyo* (AV *vīśvānyo*) *bhuvanābhicaste* (AV MS *bhuvanā vicaste*)  
 RV AV MS TB

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

*yasmīn vīśvāni bhuvanāni* (MS *vīśvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasṭuh* RV VS MS  
 Cf. prec. but one, the unmetrical *vīśvā* may have been influenced by *bhuvanā*, the first alteration (?).

*tiraś cūttāni* (KS ms *cūttā*) *vasavo jighānsati* RV AV MS KS *tiraś*  
*satyāni maruto jighānsāt* TS Von Schroeder emends KS to *cūttāni*, which seems rather arbitrary.

*sa cūttāni* (Ppp ms *cūttām*) *mohayatu pareṣām* AV Ppp Barret, *JAOS* 32 351, reads Ppp as *cūttā*. It may, however, have intended *cūttāni*.

*agnir vṛtrāni jañghanat* RV SV etc. In Svidh occurs the *pratika* *agnir vṛtreṭi*, i.e. apparently, *vṛtrā-iti*. Perhaps a corruption.

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

substitute the prosaic *āni* for the *ā* of the other texts Or else, was the prose version older, and to make it metrical was *ā* substituted for *āni*?  
*etā* (TS PB *etāni*) *te aghnye* (TS *aghnye*, PB *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* VS TS  
 PB ŚB MŚ

*abhī savanāni* (TS *savanā*) *pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB Prose in both  
*ariṣṭāni me sarvatmānidhṛṣṭah* AV *ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu* (PG  
*me 'ngāni*) Vait PG *ariṣṭa visvāny aṅgāni* TS TAA MŚ Prose  
 in both

3 Instrumental plural in *ais ebhis*

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

*sam vajebhīh* (MS *vājaih*) *puruscandrair abhidyaubhīh* RV AV MS †  
 2 2 6b 20 4, KS

*samjñānam nah* (KS *nas*, TB *na*, Poona ed *nah*) *svebhīyah* (AV  
*svebhīh*, TB *svarīh*) RVKl AV MS KS TB followed by  
*samjñānam aranebhīyah* (AV *aranebhīh*, TB *aranarīh*), same texts The  
 AV forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB  
 is much worse

*tvaṣṭar devebhīh sahasama indra* ApMB *tvaṣṭa devarīh sahamana indrah*  
 MG

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

*gambhīrebhīh pathubhīh pūrvinebhīh* (MS *purvebhīh*) MS KS AŚ SMB  
*gambhīrūh pathubhīh pūrvyāih* (AV *pūrjanāih*) AV TS HG The  
 meter requires *gambhīrebhīh* thruout Whitney on AV 18 4 63  
 suggests emendation of MS to *purvyebhīh*, which was evidently  
 the original on which TS HG *pūrvyāih* is based

§170 In another little group AV seems secondary in substituting  
*ais* for *ebhis*, tho it preserves the meter by patch-words or other changes  
*angirobhīr a gahī yajñīyebhīh* RV TS MS *angirobhīr yajñīyair ā*  
*gahīha* AV

*prehi-prehi pathubhīh pūrvyebhīh* (AV *pūrvyānāih*) RV AV MS AŚ  
 AG

*vīryebhīr* (MS *vīrebhīr*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā saviṣṭha* (TB *śaci°*,  
 Poona ed *śavi°*) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

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

*jambhyais* (KS °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (KS † °*rān*) *uta* VS TS KS In KS the suffixal *y* is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation, perhaps KS archaizes secondarily  
*sajogā devair* (VS ŚB *sajūr devebhīr*) *avarāṣ parāṣ ca* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*lebhis tvam putram janaya* ŚG *tas tvam putram* (ApMB *putrān*) *vṛndasva* AV ApMB *tus tvam garbhīnī bhava* HG Note that ŚG is forced to read *tvam* as a monosyllable

*satyam pūrvaīr* (KS *pūrvebhīr*) *ṛṣibhis samvidanah* (KS † °*bhis cākṣpānah*, ApŚ °*bhis cākupānah*) MS KS ApŚ Here KS spoils the meter

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

*mītrāvārināu dhiṣnyaiḥ* (KS °*yebhīr agnibhis*) MS KS *aṅgīruso dhiṣnyair agnibhis* TA (prose in the latter)

*mṛdam barsvāḥ* (TS *barsvebhīḥ*) VS TS MS KSA Prose The majority are more apt to be original

*mandūkān jambhyebhis* (KSA *jambhaḥ*) TS KSA TB ApŚ Prose

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

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

*viśvakarmā tvādityair ullarataḥ* (MS KS *ullarāt*) *pāṭi* VS TS MS KS ŚB *viśvakarmā va ādityair ullarata upadadhatām* TA

*jāgrvīḥ ca mārundhatī collarād* (MG *collarato*) *gopāyatām* KS † MG † *tasmād* (ArS VS VSK *tato*) *vīrād ajāyata* RV ArS VS VSK TA *prāktād apāktād* (AV *prākto apākto*) *adharād udaktāt* (AV *udaktaḥ*) RV AV

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

§174 Only one or two dubious cases

*agnēr jihvām abhi* (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām, abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*)

†*grnītam* (AV *grnata*) AV VS TS MS KS Cf VV 2 §309 The AV KS parallel suggests taking MS as an instr, in spite of p p *ayā pavā pavasvarnā vasūni* RV SV PB *uta na enā pavayā pavasva* RV SV The accent of *pavayā* is on the ultima, which gives pause Oldenberg (Noten on 9 97 53) suggests, among other solutions, that we have either mistaken accentuation caused by that of *ayā'* in the preceding (the first variant just quoted), or adverbial shift of accent

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

[*āsīrdāyā dampatī vāmam aśnutām* TS *yad āsīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS *yam āsīrā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* TS *yayāśīyā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* AV Keith takes *āsīrdāyā'* as dual adj with *dampatī*, we prefer to take it for *āsīrdāyāyā* with Wackernagel 3 p 116 infra In any case there is no variation between case-forms *ā* and *ayā*, rather *-dayā* and *-dā* are from the different stems *-dāyā* and *-dā* ]

## CHAPTER V

### SHORT AND LONG *i* STEMS

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

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

#### 1 *ī* forms from *i* stems

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

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

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

*ayās cāgne 'sy anabhisastis* (AŚ ApMB HG °tīs) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG

*abhiṣṭar* (HG °ṣṭir) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG *ca no grhe*) RVKh HG

*plāṣir* (TB °sīr) *vyaktah śatadhāra ut saḥ* VS MS KS TB

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

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

[*vañkrīr asvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti* RV VS TS KSA Conc quotes *vañkrīr* for all texts but KSA, actually *vañkrīr* is found in all, and is an acc pl]

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

*ātir* (TA KSA *āti*) *vāhaso darvāḍā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA Stem *āti* is Rigvedic

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

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



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

*rantir asī* TS *rantī ramatīh sūnuh sūnarī* ApŚ *vasvī rantih sumanāh*  
MS *sumanmā vasvī rantī sūnarī* SV JB But the SV is very uncertain, it may be taken with the comm as a dual, see Benfey, Glossar, s v *ram*. The form *rantī* of ApŚ is for *rantis* by the usual sandhu

*athā jivir* (RV *adhā jivī*, ApMB *athā jivī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB See VV 2 §529 In RV dual, in ApMB sing but possibly influenced by recollection of the RV form *śirah-śirah prati sūrī vi caṣṭe* TS ApŚ *śiro devī prati sūrī vi caṣṭe* KS A peculiar case, *sūrī* is a fem nonce-formation to the usual *sūri*, which is used without change in KS as a fem. It reminds us of the tendency noted below (§225) towards a repartition of short *u* stems and *ū* stems as masc and fem respectively, but this is the only case noted of such a tendency among *i* stems

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

*ākūtīm devīm subhagām* (TB *manasah*) *puro dadhe* AV TB *ākūtīm devīm manasā prapadye* SMB Perhaps *ī* in SMB by form-attraction to *devīm*

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

§180 Voc sg in *i* from *i* stems We find a number of cases in which the regular voc *e* in *i* stems is replaced by *i*, from the *ī* declension *pūrṇā darvī* (AV MS *darve*) *parā pata* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ In RV only stem *darvī*

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

*abhy enam bhūma ūrnuhī* (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV AV TA Cf prec *ide rante 'dite sarasvatī priye preyasi mahī visrutī* TS *ide rante* (MŚ *rante juṣṭe*) *sarasvatī mahī visrute* PB MŚ The form *visrutī* may be formally assimilated to *mahī* (and *sarasvatī*?)

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

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

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

*devavīṭaye* (MS  $^{\circ}vīṭyai$ ) *tvā* (KS *vo*) *grhnāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB  
ApŚ *devatābhīyas tvā devavīṭaye grhnāmi* KS Only MS is intended to be metrical

*ṛtaye* (TB  $ṛṭyai$ ) *stenahṛdayam* VS TB

*anuṣṭup* (TB  $^{\circ}tuk$ ) *pañktyai* (MŚ *pañktaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ

*bhūtyai* (AŚ *bhūtaye*) *namah* MS ApŚ MŚ AŚ

*adītyai* (ŚG  $^{\circ}taye$ ) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ŚG

*samvesāyopaveśāya gāyatrīyai* (etc) *chandase* (TS ApŚ omit)  $^{\circ}bhībhū$   
*taye* (TS ApŚ *abhībhūtyai*, ŚŚ  $^{\circ}bhībhṛtyai$ , KŚ  $^{\circ}bhībhūtyai$ ) *svāhā*  
TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ

*vasyaṣṭaye* (misprinted *vaspa<sup>o</sup>*) *tvā* LŚ *vasyaṣṭīyai tvā* Vait

*cūṭtaye svāhā* HG *cūṭṭīyai svāhā* ApŚ

*gopīthāya vo nārātaye* MS *bhūtāya tvā nārātaye* VS ŚB *rakṣāyai tvā*  
*nārātīyai* KS *sphātīyai tvā nārātīyai* TS TB ApŚ

*anumataye* (TB  $^{\circ}ṭyai$ ) *svāhā* ŚB TB BṛhU AG ŚG Kauś *asūyantīyai*  
*cānumatīyai ca svāhā* AŚ

*svargēyāya* (VSK *sva<sup>o</sup>*) *śaktyai* (VSK ŚvetU *śaktyā*) VSK TS  
ŚvetU *svargyāya śaktyā* (MS *śaktaye*) VS MS KS ŚB Metri-  
cal, *śaktyai* three syllables

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

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

*te te dhāmāny usmasi gamadhye* TS *tā* (VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vān*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *usmasi gamadhya* RV VS MS KS ŚB N Two mss of KS also have *gamadhye*  
*paridhāsyai yasodhāsyai* PG . *paridhāsyē yaso dhāsyē* MG The MG forms, at least, are best taken as verbs (fut ind) Stenzler (questioningly) and Oldenberg follow the comm in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive form and *yasodhāsyai* as a cpd Cf VV 1 §177, 2 §705

§184 Abl-gen sg in *yās* from *i* stems What has been said on the datives in *yai* applies equally here It only needs to be noted, further, that in the first group of variants the form for which *yās* is secondarily substituted in SV is not the usual *es*, but the older *yas*, which is the only form known in RV from the stem *av*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 138  
*avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV \**vāraih*) *pari priyah* RV SV (ter) *avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyam* RV SV *avyo* (SV *ṭavyā*) *vārebhīh pavate madāntamah* RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vārebhīh arṣati* (SV *avyata*) RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāre mahīyate* RV SV *avyo vāreṣu* (SV *avyā vārebhīh*) *asmayuh* RV SV *avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāraih paripūtah* RV SV

*yonyā* (TA *yoner*) *iva pracyuto garbhah* AV TA

*eṣā tvā pātu nṛtīter upasthāt* (TA *nṛtītyā upasthe*, AV *prapathe purastāt*) RV AV TA

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

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

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

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

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

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

*upa* (TS MS *upo*) *devān dāvīr viśah prāgur vahnaya* (TS *vahnī*)  
*uśṛjah* (VS ŚB *prāgur uśṛjo vahnītamān*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

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

*ṛtūn prṣṭībhīh* (KSA *prṣṭībhīh*, ms *bhr*<sup>o</sup>) TS KSA Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 359, take *prṣṭi* for an *ī* stem, but the usual theory (e.g. Wackernagel 3 p 136) that makes it an *i* stem is more plausible

*prṣṭībhyah* (KSA *prṣṭi*<sup>o</sup>) *svāhā* TS KSA See prec  
*svāhūkṛtābhyah* (TS ApŚ <sup>o</sup>*tībhyah*) *presya* TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ  
Most MŚ mss <sup>o</sup>*tībhyah*

*hrādunībhyah* (KSA <sup>o</sup>*ni*<sup>o</sup>) *svāhā* VS TS KSA Originally *i* stem,  
Wackernagel 3 p 138

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

*sucakṣā aham akṣībhyām* (MG *akṣi*<sup>o</sup>) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N In the older language the form with *ī* is commoner than that with *i*

*mitrāvarunau śronibhyām* (KSA °nī°) TS KSA

*śronibhyām* (TS °nī°) *svāhā* TS KSA

*yakṣmam śronibhyām* (ApMB °nī°, v 1 °nī°) *bhāsaddāt* RV AV ApMB  
*ya° bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV

## 2 i stems of uncertain quantity

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

*vi te bhīnadmi takarim* (KS °rim, AV *mehanam*, Ppp *tagarim* [Roth])  
 AV TS KS ApS

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

§192 Our variants from this stem are few except for the nom. pl. We have noted only one acc. sg. and one dat. pl.  
*imam khañamy oṣadhim* (ApMB °dhim) RV AV ApMB  
*oṣadhībhyah* (ŚG °dhī°, sc *namah*) MG ŚG

§193 As to the nom. pl., the forms *ayas* and *īs* are not metrically equivalent and in metrical variants (which include all but one of those here noted) this needs to be borne in mind. In nearly all of them *īs* is the older form, historically, and in most it is also favored by the meter. As a rule later texts substitute *ayas*, often without any attempt to patch the meter.

*yā oṣadhīh* (AV TS TB Kauś PrānśgU °dhayah) *somarājñīh* RV AV  
 VS TS AB TB PrānśgU Kauś SMB GG KhG

*yatrauṣadhīh samagmata* RV VS *yad oṣadhayah samgachante* (KS  
*samagmata*) TS MS KS

*yā oṣadhīh pūrvā jātāh* RV VS KS ŚB ŚŚ KŚ N *yā oṣadhayah*  
*prathamajāh* MS KS MŚ MG *yā jātā oṣadhayah* TS TB ApS  
 Note that MS etc. by a further change make passable meter.

*kalpantām āpa oṣadhayah* (TS TB °dhīh) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

Here probably *ayas* is original, tho poor metrically, and the secondary *īs* is introduced to improve the meter

*śam no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayah* (AV \* °dhīh) śivāh AV (bis) (Read *āpa* at 2 3 6, see Whitney's note) The meter is certainly better with *īs*

*oṣadhīh prati modadhvam* RV VS *oṣadhayah prati modadhvam enam* (KS om *enam*, VS ŚB °dhvam *agnim etam*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB *oṣadhayah prati gṛbhñāta* VS VSK ŚB *oṣadhayah prati gṛbhñātāgnim* (MS *gṛbhñī°*) *etam* TS MS KS The RV is clearly old and sound with *oṣadhīh* Most other texts, if really based on it, substitute *oṣadhayah*, which spoils the meter, some try to patch it with generally poor success

*sam oṣadhayo rasena* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ *sam oṣadhībhīr oṣadhīh* VS ŚB Probably not real variants, both metrically passable

*oṣadhayah* (RV VS °dhīh) *prācucyavuh* RV VS TS MS KS The RV original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests *prācu°*), and the change to *-ayah* was doubtless meant to improve it  
*indrāgnī dyāvārthīvī āpa oṣadhīh* (KS °dhayah) TS KS *sūryāgnī dyāvārthīvī uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayah* MS Vocatives This is the only prose variant, the isolated TS is apt to be secondary

### 3 i forms from ī stems

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

§196 Nom sg in *is*

*talo rātriy* (TA *rātrir*) *ajdyatu* RV TA ManānU Two mss of MahānU *rātrir*

*rātri* (TB *rātrī*, KS v l *rātrīh*) *stomum na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °ṣī) RV KS TB Voc in RV

*śam rātrī* (VS *rātrīh*, VSK TA *rātrīh*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK MS TA On VS see §206

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

*rātrim-rātrim* (MS KS ŚB KŚ MG *rātrim-rātrim*) *aprayāvam bharañtah* AV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MG

*anuvāsa* (etc., see VV 2 §255) *rātrīm* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *jinva*  
VS TS MS KS GB Vait

*rātrīm* (KSA *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA

*rātrīm dhenum ivāyatīm* (AV *upāyatīm*) AV HG ApMB *rātrīm dhe*<sup>o</sup>  
*ivā*<sup>o</sup> SMB PG MG

*rātrīm* (KS *rātrīm*) *jinva* TS KS PB Vait

*ye rātrīm* (KS *rātrīm*) *anuvāsthanū* (KS † *°sthatha*) AV KS

§197 Nom pl in *ayas*

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

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

Acc sg in *im*

*varūtrīm* (KS † *varūtrīm*) *tvastur varunasya nābhīm* TS KS *varūtrīm*  
*tvastur varunasya nābhīm* VS ŚB *tvastur varūtrīm varunasya*  
*nābhīm* MS

Nom pl in *ayas*

*varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr* TS *varūtrīs tvā* (KS *°trīs tvā*) *devīr vasma-*  
*devyāvatih* VS KS ŚB Wackernagel l c suggests that *varū-*  
*trayas* is influenced by the adjoining *janayas*. But this will not  
explain the other variants here

*varūtrīr avayan* KS *varūtrayas tvāvayan* ApŚ

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

*veśāsrīr* (TS *°srīr*) *asī* TS KS GB PB Vait LŚ Wackernagel l c  
suggests influence of the neighboring *vasyastur asī* in TS

*asrīvayaś* (TS ApŚ *°vīś*, MS *°vīs*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

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

*namah senābhyah senānībhyas* (VS TS *°nībhyas*) *ca vo namah* VS TS  
MS KS See VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem  
in composition) §523

*namah śvanibhyo* (MS *śvanī*<sup>o</sup>) VS MS KS *namo mṛgayubhyah śvanibhyaś ca vo namah* TS See VV 2 §528 Boehtlingk's postulation of a stem *śvanin* 'having dogs' is most implausible, particularly in view of *śvānibhyaś* above

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

*pratī tvā parvatī* (TS TB <sup>o</sup>*tir*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ One ms of KS *parvatī*

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

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

§201 The original type of the stem *skambhani* (<sup>o</sup>*nī*) is variously given Macdonell, VGr §375A3, implausibly think that it is a cpd of *skambha* and the root-noun *nī* We prefer to hold (with BR and Wackernagel 3 p 183) that it is fem to RV *skāmbhana* If the accent of VS VSK (*skambhani*<sup>o</sup>, TS <sup>o</sup>*nt*) is correct, the rule would require *vrkī* declension, so that in our variant VS would be regular, VSK irregular KS has no accents in this mantra but in 27 accents *skāmbhanī*, which would suggest that the fem stem is a *devī* form In either case Tait texts have a shortening of the *ī*, as seems to be their tendency

*diva* (*divas, divah*) *skambhanir* (VS ŚB <sup>o</sup>*nir*, VSK † KS † <sup>o</sup>*ny*) *asi* VS VSK KS TS ŚB TB ApŚ In KS 1 6 read *skambhani asi dhānyam asi*, acc to note on KS 31 5

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

*aṅgulayah śakvarayo dīśāś ca me yajñena kalpantām* VS *śakvarir aṅgulayo dīśas* TS MS KS The form *śakvarayo* is likely to have been influenced by the neighboring *aṅgulayah* (Wackernagel 3 p 184)

*devānām patnīr* (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *dīśah* (MS KSA † *viśah*) VS TS MS KSA The meter requires three syllables, *patnyah* is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p 183 f)

*nārīś* (VS *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS *patnyo*) *lomā* VS TS KSA *mahānāmni revatayah* TS MS KSA *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS See Wackernagel 3 p 184



§203 Instr pl in *ibhis* for *ībhīs*

*śamībhīh śamyantu tvā* VS *śimībhīh* (KSA † *śimi*°) *śimyantū tvā* TS  
KSA

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

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

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

#### 4 Interchanges between different *i* declensions

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

§206 Nom sg in *i* (of *devī* type) from *vrkī* nouns In most of these variants the *īy* form is older, as we should expect *Vrkī* nouns begin to appear with noms of *devī* type, lacking *y*, as early as RV itself (Wackernagel 3 p 172)

*adurmanīgalih* (AV °*lī*, Ppp °*līṣ*) *patilokam ā vīsa* (AV *vīsemam*) RV  
AV Ppp SMB ApMB

*gaurīr* (AV *gaur in*, TB TA *gaurī*) *māmāya salilam takṣatī* RV AV  
TB AA TA N

*vīśvarūpa śabalīr* (KS *śavalīy*) *agniketuh* TS KS PG

*śinhīr asī* TS MS ApŚ MŚ *śinhy asī* VS KS ŚB KŚ *śinhīr* (KS *śinhy*) *asī rāyaspoṣavanah* TS MS KS *śinhū* (VS KS ŚB KŚ *śinhy*) *asī sapatnasahī* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ KŚ *śinhīr* (KS *śinhy*) *asī suprajāvanah svāha* TS MS KS *śinhy asī suprajāvanah rāyaspoṣavanah svāha* VS ŚB *śinhīr* (VS KS ŚB *śinhy*) *asī ādit-yavanah* (MS adds *sajātavanah*) *svāha* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*mahiṣīr* (KS °*ṣy*) *asī* TS MS KS MŚ On this see Lanman, *NJ* 368

In RV the word is *māhiṣī*, with accent and inflection of *devī* type, in TS MS *mahiṣī'r*, of *vrkī* type KS accents *mahiṣy asī*, as if of *vrkī* type, but yet has the *devī* ending Wackernagel 3 p 179 distinguishes two words, *mahiṣī'* 'Buffelkuh', and *mahiṣī* 'Fürstin', the latter he separates entirely from *mahiṣa* and regards as fem to compv *māhiyas* This however seems forced In RV 5 25 7d (repeated elsewhere) *mahiṣī* is commonly taken to mean 'she-buffalo'

*samhūtāsī viśvarūpī* (TS ApŚ °pīh) VS TS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ As in the KS form of the preceding, VS accents the word on the ending, as if it were a *vrkī* form

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

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

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

*sarasvatī* (AV TB † °tīh) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °tām) RV AV VS MS KS TB N Both edd of TB °tīh

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

*vāmī* (KapS *vāmyā*) *te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dheyīya* (KS KapS *dhiṣīya*) *tava vāmīr* (KS KapS *vāmy*) *anu samdṛṣi* MS KS KapS *vīśvasya te vīśvāvāto vṛṣṇyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛṣi vīśvā retānā dhiṣīya* TS † Keith's translation of TS is scarcely possible We must apparently take *vāmī vāmīr* as nom sg fem, and *anu* as adverbial, *dhā* middle with *retas*, as commonly with *garbham* 'Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight', MS KS 'lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni, that art all, possesscest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds', TS

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

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

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

*sukham meṣaya meṣyai* VS ŚB *sugam meṣaya meṣyai* (RV *meṣye*)  
 RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ One ms of KS *meṣye* It may be noted that TS MS KS read *meṣyai*, retaining the accent of *meṣye*, while VS VSK ŚB accent *meṣyai*, as is proper for a *devī* form

*veṣaśrīyai* (I.Ś °*ye*) *tvā* Vait LŚ Add to VV 2 §705

*śrīyai* (MG *śrīye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *vedhuvai*) MG ApMB

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

*ayuṣmatyā* (AŚ ŚŚ °*tya*) *ṛco ma gata* (Vait *mapagāyā*, Kauś *ma satśi*)  
*tanūpat* (ŚŚ °*pah*) *sāmnah* (AŚ *sāmna om*) TS AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś  
*ayuṣmatyā ṛco ma chartśi* etc JB

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

*āṣṭryām* (AV *āṣṭrī*) *padam kṛnute agnūdhāne* RV AV MG The accent is on the final in both RV AV

§212 Nom-acc dual in *yau* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns In this case the original *vrkī* ending began to displace the old *ī* of *devī* stems as early as AV, and became universal in classical Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p 175) As we saw above (§195), it even affected sporadically short *i* stems

*ghṛtūcī stho dhuryau pātam* VS ŚB *ghṛtūryau stho yajamānasya dhu yau pātam* MŚ

*pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau* (TB ApŚ °vi) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KhG  
*ośadhya* (!) *vaiṣṇave* [from *ā* stem] *sthaḥ* MŚ

*yadūrāghatī* (read *yadū rā*°) *varadah* Vait *yudū rākhutya vadataḥ* ApŚ  
An obscure *n pr*

§213 Nom (voc) pl *yas* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns This ending is exactly analogous to the dual ending just mentioned, originally peculiar to the *vrkī* type, *yas* appears in *devī* nouns in AV and becomes regular later Wackernagel 3 p 177 has noted many of our variants After two consonants *yas* is often spelled *iyas*, cf VV 2 §791 *tās tvā devīr* (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB BG °sā) *sam viyayantu* (PG *vyayusva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG (In PG *devīr* is to be taken as acc VV 1 §70)

*tisro rohinīr* (KSA *rohinyo*, ms *rau*°) *vaśā mauniryah* (KSA °tryah) TS  
KSA To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791

*tisro rohinīs* (KSA °nyas) *tryavyas tā vasūnām* TS KSA

*rohinīs* (VS °nyas) *tryavayo vāce* VS MS

*pañcāvīs* (KSA °vyas) *tisra ūdityānām* TS KSA

*anyjalaenyo mauniryah* (MS °nīr *maunīr*) VS MS

*pāvamānīh* (RVKh TB YDh °nyah) *punanantu nah* (*tvā, mā, tv*) SV  
RVKh TB MG YDh

*nārīs* (VS *nāryas*) *tv. patnyo loma* VS TS KSA

*devīr vamrīr asya bhūvanasya* (TS † *bhūtasya*) *prathamajū r̥tavarīh* MS  
TA *devyo vamryo* (VSK *vamryō*) *bhūtasya prathamajū makhasya*  
*vo 'dya śtro rūdhyaśan* VS VSK ŚB Voc

*tisrah śilpā vasā vaśvadevyah* TS KSA *śilpā vaśvadevīh* (VS °devyah)  
VS MS †

*mahānāmni revatayah* TS MS KSA *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS

*tāh prācyā* (Vait °yah, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjyāhīre* (KŚ † °hīre, Vait *sanjy-*  
*gāhīre*) Vait KŚ MŚ *prācīś corjyāhīre* ApŚ

*phalavatyo* (MS KSA °valīr) *na ośadhayah pacyantām* VS MS KSA  
ŚB *phalinyo na* TS TB

*yasyā* (RVKh VS *yasyām imā*) *bahvyaś tanvo vīlapṛṣṭhāh* RVKh VS  
 MS *yasyai bahvīs tanvo vīlapṛṣṭhāh* TB  
*devānām patrīr* (VS *patnyo*, MS *patnayo*) *dīśah* (MS KSA † *vīśah*)  
 VS TS MS KSA  
*yā devīr antān abhito dadanta* AV *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito* MG  
*yāś ca devīr antān* ApMB HG *yāś ca devīs tantūn* (SMB *devyo*  
*antān*) PG SMB See VV 2 §63

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

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

*dūrehetih palatrī vājīnīvān* MŚ MG *dūrehetir indriyāvān* (PB † *°yavān*)  
*palatrī* (PG *°trih*) TS PB TB PG ApMB  
*tan no danti* (TA *dantih*) *pracodayāt* MS TA MahānU Stem *danti*  
 otherwise unrecorded

*vyānāsih* (SV *°ī*) *pavase soma dharmabhīh* (SV *dharmānā*) RV SV  
*suparno avyathir* (SV *°thī*) *bharat* RV SV Pān 3 2 157 records  
*avyathin*

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

*mahinām* (VSK *mahinām*) *payo 'si* VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ  
 MŚ ŚG

## 6 Alternative case endings within the same declension

§216 Instr sg *ī* and *yā* We come now to variants which show different case endings within one and the same declensional type, that is, cases in which no 'foreign' influence from a different *i* or *ī* declension is to be assumed And first interchange between the old instr ending *ī* and the later *yā* The first concerns a *devī* noun, the rest short *i* stems  
*aśvībhīyām dugdham bhīṣajā sarasvatyā* (MS *°vatī*) VS MS KS TB  
*acitī yat* (AV *acitīyā cet*) *tava dharmā yuyopīma* RV AV TS MS KS

*yah samidhā ya āhūtī* (KS °*tyā*) RV KS AŚ AG  
*dvābhyām iṣṭaye vṛkātīyā* (VS ŚB ŚŚ °*śatī*) ca AV VS MS ŚB TA  
 AŚ ŚŚ

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

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

*sam sūribhir maghavan* (RV MS KS *harivah*, AV † *harivan*) *sam*  
*svastyā* (RV *svasti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB  
*tena yantu yajamānāh svasti* MS *tenantu yajamānāh svasti* (KS \* ApŚ  
 °*tyā*) TS KS (both) ApŚ

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

*pretinā dharmanā* (MS *pretyā dharmāne*) *dharmam jinva* VS MS ŚB  
*vṛkṣam wāsanyā* (HG °*ninā*) *jahi* AV HG  
*cāṣena kikidīvinā* (MS °*divyā*) RV VS MS KS  
*marinā* (KS *manyā*) *rūpāni* TS KS KSA

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

*upa pretu marutah sudānava* (KS *svatavasa*) *enā viṣpatinābhy amum*  
*rājūnam* TS KS *pretu marutah svatavasa enā vīspatyāmum rājū-*  
*nam abhi* MS MŚ

*agne grhapate sugrhapatir aham tvayā* (with *varr*) *grhapatinā* (VSK  
 °*patyā*) *bhūyāsam* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś  
*sugrhapatir mayā tvam* (with *varr*) *grhapatinā* (VSK °*tyā*) *bhūyāh*, same  
 texts

*juṣṭo vācaspataye* (MS °*patih*, KB ŚŚ °*pateh*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS  
KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ

*ito mukṣīya mā pateh* ApŚ *mṛtyor mukṣīya mā patyuh* MŚ *preto  
muñcatu mā pateh* PG †

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

*agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśrutī* (MS °*ti*, TB *upaśruto*) *divas* (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

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

*ṛtasya yonā mahiṣā aheṣata* RV *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā agrbhnan* (TS KS ApMB *ahinvan*) TS MS KS ApMB

*aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *uditau* (RV °*tā*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS  
*sīdan yonā* (SV *yonau*) *vaneṣv ā* RV SV

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

*sattā ni yonā* (SV *yonau*) *kalāṣeṣu sīdati* RV SV

*devo narāsanso 'gnau* (ŚŚ † 'gnā) *vasiṣane* AŚ ŚŚ

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

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

§222 Nom-acc sg neut in *m*. No grammar recognizes the neuter ending *m* from *i* stems except for the pronoun *kim* (see e.g. Lanman N1 377, Wackernagel 3 §72). But TS TA agree on *sānasim* in the following, which can be nothing else. It is of course due to the analogy of *a* stems, and perhaps to the direct suggestion in the following and parallel adjectives *dyumnam* (TS KS *satyam*) *citraśravastanam*

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

[*mā me hārdī* (MŚ *hārdīm*) *tvīṣā* (MŚ *tvīṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ But here  
 the different, masculine stem *hārdī* would be meant, if MŚ really  
 intended *hārdīm* (three mss *hārdī*)]

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



## CHAPTER VI

### LONG AND SHORT *U* STEMS

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

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

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

### 1 ū forms (normally fem) from original u stems

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

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

*phalgūr* (KSA °gūr) *lohitorñi balakṣi* (with varr, §206) *tāh tsārasvatyah*

VS TS MS KSA

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

*avasyur* (VS ŚB °yūr) *asi duvasvān* VS TS MS KS PB SB ŚŚ MS

v 1 °yūr

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

*devāśrut imān pravape* MS MŚ *devāśrūr etān pravape* TS HG

*devāśrut tvam deva gharma devo devān pāhi* (MS *gharma devān pāhi tapojān*) VS MS ŚB *devāśrūs tvam deva gharma devān pāhi* TA

ApŚ

*havanāsrin* (TB *hāvanāśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV TB

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

§§788-93) The first three variants concern feminine adjectives, where the *ū* form causes no difficulty. In the others the proper masc form *vpanyavas* of RV is changed to *°yavas* in SV. The latter form occurs in RV but only as a fem. This change has a phonetic aspect, cf VV 2 §§601-4, and below §231. It is shown in VV 21 c that SV prefers *u* for a before *v*.

*vīrudhah pārāyīṣṇvah* (TS MS KS *°navah*) RV VS TS MS KS N  
*tasya prajā apsaraso bhīrivah* (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS  
*sumnāyuvah* (KS *°yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *°nyam*) *dhatta* MS KS  
*tad viprāso vpanyavah* (SV *°yuvah*) RV SV VS NṛpU VāsuU  
 SkandaU ĀrunU MuktiU

*tū vām gīrbhū vpanyavah* (SV *°yuvah*) RV SV

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

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

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

*hanūbhyām* (KSA *hanu°*) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŚ

*hanubhyām* (TS *hanū°*) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS MS KS

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

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

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

- vyam te yajñīyā tanūh* (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ *vyam* (VS ŚB *eśā*) *te śukra tanūr* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ  
*agne sudakṣah satanur* (KS † °*nūr*) *hi bhūtā* TS KS *agnih sudakṣah sutanur* *hi bhūtā* MŚ Masc adjectives  
*ābhur* (MS KS *ābhūr*) *asya niṣaṅgathāh* (VS °*dihā*) VS TS MS KS Masc  
*śambhūr* (KS °*bhur*) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB Masc, note retention of *u* in *mayobhūr* in KS  
*vibhūr* (PB *vibhur*) *asi pravāhanah* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ MŚ † HG Masc  
*vibhūr* (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitrā* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Masc  
*sumnahūr* (KS \*† °*hur*) *yajña* (TS *yajño devān*) *ū ca vakṣat* VS TS MS KS KapŚ ŚB MŚ Oertel 139 Add to VV 2 §554  
*śitpāc chityoṣṭhah śitbhrus* (KSA † °*bhrūs*) TS KSA Masc Add to VV 2 §554

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

- abhibhūve* (MS *abhibhve*, KS *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ  
*vibhūve* (KS † *vibhave*, MS *vibhve*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ  
*samvēcāyopaveśāya* 'bhūbhūve (MŚ 'bhūbhūve) *svāhā* KS MŚ  
*ariṣṭyā avyathya* 'bhūbhūve *svāhā* KS Add to VV 2 §604

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

- śitbhravo* (MS °*bhravo*) *vasūnām* VS MS Cf last variant in prec § but one

*samudram na subhvah svā abhiṣṭayah* RV *samudram na suhavam* (AV *subhvas*, TB Poona ed *suhavam*) *tasthivānsam* AV TB ApŚ *mahīṣam nuh subhvam tasthivānsam* MS Ppp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret emends *subhvas*, suggesting also *suhavam* (JAOS 35 46), *suhavas* would do perhaps as well as *subhvas*, altho the AV comm understands the word as fem (if the nom is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain, in RV, perhaps not a real variant of this passage, *subhvah* is fem, the acc form must be masc)

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

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

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

*savitṛa prasūtā darvyā āpa unlantu te tanūm* (VSK *tanvam*, the jaṭṭ-pāṭha has *tanūm*) *dīrghāyutvāya varcase* VSK KŚ PG

*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 *tanvām*) *tanūm arayata* TS KŚ

*na te tanūm tanvā sam papṛcyām* AV *na vā u te tanvā tanvam* (AV *te tanūm tanvā*) *sam papṛcyām* RV AV

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

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

*ham tokāya tanuve* (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

*samveśanas tanvai* (SV KS MŚ *tanve*) *cārur edhi* SV KS TB TA  
ApŚ MŚ In the accented texts (TB TA) the svarita accent of *tanvā* is retained in *tanvāi*

*kuhvai* (KSA *kuhve*) *trayo 'runantāh* TS KSA Von Schroeder emends KSA to *kuhvai* TS accents *kuhvāi*, i e with the svarita of *kuhvā*

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

*agnes tvā mātrayā jīvātave* TS KS *agnes tvā mātrayā jīvātva*  
MS

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

*havīyāśmar vodhave* (KS °vai) *jātavedah* TS MS KS Kauś

*puṅse putrāya vellavai* (ŚB BṛhU *vltaye*, KS † *kartave*, MG *kartavai*,  
v 1 °ve) KS ŚB TB BṛhU ApŚ ApMB HG MG

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

*agne yan me tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan*  
 VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG *yan me agnu ūnam tanvas tan* MS KS  
 The accented texts (VS TS ŚB) retain the svarita accent of the  
 older *tanvās* (TS *tanūvā*)

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

*svām yat tanūm tanvām arayata* MS AA AŚ ŚŚ *svayā tanvā tanvam*  
*arayata* AV *svā yat tanū tanvam arayata* KS KSA *svāyām yat*  
*tanvām* (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm arayata* TS KŚ As above, the  
 svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS *tanuvām*)

[*svāyām* †*tanūn* (RV *tanū*) RV ApMB MG Knauer mistakenly  
 regards *tanūn* as a 'shortening' of *tanvām*, but see VV 2 §308]

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

*māndā vāsāh sundhyūr* (KS *sundhyuwa*) *ajrāh* TS KS Nom pl fem  
 adjective, the ending *ūs* is anomalous in either *u* or *ū* stems, and  
 is clearly due to the analogy of *devī* forms, more specifically, to the  
 parallel *īs* (and *ās*?) forms in the context

#### 4 Alternative case endings within the same declension

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

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

*kratum rihanti madhunābhy* (SV *madhvābhy*) *aṅjate* RV AV SV

§244 Abl sg *os* and *vas* The variants concern *madhu* and *vasu*,  
 for both of which the regular forms in RV are *madhvah*, *vasvah* (Wacker-  
 nagel 3 §75a note, cf §69a). In all the variants RV shows these  
 forms, while later texts substitute *madhoh*, *vasoh*, which are rare in RV  
 but regular later

*madhvah* (SV *madhoh*) *pavanta ūrmayah* RV SV

*madhvah* (SV *madhoh*) *pavava dhārayā* RV SV

*madhvah* (SV *madhoh*) *pibanti gauryah* RV SV AV MS

*madhvah* (VS \* MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhoh*) *pibatam āsvinā* RV VS

(both) MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

*madhvas* (AV SV *madhos*) *cakānās cūrur madāya* AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

*madhvo* (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV

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

*vasvah* (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuvid vanāti nah* RV KS TB TA MahānU

*vasor vaso purusprhah* SV *vaso vasvah purusprhah* RV

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

*srucīva ghr̥tam camvīva* (TB ApŚ *camū va*) *somah* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ The loc of this word is otherwise *camū* in RV The isolated *camvīva* is parallel to and perhaps influenced by *srucīva*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 188 Yet the similar *tanvī* is regular  
*na dhvasmānas tanvī* (TS *tanuvi*) *repa ā dhuh* RV TS

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

*dhīrā deveṣu* (KS \* *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV °*yanu*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS (lis) ŚB

§247 Nom acc sg neuter in *u* *ū* This is regarded by Wackernagel 3 §72 as a matter of rhythmic lengthening, the padapāṭhas have in fact *u* for *ū* Only one variant has been found (cf VV 2 §555)  
*sa hi purū* (SV *puru*) *cid ojasū virukmatū* RV SV

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

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

[*sum ghr̥bhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed *purū*) *satā* RV AV MS KS TB ]

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

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

*prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvam* (MŚ <sup>o</sup>vām) *kuṭam aṣṭi svadhā* (AŚ omits *svāhā*) AŚ 3 11 11 (omitted in Conc) ApŚ MŚ 'Thou art offered in the all-sustaining body of Prajāpati.'

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

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

*dyāvāprthivī uro* (VSK † *uru*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS TB

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



## CHAPTER VII

### R STEMS AND CONSONANT STEMS

#### 1 Stems in r

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

*svāveśo 'ay agreḡā nelīnām* (TS *nelr°*) TS MS KS *agrenīr asī svāveśa unnelīnām* VS ŚB Three mss of MS also *nelr°*

*ākhuh kaśo te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS *pāṅktrah* (but see VV 2 §418) *kaśo te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṛ°*) TS KSA

*pitṛnām* (TS † MS *pitṛ°*) *ca munmabhīh* RS VS TS MS KS ŚB LŚ Kauś N

*pitṛnām* (TS *pitṛ°*) *sadanam asī* TS ApŚ

*devānām tvā pitṛnām* (ApŚ *pitṛ°*) *anumato bhurtum kakeyam* TA ApŚ *yā no dadāti śravanam pitṛnām* KS *sā no dadātu śravanam pitṛnām* (TS *pitṛ°*) TS MS AŚ ŚŚ N

*dhātā dhātīnām* (TS † *dhātṛ°*) *bhuvanasya yas patih* RV TS KS

*prajananam vai prutiṣṭhā pitṛnām* (TA Poona ed *pitṛ°*, v 1 *pitṛ°*)

TA MahānU

*astāvya agnir narām* (MS *nṛnām*) *suśevah* RV VS MS Both these genitives of *nṛ* are Rīgvedic

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

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

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

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

following seems to be an attempt to do justice to this pronunciation, see VV 2 §368

*asamṃṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh* (TB *mātrvoh*) *śucih* RV TB

## 2 Consonant stems variant ablaut forms

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

*vikvā āsā dakṣitrusat* (AB AŚ °sāt, ŚŚ *dakṣinatah*, LŚ *dakṣinadhak*) VS  
MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

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

§257 Nom. -acc. neuter forms are normally made from the weak stem, but occasionally strong forms are found by analogy with the masc. The variants contain two compounds of *pad* appearing in RV regularly as *pad*, but in later texts as *pād*, and one case of an *s* stem. See Wackernagel 3 pp. 235, 288.

*dvipac catuṣpad* (AV Ppp VS Kauś *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *asmāham* RV AV  
Ppp VS VSK TS Kauś

*dvipac catuṣpad* (SV *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV SV

*yachā nah śarma saprathah* (VS KS TA Apś ApMB HG °thāh) RV  
VS MS KS TA Apś SMB HG ApMB N *yachāsma: śarma saprathāh* AV TS. That *s* stems occasionally show nom. acc. neut. forms in *ās* is certain (Lanman 560, Wackernagel 1 c, 228, and cf. next variant). Since *saprathas* is a standard epithet of *śarman*, it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible to understand *saprathās* as a fem., agreeing with the subject of *yachā*, the earth (so apparently Keith on TS). Cf. VV 2 §502.

[*śarmā* (TA °ma) *saprathā āvṛne* KS TA *śarma yachātha saprathah* AV. But all mss. of AV °thāh, which should be read, VV 2 §502.]

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

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

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

*ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *ḥṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś Cf also *ayasā hanyam ūhīṣe*, with variants, below §416, and VV 2 §502

§260 The stem *uśan* regularly has no vṛddhi in its strong cases But occasionally, by analogy with other *n* stems, such forms as *uśānas* occur (Wackernagel 3 p 267)

*uśanah* (TB *uśānah*) *samidhīmahī* RV AV SV TB ŚB Both nom pl

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

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

[*śam no bhavantu āpa ośadhayah* (*apa ośadhīh*) *śivāh* AV (both) So RWh, but *āpa* is an emendation, withdrawn by Whitney in his translation The word is *apa* both times, tho nom, VV 2 §498 suggests metrical shortening]

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

*rakṣoghno* (MŚ MŚ add *vo*) *valagaghnuh prokṣāmi vaiṣnavān* MS KS ApŚ MŚ *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣnavān* (ApŚ \*† *vaiṣnavam*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ (bis)

*rakṣoghno valagaghno* 'vastīcāmi (and, 'vastīnāmi) *vaiṣnavān* KS (bis) *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahano* 'vastīnāmi *vaiṣnavān* VS VSK TS ŚB

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

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

*irām vahanto* (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahanti*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānāh* AŚ ApŚ  
AG ŚG ApMB MG *irām vahantah sumanasyamānāh* HG

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

*ava dronāni ghṛtavānti sīdu* (SV °*vanti rohu*) RV SV  
*miteva sadma paśumānti* (SV °*mantī*) *hotā* RV SV *pari sadmeva paśu-*  
*mānti hotā* RV

### 3 Interinfluence of stems in *vant*, *vāns*, (*v*)*as*, *van*

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

*hotāś cakitvo* (AV °*vann*) *avṛnīmahūha* RV AV  
*harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā* (TB °*atā*) *marulvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā*  
*hṛṣitāso marulvan* AV (Ppp also °*vvan*)  
*namas te astu bhagavah* (GB MG °*van*) VS TS MS KS GB TA MG  
*namas te bhagavann astu* VS  
*agnāṣi patnīvan* (VSK † *agne vākpatni*, MS KS MŚ *patnīvāṣn*, TS  
*patnīvāṣh*) *sajūr devena* (MS KS *sajūs*) VS VSK TS MS  
KS ŚB

*ye te sarasva* (KS °*vann*) *ūrmayah* RV TS MS KS N  
*inēvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvah* (SV °*van*) RV SV TS MS KS TA N  
*sam sūribhir maghavant* (RV MS KS *harivah*, AV *harivant*) *sam*  
*svastyā* (RV *svasti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB  
*vvasva ādityariṣa te somapīthas* TS KS *vvasvann* (VSK °*vān*) *ādi-*  
*tyariṣa te somapīthah* VS VSK MS ŚB MŚ  
*divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vvasva āditya* KS (bis) *devajūte vvasvann*  
*āditya* MS

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

*svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu* AV *svasti no maghavā dhātū indrah*  
 RV VS TS MS KS MahānU *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS TA  
 MahānU *idam havir maghavā velv indrah* SV  
*satrācyā maghavā* (SV *maghavānt*) *somapītaye* RV AV SV

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

*sumṛdīkah* (VSK °*likah*) *svavān* (VS VSK *svavā*) *yātv avvān* RV  
 VS VSK  
*dudhanvān* (VS ŚB TB °*vā*, MS KS °*vān*) *yo narīyo apsv antar a*  
 RV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB

#### 4 Stems in *n*

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

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

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

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

*ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭih* AV *katr dhāmāni katr ye vivāsah* MS. The AV is undoubtedly sg.

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

*yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma* (AV *nāmā*) RV AV  
*varma* (AV *vurmā*) *sivadhvam bahulā pṛthūm* RV AV KS ApŚ  
*trinsad dhāma* (AV *dhāmā*, MS *trinsadidhāmā*) *vi rūjati* RV AV SV  
 ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB. (The AV variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460.) Pratika in MŚ. The compound of MS MŚ is to be taken as masc nom sg, but AV has a neut pl.

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

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

§272 Oblique cases of the singular with alternative presence or absence of *a* in the stem. The *a* was regular after a long syllable. It was standard in all periods of the language after two consonants, and in the oldest language it is often written after one consonant when the preceding syllable has a long vowel (furthermore, when not so written, it is often shown by the meter to have been pronounced). Cf Lanman, NI 524, Wackernagel 1 p 11, 3 p 268, Edgerton, *Language* 10 260 *somah kaluse satayāmnā* (SV AV °*yāmanā*) *pathā* RV SV AV. Here,

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

*ṛāśya tvā vyomane* (MŚ *vyomne ṛhñāmī*) TS MŚ

*ojase balāya tvodyache vṛsane kuṣmāyāyuse varcase* (MS KS *vṛsne kuṣmāya*) MS KS TB ApŚ Here the *a* (in TB ApŚ) is uncalled-for, after a short syllable, and clearly secondary

§273 Instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems, type *mahinā*

On these forms see Wackernagel 3 p 268 f, and literature there cited, especially Bloomfield JAOS 16, clvi

*vaiśvānarō mahimnā* (TS *mahinā*, KŚ *mahinām*) *viśvakṛṣṭih* (TS KŚ *viśvaśambhūh*) RV TS KŚ This is the only occurrence in RV of the metrically bad *mahimnā* after the cesura, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 50 7

*etāvati mahinā* (AV *mahimnā*) *saṁ babbhūva* RV AV Cf prec

*antarikṣāyārṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā prathantu* TS *ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā* (VS *varimnā*) *prathantu* VS MS KS *divo mātrayā varinā* (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prothasva* VS TS MS KS ŚB In the last, which is metrical, *varinā* makes better meter

*dyaur va bhūmnā ṛṥhiviva* (VSK *bhūmir va*) *varimnā* VS VSK ŚB *dyaur mahnāṣi bhūmir bhūnā* (KS Kauś *bhūmnā*) MS KS Kauś *bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur varinā* TS

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

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

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

*grīvāyām* (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsan* (MS *apipakṣa āsan*) RV  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB N

*praty aṅgeṣu prati tiṣṭhāmy ātman* (SMB *ātman*) VS KS ŚB TB  
 SMB HG

*tam pratyañcam arcīṣū vidhya marman* (AV *marman*) RV AV According  
 to Roth Ppp reads *marman*

*satyudharmānā parame vyoman* (MS *vyoman*) RV MS

*sa jāyamānah parame vyoman* (RV \* *man*) RV (ter) MS In RV  
 consistent with context as to meter

§276 The next two variants are prose, chronological priority is not  
 very clear

*apām tvā bhasman* (MS KS *bhasman*) *sādayāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB

It is possible that MS really read *bhasmant* (see v Schr 's note)

*asmīn brahmany asmīn karmany* AV *asmīn brahmany asmīn kṣatre*  
*'smīn karmany* ŚŚ *asmīn brahmany asmīn kṣatre* KS *asmīn*  
*brahmann asmīn kṣatre 'syām āśiṣy asyām purodhāyām asmīn kar-*  
*mann* (PG *karmany*) *asyām devahūtyām* TS ApŚ PG *te nah*  
*pāntv asmīn brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmīn karmany* MS  
 The preponderance of texts seems to point to older *an*

§277 Thrice the hieratic ending *an* is introduced secondarily to the  
 detriment of the meter

*tam ātman* (TS *ātman*) *pari gṛhṇīmahe vayam* (MS *gṛhṇīmasīha*) TS  
 MS KS

*śukh śukre ahany ojasīnā* (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*,  
 AŚ *'hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ Clearly *ahan* is required  
 by the meter

*jyesthasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke* SV *jyesthasya vā dharmam kṣor anīke*  
 RV Benfey is certainly right in regarding *dharmam* as merely a  
 way of writing *dharmān* (note that a dental consonant follows)

§278 Otherwise both forms may be real metrically, if final *y* in *any*  
 (before a vowel) be pronounced as a consonant, or other changes accom-  
 pany the shift and make the meter sound

*yat te asmīn ghora āsan juhomi* KS *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS  
*yasyās ta āsan ghore juhomi* AV *yasyās te asyāh krūra āsañ*  
*juhomi* TS ApŚ *yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi* VS ŚB  
*ātmann* (ĪśāU *ātmany*) *evānupaśyati* VS ĪśāU



[*divye dhāmann* (TB Conc \**dhāmany*) *upahūtah* (TB \*<sup>o</sup>*tā*) TS MS  
TB (bū) Poona ed of TB *dhāmann* both times ]  
[*trīṅye dhāmāny abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS TA † MahānU †  
Conc *dhāmany* for *dhāmāny* ]

§279 As an addendum to the *n* declension, we may mention an isolated curiosity which concerns noun formation rather than inflection *dhāmne tvā* KS *dhāmyat tvā* ApŚ The latter is due to attraction to the forms which follow in the series of formulas, viz *sanyuz*, *villyuz*, *śaktyaz*, *bhūtyaz*

§280 The Concordance erroneously reports a voc sg variant of a neuter *n* stem  
[*vācaspate vidhe nāman* (AŚ Conc *nāma*, but text *nāman*) KS AB  
TA AŚ ŚŚ ]

Compare the next, where the forms are obscure but look like vocatives of *in* stems

*lājīṣṇ chācīṣṇ* (MS *lājīṣṇ śācīṣṇ*) *yavye gavye* (TS KSA TB ApŚ *śācīṣṇ yaśo mamāṣṇ* ) VS TS MS KSA 4 9 (add in Conc) ŚB TB ApŚ See Keith's note on TS, but the MS form may intend a voc in *i* (not *in*)

### 5 Heteroclitlic stems and the like

§281 Stems in *an* and *i*, type *asthān* *ásthi* (On these see Wackernagel 3 p 302 ff The variants show shifts between the two forms of the stem in the nom-acc pl (strong stem), and in the weak cases, both those with *bh* endings and the 'weakest' forms Sometimes the accent—regularly recessive in the *i* stem but on the stem final in the *an* stem—reveals the secondary character of one form

*teṣān sam hanīno akṣāni* (AV *sam dadhmo akṣīni*, Ppp *sam dadhmo akṣāni*) RV AV Ppp Both accents regular

*aṅgāni ca me śthāni* (VS and v 1 of MS '*sthīni*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS  
So far as accents are written they are regular, except that MS p p writes *ásthāni*

*asthabhyah* (KSA *asthi*<sup>o</sup>) *svāhā* VS KSA No accent in KSA

*bhadram paśyemākṣabhir* (KS † and v 1 of MG <sup>o</sup>*ākṣibhir*) *yajatrāh* RV  
SV VS MS KS TA ApŚ MG NṛpU NṛuU Accent *akṣibhir* in KS anomalous

*akṣyoś* (MŚ *akṣnoś*) *cakṣuh* TS TAA MŚ PG *cakṣur akṣnoh* AV Vait No v 1 quoted for MŚ, but mss of AV mostly *akṣyoś* (or *akṣoś*, a bad writing for the same, cf VV 2 §335, where this might have been quoted), some mss of Vait also *akṣyoś*, which should be read in AV Vait (see Whitney's note)

*caḡsur a dhattam akṣyoh* (MŚ *akṣnoh*) TS MŚ

§282 Stems in *s r* (Wackernagel 3 p 310 ff) The single variant noted concerns *ūdhar ūdhas* as a locative, cf Wackernagel l c 311. Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 70 8, both of whom are inclined to deny any loc *ūdhar* (not to speak of *ūdhas*) It seems, however, impossible to construe the form in the following variant otherwise than as loc It is very possible that *ūdho* (*ūdhas*) is the true reading of all texts, for most MŚ mss read *ūdho 'di°*

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

§283 Strong cases of stem *panthā(n)* The older forms (stem *panthā*) are replaced in secondary texts by those from stem *panthan*, sometimes (in the first quoted cases) clearly to the detriment of the meter, but usually this is patched up by other changes Once even occurs *pathayo* as nom pl (from stem *pathi*)

*anṛkṣarā rjavah santu panthāh* (AV *panthānah*) RV AV ApMB  
*ye te panthāh* (TS KS TB ApŚ *panthanah*) *savitah pū. vyasah* RV VS  
TS KSA TB ApŚ

*ye te panthu adho divah* SV SvIdh *ye te panthāno 'va divah* AV  
*emam panthām arukṣāma* AV *sugam panthānam arukṣam* ApMB  
*panthānam bhṛūbhyaṃ* VS *panthām* (p p *panthānam*) *bhṛū°* MS  
*tam panthānam* (Ppp Roth, *panthām*) *jayemanumitram ataskaram* AV  
Ppp

*ye panthāno bahavo devayanūh* AV *ye calvārah pathayo devayānāh* TS  
SMB PG BDh Wackernagel p 308 plausibly suggests influence  
of the phrase *pathibhir devayānāh*

§284. Weak forms of *path(i)* Once the instrumentals *pathā* and *pathyā* from this stem interchange In RV VS ŚB *pathyā* may indeed be taken as nom (see §419), but in the others it is certainly instr  
*vi sloka etu* (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU °*kā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh*  
(*sūrih*, *sūrah*, *sūrah*, VV 2 §328) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
ŚvetU

§285 The stem *āsan āsya* See Wackernagel 3 p 317 An interesting blend form *āsyau*, loc sg, a cross between *āsan* and *āsye*, seems to have been the true Atharvan reading (AV GB Kauś, and possibly Vait ?) in the following, it has not been noted by the Conc or the grammarians See VV 2 §328 Most AV and Kauś mss have *āsyau*, and *Gaastra* adopts it for GB, it is, to be sure, not noted by Garbe as found in Vait mss

*vān ma āsan* (MŚ PG *āsye*) AV TS GB TAA Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś  
PG BDh

*pari swayam cinuṣe annam āsiye* (SV *āsanti*) RV SV In a jagatī stanza, read *āsiye* in RV, cf Edgerton, *Language* 10 253 ff

§286 The stem *yoṣan(ā)* *yoṣā* See Wackernagel 3 p 112 The only variant noted concerns the acc sg *yoṣām* *yoṣanām*, both forms are metrically consistent with their surroundings (both RV), and there is no evidence of priority

*ny ūhathuh purumitrasya yoṣām* (and *yoṣanām*) RV (both)

§287 The stem *yūṣan* *yūṣa* See Wackernagel 3 p 317  
*apo yūṣnā* (TS KSA *yūṣena*) VS TS MS KSA

§288 Stems *rai* *rayi* See Wackernagel 3 p 214 ff, and for the phonetic aspect of this variation VV 2 §396

*agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* VS MS ŚB  
TB MŚ (Conc also AŚ ApŚ under the last, but the same passage is meant) *rayyai* is late and secondary

## CHAPTER VIII

### DIPHTHONGAL STEMS

§289 Compare the last section (*rat rayi*) Besides this, the variants noted all concern the stem *div* (*dyu*), except one isolated case of instr sg *nāvayā* varying with *nāvā* from *nau* On this latter see Wackernagel 3 p 224 The RV original has *nāvayā*, which has been used to posit an otherwise unknown stem *nāvā* Wackernagel however suggests that it is a poetic nonce-formation, substituted for *nāvā* on the analogy of the instr forms in *ā ayā* from *ā* stems The AV *nāvā* is formally more regular, but metrically poor

*sa nah sindhum va nāvayā* (AV *nāvā*) RV AV TA For other related formulæ see Debrunner, *Festschrift Winternitz*, 7

§290 Coming to the stem *div* (*dyu*), we find a single anomalous genitive *dyaus* for *dyos*, one acc pl *divas* varying with *dyūn*, and a considerable number of acc sg forms *divam dyām* The gen *dyaus* occurs only in MS, for *dyos* of all other texts No v l is quoted This is a much clearer case than any of the other alleged instances of *dyaus* as abl-gen, on which see Wackernagel 3 p 224 infra, with references

*sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor* (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB

Possibly a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism, cf VV 2 §732

§291 The accusative variants, both singular and plural, concern the extension of the stem *div* outside of its proper range, see Wackernagel 3 p 220 The one case of acc pl is

*atī didyūn* (MS *dyūn*, TS KS TB ApŚ *divas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS KS  
ŚB TB ApŚ The accent in TS TB is *divás*, not the Rigvedic *dīvas*

§292 Otherwise only acc sg *dyām* varying with (secondary) *divam* is found This shift is frequent While *divam* is already common in the RV itself, the only variants concerning RV have *dyām* in that text This form is probably dissyllabic in RV in all the three following cases, read *dyām* in the first, *dyām* in the second and third (and *prthvīm* in RV in the third, cf Edgerton, *Language* 10 252)

*tad astabhñā uto divam* (RV *uta dyām*) RV SV ArŚ

*dyām* (AV *divam*) *ca gacha pṛthwīm ca dharmanā* (AV *dharmabhīh*)  
RV AV TA

*sa dādāhāra pṛthwīm dyām utemām* (AV \* *pṛthwīm uta dyām*, \**pṛthwīm divam ca*, ApŚ *pṛthwīm antarikṣam divam ca*) RV AV (bis) VS  
VSK TS MS KS KSA PB ŚB ApŚ N According to Roth,  
Ppp has *dyām utāmūm* for AV 11 5 1

§293 In one AV variant the reading *dyām* seems probably secondary, and intended to patch the meter in a changed form of the mantra where the meter requires a monosyllable

*divam* (Ppp *dyām*) *antarikṣam ād bhūmim* AV Ppp *divam samudram ād bhūmim* AV The latter is probably original. It occurs in a Rohita hymn, and is very appropriate to the context, which deals with the sun's defensive activities. The other, with *antarikṣam* for *samudram*, is magical rīgmarole, describing the wearer of an amulet, after *divam*, *antarikṣam* follows so naturally! We assume that *divam samudram* was changed first to *divam antarikṣam*, and that then Ppp tried to correct the meter by substituting *dyam* (here, if a monosyllable, contrary to Sievers' Law) for *divam*.

§294 The remaining cases concern YV texts, and are chiefly prose, or if metrical, meter seems to play no part in the shift. Nor is there much clear indication of priority, KS, apparently the oldest YV text, prefers *dyām* in a number of cases, but not unanimously

*divam skabhāna* KS *dyam stabhāna* KS *divam dṛṇha* VS TS MS KS  
JB ŚB TB MŚ

*divam gacha* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA ApŚ MŚ *dyam gacha* MS  
KS AB AŚ MŚ

*divam* (KS ApŚ *dyam*) *te dhūmo gachatu* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ  
*divam agrina ma lekhih* (MS MŚ *hṛnsih*) TS MS ApŚ MŚ *dyam mā lekhih* VS KS ŚB KŚ

*divam agrenāsprkṣah* VSK † *divam agrenāprāt* (VS *agrenāsprkṣat*) VS  
TB *dyam agrenāsprkṣah* (MS KS \* TB °*ṣat*) VS KS (ter) MS  
TB ŚB

*ud divam* (KS *dyām*) *stabhāna* VS TS KS ŚB PB ApŚ *divam agre-*  
*nottabhāna* MS MŚ

*sūryena dyām* (KSA *divam*) TS KSA

*ā yā dyām* (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā pṛthwīm orv* (KS *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS  
TS MS KS ŚB

*drapsas te dyām mā skān* (KS ApŚ *skān*, MS *te divam mā skān*) VS  
MS KS ŚB ApŚ

*ararus te divam mā skān* TS ApŚ *ararus te dyām* (KS ApŚ *ararus*

*dyām) mā paptat* MS KS ApŚ *araro divam mā paptah* VS ŚB  
Vait

§295 The stem *diva* for *div* (*dyu*) is according to Wackernagel (2 1 pp 109, 113, 146, and 3 p 220) found in the Veda only in compounds. On *dive-dive* see §678. Tho this is a matter which does not strictly concern the theme of this volume (but rather Noun Formation), we record here in passing a clear case of locative *dive* in KS, no other interpretation is at all possible.

*dīvi* (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS †  
°*hām*) MS KS TB ApŚ

## CHAPTER IX

### ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

#### 1 Feminine adjectives

§296 We find a number of variations between *ā* and *ī* stems, feminines to masculines in *a*, see (pending the appearance of Wackernagel II 2) Thumb-Hirt, *Handbuch*, 197, Macdonell, *VGr* 273 n 1, and for the usage in Classical Sanskrit, Renou, *Gr Scte* 279 f The variants reveal no general principles so far as we can see

*samhitāsi viśvarūpā* MS KS ApŚ *samhitāsi viśvarūpi* (TS ApŚ °*pīh*)  
VS TS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ  
*upasthāvarābhya dāśam* VS *upasthāvarābhya bandam* TB (so Poonu ed)

*śivā rulasya* (VSK *śiva rlasya*, TS and v l of MS *śivā rudiasya*)  
*bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS

*śivā viśvāha bheṣajī* (TS *viśvāhabheṣajī*, VS *viśvāhā bheṣajī*, MS *viśvāha bheṣajā*) VS TS MS KS

*sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB °*padā*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB Kauś ApMB  
MG *sakhe saptapadā bhava* PG

*pavtre stho vaiṣṇavyau* (TB ApŚ °*vī*) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KhG  
*uśadhya* (!) *vaiṣṇave sthah* MŚ

*annādā* (KB °*dī*) *cānnapatnī ca bhadrā ca* AB KB AŚ

*vairājī* (KSA † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA We see no reason to emend KSA, as v Schroeder would

*śamgayī* (MS ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadānū*) MS ŚB  
TB AŚ ŚŚ

[*vaiśvadevy āmikṣā* MS KS † Conc *vaiśvadevāmikṣā* for KS]

§297 There are also a couple of cases in which the fem suffix *ī* is alternatively added to *u* stems, varying with the stem in *u* which may be of either gender, cf §225 above

*achīdrām pārāyṣṇum* (SMB °*ṣṇvīm*) TS SMB

*dhiṣane vidū* (VS VSK ŚB *vidvī*, KS *vīte*) *satī* (KS om) *vīdayethām* (VSK *vīl*°) VS VSK TS KS ŚB

§298 Otherwise we have noted in the Conc only one erroneous quotation of fem forms in *atī* and *antī* from a *vant* stem

[*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā rīśantām* (KSA *vīśantām*) RV TS KSA † Conc  
*ūrjasvantīr* for KSA ]

## 2 Pronominal adjectives

§299 There are only a few cases of variation between pronominal and nominal endings in these adjectives. See Wackernagel 3 p 579 ff. Perhaps the most interesting is the first quoted, in which, curiously, the late and secondary ApŚ substitutes a pronominal for a nominal form of *viśva*, changing its own Samhitā, the pronominal forms of this stem are in general prehistoric, the nominal forms secondary, see Wackernagel 3 p 581

*viśvārād asvīśvānām* (ApŚ *viśvāśām*) *nūṣṭrānām hantā* TS ApŚ  
*ye keśinah prathamāh* (MŚ °me) *satram āsata* TB ApŚ MŚ This and  
the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ  
*svasṣṛjah prathamāh* (PB MŚ °me) *satram āsata* (MŚ °te) PB TB  
ApŚ MS

*dakṣiṇāyām* (AŚ °nasyām) *dīśi māsāh pīṭaro mājayantam* TS AŚ  
[*te vrājam* (KS *samrājam*) *abhi samyantu sarve* MS † KS Conc *survāh*  
for MS, but the reading is *sarvā* before a vowel, and *sarve* is  
intended, so p p ]

## 3 Numerals

§300 We have noted only the doubtful KSA reading *aṣṭabhyah* (with short *a* characteristic of the later language) for *aṣṭābhyah*, cf VV 2 §495, Wackernagel 3 p 358

*aṣṭābhyah svāhā* TS KSA † (Conc *aṣṭa°* for KSA, ed with ms *aṣṭa°*  
in all three occurrences, first hand once *aṣṭa°*)  
*aṣṭābhyah śatebhyah svāhā* TS KSA Here the ms of KSA reads *aṣṭa°*,  
ed em to *aṣṭā°*



## CHAPTER X

### PRONOMINAL FORMS

#### 1 Enclitic and orthotonic

§301 Almost the only formally equivalent variants in pronominal forms are those in which enclitic and orthotonic forms interchange. We find such variants in the forms of the accusative, dative, and genitive forms, singular and plural, of the first and second personal pronouns. In all three cases in the plural, and in the dative and genitive singular, the orthotonic forms are in each case at least one syllable longer than the enclitic. And even in the accusative singular, when followed by words beginning in a vowel, the orthotonic forms *mām*, *tvām* result in an extra syllable in contrast with the enclitic *mā*, *tvā*, in which the final vowel fuses with a following initial vowel. Consequently variations between these forms generally involve metrical considerations. Usually other changes in the formula result in metrical correctness for both variant forms. At other times one or the other form is metrically imperfect.

§302 Accusative singulars. The forms *mām mā* and *tvām tvā* are the only ones of this class which do not vary in number of syllables, and even they, as we have just seen, produce readings of different syllabic length when followed by initial vowels. In addition to such metrical considerations, certain phonetic moments may be involved. Thus, when a consonant follows, they show presence or absence of final nasal (usually *anusvāra*), and as such might have been included in VV 2 §§300 ff. Also some of the variants between *mām* and *mā*, when followed by a vowel, seem to involve haplogy or dittology (double or single syllables *mā* or *ma-*), in this connexion some of these variants were listed in VV 2 §812, but that list was incomplete and must be supplemented from the following materials:

§303 Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in metrical passages:  
*punar mām aitu* (AV Vait Kauś *maitu*, TA \* *mā praitu*) *indriyam* AV  
 ŚB TA (bis) BṛhU ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG Cf  
 also *punar dravinam* (and *brāhmanam*) *aitu mā* (AG MG *mām*)  
 TA AG SMB HG MG. The AV Vait Kauś form is metrically deficient and may be haplogical.

*vṛtraghna* (MS KS °ghnah) *stomā upa mām upāgūh* (AV *mema āgūh*, KS *mām ihāgūh*) AV TS MS KS Here both forms are made metrical

*layā mām indra sam sṛja RVKh layā mā sam sṛjāmasi HG ApMB*  
The RVKh form would be a syllable short (reading *mendra*) but for its use of *mām* before a vowel

*tam mā sam sṛja varcasā RV AV etc sam māgne varcasā sṛja RV AV*  
KS ApMB *sam mam ayuṣa varcasā* (TS adds *prajaya*) *sṛju TS MS KS* The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion

*māve deva abhi rakṣantu* (KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV \**tveha*, Ppp 5 4 4d *mam iha*) AV Ppp KS †

§304 Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in prose passages, cf VV 2 §812 (haplology or dittology)

*tāni mām avantu SMB te māvatām AV te mavantu AV TS PG te māvala te mā jivata KS ApS te mam avantu KS ApS tau māvatam AV*

*āyur bṛhat tad asīya tan māvalu* (MS *mām avatu*) ApS MS *tan māvalu* (MS AG MG *mam avatu*) PB TA TU ApS MS AG MG *tan mavil MG tan mam āvil TA TU*

*ihava kṣemya cidhi ma prahāsīr* (ApS °*hasīn*) *mām amum amuṣyayanam* (AS *prahāsīr amum mamuṣyayanam*, ApS † *mamum amuṣyāyanam*) MS AS ApS MS Caland assumes for ApS the same text as MS

*yā devy asīṣṭaka* (°*ke*) *sa mām upaseṣva* (MS *mopaseṣva*) MS KS ApS (four entries in Conc)

§305 Variations of *mām* and *ma* before a consonant or final Here the variants are metrically equivalent, and there is no need to separate metrical from prose variants

*ā roha mām* (AV *ā mā roha*) *mahate saubhagaya RV AV*  
*uddhṛīyamāna ud dhara pāpmano mā* (MS *mām*) AS ŚŚ ApS MS ApMB

*upa mām* (TB *mā*) *bṛhat sahu diva hwayatām ŚB TB ŚŚ* The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them

*upa mām sakhā bhakṣo* (TB *mā bhakṣah sakhā*) *hwayatām TR AS ŚŚ*

*upa mām* (TB *mā*) *rathamtaram sahu hwayatam ŚB TB ŚŚ*

*upa mām* (TB *mā*) *vāmadevyam hwayatām ŚB TB ŚŚ*

*upa mām* (TB *mā*) *dhenuh hwayutam TB AS ŚŚ*

*upa mām* (TB *mā*) *divyāh* (TB ŚŚ omit) *sapta hwayantām TB AS*

ŚŚ

*evam mām brahmacārinah* TA TU *evā mā brahmacārinah* Kauś  
*evam mā kṛidhātārah* SMB *evam mā sakhāyo brahmacārinah* SMB  
*gopāya mā* (VāDh *mām*) *śevadhī te* (with varr) 'ham *asmī* Samhito-  
 panīśadB VāDh VīDh N

*tṛptā mā tarpayata* (MG *mām tarpayantu*) KS MG

*divo nu mām* (HG ApMB *mā*) *bṛhato antarīkṣāt* AV HG ApMB  
 Prs *divo nu mām* GB Vait Kauś

*na mām* (N *mā*) *brūyā vīryavālī tathā syām* VīDh VāDh N

*punantu mā* (RV *mām*) *devajanāh* RV AV VS MS KS TB Prs  
*punantu mā* (BṛhPDh *mām*) Vait Kauś BṛhPDh

*punar dravnam aitu mā* (AG MG *mām*) TA AG SMB HG MG  
 The same with *brāhmanam* for *dravnam*

*pṛthivī mātā mā mā hinsīh* (VS ŚB *hinsīh mo aham tvām*) VS TS ŚB  
 ŚŚ *mā mām mātā pṛthivī hinsīh* TS MS

*mā mā* (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣṭam svam* (KS *yaḥ svam*) *yonim* MS KS  
*mā mā hinsīh svām* (*svam*) *yonim* VS KS ŚB TB Apś

*samiddho mā* (ŚG *mām*) *sam ardhaya* VSK ŚG

[*āyusmantam karota mā* (RVKh Aufr *karotu mām*, Scheft *karotu me*,  
 KS *kṛnota mā*) RVKh KS TA BDh A dat or gen is uncon-  
 struable, only *mā* or *mām* can be read in RVKh, *me* has crept in  
 perhaps from the end of the preceding verse, *dehi me*, or else by  
 confusion with the similar pādas *dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me*, *sarvam*  
*āyur dadhātu me*]

§306 Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in metrical passages

*abhi tvām indra nonumah* RV SV *abhi tvā sūra nonumah* RV AV SV  
 VS etc A significant case, the final *m* of *tvām* is a sort of 'Hiatus-  
 tilger' (cf VV 2 §309)

*jayantam tvānu devā madantu* (TS *tvām anu madantu devāh*) RV AV  
 SV VS TS The original was read *tvānu*, TS implies the irregu-  
 lar or later pronunciation *tvā-* (Edgerton, *Language* 10 247f), and  
 tries to 'correct' the meter

*tābhīṣ tvābhīṣcānī* MG *tena tvām abhi*° YDh 'The MG is 'cor-  
 rected' in YDh as in prec

*mahe cana tvām adrivah* (SV *tvādrivah*) RV SV ŚŚ Both may be read  
 metrically, but Sievers' Law requires *tv-*

*yam tvām ayam* (TS KS *tvāyam*) *svadhīṣ tejānāh* (*tejānāh*, *tīma-*  
*tejāh*) RV TS MS KS *ayam hi tvā svadhīṣ tejānāh* VS ŚB  
 Sievers' Law would make RV hypermetrical

*viśvantu* (read *viśantu*) *tvām āhuvayās ca sarvāh* MU *viśvam tu* (read

*vśantu*) *tvāhulayah sarvā(h)* PrānṅU The latter is metrically poor

[*tēna grhṇāmi tvām aham* (AV *grhṇāmi te hastam*) AV VS ApMB  
*tēna tvāham pratigrhṇāmi tvām aham* HG ]

§307. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in prose passages  
*etal te tala* (*talāsau*) *ye ca tvām anu* (KS *tvānu*) TS KS TB ApŚ  
ApMB The same with *latāmaha*, *pitāmaha*, *pratātāmaha*, *prapitāmaha*, for *tala* (only KS reading *tvānu*) *ye ca* (Conc wrongly omits *ca* for ŚŚ) *tvām anu* (ŚŚ *tvām atrānu*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ ŚŚ  
*ye cātra tvānu* MŚ GG KhG

*prajāś tvānu* (TS ApŚ *tvām anu*) *prānantu* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ  
ApŚ MŚ The TS form simulates meter, and also makes better  
assonance with the preceding formula, *prajāś tvām anu prānuhi*  
It is of course secondary

§308. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* before consonants and final  
*ajasram tvām* (ApŚ *tvā*) *sabhāpālāh* TB ApŚ  
*atas tvā vśnuh pātu* MS *vśnus tvām indriyena pātu* (TS KS *tvām*  
*pātu*) VS. TS KS ŚB

*avatām tvām* (VSK KS ApŚ *tvā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* VS VSK KS ŚB ApŚ  
*vśvās tvām* (KS *tvā*) *prajā upāvarohantu* VS KS ŚB ApŚ

*vśnus tvā* (SMB v 1 *tvām*) *nayatu* SMB PG *vśnus tvām unnayatu*  
MG Note that in MG *tvām* is used before a vowel, 'hiatusilger'?

[*tvā* (!) *manasānārlena vācā* KŚ Read *tvām* or *ā tvā* (so Weber in  
note), or *tvāmanasā*<sup>a</sup> ]

[*tvām* (so Poona ed, Conc *tvā*) *bhūtāny upaparyāvartante* TA ]

[*deva savitar etam tvā* (VSK Conc *tvām*, by error) *vṛnate* VSK  
TB etc ]

§309 Variants of dat sg *mahyam*, *tubhyam* with *me*, *te* in metrical  
passages In all cases both forms are metrically sound

*ananivāh pradīśah santu mahyam* ApŚ *asapatnāh* (Vait text<sup>a</sup> *sapa*<sup>a</sup>)  
*pradiśo me bhavanu* AV Vait

*tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam* TS *sarvam tad astu te ghṛtam* (AV. *astu me*  
*śvām*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*tubhyam* (and *ye ta*) *āranāyāh paśavo mrgā vane hitāh* AV (both)

*mahyam dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān* TB ApŚ *sā me dhukṣva yaja-*  
*mānāya kāmān* (KS *dhukṣva sarvān bhūtikāmān*) KS TB ApŚ

Both sound

*śvām mahyam madhumad astv annam* AV *syonam annam madhuman*  
*me kṛnomi* MS

§310 Variants of dat sg forms in prose passages

*agnir janavin mahyan jāyām imām adāi Kauś agnir janitā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu svāhā ŚG*

§311 Variants of gen sg *mama, tava* and *me, te*, mostly in metrical passages

*aṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanī Vait priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayanīh TB dhruvam aṅgam priyam yat tanūs te MŚ* While MŚ is metrically poor, its deficiency occurs in the first part of the pāda and seems not to be connected with the use of *te* for *tava*

*tal punīdhvam yavā mama VīDh punīdhvam ca yavā mama VīDh sarvam pinathu me yavāh BDh* All metrically sound  
*tava syāma (TS syām) śarman (TS °man) trivarūtha udbhau (TS udbhū) VS TS śarman (MS °mans) te syāma trivarūtha udbhau MS KS TA* The pāda is hypermetric in VS, TS, apparently based on VS, corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV 1 p 253) Apparently MS KS have the original

*śam u te tanve (TS tanve) bhuvat TS KSA sam v astu tanva tava VS* Both metrically sound

*syāma te sumatāv aṅ RV TS syāma sumatau tava AV* Both may be read metrically

*tava-tava rāyah MS KS MŚ to-to (TS ApŚ to te) rāyah VS TS ŚB ApŚ tava rāyah MS MŚ* Prose

§312 Variants of acc pl *asmān, yuṣmān* and *nas, vas*, all in metrical passages

*abhyati na (SV abhyeti na, AV asmān uty abhy) ojasā spardhamūnā RVKh AV SV VS* The AV is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically

*arāyo śasmān abhūdunūyate TB AŚ ApŚ arāvā yo no abhi duchunūyate RV TAA Vait MŚ* Both metrically sound

*asmān (SV sā nah) sīte payasābhyaṅvartsva AV VS TS MS KS ŚB evūsmān (KS evā mam) indro varuno bṛhaspatih MS KS tenūsmān indro varuno bṛhaspatih AV tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih TS ŚŚ* All metrically sound

*mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt (mss ādāt) MŚ mā sv (Poona cd mo śv) asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh TA mo śvatvam asmān tarādihāt (so, with p p) MS* No metrical considerations involved in the variation

*tebhīr no adya savitā viṣṇuh KŚ tebhyo asmān varunah soma indrah Kauś tebhyo na indrah savitā viṣṇuh ApŚ* All sound

*yo no dveṣṭi sa bhūyatām AŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB BDh yo 'smān dveṣṭi sa bhūyatam ŚB † 1 6 20d* Both sound

*sa no aryamā devah* PG *so 'smān devo aryamā* MG *sa imām devo aryamā* (ApMB *adhvarah*) AG SMB ApMB Deficient meter in PG

§313. Variants between dat pl *asmabhyam* (*asme*) and *nas*, all in metrical passages

*athā nah* (TS *athāsmabhyum*, AV *udhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS °*lana*) RV AV VS TS MS KS N *tad asme sam yor arapo dadhātana* RV Hypermetric in TS

*datto asmabhyam* (KS *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ *dattāyāsmā*°, SMB *dattāsmā*°) *di annēha bhadrām* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadrām* MS All sound, but MS evidently secondary

*śāntā nah santv oṣadhīh* AV *śvā asmabhyam oṣadhīh* KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG Both sound

§314 Variants between gen pl *asmākam*, *yuṣmākam* and *nas*, *var*, in metrical passages, both forms are metrically sound each time

*apī jāyeta so 'smākam* V1Dh *apī nah sa kulī bhūyāt* MDh

*aham vo asmi sakhīyāya śevah* MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham a- na śevā* AV

## 2 Sporadic pronominal form variants

§315 Besides the variations between orthotomic and enclitic forms, only a few sporadic formal variants occur among the pronouns. Among the personal pronouns, the old form *tubhya* for *tubhyam* is found once in PG, HG reading *tubhyam*. The PG form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p 459

*tubhyam* (PG *mama tubhya*) *ca samvnananam* PG HG

§316 The Rigvedic locative *tve* occurs in a number of secondary texts (only KS reading *tvayī*) in the following variant, which shows that we must modify Wackernagel's statement, 3 p 462, that there are no new occurrences of *tve* after the RV

*āturōha tve sacā* (KS *tvayī apī*) KS TB AŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ

§317. The Rigvedic dual form *yuvabhyām* persists also in TS N in the following variant, only KS using the later *yuvābhyām* (if the edition is right, but the best ms of KS has *yuvā*°). Wackernagel 3 p 464 says that *yuvā*° is used exclusively outside of the RV except for one AŚ passage (Whitney 492b). Evidently this statement is true only if we understand it to apply to new passages, not repeated from RV *athā* (KS *adhā*) *somasya pruyatī yuvabhyām* (KS ed *yuvā*°, v 1 *yuvā*°) RV TS KS N

§318 An anomalous form written *yuṣmān* before a vowel (i.e. *yuṣmām*? or *yuṣmān*?) seems to be intended as a genitive in the following

It is not recognized by the grammars but is textually well established *yusme* (GB † *yusmān*, Gaastra with all mss, all mss of AV also *yusmān*, Whitney, Index) *astu dīve dīve* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ No acc can be construed, like *yusme*, the form can only be gen, dat, or loc, and of these it seems that gen is the best choice

§318a The old dative or locative *asme* varies once with *nah* (and later *asmabhyam*)

*athā nah* (TS *athāsmabhyam*, AV *adhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS °*tana*) RV AV VS TS MS KS N *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV

§319 The only other variants concern demonstrative stems (For fem *yusmās* see §803) Once the gen-loc dual of *ena* varies between *enos* and *enayos*, as noted by Wackernagel 3 p 521

*na parā jigyē katarāś canainoh* (AV *canainayoh*) RV AV TS MS KS AB

§320 Once TA uses a wholly anomalous form *amī*, for AV *amū*, as nom dual fem of *asau*. No other form than *amū* for this case, in any gender, has been noted elsewhere, and this form of TA is ignored in the grammars. It is particularly strange to find it used as a fem (the noun is *tārake*), if it were masc we might assume a use of the plural for dual. The comm interprets by *amū* but offers no remarks, and we can think of no explanation, unless the influence of *devī* nouns *amī ye subhage divi* TA *amū ye divi subhage* AV





## CHAPTER XI

### VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

§321 The vocative and nominative case forms are, in the dual and plural numbers (and sometimes also in the singular), formally distinguishable only by accent and consequently only in accented texts. We have tried to include cases where this accentual distinction is preserved, along with other cases in which a difference of stem or ending appears. It would have been clearly improper to include here instances from texts in which no accents are written, if the forms are identical, merely because our interpretation (however obvious and certain it may appear) makes a particular form vocative in one text and nominative in another. Since, however, the Concordance does not record accents, so that these variations can only be got from the original texts, it is likely that our collectanea are not complete in this regard.

#### Direct address and indirect statement

§322. As might be expected, a large proportion of the variants concerns shifts between direct address and third-person statement, of the sort treated from the point of view of verb forms (with shift between second and third persons) in VV 1 §§292, 327 ff. For example *māte-vāsmā adite* (ŚG *aditih*) *sarma yacha* (ŚG *yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB, 'like a mother grant, O Aditi, (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him'. This sort of change requires no comment, unless perhaps this, that the direct-address form of the variant need not necessarily contain a second-person verb, tho it most commonly does. For instance *svasā* (ŚG *sakhā*, ApMB *priyā*) *devī* (HG ApMB *devānam*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB ApMB PG ŚG HG *svā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG. Here MG changes the statement of 'fact' (really a magic formula implying a strong wish that it may be a fact) into a direct prayer, in which the personified power addressed is put in the vocative, but instead of saying 'protect us from harm!', the phrase 'may we not be harmed' is used. This of course means the same thing.

§323. In VV 1 §§293, 332 we have already seen that the case of the subject and the person of the verb in such variants are sometimes incongruous. The lists there given will be found only partly duplicated

by our lists below. The conditions are different when one approaches the subject from the point of view of the variation in case. Notably a nominative referring to the subject in a sentence of direct address can not necessarily be called a syntactic incongruity. It may easily be an appositional nominative, modifying the subject, as in *ā tiṣṭha mitra-wardhanah* (AV °na) AV KS TB † ApŚ †, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends'. Here and in many similar cases both forms of the variant contain direct address, and usually a 2d personal verb, yet the nominative may fit as well as the vocative and is frequently the original form. In such cases it often appears that the change (in either direction) is due to form-assimilation to an adjoining word. Thus *somam pāda vṛtrahā śūra* (TS TA MahānU °hañ chūra) *vidvān* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU, 'drink the soma, O hero, being the wise slayer of Vṛtra' or 'O heroic slayer of Vṛtra, being wise'. Of course the Taittirīya texts must be secondary, and no doubt the following vocative *śūra* helped the change to *vṛtrahan*, yet their sense is quite as good as that of the original. But as much can hardly be said for the TS reading of the following, which shows the reverse change (nom instead of voc), also under the influence of surrounding forms, but yielding a much less satisfactory result since the name of the god Indra, who is addressed, does not go well as nom in apposition to the subject of the verb *sajoṣā indra* (TS *indraḥ*) *saganō maruḍbhīḥ* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ, 'O Indra, in association with the band of Maruts' or 'in association with the band of Maruts, being Indra'. This *pāda* immediately precedes the one quoted above, so that TS has substituted a nom for the voc *indra*, while putting the voc *vṛtrahan* in place of the nom.

§324 The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syntactic incongruity, since the nom *indraḥ* of TS is not really construable in an intelligent way. Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335-6. In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the variant incongruous (voc with 3d person or nom with 2d). Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same variant, e.g. *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prati*), followed by *narāśaṅso agnih* (VS TS KS *agne*), AV VS TS MS KS. Here AV MS (probably original) have 3d person verb with nom subject, VS TS have 2d person verb with voc subject, only KS

is inconsistent, having 3d person verb with voc subject. It might be suggested that KS contains a blend of the other two forms. But more probably KS represents the first change from the original reading (of AV MS), and VS TS have a further changed based on KS and designed to correct its poor syntax.

§325 It should be noted that not a few vocative-nominative forms differ only in the lack or presence of a final visarga—a very slight phonetic difference. They are collected and related to similar phonetic shifts in VV 2 §380.

§326 We shall list first the variants in which a nom. with 3d person verb varies with a voc. with 2d person. This is the simplest type, and requires no comment, the shift in either direction is extremely natural and common.

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

*indrō vājam ayayit* TS TB *indra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

*bhavati bhikṣām dehi* Kauś *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG

*indrāh* (SV PB *indra*) *suleṣu someṣu* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ Followed,  
in RV SV, by *kratum punīta* (SV *punīṣa*) *ukthyam*

*agne tām asmāt pra nudasva lokūt* ApŚ *agnis tām asmāt pra nunottu*  
*lokūt* MŚ *agnis tām* (VS *tām*, AŚ *tām*) *lokūt pra nudaty* (AŚ °tv,  
SMB *nudatv*) *asmūt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB

*aditih keśān* (AV MG \* *śmaśru*) *vapatu* AV AG MG (both) ApMB  
*adite keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG (both)

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

*āyātu varadā devī, akṣaram brahma sammūlam, gāyatrī chandasām mātā,*  
*idam brahma juṣasva nah* TA TAA MāhānU *ū;āhi viraje devy,*  
*akṣare brahmasammūte, gāyatrī chandasām mātā, idam brahma ju-*  
*asva me* MG. All the nouns in TA etc go with *āyātu*, which in  
MG is changed to 2d person.

*agnir hotā vetu* AŚ ŚŚ *agne vīhi* AB ŚB AŚ MŚ

*jayanā upasprśatu* HG *jayanāpa sprśa* ApMB

*avasānāpate 'vasānam me vinda* TB ApŚ *avasānam me vasānāpatir*  
*vindat* MŚ

*sāvitrīm bho anu brūhi* AG ŚG ApG HG *sāvitrīm me bhavān anu*  
*bravītu* GG

*sam devī* (KS *devī*) *devyorvasyā paśyasva* (KS † °*vasyākkhyata*) TS KS  
ApŚ

*uṣnena vāya udakenēhi* (SMB GG *udakenādhī*, ApMB *vāyav udake-*

*nehī*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG

The form *it* of MG is a dubious imperfect, perhaps rather the particle *id*, cf Kanuer p 165 s v *id*, and VV 1 p 87 In any case MG has an indirect reference instead of direct address

*prthivi mātār mā mā hīnsih* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ *mā mām mātā prthivī hīnsī* TS MS

*agnināgnih samvadatām* TA *agne agninā samvadasva* TA ApŚ HG  
*pra candramās tirate* (TS † *tiratī*, AV † *candramas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh*  
RV AV TS MS N See VV 1 p 221

*purukṣu tvaṣṭā* (MS *tvaṣṭah*) *swīryam* (VSK TS *swīram*) VS VSK  
TS MS *purukṣu deva tvaṣṭar* [text *tvaṣṭā*, accentless, followed by *r-*] AV *tvaṣṭah poṣāya viṣya nābhīm asme* KS Verb *viṣyatu* or *viṣya*

*indra* (MS *indrah*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS °*daśenaujah*)  
TS MS KS AŚ Verl. *rakṣatu* in MS, *rakṣa* in the others See VV 1 p 223

*araro divam mā paptah* VS ŚB Vait. *ararur* (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptit* MS KS ApŚ *ararus te divam mā skān* TS ApŚ

*yajñah praty u śhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ *yajñah pratyashāt* (v 1 *praty u śhāt*) KS *yajña pratitṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ

*visvās ca deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG † °*ṣyak*) KS PG *visvā tdeva pṛtanā abhiṣya* TB ApŚ HG See VV 1 p 242, and on *abhiṣyak* (for °*ṣyat*), VV 2 §142, where this form might well have been mentioned

*tasya na iṣṭasya pṛitasya dravinnehāgameh* VS *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya dravinnum ā gamyūt* (KS *dravinnehāgameh*, ApŚ *dravinnehāgameh*)  
TS KS ApŚ *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravinnehāgameh*  
MS *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya svīṣṭasya dravinam māgachatu* KS See VV 1 pp 61 f, 232

*divo jyote* (KS \* *jyotir*) *vivasvi* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) *āditya te no devā(h) āsuvadhvam* MS KS (bis) *vivasvān aditir devajūts te na ādityā vyantu* TS See VV 1 p 239

*uṣo dadṛkṣt* (PB *uṣā*, read *uṣāḥ*, *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yutiva* RV PB  
*vaptā* (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *vapasī* (PG *vapatī*) *kesasmaṣru* (AG PG MG *keśān*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG In PG change to 3d person verb to agree with *vaptā* (originally not subject but appositional nom), in HG MG change to voc to mend the same syntax, felt as incongruous See VV 1 p 241 f and below §334

*yo* (TS TB ApŚ *yad*) *agnih* (TS TB ApŚ *agne*) *kavyavāhanah* (RV

*kravya*°, TS TB ApŚ °vāhana) RV VS KS TS TB ApŚ AŚ  
 Followed in RV VS KS TS by *pitṛn yakṣad* (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāv-*  
*dhah*, by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB, only pratīka  
 in AŚ ApŚ

*śrutakakṣo aram* (SV °*kakṣāram*) gave RV SV Preceded by *aram*  
*aśvāya gāyati* (SV °*tu*) Note plural verb in SV, cf VV 1 §372c:  
 [ *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrah karmasu no vatu* TB But  
 Poona ed of TB text and com in *indra 'vata* ]

§327 In the following group the nom and voc forms are distin-  
 guished only by the accents (see above, §321)

*śvena mā* (ApMB *tūā*) *caḥṣuṣā pasyatāpah* (ApMB *pasyantv āpah*) AV  
 TS MS AB ApMB *āpah* is nom in ApMB, voc in the rest  
*ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorn(u)vāthām* (MS MŚ °*tām*) VS VSK TS MS  
 KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

*aśvinā pibatam* (VS KŚ °*tām*) *madhu* (TB ApŚ *śvītam*) RV VS TB  
 MŚ KŚ

*devā deveṣu śrayantām* (TB *śrayadhvam*) KS TB

*tasmā te dyāvāpṛthivī revatibhiḥ* AV *asmabhyam dyāvā° sakvaribhiḥ* TB  
 Cf VV 1 p 224, under *kāmam duhātām* etc

*aśvināu eha gachatam* RV AB AŚ ŚŚ *aśvinau eha gachatām* (TS TB  
 °*tām*, in same stanza in which RV N have °*tām*) RV TS TB N  
*svāttam cit āpo devīh svadatanam* TS ApŚ *svāttam sad āpo devīh*  
*svadantu* MS *āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK *sad*°) VS VSK ŚB  
 ( *abaddham mano* ) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS KŚ BDh  
*dikṣen* (sc *dikṣā-īd*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ *dikṣe mā mā hāsīh*  
 ŚG See VV 1 p 225 In KŚ read probably *dikṣen*

*apātām aśvinā gharmam* VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ *gharmam apātam aśvinā*  
 (accented in MS which is therefore inconsistent if not corrupt!)

MS TA *aśvinā gharmam pātam* (MS *pibatam*) VS MS ŚB  
 TA ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ Consistent in all but the first MS form

*visve devīso adhi vocatā nah* (TS *me*) RV TS *visve devā abhi rakṣantu*  
 (KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *tveha* (AV \* KS † *meha*, AV \* *pukvam*, SMB  
 ApMB HG *pascāt*) AV (thrice) KS SMB ApMB HG

*vājinau vājiztau avajighratam* (KS °*tām*) MS KS MŚ *vājino vāja-*  
*zito vājam avajighrata* VS TS ŚB ApŚ Similarly

*vājino vājizito vājam bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāh* (KS *bhāge ni*  
*mṛjātam*, TS *bhāge ni mṛdāhvam*) VS TS KŚ ŚB *vājinau vāja-*  
*ztau bhāge nimṛjyethām* MS MŚ In this and the prec KS  
 has nouns, the rest vocs

*aśvinā bhūṣajāvatah* (MS °*tām*, TB † °*ta*) VS MS TB See VV 1 p 71

*tena brahmāno vapatedam asya* (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG  
ApMB *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG See VV 1 p 229 The MG  
form can of course only be nom, the other is ambiguous except  
for the accent

*ā mā ganta pītarō viśvarūpāh* MS *ā mā gantām* (VSK *gantam*) *pītarā  
mātarā ca* (VSK *yuvam*) VS VSK † 10 3 12c TS KS ŚB Add  
to VV 1 §337

§328 In VV 1 §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent  
tendency of SV to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person  
forms, where RV has third person references The following (all listed  
l c) show correspondingly vocs in SV for noms of RV  
*pavamāna vy aśnuhi* SV *pavamāno vy aśnavat* RV  
*ayā somah* (SV *soma*) *svkṛtyajyā* RV SV  
*svdyudihah sotṛbhūh pūyate vṛṣā* (SV *°bhūh soma sūyase*) RV SV

#### Phrase inflection

§329 In another group the mantras are found in different contexts  
Thus we have the variant *hotrābhīr agnir (agne) manuṣah svadhvarah*  
The vocative form occurs in RV AV, preceded by *sadāsi ranvo  
yavaseva puṣyate* 'Thou art ever pleasant, as grazing land to the  
grazer, having fair sacrifices, O Agni, thru the offerings of man' The  
nominative form occurs in RV in a quite different context as an inde-  
pendent sentence (with copula unexpressed) 'Agni has fair sacrifices  
thru the offerings of man' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection'  
(§§21-2)

*hiranyavarṇā subhagā* AV *hiranyavarṇe subhage* AV Quite different  
contexts

*evāyam daśamāsyō [asraj jarāyunā saha]* VS ŚB *evā tvam daśamāsyā  
[sahāvehi jarāyunā RV, sākam jarāyuna pala AV]* RV AV In  
Ppp (see Whitney on AV 1 11 6) *evā te garbha cyatu nir atiu  
daśamāsyō bahir jarāyunā saha*

*bhāratīde sarasvatī [yā vah sarvā upabruve tā naś codayata śrīye]* RV  
*sarasvatīdā muhī [imam no yajñam ā gaman, etc]* RV

*indra* (RV *\*indro*) *viśvābhīr ūtibhīh* RV (both) AV SV

*viśvāni deva* (RV *\*devo*) *vayunāni vidvān* RV (both) AV VS TS MS  
KS ŚB TB TA In one RV passage and all others except AV  
preceded by *agne naya supathā rāye asmān*, in the other RV pas-  
sage, by *ṛbhūś cakra idyam cāru nāma*, AV has different surround-  
ings but requires a voc

*upedam upaparcanam [āsu goṣūpapṛcyatām]* RV TB LŚ *upehopa-  
parcana [asmāni goṣṭha upa pṛca nah]* AV See VV 1 §85

*antariksena saha vājīnīvan* (once, °vān) AV (ter) Verbs are consistent  
*sahamāne* (PG HG ApMB \* °nā, RV AV *devajūte*) *sahasvatī* (HG  
 ApMB \* °tī, PG *sarasvatī*) RV AV PG ApMB (bis) HG See  
 also §346, *devajūte*

*imam yajñam asvinobhā bṛhaspatih* RV TS *imam yajñam bṛhaspate  
 svnobhā* KS Followed respectively by *devah pāntu yajamānam  
 nyarthāt*, and *indrāvata kāvyaur dansanābhīh* Yet the contexts  
 are fundamentally the same (cf below under *devah savitā*°, §399)

*ā pavasva madintama* RV SV *sa pavasva madintama* RV SV *sa  
 punāno madintamah* RV

*samiddho agna āhuta* RV AV TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ (followed by  
 2d person verbs) *samiddho agnir āhutaḥ* [svāhākṛtaḥ pīpartu nah]  
 KS ApŚ MŚ The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV) with  
 an unmetrical *yajus* text. *īṣto agnir āhutaḥ pīpartu* (KS TB svā-  
 hākṛtaḥ pīpartu) *na iṣtam havīh* (TB ŚB omit last two words) VS  
 MS KS ŚB TB

*sa tvam no nabhasas pate* (GB *patih*) TS GB *tvam no nabhasas pate  
 AV TS ayam no nabhasas patih* AV GB Vait Kauś

*ghṛtapratīko ghṛtaprṣtho agne* (KS ApŚ *agnih*) AV MS KS ApŚ  
 ApMB HG *ghṛtāhavano ghṛtaprṣtho agnih* AŚ *ghṛtam vasāno  
 ghṛtaprṣtho agne* KS

*hiranyaparna sakune* PG *hiranyapakṣah sakunih* HG *hiranyavarnah  
 śakunah* MU

*agnis tigmēna locasā* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ  
*agne tv° so°* RV AV

*pavamānah* (RV \* °na) *kanikradat* RV (both) SV

*indram soma* (and, *somo*) *mādayan dāvyaṃ janam* RV (both) Fol-  
 lowed or preceded respectively by *sindhō wormih pavamāno  
 arṣasi*, and *ā vidyutā pavate dhārayā sutah*

*devebhyo havyaṃvāhana* RV *devebhyo* (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV  
 ApŚ *devebhyo havyaṃvād asi* ApŚ See RVRecp on 3 9 6b The  
 second ApŚ variant occurs in a context different from any of RV  
 and belongs to §339

*deva devebhyo havīh* (SV *devebhyaḥ sutah*) RV SV *devo devebhyaḥ sutah  
 RV SV*

*sahasrote satāmagha* RV *sahasrotih satāmaghah* RV

*sahasraposam* (AV Kauś *sahasrā°*) *subhage* (TS \* *subhagā*) *rurānā* RV  
 AV TS (both) MS KS Kauś SMB ApMB

*mitra satyānām pate* (ŚŚ *satyānām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ *mitrah satyānām  
 (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG* Each in a series, with

2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest So next

*savitā prasavānām* (AV adds *adhīpatih* ) AV TS PG *savitah prasa-  
vānām adhipate* ŚŚ As prec

§330 The following are cases in which the variant containing direct address has no second-person verb form (cf §322)

*svarā* (ŚG *sakhā*, ApMB *prīyā*) *devī* (HG ApMB *devānām*) *subhagā  
mekhuleyam* SMB ApMB PG HG ŚG *śivā devī subhage mekhale  
mā riṣāma* MG

*upa brahmāni savanūni vṛtrahā* (SV °han), *paramajyā ṛcīsamah* (SV °ma) RV AV SV Preceded in RV by *ā no viśvāsu havya indrah samatsu bhūṣatu*, 'May Indra associate himself with us the slayer of Vṛtra' etc SV misunderstands *bhūṣatu*, taking it in its later sense of 'adorn' or 'honor' To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshippers, the resulting first half verse is *ā no viśvāsu havyam indram samatsu bhūṣata*, cf VV 1 p 199 But since *vṛtrahā* cannot (like *havya indrah*) be made accusative without metrical change, it is made voc, with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb, and *ṛcīsamah* then follows it

*agnir yaśtedam namah* KS *agne yaśtar idam namah* TS TB 'Agni is the sacrificer, this homage (to him)' 'O Agni sacrificer, this homage (to thee)'

§331 Perhaps in this same group may be placed the following rather puzzling variant

*tasyaś te devy adite* (Kauś *aditir*) *upasthe* MS KS Kauś *upasthe te devy adite* 'gnim TS Followed in Kauś by *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat*, for which the others have versions containing *ādadhē* (1st person), see VV 1 p 211 In all except Kauś there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used In Kauś Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb, but note that Kauś retains *te*, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation

§332 Similar variants used in different contexts ('phrase-inflection') are

*sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV · *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV In the second passage a verse of homage, with direct address, is accompanied by the voc of the deity addressed, the preceding pāda is *namas te rudra kṛnmas*



- āsvēva citrāruṣī* [*mātā gavām ṛtāvartī, sukḥābhūd āsvinor uṣāh*] RV SV  
 [*vayam hi te amanmahy, āntād ā parākāt,*] *āsvē na citre uruṣī* RV  
 The latter is secondary, see RVRep 63
- abhūn mama* (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau vīśvavedāh* TS KS PG *bhūyāśma*  
*te sumatau vīśvavedah* MS † In the latter a direct address See  
 VV 1 p 218
- indra somasya pīlaye* RV *indrah somasya pīlaye* RV *indrah somasya*  
*pīlaye vṛṣāyate* RV A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc.  
*yajīṣṭham havyavāhana* RV *yajīṣṭho havyavāhanah* RV Again a pro-  
 noun accompanies the voc

§333 We come now to variations between direct address and indirect reference in which either the voc or the nom seems incongruous in one form of the variant, as in *narāsanso agnīh* (*igne*), §324 Other cases of this sort are

- agne* (TS KS *agnir*) *manyum pratnudan pareṣām* (TS KS *purastāt*)  
 RV AV TS KS In the next pāda RV AV TS have *pāhi*, KS  
*pātu* All are consistent except TS, which has nom with 2d per-  
 son verb, cf VV 1 p 231
- sa no mayobhūh pīto* (*pītav*) *āvisasva* (*āviścha*, MŚ *pītur āvīśa*) TS TB  
 AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG *sa nah pīto madhumān ā viścha* (Kauś  
*vīśa*) KS Kauś Only Kauś is inconsistent, MŚ (secondarily)  
 restores consistency with nom matching 3d person verb
- apālām indra* (MG *indras*) *triṣ* (*trih*) *pūtvi* (AV *pūtvi*, ApMB † *pūrtvy*  
*a-*, MG *pūrtvy a-*) RV AV JB ApMB MG The verb in the  
 following pāda is 2d person in RV AV JB, but 3d in MG and  
 ApMB, despite voc epithet in pāda b, see Winternitz, Introduc-  
 tion to ApMB, xvi, VV 1 p 233 f
- nder agnir* (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS MŚ *agne*) *nabho nama* (MS MŚ  
 add *yat te*) VSK TS MS ŚBK MŚ *vided agnir nabho nāma* VS  
 KS ŚB See VV 1 p 233 TS is inconsistent
- vy astabhñā* (VS ŚB *aska*°, MS *aṣka*°, KS *aṣta*°, TS *askabhñād*, TA  
*aṣ(abhñād)* *rodasī viṣnav* (VSK MS KS *viṣna*, TS *viṣnur*) *ite* RV  
 VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA - TB is secondary but consistent,  
 TA inconsistent, and apparently a sort of blend of the other two  
 See VV 1 p 232, where read VSK *viṣna* (instead of VS)
- dyāvāpṛthivī urv antarīkṣam* AV TS *dyāvāpṛthivī uro* (VSK † *uro*)  
*antarīkṣa* VS VSK MS KS ŚB Context of AV different from  
 all the others, there a simple third-person prayer In the rest  
 either (as in MS) directly addressed to the deities, altho there  
 also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived

as the direct agents (the following *pāda* is *bṛhaspatir no haviṣā vrdhātu* TS MS), or, as in VS VSK ŚB, the following *pāda* (*bṛhaspataye haviṣā vidhema*) contains a first personal statement. In TS the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to *bṛhaspatir*, subject of *vrdhātu* in the next *pāda*. Keith understands them as exclamations.

§334 We now come to variants both forms of which contain direct address, and generally a second-person verb. Nevertheless in one form a nominative appears where the other form has a vocative. Either may be the original form, since a nom in apposition to the 2d person subject is often as easy to construe as a voc, in the example given in §323, *ā tīṣṭha mitravardhana* (°nah), it is hard to say which reading was the older. We shall quote first a group in which the nominative seems to be the original form and the vocative secondary.

*pavamānah* (SV °na) *santānim esi krīvan* RV SV. A slight tendency for SV to prefer the voc referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following, cf VV 1 §328

*aprosivān grhapatir* (SV °pate) *mahan asi* RV SV

*śuddho mamaddhi somyah* (SV *somya*) RV SV

*sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS *sarūpa vṛṣann agahi* SV JB

*samrad asi kṛśānuh* (ŚŚ °no) VS VSK TS MS KŚ PB ŚŚ ApŚ

*sūyavasād bhagavati* (KŚ °ti) *hi bhūyah* RV AV AB KB AŚ KŚ

ApŚ N. Addressed to the cow, KŚ makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc.

*vapta* (ApMB *vaptra*, HG MG *vaptur*) *vapusi* (PG °ti) *kesasmaśru* (AG PG MG *kesan*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG. The change of the nom original of AV to a voc in HG MG belongs here, see §326

*āyusman* (MG °mann) *idam pari dhatsva vasah* ApMB HG MG, cf also *āyusmatidam* etc, AV. Lect fac in MG.

*vasūni cārur* (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cārya*, v 1 *cayyo*, HG *caqyo*) *vi bhajasi* (SMB *bhṛjasi*), HG *bhājā sa jivan* AV SMB HG ApMB. Nom masc in all but SMB (*ca aryo* in ApMB, for HG see VV 2 §244). In SMB adapted to a different context which requires a fem, (*ca*)*ārye*, voc fem. Note however that SMB baldly retains the masc form *jivan* from the original! (*jvantī* would be unmetrical.)

*sakhā* (PG *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB PG °pada) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB PG ApMB MG. The (predicate) nom is clearly original *purovita* (KŚ °to, TS °to *varṣan*) *jinva* TS MS KŚ. This and the

adjoining formulas are pretty low bathos, but some of them have nom forms even in MS

*brahmacāry asi* (SMB GG *ary asau*) ŚB AG ŚG SMB GG KhG PG ApMB *agneś cāsi brahmacārīn mama ca Kauś* Perhaps hardly to be called variants

[*dhruvādha pošyā* (PG *pošye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB *mameyam astu pošyā* AV Stenzler and Oldenberg take *pošye* as voc fem, addressed to the bride. If this be correct, the variation belongs here. We have preferred to understand *pošye* as loc sg masc, going with *mayi*, see §454.]

§335 In some cases the change of case form seems to be due to the definite assimilatory influence of a neighboring word, see §323. These deserve special listing, the following are those in which the nom seems to be the older form and the voc secondary.

*soman pīva vtrahā sūra* (TS TA MahānU *°hañ (tvūra) vidvān* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU §323)

*nicerur asi nicumpunah* (TS TB *nicankana*, MS KS *nicāñkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ. Preceded in all by *avubhṛtha nicumpunā* (etc., voc in all). Doubtless the nom is original and the voc assimilated to that of the preceding *pāda*.

*sanjygmāno divah kanih* (SV LŚ *divā have*) RV SV LŚ. Preceded by *rdhak soma svastage*. It is likely that the voc *soma* had something to do with the change to voc *have*. The next *pāda* begins with *pavasva*, 2d person, which may also have helped.

*agner agne puro agnir* (KS † Kaps [Oertel 73] *agne*, TS † TB † *puró-agnir*, epd) *bhavecha* VS TS MS KS Kaps ŚB TB. The orig seems to be TS TB ('harbinger of Agni', Keith), the second voc of KS Kaps is apparently assimilated to the first *agne*.

§336 In the rest the nominative seems to be secondary. We shall put first those cases in which form assimilation to a neighboring word seems to have operated, as in the preceding section, note that they are very much more numerous than the opposite shift.

*sajośā indra* (TS *indrah*) *saganō marudbhīh* RV VS TS MS TA MahānU AŚ §323)

*utso deva* (SV twice *devo*) *hranyayah* RV SV. The surrounding noms have been responsible for *devo*.

*rjīṣī savasas pate* (SV *patih*) RV SV. Preceded by *tvam indra yūśū asi* *pavasva devāyushak* (SV *deva āyushak*) RV SV PB. Benfey translates *deva* as voc, it is accented *deva*. If this is correct and it is a nom, it might be explained by assimilation to *ayushak* if that is a nom, but Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 9 25 5 considers it a neuter adverb.

*dyāvāpṛthivī uro* (VSK † *uru*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS ŚB *dyāvāpṛthivī uru antarikṣam* AV TS The TS reading belongs here, see §333

*agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS † °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS *agnih sadakṣah satanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ The verb is 2d person in all, the nom of MŚ is attracted to the following noms

*vasupate vasudāvan* RV VS ŚB *vasudāvā vasupatih* TS MS KS Preceded in all by *sa bodhi sūrur maghavā*, TS etc assimilate to these noms

*kāmēna kṛtuh* (RV and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava icchamānah* RV MS TB *kṛtah* partly suggested by *icchamānah*

*prajāpatīs* (ApMB °*te*) *tanvam me juṣasva, tvaṣṭā devair sahamāna indrah* (ApMB *tvaṣṭar devebhīḥ sahasāma indra*, cf Winternitz, xx) ApMB MG Followed in MG by *visvar devair ṛtibhīḥ samvidānah, punsām bahūnām mātaraḥ syāva*, in ApMB by *visvar devair ratibhīḥ samrarānah, punsām bahūnām mātara syāma* Both texts are poor and doubtless corrupt, but the vocs in ApMB are doubtless more original, and may have been changed into noms in MG under the influence of the participle in pāda c, which is nom in both

*sahasrākṣa medha ā* (VSK *medhāya*) *cīyamānah* VSK TS KS *sahasrākṣo medhāya cīyamānah* VS MS ŚB Preceded in all by *imam mā hnsīr dvipadam paḥum* (TS KS *paḥūnim*) Voc is likely to be original, attraction to *cīyamānah* in VS etc

*śaravye brahmasamsite* (TS °*tā*) RV AV SV VS TS *śaro brahmasamsitah* TB ApŚ Preceded in all by *avasṛṣṭā* (TB ApŚ °*tah*) *parā pata* Voc was original, in TS the adjective, and in TB ApŚ both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom by the nom adjective preceding

*ado* (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devi* (ApŚ MŚ *devī*) *prathamānā purastūt* (KS ApŚ MŚ *pṛthag yat*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ Direct address and 2d person verb in all, voc original, nom attracted to *prathamānā* *subīratna sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB *suvirnah sṛja-sṛja* HG Preceding pāda ends with *suvirnah*, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition)

*sakhe* (AV *sakhā*) *sakhāyam ajaro jarimne* RV AV In the latter attraction to the case of *ajaro*

*vrihīnām medha* (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *tasmin sīda* Attraction to the following nom in MŚ

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms

*indra* (MS *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV KS MS In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra'

*punar āgāh punarṇava* (AV *punarn*<sup>o</sup>, AV \*<sup>o</sup>*vah*) RV AV (both)

*namas te astu sīsara* (PG *sīsaro lapelāpahvara*) PG † 1 16 24, ApMB HG The nom of PG is hardly interpretable, indeed one is almost tempted to suppose that *sīsaro* is meant for voc (of an otherwise unknown *sīsaru*) It must refer to the same individual as *te* (a kind of dog demon)

*agne ghr̥tenāhuta* (KS <sup>o</sup>*tah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ In AV Ppp (Whitney on 6 5 1) *ghr̥tebh̥r āhutaḥ* Ppp and KS are awkward and secondary, the nom must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [*ud enam* (ApŚ *asmān*) *uttaram* (VS TS KS <sup>o</sup>*rām*, ApŚ <sup>o</sup>*rān*) *naya*]

*rātri* (TB <sup>o</sup>*rī*, KS v 1 <sup>o</sup>*rih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB <sup>o</sup>*ṣī*) RV KS TB In all preceded by *upa te gā wākaram*, *vr̥nīṣva duhitar divah* The nom must be taken in apposition with the subject of *vr̥nīṣva*

*ṛtena* (MG *ṛtena*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnū*) *adhī roha vansu* (MG *vansah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG The appositional nom of MG is awkward

*indra kratvā* (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vasāmu* RV MS KS Perhaps the direct address to the Maruts (*maruto*, voc) in the same pāda made the redactor of MS feel that the voc *indra* must be got rid of The nom is however clearly inferior, perhaps 'When we, O Maruts, acting as Indra, desire' (?) On the original cf Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 1 165 7 In VV 2 §380 we have called the nom 'hardly construable'

*agne* (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV SV MS TA

#### Vocative and nom of independent statement

§338. In a few cases the shift between nominative and vocative marks more radical changes in the relation of the word so changed to adjoining words Thus, a vocative epithet may be developed into a separate clause or sentence (cf §§32, 38) The first step in this direction is illustrated by this

*tiṣṭhā ratham* (TS *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB <sup>o</sup>*tah*) RV VS ŚB TB Here TB, introducing a conjunction *yad*, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, tho still dependent, clause 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder' The awkward reading of VS ŚB is intermediate and paved the way

§339 Note also the ApŚ variant *devebhyo havyvād asi*, under *devebhyo havyvāhana* etc §329, and the following, which show the final result of this tendency

*kāmyāsi* PB MŚ GG *kāmye* MS

*agne prāyaścittē* SMB PG ApMB HG *agne prāyaścittir asi* ŚG  
Similarly with *vāyo* and *sūrya* (*āditya*)

*agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam*  
*Vait agnur me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŚB Parallels rather than  
real variants?

*adhvanām adhvapate pra nū tira svasti me* VS *adhvanām adhvapate*  
*svasti me* PB *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no* ŚŚ

#### Transfer of epithet

§340 There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of 'transfer of epithet' That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case Cf §14 above

*tava śravānsy upamāny ukthyā* (SV °ya) RV SV In RV the adj goes  
with *śravānsi*, in SV with Indra

*krātūs ta indra somā vātīpayo* (KB TA *vātīper*, KS ŚŚ *vātīpe*) *hava-*  
*naśrutah* MS KS (9 8) KB TA ŚŚ In MS *vāt°* agrees with  
*somāh*, in the others with Indra, either with the voc *indra* or with  
the pronoun *te* and the adj *havanasrutah*

*satyasya dharmanas patī* (ApŚ *pate*, Vait MŚ *satyasya dharmanā*, AŚ  
*pari satyasya dharmanā*, PG *pari sahyasya dharmanah*) ŚŚ Vait  
ApŚ MŚ AŚ PG In ŚŚ (probably original) *patī* (dual) is part  
of the predicate of the two preceding pādas In ApŚ it is applied  
to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as  
addressed

*devā ājyapā ju;ānā agna* (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS In  
the original (MS KS) addressed to Agni (voc), but he is not one  
of those who are to participate in the action of *vyantu* The redac-  
tor of VS felt therefore that there was no reason for bringing Agni  
in at all, the rest of the verse suggests that Indra is above all the  
god who is to 'taste the butter', hence *indra(h)*, as one of the  
*devā(h)* who are the subject of the verb

*ivasvann* (VSK °vān, TS KS °va) *ādityarṣa te somapīthah* VS VSK  
TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The epithet belongs, as it should, to the  
sun (*āditya*) in all but VSK, which seems to apply it, incredibly,  
to *somapīthah*

*anu dyāvāpṛthivī supranītiḥ* (ŚŚ °te) AŚ ŚŚ The original pāda d of AV 7 73 6 (see Whitney's note), Ppp (Roth) agrees with AŚ, with nom agreeing with *santā* of pāda c, while ŚŚ (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b

*svar devā* (TS TB ApŚ *svar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *devā* is accentless both times in VS, tho comm in one of them takes it as nom (*vayam yajamānd devā bhūtā*) In KS 14 1 it is voc, in KS 18 12 nom (but two mss make it voc), in MS nom, the Tait texts make it accus attracting it to the case of *svar* and making it a second object. If nom it must, of course, agree with the subject (as comm on VS says)

*bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāh* (AV † *devah*) RV AV VS TB ApMB In AV the epithet (originally voc) is transferred to *bhaga(h)* Ppp agrees with RV

*vṛttacakra āsīnāh* HG ApMB *anmuktacakra* (v 1 °rā) *āsīran* PG See §454

*yat te susīme hṛdaye* (SMB PG ApMB HG °yam) KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yat te susīmam hṛdayam* KBU 2 8 (not in Conc) *susīme* is voc fem, *hṛdaye* loc. See §457. If *susīmam* be allowed to stand, it is a case of transfer of the epithet to *hṛdayam* 'the heart that is thine, of well-parted hair' ('despite the bizarre sound of this to us, it is perhaps not impossible in a Vedic text, the 'heart' is the essence of the person, and any epithet of the person may be applied to it). Deussen would read *susīme*, however

*agne vāsuvānara* (MS \* °rah) *svāhā* TS MS (bis) TB The subject is *vyots* (neuter!), and if the nom can stand it must be felt as going with it. But, altho no v 1 is recorded, we suspect a corruption (final *visarga* added, VV 2 §380)

*punar brahmāno* (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °nītur, MS °dhīte, KS \* °dhītam, v 1 °tim, KS \* 38 12b† °nītha, KapS °dhītam or °tim) *yajñāh* (AV MS KS \* agne) AV VS TS MS KS KapS ŚB The voc agrees with *agne* (understood in KS), the nom with *brahmā*, the acc with *tvā* (sc Agnī) of the preceding

#### Miscellaneous

§341 One or two miscellaneous cases, hardly to be called true variants

*svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno* VS TS ŚB *svān*

*nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhastu kṛśāno* KS · *suwān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre 'star ahasta kṛśāno* MS *swāna bhrāt, aṅghārur bambhārāh, hastah suhastah, kṛśānur viśvāvasuh* TA † In TA part of the *gandharvaganāh*, obviously based on the other list (addressed to the gandharvas at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion

*agnir ājyasya vetu varuḥhak* ŚB *agna ājyasya vyantu varuḥhak* ŚB Also *agninājya°*, *agnim ājya°* Rigmarole formulas, with repetition (with slight variations) of the same words attached to various cases of the stem *agni*, as required in a set of offerings

§342 We now append some nominative-vocative variants whose right to be called such is doubtful, either because of dubiety of interpretation of forms, or because textual corruption or editorial error is involved

*svapnah svapnādḥikarane* RVKh *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV *svapna svapnādḥikaranena* Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 35 52) Probably *svapna* is a sandhi form for *svapnah*, VV 2 §980

*sumṛdikā sarasvatī* (MG °tī) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG Read °tī in all, so v 1 of MG, and its comm *he sarasvatī* In TA 1 21 3 the Bibl Ind ed reads *sarasvatī*, but Poona ed °tī

*sumanīh suhīranyavān* (ŚŚ °vah) AV ŚŚ But °vān is Roth's emendation and must be rejected

*ud irṣvātah pativati* (ApMB °vati) *hy eṣā* RV ApMB See Winternitz, xix, some ApMB mss °vatī, comm °vati interpreted as a 'Vedic' nom | A voc seems impossible

*iyam ośadhe* (PG °dhī) *trāyamānā* PG ApMB HG Here too (cf prec) the voc is absurd, yet is clearly intended in ApMB HG, see Winternitz xxiv, and Oldenberg *SBE* 30 166 note

[*ṣṛtum hanh samitāḥ* (TS ApŚ *haviḥ samitah*) TS MS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Conc *samitā* for MS MŚ, but both follow this word with *iti*, intending *samitāḥ* |

*dhānāsomān manthina indra* (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ See Knauer's note The nom is unconstruable as such

*tām nah pūṣaṅ chivatāmām erayasva* HG *tām pūṣaṅ* (AV °an) etc RV AV ApMB *sā nah pūṣā śivatāmām eraya* PG The verb being still 2d person in PG, this might be classed with §337, but PG is really hopeless

*stomatrayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patni* TS KS AŚ *stomas trayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patnī* MS In the latter apparently *stomas* and *patnī* are subject and predicate, the divergence of gender signals the badness of the reading



(*aśvakrānte rathakrānte viṣṇukrānte vasumdhare* (TA °rū), *śirasā dhāritā devī* (TA *dhārayiṣyāmi*), *rakṣasva mām pade-pade* TA MahānU The nom is impossible as member of a series of vocs, which are epithets of the personage addressed (*tvām* must be supplied) With MahānU's *dhāritā*, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by attraction In fact the comm on TA seems to have read *dhāritā devī*, and for *vasumdharā* (which he does not quote, did he read °dhare?) he has *he bhūme sarvāni vastūni dhārayanti satī* Evidently the text of TA is very uncertain

*indrā* (MS *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV MS The nom is not construable

*na vā ojīyo rudra tvad asti* RV TA *ojīyo rudras tad asti* MS s p, but p p reads like RV but for *tad* instead of *tvad* The MS is corrupt and uninterpretable Add to VV 2 §365 (*tvad tad*)

*pratya etā vāmā* (AŚ *sunvān*) *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ °vakti, v 1 °vaktar) *uta* KB AŚ ŚŚ Discussed VV 2 p 180 All texts seem to have read °vaktar, but a voc seems unconstruable, and a nom must have been intended, whatever the form was

*yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha* (TB °bhūva, Poona ed °tha) TB ApŚ *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhrato*, v 1 *bibhṛto*, *bibhṛto*) *jātavedāh* AV KS The nom is very awkward, Whitney translates a voc *śarīram me vicarṣanam* (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU *pratikum me vicakṣanam* PG Scheftelowitz reads *vicakṣana* in RVKh, but this seems unconstruable

*śaviṣṭha* (AA °(hah, but Keith °(ha with v 1 °(hah) *vajrinn ojasā* (AA Mahānūmyah *ṛijase*) RV SV AA Mahānūmyah A mere corruption of tradition

*arvāgaso svasti te pāram asiya* MS KS ApŚ *arvāgasur* [*iti trir uktvā*] MŚ (pratika) It seems clear that MŚ's *pratika* refers to the mantra of MS There is no v 1 recorded, but no nom can be really intended

## CHAPTER XII

### VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

#### Direct address and indirect statement.

§343 The variants between vocative and accusative are much less numerous than those between vocative and nominative, and naturally do not parallel them altogether, yet it is rather curious to observe the extent to which they correspond. Thus, to begin with, we find a group in which one form addresses directly a divine personage or a thing (vocative), while the other expresses the same prayer, wish, or statement indirectly, referring to the same personage or thing in the accusative. Generally in such cases the variants occur in different contexts, so that we have a sort of phrase-inflection, an adaptation of the same mantra material to different situations. But not always so, in a few cases the same passage undergoes this syntactic modification, just as in the first group of nominative-vocative variants (§326). Among the simplest cases of this sort are two in which a first person verb meaning in substance 'I invoke' is used in both forms of the variant, with the god invoked in the accusative or vocative.

*indram* (SV *indra*) *dhenum sudughām anyām isam* RV SV. The preceding pāda is *ā tv adya* (SV *tvadya*) *sabarduḡham huve gayatrave-pasam* SV, by reading *tva(dya)* for *tv adya*, turns the verse into a direct address to Indra. 'I call upon Indra' or 'I call on thee, Indra'.

*rcā yāmi maruto brahmanaspatiṃ* (SV °*pate*), *devan* (SV *deva*) *avo varenyam* RV SV MS KS. 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' 'I approach [you], O Maruts etc'.

§344 In a few other cases the accusative is the object of a causative or active verb, while the vocative goes with a corresponding intransitive, the action is thought of alternatively as performed by an outside agency upon the entity referred to, or by that entity itself. These are similar to many variations of the acc with the nom., §372 ff.

*thava dhruvā* (ŚG *sthūne*) *prati tiṣṭha sāle* (ŚG *dhruva*) AV ŚG HG. *thava dhruvām ni minomi śālām* AV PG HG. 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)', or 'Right here I fix firm the house'.

*tasmar tuam stana pra pyāya* ApMB *tasmar stanam pra pyāyasva* HG.  
'Swell for him, O breast', or 'Swell thy breast for him' See  
VV 1 §32

*unnambhaya pṛthwīm* TS KS MS ApŚ *pra nabhasva pṛthivi* AV  
'Split open the earth' (addressed to Dhātār) 'burst open, O earth'  
Ppp agrees with TS etc, and AV addresses Dhātār in pāda c,  
AV probably secondary

§345 In the stray variant which follows the acc is original ('the  
sacrifice has gone to the gods'), AŚ (the reading of which is repeated  
by its comm) makes it a direct address to the gods  
*devān* (MS *devān*, AŚ *devā*) *janam agan yaḡnāh* MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ †

#### Phrase inflection

§346 The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect  
reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant  
*satyadharmānam adhvare* RV SV (preceded by *kavim agnim ūpa stuh*)  
*satyadharmāno adhvaram* (TS °re) RV TS (preceded by different  
pādas of direct address)

*yajṣtham havyaḡhāna* (and °nam) RV (both) Voc accompanies 2d  
pers pronoun

*rudra jalāśabhe saja* AV *rudram jalāśabheṣajam* RV

*śatanūte satakrato* RV *śatanūtim satakratum* RV Voc with *te*, acc  
with *indram*

*stomebhīr havanasrutam* (and °tā) RV (both) Acc with *mahāntam*  
(*indram*), voc (dual) with *indrāgnī* or *asvinā*

*stomebhīr visvacarṣanam* RV *stomebhīr visvacarṣane* RV AV

*uttānapurne subhoḡe* (Ppp °nām *subhugām*), followed by *devayūte* (Ppp  
*sahamānām*) *sahasvate* (Ppp °tim) RV AV Ppp (JAOS 40 161)

The latter also in nom form, §329, *sahamāne*

*indav indrāya pītaye* RV *indum indrāya pītaye* RV SV

*indum* (RV also *indav*) *indrāya matsaram* RV (both) SV

*indram* (RV also *indra*) *somasya pītaye* RV (both) AV SV

*tasya tu iṣṣasya vītasya dravinēha bhakṣīya* TS ('may I enjoy the wealth  
of thee') *tasya na iṣṣasya pītasya dravinēhāgameh* VS ('wealth  
of , come to us here') And others, see VV 1 §104u, and §326  
above The forms differ only in accent

§347 We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative  
variants In these there is direct address both times, but the person  
or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one  
form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively

expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative. While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff). Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form.

§348 In the group to be mentioned first the accusative form is older than the vocative

*indram karmasv āvatam* (MS VS \*<sup>o</sup>ta) RV AV VS (both) MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *indram karmasv avatu* MS *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indraḥ karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but Poona ed *indra 'vata*) See VV 1 §354. The voc is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra.

*namasyāmus tvedyam* (KS <sup>o</sup>ya) *jātavedah* RV MS KS TB 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, (O) Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J'. The RV original makes the epithet *īdyam* agree with *tvā*, the KS attracts it to *Jātavedah*, but in either case it refers to the same person.

*agnim* (SV *agne*) *ratham na vedyam* RV SV. On this complicated verse (cf also *agnī ratho na vedyah* RV, and below §387) see *RVRep* on 1 186 3, with references, and especially Oldenberg, *Prol* 288. There is no doubt that SV is secondary. All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni, thus is doubtless the reason for SV's change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense, the pronoun *vah* (plural!) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm. as equivalent to *tvām*!

*pra yā bhūmim* (TS ApMB <sup>o</sup>mi) *pravalvati* RV TS MS KS ApMB N. Followed by *mahnā jinoṣi* (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahim*. Addressed to Pṛthivī, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (*bhūmi*)', by a natural confusion TS ApMB assimilate *bhūmi* to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets. Note that the short *i* of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem *bhūmī* instead of *bhūmi*, cf *yāś ca bhūmy* etc, §180.

*mahyā indram* (ApMB *indra*) *svastaye* RV ApMB. Occurs twice in ApMB, in different contexts, both different from that of RV. On one of them see Winternitz xxix f. Both are inferior in sense.

§349 The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are

*ye tvā rātry* (MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS MG *yā tām rātrīm upāmahe* PG *yām tvā rātry upāmahe* (TS *upāsate*, SMB *rātri yajāmahe*)

AV TS SMB Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d, PG and MG assimilate the form of the orig voc to the object pronoun

*indra śaṁṣṭha satpate* RV *indram śaṁṣṭha satpatim* SV Repeated in SV from RV 8 68 1, where the first three pādas are *ā tvā ratham yatholaye sumnāya vartayāmasi, tvikūrmim rīṣaham* The acc epithets of the prec have attracted two of the three vocs of the last pāda, the curious thing is that one (*śaṁṣṭha*) is allowed to remain even in SV

*śociṣkeṣam vicakṣana* (AV \*<sup>o</sup>*nam*) RV ArS AV (both) TS KS Preceded by *tvā deva sūrya* Clear attraction to the prec acc in AV

*hotāś cikivto* (AV <sup>o</sup>*vann*) *avṛṇimahiha* RV AV *agne hotāram avṛṇimahiha* VS TS MS KS ŚB In all texts *tvā* occurs in prec 'In that today we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar)'

*punar brahmāno* (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV <sup>o</sup>*nītir*, MS <sup>o</sup>*dhīte*, KS \*<sup>o</sup>*dhītam*, v 1 <sup>o</sup>*dhītim*, and \*†<sup>o</sup>*nītha*, KapS <sup>o</sup>*dhītam* or <sup>o</sup>*dhītim*) *yajñāṣh* (AV MS KS \**agne*) AV VS TS MS KS (bis) KapS ŚB See §340

*svar devā* (TS TB ApŚ *svar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The acc certainly secondary, and perhaps influenced by *svar*, see §340

*vaha kāla* (HG *kālam*, v 1 *kāla*) *vaha sṛiyam mūbhī vaha* ApMB HG Undoubtedly ApMB is correct and original Addressed to an elephant 'Carry, black one, carry!' Carry me towards fortune! Probably *kāla* should be read in HG with two mss, certainly *kālam* does not make sense 'Carry the time' (Oldenberg) is ridiculous, and 'carry the black one' is little better

#### Transfer of epithet

§350 The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few corruptions, concern 'transfer of epithet' from one person or thing to another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender) *rayim no dhehi subhage suvīram* (MŚ *suvīre*, PG † *suvīryam*) AV TS MŚ PG 'Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one' 'grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons' There is little real difference in the sense, the possession of good sons by the deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner *vardhā samudram ukthyam* (SV <sup>o</sup>*ya*) RV SV In RV *ukthyam* modifies *samudram*, in SV it is transferred to *soma* (in pāda a)

- indram sakhāyo* (KS °yam) *anu sam rabhadhvam* (KS *vyayadhvam*)  
RV AV SV VS TS MS KS The voc *sakhāyo* refers to the subject (warriors), the acc to the object (Indra)
- subhage kāmṣīlavāśmī* TS KSA TB ApŚ *subhadrikām kāmṣīlavāśnīm* VS MS See Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 141, 144 The words are applied differently, the accs to a rival queen, the vocs (spoken by the priest) to the Malīṣī Both occur in an obscene passage in the *aśvamedha* In the voc form note the absence of the imprecatory suffix *ka*
- kṛnuta dhūmam vṣṣanah sakhāyah* AV *kṛnuta dhūmam vṣṣanam sakhāyah* RV The whole AV verse is a wretched corruption of the RV original All that need concern us here is that *vṣṣanam*, in the orig an epithet of *dhūmam* (so Grassmann *Wbch*, Geldner, Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following *sakhāyah*
- tas tam indra tvāvasam* (SV PB *tvā vaso*) RV SV AB GB PB AŚ This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820, where this variant might have been included The RV has a cpd adj agreeing with *tam* The SV misunderstands it as containing an acc *tvā*, and then makes the seemingly necessary correction to *vaso*, which is then a voc going with *indra*
- aganma mitrataruna varenya* (MS *varena*, KS *varenyam*) TS MS KS In KS the epithet goes apparently with *bhāgam*, to be supplied in sense (the following *pāda* is *rātrīnām bhāgo yuvayor yo asti*) In TS (probably a lect fac) it is made to agree with *mitrāvarunā* MS has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326
- achudram* (SMB °iāh) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented SMB makes the epithet go with the subject, it may be taken as either voc or nom
- svaryam arvanto jayema* Vait *svaryān* (AŚ text, *svagān*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ *jayatah*, AŚ also, as variant given in the text, *arvato jayati*) SV AŚ ŚŚ *arvanto* is voc in SV, nom in Vait, in both cases going with the subject (in ŚŚ either nom or voc) In the second version of AŚ it is transferred to the object
- ṛbhum ṛbhukṣano rayim* RV *ṛbhukṣanam ṛbhum rayim* RV SV In the first passage *ṛbhukṣano* is a voc cliptic plural, 'O Ṛbhukṣan (and the two other Ṛbhus)' In the second it is an epithet of *rayim* See *RVRep* on 4 37 5
- nāma svadhāvan guhyam* (ApMB *svadhāvat svaryam*) *bībharṣi* RV ApMB In RV *svadhāvan* refers to Agni, in ApMB it is made an epithet of *nāma*

§351 There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15, in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet. They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an 'epithet'

*avavyayann usitam deva vasma* (TB ApŚ *vasvah*) RV MS KS' TB ApŚ The original 'Removing the black garment, O god' In TB ApŚ *vasvah* must apparently be meant as an epithet of *deva*, its meaning is obscure, Caland translates the RV reading. See VV 2 p 124

*visvam ā bhāsi rocanam* (AV \* °na) RV ArS AV (both) VS TS MS TA MahānU The subject is the sun, the object, in the orig, *visvam rocanam*. In AV *rocana* must be felt as an epithet of the subject, 'shining'. This adjective is unknown to the RV, where *rocana* is always a noun.

#### Errors

§352. Finally, a few errors

*evā hīndra* KB AA TA AŚ Mahānāmyali The Conc follows the Bibl Ind ed of AA in quoting *hīndram*, but see Keith's AA, 142, n 12. Voc in all.

*kāma kāmam na āvartaya* PB MŚ *kāmam-kāmam mā āvartaya* MS But one of von Schroeder's best mss reads *kāma kāmam* (both accented), this and the reading of MŚ, its ritual text, convinces us that the printed reading of MS is merely due to bad editing.

*yām iṣum girisanta* VS MS TS KS ŚvetU NilarU The ed of NilarU used in Conc has *girisantam* in text and comm. But the AnSS ed has °santa in text (comm °santam). The acc can be construed only with difficulty, Deussen assumes a voc.

*devayuvam* (TB *devā°*) *visvavārām* (AŚ °vāre) TS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *ghṛtavalīm adhvaryo* (AŚ † °yoh) *srucam āsyasva*. The accs go with *srucam*, the spoon, perhaps AŚ means *visvavāre* as a voc fem addressed to the spoon, but this is really nonsense, even if it be detached from the preceding and taken with the following (*idāmahaḥ devān idenyan*). Note that AŚ is also corrupt in *adhvaryoh* (omitted in Conc, to be added to VV 2 §381).

## CHAPTER XIII

### VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

#### A Vocative and instrumental

§353 The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering. Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning. Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed, while in another form a second vocative may function. The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55-7). The examples we have noted are

*mo śū na indrātra* (TS † *indra*) *pṛtsu devāih* (KS *devāh*, TS MS *deva*)  
RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods', in KS, 'O Indra (and) ye gods'. The next pāda begins with *astu* and MS TS read *devāstu*, which however MS pp resolves as *devāh*, *astu*—implying the reading of KS. The reading *deva* would of course be voc sg, as epithet of Indra, this would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15.

*devīr-devīr* (ApŚ *devīr devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS ApŚ. In MS an ānredita compound 'Ye several goddesses'. In ApŚ 'Ye goddess along with the gods'.

*ā yāhi śūru haribhyām* (SV KB ŚŚ *hariha*, AŚ *harī iha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ. See notes of Wluteny and Keith. Apparently *harī iha* is intended in all but AV, *harī* would seem to be voc 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds'.

§354 In another way the voc and instr may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf §29), here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40).

*jagatyainam* (AŚ °*ty enam*) *vikṣv ā vesayāmah* (MS KS °*ni*, AŚ °*ni*)  
TS MS KS AŚ. The AŚ reading may be only a phonetic variant or corruption (see VV 2 §709), but if genuine it could be interpreted



as meaning 'O jagatī (instead of 'by the jagatī') may I settle lum in the tribes' That is, the potency which in the original is to be the instrument for bringing about the desired result is directly addressed for this purpose in AŚ

*ātmanāy ātmānā ātmānam* (GB *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hīnsīh* GB Vait Kauś 'Thou art ātman, O ātman, injure not my ātman' or, ' injure not my ātman by the ātman ' If textually sound, this would be substantially the reverse of the preceding change (assuming that here the voc is original) But Gaastra reads in GB like the others (with v 1 in 2 mss )

§355 The following might be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' but for the fact that the two forms are used in quite different contexts, so that it is rather what we have called 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2)

*devī devebhīr yajate* (and *\*tā yajatrūh* RV (both) *devī deveṣu yajātā yajatra* RV AV MS The latter is certainly secondary, *yajatra* is made to agree with a preceding *agnī*, whereas in the original the word agreed with *devebhīr* The contexts are different See *RVRep* 241

§356. In one stray case a voc varies with an adverbial instr  
*sā nas samantam anu pariḥi bhadrāyā* ApMB *sā mā* (MG *nah*) *samantam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG SMB *bhadre* refers to the sacred belt, *mekhalā* 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB says 'fairly', using the old RV adverb Or this may be the original reading, and *bhadre* a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction, the variant should in any case have been quoted in VV 2 §747

§357 The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf §15) A voc epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance *utūla parimūdhō 'sī* PG *ūlena parimūdhō 'sī* HG *ūlena pariṣīto 'sī* ApMB Original is apparently PG, *utūla* '(runaway) servant' The word *ula* or *ūla* seems to mean some kind of wild animal, see Bloomfield *SBE* 42 643 (on AV 12 1 49) But the interpretation of HG ApMB is very obscure, Oldenberg abandons the text

## B Vocative and dative

§358 Here again the variants are few But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-

sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf §30) The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case

*agnaye* (AV Kauś *agne*) *samudham āhārṣam* (ŚG GG *ahārṣam*) AV Kauś AG GG SMB ŚG PG HG ApMB (The false emendation *agre* in AV is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc) Lanman ap Whitney regards the voc *agne* as original on metrical grounds More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio difficilior The rest of the verse refers to Agni (Jātavedas) in the 3d person, not in direct address, and more particularly, the datives *bṛhate jātavedase* follow immediately, and it is almost certain that *agnaye* has been assimilated to them, replacing *agne* Note that the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni Jātavedas However, the comm on AV reads *agnaye*, and so does one of SPP's reciters 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great J'

*bṛhaspataye mahiṣa* (TS *mahī ṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS *bṛhaspate mahiṣāya diva namah* Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 273) *bṛhaspate mahiṣa dyuman namah* MŚ Followed by

*viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān* AV (and Ppp) *namo viśvakarmane sa u pātṛ asmān* TS MŚ In the first pāda there is a double case, *bṛhaspate* varies with *ṛpataye*, and *mahiṣa* with *ṣāya* of Ppp Altho the AV comm reads *mahī ṣad* like TS, we no longer hold the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original reading All texts but TS have a form of the stem *mahiṣa*, we attribute special weight to Ppp *mahiṣāya* which we had previously overlooked We now take the original to be MŚ 'O Bṛhaspati, mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee), homage to Viśvakarman, may he protect us' Since no dative is expressed in the first pāda, one of the two vocs (which really indicate the recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts, hence *mahiṣāya* Ppp, *bṛhaspataye* AV TS The change to direct address in the second pāda in AV Ppp is also due to a sort of assimilation, it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different divinity

§359 Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation Thus in the first instance the voc is clearly original

and the dative assimilated to the pronoun *te*, which is found also in the older form

*kṣayadvīra* (TS °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* RV TS Addressed to Rudra, the preceding is *are te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnam* RV, *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS The meaning of TS is far from clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS, instead of 'hero-ruler', in other respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy, we think *sumnam* is felt as 'hymn' in TS) But the assimilation is clear

*vasavo rudrā ādityā etā vah pannejanīh* MS KS *vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo visvobhyo vo devobhyah pannejanīr gṛhnamī* TS The former is clearly original 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc' In TS we take it that there is still direct address, *vo* referring to the gods, and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as assimilated to the case of *vo* At any rate TS means 'I take the footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, All-gods' (or at least, *vo* must certainly go with *visvobhyo devobhyah*, as its position clearly suggests, rather than with *pannejanīr* as Keith takes it)

*puṣṭipati* (MS *puṣṭa*° ApŚ °*pataye*) *puṣṭis* (MS om) *caksuse punar dhēki* (dhēki) MS AŚ ApŚ Caland adopts voc for ApŚ, but this involves also reading *puṣṭim* for *puṣṭis*, which is supported by AŚ and which MS lacks altogether To us it seems that ApŚ has a genuine (the secondary) variant 'To the Lord of Prosperity prosperity' Give back etc'

§360 The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epithet' (§14)

*vipra ṅgatham gāyata yaj juṣṣati* (AA °*ṣat*) AA ŚŚ *inprīya ṅgātham gāyata yam juṣṣate* SV Preceded by *pra va indriya vṛtuhantamaya* In SV the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer)

*tasmat rudrāya namo astu agnaye* (KS ApŚ *astu devah*, MŚ † *stu devaya*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ Śira-U (Ppp has the pāda ending *astu adya*, TS TA MahānU ending *astu*) Lectio difficillima in AV (probably original) The voc *devah* cannot refer to the same personage as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only associated with Rudra Add to VV 2 §909

§361 A couple of anomalous cases

*ekam iṣe* TB ApŚ SMB KhG PG ApMB ApG HG MG Followed, where more than a pratika, by *viṣnus trānvetu* (*nayatu*) 'One (step) for nourishment, may Visnu accompany (lead) thee' Simi-

lar are *īṣa ekapadī* (sc *bhava*) AG ŚG *īṣe tvā sumanāgalī prajā-*  
*vahī susīme* Kauś In these the formula is the first of a series  
 employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording.  
 In TS we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context  
 from any occurring in the others, as follows *ekam īṣa (viṣṇus tvānu*  
*vi cakrame)* 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣṇu has stepped along  
 after thee' Keith denies any relation between this and the other  
 mantras, but it seems to us probable that he is wrong. TS has  
 simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered  
 from other occasions. It has turned *īṣe* into a voc, probably  
 thinking of the RV adjective *īṣa* (but comm *sarvadēvair īṣyamāna*)  
 [ *kanyakumāryai* (TA °*māri*) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU Poona ed of TA  
 °*kumāri*, but with accent on the penult (!), and its comm °*kumāri*.  
 Occurs in a series of formulas which are closely parallel, differing  
 only in using various names, in all the others datives are found.  
 Neither a voc nor a nom is, in fact, conceivable here. Perhaps  
 TA has a mere phonetic corruption, belonging with VV 2 §§700-  
 701. Comm understands a dative, adding *līṅgadvīṣatyayah sar-*  
*vatra chāndaso draṣṭavyah* (very simple!)]

### C Vocative and ablative

§362 We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the vocative is surely original, it is subject of the following verb *yaja* 'to broad atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice ]' In VS ŚB this is violently detached from the following phrase containing *yaja*, and apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the comms), but the reading is certainly poor.

*uro antarīkṣa* (VS ŚB *uro antarīkṣāt*) *sajūr devena vātena* VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB (Delete reference to KS 2 2)

### D Vocative and genitive

§363 Here again the variants are not numerous. Some are essentially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final *visarga*, see especially §366. Most of them are cases of shift between direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the same noun is referred to in the genitive. In quite a number of these, however, as in the nom-voc cases mentioned §333, one form or the other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic harshness. Thus

*ghṛtavalī savitar* (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyah*) TS MS KS AŚ

Followed in all by *payasvatī rantur* (MS *rātur*) *āsā no astu* 'In (by) [thy] lordship, O Savitar' 'in the lordship of Savitar' But the first part of the stanza is directly addressed to a different deity, and the voc *savitar* is harsh

*yena te te prajāpate* TB ApŚ *yenante prajāpateh* MŚ Followed in all by *ijānasya nyavartayan* Here the following gen *ijānasya*, which in the (doubtless original) TB ApŚ form agreed with *te* referring to Prajāpati, is doubtless connected with the alteration to *prajāpateh* But in MŚ's form *te* is lost and the statement becomes third-personal

*tām savitah satyasavām sucitrām* AV *tām savitur varenyasya citrām* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Followed in all by *āham vṛne sumatim viśvajanyām* (AV *viśvavārām*) 'O Savitar, thus [thy] favor' 'this favor of Savitar' In the 3d pāda all, including AV, refer to Savitar in the 3d person, with *asya* This rather mild inconsistency does not prove that AV is secondary, on the contrary it may suggest that the others have assimilated to the following context

*apsu te rājan varuna* AV *dvīpe rājño varunasya* KS AŚ Followed by *grho hiranyayo mitah* (AŚ *mito hiranyayah*) 'A golden house is built for thee, O king Varuna (for king Varuna)' The 2d half verse refers to Varuna in the 3d person in AV, but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS AŚ, note that they are metrically very poor Form assimilation

*yad bhūmer hṛdayam*, [*divi candramasī śritam*] ApMB † *veda te bhūmī hṛdayam* PG HG Even ApMB addresses Earth directly with a voc in the following, it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda

*viṣṇoh* (ApMB *viṣṇo*, v l *viṣṇoh*) *śreṣṭhena* (RVKh Scheftclowitz *śraṣṭhyena*) *rūpena* RVKh ApMB MG 'With the noblest form of Viṣṇu' 'with [thy] noblest form, O Viṣṇu' The same pāda, with different divine names, is found AV 5 25 10-13, with vocatives, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 48 38), with *savituś*, *viṣṇoh*, *vaṣṭuh*, but *bhagah* (for *bhaga?*) Barret emends to vocs in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ, but this seems dubious procedure The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with *ā dhehī*, in all

so *'ham vājam saneyam agne* (KS *sanāmy ṭagneh*) VS TS MS KS 'May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni)'

*ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo* (AŚ † *°yoh*) *srucam isyawa* TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ See §352, end, AŚ has a stupid corruption

§364 One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2)

*punānāya prabhūvaso* RV SV *punānasya prabhūvasoh* RV The voc agrees directly with *soma*, the gen with *yasya* which refers to *Soma*  
*parnam vanaspater iva* TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG *parnam vanaspate*  
*'nu tvā* SMB Quite different contexts

§365 We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive. These are similar to the variants of the voc with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff. In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation.

*brhaspatīśulasya ta* (KS om *ta*, leaving hiatus) *indo* (KS MS *inda*)  
*indriyāvatah patnīvantam* (KS <sup>o</sup>*vato*) *graham grhāma* (MS *rādhyāsam*, KS *graham rādhyāsam*) TS MS KS *brhaspatīśulasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK *inda*) *indriyāvatah patnīvato grahān rādhyāsam*  
 VS VSK ŚB It is evident that VS has assimilated the voc of all other texts to the gen *te* and accompanying adjectives. Note that only the Vāj texts have another voc (*deva soma*), which makes *indo* unnecessary.

§366 The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character, the original voc *agne* becomes *agnih* by addition of the evanescent final visarga, on which see VV 2 §§378 ff. (this variant was overlooked there and should be added to §381). It will be noted that not a few of the other voc-gen variants show this same phonetic relationship, and as we have suggested loc. it is quite likely that in some of them the phonetic moment is more weighty than the syntactic. We doubt, however, whether Knauer (MG, Einleitung, xxxi f.) is right in suggesting that this added visarga was intended as an external mark of an imperative or vocative form, we even question whether it indicated (as Knauer thinks) aspirate pronunciation of a following consonant.  
*dā agne* (MG *agnēh*) *prajāyā saha* RV AV PG ApMB MG (All MG mss actually read *dāgnēh* with secondary crasis, this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989, Knauer emends.) Preceded by *tubhyam agre* (MG *agnē*, on this cf. VV 2 §864) *paryavahan, sūryām mahatunā saha, punah* (AV *sa nah*) *patibhyo jāyām* 'Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?)' But note that MG also contains voc *agne* (for original *agre*), addressing the verse to Agni.

§367 In a couple of cases a voc varies with a partitive gen. (see §84)  
*tvam uttamāsy ośadhe* RV VS *uttamo asy ośadhīnām* AV 'Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants)' Same context. The masc. gender is peculiar, apparently there is thought of the

gender of *vṛkṣa* A tree is addressed But fem forms occur in the following verses of AV

*atho rājann* (AV *uta rājñām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV TB Addressed to a king, either makes good sense The gen *rājñām* might be assimilated to the following gen ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc. might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('[who shall make thee] also, O king, highest of men')

§368 The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14) To that category certainly belongs the following *purā krūrasya viṣṭpo virapsin* (MS °*sinah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB It is clear that MS has transferred the epithet *virapsin*(*ah*) into agreement with *krūrasya* Otherwise the interpretation is dubious Mahīdhara understands 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings to and fro, O mighty one (Viṣṇu or the sacrificer)' So, with misgivings, Eggeling, *SBE* 12 64 n 3 Sāyana on TS 1 1 9 3 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking *viṣṭpo* as abl gerund So Griffith and Keith, Eggeling thinks this more probable than the other

§369 A stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc (or nom) to gen

*videt agnur* (VSK ŚB *agner*, MS MŚ *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS MŚ *add yat te*) VSK TS MS ŚBK MŚ *videt agnur nabho nāma* VS KS ŚB See §333 The nom is doubtless the original form, but certainly the voc is better than the gen, which must be construed in dependence on *nāma* ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed

*ṣaṣṭis cūdhvaryū* (ApŚ °*yo*, AŚ † °*yor*) *navatis ca pāsāh* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ A voc is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's' Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ

#### E. Vocative and locative

§370 First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf §15), an originally independent noun, in loc construction, is made into a voc epithet of the subject

*apadyamānah pṛthivyām* TA ApŚ *apadyamānā †pṛthivi* TS ApŚ *avyathamānā pṛthivyām* (MS once °*vyām* without *v* 1, once *pṛthivi* according to p p, but *s p* might also be read *pṛthivi*, and one ms has °*vyām*) VS MS KS ŚB Followed in all by *āsā dīśa ā pṛna* Except in TA ApŚ the frepan is addressed, and doubtless the

loc is original 'not falling to (wobbling upon) the earth' In TS (ApŚ), and perhaps once in MS, the loc is assimilated to the subject and treated as a grandiloquent epithet of the firepan The earth is a symbol of solidity and security —In TA ApŚ the same verse is used in a different ritual connexion which requires a masculine pple (phrase-inflection)

§371 The next is probably not a real variation in case

sa supranīte (ŚŚ °ti) nītamah svarād asī AA ŚŚ Both forms may be taken as locs, and the text mss of ŚŚ actually read °te, see VV 2 §695



## CHAPTER XIV

### NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

#### 1 Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372 The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions. In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5). But of course the materials correspond only in part. For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation. On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form.

§373 A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG 4 9, 10 and BDh 2 5 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted. Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (*tarpana*) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (*omi*) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh, *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG. So with *vāyu*, *sūrya*, *viṣṇu*, *prajāpati*, etc. A similar set occurs in AG, with the verb understood thruout, and expressed (*tṛpyantu*) only at the end. The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG, hence such variants as *ṛṣayah* (*sc tṛpyantu*) AG ŚG (*omi*) *ṛṣiṅ tarpayāmi* BDh. Finally, it must be noticed that in the middle of the list ŚG suddenly shifts to a causative construction like that of BDh (*śrutim tarpayāmi*), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form. Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG form. The Śāmbavya Gṛhya (quoted by Oldenberg, *ISt* 15 153) has a similar list with the names all in the nominative.

§374 Cases also occur in which the same verb form, or at least a form in the same voice, is found in both variants, but is used now in active sense, governing the acc, now in intransitive, passive, or reflexive sense, with nom subject. Naturally these would find no inclusion in

VV 1, yet they are psychologically of the same nature as active-passive or causative-intransitive shifts. Of these we find the following examples: *apochatu* (AV °*chantu*) *mihunā yā kimīdīnā* (AV *ye kimīdīnah*) RV AV

'Let him (Indra) shine away the paired *kimīdīns*', or 'let the paired *kimīdīns* fade away'. The verb *apu-vas* is transitive in RV, in this AV passage it seems impossible to avoid taking it as intransitive. In AV 2 8 2 and 3 7 7 it is also commonly taken as intransitive, but Bloomfield (*SBE* 42 289, 338 f) would make it transitive. *ā no vśvasu havyah* (SV *Svidh havyam*) RV AV SV AA ŚŚ Vait Svidh. Followed in RV AV SV by *indrah* (SV *indram*) *samatsu bhūṣatu* (SV °*ta*). The verb is used in a different sense, explained in §330.

*ny asvina hṛtsu kama* (ApMB *kāman*) *ayansata* (AV *aransata*) RV AV ApMB. In the RV original 'O *Aśvins*, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts'. In ApMB, with less feeling for the middle 'O *Aśvins*, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts'.

*ekapadi dvipadi astapadi bhuvanānu prathatam svahā* TS *ekapadim astapadim bhuvanānu prathantam* VS ŚB *ekopadam dvipadam tṛtipadam catuṣpadam bhuvanānu prathantam* KS. Only TS seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds'. In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= *prathayantu*, cf. the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous. Commi on VS and Eggeling make *bhuvana* subject 'let the worlds spread her along' or (comin) 'make her renowned'. Better indefinite subject, as suggested VV 1 p. 268.

*somam rajanam ośadhīṣu apsu* VS TS MS ŚB *somo rajauśadhīṣu apsu* KS. Preceded by *vajasyemam* (KS *vajasya nu*) *prasavaḥ suṣuve gre* (TS *ḥagre*, add to VV 2 §908). In the original 'The instigation of strength pressed out this King Soma,' etc. KS eliminates the pronoun *nam* and brings *somo raja* into agreement with the subject of the verb, which is now felt as passive, probably it also understands *prasavaḥ* as 'offshoot'. 'The offshoot of strength, (viz.) King Soma, was pressed out'.

§375 A little different is the next, in which the sense of the verb is also changed, but is transitive both times, the subject and object being reversed.

*avrato* (AA °*tam*) *hinoti na sprśad rayim* (AA *rayih*) SV AA. Preceded in SV by *na kamam*, in AA by *na somo*. 'The man who pays no

vows attains not his desire, wins not wealth', SV 'Soma impels not him who keeps no vows, wealth will not come near (him)', AA See Keith's note on AA

§376 Frequent in the YV formulas are dedicatory expressions (cf §126) in which no verb at all is expressed. In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulative) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker. These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts, or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed. So we get such variants as these, it would hardly be worth while to list them completely.

*himavate* (TS KSA TA °to) *hastī* (TA *hastīnam*) VS TS MS KSA TA 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant'

*dhūmān vasantāyālabhate* VS *dhūmrā vasantāya* MS. In the same passage, *prṣato hemantāya* VS, *prṣanto hemantāya* MS, and others *anumatyā caruh* (MS *carum*) TS MS KSA *adityā viṣṇupatnyā carum* (KSA *caruh*) VS TS MS KSA. And others

*agnaye 'nhome 'ṣṭākāpālah* TS KSA ApS *agnaye 'nhome purodāsam aṣṭākāpālam nirvapati* MS. In this and the following MS alone has acc. thruout, all others nom., the verb *nirvapati* is however regularly omitted in MS. So

*agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakāpālah* VS TS KS KSA *vaiśvānaram dvādaśakāpālam* MS

*mitrāvaruṇabhyaṃ āgomuqbhyaṃ pagasyā* (MS °yām) TS MS KSA. Similarly *marudbhyaṃ onomuqbhyaṃ* etc., *agnaye gāyatrāya* etc., *bṛhaspataye pāṅktāya* etc.

§377 In one passage with no verb expressed, the name of the deity is put alternatively in the acc. and nom. The case to be expected is rather dat. or gen., cf §485 under *agnim svāhā* etc. The TB comm. supplies *uddāya* to govern the acc. No explanation of the nom. in ŚB is offered by the comm. or by Eggeling. Perhaps an intransitive form of *ṭṣp* is to be supplied with the nom. and a transitive form of the same verb or of *yaj* (*hotā yakṣat* ) with the acc. (cf §§373 and 459 under *svāhāgnim* ) Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc. forms in ŚB

*svāhā devā ājyapāh* (TB *devān ājyapān*) ŚB TB

§378 Next may be recorded a group in which a form of *kr* or *dhā*, 'make' or 'put', with acc., varies with a form of *as* or *bhū* with nom.,

or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulative verb Thus *parā svapnamukhāh śucah AV parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi KŚ* 'Away the dream-faced pains' (supply *santu* in AV, rather than 'I put' with Whitney), 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly, 'away put the dream-faces')

*ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam varcasvantam (MS mām sahasvantam) manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi) TS MS AŚ Vait ojasvān aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam VSK ojasvy aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyākam ŚŚ oṛiṣtho 'ham man° bhū° VS ŚB*

*bhrājasvantam mām āyuṣmantam varcasvantam (MS mām varcasvantam) manuṣyeṣu kuru TS MS bhrājasvān (ŚG bhrājasvy) aham (VS ŚB bhrājṛiṣtho 'ham) manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ*

*jaradaṣṭim kṛnomi tvā AV jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi SMB Ppp (JAOS 42 125) reads as SMB*

*brahma varma mamāntaram RV AV SV ApŚ brahmāham antaram kṛve (KŚ karave) AV KŚ* 'Brahman is my inner defense' 'I make B my inner (defense)'

*asmākam abhūr haryaśva meḍi AV asmākam kṛnmo harivo medinam tvā Ppp (JAOS 37 263 f) iha kṛnmo harivo medinam tvā KS asya (RVKh Scheftelowitz iha) kurmo (RVKh kulmo, Sch em kurmo) harivo medinam (RVKh Sch vedinan) tvā RVKh TS TB*

*vśvāhā dhallam anapasphurantīm RV VS ŚB ApŚ vśvāhā santv anapasphurantih AV TA*

*catuṣṭomo abhavad (MS KS catuṣṭomam adudhād) yā turīyā TS MS KS* 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoma'

*sugā vo devāh sadanā (N °nam) akarma (MS kṛnomi, KŚ Kauś sadanāni santu) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N sugā vo devās sadanadam astu KS sugā vo devāh sadanam akarma (ApŚ sadanāni santu) TS ApŚ*

*ariṣṭām tvā (KŚ MŚ MG mā) saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB kṛnomi, KŚ MŚ MG dadhātu) RV KŚ MŚ MG ApMB ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam VS* The contexts are essentially similar, but the forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman

*aśmānam tanvam kṛdhi AV aśmā bhavatu nis (AV te) tanūh RV AV VS TS MS KSA aśmā bhava paraśur bhava ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB HG MG ApMB* The contexts are in part similar

*ākhum te rudra paḥum karomi MS MŚ ākhus te pasuh VS TS TB ŚB ApŚ ākhus te rudra paśuh TS ApŚ*

*yathā tvam (PG tvam agne) suśravah suśravā asy (SMB deveṣu) evam aham suśravah suśravā bhūyāsam (SMB brāhmanēṣu bhūyāsam,*

AG PG MG *evam mām suśravah sauśravasam kuru*) AG SMB  
PG ApMB MG

§379 In a couple of other cases forms of *dhṛ* (passive) or *pad* (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom form of the variant, otherwise they are exactly like the preceding

*evā te dhṛyatām garbhah* AV *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV *evam garbham dadhāmi te 'sau* (ApMB *dadhātu te*, HG *dadhāmi te*) ŚB  
BṛhU ŚG ApMB HG *evam tam garbhāni ā dhehi* RVKh MG  
*evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva* ApMB

*viśvasya janitor adhamam cakāra* (RV \* AV *adhamaś padīṣṭa*) RV (both)  
AV 'He has made him lowest of every creature' 'may he fall lowest of every creature'

§380 There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom. In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root, these are given first

*evam aham āyusā sumandhe* (SMB *samedhṛṣṭya*) SMB I'G *evam mām āyusā* (HG *mām medhaya*) *samedhaya* ApMB HG 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me'

*sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh *saha dharmam cara* NāradaDh *saha dharmāś caryatām* GDh

*tvam yajñeṣu īdyah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *tvām yajñeṣu īdate* RV

*vedim bhūmim kalpayitvā* AV *vedir bhūmir akalpata* AV Both in same hymn, 'shaping the earth into a *vedi*' 'the earth took shape as a *vedi*'

*varca ā dhehi* (KS *dhāyi*) *me tanvam* (KS *tanūh*) AV KS 'Set splendor in my body' 'my body has been set in splendor' (On *tanvam* see §249)

*māmīṣām* (TS TB ApŚ *maiṣām*) *kam canoc chisah* RV SV VS TS  
'TB ApŚ *maiṣām uccheṣi kim cana* AV *māmīṣām moḥi kas canc*  
AV 'Leave not one of them' 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be let go')

*ganā* (KS *te*) *me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS KS ŚB *ganān me mā vi tṛṣah*  
(MŚ *vi tṛṣat*, Vait *vy arīṛṣah*) TS Vait MŚ

*yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ

*yuktās tīro vṛṣṭyah sūryasya* PB *yunajmi tīro vṛṣṭyah sūryasya te* TS  
ApŚ *yunajmi tīro vṛṣṭah sūryah sava* [iti] MŚ

*dvīṣantam* (AV *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV AV *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV AV

TB ApŚ *divśanś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *divśanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ All in the same verse Add to VV 1 §§79, 238  
*mṛtyava ekaśatam parah* Kauś *mṛtyūn ekaśatam ca* ApŚ Others, §509 The verb in Kauś is *nir yantu*  
*pāpmānam te 'pahanmah* KŚ *pāpmānam me 'pa jahī* (MG *me hata*)  
 Kauś MG *pāpmā me hatah* AG *hato me pāpmā* AG MG  
*caritrāns te śundhāmī* VS ŚB *śuddhās caritrah* TS ApŚ  
*trayastrīṅsat* (VS *catuśtrīṅsat*) *tanlavo ye vi tanvire* (MS *yam* [for *yān*?] *vi tanvate*, KS AŚ *yān vi tanvate*) VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ  
 ' which were stretched out (which they stretched out) '  
*ad id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate* (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūduh*) RV AV MS  
 KS N *ād id pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS  
*atharvām bhinnakah kumbhah* SMB *bhinadmī te kuśumbham* AV *atho bhinnadmī tam kumbham* Ppp  
*ayam vai tvām aṅarīyad ayam tvad adhiṅyayatam asau svāhā* ŚŚ *asmād vai tvam aṅarīyathā ayam tvad adhiṅyātām* (JB °*thā eṣa tvaj jāyātām* ) JB AG Kauś  
*yenākṣā* (SMB °*kṣān*, PG °*kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenā kṣam*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyasīcatam*, PG *abhyasīcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG  
*apahato 'raruh pṛthivyai* (also °*vyai devayajanyai*, °*vyā adevayajanah*) TS ApŚ *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanaḥ* (ApŚ † *adevayajano*) *jahī* KS ApŚ *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanaūd bādhyūsam* VS ŚB *apararum pṛthivyā adevayajanam* (ApŚ °*rum adevayajanam pṛthivyāh*) MS MŚ ApŚ (the last apparently an abbreviated form of the KS formula)

§381 In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms. Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nominal form, as in §§376 7

*pumānsam putram janaya* AV ŚG *pumāns te putro nārī* ApMB  
 'Bear a male son' 'a male son is thine, O woman'  
*antarikṣasya dhartrīm* (TS om *an° dha°*) *viśvambhanīm* (TS °*nī*) *diśām adhipatnīm* (TS °*nī*) *bhuvanānām* (MS *disam bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS predicate nouns with preceding copula, in the others agreeing with object of *sūdayāmi*  
*sūryam cakṣur gamayātāt, vātum prānam anvavasṛjat* MS KS AB TB  
 AŚ ŚŚ *sūryas te* (AV *sūryo me*) *cakṣur vātah prānah* AV TS  
 KSA ŚŚ [Cf *sūryam* (TA *sūryam te*) *cakṣur gachatu vātum ātmā*  
 RV TA *sūryas cakṣur vātah prānam, puruṣasya vi bhejire* AV ]  
 In the same passages *anturikṣam asum* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ

*anlarikṣam ātmā AV TA ŚŚ pṛthvivim śarīram MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ pṛthvī śarīram (MŚ °ram aṣi) AV ŚŚ MŚ* With the first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like is to be understood. The second is a nominal clause (with 3d person copula 'understood', as used to be said). MŚ in a still unpublished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person *aṣi*, which would seem to require a voc. instead of nom. *pṛthvī*, or else *pṛthvī-śarīram* as a cop.

*agnunma yatra pratiranta āyuh (MG praturam na āyuh) RV AV MG* 'We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended for us, or the like)'

§382 (Others, in which the nom. form is subject of other intransitive verbs, are

*ā te prānam suvamasī AV punas te prāna ayati (TA ayati, AŚ āyātu) TS † TA AŚ*

*sahasrina upa no mahi vājan (no yantu vājuh) RV (both)*

*tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravinēha bhakṣiya TS tasya meṣṭasya vītasya dravinam ā gamyat TS tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya svīṣṭasya d.avinam māgachatu. KS* And others, see VV 1 §104u. Cf. also §326 above. *ihava iṣṭha nimita (MG nitaru) AG ŚG MG ApMB ihava dhruvā (ŚG sthūne) prati iṣṭha śale (ŚG dhruva) AV ŚG HG ihava dhruvām ni minomi śulam AV PG HG*

*ūrnamradasam (ūrṇā°) tvā sṛnamī (KS ūrnamradah prathasva, Kauś ūrnamrudam prathasva) svāsastham (VS † ŚB † °sthām) devebhyah VS TS KS ŚB TB Kauś ApŚ ūrnamrudah* of KS might be taken as voc. (since the text is here not accented), but Kauś suggests rather nom., and *svasastham* can only be nom. (neut.)

*yamāya somam sunuta (AV somah pavate) RV AV TA*

§383 We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as a sort of transition to the next subdivision

*sam ī vatsam na mātṛbhīh RV SV AB AŚ sam vatsa va mātṛbhīh RV SV AB AŚ* The first is followed by *sṛjūtā gayasadhanam*, the second by *indur hinvaṇo ayyate*. The calf is compared to soma in both, and the sense is essentially identical. The two hymns are workings-up of the same material, see *RVRep* 13, and on 9 104 2. We find here something like the 'phrase inflection' found in the next group

## 2 Phrase Inflection

§384 Often, as is well known, a phrase or an entire pāda is lifted out of its original context and put into a new context. Thus, naturally,

may require a change in the case of one or more noun forms. To such alterations we have applied the term 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2). As regards nominative-accusative shifts of this sort, they differ from those listed above essentially only in that the context in the two forms differs in such a way that in one form the nom. is required, in the other the acc. (In the preceding variants the context is essentially the same, but their internal syntax has been altered in a way that involves shift of case.)

§385. A simple illustration is the pāda *kṣīrena pūrnu (pūrnān) udakena dadhnā* (both AV). In the first form the nom. agrees with the nouns of the preceding pāda (*ghṛtahradā madhukūlāh surodakāh*), in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with *kumbhāns* of the preceding pāda (*caturah kumbhāns caturdhā dadāmi*).

§386. Sometimes two entire pādas are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words. Thus the two following variant pādas are pādas b, c of a verse which in RV has for a *tam ahyam bhurjor dhya*, but in SV *esa suryena hasate*. The epithets of Soma are in RV objects of *ahyan*, in SV subjects of *hāsate samvasānam* (SV °no) *vivasvatah* (SV °ta), followed by *patim* (SV *patir*) *vāco adābhyam* (SV °yah) RV SV.

§387. The long list of such variants now follows. It will be noted that sometimes shifts of number and gender as well as case are involved. For convenience these are listed separately, after the others (§388). Otherwise neither subdivision nor, as a rule, individual comment seems to be called for.

*pavumano vicarṣanīh RV pavumānam vicarṣanam RV* In quite different contexts, nom. subject of *arocayat*, acc. object of *gāyata tiro rajansy asṛtam* (RV \* °lah, SV *asṛtah*) RV (both) SV  
*kośa va pūrno vasunu SMB kośam na pūrnām vasunā nṛṣtam RV AV*  
*agni ratho na vedyah RV agnam ratham na vedyam RV* Cf. §348  
*hiranyābhīṣum (and °śur) asvinnā RV (both)* See *RVRep* on 8.5.28  
*iśāno jagatas putih AV TS KS ApMB iśānam jagadāh sada PG*  
*avyo vāre (SV avyā vārah) pari priyah (and, priyam) RV SV (both*  
*in each)*

*pībasphākam udārathim AV pīvo vrkka udārathih RV KS*  
*viśvasya jagato nīśām (ArS rātri) RVKl ArS*  
*sindhutas pary ābhṛtah (and °tam) AV (both)*  
*sutam somam diviṣṭiṣu RV sutah somo diviṣṭiṣu RV SV*  
*suśamiddham (VS susam°) varenyam VS TB suśamiddho (VS MS*  
*su.sam°) varenyah VS MS KS TB*



*ruṣvānam* (and °no) *devavitaye* RV SV (both in each)

*rṣbhīh sambhṛtam rasam* RV SV TB *rṣ° sambhṛto rasah* RVKh SV TB

*barhīś ca vedīś* (ŚŚ *vedīm*) *ca* MS ŚŚ

*dogdhṛīm dhenum* ŚŚ *dogdhṛī dhenuh* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB The verb is *āsuvam* in ŚŚ, in the others *jāyatām*. Likewise, in the same passages, these acc forms in ŚŚ with corresponding nouns in the others *volhūram anadvāham*, *āsum saptim*, *jṣnum ratheṣṭhām*, *pu-amdhim yoṣām*, *sabheyam yuvānam*. The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of 'phrase inflection' on a large scale.

*buhubhyah panthām anupaspaśānam* (AV.\* °nah, TA † *anapaspaśānam*) RV AV (bis) MS TA N The same verse, with acc governed by following verb, in all except AV 6 28 3, where the nom occurs preceded by *yah prathamah pravatam a sasāda*. This AV passage has adapted the orig. to a quite new context, see Whitney's note and Pischel, *VSt* 2 73.

*tiras tamānsi darśatah* (RV \* °tam) RV (both) AV SV TB ŚB ŚŚ The RV acc form and ŚŚ are followed by

*ghṛtāhavanam idyam* RV *ghṛtāhavana idyah* ŚŚ The nom of RV etc is in apposition with *agnih*, subject of *sam idhyate*, the acc is appropriate to its different context. In ŚŚ both occur as nvids, cf *RVRep* 192.

*agnih* (RV \* °agnim) *sukrena sacīṣā* RV (both) KS

*apām patim vṛṣabham osadhīnam* KS *apam patir vṛṣabha* (KS om *vṛ°*) *osadhīnam* MS KS

*ghṛtam duhānām aditīm janāya* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *ghṛtam duhanaditir janāya* KS

*sahasradhāru payasā mahi gauh* RV *sahasradharam payasa mahīm gām* VS TS MS KS ŚB Occurs thrice in RV, the nom being subject of various verbs. In the others preceded by *yam asya kanvo aduhat prapīnām*, a pāda found also in AV, where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz *sahasradhāram mahāso bhagayo*

*manah sahasravīryah* AV *manam sahasravīryam* AV

*yajīṣtham havjavāhana* (and °nam) RV *yajīṣtho havjavāhanah* RV

*rathītāmam rathīnām* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *rathītamo rathīnām* RV See *RVRep* on 1 11 1

*viśvajanasya chāyā* (MS KS MŚ ApMB *chāyāsi*) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ ApMB *viśvajanasya chāyām* ApŚ

*āyuh kīrtir varco yaśo balam* HG · *āyuh kīrtim yaśo balam annādyam*  
*prajāṃ* PG

*sahasradhāram* (TAA \*<sup>o</sup>ro) *akṣitam* (TAA \*<sup>o</sup>lah) RV AV TAA (both)

In RV both words are acc masc, epithets of *indum*. In AV twice in a wholly different stanza *ud utsam śatadhāram, sah<sup>o</sup> akṣ<sup>o</sup>, evāsmākedam dhānyam, sah<sup>o</sup> akṣ<sup>o</sup>*. This is recast in TAA thus *yathā kūpah śatadhārah, sahasradhāro akṣitah, evā me astu dhānyam, sahasradhāram akṣitam*. Ppp (JAOS 37 294 ff) agrees with TAA but for *akṣitah* and *akṣitam* (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the corruption *rūpaś* for *kūpaś*, which Barret l c failed to correct. The Ppp TAA reading makes both forms nom both times (once masc, once neut), and is simpler than AVŚ, which is certainly harsh, see Whitney on 3 24 4, who takes the forms as acc depending on the verb of the prec stanza. In pāda d they might be taken as nom neut, as in Ppp TAA, but in b this is difficult, since *utsa* is otherwise masc. We feel however that accs are impossible, and that either *utsa* is here felt as neut, or the forms of pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom neut). Cf the next, which is evidently related.

*sahasradhāram śatadhāram utsam akṣitam* AV *sahasradhāra utso akṣi-*  
*yamānah* ApŚ Cf preceding Different contexts

*añgabhedam añgajvaram* AV *añgabhedo añgajvarah* AV

*indram* (RV \* *indrak*) *somasya pītaye* (RV \* adds *vṛṣāyate*) RV (both)  
 AV SV

*duhśansam martyam rūpum* RV *duhśanso martyo rūpuh* RV

*dhanamjayam rane-rane* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait MŚ *dhanam-*  
*jayo rane-rane* RV SV TS MS KS

*manhīṣṭham vājasātaye* RV SV *manhīṣṭho vājasātaye* RV AA ŚŚ

*prajāpatih prathamajā ṛtasya* AV MS TS TA MahānU *prajāpatim*  
*prathamajāṃ ṛtasya* MS TB

§388 The following are precisely similar except that the variant forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case

*bahvīm prajāṃ janayanīm surūpām* (ApMB \* *janayanī suratnā, \* jana-*  
*yantau saretasā*) TA MahānU ApMB (bis)

*aṣṭasthūno daśapakṣah* Kauś *aṣṭāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV

*adhrām adya divsprśam* (RV \* SV MS \* KS \*<sup>o</sup>sah) RV (both) SV TS  
 MS (both) KS ApŚ N For *divsprśah*, nom pl rather than gen  
 sg, see *RVRep* on 1 142 8

*gaur āsvah puruṣah paśuh* AV TA *gām āsvam puruṣam jagat* (AV  
*paśum, RVKh āsvān puruṣān aham)* RVKh AV TA MahānU  
 ApMB HG *gā āsvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ

*vśvā rūpāni bibhratah* (AV \* °*tam*) AV (both) MS  
*samānam yonim anu samcarantam* RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *samānam*  
*yonim anu samcaranti* (AV MS °*carete*) RV AV TS MS KS  
 ApMB

*manhīṣṭham vo maghonām* RV *manhīṣṭhāso maghonām* RV  
*vśvair devair anumatā* (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhūh* AV VS TS MS KS  
 ŚB TA In both KS TA different contexts, in KS neut acc  
 adverb, see §817, in TA masc acc adjective, §849

*amṛtā martyebhyah* RV *amṛtam martyābhyah* TB ApŚ  
*sahasrasā medhasātā saniṣyavah* (RV KB *medhasātāv va tmanā*, VSK  
*medhasātā va tmanā*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS KB ŚB *sahas-*  
*rasām medhasātāv va tmanā* RV SV

### 3 Interchange of subject and object

§389 We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant pāda is altered. But now there is no longer any change in the syntax of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as goal of motion or the like. Yet without any alteration in the form or meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject and now as object. Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and vice versa. It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty. Thus in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say 'Brahman has increased the gods' or 'the gods have increased brahman'

*udgrābham ca nigṛābham ca* VS TS ŚB ApŚ *udgrābhās ca nig. ābhas*  
*ca* MS KS MŚ Followed in all but MŚ by

*brahma devā* (MS s p *devan*, KS *devān*) *avīrydhan* (MS KS °*dhat*)

The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to *brahma* rather than coordinate with it, cf Keith on TS 1 1 13 1

*na tat prāpnoti nirṛtim parācah* (KŚ *nirṛtim parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ *nābhi*  
*prāpnoti* (MŚ *prāpnuuyi*) *nirṛtim parācah* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB  
 AŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Destruction reaches it not' or 'it reaches not  
 destruction' For MŚ's verb see VV 1 p 265

*ojo na jūtir* (TB *jūtim*) *ṛṣabho* (MS † *vṛṣ°*, add to VV 2 §359) *na bhāmam*  
 VS MS TB Followed by *vanaspatir no dadhad indriyāni* TB  
 makes *ojas* subject and *jūti* predicate of the first simile, reversing  
 the relationship found in the others, but there is little real difference

*lābhīh samrabdhām anv avindan* (TB *samrabdhō avdat*) *ṣad urvīh* AV TB 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them', or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions)' In a mystic verse to Rohita, one version makes as good or as bad sense as the other

*viśvam anyām abhivāra* AV (Ppp *viśvam anyābhi vavāra*, which Whitney adopts, tho Barret *JAOS* 26 223 alters it to *anyām abhi*) *viśvam anyābhivāvṛdhe* TB ApŚ No doubt Ppp, supported by TB ApŚ, is more original in making *anyā* subject and *viśvam* object, but the AVŚ reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one' *ṣyok ca paśyāti* (PG °āsi, MG °ati) *sūryam* (MG °yah) AG PG ApMB MG 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun behold him)' See VV 1 p 235

*gamad indram* (SV *indro*) *vṛṣā sutah* (SV *sutam*) RV SV Apparently the reversal of relationship in SV was due to a feeling that *vṛṣā* is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (*sutah*) *tam vartanur* (SV °nīr) *anu vāvṛta ekam it puru* (SV *eka it*) SV AV 'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV) 'the path has followed him, the One, manifoldly' (AV) The latter is probably a secondary moulting over of SV

*ā tvā sakhāyah sakhīyā vavṛtyuh* SV *o cit sakhāyam sakhīyā vavṛtyām* RV AV In SV the passage is extensively reconstructed, the original object *sakhāyam* is made subject (with change of number also), and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pronoun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the object *tvā*

§390 In the remainder there is no double nom-acc shift, but a single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc), of the (always 'transitive') verb

*pra yakṣma etu nirṛtim* (AV °tīh) *parācah* AV TB HG ApMB 'Let the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV), 'let the fever go far away to perdition'

*jayānam* (SV °nah) *sapta mātarah* (SV *mātrbhīh*) RV SV Followed by *vedhām aśāsata śriye* RV, *medhām aśāsata śriye* SV

*sa sūra ā* (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayañ ṣyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ Followed by *ayā dhīyā taranur adṛibarhāh* (ŚŚ *aṅgrasvān*) The TB comm makes *indram* acc of goal, supplying *gachatu*, the subject is *sūrah* = *ādityah* ŚŚ makes *indrah* subject and *sūrye* loc

*tiṣṭhantam ava gūhatī* (mss °si) AV *tiṣṭhann evūva gūhasī* ŚŚ No intelligible meaning in either form

*agninā tapo 'nvabhavat* (KS † KSA † 'nvābhavat) TS KS KSA TB ApŚ

Followed in TS KS KSA by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named. In the first formula the form *tapo* is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS and KSA construe it as acc., this is doubtless the original construction 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained) *tapas*' KS makes it nom. '*tapas* has come up to (equalled, attained, sc him) thru (by) Agni'. Other phrases in the same lists are *yamena pitṛn* (KS *pitarah*), *udrena devan* (KS *devāh*, not in KSA), *vātena prānan* (KS *vāyurā pranah*, not in KSA), *vyaghrenaranyān pasūn* (KS *°uranyah pasuvah*), *ṛṣabhena* (KS KSA *vṛṣ*<sup>o</sup>) *gah* (KS *gāvah*), *vṛṣṇinavah* (KS *°avayah*), *yavenauṣadhīh* (KS *°dhayah*), *brāhmanena vācam* (KS *vācah*).

*vi parjanyaṃ* (TS *°yah*) *vṛjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyaḥ vṛjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS. In RV the subject is the Maruts and *parjanyaṃ* defines the *divah kosam* of the preceding half-verse. The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, *divah kosam*.

*muñcatu* (KS *muñceman*) *yajñam* (ApŚ *yajñō*, KS adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim anhasah svaha* MS KS ApŚ. In MS preceded by *vardhatam bhutir dadhñā gṛhṇena*, in KS by a similar but expanded phrase. It is evident that *bhuti* 'prosperity' is in both texts the agent that is to 'release the sacrifice and sacrificer from evil'. ApŚ with the same context as MS produces a lectio facilior by making *yajñah* the subject of *muñcatu* 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer'.

*pra yam* (SV *yo*) *raje niniṣasi* (SV *°ṣati*) RV SV. In VV 1 p 243 we have taken SV (which read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking *yo* to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (*maro yas te vaso daśat*). But perhaps Benfey may be right in making *yo* refer to *te* (= Agni) 'what mortal shall worship thee, who will lead [him] to wealth'. As to the 3d person in such relative clauses cf VV 1 §331, to which the variant should be transferred if this interpretation is correct.

*prasnapayanty ūrminam* RV *prasnapayanta ūrmayah* SV. The acc in RV is an epithet of soma, in SV it is replaced by an additional subject 'the ten associates (i.e. fingers) wash (soma), and the waves'. See VV 1 p 49, the SV form must intend present middle. Delete this variant on VV 1 p 143.

*śriyam ca lakṣmīm ca* TAA *śrīś ca lakṣmīś* TAA *śrīś ca puṣṭis*

MahānU Same context, in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm supplies *paramātmā*

[*indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB *indram karmasu avatu* MS For the better reading of TB see §326 ]

§391 In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another *samudrā* (MS °*drān*) *nidyō veśantāh* (MS °*lān*) AV MS Preceded by *divam brūmo nakṣatrāni, bhūmim yakṣāni, parvatān*, and followed by *te no muñcantu anhasah* In AV the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of *muñcantu*, in MS of the object of *brūmo*

*devā ājyapā jṣānā agna* (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS (*svāhā*) *devān ājyapān svāhāgnim hotrāj jṣānā agna ājyasya vyantu* TB In the first version *devāh* is subject of *vyantu*, in the second it becomes an additional object of *yakṣad* in the preceding (*hotā yakṣad agnim svāhājyasya* [sc *devān*])

*yenāvṛtam kham ca divam mahim* (MahānU *mahī, v 1 mahim*) ca TA MahānU Followed by *yenādityas tapati tejasā bhrājasā ca* If the nom be read, *mahī* (with *kham* and *divam* which must then also be nom) would be subject of *āvṛtam* 'by whom was enclosed the air, the sky, the earth' But Deussen's translation implies the v 1 *mahim* in MahānU, in that case all three nouns are objects of *tapati* in the next pāda 'by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth' The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so

#### 4 Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of *āhuḥ* 'they say' an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation Thus

*iyam vedih paro antah pṛthivyāh* RV AV VS ŚB AŚ LŚ *vedim āhuḥ param antam pṛthivyāh* TS KSA In the same verse

*ayam yaṅṅo bhuvanasya* (AV *visvasya bhu*°) *nābhih* RV AV VS LŚ *yaṅṅam āhur bhuvanasya nābhim* TS KSA And likewise

*ayam somo vṛṇo aśvasya retah* RV AV VS LŚ *somam āhur vṛṇo*

TS KSA —In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom remains in all texts Cf also

*dīrgham yac cakṣur aditer anantam* AŚ *yad āhuś cakṣur aditāv anantam*

PB JB (see Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases*, §48 24 R) Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender, and here the form with *āhus* is likely to be older

§393 The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following In the first the particle *iti* is brought in with the nom to make the syntax clear, in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence

*nirṛtim tvāham pari veda visvatah* VS MS ŚB *nirṛtir iti tvāham pari veda visvatah* (AV *sarvatah*) AV TS KS The meter seems to indicate that the acc is original, it is to be noted also that the preceding pāda in all texts has a similar phrase with *iti*, which may have attracted *nirṛtim* into its own construction 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti'

*atas tua rayim abhu* (SV *rayir abhy aṅyat*) RV SV The RV original makes *tua* object of *bharat* in pāda c, and *rayim abhu* probably an adverbial phrase, 'unto riches' (Otherwise but implausibly Grassmann) SV by a lect fac expands into a separate sentence 'thence may riches come unto thee'

*anāgaso yajamānasya vīrāh* (MŚ *vīrān*) AV ApŚ MŚ (Mss of MŚ *anuśaso* for *anā*<sup>o</sup>, and all but one *vīram*) The original has an independent sentence with nom, MŚ attracts the noun into apposition with *no* in *yo no ducṣti* preceding

*nābhā pṛthivyāh samudhāne agnau* (TS *°dhānam agnum*, MS KS *°dhāno agnum*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The only possible construction for the nom in MS KS seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject, *agnim* is object of the verb in the next pāda (*rāyaspoṣāya bṛhate havāmahe*) 'He (Agni) is kindled at the navel of the earth, we call Agni unto great increase of wealth' The very harshness of this may, however, be considered an argument for its greater originality, the other texts look suspiciously like lect fac

*tvām* (TB *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso jaruṇām* RV MS KS TB Preceded in all by *tvām vardhanti kṣitayāh pṛthivyām* In RV etc supply *vardhanti* also in this pāda (*rāya ubh*<sup>o</sup> subject, *tvām* object) In

TB this is made an independent statement (*tvam* subject, *rāya ubh°* predicate, comm *latsampādaka ity arthah*)

*agnim* (SV *agnih*) *suditaye chardih* RV AV SV (Conc VS for SV)  
In RV AV *agnim* and *chardih* are both accs with the preceding *īdīṣva* In SV 'Agni is the chardis'

*adhvarakṛtam* (TA °*kṛd*) *devebhyah* VS ŚB TA Preceded by *tvā ādade*, in VS ŚB *adhvarakṛtam* agrees with *tvā* But TA inserts between the two passages *abhṛir asī nārīr asī*, thus it makes our variant pāda an independent statement, understanding *asī*

*indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi* AV *indrasya bhāgah suvite dadhātana* ApŚ The latter is scarcely intelligible, *bhāyah*, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood The plural *dadhātana* is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow

*tāni* (HG *tām nah*, PG *sā nah*) *pūṣaṅ* (AV *pūṣan*, PG *pūṣā*) *chivata-mām* (PG *śiv°*) *erayasva* (PG *eraya*) RV AV ApMB ApG HG PG The PG has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean 'She (the bride) is Pūṣan (felt as 'prospering one') to us, bring her hither, most felicitous' The comm so takes it, Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading

*agnim hotāram iha* (MS MŚ *upa*) *tam huve* TS MS ApŚ MŚ *agnir hotopa tam huve* KS 'I call here (hither) Agni the hotar' 'Agni is the hotar, I call him hither'

*akṣatam arīṣtam rūndam* SMB *akṣatam usy arīṣtam rūnnam gopāyanam* ŚG In both preceded by a formula containing acc *tvā*, with which the epithets agree in SMB, in ŚG they are made predicates of a separate sentence It is hard to say which is original here

§394 A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc is part of the main clause Thus

*tam u śṭuḥi yo antah sindharu* AV *tam u śṭuhy antahsindhum* AŚ Followed by

*sūnuh* (AŚ *sūnum*) *satyasya yuvānam* 'Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful' The relative clause is here original, AŚ compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuh* also to *sūnum* Note the chaotic, rhetorically involved order of AV (*yuvānam* at the end agreeing with *tam* at the beginning) AŚ has a lect fac, involving case attraction, but all the epithets refer to the same person



§396 The reverse of this appears in the next, where the relative clause with predicate nom appears only in the secondary PG

*samvatsarasya pratimām* (PG °mā) AV TS KS ApŚ SMB PG HG MG The following pāda in PG is *yā tam rātrīm upāmahe* (for the others see VV 1 p 213), only PG has *yā* as subject of the relative clause, in which *pratimā* is predicate

§396 Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions

*tam kravyādum aśisamam* AV *yah kravyāt tam aśisamam* Kauś  
*veda te bhūmi hṛdayam* PG HG *yad bhūmer hṛdayam* [†*div candramasi śritam*] ApMB The latter is metrically poor and doubtless corrupt

*yo devo viśvād yam u kamam āhuh* AV *viśvādani agnum yam u* MS  
*kutādam agnum yam u* KS *yam kutādam agnum yam u* ApŚ The nom is doubtless original, the acc being due to attraction to the case of the following, note that ApŚ still has a relative clause, but attracts it into the same construction as the following

*dhattād asmabhyam dravineha bhadram* (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca bhadram*) TS MS ApŚ *datto asmabhyam* (etc, see Conc) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

*apāsya ye †sinah pasah* KS ApŚ ('off what fetters are bound on him') *apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān* Kauś Followed by *mṛtyūn* (KS ed *mṛtyor*, but best ms *mṛtyūn*) *ekasatam suve* (Kauś *nude*) The secondary change in Kauś is due to the influence of *mṛtyūn*

*tābhīr vahānam sukṛtām u lokam* (TA *vahemam sukṛtām yatra lokāh*)  
RV AV TA *vahāsi mā* (KS † *vahāsi sū*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS † *lokah*) KS TB ApŚ

*pṛchāmi* (IŚ °mo) *yatra bhuvanasya nābhīh* RV VS IŚ *pṛchāmi tvā* (AV *visvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīm* AV TS KSA TB

§397 In the next following group there is in both variants a relative clause, the nom is construed as part of this, while the acc is syntactically part of the main clause (both refer to the same entity) As in some of the preceding, the alteration is usually due to formal case attraction

*āranyān* (AV VS °yā) *grāmyās ca ye* RV AV (bis) VS TA Preceded by *paśūn* (*paśūns*) *tānś cakre vāyavyān* In RV TA *āranyān* goes with the preceding accusatives, in AV VS it is attracted into the relative clause In AV 11 5 21 the pāda occurs in a different context

*jyestho* (SV °tham) *yo vṛtrahā grne* RV AV SV There are no other

accs in the stanza, SV has turned *jyeṣṭho* into an acc to provide an object for the verb *grue*

*atrabhānum* (TB ApŚ °bhānū) *rodasī antar urvī* RV SV MS KS. TB ApŚ Preceded by *aganma mahā namasā yaviṣṭham, yo didāya samiddhah sve durone* (with unimportant variants) The acc goes with *yaviṣṭham* as object of *aganma* in the first pāda, because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo* This assumes that the TB comm is right in understanding °bhānuh, nom sg, instead of dual (with *rodasī*), which would be formally possible

*kakṣivāntam ya auśyah* (TS TA °jam) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA N The Tait version can only be interpreted by referring *ya(h)* to the god addressed 'who (didst make famous) K A' So Sāyana, who supplies *kṛtavān asr*, and Keith Of course the other reading (in which K° goes with the preceding object acc and is referred to by the relative, 'K who is the A') is original (cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on I 18 1)

*yathā mitrāya varunāya śamtamah* (SV °mam) RV SV Preceded by *punātā dakṣasādhanam, yathā śardhāya vītaye* 'Clarify the strength-producing (Soma), that (it may be) for a refreshing draft for the throng, that (it may be) most gratifying to M and V' So RV, making *śamtamah* subject of a separate clause, SV brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasādhanam*

*yadī śrāto* (AV *srātam*) *juhōtana* RV AV ApŚ MŚ Followed by *yady aśrāto* (AV °tam) *mamattana*, same texts The preceding pāda of RV AV makes clear the antecedent *indrasya bhāgam pṛvyam* 'If cooked do ye offer it, if not cooked, delay' The AV has attracted the adjectives into direct agreement with *bhāgam* (The comm on AV, however, takes them as nom neuter, supplying *havh*)

*svarpatim yad īm vṛdhe* RV AV *svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV The acc agrees with *indram (somasya pitaye)* in the preceding pāda, SV makes it subject of *vṛdhe*

### 5 Case attraction

§398 The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper 'transfer

of epithet', but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples *hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm* (TB °ti) VS MS TB It seems fairly clear that TB has attracted *sarasv* to the case of *tanūnapāt*, but how either of the noms is to be construed is not obvious. Common on VS dares to say that *tanū* is nom. used for acc. Perhaps the TB version may be understood as containing an independent statement 'Let the hotar worship! (The deities are) Tanūnapāt, Sarasvatī'

*anyam* (AV *anya*) *ū śu tvam* (AV omits *tvam*) *yamy anya u tvām* RV AV N See Whitney on AV 18.1.16 We believe that *anya* is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following *anya* *apsu dhūto nṛbhīḥ sutah* RV *apsu dhautam nṛbhīḥ sutam* SV Preceded by *śubhram andho devavātam*, and followed by *svadanti gāvah payobhīḥ* Sāyana takes the RV pāda as parenthetical (pādas a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding *somam* or the like as object of *svadanti* SV assimilates the participles in b to the case of *andho*, an easily comprehensible lect. fac Grassmann's suggestion that RV is incorrect is implausible

§399 As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption

*hṛtsu kratum ivaṛuno* (MS °nam) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The subject is originally Varuna, who has installed 'insight into hearts, Agni into dwellings' MS has an unintelligent assimilation of V to the surrounding accs, perhaps with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding stanza

*tebhīḥ* (AV VS VSK *tebhīyah*) *svarād asunītm etīm* (AV *asunīti no adya*) RV AV VS VSK It seems clear that AV, which Whitney calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of *asunītm* to the case of the adjoining word The following pāda is *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *tanvah*) *kalpayāti* (RV *kalpayasva*)

*viṣnum agan varunam pūrvahūtiḥ* AV *viṣnū agan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tm) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ In AV the prayer itself is the subject of *agan*, in MS it is made the goal, along with Viṣnu and Varuna, the subject being the offering or the water used with it The other texts use a locative which might be one of goal, agreeing in sense with MS, but see §457

*gāyatrī chanda indriyam, tryavir* (KS *trya*<sup>o</sup>) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS  
 KS TB *gāyatrīm chanda indriyam, tryavm gam vayo dadhat* VS  
 TB The noms are subjects of *dadhuh*, the accs objects of *dadhat*,  
 being assimilated to *indriyam* and *vayo*, which are accs (objects)  
 in both versions. These are the first of a series of formulas, all of  
 the same type, the meter names (in nom form) are *uṣṇik* (*uṣṇihā*),  
*anusṣṭup*, *brhālī*, *pañkīś*, *triṣṭup*, *jaḡatī*, *virāt*, *dm̐padā* (*dm̐pāc*), *kakup*  
 (*kakuc*), *atichandā*. For the epithets of cattle (*dityavād*, *pañcāvīr*  
 etc.) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Conc.

*ukhām* (MS KS † *ukha*) *svasāram adhi vedim asthāt* MS KS ApŚ  
 Preceded by *syūtā devabhīr amṛtenāgah* (MS KS °*āgāt*). The word  
*ukhā* is subject in MS KS and it seems scarcely possible to inter-  
 pret ApŚ (which addresses it directly in the 2d person) otherwise,  
 yet ApŚ stupidly assimilates the form to the following accs.  
 Caland translates *ukhā*, but notes that Hir Ś also reads *ukhām*,  
 so that the corruption is evidently very old.

*devah savitābhīmātīśahah* AV *savitu devo 'bhīmātīśāhah* Ppp *devam*  
*trātāram* (TS KS *savitāram*) *abhīmātīśāham* RV TS KS. Assum-  
 ing (cf Oldenberg, *Prol* 326 f.) that the acc, as in RV TS KS,  
 is original (tho it is difficult), the change to the nom in AV is  
 easy to understand. In AV the preceding pāda is *dhata vidhata*  
*dhuvanasya yas path*, and the following *adityā rudrā avinobha*,  
*devah pāntu yajamānam nirṛthāt*. For the others have a different  
 version beginning *imam yajnam* (cf §329), it is significant that  
 this acc is also eliminated in AV.

*yajñasya* (AV *cittasya*) *matī* (SMB *mātaram*) *suhava me* (AV *no*)  
*astu* AV TB SMB. Preceded by *akūtīm devīm manasa prapadye*  
 in SMB, which has put the epithet *mātī* syntactically into the  
 preceding clause, making it agree with *devīm*, the meter proves it  
 secondary.

*samyag āyur ṣyajāno* (MŚ *yajnam*) *yajñapatni dadhātu* (MŚ *dhah*) KS  
 MŚ. See VV 1 p 100. In MŚ *yajnam* is attracted to the case  
 of *āyur*.

*idāno* (KS °*na*) *vahnir* (KS *vahnim*) *namasa* AV VS VSK TS MS KS  
 Followed by

*agnim* (AV *agnih*) *sruco adhvarēsu prayatsi* (AV *prayakṣu*), same texts.  
 The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree,  
 VS TS MS. A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding  
 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration, to Agni  
 (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed'. In AV *agnim* is

changed to *agnih* to agree with its synonym *vahnih*, and the two *pādas* are more closely connected than in the original. In KS the attraction has worked in the opposite direction, *vahnir* becomes *vahnim* to match *agnim*, *srucō* is now the subject, *īdānā* agrees with it, and the preceding *pāda* (*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtēna* [AV *ghṛtā rat*], see §467) is changed to *achāyam yantri śavasā ghṛtācāh* (note retention of *ayam*, now ungrammatical!) 'here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier'. Ppp has *īde vahnim namasāgnim srucō dhvareṣu prayatsu*, which is translatable but obviously secondary.

*gāyatrīm trīṣṭubham jagatim anuṣṭubham* (MS <sup>o</sup>*līm vrājam*) AV TS MS *gāyatrī trīṣṭub jagatī vrāj* KS. This is the 3d *pāda* of a verse whose 4th *pāda* in TS MS KS (omitting slight variants) is *arkam* (TS *brhad arkam*) *yuñjānāh svar ābharann idam*. It appears that KS has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with *yuñjānāh* (the leaving *arkam* to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS MS), they thus become subjects of the verb *ā-abharann*. The AV varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt, its accs must depend on the verb of the 1st *pāda*.

*yuvō ratho adhvaram* (AV † GB † <sup>o</sup>*ro*) *devavītaye* RV AV AB 6 12 7 (add in Conc) GB. Followed by the verb *yāti* (*yātu*) 'Your chariot goes to the sacrifice'. In AV *adhvaro* is awkwardly attracted to the case of *ratho* 'let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach'. Ppp is reported to read *adhvaram*.

*ā gharṇo agnim ṛṣayann asādi* (TA *asādī*) RV TA *ā gharṇo agnir amṛto na sādī* MS. In the latter *agnim* has been changed to the case of *gharṇo*.

*kāmam* (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā msa* (AV *uveśa*, KS TB *visat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ. There seems little doubt that the nom is original, and it is likely that the acc is due to attraction to the case of *samudram*. The two accs must be taken as in apposition. According to the comm on TA the subject is *dakṣiṇā*. TB has the following explanation of the meaning *samudra va hi kāmah, neva hi kāmasyānto 'sti, na samudrasya nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhuk* RV *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhīyam dhāh* SV. Highly problematical, *nayanto* agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject ('they', really the singers), *nayantam*, like the other accs in the verse, must be object of *dhāh*. In SV the subject is Agni and the accs probably refer to the singer (now singular).

## 6 Transfer of epithet

§400 A very large number of nom-acc variants concern what we have described above (§14) as 'transfer of epithet' That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group, but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form As in all cases of 'transfer of epithet', these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case, such instances are given separately No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made

§401 The following show no change in number or gender

*iyarti dhūmam aruṣam* (MS KS °yo) *bharibhrat* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB '(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke', original, changed in MS KS to read 'the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke'

*svar devā* (TS TB ApŚ *devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §§340, 349 The nom or voc is certainly original, the acc secondary 'The nom would apply the epithet *devāh* to the priests 'we have gone to heaven as gods', the acc, 'we have gone to heaven, to the gods'

*ye ca devān* (ŚŚ *devā*) *ayajanta* AV ŚŚ The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of *dakṣiṇā*, AV means 'who have sacrificed to the gods' (referring to *maghavāno* which follows) In ŚŚ *devāh*, if nom, must refer to *maghavānah*, as in the preceding variant It might however be voc (again as in the preceding)

*mā no hṛnātām atithi* (SV *hṛnāthā atithim*) *vasur agnih* RV SV Followed by *puruprasasta eṣah* RV 'let not Agni, our kindly guest, be ashamed of us, much praised is he' The SV distortion makes *atithi* object of the verb, referring to some vague person (the *yajamāna*?) other than Agni, to whom it originally belonged It seems to mean 'bc not ashamed of our guest (O Agni), Agni is kindly, much praised is he'

*dādīhi deva devayuh* (SV °yuh) RV SV Preceded by *abhi dyumnam bṛhad yaśa iśaspate* In RV *devayuh* is in logical apposition with the subject of the imperative, in SV it is apparently made to refer to the worshiper (so Benfey), as a second acc with *dādīhi*

*jaytram indra* (KS *jaytrāyano*) *ratham ā tiṣṭha gaur* (AV *gondam*) RV SV AV VS TS MS KS Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference But the

rest of the stanza is *triṣṭubh*, and it is curious that AV turns this *pāda* into a *jaḡatī* by this otherwise harmless alteration. One or two mss are quoted by Lanman as reading *govat*, but Ppp (JAOS 40 151) supports *govdam*.

*vprasya vā yac chāsāmāna ukthyam* (AV °yah) RV AV. Followed by *vījam*, with which the adjective agrees in RV, in AV (with the help of the adjoining *śāsāmānah*) it is transferred to the subject (Agni).

*pari dyukṣam sanad rayim* SV. *pari dyukṣah sanadrayih* RV. In RV both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following *pāda*, in SV *sanad* is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with *rayim* as object, and *dyukṣam* agreeing therewith.

*āreśatrum* (TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *āre śatrūn*) *kṛnuhi sarvavīram* (TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ °vīrah) AV † TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ. In AV the epithet goes with the object (*imam* of the preceding *pāda*), in the others, with the subject.

*punar brahmāno (brahmā) vasunītha* (°nītur, °dhīte, °dhītam, °dhītam) *yaḡñāih (agne)*, see §340.

*ava priyā* (AV *priyān*) *adhūṣata* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB. If *priyā(s)* is really nom, as commonly assumed it must agree with the subject (in RV apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitṛs), *priyān* is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers. Grassmann takes *priyās* as acc fem, supplying *gīras* (Most AV mss read *avā 'priyān*, with wrong accent, see Whitney's note).

*īrdhvo adhvaram divi deneṣu dhehi* VS ŚB. *īrdhvam* (VSK °vo) *imam* (VSK omits) *advharam* *hotrā yacha* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA.

*jāmim* (KS † *camī*, see VV 2 §57) *mā hnsīr* (AV *mā jāmim moṣīr*) *amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* (AV KS † °nāmī) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ. The nom agrees with the subject, the acc with the object *jāmim*.

*svargān (svargam, svagān) arvanto (arvato) jayata (jayena, jayatah, jayati)*, see §350.

*tam akratum* (KU °tuh) *paśyati vīśakoh* TA. MahānU KU ŚvetU. *pra yo jajñe vidvān* (AV °vān) *asya bandhum* (AV *bandhuh*) AV TS KS. Followed by *viśvā devānām* (TS *viśvani devo*) *janimā vivakti*. The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure. It is, however, clear that *bandhuh* must be construed with or as the subject of *vivakti*, and *bandhum* as one of the objects of *vivakti* or object of *vidvān*.

*urulrapso viśvarūpa induh* TS ApŚ *purudasmō viśurūpa induh* VS ŚB *purudasmavad viśvarūpam induh* KS Followed by *pavamāno* (VS ŚB *antar*) *garbham* (TS *dhīra*, VS ŚB *mahimānam*) *ānañja dhīrah* (TS *garbhām*) The adjectives agree with the object *garbham* in KS, with the subject *induh* in the others

*samarabhyordhvo adhvaro divispṛṣam* TS TB *ūrdhvo adhvaro divispṛk* MS KS In the ritual the TS passage (followed by *ahruto yajño yajñāpateh*) is addressed to the sacrifice (*āghāra*), and can only be interpreted (understanding *āghāram* as object of *samārabhya*, as TB does) 'lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (*āghāra*), the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed' The reading of MS seems to be a lect fac, *samārabhya* is taken easily with the preceding formula, and *divispṛk*, assimilated to the preceding nouns, applies to *adhvaro* (KS omits *samārabhya*) Keith considers the TS TB reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice

*sarasvatī vayatī peso antaram* (TB and ins of KS °rah) VS MS KS TB Preceded in all by *tad asvinā bhīṣojā rudravartanī* 'The Aśvins and Sarasvatī make(s) his inner form' *antaram* agrees with *peso* But *antarāh*, read by the sole ms of KS as well as TB (v Sehr emends), is difficult The TB comm seems to have no qualms about making it agree with Sarasvatī (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = *antar*? *yā tu sarasvaty antarāh śarīramadhye*) All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with *peso*

*ud asthām amṛtān anu* VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApMB *ud asthāmāmṛtā vayam* (HG *abhūna*) AV HG 'I have risen up after the immortals' 'we have risen up immortal' The AV verse seems on the whole to be secondary to that of the Yajus texts, and to have transferred the epithet to the subject

*asmīn yajñe suhavāmi* (AV °vā) *johavīmi* AV MS KS TS AŚ ŚŚ N Preceded by *kūhūm devīm sukṛtam vidmanūpasam* (with slight variants) AV comm also has *suhavāmi*, agreeing with *kūhūm*, if *suhavā* be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman

*prajāpatiṛ yam prathamo jygāya* ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB *prajāpatih prathamo 'yam jygāya* AŚ Preceded by *tayānarudam kāmam aham jayāmi* In AŚ (*a*)*yam* goes with the preceding nouns 'this Prajāpati was the first to win (it)' The other, with *yam* referring to *kāmam*, is doubtless original

§402 Transfers of epithets between nominative and accusative forms which involve also changes in number or gender or both are



*viśvāni yo amartyo (havyā marṣeṣu ranyati) RV viśve yasminn amartye (havyam martāsa indhate) SV See §457*

*tad ayam (MG idam) rājā varuno 'numanyatām AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG ayam agrees with the subject rājā etc, idam with the object tad*

*devān achā na majmanā RV deva indro na majmanā SV In SV the epithet deva is attracted into agreement with the subject*

*yā rājānā (TS °nam) saratham yātha (MS yāta) ugrā TS MS KS Subject is Mitra and Varuna, with which rājānā agrees 'ye (MS they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot' TS transfers it to the object 'ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot'*

*agnis tad visvam (AV msa viśvād) ā prnāti (AV °tu) indvān RV AV TS MS KS With Whitney and SPP viśvād (epithet of Agni) must be kept in AV*

*anāhanasyam vasanam jarisnu (ŚG car°, PG °nuh) ŚG PG HG ApMB Sec VV 2 §57*

*anuttas carṣanūdhṛta SV anutta carṣanūdhṛta RV Preceded by tvam vṛtrani hanse (anutta with vṛtrani, °tas with tvam = Indra)*

*ayā san (MS ŚŚ ayah san, KS ayas san, Kauś ayāṣyam) havyam ūhiṣe MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG The original epithet of Agni is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to havyam*

*devatrā yantam avase sakhāyah (KS °yam) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by anu tva matū pitaro madantu The original applies sakhāyah to matū pitaro, KS transfers it to tvā (influenced no doubt by yantam)*

*vapāvantam (MS °to) nāgninu tapantah TS MS TA Preceded by añjanu yam prathayanto na vprāh, MS transfers the epithet from object to subject*

*prānyā luntūns tirate dhalte anyā AV avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB In AV anyā anyā refers to weaving maidens, in TB it is transferred to the threads*

*visvani yo amartyah RV visve yasmin amartye SV The n acc visvani of RV agrees with the following havyā, the masc nom visve with the following martāsah*

*duvīm (VS devīm) nāvum svartum anagasam (AV °sah) RV AV VS TS MS KS In AV ana° is transferred to the subject of druhema sā samtātī (SV °tā, TB ApŚ santacī) mayas karad apa sridhah RV SV TB ApŚ samtātī is epithet of mayas, on the other see VV 2 §156*

- bhūriathātrām bhūry āveśayanām* (AV °lah) RV AV See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 126, and §14 above
- viśvavidum* (AV °do) *vācam avīśvaminvām* (AV *avīśvaminvām*) RV AV Discussed by Edgerton, l c 128, the AV is secondary
- yavena* (AV \* *yavena vā*) *kyudham puruhūti viśvām* (AV \* *viśve*) RV AV (quater) The AV once transfers the epithet 'all' from *kyudham* to the subject (of *tarema* in the preceding)
- dhinām antah sabardughah* RV *dhenām antah sabardughām* SV In RV the adjective agrees with *vanaspatir* (= *Soma*), in SV it is attached to the false form *dhenām*
- parāsutṛpo abhi śośucānah* RV *parāsutṛpah śośucatah śrñihī* AV In RV śo° agrees with *Agni*, subject of preceding *śrñihī*, in AV with the object (*mūradevān*)
- dyumantam sam idhīmahī* RV SV VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ *dyumantah sam idhīmahī* AV TS MS KS Acc with preceding object *tvā gharman śocantah* (AŚ °ta, ŚŚ °tam) *pravineṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ In AB nom with *dhiṣanīh* in preceding, in ŚŚ acc with *gharmam* On AŚ cf VV 1 p 165
- āmūn naya* (RV MS *āyūn nu yanī*) *namasā vātahavyam* (RV † MS † °yāh) RV AV MS In RV MS *rā°* goes with nom *pañca jandh* in the following
- achīdram* (SMB °rah) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented SMB may understand voc rather than nom
- vande dārum* (? see VV 1 p 218) *vandamāno vvakmi* RV *vandadvārā vandamānā vvaṣtu* SV Preceded by *indrasyeva pra tavasas kṛtāni*, in SV *vanda°* is attracted into agreement with *kṛtāni*
- vandārus te* (VS ŚB °rus te, add to VV 2 §958, MS KS °rum te) *tanvam* (*tanvam*) *vande agne* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The meaning here shifts with the form, nom 'praising', acc 'praiseworthy' (fem gender, with *tanvam*, tho the masc would have the same form)
- akhīdrāh* (ApŚ *aghorah*, VS ŚB *achīnnapatrāh*, MS *achīnnapatrāh*) *prajā abhivṛpasya* (VS MS ŚB *anuvīkṣasva*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
- viśvāh pṛtanā abhībhūtaram naram* (SV PB Svidhī *narah*) RV AV SV PB AŚ Vait Svidhī Followed in RV AV SV by *sajūs tatakṣur indram jajanus ca rājase*
- ahruto maho dharunāya devān* (AV *devah*) RV AV Followed by *divīva jyotih svam ā mimīyāh* (AV † °yāt) In AV (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) *devah* is made an epithet of the subject (a horse)

*trīn samudrān samasppal svargān* (MS °ḡah) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS °ḡan) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ *ye ceme* (TS *cemām*, VS *carnam*) *rudrā abhūtah* (MS NīlarU *abhūto rudrāh*) VS TS KS MS NīlarU The nom *ime* goes with *rudrāh*, *enam* (= Rudra) or *imām* (apparently the earth) is construed as object of *abhūtah*

*śukrām vajanty asurāya nirṇijam* RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A'

*sa nah pṛthū* (TB °uh) *śravāygam* RV SV ŚB 'TB *pṛthū*, object 'the broad (space)' In TB transferred to the subject (Agn)

*ny adhur mātrāyām* (KS *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayoḥsah* (KS °sam) MS KS In MS *vayo°* goes with *kavayo*, in KS with *agnim* in the following

*apo mahi vjajati cakṣuse tamah* RV *apo mahi vṛnūtv cakṣusā tamah* SV PB *mahī* refers to the subject Uśas, *mahī* refers to the darkness which she uncovers

*sūryam cāmū rīśādasah* (RVKh °sam) AV RVKḷi ŚŚ (ed of AV *cāmum rīśādasam*, but mss as ŚŚ, RVKḷi Scheftelowitz p 157) The original nom pl agrees with *devāh* in the next sentence, RVKḷi has acc sg with *sūryam* (The form *amū* is probably neut pl of *asau*, cf Wackernagel 3 p 350)

*ulokam u dve upa jāmin iyatuh* RV *lokam u* (ApŚ *id*) *dve upa jāmin iyatuh* MS ApŚ *jāmin* transferred from object to subject

*agnim bharantam* (MS KS °tā) *asmayum* VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *yuñjāthām rāsabham yuvam*, *asmim yāme vṛjanvasū* The acc agrees with *rāsabham*, the nom dual with the subject of *yuñjāthām* (the adhvaryu and yajamāna) The mss of MS (s p and p p) read *asmayuh*, perhaps they intend *asmayū*, which would be another transfer

*tā* (TS *te*, VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vān*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhym* (TS °ye) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Only in TS the pronoun (*te*) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following *te*, euhitic from *tvam*)

*suvirāh prajāh prajānayan parīhi* TS MS KS TB ApŚ *suvirō virān prajānayan parīhi* VS ŚB

*varenyakratūr* (AV °tur) *aham* RVKḷi AV *īdenyakratūr* (text *īde°*, doubtless misprint) *aham* ApŚ Scheftelowitz reads °tur in RVKḷi The form °tūr is acc pl fem agreeing with the waters, and this is a simpler reading than °tur (nom sg masc), going with *aham*

*dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantaḥ* (PB *abhīsam*<sup>o</sup>) TS PB TB PG  
ApMB *dhvāntā vātā agnīm abhi ye samcarantaḥ* MŚ MG The  
ms of MŚ MG read *dhvāntā* (nom dual, going with the subject  
in the preceding *pāda*) *vātāgnīm* (for which *vātāgram* is doubtless  
the true reading, cf VV 2 p 402)

*ā rasmīn* (RV *rasmīm*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB  
*svasvah*) RV VS ŚB TB

*jyotiṣmatī* (MS °*tīh*) *prati muñcate nabhaḥ* TS MS KS PG Followed  
by *devī rātrī sūryasya vratāni*, or an equivalent In MS *jyo*<sup>o</sup>  
(originally epithet of *rātrī*) is made an object of the verb

*jīvam* (comm *jīvan*) *devebhya uttaram stnāmi* AV *devebhyo jīvanā*  
*uttaram bharema* TA In TA *jīv*<sup>o</sup> is epithet of the subject, so  
*jīvan* if this is intended in AV (then with variation of number  
only), *jīvam*, if intended, must go with the object *uttaram*

*hiranyarūpam* (MS KS MŚ °*varnam*) *uśaso vyuṣṭau* RV MS KS MŚ  
*hiranyarūpā* (TS TB °*varnāv*) *uśaso* (TS TB °*sūm*) *viroke* VS  
TS ŚB TB Followed by

*ayasthūnam* (TS *ayasthūnāv*) *udūtā* (TS MS KS °*lū*) *sūryasya* RV  
TS MS KS In both of these the dual noms agree with the  
subject, Mitra and Varuna, the accs with the object, *gṛtam*

*ekamṣa r̥bhavah* (VS † °*vi*) *stutam* (VS *stutāh*) VS MS KS TB One  
of six consecutive and parallel verses in all, the remaining five  
have (before *stutam* or *stutāh*) *rudrāh pañcadase*, *vasavas trvptā*,  
*stome saptadase*, *trayastrinse 'mṛtam* (°*tā*, VS), *trinave marutah* (TB  
*ma*<sup>o</sup> *tri*<sup>o</sup>) In VS *stutāh* agrees with the subject, a group of gods  
that varies in each verse In the others it agrees with the object  
in *pāda d* (*haviṣ indre vayo dadhuh*)

*hiranyayāh* (MS °*yayā*) *sucayo dhārapūtāh* RV MS Preceded by *trī*  
*rocanā dvyā dhārayanta* In RV *hir*<sup>o</sup> agrees with the subject,  
the Ādityas, in MS with the object *rocanā*

*mūtā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣhā* (MS *vīram jajunaj janīṣṭham*) RV  
VS MS KS TB

*urv* (AŚ *ūrvy* and *urvy*) *antarīkṣam vīhi* VS MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ  
(bis) ApŚ MŚ The nom must agree with the subject of *vīhi*

*su praty ud* (MS *sa pratyāñī*) *aid dharunam* (TS MS KS *dharuno*)  
*madhvo agram* AV TS MS KS KSA AŚ ŚŚ KŚ Part of a  
mystic verse, the sense is no better and no worse, whether the  
adjective goes with *sa* or with *agram* But it may be based on  
*juhomi te dharunam madhvo agram* RV AV, in a ritualistic con-  
nexion, this rather points to the originality of the acc

*mahiṣam nah subhvam tasthvānsam* MS *samudram na subhvah svā abhṛṣṭayah* RV *samudram na subhavam* (AV *subhavas*, TB Poona ed *subhavam*) *tasthvānsam* AV TB ApŚ — Ppp reads like MS but for *subhavas* (Barret *subhavas*, suggesting *subhavam* as a better reading, JAOS 35 46) Same context in all except RV, the acc agrees with *samudram*, the nom with the subject of the verb in the next pāda. Perhaps AV is influenced by recollection of the RV passage (i.e. shows contamination of two passages)

*yajā no* (or *yajāno*, so Poona ed of TB with MS, see VV 2 p 376) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajārah svīrah* MS TB AŚ ApŚ. Nom *devo* is construed as epithet of subject Agni, acc. as object of *yajā* (or *yajāno*), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers

*avīraghno* (ApMB † °nī) *vīratarah* (HG °tamah, AŚ ApŚ ApMB *vīravatah*) *svīrān* (HG *susevān*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB *vīram hī* (read *avīraghni*?) *vīravatah susevā* MG. The accs refer to *grhān*, the noms to the subject *aham*, which is fem in ApMB MG. Presumably the masc *aham* is more original, *vīratarah* would be impossible in ApMB MG. Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet. But the nom *susevā* of MG alone is certainly secondary

*vi mamarṣa rohito visvarūpah* TB *vi rohito amṣad visva upam* AV. The latter original (*visva upam* object)

*parīmam rāyo manuṣyam* KS *parīmam rāyas pṛso yajamānam manuṣyāh* TS. And others, see §§442 etc. In KS *manuṣya* is applied to the *yajamāna*, 'let wealth invest this man'. In TS *rāyas* is gen., and *manuṣyāh* must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men', or, with thought of *dāvīr viśo* in the preceding, 'human clans'

*codad rādha upastutas* (ArS °tam) *cid arvāk* RV AV ArS MS TB. In RV etc. the adjective goes with the subject, Indra, in ArS with *rādha(s)*

*apo devā* (TS MS KS ApŚ *devīr*) *madhmatīr aṅṛbhnan* (TS ApŚ *aṅṛhnan*, MS KS *aṅṛbhnam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. The acc fem *devīr* is doubtless orig., *devā(h)* goes with the subject

*ayam* (TA *idam*) *devo vanaspath* AV TA. Preceded by *varuno varayātā* (*vārayāt*). TA feels the need of an object, and alters *ayam* to *idam*.

*ādityā rudrā upariṣṛṣo nah* (KS °sam mā) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariṣṛṣam mā* RV VS TS. Followed by *ugram cettāram adhrājam akran* (AV *akrata*). The adjective, orig. going with *mā*, is transferred to the subject in AV.

*ād im aśvam na hetārah* (SV °ram) RV SV Followed by *aśūsubhann amṛtāya, madho* (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* 'As drivers (decorate) a horse', RV in SV *hetāram* is Soma (attracted to the case of *rasam*), 'the inciting one'

*yasya dyāvo na vicaranti mānuṣā* (SV °ṣam) RV SV The meaning of RV is doubtful Oldenberg 'whose (Indra's) gifts to men go their course like the days', Geldner 'for whom the ages (*yugāni*) of men pass like (his) days' In SV *mānuṣam* is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean 'friendly to man', the relative clause might mean 'whose heavens do not pass away' (so Benfey)

*taḥ jānatīr abhy anūṣata vrāh* RV *tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata kṣāh* ArS In RV *taḥ* is object of *jānatīr*, in ArS *tā(h)* attracted to agreement with it

*indra jaṭharam navyo* (SV AŚ ŚŚ °yam) na AV SV AŚ ŚŚ For the difficulties involved see Whitney's note, in any case the word goes with Indra in AV, with *jaṭharam* in the rest

*tvam ṡsamudram prathamō vi dhārayah* (SV °drah *prathame vidharman*) RV SV Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom 'You first arranged the sea (for the gods)' 'du bist das Meer im allerhochsten Trager' (Benfey)

*indram juṣānd vṡṡanam* (VS *janayo*) na *patnīh* VS MS KS TB Here different words are involved 'Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives' 'taking delight in Indra, like wedded women'

§403 In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term 'transfer of epithet' applies strictly In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term Namely in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an 'epithet' of any other word In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section Cf §15

*pratnam na pāti kāvyam* RV ('he protects the ancient wisdom') *ṡpratnāni* (Conc *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyah* KS ('he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like]')

*prajāpatim aham tvayā samakṣam ṡdhyāsam* GB Vait *prajāpatir aham tvayā sāksād ṡdhyāsam* MŚ 'May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee' 'may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thru thee' The latter is original, see Caland on Vait

*achāyam eti śavasā gṡṡtena* (AV *gṡṡtā cit*) AV Ppp VS TS MS *achāyani yanti śavasā gṡṡtācīh* KS See §467

*sandhātā sandhim* (MS *sandhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (*puro*<sup>o</sup>, *puru*<sup>o</sup>)  
RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The nom can only be  
felt as going with the subject, but the whole verse is very corrupt  
in MS

*gīrah somah* (SV *gīra stomān*) *pavamāno manīśāh* RV SV 'The puri-  
fied soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV 'the puri-  
fied one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions'

*evam tam garbham ā dhehi* RVKh MG *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva*  
ApMB

*asmabhyam indav indrayuh* (SV *indriyam*) RV SV The verb is  
*pavasva*, to which SV supplies an object *indriyam*, *indrayuh* is  
nom, epithet of the soma-drop (*indu*)

*duras ca msvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV AV *turus cid msvam ṛarnaṇat tapas-  
vān* AV *duras* is object of *avṛnod*, *turas* apparently felt as epithet  
of the subject

*samidhyamānah prathamānu dharmā* (TB ApŚ *prathamō nu dharmah*)  
RV † TB ApŚ (RV p p *prathamā, anu, dharmā*) 'The original  
neut pls were misunderstood later and made into nouns sg masc,  
epithets of the subject, Agni Doubtless the adjacent *samidhya-  
mānah* helped Caland translates ApŚ as if it had the RV read-  
ing, tho he has no note

*yuṣmāns ca dāyam ma upetā* (ŚŚ *dāyam copetām*) AB ŚŚ Followed  
by *vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ *uta vidmasi upetā* is nom sg of a  
nomen agentis used as periphrastic future 'he shall obtain you as  
an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know'  
In ŚŚ we have *upetām*, past pple, attracted into agreement with  
*vidyām*, in this form there is no verb to govern the accs

*dharṣā* (VSK °*ṣān*) *mānuṣāh* (KS °*ṣam*, TS ApŚ °*ṣān*) VS VSK TS  
MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In KS TB ApŚ acc object of the verb,  
in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject 'be bold, as a  
man (VSK let the man be bold)'

*tasmā devā amṛtāh* (AV °*tam*) *sum vyajantām* (AV °*tu*) AV TS MS  
KS ApMB In AV *amṛtam* is a noun, object of the verb

#### 7 Neuter acc adverbs varying with nom adjectives

§404 In a small and simple group we find neuter accusative adverbs  
varying with nominative adjectives, virtually equivalent in meaning  
*subhūh svayambhūh prathamah* (AŚ ŚŚ °*mam*) VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ  
*somah prathamō vivide* RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jāyā prathamam*  
AV 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)' '(thou wast) Soma's  
wife first'

*caraty ananuvratā* ApMB HG *vicaranty apativratā ŚŚ* *yac cacārā-nanuvratam* (adverb) ApŚ Preceded by *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (or the like)

*ava tara* (TS *avattaram*, AV *avattaro*) *nadiṣv ā* (AV *nadinām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaram* apparently an adverb, *avattaro* adj agreeing with the subject MS p p has *avataram*, which seems to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS

*svasti nah pūrnāmukhah pari krāmatu* (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB HG We now would render (rather than as in VV 1 §359) 'Happily may he, with his face turned full towards us (HG they, with their faces ), walk round us' So better than Oldenberg's interpretation of HG, 'walk round our full face' The Sūtra itself renders by *pradakṣiṇam*

*asambādhdā yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp *mānaveṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś See §623

*dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śucih* (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *śuci* may be taken as an adverb

*ṛsvair devair anumatā* (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhih*, see §388 above KS has an adverb

*ṛṣvak patantu didyavah* RV *ṛṣvañco asmac charavah patantu* AV āgne *yāhi suvidatrebhir arvān* (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvān*) RV AV MS TB N

*prān* (VS TB *prāñk*, MS *prāk*, p p *prāñ*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK MS ŚB TB ApŚ

*pratyak* (p p *pratyañ*) *somo atisrutah* MS *pratyañ* (VS TS MS † ŚB † TB *pratyañk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS \* †10 31b, MS *atisrutah*) AV † (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ

§405 Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem acc adverb varying with a nom adjective, but the form is very suspicious

*didāyānūdhmo* (MS °*mām*) *ghṛtanirṇig apsu* RV TS MS '(Agni) shone in the waters without kindling' If MS is sound it would seem to have an adverb All s p mss agree, curiously the p p reads *didāya*, *asme ity asme*

### 8 Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406 The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classifiable Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of one form, or both, is troublesome



*sakṛd yat tvā* (KS *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS *garbham*) *āśayat* TS KS  
Here *garbha* is used in different senses 'embryo' (TS) and 'womb'  
(KS)

*amāsi sarvān* (AŚ *sarvān*) *asi pravṛṣṭah* AŚ Kauś. *amo 'si sarvān asi*  
*pravṛṣṭah* ŚG *amā hy asi sarvam anu pravṛṣṭah* SMB The origi-  
nal is certainly *sarvān* (from *sarvāñic*), the accs are lect fac

*apa snehitīr* (SV *snīhitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛma-*  
*nām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS *upa stuhī tam nṛmnām* (Poona  
ed *stuhī tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA The latter is plainly  
corrupt. The acc *nṛmanām* (had form in any case) may be felt  
as a second object, correlative with *snehitīr*, but the interpretation  
is certainly dubious

*sūryasya marīcīh* TA *sūryo marīcim ādatte* TA Probably the two are  
not really related. The former occurs in a list of the *patnīs* of  
various gods, the latter in a cosmic verse about creation

*ulūdāya pṛthivīm jīvadānum* (TS TB ApŚ *jīradānuh*, MS KS *jīra-*  
*dānum*) VS TS MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ The form is clearly  
established as the reading of the Tait school, but there is no main  
verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe. Both Keith and  
Caland think an acc (agreeing with *pṛthivīm*) must be read

*kratum dadhukrā* (MS *°krām*) *anu santavītvat* (VS MS KS ŚB *samsa-*  
*niṣyadat*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N The context is  
identical in MS, and only a nom seems construable. 'Dadhukrā,  
showing his strength according to his will'. Is the final *m* in MS  
mere 'Hiatusstilger'? Cf VV 2 §308 ff

*samānam ayman* (PB *ṭayman*) *pary eti* (TA ApŚ *ajmā pari yāti*)  
*jāgrvāh* RV PB TA ApŚ In RV 'watchful he (Agni) goes about  
his accustomed course'. The nom *ajmā* is apparently felt as an  
epithet of Agni (TA comm *svarguyamanasīlah*), but is scarcely to  
be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ). Comm on  
PB understands *ayman* (for *ayman*) as a loc., but probably mis-  
understands the intention of its text. On *y* for *j* in PB see Caland's  
translation, xxv. The Conc should be corrected for this and  
*ṭaymanī te pṛthivīm agnīnā saha*, and these interesting variants  
added to VV 2 §192. Cf also Raghu Vira, *Kapīsthala-Kaṭha-*  
*Samhitā*, 5, Oertel 28

*brhaspatim yajñam akrīvata ṛṣim* RV *brhaspatir yajñam atanuta ṛṣih*  
AV The same passage in both texts, dealing otherwise wholly  
with Yama, the introduction of a statement about Brhaspati's  
action is evidently a stupid blunder

*yāns* (TA Poona ed text and comm *yās*) *te soma prānāns tān* (*tān*, *tān*) *juhomi* TA MahānU Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine' Comm on MahānU supplies *paśyāmi* as governing the acc The nom *yās* makes construction simpler (*prānāns* for *prānās* being then attracted to the following *tān*)

*sum takṣā hantī cakrī vah* (HG *cakrīnah*) ApMB HG Obscure and likely to be corrupt in both forms According to Oldenberg, HG would mean 'the carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels' *cakrī*, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of *takṣā*!

*brahmānam* (TB °na) *indrām vayoḥhasam* VS TB After *hotā yakṣad*, only acc seems construable Comm on TB in fact takes *brahmānas* as acc pl (agreeing with *dvāras* preceding)<sup>1</sup>—as if from *brahman*, with strong stem for weak

*manyum* (AV *manyur*) *visa īlate mānuṣīr yāh* (TB † *īdate devayantīh*) RV AV MS TB The nom is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times It is really unconstruable, as Whitney observes, comm reads *manyum* Yet Ppp has *munyur*, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools

*purānan* (TA °nā) *anu venatī* RV TA N Comm on TA *puratanān devan* In fact neither a nom pl masc nor a nom or acc pl fem is construable

*narāśansena naḡnahum* (KS TB °huh) VS MS KS TB The form must be acc in all Von Schroeder emends KS to °hum, TB comm keeps the form °huh but regards it as acc neut

*parīdam vājy ajīnam* (PG °dam vājīnam) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajīnam dhatvāsau*) ŚG PG HG ApMB Haplology in PG (VV 2 p 362), *vājīnam* not construable

*bahuprajā nirṛtim* (AV °tir) *ā viveṣa* RV AV N Whitney assumes an acc in AV, but the passage is mystic nonsense and perhaps anything is possible This might be classed with 'case attraction' above, since apparently AV has made *nirṛti-* agree with *bahuprajā*

*ā viveṣāparajitamī* (TA °tā) AV TA Only the acc can be construed, so comm on TA interprets the form, tho he reads °ta like both editions

*tilvilāstam irāvatiṃ* AG † *tilmlā syād irāvati* ApMB, and others, always with nom Stenzler (note in transl of AG p 83) regards the acc ending as certainly erroneous

- §407 In the rest there seems to be no genuine variant at all  
*sindhūm* (MahānU v 1 *sindhur*) *na nāvā durālīti parṣi* RV MS TB  
 TA MahānU The v 1 is worthless, no nom could be construed  
*havyam pārāvatebhyaḥ* AV ŚŚ So mss of AV, R-Wh emend wrongly  
 to *havyah*
- pūṣanvān karambham* MS KS AB *karambhah* is read by Von Schroeder  
 in MS by emendation, and the Conc quotes KS as °*bhah*,  
 erroneously All texts should read °*bham*
- śimāh kṛnavantu śimyantah* TS KSA Conc quotes *śimām* for KSA,  
 thus is a false reading of one ms, rejected in the ed
- tān sma mānuvaṣatkṛtāh* AŚ *ete nānuvaṣatkṛtāh* Vait But all mss of  
 Vait read *ca tāmsamānuvaṣatkṛtā(h)*, with Caland we should  
 probably assume that they intend the AŚ reading
- ṛptām juhur mātulasyeva yoṣā* RVKh † N † Conc reads *ṛptā* for  
 RVKh, with Aufrecht, but see Scheftelowitz, p 87
- vāyavyah śvetah puche* VS MS *vāyavyam svetam* ApŚ The latter  
 should be deleted in the Conc, it is no mantra but the beginning  
 of a Brāhmana passage, TS 2 1 1 1
- iṣamāna* (ŚŚ °*nā*) *upasṛśah* AV ŚŚ Read in AV as in ŚŚ (with  
 mss, SPP, Whitney's Index, and see Bloomfield's note on 20.  
 127 2)

## CHAPTER XV

### NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

#### 1 Instr of means or agent and subject nom

§408 The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed. Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action. In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in

*ya im vahanta āsubhik RV yadī vahantiy ākavah SV* 'Whoso travel by horses' 'when the horses carry (him)'

*manyur akārṣin manyuh karoti TAA manyunū kṛtam manyuh karoti BDh*

§409 It is not even necessary that the verb form should vary, once, at least, the same verb is taken as either passive or middle-deponent.  
*na karmanā lipyate pāpakena ŚB TB BrhU BDh na karma lipyate nare VS IśāU* 'He is not stained by evil action' 'action does not stick to (stain) a man'

§410 A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc of direct object, but becomes nom as subject of a passive verb

*antar dadhe parvatāḥ HG ApMB antarhitā girayah ŚG* 'I interpose with mountains' 'mountains are interposed'—In same context *antar mahyū pṛthvyā HG † ApMB †, antar dadha ṛtubhik, ahorātrās ca sandhibhik (HG °trāḥ susandhibhik), ardhmāsās ca māsās ca*—all HG ApMB *antarhitā pṛthvī mahī me, antarhatā ma ṛtavah, ahorātrās ca sandhizāḥ, māsās cārddhamāsās ca, all ŚG*

§411 More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning. The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument. 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so'. In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities

are so common, such a shift is particularly easy, it would indeed not be difficult anywhere. It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric diction ( $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta$  'Ἡρακλεΐης). But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective, or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is rarely found among our variants, the first example is perhaps the only one—Instead of the subject nom., the voc. of direct address is also found varying with the instr. in the same way, §354

*pra te divo na stanayanti suṣmāh* (MS °yanta suṣmah) RV TS MS  
 'Thy (Agni's) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven'. 'they (sc *grah*) have thundered to thee with furies like (those) of heaven'  
*abhi stomāur* (RV \* SV \* stomā) anūṣata RV SV (both in each) AV  
 VS 'Songs of praise shouted to thee'. 'they shouted to thee with songs of praise'

*vājasya mā prasavena* (VS ŚB °vah) VS TS KS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ  
 Followed by *ulgrābhenod agrābhīt* (*ajīgraham*, etc.) 'He has (I have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exaltation' 'increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation'

*tam tvābhīh suṣṭutibhir vājayantah* RV *tam tvā grah suṣṭutayo vājayanti* SV 'Strengthening thee with these fair praises' 'songs of fair praise strengthen thee'

*punantu manavo* (RV *vasavo*, VS KS *manasā*) *dhīyā* (VS KS *dhīyah*)  
 RV AV VS MS KS TB 'Let men (Vasus) purify with prayer' 'let prayers purify with mind' The change of *manavo* to *manasā* introduces a different word, but it is to be noted that it replaces the instr. *dhīyā*, and so in a way restores the original construction of the sentence

*abhi yo mahinā divani* RV AŚ *abhīmam* (TS MŚ † °mām, MS MŚ v 1 °mān) *mahinā* (VS °mā, delete MŚ v 1 in Conc.) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ Followed by *mitro* (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* 'The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty', VS substitutes *vipro* for *mitro* (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns *mahinā* into *mahimā*, nom. 'the wise, far-spreading majesty has'

*kṣatram agne* (AV *kṣatrenāgne*) *suyamam astu tubhyam* AV VS TS MS KS In AV neither the pāda itself nor the context furnishes a subject for *astu*. Apparently indefinite subject. 'by dominion, Agni, let it be of easy control for thee' The other reading is supported by Ppp and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps to be suspected of secondariness. 'let dominion, Agni, be of easy control for thee'

*bukro bṛhan dakṣinayā* (TB *bṛhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pīpartu* AV TB 'Let the bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee' 'let the bright one, the mighty [comm, the *sāman*], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee' On this use of root *pr* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408 ff (esp 409)

## 2 Associative instr and (collateral) subject or predicate nom

§412 An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case. So we find such instr forms attached to a subject or predicate nom, varying with a nom as collateral subject or predicate. For the same variation with other cases than the nom see §§55-7. With the nom this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr, expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like. Such words occur in most of the following variants:

*ā dadhnaḥ kalāśair* (ApMB °*sī*, MG °*sa*) *aguh* (with varr) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG. Preceded by a *vatso jagatā saha*. Ppp reads *ā dadhnaḥ kalāśas ca yah*. The ApMB substitution has phonetic aspects (VV 2 §701), but Ppp supports it in sense by reading a nom. (Note, however, that the fem stem *kalāśi* is post-Vedic.) 'They have come with pots of sour milk' '(they and) pots of sour milk have come'. Knauer prints MG as *kalasam arayam*, but the mss are clearly corrupt, the syllable *air* must conceal the true cascading of *kalāśa*. Read *kalasair ayam*, as in Kāthaka G (see Caland's ed and note on this). In the same context

*emām pariśrutah kumbhah* AV *enam pariśrutah kumbhyā* ŚG *a tvā pariśrutah* (°*srutah*, °*śrutah*, *hiraṇmayah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °*ah*) AG PG MG ApMB HG

*yaśasā* (ArS *yaśo*) *mā dyuvāpṛthivi* ArS PG MG. The verb to be supplied is a form of *vid* 'find', from *pāda* c *yaśo bhagyas ca mā vīdat* (MG *riṣat*) PG MG, *yaśo bhagasya vīdatu* ArS ('let glory of fortune find [me]', so correct rendering in VV 2 p 98) —So, in same stanza, between these two *pādas*

*yaśasendrābṛhaspatī* PG MG *yaśo mēdrābṛhaspatī* ArS. Cf prec 'With glory let find (come to) me'. However, the dual forms might be taken as vocs, supplying a 2d person verb 'with glory (come) to me, O' (So Oldenberg on PG)

*yavā* (MS *yavair*) *na barhīr bhruvī keśarāni* VS MS KS TB 'The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley)'

*samā bhavantūdvato* (TS °vatū) *nīpādāh* RV TS KS 'The heights and depths shall be equal' 'the depths shall be equal with the heights'  
*teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣṭū madanti* RV VS TS MS N *sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām* KS A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter, it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section  
*sotyā eṣām* (AG *etā*) *āśiṣah santu kāmāh* (ApMB HG *santu kāmāh*, SMB Jorgensen *santu kāmāh*, v 1 *kāmāt*, AG *santu sarvāh*, VS *sannamantām*) VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB HG 'Let their prayers, their desires, come true' 'let their prayers with their desires (or perhaps, according to their desires? cf the v 1 *kāmāt*) come true'

*ādityas* (ApMB °yais) *te vasubhir ā dadhātu* HG ApMB Preceded by *indro marudbhir ṛtuḥā* (HG *īha te*) *kṛnotu* (HG *dadhātu*) 'Indra with the Maruts, Āditya with the Vasus' 'Indra with the Maruts with the Ādityas, with the Vasus'

*sam revatīr jagatībhīh pṛcyaṅtām* VS ŚB ŚŚ *sam revatīr jagatībhīr* (VSK °bhīh *sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhīh sṛjyaohvam* (VSK *pṛcyaṅtām*) TS VSK TB *sam revatīr jagatīh* MS 'The latter belongs to the same context as the others, but the verb of mingling is postponed to the next pāda (*śivāh śivābhīh sam asṛkṣatāpuk*), and the original instr which was paired with *revatīr* is made into a supplementary subject

*tan mṛtyunā nirṛtīh samvidūnā* AV *tan mṛtyur nirṛtyā samvidūnah* TB Here nom and instr change places, without real change of meaning 'Destruction in unison with death' 'death in unison with destruction'

*tām viśvair devair* (KS *viśve devā*) *ṛtubhīh samvidānah* (KS °nāh) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Followed by *prajāpatir viśvākarmā vimuñcatu* (ApŚ *yunaktu*) KS turns the original complementary instr (dependent on *samvidānah*) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda

*śukrah śukraśociṣā* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS 'The bright with the bright-shining one' 'the two bright, bright-shining ones'

*tayor* (TS TB *tasyām*, MŚ *yasyām*, v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhisamvasantah* (MŚ *abhisamviśantah*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ *tasyām devāh samvasanto mahitvā* AV In AV the following verb is *madema*, in the rest *mādayantām* or °yadhvam 'The gods, dwelling together' 'may we, dwelling together with the gods'

*parīmam yajamānam manuṣyāh saha rūyas poṣena prajāyā ca vyayanātām*

MS *parīmam rāyas poṣo yajamdnam manuṣyāh* TS The associative instr is pointed with *saha* See §§402 etc  
*indrāghoṣas* (MS KS °ṣās) *tvā vasubhīh purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah pu° pātu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhīh pātu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *indrāghoṣā vo vasubhīh purastād upadadhatām* TA Followed by the next two, q v

*manojavās tvā pitṛbhīr* (KS *pitāro*) *dakṣīnatah pātu* (KS *pātu*) VS TS KS ŚB *pitāras tvā manojavā dakṣīnatah pātu* MS *manojavaso vah pitṛbhīr dakṣīnata upadadhatām* TA See next

*pracetās tvā rudrah paścāt pātu* VS TS KS ŚB . *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pātu* MS . *pracetā vo rudrah pakād upadadhatām* TA This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (*inśvakarmā tvādityair* ) in which all texts have the instr When a nom is substituted for the instr (as twice in KS and twice in MS) it may be felt as a second subject, so belonging in this group Yet it is at least as likely to be felt as sole subject, modified by the word (*indrāghoṣās* etc) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective

### 3 Instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr) and nom of bahuvrīhis

§413 Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr (a karmadhāraya), and again in the nom as a bahuvrīhi, an adjective epithet of the subject The instr seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr of means In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one Sometimes the instr occurs in separate, uncompounded forms

*aśvānām sadhastuti* (TB °tīh) RV TB The verse reads *ye me pañcāśatam dadur, aśv° sadh°, dyumad agne mahi śravo, bhāt kṛdhi maghōnīm, nṛvad amṛta nṛnīm* 'Who have given me 500 horses, of (these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB having joint praise), make great the fame' etc

*dame-dame suṣṭutir* (AV KS °tyā, TS °tīr, MS °ti) *vām iyānā* (TS MS KS *vāvṛdhānā*, AV °nav) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ If MS intends nom dual, its variation with AV KS is like the foregoing 'having good praises' or 'along with good praise' But *suṣṭutī* may be taken also as instr TS makes the form acc pl depending on the pple, and AŚ ŚŚ are hopelessly corrupt

*lam tvā bhṛtārah suvṛdhā* (ApMB °dho, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG The following verb is *anu jayantām* AV . 'after



thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born ' ApMB  
'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good '  
Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if *svordhā*  
were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle,  
but the order seems against this

*prāno agnih paramātmā pañcavāyubhir āvṛtaḥ* PrānāgU *prāno* 'gnih  
*paramātmā vai pañcavāyuh samākritaḥ* MU 'The Paramātman is  
surrounded by the five breaths' ' has entered in with (or, per-  
haps, as) the five breaths' Here the psychology is a little differ-  
ent, the instr seems clearly one of means

*vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā* RV *vi yo rajānsy amumīta sukratuh* RV  
Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in  
the karmadhāraya

*tripād ūrdhva ud ant puruṣaḥ* RV ArS VS TA *tribhāḥ padbhir dyām*  
*arohaḥ* AV Here two separate words are used instead of the kar-  
madhāraya compound

#### 4 Nom and instr of part dedicated in offering

§414 In the long list of dedicatory formulas used in presenting parts  
of the horse's body to various deities in the Aśvamedha, we find a  
number of times variation between instr of the part dedicated (and  
acc of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' under-  
stood), and on the other hand nom of the part dedicated and gen or  
dat of the deity (with copula 'understood') Cf §126 on the various  
types of dedicatory formulas We shall not record a complete list here,  
others will be found in the same vicinity

*pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā* VS MS ('Pūṣan [we gratify] with the van<sup>o</sup>)  
*pūṣno vaniṣṭhuh* TS KSA ('the van<sup>o</sup> is for Pūṣan') -Similarly  
*andhāhīn* (°he, °heh) *sthūlagudayā* (sthūra<sup>o</sup>, °gudā), and others, same  
texts

#### 5 Transfer of epithet

§415 As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between  
nom and instr is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or  
thing to another In most cases there is a variation in number or  
gender as well as case, we quote first those in which case alone varies  
*svāveśayā* (VS ŚB °veśā) *tanvā samvīśasva* VS MS KS ŚB In VS

ŚB the adjective, if as we believe (cf §174) it is nom, agrees with  
the subject (*ṛtakā*), in MS KS with *tanvā*  
*prātaryāvāno adhvaram* RV VS TB *prāturyāvabhīr adhvarē* SV Pre-

ceded by *śrudhī śrutkarna vahnibhir, devair agne sayāvabhī, ā śidantu* (SV *śidatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* In the original *prātar*<sup>o</sup> agrees with the subject, in SV it becomes an associative instr attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by the instrumentals in the preceding

*anullāś carṣanīdhṛtīh* SV *anullā carṣanīdhṛtā* RV In RV *carṣanīdhṛtā* is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf Oldenberg, *Noten*, I p 162, n 1), in SV it is transferred to the subject (*tvam* = Indra)

§416 In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as well as case

*paro devebhīr* (MS <sup>o</sup>*bhīyo*) *asurair* (MS <sup>o</sup>*ram*) *yad asti* (TS *asurair guhā yat*) RV TS MS KS Preceded by *paro divā para enā pṛthivyā*, except in MS which has *paro divah para enā pṛthivyāh* (abls for instrs), MS makes *devebhīr* over into *devebhīyo* in accord with this, and since the meter does not permit *asurebhīyo*, it transfers this word to the subject *yad*

*ghnanāto* (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāny aprati* AV MS KS TS ApŚ Nom goes with subject *vayam*, instr with associative *indrena*

*indrena sayujō* (AV <sup>o</sup>*jā*) *vayam* AV TS ApŚ 'We allied with Indra' 'we with Indra as ally'

*indrena devīr* (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhah sanvidānāh* TS MŚ

*tu ā vahantī* (MS *tuyā vahante* [so p p]) *kuvayah purastāt* TS MS TB *tad āharantī kuvayah purastāt* KS In MS *tuyā* by attraction to preceding *svadhayā*, cf VV 2 §342

*udyan bhrājabhṛṣṭibhir* (PG <sup>o</sup>*bhṛṣṭīr*) *indro murudbhīr asthāt* SMB PG GG

*śuddha* (SV *śuddhair*) *āśīrvān mamattu* RV SV Preceded by *śuddhair ukthair vāvṛdhvānsam*, to these instr forms the SV has assimilated *śuddha(h)* of RV

*aganma mahā* (KS *maho*) *namasā yuvīṣṭham* RV SV MS KS AB KB TB ApŚ AŚ ŚŚ 'We have come with mighty homage (KS mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni)' KS apparently understands a nom pl with its *mahō*

*abhīkhyā bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanīh* RV *dṛṣe* (MS *dṛśā*) *ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanīh* (KS <sup>o</sup>*vabhīh*, MS *suśukmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In MS *su*<sup>o</sup> is made an epithet of *bhāsā* In KS too the epithet no longer agrees with the subject (Agni) It is perhaps made coordinate with *bhāsā*, or possibly it is meant to agree with *suśustibhir* in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular since the latter word is fem)

*ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB HG *ayāsū manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*)  
*ḥṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś *ayā san†* (MS *ayāh san*, KS *ayās san*, ms  
*ayāsā*) *manasā hṛtah* (MS *ḥṛttah*, p p and KS *ḥṛtah*) MS KS TB  
 ApŚ ApMB HG Followed by

*ayasā havyam ūhiṣe* ApŚ ApMB HG *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*,  
 KS *ayās san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ  
 ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayū no yajñam vihāsi* KŚ In the first  
 of these two pādas, the instrs are transferred to *manasā* from  
 agreement with the subject (Agni), in the second they are attracted  
 to the like construction by the preceding *ayasā*

*uruvyacasō dhāmnā patyamunāh* VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner*  
*dhāmnā patyamāne* AV The AV version is corrupt, by a false  
 verse division *uru*<sup>o</sup> (originally epithet of the divine doors, *dvārah*)  
 is transferred to *dhāmnā* Ppp agrees with the others

*pāvakayā yas* (TS *pāvaka ā*) *citayantiyā kṛpā* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
 The nom in TS is really due to phonetic alteration, cf Oldenberg,  
*Prol* 453, and VV 2 §343 But it is construable in agreement with  
 the unexpressed subject of the verb *ruruce*

*samjagmāno abhhyuṣā* RV AV SV N *samjagmānā abhhyuṣih* (MS  
*amhṛutāh*) AV MS The instr goes with a preceding *indrena*, the  
 nom with the *gāvah* who are addressed But the contexts are  
 quite different, and the pādas in their original forms probably  
 unrelated We take it that AV has a continuation of the MS  
 pāda with that of RV etc

§417 The following cases are also classed as 'transfers of epithet' as  
 explained in §§15-6 They show in one form a true 'epithet', in the  
 other sometimes a form of the same, sometimes a different word, not  
 properly an epithet of anything but independently construed

*acittibhīś cakṛmā yac cid āgah* RV MS KS *andvānsas cakṛmā kac*  
*canāgah* TS

*apa druhā* (AV *druhās*) *tanvam gūhamānā* RV AV The instr of man-  
 ner, virtually an adverb, of RV becomes in AV an epithet of the  
 subject, a she-demon

*harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB *dhṛṣṭā*) *marutvāh* RV TB N *harṣamānā*  
*hṛṣṭāso marutvān* AV In TB the orig nom epithet becomes an  
 adverbial instr of a different but related stem

*indrādhipatih* (MS KS <sup>o</sup>*patyah*) *pṛptād ato nah* TS MS KS AŚ  
 'O Indra, as overlord (with thy overlordship)'

*varṣvānarah pavayān nah pavitrāh* TA *varṣvānarah pavitū mā punātu*  
 AV The TA reading seems to be intended by Ppp (Whitney on  
 6 119 3) 'May V with purifiers (V the purifier) purify us (me)'

- yena prajā* (MS *ya imāh prajā*) *viśvakarmā jajāna* (TS *vyānaḥ*) VS  
TS MS KS ŚB In MS *yah* goes with *viśvakarmā* The original  
'by which V produced creatures'
- yenaiya bhūtas tiṣṭhate* (MahānU MundU *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā*  
TA MahānU MundU (2 1 9) Deussen reads *bhūtas* in MahānU  
but observes that a v 1 has *bhūtais* and that this is a better reading  
The nom is secondary and attracted to *antarātmā* See also Deussen's  
note on the MundU passage
- tenā* (TS *sā*) *no yajānam piprhi viśvavāre* AV TS Nom is secondary  
*candro* (SV *candrar*) *yāti sabhāam upa* RV SV Preceded by *svātra-*  
*bhūjū vayasā sacate sadā* Apparently under the influence of the  
preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom  
is changed into an associative instr The 'shining ones' are soma-  
drops according to Benfey
- prayah kavīnām matī* (SV *matih*) RV SV In RV *matī* is instr 'by  
the hymn of the seers' In SV it is anomalously made into an  
epithet of *indu*
- sūyavasīnī manuve* (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA *daśasye*,  
TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The original  
*daśasyā* is instr of stem *daśasyā*, 'benevolently' TA's *daśasye*  
seems, like *yaśasye*, to be dual nom fem agreeing with the subject

## 6 Nom of independent sentence and instr

§418 Twice a dependent instr of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom, which is however resumed by a pronominal instr in the same construction as the nominal instr of the variant form See §33

- gavā te krīnāni* TS ApŚ *iyam gauṣ tayā te krīnāni* MŚ 'With a cow  
let me buy of thee' 'here is a cow, with her'
- etat te rudrāvasam tena* (VSK † *etena rudrāvasena*) *paro mūjavato 'tiḥ*  
VS VSK ŚB 'This is thy food, O Rudra, with it depart'  
'with this food, O Rudra, depart'

## 7 Miscellaneous

§419. The remaining nom-instr variants are scarcely classifiable. They mostly involve various reconstructions of the material, in sense at least, and usually in form, extending far beyond the mere change in case-form

- in śloka etu* (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)  
*sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*) RV AV

VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU In RV VS ŚB *pathyā* may be taken as nom, with Grassmann and Oldenberg 'as the path of the *sūri*' In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr. 'like the lord on his path' Cf §284

*ganair mā mā vī tīrṣata* MS *ganā me nū vī tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB *ganān me mā vī tīrṣah* (MŚ °ṣat) TS MŚ See §§380, 459

*jayānām* (SV °nah) *sapta māturah* (SV *mātṛbhūh*) RV SV Followed by *vedhām aśāsata* (SV *medhām āśā°*) *śṛiye* 'The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune' 'the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune'

*yajñam hinvanty adribhūh* RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV Preceded by *tam duroṣam abhī narah, somam visvācyā dhryā* In RV *narah* is subject of *hinvanty* and *somam* its object In SV it seems that *narah* must be taken with Benfey as voc, with no verb expressed, and that *pāda c* must be completely detached from the preceding *tan nau samvānanam kṛtam* MG *tena samvānanau svake* HG 'That concord has been made for us' 'thereby we are concordant'

*tayā devāh sutam ā bahhūvuh* TS KSA TB *sā no asmin subī ā bahhūva* VS MS 'Therewith the gods mastered the libation' 'it is present for us at this libation' See Keith on TS 4 1 2 1, n 6

*prthivīm bhasmanāpṛṇa* (MS KS *bhasma*) *svāhā* VS MŚ KS ŚB ApŚ 'Fill the earth with (thy) ashes' In MS KS sc *gachatu* 'let (thy) ashes (go) to earth'

*ya indrena saratham yāti devah* AV *yenendrasya ratham sambahhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ

*mandūkyā su sam gamah* (TA *gamaya*) RV † TA *mandūky apsu sam bhuvah* AV (corrupt)

*āptam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ *āpāma manasū* VS ŚB 'Mind has been obtained' 'may we obtain by mind' Ritualistic rigniarole

*ārohātmatmānam* (MŚ *ārohātmanūtmānam*) *achā* TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ 'Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self' TB Bibl Ind reads *ārohātyātmānam*, text and comm, Poona ed like the others *mūrā* (SV *mūrarī*) *amūram purām darmānam* RV SV Benfey 'den durch Thoren unbethorten' Obscure

*tam devās sam acikṣpan* KS *tām devāh sam ajīgamam* TS The sense is radically altered 'Him the gods have fashioned' 'her I have united with the gods' Both preceded by *aṅgāny ahrutū yasya* (TS *yasyai*)

*sam indro visvadebhīr aṅktām* VS ŚB *sam indrena visvebhīr devebhīr aṅktām* TB ApŚ In the latter the *haris* is the subject

*sam aryamū sam bhago no ninīyāt* RV ApMB *sam bhagena sam aryamnā* (followed by *sam dhātā sṛjatu varcasā*) AV See Whitney on AV 14 1 34, which doubtless understands *bhagena* and *aryamnā* as parallel with *varcasā*

*kālēna bhūtam bhavyam ca* AV *kāle ha bhūtam bhavyam ca* AV vulgate, but by emend for *kālo* of most mss, kept by SPP *kālēna* of the other form is also an emendation for *kāle ha*, which SPP keeps This last emendation seems justified and is supported by Ppp (JAOS 46 37f) In the other, while the loc would be possible, there seems no reason to reject the well attested nom form, which is adopted by Bloomfield and Whitney The contexts are different tho related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be called 'Phrase Inflection'

[*krānā* (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sndhūnām kalāśān avīvasat* (SV AV *acikradat*) RV SV AV *krānā* is problematic, Oldenberg takes it with Lanman as instr, see *RVRep* 136 for a different view In SV we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation, in AV an attempt at rationalization of SV, which is grammatical ('the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound') but silly ]

## CHAPTER XVI

### NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

#### 1 Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420 Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word. This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in *mandrā dhanasya sātaye* (KS °yah) TS MS KS TB KŚ MŚ ŚG

Waters are referred to 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth'

'fair winnings of wealth' All mss of KS agree on the form

*pade-pade pāśinah santi setavaḥ* (AV °ve) RV AV KS ApŚ 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)'

*agner apunann usiḥ amṛtyavaḥ* RV *agner akṛnvanṇ usiḥ amṛtyave* MS *devā akṛnvanṇ usiḥ amṛtyave* ApŚ In RV *amṛtyavaḥ* is adj., 'immortal ones', agreeing with the subject, in MS a noun, 'unto immortality', meaning about the same thing. ApŚ doubtless intends the same meaning as MS, cf VV 2 §650

*prajāvatī* (MŚ °varīr, v 1 °vatīr) *yasaso* (MŚ °se) *vīśvarūpāḥ* TB ApŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ *yasaso* is adjective '(here come the cows) with many calves, renowned, varied in appearance'. In MŚ *yasaso* is evidently the noun, 'unto renown', the ultimate meaning is substantially the same

*ājyam uktham avyathāya* (TS *avyathayat*, KS *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS °natu) VS TS MS KS ŚB Comm on TS *tvām avyathayad vyathārahitam kurvat*, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts—The same with *prajam uktham, manubhāṣyam u°, uskevalyam u°, vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*

*aso yathā no 'vitā vṛdhe ca* (SV *vṛdhas cāt*) RV SV 'That thou mayst be our helper, and for (our) increase', RV In SV the dat of purpose becomes a nom of a noun agentis, being assimilated to *avitā* 'and (mayst be our) increaser'

*ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmanī* AV *ayam sahasram ānavo* (Benfey and Caland assume *sahasramānavo*) *dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmanī* (ApŚ °mā) SV ApŚ MŚ Comm

on SV takes *drśah* as nom (= *draśā*), 'seer' or 'eye' If this be accepted the variant would belong here, *drśe* is a dat (infinitive) But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ (perhaps abl-gen in form?)

*śajātānām madhyameṣṭhā* edhī (AV *madhyameṣṭhāh*, MS KS *madhyameṣṭheyāya*) AV VS TS MS KS *śajātānām madhyameṣṭhā yathāsānī* AV

§421 Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to

*tava praśastayo mahih* (SV *praśastaye mahe*) RV SV Preceded by *lam tvā madāya ghṛṣvaye, u lokakṛtnum īmahe* In RV our pāda is an independent statement 'great are thy praises' In SV it is assimilated to the datives of pāda a 'unto great praising of thee' *rāyaspoṣā* (MŚ °*poṣāya*) *yajamānam viśantu* KS ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *imām devā ajuṣanta viśve* 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer' In MŚ the subject *devāh* of the preceding clause holds over 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS ApŚ, it is thru them that the desired result is expected Cf *rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām*, in a similar context, for which one ms of MŚ also reads *rāyaspoṣāya* Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412

*ā yāhīma induvah* RV AŚ *ā yāhy ayam indave* SV This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV may not be quite properly described as one of purpose 'Come! Here are the soma-drops' 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma'

§422 We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom, subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf Delbruck, AIS 89, where it is suggested that 'case-attraction' does not properly describe this dative)

*mayah patibhyo janayah* (AV °*ye*) *pariṣvaje* RV AV ApMB 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace' 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife'



§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause)

*brahmaduṣe* (RV also °*duṣah*) *śarave hantavā u* RV (both) AV The nom form is preceded by *tapurmūrdhā tapatu rakṣaso ye* 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them)' See *RVRep* on 10 125 6

2 Dative varies with nom. of secondary adjective in dedications

§424 In dedicatory expressions (cf §126), the dative may be expressed either by the dative or by the nominative of a secondary adjective, these variants resemble some of those quoted above in §420, except that the dative is not one of purpose

*kapota* (MS °*tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nūrṭyaī* (TA KSA *nūrṭāh*) VS TS MS KSA 'These are for Nūrṭī (Nūrṭī's)'

*vāyusavitr̥bhyaṁ āgomugbhyaṁ payah* MS *vāyosāvitra āgo° caruh* TS KSA P p of TS *vāyosāntrah* On the formation see VV 2 §716 *ātr* (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darudā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA

3 Dative varying with nominative of independent statement

§425 Like other cases (cf §§32 8), a dative may be replaced by a nominative of independent statement, or vice versa

*tasmā etam bhārata tadvasāya* (and, *tadvaso dadih*) RV (both) 'Bring this to him who desires it' 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous'

§426 Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause

*agninetrebhyo devebhyah purahsadbhyah svāhū* VS ŚB *ye devā agninetrāh purahsadas tebhyah svāhū* VS ŚB *ye devāh purahsado agninetrā* (KS 'gn<sup>o</sup>) *rakṣohanas tebhyah svāhā* MS KS *ye devāh purahsado 'gninetrā tebhyo namas tebhyah svāhā* TS Others similar (VS 9 35-6, MS 2 6 3, KS 15 2)

*namo vah pitaro ghorāya* (VSK adds *manyave*) VS VSK TS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG *namo vah pitaro yad ghoram tasmai* AV MS And, in same passage *namo vah pitaro jivāya* VS TS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG *namo vah pitaro yaj jivam tasmai* VSK MS Note the difference in phraseology in VSK

## 4 Phrase inflection

§427 There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom and dat, in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2)

*patir* (VS ŚB *patye*) *viśvasya bhūmanah* RV SV VS KS ŚB Followed in RV SV KS by *vy akhyad rodasi ubhe*, in VS ŚB by *juhomi viśvakarmane*

*sahasrākṣīyāmartya* AV *sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV Preceded respectively by *namas te rudra kṛmah*, and *anyatrāsman ny ucyatu*

*prācī dig agnir udhipatir asito rakṣitūditīyā iṣavah* AV *prācyai tvā dise gnaye 'dhipataye 'sitāya rakṣitra ūditīyāyeṣumate* AV The first is followed by *tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyas* etc, the second by *etam pari dadmah* Similar variants in the five following verses, see Conc under *dakṣināyai tvā*, *prācyai tvā*, *udīcyai tvā*, *dhrūvāyai tvā*, *ūrdhvāyai tvā*

*janāya vṛktabarhiṣe* RV *janāso vṛktabarhiṣah* RV Different contexts *stotāra indra gīrvanah* RV SV *stotṛbhya indra gīrvanah* RV The nom is preceded by *vayam ghā te api śmasi*, the dat by *yad ditsasi stuto magham*

## 5 Transfer of epithet

§428 The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14) We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet' In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun Cf §15

*tasmā u brahmanas patih* RV KS *ayam ca brahmanas patih* AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ Preceded by *tasmā somo (devā) adhi bravat (bruvan)* The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god 'And him (may) Brahmanaspati (hless)' 'and (may) B here (bless him)'

*juṣṭo vācuspataye* (MS °*patih*, KB ŚŚ °*patih*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KS In all preceded by *juṣṭo vāco (vāce) bhūyāsam* 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech' in MS, 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech'

*vyam te rān matrāya* (KS *matro*) *yanlāsī* †*vyamanah* VS KS ŚB 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS, a guiding friendly controller)' We suspect that KS is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following nouns

*pitarah pitāmahāh pare 'vare* (KS *'varebhyas*) *te nah pāntu* (MS omits *te nah p*) *te no 'vantu* TS MS KS 'Let the fathers the earlier and the later, guard us ' In KS *avarebhyas* is made to refer to the petitioners 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us ' Note however that we should expect an acc agreeing with the following *nah*

§429 Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are

*suprāvye* (AV *°vyā*) *yajamānāya sunvate* RV AV Preceded by *aham dadhāmi dravinam* (AV *°nā*) *haviṣmate* RV makes *su*° go with *yaja*° *sunvate* 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma' Whitney adopts the RV reading following the AV comm and one ms, but notes that AVPr 4 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was *suprāvīyā* It may be taken either as acc pl neut with *dramnā*, or better as nom sg fem with the subject In any case it must be derived not from the stem *supravi* but from its equivalent *supravīyā* (RV)

*ūrnamīdā yuvatir* (AV *°mrādāh pṛthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA *°vatī*) RV AV TA 'The maiden (earth, this is what RV TA also mean) soft as wool to him that gives *dakṣiṇā*', in TA the epithet 'possessed of *dakṣiṇā*' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous' *vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī* (ArS *°se*) *sueth* RV ArS In ArS the epithet is transferred from *matir* to *vaiśvā*°

*te asmā* (KS *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ and v 1 of MS *°yo*) *dramnam* (KS *°nānu*) *dattvā* MS KS ApŚ 'They, giving wealth to this Agni' 'these Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer)' The subject *te* refers to Agnis just mentioned, hence the secondary *agnayo* by attraction

*nābhā samdāyī navyasī* (SV *°dāya navyase*) RV SV Preceded by *ya dha krānā vvasvati* (SV *°te*) In RV *navyasī* agrees with the subject of *samdāyī* (Oldenberg understands *nābhīh*), in SV with *vvasvate* The stanza is somewhat problematic in both

§430 Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following, in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective) Cf §15

*āre te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnā RV* *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne TS*  
See under *kṣayadvīra* (TS °vīrāya) *sumnam asme te astu* (which follows this), §359 'Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy man-killing' (RV) In TS the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with *te* (Rudra)

*rāyas poṣam cikūṣe (AV °ṣī) dadhātu (ŚŚ dadātu) AV TS MS KS*  
ŚŚ 'Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth' 'let her grant to the wise' Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with *dāḥuṣe* of the preceding pāda (in Ppp and all others but not in AVŚ, which has a quite different pāda c)

*rātri (KS v 1 rātrih, TB rātrī) stomam na jigyūṣe (KS † TB °ṣī) RV*  
KS TB The epithet (in RV referring to some unspecified 'conqueror') is transferred to Night

#### 6 Miscellaneous

§431 The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable  
*ādityās (MS °yebhyas) tvā prabr̥hantu (MS prabr̥hāmī) jāgatena chandāsā TS MS* 'Let the Ādityas pluck thee forth' 'I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas'

*yathānam jarase nuyāt AV . athānam jarimā nayet HG* The latter is evidently poor, perhaps 'then may old age lead him'? Or is it felt as *jarim ānayet*, as if involving a stem \**jarī*? Note lingual *n* in *nayet*!

*iyam (AV MS yā) teṣām avayā durīṣṭyāi (AV MS durīṣṭih) AV TS MS* Followed by *sviṣṭim nas tān (AV wrongly tān) kṛnotu (AV kṛnavad) viśvakarmā (MS vi° kṛnotu)* Ppp has *yā durīṣṭā, sviṣṭam tad vi° kṛ°* TS 'this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it for us a perfect sacrifice' AV MS could apparently only mean 'that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it' This does not fit the requirements, it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption Whitney emends to *durīṣṭeh* Ppp *durīṣṭā* might be interpreted as a loc of *durīṣṭi*, 'in case of an imperfect sacrifice', conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom sg fem of *durīṣṭā*) led to the further change to *durīṣṭih*

*yathā prthivyām agnaye samanāman evā mahyam samnamah sam namantu AV* *yathāgnih prthivyā samanāmad evam mahyam bhadrāh samnatayah samnamantu TS KS † 5 20* And others in the same passage

*vāk patamgāya dhīyate* (TS śīśrīye, MS hūyate) RV AV SV ArS VS  
 TS MS ŚB *vāk patamgo aśīśrīyat* (KS °gā aśīśrayuh) AV KS  
 The verse is desperately obscure, we can contribute nothing to its  
 elucidation

*eka eva rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyah N* *eka eva rudro* (ŚvetU *eko hi ru°*,  
 ŚirasU *eko ru°*) *na dvitīyāya tasthe* (ŚvetU *tasthuh*, ŚirasU *tasmāi*,  
 but Poona ed with *comin tasthau*) TS ApŚ ŚvetU ŚirasU In  
 N 'one only is Rudra, there is no second existent', in the others,  
 'one is Rudra, he does not (or they, indefinite, do not) tolerate  
 ('stand for', Hume) a second' Add to VV 1 §§76, 359

[*kanyakumāryar* (TA °mārī, Poona ed °mārī) *dhīmahrī* TA MahānU  
 See §361 ]

[*jyješthāya* (ŚŚ *jyještho*) *yad apracetāh* AV ŚŚ But AV *miss jyještho* ]

## CHAPTER XVII

### NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

#### A *Nominative and ablative*

##### 1 Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive active)

§432 Variations between these two cases are few and scattering. Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases. In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root *jan* 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root. The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf §40)

*ayam var tvām ajanayad* ŚŚ *asmād var tvam ajāyathā* JB AG  
Kauś *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si* VS ŚB TA KŚ Karmap 'He has begotten thee' 'thou wast produced from him'

##### 2 Independent nominative and dependent ablative

§433 The variants found here belong to §§32-8. In the first the relative pronoun justifies construction of the nom. as independent, tho it is really equivalent in sense to the dependent abl., cf §32, end. This meaning is probably more likely to be right than the alternative interpretation which would make the nom. correlative with the subject of *chumbhantu*, a construction impossible in the locative form of the variant. Cf §§450, 669

(*ūpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp *agnih samkusikaś ca yah*) AV Ppp (*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp as before) AV Ppp 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S'

*vīṣno* (*vīṣnoh, vīṣnos*) *sthānam asi* (MS MŚ *sthāmāsi*, KS *sthānuh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. In KS construed with the following, *ita indro vīryam akṛnot*. According to ApŚ also the two are connected in sense, see Keith, *HOS* 18 p 14 n 2

## 3 Phrase inflection

§434 We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf §§21-2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun

*pāpebhyaś ca pratigrahaḥ* (RVKh °hāt) RVKh TA MahānU BDh  
The contexts are different tho similar

## 4 Transfer of epithet

§435 This occurs a few times, in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case

*pra skannāj* (KS *skannam*, v 1 °nāñ) *jāyatām havih* KS KŚ ApŚ  
Probably the abl is original 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground)' If KS really intends a nom, it would agree with *havih* 'let the oblation that has fallen be born'

*ud asya śuśmād bhānur nārta* (MS *bhānor nāvyaḥ*) RV MS TA ApŚ  
In the original *bhānu* is applied in the simile to Agni, subject of the verb In MS it seems to apply to *śuśmād* (Understand doubtless *na avyāh*, despite pp which does not divide)

*pāpāt* (KŚ *pāpah*) *svapnyād* (KŚ °nād) *abhūtyāh* (KŚ °yau) AV KŚ  
Preceded by *paryāvarte duḥśvapnyāt* In KŚ *pāpa* seems to be transferred to the subject

*apahato 'aruh pṛthivyā adevayajanaḥ* (*pṛthivyai devayajanyaḥ*) TS ApŚ  
(both in each) The epithet is (altered and) transferred from *aruru* to *pṛthivī*, or vice versa

§436 In another case the original, and perhaps only correct form of the variant shows an ablative which is independently construed, while the nominative form (if textually sound) is attracted into agreement with the subject Cf §15

*parāmr̥tāh* (TA °mr̥tāt) *parimucyanti sarve* TA MahānU MundU KaivU  
The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahānU, and by the Poona ed (*Upaṇiṣadām Samuśayah*) in KaivU Deussen understands 'the immortal' from which 'all are freed' as *prakṛti*, 'material nature' If the nom is read it would apply to the subject in a pregnant sense '(so as to be) immortal'

## 5 Miscellaneous

§437 The rest are unclassifiable, some are under suspicion of corruption

*adbhyah sambhṛtah* (TA ApŚ *sambhūtah*) *pṛthivyai* (KS † MS °vyā)

*rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS KS MS TA ApŚ Followed by *visvakarmanah samavartatādhi* (VS °*tāgre*) Comm on VS supplies *yo rasah* as subject, the KS reading is doubtless secondary (certainly unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like understanding of the passage In fact, however, the original subject must have been the *puruṣa*, understood from the original context *gārhapatyah* (ŚŚ °*tyāt*) *prajāyū* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamah* VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *ayam agnr grhapatih* Original 'he, Agni Gārhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to our offspring' ŚŚ seems to mean 'he, Agni, is house-lord, most liberal dispenser of good things from the gārhapatya-fire to our offspring' This is barely intelligible

*madhu reto* (KS *madhur ato*, TS *madhor ato*) *mādhavah pātva asmān* TS MS KS AŚ KS has the simplest and, in this case, probably the original reading 'let Madhu and Mādhava (the two spring months) protect me' TS 'let Mādhava protect us after (or, from) Madhu' MS AŚ seem likely to contain a corruption, MS p p *madhuh, amtah*, pointing towards the KS reading As it stands the reading may be rendered 'let the sweet seed and Mādhava protect us', or 'let Mādhava protect the sweet seed and us' Either is bathetic, but perhaps no worse than many Yajus passages

*nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yauṣam* MS *nakṣatrānām mā samkākāś ca pratikāśāś cāvatām* Vait Kauś 'May I not be cut off from the presence of the nakṣatras' 'may the presence and the gleam of the nakṣatras aid me'

*satyā tā dharmanas patī* ApŚ *satyād ā (satyādā?) dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, Vait MŚ *dharmanas* [but MŚ *ms dharmanā*] *pari*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ See VV 2 §65

*apāraram adevayajanam pṛihvyā ṭdevayajanāj* (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ Caland would read *adevayajanān* (acc pl masc) in both We too find ApŚ uninterpretable, since *adevayajano* can scarcely fit the subject of *jahi* But KS could mean 'Smite away Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the sacrifice to the gods' Caland, like the Conc, misquotes KS as *adevayajanāj*

*mṛtyur* (¹) *me pāhi* TAA *mṛtyor mā pāhi* TS MS KS TB AŚ Comm on TAA says that *mṛtyur* is for *mṛtyor, vyatyayena* The variant should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716

*satyā eṣām* (AŚ *etā*) *āśyah santu kāmāh* (ApMB HG *kāmāh*, SMB Jorgensen *kāmāh*, one ms *kāmāt*, AG *santu surve*, VS *sumnaman-*



*tām*) VS VSK AG SMB Kauś ApMB IIG See §412 The abl could mean 'according to their desire', hkc the instr

### B Nominative and genitive

#### 1 Partitive genitive and nominative

§438 First among the nominative-genitive variants may be put a group of cases where the two forms are virtual synonyms. Namely in one form is used a partitive genitive (almost appositional at times), depending on a nominative, while in the other the two words are both nominatives, in syntactic agreement. (See §84) Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as *dakṣinā* (and *prācī*, *ūrdhvā*, *pratīcī*, *udīcī*) *dik*, 'the southern (etc) quarter', AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB Besides this list, TS also has one with the variant *dīkām* in each case 'the southern (etc) one of the quarters' Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS MS KS ŚB have *vasanta* (and *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *śarad*) *ṛtuh*, and *hemantaśarāv* (°*rā*) *ṛtū*, 'the spring (etc) season', while TS in each instance reads *ṛtūnām*, 'the spring (etc) of the seasons'

§439 Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following  
*subhūr aśi* (ŚŚ *subhūr namasi*) *śreṣṭho rasmiṣ* PB ŚŚ *subhūr aśi śreṣṭho rasminām* TS ApŚ *svayambhūr aśi śreṣṭho raśmah*  
 VS MS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ 'The best ray' 'the best of rays'  
*yathāmī* (RVKh *yathāmīśām*, AV *yathatīyām*, SV *yathariteśām*) *anyo anyam na jānan* (KVKh AV SV *jānāt*) RVKh AV SV VS 'That those may not know the one the other' 'that of those one may not know the other'

*trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt* KS † *trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB ApŚ *yad bhuvanasya* must mean the same as *bhuvanam yad*, 'what land'

*yās* (TS *yeśām*) *tasrah prathamajāh* (TS KS TA *paramajāh*) TS MS KS TA In TS preceded by *ye gṛahāh pañcajanīnāh* 'what cups pertain to the five peoples (i.e. are five in number, cf Keith's note), of which three are first-born' Followed by *teśām (tāsām) iṣam ūrjyam sam agrabhīm* The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number 'five' On the fem gender see §835

*amṛtasya nidhir hitah* RV TB TA *amṛtam nihitam guhā* SV Preceded by *yad ado vāta te grhe* 'What store of nectar is placed in thy house' 'what nectar is placed in secret in thy house'

*mitrah satyānām* (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Parallel formulas have gen even in VS It is not certain that they are partitives, cf *mitra satyānām pate* (°*nām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ (in different contexts, to be sure)

Here we place also the following, tho the TS is poor and less close in meaning to the original

*yad enas cakrvān baddha ṛṣa AV eno mahac cakrvān baddha ṛṣa MS enas cakrvān mahi baddha eṣām TS* The last seems to mean 'the one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound', otherwise Keith Undoubtedly *eṣa* is the proper form

## 2 Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative

§440 Not very different from these are a group in which the genitive is no longer partitive but rather descriptive or possessive, and so substantially equivalent to a nominative epithet of the subject, which may vary with it (cf §85)

*vṛṣāṅy ūrmā TS TB vṛṣormir asi MS KS MŚ vṛṣṇa ūrmir asi rāṣṭradāh VS ŚB* 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)'  
*martānām (AV martāsas) cid urvaśīr akṛpran RV AV* 'Even of (or, for) mortals Urvaśis (even mortal Urvaśis) have been fashioned'  
 See Bloomfield, *JAOI* 20 183

*pratiṣṭhe stho devate (MG devate dyāvūpṛthwī, ApMB devatānām) mā mā samtāptam HG ApMB MG* 'You (a pair of shoes) are standing-places, deities (of the deities)'

*mā no rakṣo abhi nad yātumāvātām (AV °māvat) RV AV* The variation accompanies a change in the meaning of *rakṣas* (abstract in RV, but in AV used in its later concrete sense) 'Let not the injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, *rakṣas*) get at us'  
*apam sakhā (GB yonih) prathamajā ṛtāvā (GB ṛtasya) RV GB* Here the nom. of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive 'first-born, ṛta-full' or 'first-born of the ṛta' GB quite naturally falls into the familiar rigmorale expression *prathamajā ṛtasya* instead of the RV phrase, which is more recherché, so much so, indeed, that Grassmann was moved to suggest that *ṛtasya* should be read for *ṛtāvā* in the two places where the phrase occurs

§441 In a different way the two variants result in the same meaning when the possessive genitive with an abstract noun varies with a nominative plus the nominative of a corresponding concrete, in predicate relationship

*yavās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsīt TS* 'The Y and A were overlords' 'the overlordship belonged to the Y and A'

*ta (MS ta u) evādhipataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB teṣām ādhipatyam āsīt TS* 'These same were overlords' 'theirs was the overlordship'

§442 In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant. Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the genitive depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive.

*yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG *riśat*, mss. mostly *riśak*) PG MG *yaśo bhagasya vndatu* ArS 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG, doubtless original. ArS makes *yaśo* object, and *bhagaś ca* is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen. 'let him find glory of fortune'. The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different.

*parīman yaḡamānam rāyo manuṣyānām* VS ŚB *parīman rāyas poṣo yaḡamānam manuṣyāh* TS *parīman yaḡamānam manuṣyāh saha rāyas poṣena prajāyā ca vyayantām* MS *parīman rāyo manuṣyam* KS (Only the relations of VS and TS concern us here (for MS see §412, for KS §402). The former 'riches (subject) of humans'. The latter 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects, §402).

*āpah prajāpati yaḡāno* (ApŚ *prajāpateh prānū*) *yaḡānsya bheṣajam aśi* (ApŚ omits *aśi*) KŚ ApŚ 'Thou art the waters, Prajāpati, sacrifice, 'the waters are Prajāpati's life-breaths'. Here ApŚ substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction.

*ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā* (VS *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīve*, MS *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive*) *bṛhadrathamtare ca me yaḡāna kalpetām* (VS † *kalpantām*) VS TS MS. In all preceded by a long list of nouns, parallel subjects of the verb. By a clearly secondary distortion (with phonetic aspects, VV 2 §§803, 840) TS allows a discordant phrase to intrude, changing the following word to a different one. Original 'May the vrata, day and night, thighs and knees, the Bṛhat and Rathanitara sāmans, prosper for me thru the sacrifice'. TS 'May the vrata by the rain of day and night, the Bṛhat' etc.

§443 Such cases shade off into a rather miscellaneous group in which the genitive (possessive or vaguely descriptive) no longer depends on the nominative with which, in the other form of the variant, the other nominative (replacing the genitive) is somehow correlated. The only connecting link in this group is this: of two nominatives, correlative subjects or subject and predicate, in one form of the variant, one is replaced in the other form by a genitive dependent on some other word than the remaining nominative. Thus

*[dyulānas* (MS KS *nūānas*) *tvā māruḡo minotu* (MS KS *nūantu*)]

*mitrāvarunau* (TS KS °*varunayor*) *dhrvena dharmanā* VS TS MS KS ŚB [*varunas tvā dhṛtavrato dhūpayatu* (TA °*vratā dādhūpayatu*)] *mitrāvarunau* (TA °*varunayor*) *dhru° dhar°* MS TA [Conc fails to divide these sentences properly] 'Let Dyutāna (Nītāna)

fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuna with firm ordinance (or, with the firm ordinance of M-V)'

*vi śloka etu* (cti, ślokā yanti) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (*sūrih*, *sūrah*, *sūrah*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU See §419

*agnir hotā vetv* (ŚB and TB Poona ed *vettu*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (*vettu*) *prāntram* ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Let Agni the hotar enjoy (know), let Agni enjoy (know) the office of hotar ' 'let Agni the hotar enjoy (know) Agni's office of hotar '

*dawe vede ca gāthīnām* (ŚŚ °*nāh*) AB ŚŚ Preceded by *adhīyata* (ŚŚ °*te*) *devarāto*, *rikthayor ubhayor ṛṣih*, *jahnūnam cādhipatyē* (ŚŚ *cādhitasthīre*) See Keith, *HOS* 25 308 n 8 In ŚŚ what was originally possessive gen ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthīn[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject

*pitaro nārāśansah sannah* (VSK *sādyamanah*) VS VSK *pitaro nārāśansah* KS *pitrnām nārāśansah* TS Soma is referred to, it is 'when settled, the Nārāśansa fathers' (VS VSK), 'the fathers, as Nārāśansa' (KS), 'Nārāśansa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS) All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense

*vāyuh pūtah pavtreṇa* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB *vāyoh* AV VS VSK MS ŚB Kauś The contexts are the same, *pūtah* applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect fac, it turns *vāyuh* into a gen, 'purified by Vāyu's strainer'

§444 Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word

*siṁva no astv aditer* (TS KS °*itṛ*) *upasthe* TS MS KS AŚ *aditer upasthe* is a standard cadence (see e.g. *RVRep* 659), and *upasthe* without a dependent gen is scarcely conceivable The orig must have meant 'may she (the Viṣṇupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of Aditī' In TS KS there is felt to be need of a specific name of the deity referred to by the preceding series of nom epithets, hence *aditṛ* is substituted for *aditer*, by a sort of case attraction

*ycna dhātā bhṛhaspateh* (ŚG °*tih*) VSK AG (1 17 12a) ŚG *ycna pūṣṭ bhṛhaspateh* SMB GG ApMB HG MG Followed by *indrasya*

*cāvopac chrah*, the *ca* here confirms the obvious secondariness of ŚG, which clearly has assimilated *bṛhaspateh* to the case of *dhātā mātā* (MS *mātur*) *mātari mātā* MS KS ApŚ Preceded by *prthiv prthivyām sīda*, with which the first *mātā* doubtless goes in sense 'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother' In MS 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother' If MS is original, the other form may have assimilated *mātur* to *mātā*, but anything is possible in such rigmarole

*cakṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam* AV *cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdhau* TS *cakṣuṣa* in TS's lect fac may be partly due to formal assimilation to *manasaś*

*dṛyumatāmā supratikasya sūnoḥ* (AV *supratikuh sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The gen of the YV texts agrees with the preceding *agneh* In AV (but not in Ppp, which agrees with the rest) a closer connection is sought with the following nouns (*tanūnapāt* etc), beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni See Whitney on 5 27 1

### 3 Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§445 As with other cases (§§32-8), so with the genitive, a nominative out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship of any kind Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it Thus

*agner aham sviṣṭakṛto devayajyayāyuh pratiṣṭhām gameyam* KS *agneh sviṣṭakṛto ham devayajyayāyusmān yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* TS *agnih sviṣṭakṛd yajñasya pratiṣṭhā tasyāham devayajyayā yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* MŚ Note *tasya* in MŚ, resuming *agnih*

*agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān* (and, *vtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS ApŚ *agnīṣomau vtrahanau tayor* (MŚ *vtrahanūv agnīṣomayor*) *aḥam devayajyayā vtrahā bhūyāsam* KS MŚ

*somasyāham devayajyayā reto dhiṣīya* (*dhe*<sup>o</sup>) TS ApŚ MŚ *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā reto dhiṣīya* KS

*catuspāda uta ye dvipādah* KS MŚ *catuspādām uta yo* (TS *ca*) *dvipādām* AV TS Preceded by *yeṣām* (AV *ya*) *iṣe paśupatih paśūnām* AV looks original, the gen depends on *iṣe* In ultimate sense KS MŚ mean the same

*devānām patnīr agnir gṛhapitr yajñasya mithunam* (KS <sup>o</sup>*patir mithunam yajamānasya*) *tayor aham devayajyayā* TS KS *devānām patnīnām aham devayajyayā* MŚ

*vihptī yā* (and, *vihptyā*) *brhaspate* AV (both) In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical Whitney would emend *vihptyā(s)* to *vihptī yā*, but it is quite construable as partitive gen depending on *aśnīyāt* of *pāda* c 'of the *vihptī* (cow) he shall not eat' The relative clause paraphrases the same sense The variation has phonetic aspects VV 2 §791a

#### 4 Transfer of epithet

§446 The usual group of variants due to 'transfer of epithet' (§14) appears here also We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies

*na vaṣ śvetasyādhyācare* (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG *dadarsa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* Most texts 'In the domain of the white one (the serpent-demon) a serpent has killed no one' or the like AG (by a phonetic shift, VV 2 §188) makes *sveta* an epithet of *ahir* 'In the house (?) the white serpent has killed nothing' The original genitive is, strictly, no 'epithet' of any expressed word, so that the variant perhaps belongs in §448 *adhvanām adhvapate sreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanah* (ApMB *sreṣṭhasyādhvanah*, MG † *sraṣṭhyasya svastyasyādhvīnah*, see VV 2 §707) *pūram aśya* AŚ ApMB MG In AŚ *sreṣṭhah* is an epithet of the subject, in ApMB it becomes an epithet of *adhvanah*

*viprasya dhārayā kavh* RV *vprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV In RV *viprasya* is the human priest, SV transfers it to Soma (cf VV 2 §189)

*pibā sutasya matir na* (AV *mater iha*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ In either reading the meaning is obscure, if there is no corruption, this much is certain, that *matir* must refer to the subject of *piba*, and *mater* to *sutasya*

*vpra viprasya brhato vpaścītah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU *vpro viprasya sahaso vpaścī* AV In the original 'The priests of the great wise priest' (Savitar, so if *vipas*<sup>o</sup> be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen sg, the alternative would be to take it as nom pl with *vprāh*) In AV the context is different, the *pāda* describes the goat that is being sacrificed 'The sage (was born from) the sage's (heat), acquainted with power or the like

*viśām kavīm viśpatim mānuṣīnām* (and, *manuṣir iṣah*) RV (both) The gen goes with *viśām*, the nom with *iṣah*

*mahāns te mahato mahimā* AV *mahas te sato mahimā panasyate* (SV

*paniṣṭama*) RV AV SV VS. In RV etc *mahas* agrees with *te*, in the AV variant it is attracted to *mahmā*

§447 The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case  
*krātūs ta indra somā vātāpayo* (KB TA °per, KS ŚŚ °pc) *havanaśrutah*  
 MS KB (fragment) TA ŚŚ Add KS 98 in Conc In MS the  
 epithet *vāt°* goes with *somā(h)*, in KB TA with *te* (= Indra), in  
 KS ŚŚ with *indra* directly

*yeṣām* (AV Kauś *ya*) *īśr paśupatih paśūnām* AV TS KS MŚ Kauś  
*vasuh* (TS ApMB *vasoh*) *vīnūh sahaso apsu rājā* RV VS TS KS MS  
 ApMB In TS ApMB *vasoh* is attracted into agreement with  
*sahasō*, instead of *sūnūh*

*mahas* (TS MS KS *mahī*) *cid yasya* (TS *hy asya*, KS *devasya*) *mīdhūṣo*  
*yavyā* (KS † '*vayāh*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB The adjective  
 is transferred from *yasya mīdhūṣo* to *yavyā* (*ovayāh*)

*gurbho yas te yaṅṅūyah* KS *yasyai* (VSK °yās) *te yaṅṅūyo gurbhah* VS  
 VSK ŚB *yasyās te harito gurbhah* TS ApŚ The relative agrees  
 in KS with *gurbhas*, elsewhere with *te* (the cow) Followed by  
*yasyai* (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṅyayī* VS VSK ŚB *yonir uas te hira-*  
*nyayah* KS Same conditions

*śurūh śukre ahany ojasīnā* (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *sukro ahany ojasye*,  
 AŚ *hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ If *ojasīnam* is not a mere  
 corruption or misprint in the (unperfect) edition, it seems to be a  
 gen pl fem of a stem \**ojasa*, going with *dīśām* in the preced-  
 ing pāda

*maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājah* (AV \* °jā) RV AV (butli) In RV  
*svarājah* is gen (from *svarāj*), epithet of (neut) *gotrasya* AV,  
 doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the  
 nom of *svarājan*, making it an epithet of the subject

*asya prānād apānatī* (AV \* MS °tah) RV AV SV VS ArS TS MS  
 KS ŚB *apānatī* apparently goes with *rocānā* in the preceding  
 pāda, as nom sg fem, *apānatah* with *asya* See Oldenberg,  
*HVNoten* on 10 189 2, and Whitney on AV 6 31 2

*mahām* (SV *mahān*) *avīnām anu pūrvyah* RV SV The adjective is  
 transferred in SV from *avīnām* to the subject

*imau te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatrīnau* (VSK TS †  
 KS °nah) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *yan te pakṣāv ajarau patat-*  
*trīnau* Kauś The nom agrees with *pakṣau*, the gen with *te*  
 The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is *patatrīno*,  
 before a sonant see VV 2 §732

§448 Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in  
 strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§15), are

*juṣṭo vācaspataye* (MS °tāh, KB ŚŚ °teḥ, JB °tyuh) TS MS KB GB  
 JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ See §428 Here is no variation of number  
 or gender, the rest show change of one or the other

*yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih* AV *yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmih satya-*  
*dharma* TS MS KS The relative is resumed in all texts (with  
 slight anacolouthon except in AV) by *mitrāvaruna(u)*

*agner apunann uśjo amṛtyavah* RV *agner akṛvann uśjo amṛtyave* MS  
*devā akṛvann uśjo amartyave* ApŚ In ApŚ *devā(h)*, substituted  
 for *agner*, goes with *uśjo*

*viśvā devānām* (TS *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vvakti* AV TS KS 'He  
 declares all the births of the gods' becomes in TS 'he, the god,  
 declares all births' Ppp *viśvām devā*, looking perhaps a little in  
 the direction of the TS reading—which however is certainly  
 secondary

*yaj* (TS MS KS *yasya*) *jātam janitavyam* (TS MS KS *janamānam*)  
*ca kevalam* AV TS MS KS Preceded in AV by *yasyedam pradīṣṭi*  
*yad virocate* 'In whose direction is what is born and to be born'  
 In the YV texts *yasya* refers to the following *agnim* 'whose is  
 what is born and being born'

*āvṛ bhuvad* (ArS *bhuvann*) *arunīr yaśasā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV ArS  
 In RV *goh* (gen sg) depends on a noun (something like 'milk')  
 understood with *yaśasā* (adj), as Oldenberg shows, *RVNoten* on  
 4 1 16 In ArS it is attracted to *arunīr*, felt now as nom pl,  
 the two words are interpreted as 'ruddy rays' The starting-point  
 of the change is the ambiguous form *arunīr*, which in RV is  
 nom sg

## 5 Miscellaneous

§449 The remaining nominative-genitive variants are hardly classi-  
 fiable For the most part they concern rather radical reconstructions  
 of very varied character In the first two the 2d personal pronoun  
 forms *tvam* and *tava* interchange, without essential difference of sense  
 in the first at least

*tam u tvam* (SV *tava tvam*) *mūyayāvulhīh* RV SV Preceded by *yad*  
*dha tvam māyīnam mṛgam tava*, of course, goes with *māyayā*

*hastagrābhāsyu dudhiṣos* (AV *da*) *tavedam* (TA *tvam etat*) RV AV TA  
 Followed by *patyur janitvam abhi sambabhūtha* (TA °*bhūva*)  
 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband  
 who takes thy hand' On the verb form of TA cf VV 1 p 178  
 It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of



forms with subject *bhavan* (*bhavati*), which would be in effect 2d person (comm glosses as a 2d person) If this be held too violent an assumption with *tvam* preceding as subject, the preceding *pāda* may be taken as a separate sentence 'thou belongest to a second husband who takes thy hand'

*vayam te rudrā syāma* RV *vayam vām mitrā syāma* SV 'May we be such (yours),' *té*, n pl

*ayah(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *udtā* (TS MS KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryas ca* VS ŚB See VV 2 §188

*vider agner nabho nāma* VSK ŚBK *vider* (*vided*) *agnur* (*agne*) , see §333

*upasthāsūnām mitravat astv ojah* TS MS AŚ *upasthāsū mitravatīdam ojah* KS Both TS and MS accent *upasthā'sūnām*, i e *upasthā' ā's°*, but MS pp apparently misunderstands and reads *upasthe ā's°* KS has no accents The meaning of *upasthā'* is obscure, on AV 12 1 62 Whitney renders *upasthā's te* by 'standers upon thee', which is purely etymological, Ludwig and Bloomfield, 'thy lapse', which would imply *upasthās* Keith on TS renders 'the stay of the earth', implying that this phrase is equivalent to *dhartrī disām*, the subject in the preceding *pāda* Whatever the meaning, in MS TS AŚ *upasthāsūnām* goes with the preceding, while in KS *āsā* is to be taken either as a further epithet of *dhartrī* in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence

*anu sūrya uśaso anu raśmīn* AV *anu sūryasya purutrā ca raśmīn* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB '(Agni has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays' '(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun'

*garbham uśvatary asahāsau* PG *garbham ukvataryā va* ApMB HG *prathamachad* (KS *parama°*) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā vaveka* RV VS TS MS KS The nom is an epithet of the subject (Viśvakarman) Keith on TS 'hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense

*brahma varma mamāntaram* RV AV SV ApŚ *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ

*yā* (MS *ya*) *yaṅvo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NilarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS 'What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers' '(serpents) in which are sorcerers' On KS cf VV 2 §990

*stomo yaṅnās ca* (TB *yaṅnasya*) *rādhyo havīṣmatū* (TB °*tah*) RV TB See VV 2 §188

- śrñvantu* (TS ŚvetU °ti) *viśve amṛtasya putrāh* (AV *amṛtāsu elat*) RV  
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU
- dhiyā martah śasamate* (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV Preceded by  
*rdhad yas te sudānave* RV , *sa ghā yas te divo narah* SV See VV 2  
§189
- yasya śrutarvā brhann [ārṣo anīka edhata]* RV *ya sma śrutarvann*  
*ārṣye [brhadanīka idhyate]* SV
- nedīya it sṛnyah* (TS † *sṛnyā*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV *ā yavan*, TS MS KS  
*āyat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N See §589 Without  
change of form, AV reinterprets the originally genitive sg form  
(‘may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer’) as a nom pl ‘may  
the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer’
- apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnāni* (AV *ṛnum nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām*  
*anu dattānṛnām* MS The latter is a phonetic corruption, VV 2  
§237
- pādo ‘syehābhavat* (AV *pādasye*°, TA † °*bhavāt*, both edd , add to VY 1  
§137) *punah* RV AV ArS VS TA Whitney adopts the nom  
with comm and a few mss The gen seems not construable
- somah prathamo vivide* RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jūyā prathamam*  
AV See §404
- [*tasya mṛtyuś* (KS *mṛtyoś*, but read *mṛtyus* with two mss , TB *mṛtyau*)  
*carati rūjasūyam* AV KS TB ]
- [*agnīṣ tad dhotā kratuvīd vijānan* RV KB TB ApŚ Cone wrongly  
*janānām* for *vijānan* in KB ]

## CHAPTER XVIII

### NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

#### 1 Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450 Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous. Except for the usual group of 'transfers of epithet', few of them fall into recognizable categories. A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative, the first example is particularly simple and clear, in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary

*kṛte yonau* (KS *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'In the prepared womb scatter here the seed' 'the womb is prepared, scatter' etc

*nābhā pṛthivyāh samidhāne agnau* (MS KS *samidhāno agnim*, TS *samidhānam agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §393

(*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp *agnih samkasukāś ca yah*) AV Ppp (*apo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp as before) AV Ppp On the interpretation of AV see §§433, 669 Whitney considers Ppp the correct reading. The same sense must be intended in both 'and (wipe off) on Agni S'

§451 Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning ('in the atmosphere, in the earth' 'atmospheric, earthly')

*antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām* AV *yā antarikṣa uta pāṛthivīr yāh* TB ApŚ *yā antarikṣyā uta pāṛthivāsah* (AG *pāṛthivīr yāh*) KS AG The ins of Ppp has *āntarikṣa uta pāṛthivā yāh*, for the first word we may read *antarikṣa* with Barret, or perhaps better *āntarikṣā* (adjective)

#### 2 Phrase-inflection

§452 One case may be called an instance of 'phrase-inflection', the *pāda* is repeated in (here three) different contexts, requiring change in the case-form

*sūtāsa indra gīrvanah* RV 8 95 2b *suteṣv indra gīrvanah* RV SV

## 3 Case attraction

§453 A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word. Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'

*gaganam* (ŚB °ne) *yad inakṣat* RV VS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ. Preceded by *dūre cattāya chantsat* 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing' 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached'. Apparently ŚB assimilates to the case of *dūre*. Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB from even VS as well as all other texts.

*rūpam indre* (MS *indro*) *hīranyayam* VS MS TB. The subjects in the original are Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhārati, who are to put *rūpam hīranyayam* upon Indra. In MS Indra is attracted to the case of the subject nouns and treated as a supplementary subject, no loc being expressed.

*itthā hi soma in made* (SV *madah*) RV SV AB KB ŚB AA AŚ ŚŚ. Followed in RV SV by *brahmā* (SV °ma) *cakāro vardhanam*. In RV the subject is *brahmā* alone, *soma* (= *some*) and *made* locs, in SV *soma* (= *somah*) and *madah* are coordinate subjects.

*vardhamāno* (TS °nam) *mahān* (TS MS *mahu*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS °ram) VS TS MS KS ŚB. The loc is clearly original, it is apparently to be construed with *ā*, 'on the lotus leaf', altho *ā* regularly follows a loc. In TS both *vardha*° and *puṣ*° are made nouns, this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837), undoubtedly the nouns of the preceding half line have helped in the change. It is not clear how TS understands *ā*.

## 4 Transfer of epithet

§454 The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur, in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case.

*ā haryato arjune* (SV °no) *atke avyata* RV SV. In RV the adjective agrees with *atke*, in SV it is transferred to the subject, *Soma*.

*tatrāpi dahre* (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam viśokah* (TA comm and Poona ed text with v l °kam) TA MahānU [TAA 10 12 3, Poona ed, reads *viśokah* in text and comm, the latter calmly refers it to *brahma* without explanation]. In TA *dahre* goes with *tatra*, which refers back to *dahram* in the preceding 'in that small place'. In MahānU *dahram* is an epithet of *gaganam*.

- śarman* (MS °*mana*) *te syūma* (VS *tava syūma śarmanas*, TS *tava syām śarman*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhut*) VS TS MS KS TA In TS *udbhut* is an epithet of the subject, in the others *udbhau* is loc with *śarman* (Comm on VS understands it as from a stem *ud-bhu*<sup>1</sup> He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhū* The stem is of course *udbhū*, declined as a short *u* etc.) In all-but TS *trivarūtha* stands for °*the* and goes with *śarman* In TS it might also be so interpreted, but pp °*thah*, nom, and so Keith
- tvaṃ śsamudrah prathamō vi dhārayah* (SV *samudrah prathame vidharman*) RV SV See §402, end
- asūrte* (MS KS °*tā*, KapS °*tāh*) *sūrte rajaso niṣatte* (MS °*tā*, KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS KapS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS See Oldenberg, *Prol* 313, and *RVNoten* on 10 82 4 Certainly both *asūrte* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *niṣatte*, go with *rajaso*, *asūrtā* is transferred to *bhūtāni*, *asūrtāh* to *śsayah*, either *niṣattā* or °*tāh* is possible, referring to either of these nouns
- priyo* (TB ApS *priye*) *devānām parame janitre* (AV TA *udhasthe*) RV AV SV KS TB TA ApS MŚ Addressed to the spirit of the dead man, *edhi* precedes The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*
- dhrivaudhi poṣyā* (PG *śpoṣye*) *mayi* RVKh SG PG ApMB 'Be thou steadfast with me, prosperous' We take *poṣye* as loc with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc fem addressed to the bride (which is also possible, in that case this variant would belong in §334)
- arepasah sacetasah* (etc) *svasare manyumatlumāḥ* (SV ApS *manyumantaḥ*) *cite goh* (SV *citā goh*, ApS *cidākoh*) AV SV ApS MŚ A very obscure verse, in AV *cite* must clearly go with *svasare*, in SV with *arepasah* etc (here nom masc, tho in AV apparently acc fem) (On ApS see VV 2 §§47, 61)
- vivṛtucakrā āśīnāh* HG ApMB (epithets of *prajāh*) *avimuktarakra* (v 1 °*rā*) *āsīran* PG *nivṛtacakrāsau* AG (here an independent sentence, with *nadī* understood, in Conc under *some no* ) If °*cakra* is the true reading of PG, it may be a voc fem agreeing with the name of a river to be supplied for the following *asau* (so Oldenberg), or it may be loc with the following *tīre*
- viśve devā anuṣu nyuplah* (VSK *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK 'He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the *anuṣu* (when the *anuṣu* are offered)' Reference is made to the *graha* called *anuṣu* (ŚB 4 6 1 1 ff) Probably VSK is original

*śucih śukre ahany ojasīnā* (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS †*śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ '*ahany ojasīnāme*) TS MS KS AŚ *ojasīnā* is nom fem agreeing with *ugrā* (sc *dik*) of the preceding, *ojasīne* and *°sye* go with *ahann* (*ahany*) *śukre* goes with the latter, *śukro* of KS (and presumably *śucih* which in the others goes with *ugrā*) apparently goes with *indra* of the following (*indrādhipatyah pṛptāt*)  
*samsr̥ṣṭīsu yutsu indro ganeṣu* MS *samsr̥ṣṭī sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS See §548

§455 The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15) We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject The nom seems to be always secondary in this group All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case  
*urukṣayāh saganā mānuṣāsah* (TS *°ṣeṣu*) AV TS We take it that TS is original 'widely dwelling with their troops among men' The AV assimilates to the preceding nouns, making *mān*<sup>c</sup> an epithet of the subject, the Māruts

*na yonā* (TS *yonūv*, KS *yonur*) *uṣāsānaktā* (KS *°naktāgneh*) VS TS MS KS The verse deals with Agni 'Dawn and night, as in his native place' In KS *yonr* is made to agree with *uṣāsānaktā*, called 'the native place' of Agni

*sūr asī svanasya retah* (MS *retā iṣṭakā svargo lokah*) MS ApŚ *sūr asī svar aṣṭakā svarge loke* KS 'Thou art the brick, the world of heaven (in the world )' Probably KS is orig, and MS has attracted to the case of *iṣṭakā*

*ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmanī* AV *ayam sahasram ānavo dṛṣah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ *°mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV comes closer to the orig (cf VV 2 §833) The nom of SV etc may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject

*vājīnam tvā vājīno 'vanayāmah* (MS *vājīny avanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ 'Thcc, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour' 'thcc, the whey, I pour into the strong (*mahāvīra*-vessel)' MS is doubtless orig  
*yā* (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS See §449

*mahī vīspatnī sudane* (KS *°nī*) *ṛtasya* KS TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the firesticks 'Ye that are two mighty queens, (come hither) to the seat of the *ṛta*' ' that are two seats of the *ṛta*, (come hither)'  
*devānīm sumne bṛhate* (TB ApŚ *sumno mahate*) *ranāya* VS MS KS

SB TB ApŚ Preceded by *svair dakṣair* (TB ApŚ *svē dakṣe*) *dakṣapiteha śīda* The loc, 'in the favor of the gods', is made an epithet of the subject, 'agreeable to the gods' Caland adopts *sumne* in ApŚ, but thus needlessly violates the clear intent of the Tait school

*samveśane* (noun, 'at entrance') *tanvaś* (AV *tanvā*) *cānur edhi* RV AV *samveśanas* (epithet of subject, understood as 'entering?') *tanvaś* (*tanve*) *cānur edhi* SV KS TB TA ApŚ MS

*yāh parastād rocane* (MS °*nāh*) *sūryasya* TS MS *yā rocane parastād sūryasya* RV VS KS SB 'Which, in the light-space beyond the sun' in MS, 'which bright ones, beyond the sun' Refers to waters

*gyotirjarāyū rajaso vimāne* (KS °*nah*) RV VS TS MS KS SB N Preceded by *ayam venaś codayat pṛśnigarbhāh* KS is secondary but by no means 'absurd' (Keith on TS), it takes the word as an epithet of the subject, meaning 'traverser' or the like, a sense familiar in RV (see e g 3 26 7) No need to emend KS with Raghū Vira KapŚ p 27, n 2, Oertel 5

§456 In a few cases, contrariwise, an original nom epithet is changed in a secondary version to an independent locative

*pūrvam devebhyo amṛtasya nābhīh* (ArS *nāma*, TA TU NṛpU *nābhāyi*) ArS TB TA TU NṛpU N Preceded by *aham asmi prathamajāṛtasya* The nom is original 'I am the nave of immortality' The loc is rationalizing

*ukṣā samudro* (MS KS °*dre*) *arunah* (RV *aruṣah*) *suparnah* RV VS TS MS KS SB In the original *samudra* is an epithet of the sun This seems quite recherché to the redactors of MS KS, which understand it of the real ocean, the loc is rationalizing and secondary but perfectly sensible (the verb *ānveśa* follows), and by no means to be described as a 'mere blunder' (Keith on TS)

*āpīr no bodhi sadhamādyo* (SV °*dye*) *vr̥dhe* RV SV In RV the word is an epithet of *āpīr* 'be our friend, convivial, unto increase' In SV it may be felt as agreeing with *vr̥dhe*, conceived as loc, but Benfey takes it as an independent noun, = *sadhāmāde*, 'in dem Gottermahl'

## 5 Miscellaneous

§457 The remaining nom-loc variants seem hardly capable of classification, tho many of them are interesting individually

*pumān putro jāyatām* (ApMB ŚG *dhīyatām*) *garbho* (ŚG *garbhe*) *antah*

- HG ŚG ApMB The double meaning of *garbha*, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change Similarly  
*garbhe* (MS *garbhah*) *sañ* (*san*, *sam*-) *jāyase punah* RV VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB As prec
- yac ca kīmcij jagat sarvam* (MahānU and TA comm *jagaty asmīn*) TA  
 MahānU 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (fol-  
 lowed by *dr̥śyate śrūyate 'pī vā*) The loc seems to be rationalizing  
 and secondary
- yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS *uditau vjety*) RV VS VSK TS Different  
 words, cf VV 2 §732
- vśvāni yo amartyo, havyā marṣeṣu ranyati* RV *vśve yasmīn amartye,*  
*havyam marṣā indhate* SV 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in  
 all offerings among mortals' 'in what immortal all mortals kindle  
 oblation'
- pībāt somam mamadad* (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣte* (AŚ ŚŚ  
*iṣṭyah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV 2 §746
- vṛṣā vanam* (ApŚ *vane*) *vṛṣā maduh* (ApŚ *made*, SV *sutah*) RV SV  
 ApŚ 'A bull (is) the wooden (soma-vessel), a bull the exhilara-  
 tion' Addressed to soma ApŚ has a natural rationalization  
 ('thou art) a bull in the vessel, a bull in the intoxication'
- tasya mṛtyuś* (KS *mṛtyoś*, read with v 1 *mṛtyuś*, TB *mṛtyau*) *carati*  
*rājasūyam* AV KS TB Perhaps TB means something like 'his  
 coronation walks in the presence of death', i.e. proceeds in spite of  
 the powers of destruction? Comm *tasya rājño mṛtyau duṣṭaśikṣā-*  
*rūpamarananamullabhūte satī rājasūyam carati*
- vājasya hi prasave* (TS °vo) *nannamīti* (TS *namnā*) TS MS KS  
 Keith 'the instigation of strength is propitious' Better perhaps  
 with active meaning (well established for *namati*) 'the impulse of  
 strength bows (causes to bend)' MS KS perhaps, with intransi-  
 tive meaning and indefinite subject 'on the impulse of strength  
 one bows' This and the next belong to a series of mantras which  
 show continuous play on various meanings of *vāja*
- vśvam astu dravinam vājo* (KS *vāje*) *asme* (KS *ṡasmīn*) RV BS TS  
 MS KS Original 'let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be  
 ours' KS takes *vāja* as 'struggle' 'let all wealth be (mine) in  
 this conflict' Cf prec
- apriyah prati muñcatām* AV *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś *ṡmuñcatam*)  
 AV Kauś Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies  
 (VV 1 §30)
- vṣnum agan varunam pūrvahūtiḥ* AV *vṣnū agan varunā pūrvahūtau*



(MS °hūtm) VS MS ṢB ṢB TB AŚ ŚŚ See §399 The loc might here be the equivalent of the acc of goal But Mahidhara takes it, probably rightly, as true loc, 'at the morning prayer', and so Griffith and Eggeling A still different interpretation is found in the comms on ṢB and TB, which make it not loc but a dual adjective going with *viṣṇū varunā*

*agnir jyotir jyotir agnih* SV VS MS KS etc *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* KS The contexts are different

*ūrdhvo adhvare asthāt* (VS ṢB 'dhvare asthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ṢB ApŚ 'He (Agni) stood upright at the sacrifice' 'the sacrifice stood upright'

*ṛtasya garbhah* (MS *dhāman*, KS *dhāma*) *prathamā vyūṣuṣī* TS MS KS PG 'She who first lighted up (i.e. Uṣas) was the child (abode, or the like) of the *ṛta*' 'first lighting up in the abode of the *ṛta*'

*ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye* SV *yasya brutarvā bṛhan* RV See §449

*yat te susīme hṛdaye* (SMB PG ApMB HG °yam) KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG 'What in thy heart' 'what heart is thine' KBU 2 8 has the version *yat te susīmami hṛdayam*, see §340

*yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānah* RV VS VSK TS *yad antarikṣam rajaso vimānam* AV Different contexts, AV has used a vague reminiscence of RV 10 121 5c in a quite secondary way 'He who measures out the space in the atmosphere' 'what atmosphere measures out space'

*atha visve arapā edhate gṛhah* TS *adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate gṛhe* VS The latter 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in the house' TS corrupt, *visve* translatable only as nom sg, cf §731, *gṛhah* seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject 'all (?) the house flourishes unharmed'

*prapitāmahān bibharti pinvamānah* (TA † °maham bibharat pinvamāne) AV TA *svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ Preceded by *sa bibharti pitaram pitāmahān* AV, *sa nah* (TA *tasminn eṣa*) *pitaram pitāmaham* TA ApŚ Both *sa* and *tasminn* (with which *pinvamāne* agrees) refer to *utsa* of the preceding, while *eṣa* refers to *Vaiśvānara* The loc of TA is almost 'absolute'

§458 There remain a few corruptions and errors

*vasūni jāte janamāna* (SV *jāto janimāny*) *ojasū* RV AV SV VS N Followed by *prati bhāyam na dīdhima* (SV °mah) The SV reading seems hopeless

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS *sa im*

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(TS १) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all Cf VV 2 §839

[*varṣma divah, nābhā pṛthivyāh* TB *varṣman divo nābhā pṛthivyāh* ApŚ Poonā ed of TB correctly *varṣman*, a loc is necessary ]

[*uta vām usavo budhiḥ* (GB *budhiḥ*, but Gāastra with all mss but one *budhiḥ*) RV GB ]

## CHAPTER XIX

### ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

#### 1 Associative instrumental complementary accusative

§459 Among variations of the accusative and instrumental we find first a group of cases in which an associative instrumental varies with an accusative which is parallel with and complementary to another accusative. Such variants occur also between the instrumental and other cases (§§55-7). The meaning is virtually the same. Thus *asthi majjānam māsarāḥ* (MS °ram) VS MS KS TB. Followed by *kārolareṇa dadhato gavām tvaci* 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) *māsara* and the straining-cloth'. In MS there is no real difference of meaning, tho *māsara* is there made an additional direct object, parallel with *asthi* and *majjānam*.

*tapūṅṣy* (MS *tapobhr*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV VS TS MS KS. Followed by *asamdito vi sṛja viṣvag ulkāḥ*. The original correlates *tapūṅṣy*, *patamgān* and *ulkāḥ* as objects of *vi sṛja*. MS substitutes *tapobhr* for the first, probably as an associative instr., tho it might also be one of means, correlated with *juhvā*.

*rūpar apinśad* (TB \* *rūpāni pinśan*) *bhuvanāni viśiā* RV AV VS MS KS TB (both) N. 'He shaped all beings along with their forms' 'shaping all forms and beings'.

*svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam* (MS °jah),

*svāhā somam indriyam* (MS °yah),

*svāhāgnim na bheṣajam* (MS °jah), all VS MS TB. The words *hotā yakṣad*, 'let the hotar worship', are understood with all, and it seems that the instrs. of MS must be understood as associative. Without the comparison of the two forms of the variant, we might be tempted to interpret them differently, as instrs. of means or cause ('with' or 'by reason of').

*hastyaśvāsvatarai rathaiḥ* RVKh Conc (Auf.) *hastyaśvāḍigave ratham* RVKh Scheft. *bahvasvājagavedakam* MG.

*sapta ca mānuṣīr* (AG ŚG MG *vārunīr*, PG *vārunair*, v. 1 °nīr) *imāḥ* (PG MG *imāḥ prajāḥ*) ApMB HG AG ŚG PG MG. Followed by

*survāś* (ApMB HG *tsrasāś*) *ca rājabāndhaviḥ* (PG °*vaiḥ*, MG °*vyah*, ApMB °*bandhaviḥ*, HG °*bandhavaiḥ*) ApMB HG AG ŚG † PG MG (Conc puts *prajāḥ* with the second pāda in PG MG) The preceding verb is *apa jāhi* in all but the plainly corrupt MG (see Knauer's note) The instrs are associative, equivalent to correlative objects

*māsarēna parisrutā* (TB *pariṣṛtā*, KS *pariṣrutam*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *gobhir na somam aśvinā*, and followed by *sam adhātām sarasvatyā, svāhendre sutam madhu* *Parisrut* is the name of a kind of liquor, and is one of a series of gifts made by the Aśvins to Indra Some (*somam, sutam, madhu*) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs, *pariṣrut* is treated in both ways in different texts In TB *pariṣṛtā* must be meant as nom dual with *aśvinā*, this is a reminiscence of *māsarena pariṣṛtāḥ* (so VS TB, in MS *pariṣrutā*), which shortly precedes in the text

*vi kumāram jarāyunā* AV *vi garbham ca jarāyu ca* TS KS The verb, continued from pāda 1, is *bhinadmī* 'the child with (that is, here, 'from') the afterbirth' 'the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate)'

*idam aham rakṣo 'bhi* (MS \**rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam dahāmi* (MS KS MŚ *sam ūhāmi*) TS MS (bis) KS MŚ The instr occurs in the brāhmana passage corresponding to the mantra *rakṣo 'bhi*, it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §383) Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor's silence, there is no v 1 At a pinch *rakṣobhiḥ* could be associative, with *idam* felt as the direct object

*ganān me mā vi tūrṣah* (MŚ °*śat*, Vait *vy arīṣah*) TS Vait MŚ *ganair mā mā vi tūrṣata* MS 'Cause not my troops (me with my troops) to thirst'

§460 Peculiar are the following two cases, it seems doubtful whether the acc in them is of quite the same character as in the preceding *sam mā sṛjāmy adbhīr* (TS *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* VS TS MS KS If TS means 'I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants,' as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand *apah* as a secondary acc, as if of goal (cf the use of the locative in §462), at least he renders 'I united [unite?] myself with waters and plants', which is the meaning of VS MS KS Is it, literally, 'I unite myself unto waters, with plants'? Cf §59

*sam tvā nahyāmy adbhīr* (TS *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS MŚ MG As prec

§461 Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the

phrase, there is an interchange of acc with instr and of instr with acc, the two case-forms changing places

*tvaṣṭā rūpena samanaktu yaḥṣam AŚ tvaṣṭā rūpāni samanaktu yaḥṣam*  
 ŚB TB ŚŚ KŚ 'Let Tvaṣṭar unite the sacrifice with form' or  
 'forms with sacrifices'

§462 In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved. In the first it, rather than the instr, varies with the one acc after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr plus acc

*aṅgāny ātman* (MS *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhiṣajā tad āsvinā* VS MS KS  
 TB 'The physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)',  
 or 'his body with his limbs' MS is evidently influenced by  
 the following pāda *ātmānam aṅgair samadhāt sarasvatī* (in all)

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc in one form, while in the other we have acc plus instr

*samudre yasya rasām id āhuh* AV *yasya samudram* (MS KS Ppp  
*samudram yasya*) *rasayā sahāhuh* RV Ppp VS TS MS KS  
 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā'  
 AV as it stands would mean 'the Rasā in the ocean', which  
 may be defended, but note that the meter needs an extra syllable,  
 which the instr *samudrena* would furnish. If we dared emend AV  
 thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461

## 2 Other accs and instrs, substantially equivalent

§464 The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case. We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc and an instr may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning. We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically, to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up)

§465 We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing. The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path'. Thus  
*ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV *tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam*

TB 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young' 'they sing with songs unto the young'

*yam putrina ākramante viśokāh* AB *yenākramante putrino (ye) viśokāh*  
 ŚŚ Preceded by *eṣa panthā urugāyah suśevah* (ŚŚ *vitato devayānah*) '(The path) which they tread' or 'by which they tread'  
*tantum latam pṛasū samvayanti* VS *pesasvatī tantunā samvayanti* (KS TB *samvayanti*) MS KS TB Dawn and Night are referred to as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread'  
*yena tvābadhnāt* (KŚ *mā*<sup>o</sup>, TS ApMB \* *yam abadhnāta*, MŚ MG *yaj jagrantha*) *santā suśevah* (AV *vāh*, TS ApMB \* *suketah*, MŚ MG *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (bis) MG '(the bond) with which he bound thee' or 'which he bound' Note that the 'inner' acc is not used with the acc of the person

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative' accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after forms of roots *hu* and *yaj*

*tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB ApŚ *juhoma*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *haviṣā*) *juhota* MS TB 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here'

*srucājyānu juhvatah* AV *srucājyena juhvatah* TB (so Poona ed for the corrupt *srucānyena juhvata* of Bibl Ind ed) 'Offering (with) ghee with a spoon' Preceded by *medasvatā yajamānāh*, the instr *medasvatā* (which because of gender cannot agree with *srucā*, and seems to need a noun) may have caused the change to *ājyena*, which we believe is clearly secondary

§467. With a verb of motion an acc of goal is a very natural construction. If however there is contained in the verb also the notion of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental is equally admissible

*marya va yuvatibhiḥ sam arṣati* (AV *va yoṣāh sam arṣase*) RV AV SV 'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV (Grassmann, 'mit jemand eilend zusammenkommen') The AV comm reads *yoṣā*, instr, and Whitney calls the construction with *yoṣāh* 'lame', which seems to us unjust. The acc of goal is surely quite natural, indeed with this verb the instr strikes us as more recherché, tho comprehensible (suggested by the associative idea in *sam*)

*śunam kīnāśā abhi* (AV *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhah* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals'  
*trayo gharmā anu reta āguh* AV *trayo gharmāso anu jyotiṣāguh* (MS

KS *retasāgūh*) TS MS KS ApMB 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light)' In a mystical passage, the real meaning is obscure

*achāyam eti savasā ghr̥tena* (AV *ghrtā cit*) AV Ppp VS MS TS *achāyam yanti savasā ghr̥tācīh* KS In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV and KS seem to be secondary In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV *ghrtā cit* as secondary to KS *ghrtācīh* We now think, however, that *ghrtā cit* may well be the original reading 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghees (offerings)' It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both *ghrtācīh* (agreeing with *srucō* which is made the subject in KS, 'the ghee-filled ladles,' see §403) and *ghr̥tena*, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of *savasā* It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to *ghrtā cit*, a lectio difficilior

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech, we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc of the goal of speech In this variant that case varies with an associative instr, if the reading is acceptable

*grāvā vaded* (KS Conc with v 1 *grāvāvādīd*) *abhi somasyānsūm* (ApŚ °*sunā*) KS ApŚ Followed by *indram* (KS ed *endram*, Conc with v 1 *indram*) *sikṣemendunī sutena* Caland assumes the KS reading for ApŚ 'may the pressing-stone cry out in greeting to the shoot of soma, may we present Indra with the pressed drink' But it seems that the instr can stand 'may the pressing-stone cry out along with the shoot of soma,' etc

§469 Other instances, in which the associative idea of 'joining' is hardly felt in the instr, which nevertheless interchanges with an acc, are *devair uktā* (Ppp *sṛṣṭā*, KS *nullā*, ApŚ MŚ *nyuptā*) *vyasarpo mahitvam* (Ppp KS ApŚ MŚ °*tvā*) AV Ppp KS ApŚ MŚ In AV, 'thou didst expand unto might' In the others, with quasi-adverbial instr, 'thou didst expand with might (mightily)'

*ye ṭapraṭhetām* (AV ArS °*tām*) *amitebhīr ojobhīh* (AV *amitā yojanāni*, ArS *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV ArS TS MS KS 'Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues' 'who have spread out with unmeasured strengths' The change in the noun is connected with the change of case Add to VV 1 §331

*pra rūdhasū* (SV *rūdhanī*) *codayāte* (SV °*yate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV 'Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might,' or, SV might mean 'he sends favors unto us with might'

See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 287 f, against Grassmann's suggestion that SV is original

*pra śmaśru* (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV °*dhā bhuvat*)  
RV SV 'Shaking (with) his beard'

*sa virājami* (KS °*jā*) *pary eti* (MS *etu*, KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS MS  
KS 'He goes about knowing majesty' 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty' The VS parallel has *sanemi rājā pari yāti vidvān*, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS, taking *virājā* as nominative

*aḥam* (AB AŚ *idam*) *tad* (MS *tam*) *asya manasā śivena* (MS \* *ghṛtena*)  
VS MS (bis) KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *tenāham adya manasā sutasya* KS The contexts are the same, both are followed by *somam rājānam iha bhakṣayāmi* The pronouns *tad* (*tam*, *tena*) refer back to the preceding '(what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,) that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—I here partake of King Soma' KS *tena* seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of *tad* followed by *somam*, both really referring to the same thing For a similar reason MS changes *tad* to *tam*, to agree with *somam*

[*vanema pūrūr aryo manīṣāh* (p p °*ṣā*) RV The s p has *manīṣā agnīh*, implying *manīṣāh*, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg *Proleg* 385, *SBE* 46 71, *RVN*oten on 1 70 1 'may we, the poor, succeed in many pious thoughts' The p p must understand an instr, it is followed by Geldner *Ved St* 3 87, 89]

### 3 Acc of bahuvrīhis instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr)

§470 The nature of the instr is such that in a karmadhāraya cpd it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a bahuvrīhi cpd agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all We found above (§413) such variations between instr and nom forms, here we record one of instr and acc, as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr karmadhāraya we have the cpd broken up into its parts, an adjective (acc) with dependent instrumental

*rākām aham suhavām* (AV °*vā*) *suṣṭutī huve* RV AV TS MS KS SMB  
ApMB N Comm on AV and Ppp read °*vām*, if °*vā* can stand, it has been attracted to the case of *suṣṭutī* 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise'

*adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇuvogasam* (SV *dhṛṣṇuvam ojasā*) RV AV SV Epithets of Indra, 'endowed with resistless might' or 'resistless with might' The meaning is practically identical Cf VV 2 §818



## 4 Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471 The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning

*juhūr, upabḥṛd, dhruvāsi gḥṛtācī nāmnā* TS (intending *juhūr aṣi gḥṛtācī nāmnā, upabḥṛd aṣi*, etc) *gḥṛtācy aṣy upabḥṛn nāmnā* (VSK *nāma*) VS VSK ŚB (also with *dhruvā* and *juhūr* for *upabḥṛd*) *juhūr aṣi gḥṛtācī nāmnā* TB *dyaury aṣi janmanā juhūr nāma* MS (also with *pṛthivy dhruvā*, and *antarikṣam upabḥṛn*) *pra hunsasas tṛpalam* (SV °*lī*) *manṅum* (SV *vagnum*) *acha* RV SV The RV *tṛpalam* is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully' In SV if the p p is correct it must also be considered an (instr) adverb (but *tṛpalah*, 'joyful', n pl adjective, may be intended by the s p)

§472 In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions

*yad vo śuddhah* (VSK † °*dhah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *jaghanatad*) *idam vas tar chundhānu* VS VSK ŚB *yad aśuddhah parā jaghana tad va etena sundhantām* KS In the latter *etena* is hardly adverbial 'by this (procedure)' In VS etc it seems to be represented by *idam*, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (*idam*) purify 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thru this)' In MS *yad vo śuddha ālebhe tañ sundhadhvam* there is no such pronoun

*yas te rajan varuna deveṣu pāśas tam ta etenāvayaje* (KS *ta etad avayaje*) MS KS In KS *etad* is a pure adverb 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (fetter) of thine away' In MS *etena* (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite)' See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc, and those beginning *yas te deva varuna*, which occur in TB and have *etena*

*priyena dhamnā* (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada śīda* (VSK TS TB ApŚ \* *priye sadasi śīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ (bis) *sedam priyena dhamna priyam suda †āśīda* (VSK *priyena nāma priye sadasi śīda*) VS VSK ŚB In TS etc texts *priyena nāmnā* = 'with thy dear name', associative instr Conc suggests reading *nāmnā* in VSK, but this is unnecessary, 'with that which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought

*yad aham dhanena prapananś carāmi* ApMB *yad vo devāh prapanam carāma* HG *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV *yad* is used as a conjunction, *yenu* with *dhanena*

## 5 Case attraction

§473 We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above)

*vyaciṣṭham annai* (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam drśānam* (TS † KS *vidānam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB In the original *annai* is instr of means with either *vyaciṣṭham* or *rabhasam*, which refer to Agni 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful' In TS MS KS it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with *agnim* of pāda a Keith takes *annam* as object of *vidānam*, but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS no such construction is possible

*haviṣḍ yajña* (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *tam indram paśavah sacā, asvinobhā sarasvatī, dadhānā abhyanūyata* In most texts *indriyam* is a collateral object ' (praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice ' In VS it is attracted to the case of *haviṣā* ' with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds ' In TB in a similar way the loc *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam* '(praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism ' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed, this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style

*agner jihvām abhi* (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām, abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*) *ṅgrñitam* (AV *grñata*) AV VS †S MS KS Preceded by *dauvyā* (AV *davā*) *hotārā* (AV °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS *ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* The instr of AV KS is original 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni' In the others the preceding accs have attracted *jihvayā* into their case 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation ' On MS see §174

## 6 Other miscellaneous variants

§474 The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material

*vidhes tvam asmākam nāma* (AB AŚ *nāmnā*) MS KS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *vidhema te nāma*, in AB AŚ the words *dyām gacha* are added, and with this phrase the instr is construed 'Let us

reverence thy name, do thou reverence our name' (in AB AŚ)  
' do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven'

*taved u stomam* (SV *stomāś*) *ciketa* RV AV SV The root *cit* governs either acc or gen, so that it is permissible for SV to reinterpret *tava* (originally possessive) as object of *ciketa* 'I have thought only on thy praise' 'I have thought only on thee with praises'

*cakṣuk cit sūrye sacā* RV *cakṣuṣā sūryam dr̥še* SV In RV *cakṣuk* is governed by *ā dade* of the preceding 'he unites our eye to the sun,' cf Bergaigne, *Rel véd* 1 184 The SV has a lect fac 'that we may see the sun with our eye'

*pratiprasthātah paśunehi* KŚ ApŚ *pratiprasthātah paśum upukaḥpa-yaśva* MŚ 'Come with the cow' 'bring the cow near' Change of verb

*yaḥnam yad yaḥnāvāhasah* AV *yaḥnāv vā* (TB *vo*) *yaḥnāvāhasah* RV TS TB The context of RV TS is wholly different from that of AV TB In RV TS followed by *viprasya vā matīnām, marutah śrutā havam*, for the interpretation see Oldenberg, *KVNoten* on 1 86 2 In AV TB followed by *śikṣanto nopā* (TB *āśikṣanto na*) *śekīma* AV makes *yaḥnam* object 'in so far as we, O sacrifice-bearers, desiring to effect the sacrifice, have not been able to effect it' TB is variously interpreted, the comm is worthless To us it seems to mean, if anything 'seeking power by sacrifice to you, O sacrifice-bearers, we have not succeeded' But the real explanation is that TB, in repeating the AV stanza, has contaminated it with the similar pāda from a totally different context, which is remembered from RV, or more likely from TS

*stomāś (gīro) vardhantya atrayah, gīrbhīh (gīrah) śumbhantya atrayah* RV (both) 'The Atriā increase (the god) with praises, the Atriā decorate (him) with songs' 'the Atriā increase songs (for the god), decorate (i e fashion) songs (for him)' The first is preceded by an acc referring to the god, the second by a dat

*divyam suparnam vāyasam* (AV *payasam*, VS TS \* KS ŚB *vayasā*, TS \* MS *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV AV VS TS (b<sub>1a</sub>) MS KS ŚB AŚ Suparn The original *vāyasam* 'bird' is changed into the instr *vayasā* 'with strength', from a wholly different stem

*pra tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuh, viṣṇus) stavate vīryena* (AV *vīryāni*, TB ApŚ *vīryāya*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU The original means 'Viṣṇu is praised here for his deed of heroism', *stavate* having passive force In AV, unless *pra stavate* is understood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must

apparently bc taken with active force 'V here praises his (own) heroic deeds' Instead of this foolish perversion, TB ApŚ have another one, with a dative of result 'V is praised unto (so as to perform) heroism' Cf §558

*ghṛtena tvam tanvam* (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā sam bhava* KS MŚ Kauś MG  
Parallels rather than true variants, tho the contexts are in some texts the same

*nīcād uccā svadhayābhī pra tasthau* Ppp TS KS *nīcār uccāh svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV The meaning of the always troublesome word *svadhā* is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn AV *svadhāh* is generally taken as acc 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks (' cf *gharṇam* of the preceding verse)' The others 'he set forth according to his own will (?)' Bloomfield in a note suggests that *svadhā* may be nom sg in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic Macdonell, *Ved Gr* 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical *ā*, sometimes appears in the nom sg without *s* in the pp but with hiatus in the sp, and refers to RPr 2 29 TPr 10 13 teaches the sandhi *svadhā am* If nom, the word would mean here '(the first-born's) will set forth' The variant may be partly phonetic in character, it suggests the use of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff, this might have been mentioned in §342)

*vr̥ṣvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhūyah* VS TS *vr̥ṣvā* (MS *vṛ*) *amūvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS °*ṣebhyah*, MS °*ṣānām*) AV MS KS  
See §573 The VS TS reading has all the earmarks of a lect fac, with *mānuṣīr* understand *kr̥ṣīis* 'freeing men from fear' Cf VV 2 §§783, 832

*udagrābhāsyā namayan vadhasnavh* (SV °*snm*) RV SV There seems to be no object for *namayan* in RV, SV feels it necessary to specify who is 'brought low', and makes it 'the weapon-bearer', doubtless thinking vaguely of demonic enemies

*dame-dame suṣṭutir* (°*tyā*, °*tīr*, °*tī*) *vām iyānā* (*vāvr̥dhānā*, °*nau*), see §413 The instr is clearly original, acc secondary

[*mā me 'vān nābhīm atgāh* TS KŚ MŚ *mām evā gnābhūr abhigāh* Vait  
Read in Vait *mā me 'vāg nābhīm* ]

## 7 Phrase inflection

§475 We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21-2)

*tundyumna yahasvatah* (RV \*<sup>o</sup>*vata*) RV (both) AV See *RVRep* on 1 9 6

### 8 Transfer of epithet

§476 Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc and instr, all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case

*īha tvā goparīnasū* (SV \*<sup>o</sup>*am*) RV AV SV Followed by *mahe mandantu rādhasē* 'Here thee with (soma-juice, supplying *sutena* with Grassmann) rich in milk' 'here thee rich in milk' Oldenberg suggests as an alternative *goparīnasāh* (sc *somāh*), nom pl, implying that RV pp is incorrect

*yam nirmanthato asvīnā* RV ApMB IIG MG *yābhyām nirmanthatām asvīnau devau* ŚB BṛhU. Preceded by *hiranyayī arānī*, and followed by *tam te garbham havāmahe (dadhāmahe)* In the first *yam* refers to *garbham*, in the latter *yābhyām* to *arānī*

*pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB Followed by *asvīnendrūya vīryam* The adjective goes alternatively with *pathā* or *vīryam*

*yebhir vācam viśvarūpebhir* (TB \*<sup>o</sup>*rūpām*) *avyayan* (TB *samavyayat*) KS TB The adjective is transferred from *yebhir* (TB comm *yath karmakausalanāh*) to *vācam*

*ava bādhe pṛtanyatah* (ApŚ \*<sup>o</sup>*tā*) MS ApŚ And others, sec Conc Preceded by *indrena manyunā yujā* In MS *pṛt<sup>o</sup>* means 'enemies', in ApŚ '(friendly) champion', agreeing with *indrena* Caland translates the MS reading without comment, we see no reason to abandon the text of ApŚ, tho it is of course secondary and based on MS For *pṛtanyati* with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf RV 1 54 4 The next following word in both is *ghnatā*, agreeing with *indrena*

*yayāśiṣū dampatī vāmam asnutah* AV *yam āsīrā dampatī vāmam asnutah* TS *yad āsīrdā dampatī vāmam asnutah* VS The original *yayā* is transferred to agree with *vāmam*, on the gender-change of §809

*abhi tvādham sahīyasā* RV ApMB *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV Preceded by *upa* (AV *abhi*) *te 'dhām sahamānām* 'I have laid under (AV over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing, AV I have laid under thee the stronger [plant])' The instr in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808), by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV

§477 There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,

in which a word which in the original is not properly an 'epithet' at all is altered in form so as to become a true 'epithet' of another entity *hastacyuti* (SV °*cyutam*) *janayanta* (SV † °*yata*) *praśastam* RV SV KS KB ApŚ MŚ N The original form is a Vedic instr, 'by hand-motion', like the parallel *dīdhitiḥ* in the preceding, it goes with *janayanta*, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc epithets (of which *praśastam* is one) In SV *hastā*° is made into another epithet of Agni

*savātarau na tejasā* (TB °*śi*) VS TB The word *savātarau* (said by the scholars to mean 'having a common calf', with *dhenū* preceding) is one of a series of epithets of *uṣe* 'dawn and night' (in *hotā yakṣad uṣe* ) VS *tejasā* is an instr of means with the following verb (*vatsam indram avardhatām*), of which *savātarau* may also be considered the subject 'they two have increased Indra with splendor' It can hardly be doubted that TB *téjasī* is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem dual, the comm takes it as an adjective (*tejasvinau*), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, 'the two brilliances'

## CHAPTER XX

### ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

#### 1 After verbs of motion and the like

§478 Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative. In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative, Delbrück (AIS 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons. Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbrück 147 f), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive. We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur *kāmena mā* (TA *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA *āgāt*) AV TA 'By love love has come to (for) me'

*ado māgachatu* MS KS MŚ *ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ (Delete ApŚ 4 13 8 under the former heading in Conc and add it under the latter) If ApŚ has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf VV 2 §990), it would belong here

§479 Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are

*sā paprathe pṛthivī pāṛthivān* (KS MŚ °*vāya*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region)'

*sindhur avabhṛtham avaprayan* TS *sindhur avabhṛthāyodyatah* VS 'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath' 'Sindhu lifted up for the p b' The verbal expression is changed in VS to one which more naturally goes with a dative

*śubham yātām* (MS *śubhe kam*) *anu rathā avṛtsata* RV TS MS KS Here both *śubham* and *śubhe* may be classed as infinitives

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which *svasti* is rather ambiguous, Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'), to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial acc

*tam* (TS *taḍ*) *āsvinā pari dhattam svasti* (MŚ °*taḷe*) TS KS MŚ 'O  
 Āsvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being)'

§481 After a verb of sending, a dative of 'indirect object' varies with  
 an acc of goal tagged with the postposition *upa*

*athem enam* (AV *athemam enam*) *pra hanutāt pitṛbhyah* (AV † *pitṛur upa*)  
 RV † 10 16 1d, AV TA 'Then send him forward unto the  
 fathers' AV comm reads *pitṛbhyah* but also comments upon *upa*'  
 (as if blending the two readings)

§482. Verbs of placing, especially *dhā*, may be construed with either  
 acc or dat of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological  
 turns (see §72)

*svargam me lokam yajumānāya dhehi* Vait *svarge loka yajamānam hi*  
*dhehi* (and, *dhehi mām*) TB ApŚ (both in each) 'Grant the world  
 of heaven to me the sacrificer' 'place (me) the sacrificer in the  
 world of heaven'

§483 Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat or  
 acc of person

*yajñasya tvā* (MS *te*) *yajñapate sūktoktau* (TS *havr̥bhuh*, KS *saha*) VS  
 TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *sūktavāke* (omitted in VS MS ŚB)  
*namovāke vidhema* (VS ŚB add *yat svāhā*, MS adds *svāhā*)

*tvaṣṭrimantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS  
 ŚB ApŚ *tvaṣṭrimatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭi*°, and so TA Poona ed with  
 v 1 °*tri*°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ We need not accept Pischel's  
 improbable theory that *te* is acc (see Oldenberg's judicious critique,  
*RVNoten* 1 25 ff) The construction of *sap* 'devote oneself to  
 (a god)' with dat is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested  
 by this construction with *sac* (see e.g. RV 8 60 18)

§484 Other verbs

*abhūṣantaḥ te* (TB *tvā*) *sanutau navāyām* RV AV TB The usual  
 interpretation makes *te* a gen with *sanutau*, which is dependent on  
 the participle 'presenting ourselves to thy fresh favor' Without  
 denying this possibility we suggest that *te* may be a dat depending  
 directly on the participle, used in the same sense as the simple *bhūṣ*  
 with dat (RR *studere, colere*) For this in TB an acc is substi-  
 tuted (comm on TB *sarvataḥ praśansantah*) 'attending thee in a  
 new song of praise'

*tam indram abhi gāyata* RV 8 32 13 *tasmā ndrāya gāyata* RV 1 4  
 10, 5 4, AV Both 'sing praises to this Indra' The compound  
*abhi-gai* takes acc, the simple *gai* dat RV 8 32 13 = 1 4 10  
 entire



## 2 Dedicatory expressions

§485 In formulae of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126)

*dagbhyah śrotam* (sc *ālabhate*) TB † 3 4 18 1 *dśah śrotam* (sc *anva-vasṛjatāt*) AB TB AŚ ŚŚ '(He takes) the ear for the directions' '(send) the ear to the directions'

*agnim svāhā* MS *agnim agnau svāhā* (here a verb of placing is understood) ApŚ MŚ ApMB *svāhāgnim* KS ŚR TB ŚŚ *agnaye svāhā* AV etc Likewise *svāhā prajāpataye* (TB °*patim*) TS KSA TB *svāhā sarasvatyai* (KS °*tīm*) TS KS etc, *svāhā viśvān devan* KS *svāhā viśvebhya devebhyah* VS TS KSA ŚB And many other similar phrases The contexts are often quite different The dat is felt as governed by *svāhā*, 'hail to ' The acc is sometimes dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times no such verb is clearly supplable, and then the acc is commonly understood in a sort of interjectional fashion, however, one may always understand, if one wishes, a verb such as 'we worship' Cf next, and §377 The TB comin supplies *uddiśya* Cf also §459, *svāhāgnim*

*ākūtim* (MS MŚ MG °*tam*) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *ākūtyai prayuje graṇye* (MS KS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Cf prec, and see especially TS 4 1 9 1, where the acc form occurs in a list of several such acc formulae, followed by two in the dat

## 3 Dative of purpose accusative (object or goal)

§486 The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative, either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word so used Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with any other case, see §70 Thus

*rāyas poṣam vi śyatu* (RV MS TB \* *śyatām*, AV MS \* *śya*) *nabhm asme* (AV *asya*) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) TB (bis) ApŚ *tvāstah poṣāya viśya nābhām asme* KS '(Our seminal fluid, *turīpam*) release (let him release, etc) for increase (as increase of wealth) for us (etc)'

*mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam* AV *mahyam jyotir abharat sūryas tat* KS 'The sun brought (it) to me in order to light' 'to me the sun brought that light' The AV (probably original) understands the object from the preceding *pāda*, KS by a lect *fac* makes *jyotis* the object

*asamādim grheṣu nah AV grhānām asamartyai TS* In AV the acc is governed by the preceding *abhi rakṣatu*, Bloomfield, following Śāyana 'preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house' In TS is added another pāda, *bahavo na grhā asan*, the two constituting an independent sentence 'may our houses be many, for unharmedness of our house'

*tam te grhnāmi yajñayāh ketubhīh saha KS tam te (AŚ tvā) harāmi brahmanā TB Vait AŚ ApŚ MŚ* The preceding pādas are *yo aśvatthah śamīgarbha āruroha tve sacā* (KS *tvayy apr*) 'The *aśvatthā* that has grown up by thee (TB comm *tve tvayī nimittabhūtāyām satyām*), that for thee I take' In AŚ the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB comm *tvadartham*), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc 'that I take as thee (the firestick)' The firestick of course is made from the *aśvatthā*

*vṛṣane śuśmāyāyuse varcase TS vṛṣanam śuśnam āyuse varcase kṛdhi MŚ* Preceded by *mā mā rājan vibhīhṣo mā me hārdi* (MŚ °dim) *tvṣā* (MŚ *dvṣā*) *vadhīh* 'Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart unto (i.e. so that I may have) manly fury, life, splendor' 'make (for me) manly fury, unto life, splendor' It is hard to say which is original, if MŚ be considered so, TS could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives

[*pra tad vṛṣnu (vṛṣnuh) stavale vīryena (vīryāni, vīryāya)*, see §§474, 558  
The instr is the original form]

#### 4 Miscellaneous final dative accusative

§487 There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed, other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant

*śukrām vayanīy asurāya nirnīyam RV śukrā vī yanīy asurāya nirnīye SV* 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura' The noun of RV becomes an infinitive in SV, perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining *asurāya*, but cf also *nirnīye* in RV 10 49 7

*tam (MS tan) mā devā avantu śobhāyī (MS °yī) TS MS TA* 'May the gods aid me unto splendor' The MS form seems to be neut acc of a stem \**śobhāyīn*, doubtless adverbial, 'splendidly'

*prchāmi tvā citaye (LŚ °yam) devasakha VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ*  
The dat *citaye* may be considered an infinitive 'I ask thee for

understanding (i.e. that I may understand) ' LŚ *citayam* (repeated in the comm.) would seem to be from an unrecorded \**citaya*, an adjective agreeing with *tvā* ' thee that understandest' Cf next

*kavīn pṛchāmi indmane* (AV *indvano*) *na indvān* RV AV 'I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know)' The AV is a lect. fac., attracting the adjective into agreement with *kavīn*. The change resembles that in the last

### 5 Miscellaneous dative of interest accusative

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative, usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also

*dyaus ca ma idam pṛthivī ca pracasau* AV *dyaus ca nah* (KS TB *tvā*) *pṛthivī ca pracasā* RV KS TB The RV passage is in a different context from all the others. In KS TB the pronoun is object of *pṛpartu* 'protect'. Ppp according to Roth ap. Whitney has *mā*, acc., for AV *ma idam*, this latter Whitney finds 'embarrassing', but without reason as it seems to us, *idam* is object of *pṛpartu*, *me* dative of interest. We may render with Ludwig 'Dyaus und Pṛthivī fordere mir dies', or we may take *pṛpartu* from *pr* 'fill' in the sense of 'fulfil, grant'

*ajīapatendram vājam* VS ŚB (*ajīapata*) *indram vājam* (MS MŚ *indrāya vācam*) *vimucyadhvam* TS MS KS TB MŚ 'Ye have caused Indra to win the prize, (be released)' So essentially all but MS MŚ, which mean 'ye have caused Speech to win for Indra'

*vanaspatīn vānaspatyān, ośadhīr uta vīrudhah* AV 8 8 14ab, 11 9 24ab, *devān punyajānān pitṛn* AV 8 8 15b, 11 9 24d *vanaspatībhyo vānaspatyebhya ośadhībhyo vīrudhbhyaḥ sarvebhyo devebhyo devajanebhyah punyajanebhyah* Kauś. In Kauś. a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV passages (used in AV in quite other, and mutually different, contexts)

*yajñam hinvanty adribhiḥ* RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV 'They promote the sacrifice with stones' 'let the stones be for the sacrifice' See §419, same context, loosely rephrased

*madhu tvā madhulā cakāra* (Ppp *karat*, MS *kṛnotu*, TA ApŚ *karotu*) RV Ppp MS TA ApŚ *madhu me madhulā karah* AV Change of person in pronoun, 'the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey' 'mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me'

*pāvamānyah* (SV MG °*nīh*) *punantu mā* (SV *nah*, MS *tvā*, YDh *te*)  
RVKh SV TB MG YDh 'May they purify me (us, thee)'  
'may they purify for thee', with indefinite and unexpressed object  
Cf next

*sa tvā* (Kauś *no*, V1Dh *me*) *rakṣatu sarvatah* AV Kauś V1Dh In  
V1Dh no object is expressed, unless *me* be taken as acc as Jolly  
seems to take it (cf above, §483, we take no stock in *me*, *te* as  
accs) As in the preceding 'may he protect for me on all sides'  
*kas te yunakti*, and *kas te vimuñcati*, MG *kas tvā yunakti*, and *kas tvā*  
*vimuñcati*, VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ *ko vo yunakti*, and *ko vo*  
*vimuñcati*, ApŚ MŚ MG On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a  
rite see Caland on ApŚ 4 16 10, it is simply a mystically grandiose  
expression for 'beginning' and 'ending' In most texts *tvā* is used  
referring to the rite In MG twice *te* is used referring to the *devatā*,  
the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood MG  
'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

*aśmīn yajñe yajamānāya sūrim* AV *īmam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau*  
ApŚ Preceded by *indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi* AV, *indrasya*  
*bhāgah svnte dudhātana* ApŚ Both unintelligent and scarcely  
translatable, *yajamāna* and *sūri* ought to refer to the same person,  
but only Ppp (as reported by Roth ap Whitney, *yajñapatīś ca*  
*sūrih*) has them in the same case (the nominative, in other respects  
Ppp is hardly more intelligent)

*tanā* (SV *tmanā*) *kṛnvanto arvate* (SV °*tah*) RV SV Preceded by *sugā*  
*tokāya vājīnah* Subject is the soma-drops, with which *vājīnah*  
agrees in RV 'creating welfare uninterruptedly for the offspring,  
they the swift ones, and for the steed' SV 'the swift ones, creat-  
ing welfare and horses for the offspring by themselves', or 'creating  
welfare and swift horses' "

*amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ †*ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *apāma edhi mā*  
*mṛthā na indra* SMB 'Do not abandon us (me)' 'do not die for  
us' (!) See VV 2 §78

*abhi tvādhām sahiyasā* RV ApMB *upa te 'dhām sahiyasim* AV See  
§476

*agnau vā tvā gārhapatye 'bhiceruh* AV *yām te cakrur gārhapatye* AV  
The latter 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee',  
while in the former *tvā* is object of *abhicerur* 'bewitched'

*samidhah* (ApŚ MŚ *samidbhyah*) *preṣya* ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ In all texts  
addressed by the adhvaryu to the matṛāvaruṇa 'order (the hotar  
to recite the formula) for the firesticks' The dative is usual with

the stereotyped *preṣya* to denote the *devatā* to which offering or prayer is made, the acc to denote the rite or action ordered (e.g. *sāma* or the like, see BR s v 18 + *pra*) Here *saṃdḥyah* is originally the proper form, the kindling sticks being the *devatā* of the formula which the hotar is commanded to recite. But by figurative transference *saṃdḥah* is treated as the name of the rite 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks'. See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāsa*, §§204, 300 *tan mā* (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB Vait. In GB 'let that be strong for me again'. Note hiatus in Vait. If it really intends *mā*, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh 5 508 'let that make me strong again'.

[*yatrā vrksas tanuvar yatra vāsah* HG *yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *tanuvar* might be gen with ending *ai* (§144), cf. the AV reading which is certainly gen. But since HG is otherwise corrupt (Oldenberg adopts the AV reading), little reliance can be placed upon it.]

## 6 Transfer of epithet.

§489 Transfer of epithet (§14) between dative and accusative forms appears in the following cases. First, some in which number and gender are not changed.

*dakṣāya dakṣavrdham* (TS °*dhe*) TS MS KS. Preceded by *prajāpataye tvā jyotismate jyotismantam gṛhṇāmi*. In MS KS the adjective agrees with *tvā*, carried over from the preceding, in TS it is attracted into agreement with *dakṣāya*.

*dyaus te* (AŚ PG *tvā*) *dadātu pṛthivī* (PG adds *tvā*) *pratiḡgṛhṇātu* AŚ PG HG. The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc to the gift, 'may heaven give (to) thee'. The next two are similar. *śukram te śukrena gṛhṇāmi* TS KS ApŚ *śukram tvā śukra sukṛāya gṛhṇāmi* MS MŚ *śukram tvā śukra ādhunomi* VS ŚB. As in prec and next, the pronouns refer to different things.

*śukram te* (MS *te śukra*) *śukrena krīṇāmi* (MS omits *krī*<sup>o</sup>) *candram candrenāṃṣtam anṣtana* (MS adds *krīṇāmi*) TS MS KS *śukram tvā śukrena krīṇāmi* VS ŚB. *te* refers to the seller of the soma, *tvā* to the soma, cf. preceding two.

*athartān aṣṭau virūpān* (TB † 3 4 19 1 *athartān arūpebhyu*) *ālabhate* VS VSK TB. In VS VSK the adjective refers to the eight 'malformed' men who are dedicated (in these texts) to Prajāpati, in TB the same eight are dedicated to *devatās* called 'fountainless'.

*dhattam rayim sahavīram* (ApMB *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV ApMB  
*rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam* AV The epithet *vacasya* is  
 attracted in AV into agreement with *rayim*, in the original it  
 referred to the recipient of the gift

*yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made* RV AŚ *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam uvak-*  
*ṣase* SV In the original the adjective agrees with *yajñāya*, in  
 SV with *tvā* of the preceding (*hotāram tvā vṛnīmahe*)

*indrāya tvā bṛhadvate vayasvata ukthāyuve* (VSK MS °*yuvam*, VS ŚB  
 KS † *ukthāvyam*, VS VSK ŚB °*am grhnāmi*) VS VSK TS MS  
 KS ŚB The acc goes with *tvā*, the dat with *indrāya* Add to  
 V V 2 §805 (stems *ukthāyu ukthā-vī*)

§490 With change of number and gender as well as case

*īdiṣvā hi mahe* (ApŚ *mahī*, v 1 *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV ApŚ Followed by  
*dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ °*vīm*, see §746) In SV the adj agrees  
 with *hotrāya*, in ApŚ (if *mahī* be read) with *dyāvā*

§491. In the following an originally independent noun seems to be  
 attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right  
 in taking KS TB ApŚ as secondary Cf §15

*ayakṣmāya tvā samstjāmi prajābhyah* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā*  
*vah prajāyā samstjāmi* KS TB ApŚ 'I unite thee unto health,  
 unto progeny' 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny'

§492 Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet  
 is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose)  
 in the following

*ūrjasvatī rājasvāḥ* (MS KS *rājasūyās*, TS *rājasūyāya*) *citānāh* VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB The waters are originally described as 'king-  
 creating', in TS this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for king-  
 crowning', which depends on *citānāh* ('caring for, having regard to'),  
 cf BR s v 4 *cit*, 2 See next

*svāhā rājasūyāh* MS MŚ *svāhā rājasūyāya citānāh* TS *svāhā rājasvāh*  
 VS ŚB Supply *upah* in all, we have here a reminiscence of the  
 formula just quoted, q v

## CHAPTER XXI

### ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

#### 1 With verbs of separation, guarding, etc

§493 The accusative and ablative approach interchangeability chiefly in connexion with certain verbs and certain prepositions. Thus, first, verbs of separation, guarding, purifying, or the like, since they suggest separation of two things or of a thing and a quality, may in principle put either of the two separated entities in either the acc or the abl. Hence the following variants

*iyam duruktāt* (PG °*lam*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG  
'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or warding off slander (from its wearer)'

*āpas tvā tasmā jīvalāh* AV *āpas tat sarvam jīvalāh* ApŚ Followed by *punantu* (ApŚ *śundhantu*) *śucayah śucim* 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all', in ApŚ *tat sarvam* may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc, or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that)'

*sakhyam te mā yoṣāh sakhyam te mā yoṣthāh* SMB *sakhyōt te mā yoṣam sakhyān me mā yoṣthāh* TB ApŚ ApMB HG The root *y'* is either transitive, 'separate', or intransitive, 'be separated'. In SMB the two clauses, one with active and one with middle verb, seem to be equivalent in meaning (transitive in both) 'Withhold not thy friendship'. The others 'may I not be separated from thy friendship, nor thou from mine'

#### 2 With prepositions

§494 Similarly both cases are used after various prepositions, with or without difference of meaning. Notably *ā* in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc or abl, while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl, never the acc. Also *pari* is used with both cases, tho with different meanings

*ūrjo mā pāhy odṛcam* MŚ *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcah* TS *ūrdhvo mā pāhy*

*anhasah, āsya yaṅnāsyodṛcah* VS ŚB *ā-udṛcah* (°cam) in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice)' The variant *ūrjo* for *ūrḍhvo* (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160

*orv antarikṣam* ŚŚ *āsmāt sadhasthād oror antarikṣāt* TB ApŚ Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc, 'from' with abl Probably not true variants

*ye jātās tanvas* (PB °vam) *pari* RV MS PB ŚB TA 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)' 'who are born about (near) [her] body' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB has a mere corruption of the RV reading

### 3 Miscellaneous

§496. Of the rest—barring those classified under 'transfer of epithet'—there is little to be said They concern miscellaneous reinterpretations of the passages, usually with other changes besides the one with which we are concerned, and oftener than not yielding very poor sense in the secondary version, so that the term 'corruption' begins to apply In not a few cases the variation is between *n* and *t*, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871)

*rūpam varnam paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle' 'may he not wipe away the color from the form' ApŚ is a little less banal than MŚ

*yakṣmā yanti janād* (AV ApMB *janān*) *anu* RV AV ApMB In RV abl of source 'from the (malicious) folk,' *anu yanti*, 'follow' AV ApMB construe *anu* as postposition with acc *janān* Altho Bloomfield (*The Atharvaveda* 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV reading as compared with RV, we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now, see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 85 31 If there is a single case in which AV shows itself superior to RV in a variant reading, we do not know of it

*ūvadhyam vātam* (MS *vātāt*) *sabvam* (TB Poona ed *sabvum*) *tad ārāt* VS MS KS TB Preceded by *apāmatim durmatim bādhamānāh* 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but *sabvam* is quite uncertain) Does MS *vātāt* mean '(arising) from wind,' referring to *ūvadhyam* and *sabvam*? Or is it to be taken as abl with *bādhamānāh*, or with *ārāt* felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor



*divāś cid antāḍ upamām* (TA *ṭupa mām*, RV *antān upamān*) *ud ānaś*  
RV AV SV TA Some AV mss read *upa mām* with TA, and Whitney adopts this Benfey, Glossar, defines *upamām* as 'nahe' (adverb), but he translates 'zu allen Himmelsenden drang er aufwärts,' which seems to imply *antān* The RV alone is easily interpretable 'he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven' The others perhaps 'even from the bounds of heaven he has attained unto me (? unto the highest)'

*ta āvavṛtran sadanād ṛtaśya* (TS *sudanāni kṛtvā*, KS \* *sudanāni rātvī*)  
RV AV TS MS KS (bis) N 'They have turned hither from the abode of the *ṛta* (having established their abodes, etc) ' Add to VV 2 §§421, 665

*śudrasya gānapatyān* (VS ŚB °yam, KS °ye) *mayobhūr ehi* VS TS MS  
KS ŚB In TS °patyāt is certainly intended, this is read not only in the p p but in the pratika 5 1 2 3, which see for the rather forced interpretation required by the form But for this we should assume that °patyān is acc pl, which is probably the intention of MS (whose p p would seem to read so, judging from the silence of von Schroeder, see §§526, 705)

*antān pṛthivyā divah* TB ApŚ *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ Preceded by *yad ghan mah paryavartayat* (MŚ *paryāv*°) *pari-vṛt* caus probably = 'has brought hither' The TB ApŚ stanza is very obscure, its last half is different from that of MŚ

*alebhānad ṛṣtibhir yutudhūnat* RV *utārebhanan ṛṣtibhir yūtudhūnān* AV  
Preceded by *utalabdhām* (AV *utārabdhān*) *spṛnuhi jatavedah* 'Win away, O I, him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized him with spears' So RV The secondary AV takes *spṛnuhi* zeugmatically as meaning 'win away' = 'set free' in a, but 'win' = 'conquer' in b 'win away both those who are seized, and (conquer) the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears'

*viduh pṛthivyā dwo janitram* (PB °trat) RV PB Followed by *spṛnavaty*  
(PB °tv) *apo adha* (PB *dhah*) *kṣarantīh* RV 'they know the birthplace of earth and heaven' In PB *janitrad* would seem to be felt as abl of source with *kṣarantīh*, 'flowing from the birthplace' But this leaves *viduh* apparently without object Caland calls it incomprehensible and adopts the RV reading

*yato* (KS *yad id*, TS *yadī*) *bhumim janayan usvakarmā* RV VS TS  
MS KS On KapŚ cf Oertel 16 For the abl pronoun KS (and TS) have adverbial forms used as conjunctions

§496 Yet more dubious, or certainly corrupt, or based on misunderstanding or misquotations, are the following

*atrā* (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA *°nāt*) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) HV AV † TA 'Here let Yama fix a resting-place for thee' The TA reading (comm *sthāpananīmullam*) can hardly be anything but a phonetic blunder (VV 2 §405)

*jāmim itvā mā mntsi lokān* TA *jāmim itvā māva patsi lokāt* AV The latter is original 'having gone to my relatives let me not fall from heaven' TA Poona ed *jāmī itvā lokāt* (v l *lokān*) The comm, tho he reads *lokāt*, seems to understand an acc *lokam natva lapsyaṁ* In any case TA is scarcely interpretable See VV 2 §198 (besides §871)

*yat tvemahe* (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS Kauś SMB PG ApMB On SMB see VV 2 §§365, 835, where three different commentarial explanations of its seemingly impossible reading are quoted

[*yamād aham vavasvatāt* RV *yan me yamam vavasvatam* PB So Conc, but the facts are obscured both by this comparison and by Caland's remarks on PB 1 5 18, which Caland identifies with RV 10 60 10 The truth is that PB 1 5 18 is a combination of RV 10 58 1ab with 10 60 10cd, when this is realized it will be seen that there is no case variation ]

[*pañcadaśāt prarūtāt pitryāvatah* KBU *tam ardhmāsam prasutān pitryāvatah* JB Conc, but read *ardhamāsyam prasutāt pitr°*, Oertel, JAOS 19 (2) 112, 115 ]

[*devānām vakṣi priyam ā sadhastham* VS TS MS KSA Conc *sadhasthāt* for KSA ]

#### 4 Transfer of epithet

§497 Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching It is in any case clear that the acc forms of VS MS KS ŚB are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs of the preceding pāda, also that the abl forms of TS have been drawn into agreement with the preceding *itas*

*ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh* TS *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām* VS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS Preceded in all by *iṣam ūrjum aham ita ādam* (*ādade, ādi*)

§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15)

*prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV prācīm avācīm ava yann arisṭyaḥ*

TA The adverbial *prākto* of the original AV is attracted to the

case of *avācīm*, which in both texts agrees with *yuvatim* of *pāda a*

*imam adhvānam yam agāmu dūrāt (LŚ dūram) RV LŚ yam adhvānam*

*agāma dūram AV* Again the adverbial form of the original RV is

made in AV LŚ into an adjective agreeing with *adhvānam*

*anamitram no adharāt AV anamitram me ṭadharāk (KS no adharāk)*

VSK KS followed by

*anamitram na uttarāt AV anamitram udak kṛdhī VSK KS* Again the

original has ablative adverbs This time the acc forms might also

be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are

adjectives going with *anamitram* 'Freedom from enemies

(from) below, (from) above'

*yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB śronī°) bhāsadāt RV AV ApMB yakṣ-*

*mam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV* The original from the

rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with *yakṣmam*, 'of the

rump' The verb is *vr̥hāmi* In the text of AV there are in

fact two such adjectives, synonyms, one is doubtless an ancient

gloss (Whitney ad loc, and Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, 47)

§499 We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an

epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15)

*avatān mā vyathitam (VS ŚB °tāt) VS TS ŚB ApŚ avatād vyathitam*

MS KS ŚB 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'

*avatān mā nāthitam (VS ŚB °tāt), same texts*

## CHAPTER XXII

### ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE

#### 1 With verbs governing both cases

§500 Accusative and genitive touch each other most closely with certain verbs which may be construed with both cases. See in general Delbrück *AIS* 158 ff., our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment. We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbrück does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions, any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires.

§501 Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants. Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character. Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ ApŚ certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvatī was drunk!

*papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh* (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tīm nadīm*)

Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ "They drank (of, or MŚ. in) the River Sarasvatī"

*sa bhadram akar yo nah somam* (AŚ *somasya*) *pāyayisyati* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ  
*indra piba sūtānam* RV *imam indra sutam piba* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ  
ApŚ

*yad indro apibac chacibhuh* VS KS AB ŚB AŚ ApŚ *yasyendro apibac*  
*chacibhuh* KS *yam asyendro apibañ sacibhuh* MS

*vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi* TS ApŚ *vācaspatina te hutasyese pra-*  
*nāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ *hutasya prasnāmīše pranaya*, ŚB *hutasyāś-*  
*nāmy* ) ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

*vasumudganasya upahūtasypahūto bhakṣayāmi* (MŚ *upahūta upa-*  
*hūtam bhakṣ*°) TS MŚ

*tan me śīya* HG *tasya te bhakṣīya* (ApMB °*śīya*) TS ApŚ ApMB  
*mano jyotir* (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB *ajyam*, AŚ  
*ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS KS TB ŚB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ

The texts that have acc. and those that have *jyotir* with gen. must

mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter' Those with *jūtir* and gen may be construed in the same way (so Mahidhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested, see Eggeling, *SBE* 12 215 n 1

*lekah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā vyantu* TS *sahlah sahgah sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣānā vyantu snāhā* MS KS  
In the same context also passages beginning *ketah sakelah*, see Conc

§502 Verbs of offering, cf Delbruck 160, where the gen construction with *hu* is noted for Brāhmana prose but not for RV, altho the RV version of the first variant seems a clear instance

*tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS  
ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *havr ā*) *juhota* MS TB See also §466, etc

*indrāgnibhyām chāgasya haviḥ* (ApŚ MŚ *haviṣah*) *preṣya* KS ApŚ MŚ  
Also *indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā medasah* (KS *vapām medah*) *preṣya*, *indrā<sup>2</sup> purodākasya preṣya* (KS *purodāsam*, supplying *preṣya*), same texts And similar items containing *anu brūhi* instead of *preṣya* We should render the first variant 'prompt (to the offering) of an oblation of a goat to Indra-Agni' The gen seems to be dependent on an expression of offering understood, cf Schwab, *AITieropfer* 119 Otherwise Delbruck 161

*apo* (TS KS *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhṛntu* (KS \* KapŚ *dehy udadhīm bhṛndhi*) VS TS MS KS KapŚ (Oertel 76) Cf §711, *apas* best taken as acc of plural tantum stem *ap*

§503 Verbs of ruling

*indro visvam virājati* AA *indro mśvasya rājati* SV VS AŚ Svdlh

§504 Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbruck 158)

*pra tad voced amṛtasya* (Ppp VS *amṛtan nu*, TA MahānU *vore amṛtan nu*) *vidvān* AV Ppp VS TA 'Knowing immortality' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle *vidvān* is used, obviously it is construed just as a finite verb form would be

§505. Verbs of robbing are recognized as taking two accusatives, but we have found no recognition of their use with an acc of the person and a gen of the thing In TB the following variant seems to show such a use, unless we take *goh* as acc pl (1) as the TB comm seems to do *yad amuṣṇitam avasam panum gāh* (TB *goh*) RV TB 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Pam of his cow(s)'

## 2 With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc varying with the gen after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas, cf Delbrück 181, Whitney 271h  
*mām anuvratā bhava* HG ('be faithful to me') cf *agner* (AV *patyur*)  
*anuvratā bhūtivā* AV TS KS TB MŚ ApMB Tho in different contexts, AV and HG both use the formula in the marriage ceremony

*apaścādaghvānnasya* (MS MŚ ApŚ *apaścāddaghvānnam*) *bhūyāsam* AV  
 MS ApŚ 'May I not be failing of food'

*śāntir no astu* MS *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS  
 The acc seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in *śānti*,  
*Mahidhara mā mām prati*

§507. With nouns of agent in *tar*, a difference of accent is said to distinguish *dātā vasūni* from *dātā' vasūnām*, and according to Pān 3 2 135 unaccented *tar* should denote a habitual condition, accented *tār* a specific act. The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory, see Wackernagel, *AIGr* 3 201, 597. We find one such variant *pāda*, the phrase refers to Aryaman, who surely must be characterized as a habitual 'giver of good things' in both texts, in our opinion it would be pedantry to try to find a distinction in meaning between the two forms of the variant

*dātā vasūnām puruhūto arhan* TS *dātā vasūni vidadhe tanūpāh* MS  
 TS accents the second syllable of *dātā*, MS the first, which accords with the rule of accent. The accusative cannot be taken with *vidadhē* in MS since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence

## 3 Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc of the deity and instr of the offering varying with gen (or dat) of the deity and nom of the offering (see §126). We content ourselves here with two examples

*andhāhīn* (TS °he, KSA °heh but ms °he) *sthūlagudayā* (TS KSA *sthūragudā*, MS *sthūragudayā*) VS † TS MS † KSA '(We gratify) the blind-worms with the large intestines' 'the large intestines are for the blind-worms'

*pūṣanam vaniṣṭhūnā* VS MS *pūṣno vaniṣṭhuh* TS KSA

## 4 Descriptive or possessive genitive . modifying accusative

§509. In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'apposi-

tional genitive', varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form. Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend, see §85. The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same. *avyo* (SV PB *avyam*) *vāram vi dhāvati* RV SV PB 'He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sieve)'

*vṛṣṭim divah pavasva rītīm apām* (SV *apah*) RV SV 'Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV the stream, the waters)'

In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem *ap*, we prefer to construe *apah* thus as an acc pl (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen sing.

[*apāsya* (ApŚ *apāsman*) *nūrttān pāsān,*] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśatam ca ye,* [*apāsya ye ṣṣnāh pāsāh,*] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśatam save* KS ApŚ. Also, in a different tho similar verse, [*apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān,*] *mṛtyūn ekaśatam nude* Kau<sup>6</sup> 'I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths)'

*nāsām āmitro* (TB *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV AV TB 'No enemy does violence to their wandering course (to them [or] to [their] wandering course)'. TB comm takes *vyathir* (on the meaning of which see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 117 15) as a nom attribute of *āmitro*, which is obviously absurd.

*ūrjo bhāgam pṛthivyā* (KS ApŚ 'vīm) *yāty* (KS *ety*, ApŚ *etv*) *āprnan* MS KS ApŚ 'He (Savitar) goes filling the earth's lot with food' 'he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,' or the like. Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication, the acc is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of *āprnan*.

*agnim* (VS ŚB *agner*) *jyotir nacāyya* [*pṛthivyā abhyābharat*] VS TS MS KS ŚB SvetU 'Fire (and) light' or 'Agni's light.'

*somānam* (SV 'nām) *svaranam* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ N. The SV is certainly worthless, on the crucial *somānam* see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 18 1.

§510 In a couple of cases of this sort, the noun on which the genitive depends is in the other form of the variant made into an adjective agreeing with the (now accusative) form which replaces the genitive. *ava devānām yaja heda agne* (KS *yaje hīdyān,* MŚ *yaje hedyān*) AV KS MŚ *agne devānām ava heda ryakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ. In the last variant *hedyān* is an adjective agreeing with the acc *devān* 'the wrathful gods' instead of 'the wrath of the gods.'

*pra samrājo* (SV °jam) *asurasya praśastim* (SV °tam) RV SV KB  
Here too SV has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc noun of RV ('praise of the lord')

§511 Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms

*ādityā rudrā upariśpṛśo nah* (KS °śam mā) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśpṛśam mā* RV VS TS '(Make) me a king' or 'make our king'

*ā te agna idhīmahi* RV SV TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *ā tvāgna idhīmahi* AV Kauś Followed by *dyumanānā devājaram* This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (ZDMG 35 714 ff) as containing acc *te*, but see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* p 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives) AV has a lect fac, feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing *te* to *tvā*

*puṣyema* (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ Keith (AA 285 n 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc and gen after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf §504), understanding the verb as connected with root *dhī* He follows Sāyana in this Most western scholars have taken *dhīmahe* from *dhā*, *te* is then possessive gen with *rayim*, and *tam* also refers to *rayim*

*devasya te* (AG MG *tvā*) *savituh prasave* 'śvnrōr bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām *hastam gṛhṇāmy asau* AG SMB GG MG 'At the command of god Savitar I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by] the hand)'

§512 In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther  
*tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt* (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB AŚ ApŚ *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (Conc reads *hāsīt* with one ms) MŚ *hāsīh* in MŚ may be kept 'desert not my life at the sacrifice'

§513 Sometimes the acc is the sole goal of the verb, either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen, or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc, §459) in the alternate form in which acc is substituted for gen  
*etam* (GB *etasya*) *tvam prajānaya* AB GB The context is the same The pronoun refers apparently to the *yajamāna*, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukṛti (RV 10 131) and other hymns which follow (Otherwise Keith, who seems to us to mis-



understand AB) With the gen of GB is doubtless understood an acc of *ātman* and other parts of the *yajamāna*, specified in the sequel 'Propagate him' or 'propagate his [body, etc]', or possibly 'propagate [such things] for him' In such mystic rubbish almost anything is possible

*ganān me mā vī tūrṣah* (MŚ °ṣat, Vait *vy arīriṣah*) TS Vait MŚ  
*ganāv mā mā vī tūrṣata* MS *ganā me mā vī tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB  
 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc)' 'make not me with (my) troops to thirst' 'let not my troops thirst'

§514 We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc

*ye vā* (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspatīnṛ anu* (MS NilarU *vanaspatīnām*) VS  
 TS MS KS ŚB NilarU ApMB 'Or (serpents) which are of the trees (among the trees)'

#### 5 Partitive genitive modifying accusative

§515 Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole', 'des geteilten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc, as with other cases (§84)

*imam indru vardhaya kṣatriyam me* (TB *kṣatriyānām*) AV TB Kauś  
 17 28 (only *pratika* in Kauś 14 24) 'Increase this kṣatriya for me' 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas' TB comm *kṣatriyānām madhye*

*imam mā hinsīr ekaśapham* (also, *dupādum*) *paśum* (TS KS *paśūnām*)  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals)'

*vīrudham* (AV °*dhām*) *balavattamām* (AV °*ṛmah*) RV AV (bis) ApMB  
 'Most mighty herb (of herbs)'

*atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam* VSK *adhū jīvema saradām śatānu* AV Others similar, see Conc

§516 The following is in reality doubtless only a case of *sandhi*, or perhaps better of orthography

*ojisṭhas carṣanīśahām* (TB °*sahām*) VS TB Preceded by *divo varṣman samadhyate*, and followed by *velv ājyasya* 'Upon the height of heaven is kindled the mightiest of the rulers of men, let him taste the butter' An acc is quite impossible, yet both edd and the comm have the same reading in TB The comm seems to regard the acc. as equivalent to a partitive gen *tān uddīśya teṣām* (*devānām*) *madhye* Final *m* and *n* before *v* in the Veda might both be pronounced *ahke*, as a nasalization (Wackernagel 1 §§281a, 283c),

thus confusion between the two may have arisen, and the TB may have incorrectly restored *n* instead of *m*. This variant might have been mentioned in VV 2 §944, tho the original final is clearly *m*, not *n*.

§517. In a few others an acc direct object varies with a partitive gen depending on a relative word

*yat tvā* (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (AV *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ In KS 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected' The others 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (thee angry men) have rejected', or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee'

*yat tvā* (ApŚ *te*) *ṅkvaḥ parāvadhī* AV ApŚ Followed by *takṣā hastena vāsyā* 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off' 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off'

*yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG 'Wherever on thy body, whatever of thy garment it has touched' 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment' On HG see §144

## 6 Phrase inflection

§518 Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs in the following

*bhīndhī darbha sapatnānām* (*sapatnān me*) AV (both) Initial pādas of consecutive verses, different constructions required by what follows *kṛtyākṛtam valagīnam* AV *kṛtyākṛto valagīnah* AV Different contexts *sumatīm satyadharmānah* (TS ApMB *satyarādhasah*, VS *satyarādhasam*, AV *visvarādhasah*, AŚ *vājīnīvatah*) AV VS TS MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG ApMB N The VS form is in a different context

## 7 Miscellaneous

§519 There remain a considerable number of variants between acc and gen which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought.

*indrasya vāyoh* (SV *vāyum*) *sakhyāya kartave* (SV *vardhayan*) RV SV 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu' 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra'

*sakṛd yat tvā* (KS *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS *°bham*) *āśayat* TS KS The word *garbha* shifts in meaning, 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb'

*vājo nah* (MS *me*, KS *mā*) *sapta pradīśah* VS TS MS KS Followed by *calastro vā parāvatah*, *vājo no* (MS KS *mā*) *visvair devair, dhana-*

*sātv* (°tā) *ihāvatu* KS makes the pronoun in *pāda* a object of *avatu*, anticipating *mū* in *pāda* c, MS makes it possessive gen with *vājo*, the others, with *nah*, are ambiguous and may be taken either way

*rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām* (TS °*mānasya santu*) AV TS MS MŚ  
 'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's)'  
 [yo *adya saumyo vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrati*] *viṣūkuham* *iva dhanvanā*  
 [*vīyasāh pariṣanthinam sadasaspataye namah*] AŚ [yo 'dya saumyo  
*vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrate*] *viṣūkuhasya dhanvanā* ['*pa tām varuṇo*  
*dhamat*] PB The obscure word *viṣūkuh(a)* seems proved to refer to some hostile power by LŚ 3 11 3 This makes PB (rendered by Caland 'blow them away by means of the bow of Viṣūkuha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V is a friendly power AŚ thus seems more plausible But the word cannot be interpreted with any confidence

*tad āsata* (Ppp N *atrāsata*) *ṛṣayah sapta sākam* AV Ppp N *tasyāśata*  
*ṛṣayah* (TS TAA °*sate harayah*) *sapta tīre* TS ŚB B<sub>1</sub>hU TAA  
 In AV *tad* is direct complement of *āsata*, in place of the more usual loc (cf BR s v 2 *ās*, 1), the loc *tīre* has this construction in the other texts, and *tasya* (substituted for *tad*) depends on it 'Sit upon it (its bank) ' Ppp and N have the loc adverb *atra* instead

*apām na yanty ūrmayah* RV *apo nayantu ūrmayah* SV Preceded by *pra somāso vipāścitah* RV 'the somas rush forth like waves of water' SV by a false word-division (VV 2 §829) produces 'the somas, (as, i e m) waves, carry forth the waters'

*imam rātam* (SV *asya ratau*) *sutam piba* RV SV In RV *imam rātam* agrees with *sutam*, in SV *rātau* is a different word from *rātam* 'at this man's offering'

*dhīnām antah sabardughah* RV *dhenām antah sabardughām* SV We take it that *dhīnām* depends on *sabardughah*, *antah* being an adverb That SV is botched is shown by the false accent of *dhenām*, on the final syllable, but doubtless *dhenām* (dependent on *antah*) was meant Even the RV passage is obscure, for a different interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* ad loc

*ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas* (GB *apasas*, but Gaastra *apas*) *pari* RV GB  
 See VV 2 §810

### 8 Transfer of epithet

§520 Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive forms occurs in the following In the first group there is no change of gender or number

*amanmahī mahata* (MS KS *mahad*) *ṛtasya nāma* TS MS KS TB

The gen agrees with *ṛtasya*, the acc with *nāma*

*manyam janasya dūdyah* (SV °yam) RV SV KS 'The wrath of the evil-minded man' 'the evil-minded wrath of man' The ed of KS has *manyam*, doubtless by misprint

*bṛhaspatīsutasya ta* (KS omits *ta*) *īndo (īnda) īndriyāvatah patnīvantam* (KS °vato) *graham grhānāmī* (MS *rādhyāsam*, KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS MS KS *bṛhaspatīsutasya deva soma ta īndor (īnda) īndriyāvatah patnīvalo grahān ṛdhyāsam* VS VSK ŚB *patnīvant-* modifies *graham* in TS MS, *te* (unexpressed) in KS and probably *te* in VS VSK ŚB (so Eggeling, otherwise BR)

*pāñcājanasya bahudhā yam indhate* AV *yam pāñcājanam bahavah sam indhate* TS MS KS In the YV texts *pāñca*<sup>o</sup> is drawn into agreement with *yam*, which refers to Agni, in AV it agrees directly with *agner* of the preceding pāda, so that the real sense is the same

*praharṣṇam madīrasya made mṛṣāsā astv atha tvā hoṣyāmī* KS *praharṣṇo madīrasya made mṛṣāsāv astu* ApŚ Von Schroeder emends KS to *praharṣṇo*, and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with *tvā*, which would be necessary if we keep the text

§521 The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as

case

*vasum* (SV TS *vasoh*) *sūnum sahaso jātavedasam* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS 'Good son of strength' 'son of good strength' This seems the simplest interpretation of *vasoh* The preceding pāda is *agnim hotāram manye dāsvantam*, Benfey and Keith make *vasoh* a noun depending on *dāsvantam*, despite the pāda division A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with *sahasō* 'son of good(s), of strength'

*vasumatāḥ* (VS ŚB °matīm agne) *te chāyām upastheṣam* VS MS ŚB 'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni)'

*śardhānsy agne ajarānī* (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV SV MS ApŚ 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i.e. flames) as thou burnest' 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning' For ApŚ cf VV 1 §27

*pātho* (Ppp ŚŚ *pātam*, TS *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyānī* (AV *guhyasya*) *nāma* AV Ppp TS MS KS ŚŚ 'Ye protect (etc) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts, AV seems to take *pātho* from *pā* 'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes *guh*<sup>o</sup> agree with *ghṛtasya* 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name'

*indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhyupāvaharāmi* (VSK *vām bāhū vīryakṛtā upā*) VS VSK ŚB 'I draw you down, two arms of prowess-working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra)' Also *indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upāvaharāmi* TB (here the king, identified with Indra, is addressed)

*parīmam yajamānam rāyo manuṣyānām* VS ŚB *parīmam rāyo manuṣyam* KS See §§402 etc

§522 There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, becoming an 'epithet' thereof, in a secondary version, in both either gender or number varies as well as case

*āṅgūṣānām avāvaśanta vānīh* RV *āṅgoṣṭinām avāvaśanta vānīh* SV In RV, 'the music of the hymns', in SV an epithet of Soma (*vṛṣanam*) has been extracted from the genitive

*paramam padam uva bhāti* (VS ŚB *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS *bhūreh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Preceded by *atrāha tad urugāyasya viśnoh* (RV N *vṛṣnah*) In the original *bhūri* is best taken as an adverb 'The bull's (Viṣnu's) highest footstep shines down mightily' TS makes the word an epithet of *viśnoh* 'of mighty Viṣnu'

## CHAPTER XXIII

### ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

#### *Acc and loc of goal*

§523 By far the largest and most important group of variants showing syntactic contact between these two cases is that concerning the accusative and locative of goal. After verbs denoting motion (in a wide sense), both cases are familiarly used. Many interpreters try to distinguish between them. Thus Delbruck, *AIS* 122, says that the loc is used 'wenn es sich um ein Ankommen bei, ein Eindringen in u s w handelt, während in den A das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z B *deveṣu gachati* er geht unter die Gotter, aber *denān gachati* er geht zu den Gottern hin'. Others, whether consciously or unconsciously, seem anxious to avoid admitting the loc of goal at all. Thus Whitney on AV 6 48 1-3 renders *svasti ma sam vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svahā* 'carry me along to welfare at the close of this offering', whereas it obviously means 'carry me prosperously to the end of this rite' (cf Bloomfield *JAOS* 16 3, 23), this would be clear even without the ŚŚ variant *svasti mā sampārāyāsya yajñasyodṛcam*, with acc instead of loc. Even worse is Whitney's rendering of AV 7 40 1b *yasya vrata upa-  
tiṣṭhanta āpah* 'in whose course stand the waters', to avoid recognizing the loc of goal (all the parallel texts *vrataṃ*!). Whitney ignores the established meaning of *upa-sthā* (approach, always of motion, never 'stand'). Clearly we must render 'into whose control the waters enter'.

§524 In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases. Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc by something like English *in*, or German *in* with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction. We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc to be substantially equivalent to an acc. Take for instance the variant *sūrya-syankā carati niṣkrteṣu* (MS KS *niṣkrānā*) TS MS KS PG. We shall not stress the fact that MS KS, generally the older and better YV texts, have the acc, after all, even if TS PG are secondary, they may

quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way. So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering 'one moves among the seats of the sun' or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG and TS). But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the pāda *trāṅśat svasāra upayanti niṣkṛtam*, with the acc *niṣkṛtam* in all alike. To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS PG mean by *carati niṣkṛteṣu* about the same thing that is meant by *carati niṣkṛtam* in MS KS. Naturally, no one would claim certainty for such an interpretation.

§525 While, therefore, we should not deny that some such distinction as that suggested by Delbruck may have been concerned in the origin of the locative of goal, and while we freely admit that in some instances of shift between the two cases a distinction may, nay at times even must, have been felt, we nevertheless believe that our variants tend as a whole to indicate similarity, rather than distinction, between them. It is easy to be over-subtle in such matters, we shall for the most part try not to impose our views upon the materials, preferring to let them speak for themselves. At the same time we shall occasionally call attention to what seem to us significant features, particularly when they support the view we hold, namely that scholars have failed to recognize with sufficient clarity the close similarity between these uses of the acc and loc. Special attention may be called here to the pāda *vayānsi ya avvesa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS ApŚ, in which the acc *vayānsi* and the loc *mṛgeṣu* occur in two precisely parallel phrases, surely no one would suggest that there can be the slightest difference in meaning between them.

#### I With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like

§526 We begin with verbs meaning something like 'go, enter, mount', and list first cases in which the acc and loc seem most nearly alike in meaning.

*svasti mā sam vahasya yajñasyodṛci svāha* AV *svasti mā sampūrayasya yajñasyodṛcam* ŚS See §523

*yasya vratam* (RVKh Scheftelowitz, Ppp KS 'te) *pasavo yanti sarve* RVKh AV Ppp TS MS KS AŚ ŚS 'Into whose control go all cattle' Cf next

*yasya vratam* (AV *vratu*) *upaśṭhanta āpah*, same texts, immediately after preceding. See §523

*tiṣṭha ratham* (TB *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB 'tah) RV VS ŚB TB 'Mount upon (*adhī-stha*) this chariot'

*endrasya jaṭhare* (SV °ram) *viśa* RV SV 'Enter the belly of Indra'  
*vo ruhānā adhi nākam uttamam* (TS † MS † KS *nāka uttame*) VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky' The  
 verb is *adhi-ruh*

*uttamam nākam* (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS  
 MS KS ŚB *rohayainam*, TA *rohemam*) AV VS TS MS KS  
 ŚB TA

*akṣaram brahma sammītam* TA TAA MahānU *akṣare brahmasammite*  
 MG Preceded by *āyātu varadā devī* (MG *āyāhi vṛtaje devī*)

*ya āviṣṭo vayasau* (Ppp *yo viṣṭo vayasī*) *yo mṛgeṣu* AV Ppp *vayānsi ya*  
*āviṣṭa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS ApŚ See §525

*ā mitrāvaruṇā bhagam* RV *ā mitre varuṇe bhage* SV Followed by  
*madhvah (madhoh) pavanta ūrmayah* The SV comm reads accs  
 like RV, and Benfey renders 'In Mitra fließen'

*viśo-viśah pravivṛtāsam īmahe* AV *viśvasyām viśi pravivṛtānsam* (KS †  
*pravivṛtānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS

*prānāpānayoḥ* (ŚG °nā) *uruvyacās tayā* (ŚG *tvayā*, so AG must intend,  
 and so Stenzler translates it) *prapadye* AG ŚG 'I take refuge  
 with (flee to) *prāna* and *apāna* with thee'

*upa dyām upa vetasam* AV Vait *upa jmann upa vetase* VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB The verb *avatara* 'descend into' is found in the following  
*pāda* in all but AV Vait TS, and in these some such verb is  
 understood

*yajñam dadhānāh* (ApŚ *vidānāh*) *sukṛtasya lokam* (ApŚ *loke*) KS ApŚ  
 Preceded by *te yantu prajānantah*

*purīṣam vasānah sukṛtasya loke* (MS KS *lokam*) VS MS KS ŚB  
*purīṣam vasānah svām yonim yathūyatham* ApŚ Preceded in MS  
 KS ApŚ, followed in VS ŚB, by *tatra gacha yatra pūrve paretāh*  
 The acc is certainly one of goal of motion Mahidhara on VS  
 rightly takes *loke* as loc of goal, Griffith and Eggeling construe it  
 with *vasānah* as loc of situation They also, most violently and  
 against Mahidhara and all probability, detach *sukṛtasya* from *loke*  
 and make it depend on *purīṣam*

*rudrasya gānapatyān* (VS ŚB °patyam, KS °patye) *mayobhūr ehi* VS  
 TS MS KS ŚB 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's  
 troop' VS ŚB KS, on TS MS see §§495, 705

*keṣu* (LŚ *kim svd*) *antah puruṣa ā viṣṭa* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ  
*sudughendre* (MS °dram, p p °dre) *ṣarasvatī* VS MS Followed by  
*āsvnā bhīṣajāvataṁ* (VS °tah) See Neisser's illuminating treat-  
 ment of *av* (ZWBch d RV, § v), which establishes the fact that it



is fundamentally a verb of motion. This receives new support from our variant, where the loc can only be interpreted as equivalent to the acc of goal 'strive towards Indra'

§527 In the next group the loc can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc. We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases *sūryasyaikā carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS KS *niṣkṛtāni*) TS MS KS PG

See §524

*viṣṇū aḡan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °*hūtm*) VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ 'It has gone to Viṣṇu and Varuna, to (at) the first oblation'. The generally old and primary MS may be taken as a kind of commentary on the others, yet the loc of situation is possible. A still different interpretation of *pūrvahūtau* is offered by the comms on SB and TB, which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with *viṣṇū varunā*

*anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu* (AV *grham nah*) RV AV Ppp MG. Preceded by *śivah kapota iṣito no astu* 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods'. So essentially Grassmann, taking *grheṣu* closely with *iṣito*, the AV supports this. But Ludwig 'im Hause'

*divas (divah) prṣṭham* (PB *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *sumanabhih* RV PB TA ApŚ. Preceded by *varivānarah pratnathā nākam āruhat* (PB *āruha*). In the original *prṣṭham* is acc of goal with *āruhat*, parallel with *nākam*. In PB *prṣṭhe* could be so construed, as loc of goal, but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with *mandamānah*, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven'

*satyadharmāno adhvaram* (TS °*re*) RV TS *vāmam prayaty adhvare* VS MS ŚB. Preceded in RV by *ṛtadhītau ā gata*, in the others by *ā no devāsa imāhe* RV 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes'. The loc may also be one of goal 'we come to you to the sacrifice'. But a loc of situation is also possible, not indeed with *satyadharmāno*, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Keith), since this would require accentless *adhvare* (Whitney 314d), but rather 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance'. Cf also (*kavim agnim upa stuhī*) *satyadharmānam adhvare*, in a different context, here the loc is clearly one of situation.

*prātaryāvāno adhvaram* RV VS TB *prātaryāvabhv adhvare* SV. See the whole verse, quoted §415. The acc is certainly one of goal

with *prātaryāvāno* 'coming betimes to the offering' The loc may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with *ā sidatu*, and parallel with *barhiṣi*, 'at the offering'

*devasya savituh save* (SV *savam*) RV AV SV TS etc etc. This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc of situation 'at the instigation of God Savitar' The acc *savam* occurs once in SV, in a verse found also in AŚ ŚŚ Vait, all of which read *save*, it is preceded by *āvur maryā ā vājam vājno agman*, and followed by *svargam* (AŚ ŚŚ °gān) *arvanto jayema* (*jayatah, jayata*) Clearly SV has acc of goal with *agman* 'have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense 'at the instigation of' Cf next

*tasya pūṣā prasave* (TS °vam) *yūti vidvān* (TS KS *devah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Similar to preceding

*antarikṣe* (KS °kṣam) *viṣnur* (MS *viṣnur antarikṣe*) *vyakransta* VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ - *traṣṭubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu v krame* TS 'Viṣnu strode thru (durchschritt, or, strode forth in) the atmosphere' Similar formulas with *dīṣo* (*dīkṣu*), *prthivīm* (°*vyām*), *divum* (*dim*), and different meter names See also *deva viṣna urv adyāsmīn*, §549

§528 In another group we find different words used, either different governing verbs or different variant nouns, resulting in a shift between acc of goal and loc of situation, in these cases we no longer feel doubt that the force of the two cases is quite distinct

*priyena dhāmnā* (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda* (VSK TS TB ApŚ \* *prīye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ (bis) *sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada āsīda* (VSK *priyena nāma* [for *nāmnā*?] *prīye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK ŚB It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple *sad* is here construed each time with loc, the compound *ā-sad* with acc. Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc, instead of 'sit on', it means 'take one's seat upon' It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527, but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant

*yāu* (MS *yā*) *ātasthatur bhuvanām visvā* (TB *bhuvanasya maithye*) AV MS TB 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe)'

*ukṣā bīharti bhuvanām* (SV ArS *mimeti bhuvaneṣu*) *vājayuh* RV SV ArS

*jīvam* (ApMB *jīvām*) *rudanti* *vi mayante* *adhvare* (AV *nayanty* *adhvaram*) RV AV ApMB The AV clearly has a lect. fac., but the original is quite obscure in meaning, cf. Bloomfield *AJP* 21 411-9, Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc.

*antarikṣasya tvā sānāv avagūhām* (KS *\*kṣasya sānūpeṣa*) TS KS ApŚ *divah sānūpeṣa* MS MŚ The MS pp absurdly divides *sānū*, *peṣa*, von Schroeder rightly understands *sānu*, *upa-ṣa*, 'zu des Himmels Rücken strebe auf'

§529 The following case is like those of the last section in that *agram* is acc. of goal with *rohatah*, a verb of motion, while *agre* is loc. of situation with *krīdatah*, it receives separate rubrication because it leads over to the next following group

*agram vṛkṣasya rohatah* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TA *agre vṛkṣasya krīdatah* (VSK ŚŚ *krī<sup>o</sup>*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

## 2 Adverbial acc. loc.

§530 In another group of variations between these two forms *agram* and *agre*, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt as expressions of the goal. In some instances, at any rate, it seems hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, 'in the beginning' or the like

*agra imam yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim dhatta* TS *agra imam adya yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim sudhātum yajñapatim devayjvam* VS *agram yajñam nayatāgram yajñapatim* MS 'Lead forward this sacrifice' But here, with the verb *nayata*, the word may be felt as 'to the front'

*ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV † *esy*) *agram* (TS *agre*) RV AV TS MS KS N Here too, with a verb of motion, the idea of goal may be present in the acc. form, at least 'As banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at (to?) the head of the dawns'

*jayantīnām maruṭo yantu agram* (TS *agre*, AV MS KS *yantu madhye*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS 'Let the Maruṭs go at (to?) the front of the conquering armies'

*tena devā devatām agra* (VS MS KS *agram*) *āyan* AV VS KS MS *tapasā* (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS TB TA MahānU 'By this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning' Since *devatām* expresses the goal, it seems that *agram* can hardly be anything but an adverb

*āgnir agra* (SV *agram*) *uṣasām aśoci* RV SV Perhaps motion is felt in the verb *ā-śuc* 'Agni was enkindled at (unto?) the beginning of the dawns'

§531 Similarly *dūram* or *dūre* may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved *bādkasva* (AV *bādhetām*) *dūre* (AV *dūram*, TS Ppp *dveṣo*) *nṛtām parācah* RV AV Ppp TS 'Drive perdition afar off'

§532 We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial acc and loc, in a pāda where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal  
*ye arvañ madhya* (TA omits *madhya*) *uta vā purānam* (TA °ne) AV TA 'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times'

### 3 With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root *dhā*)

§533. The root *dhā* and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the acc of the person and the loc of the thing ('set, establish in'), or with the dat of the person and acc of the thing ('establish for', 'give to'), see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms

*svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehī* Vait. *svarge loke yajamānam hi dhehī* (or, *dhehī mām*) TB ApŚ

§534 We find also several variants in which, after *dhā*, the thing 'placed' is put in either acc or loc, while the person is expressed by the pronoun *nah*, which might be either dat or acc. It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat in the variant containing acc of the thing, and as an acc in the form with loc of the thing 'set us in' or 'establish for us'. It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized, so that *nah* with acc of the thing might be taken as an acc (something like 'set us unto')

*indraṣṣabhā dravine* (MS °nam) *no dadhātu* AV MS

*sa nah pāvako dravinam* (AV °ne) *dadhātu* AV TS MS KS KŚ

*sā no bhūmih pūrvapeye* (MS °yam) *dudhātu* AV MS

§535 As we said in the last section, there are at least a few variants in which, with verbs of placing or the like, we find two accusatives varying with an accusative and a locative. That is, instead of the loc of the remoter goal, that into which something is set, an acc is used *sutrāmendre* (MS °ram) *sarasvatī* VS MS TB. Followed by *balam na vācam āsya uṣābhyaṁ dadhur indriyam* 'This, it seems, can only mean 'have put strength in Indra, speech in his mouth'. It may be however that MS has been influenced by the following verse, a variant of this one, in which *awardhayan* (with acc) replaces *dadhuh*. Similarly, in the same passage

*bhīṣajendre* (MS °ram) *sarasvatī* VS MS TB Followed by *prānam*  
*dadhur* See prec

*ut sakthyā* (ŚŚ °yor) *ava gudam* (TS KSA ApŚ *sakthyor gdam*) *dhehi*  
VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ *adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi*  
Vait

*rathamtaram sūma* (also *vairājam*, *vairūpam*, and *bṛhat sūma*, and *tāk-*  
*vararāvatē sāmānī*) *pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe* (KS °kṣam, TS °ṣṭhityai,  
om *antarikṣe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB A verb like *stabhndtu* is  
supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS *antarikṣam* can  
only be construed as an acc of remoter goal 'let the Rathamtara  
*sāman* (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere'

*ā gharṁe* (AŚ °mam) *sūca paya usryāyāh* AV AŚ ŚŚ 'Pour the milk  
of the brindle-cow into the hot drink' *ā-sic* is here construed as a  
verb of placing

§536 The compound *sam-dhā*, as a verb of joining, is construed  
either with acc and instr, or acc and loc, it is the loc form which  
varies with the acc in the following variant, on which see §462

*aṅgāny ātman* (MS *aṅgar ātmānam*) *bhīṣajā tad āsūrā* VS MS KS  
TB Followed by *ātmānam aṅgar samudhāt sarasvatī*

§537 A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal  
shift between loc and acc forms

*varṣīyo* (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyasa yajñe yajñapatim dhāh* VS TS ŚB  
*varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatau dhāh* MS KS Addressed to  
the atmosphere 'Being more extended, establish the patron of the  
sacrifice in a more extended sacrifice' 'being more extended than  
the more extended, establish the sacrifice in the patron of the  
sacrifice' In such rigmorale the inversion of terms makes little  
difference

*asmān yajñe yajamanāya sūrim* AV *imān yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau*  
ApŚ See §488 Neither reading is intelligible, but the reciprocal  
interchange of the forms of *yajña* and *sūri* seems to be similar to  
that in the preceding The verb (preceding) is *dadhātana* in ApŚ,  
*pari nayāmi* in AV

§538 Tho the verb is a form of *dhā* in the next variant, the psychology  
of the variation seems to be different

*dadhad ratnam* (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣapitr̥bhya* (AV *dakṣam pi*) *āyuni* (AV  
*āyūnṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May he assign wealth and dexterity to the  
pitṛs (wealth to the Dakṣapitr̥), and long lives (in [respect to?]  
their life)' Neither the acc *āyūnṣi* (complementary object), nor  
(apparently) the loc *āyuni* (tho its meaning is not very clear),  
can here be understood as the remoter goal of *dadhad*

## 4 With various prepositions

§539 There are a few variants involving acc and loc after various prepositions. In the first, with *adhī*, the verb is *dadhāhī*, 'assigns', possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc in SV

*nāma tṛtīyam adhī rocane* (SV °*nam*) *divah* RV SV '(Assigns) a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven'

§540 Similarly in the next, we find in SV an isolated use of the loc with *acha*, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV verb of motion (*ajanti*) is replaced in SV by *mṛjanti* 'purify', which was felt as requiring a loc

*ajanti vahnim sadanāny acha* RV *mṛjanti vahnim sadaneṣv acha* SV  
'They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats'

§541 A third variant shows *antarā* with acc and loc, only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later

*antarā dyāvāprthivī apah suvah* (MG °*prthivyor apasyuh*) TB ApMB  
HG MG

§542 Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, *anu* with acc, *adhī* with loc

*ye ke ca prthivīm anu* (KS *prthivyām adhī*) RVK1 VS TS MS KS ŚB  
Both mean 'on (or thruout) the earth'

## 5 With other verbs than those of motion

§543 Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases. Thus, *sam-vad* 'converse (about), discuss' governs either. In passing we may note the absence of any variant showing acc loc of the person spoken to ('goal' of speech), which we might have expected on the analogy of the frequent interchange of the two after verbs of motion. In the later language these cases are quite interchangeable in this construction, but in the Veda such a use of the loc is perhaps hardly to be found

*pratiprasthātah paśau* (MŚ *paśum*) *samvadasva* ApŚ MŚ 'Prati-  
prasthātar, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer)'

§544 Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen (§501), the loc varying with the acc

*papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh* (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tim nadyām*)  
Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §501

*prajāvatih sūyavasam* (AV °*se*) *ruśantih* (RV and TB comm *riś°*) RV  
AV TB See VV 2 §627 on *ruśantih* TB comm explains by

*bhakṣayanīh*, so also AV comm, tho it reads *ruś°* 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage'

§545 A verb of beating

*āghnānāh pānīnorasī* AV *urah paṣaurāv āghnānah* AV 'Beating upon their breasts with their hands' 'beating their breasts and thighs (?)'

§546 A verb of conquering is construed with a loc or with (a sort of 'inner') accusative

*tvayā* (omitted in VSK TS KS TB) *vayam samghātam samghātam* (VSK *samghāte-samghāte*, TS TB omit one *samghātam*) *jeṣma* (KS *\*jayema*, and †*\*samjayema*) VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB TB 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight'

§547 The root *ruc* (*rocate*, *ruruce*) is normally middle and intransitive, taking no accusative except a 'cognate' or 'inner' acc ('shine forth light' or the like). The original form of the following variant accordingly has a loc, 'on the earth', but KS substitutes an acc (elliptic) dual, and must understand *ruruce* as transitive (equivalent to the causative) 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn'

*kṣāman* (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uśaso na bhānunā* (MS KS *ketunā*) RV VS TS MS KS

## 6 Locative absolute and accusative

§548 Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute

*nābhā pṛthivyāh samīdhāne agnau* (TS *samīdhānam agnim*, MS KS °*no agnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *ragaspośāya bhate havāmahe* 'When Agni is kindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him)' 'We call upon Agni kindled etc' On MS KS see §§393, 450

*samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsraṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu* MS See §607, loc abs in the secondary MS, *yudha(h)* object of the agent noun *samsraṣṭā*

*yā svapantam bodhayati* (HG *svapatsu jagarti*) ApMB HG '(The shedemon) who awakens the sleeper' 'who wakes while people sleep'

## 7 Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification. We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved

*haviṣā yajñā* (TB *yajñam*) *indrīyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB See the passage, discussed §473 TB has assimilated *yajñe* to *indrīyam* *devāv asvināu madhukāśayādyemam yajñam* (ApŚ °*kaśayādyaśmin yajñe*) *yajamānāya mimikṣatam* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O divine Aśvins, with the honey-whip mingle ('besprinkle) this sacrifice for the *yajamāna*' Only the acc seems sensible, ApŚ seems to leave the verb objectless, 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice' It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns. Most perversely, in some of these ApŚ uses acc forms instead of the locs of the other texts! Thus:

*deva viṣṇa urv adyāsmīn yajñe* (ApŚ *viṣṇav urv adyemam yajñam*) *yajamānāyādhi* (ApŚ °*yānu*) *vikramasva* (MŚ *yajamānāya vikramasva*), same texts. Here, to be sure, the loc as well as the acc may be defended, with *v-kram*, cf §530 above. But in the next the acc seems as impossible as the loc in the preceding, and is doubtless to be explained in the same way:

*devy adite svādītyam adyāsmīn yajñe yajamānāyāsvasva* (ApŚ *adite 'nu adyemam yajñam yajamānāyādhi*), same texts

### 8 Miscellaneous

§550 The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages:

*dyumnām vṛṇāta puṣyase* RV VS TS MS ŚB *dyumnām* (and *dyumne*) *vareta puṣyatu* KS (both) 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper' 'let him choose glory, let him prosper' 'let him choose (him, Netar) in glory, let him prosper'

*vṛṣā punāna āyusu* (SV *āyūnṣi*) RV SV The pple is intransitive in RV but transitive in SV

*lokam pitṛṣu viltvā* AV *pitṛn hy atra gachāsi* TA 'Having found a place among the fathers' 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers' *sā śamtāti* (SV °*tā*, TB ApŚ °*cī*) *muyas karad apu sridhah* RV SV TB ApŚ 'She made (for me) blissful (*śamtāti*) joy (joy in bliss)' We should expect *śamtātinī*, 'bliss'

*upa tvā kāma īmahe sasṛgmahe* SV *upa tvā kāmān mahah sasṛgmahe* RV AV

*niskā ime* (AV *ete*, MŚ *hy ete*) *yajamānasya bradhne* (MŚ °*nam*, AV *loke*) AV TB ApŚ MŚ 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven, TB comm. the world of the Ādityas, as the fruit of sacrifice)', in MŚ preceded by *darbhah śṛṇūta*, *bradhnām* being



object of this verb 'Strew with darbha-grasses —for these are jewels—the sun (-heaven) of the sacrificer' Caland strangely takes *bradhne* as nom pl (adjective with *niškāh*')

*suṣadā yonau snāhā vāḥ* (TS TB *yonim snāhā*) VS TS ŚB TB *sudhīn yonīn suṣadām pṛthwīm* (ms °vi) *snāhā* KS Preceded by *aviṣam nah patum kṛnu* (KS *kṛdhi*), Conc quotes the whole mantra of KS under this We see no way to construe *suṣadā yonim*, Keith assumes *suṣadām*, which is supported by KS (but note there also *pṛthwī* in the ms') 'make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in' On the loss of anusvāra cf VV 2 §307 It looks as if VS ŚB, starting from TS's reading, had interpreted *suṣadā* as loc of an unknown \**suṣadi*, and changed to *yonau* to match it

*samudre yasya rasām id āhuh* AV *yasya samudram* (Ppp MS KS *sam° yasya*) *rasayā sahāhuh* RV Ppp VS TS MS KS See §463 *cakṣus cit sūrye sacū* RV *cakṣuṣā sūryam dr̥se* SV See §474

*tayā devāh sutam ā bahhūvuh* TS KSA TB *sā no asmīn sutā ā bahhūva* VS MS See §419

*dṛṇhasva pṛthvyām* VS KS ŚB *dṛṇha pṛthwīm* PB 'Be firm on earth' 'make firm the earth' Contexts are identical

*āvartanam nīvartanam* RV AV *āvartane vīvartane* TB ApŚ The forms are differently construed, cf Caland's note on ApŚ The latter form of the verse is radically altered

*revati predhā yajñapatim āvsa* MS KS *revati yajamāne priyam dhā āvsa* VS † ŚB † *revatir yajñapatim priyadhānsata* TS ApŚ 'O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer' 'give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (hinn)'

*upa r̥ṣabhasya* (TB LŚ *upar̥ṣ°*) *retah* (AV *yad retah*), followed by *upendra tava vīrye* (AV °yam) RV AV TB LŚ The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV 9 4 23) The verb is *upa pṛcyatām*, 'let be mingled', in all but AV, which reads *upa pṛūca*, thus we take as active, and hence construe *yad retah* and *vīryam* as acc, not nom with Whitney If we are right, the acc-loc variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533-8

## 9 Corruptions

§551 The following seem clearly corrupt

*sīrṣnā śiro 'psasāpso ardayan* AV *sīrṣnā śiro* (ApŚ *girau*) *vakṣasā vakṣa ejayan* KS ApŚ The blunder of ApŚ, the uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV 8 45 5 *girāu apso na yodhiṣat*, on which see Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* s v

*apsas* The variant should be added to VV 2 §§153a (*apsas vakṣas*, synonyms), 360, 732

*ya ājagma* (N °*muh*) *savane mā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Whitney renders AV (p p *savane, mā*) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of *savane mā* (°*nā* + *imā*), which the comin reads So also Conc *ime calvāro rajaso vimānāh* (MŚ °*ne*) KS MŚ Other versions of the pāda (see Conc) all end with *devayānāh* All Knauer's mss read *vimāno*, for this K emends °*ne*, 'im Dunstkreis' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to *vimānāh*

### 10 Transfer of epithet

§552 Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between acc and loc involve also change of number or gender

*amuṣya tvā prane* (ŚB KŚ *prānam*) *sadayāmi* TS ŚB TA KŚ ApŚ *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya prāne sādāyami* MS In ŚB KŚ *prānam* (the life of an enemy) defines *tvā* 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so,' cf the next mantra, *amuṣya tvā prānam apidadhāmi* These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making *prānam* appositional to *tvā* The others 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so'

*ni tad dadhiṣe 'varam param* (AV \* Ppp 'vare pare) ca RV AV (bis) Ppp Followed by *yasminn āvithāvasa durone*

*abhi yonim ayohalam* (SV VS °*te*) RV SV VS Followed by *drone* (RV *drunā*) *sadhasitham āsadat* (RV *asnuse*) The adjective is switched from *yonim* to *drone*

*varūthyam* (SV °*ye*) *varune chandiyam vacah* RV SV

[*yasyām karmāni kurvate* (ApŚ *krnvate*) KS ApŚ *yāni karmāni cakrīre* AV Preceded by *anāptā yā* (AV *ye*) *vah prathamā* Obscure, the forms of pāda a are neut pl, going with *karmāni*, so that AV *yāni* really corresponds to KS ApŚ *yā* of pāda a, AV *ye* of pāda a of course goes with the subject. What *yasyām* refers to is not evident AV p p mss have *anāptā* but *prathamāh*, the latter would be possible, going with the subject ]

§553 What is originally a word of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, as its epithet (§15), in *yatrainān* (AG Kauś SMB HG MG *yatrainān*) *vettha nihitān parāke*

(SMB *parācah*) VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB HG MG *parācah* with *etān*, *parāke* adverbial, 'far away'

*ā te vācam āsyām* (HG *āsya*) *dade* HG ApMB *tām te vācam āsya ādatte* (read *ādade*?) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG Followed in HG ApMB by *ā* (HG om) *manasyām hṛdayād udhī* Kirstc suggests *āsya*, more likely *āsya* is intended, with one ms, as in ApMB If PG is original ('in the mouth'), then HG ApMB have made *āsya* over into an adjective, 'of the mouth', agreeing with *vācam*, cf *manasyām* which must certainly be taken as an adjective from *manas* *atheme anya upare vcaḥṣanam* (AV °ne) RV AV PraśU Followed by *saptacakre śadara āhur arpitam* In the original *vcaḥṣanam* (referring apparently to the cosmic year) is object of *āhur* AV stupidly attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding line Ppp as RV

§554 Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is changed so as to be construed independently (§15)

*imam ratam* (SV *asya ratam*) *sutam piba* RV SV 'Drink this presented soma' 'drink the soma at this man's offering'

*agnim ide pūrvacittim* (TS °cittam) *namobhūh* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'I revere with homage Agni whose is the first (ancient?) devotion (TS, at the first devotion)'

## 11 Phrase inflection

§555 Occurs once

*ṛtasya pade* (RV \**padam*) *kavayo nī pānti* RV (both) TA JUB The *pāda* with the loc is preceded by an object *manīṣām*, different contexts

## CHAPTER XXIV

### INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

#### A *Instrumental and dative*

##### 1 As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556 With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental. Thus *sam tam sñcatu rādhasē* RV Vait, 'may he pour it (anśu, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KS ApŚ (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) *sam tat sñcatu rādhasā*, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bounteously)'. The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common, correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages. They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases. The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty'. The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function.

§557 In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative.

*kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV. Preceded in all by *jajanuś ca rājase*. In RV *kratvā* seems best taken with *varīṣṭhari*, 'the most extended in power (wisdom, magic power)', yet it might even there be felt as going with the preceding verb ('created [Indra] unto rule, by [magic] power, the most extended'). Certainly the dative of SV must be taken with the preceding, and evidently it is assimilated to *rājase* 'created (Indra) unto rule, unto (magic) power'.

*svargēyāya* (VSK *svar°*, VS MS KS ŚB *svargyāya*) *śaktyā* (TS °*yai*, MS *śaktye*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Śvet.U '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might'.

*āpa undantu jīvase* (AV *varcasā*, AG *varcasse*) AV TS KS AG ŚG

SMB GG ApMB HG MG 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor)' In most texts including AV a dative phrase, *dirghāyutvāya cakṣase* or *varcase*, occurs in the vicinity Delete in Conc the AG reference for *dpa un° jivase*

*prajāpates tvā* ('teṣ tvā) *prānenābhīprānumi pūṣnah poṣena* (MŚ *poṣāya*) *mahyam dirghāyutvāya* TB ApŚ MŚ 'I breathe upon thee with (unto) Pūṣan's prosperity, unto long life'

*pra no rāyā parīnasā* (SV *rāye paṇīyase*) RV SV KB Followed by *raṣi vājāya panthām* 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength'

§558 In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case

*tam hi svarājām vṛṣabham tam ojase* (SV *ojasā*) RV SV AV Followed by *dhiyane niṣṭatakṣatuh* 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength'

*pra tad viṣṇu* (*viṣṇuh, viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryena* (TB ApŚ *vī jāya*, AV *vīryānu*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU See §474 *saptarṣayas tapase* (AV °sā) *ye niṣeduh* RV AV

*sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* (LŚ °yena) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength'

*varīsvānaro na ūtaye* (TS MS ApŚ MŚ *ūtyā*) AV VS TS MS KS AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Followed by *ā pra yātu parāvatah* 'Unto (with) aid'

*rāye* (TB ApŚ *revuj*) *jātah sahasē* (TB ApŚ °sā) *vṛddhah* KS TB ApŚ 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength'

*tās tvā devīr* (AV om *devīr*, SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °sā) *sam vyayanṭu* (PG *vyayasva*) AV SMB PG HG ApMB MG 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age' On PG see VV 1 §70

*ā mā somo amṛtatvena* (TS °tvāya) *gamyāt* VS TS MS KS ŚB *anāgasam brahmanā* (TB HG ApMB °ne) *tvā kṛnomi* (TB HG ApMB *karomi*) AV TB HG ApMB 'I make thee guiltless by my charm', AV For *brahmane* Oldenberg on HG says 'before the Brahman', rather something like 'unto holiness' or 'holy power' TB com *parivṛdhāya jātakarmādisamskūrāya*

*tena te vapāmi brahmanā* (MG °my āyuse, ApMB °my asāv āyusā *varcasā*) VSK SMB PG ApMB MG *tena ta āyuse vapāmi* AG *tenāsyāyuse vapa* ApMB In the texts which have *āyuse* or *āyusā*, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals

*lendamaḥ yajamāndyuru* (MS KS *yajñapalaya uru*) *rāye* (TS *rāyā*) *ḥṛdhi*  
VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth'

*apām stoko abhyapaptad rasena* (ApMB °*tac chivena*, HG *abhyapatac chināya*) AV ApMB HG

*apām uta prasastīḥ* (RV † *praśastaye*, AV VSK °*tibhīh*) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*tha*) *vājīnah* 'Unto (by, in) praising of the waters, O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong' Here the locative is also brought in, without essential difference

*śatam bhavāsy ūtibhīh* (SV VS \* *ūtaye*) RV AV SV VS (bis, add in Conc SV 2 34c, VS 27 41c, with *ūtaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ

*kāmēna* (TS MS *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS omi *prati*) *grhṇāmi* AV TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ 'I receive thee with (unto) affection'

*maghavañ* (°*van*) *chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhīh* (SV PB TB TA ApŚ *ūtaye*) RV AV SV PB TB TA MahānU ApŚ

*yam mitram na praśastibhīh* (SV °*taye*) RV SV Followed by *martāso dadhīre purah* 'Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise'

*iha prayam prajāyā* (AV *prajāyai*) *te sam ṛdhyatām* RV AV AG ApMB *sadā pāhy abhiṣṭaye* (°*tibhīh*) RV (both) See RV *Rep* on 1 129 9  
*vanemā te abhiṣṭibhīh* (SV °*taye*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ 'May we win by (unto) thy aid'

*atho arīṣṭatātaye* (RV \* AV \* °*tibhīh*) RV \* AV \* PB

§559 Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rigid in such instances. Even some of the above variants approach such a classification, which becomes more definitely applicable in the following, here little really intelligible sense can be got out of either form

*pretinā dharmānā* (MS *pretyā dharmāne*) *dharmam jinvā* VS MS This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the *stomabhāga* bricks. 'With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness' VS (and ŚB) vary between dat and instr in different formulas of the series, MS has the dative consistently thruout. To the same group belong *samdhināntarikṣenāntarikṣam* (MS *samdhināntarikṣāyāntarikṣam*) *jinvā* VS MS *viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā* (MS *vṛṣṭyai*) *vṛṣṭim jinvā* VS MS *anvityā divā* (MS *dive*) *divam jinvā* VS MS ŚB *pravayāhnā* (MS *pravāyāhne*) 'har *jinvā* VS MS *pratidhina pṛthivyā* (MS °*vya*) *pṛthivīm jinvā*

VS MS, and others Cf *anvitur asi dive tvā divam jinvā* TS KS GB TB Vait, and other formulas in these texts corresponding to those of VS MS, they seem to confirm the originality of the datives of MS

*śukram te śukrena grhnāmi* TS KS ApŚ *śukram tvā śukra sukrāya grhnāmi* MS MŚ 'I take thy bright one (thy brightness?) with brightness (with a bright one?)' 'I take thee, the bright one, O bright one, unto brightness (unto a bright one?)'

*svihā maruḥbhīh* (MS °bhīyah) *pariśrayasva* (VS ŚB °śrīyasva) VS MS ŚB 'Hail! be encompassed by (for) the Maruts' The comms on VS and ŚB, where the verse is addressed to the chief cauldron (*mahāvira*), say that 'by the Maruts' means 'by us, the people', having in mind the proportion Indra Maruts = king *viśah*

## 2 With expressions of uniting

§560 A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf §59)

*susambhṛtū* (MŚ °te) *tvā sam bharanū* TS TB ApŚ MŚ 'I unite thee with (unto) good union'

*ayakṣmāya tvā sameṣjanti prajābhyah* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah prajāyā sameṣjanti* KS TB ApŚ MŚ 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring' 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring'

*samveśanas* (RV AV °ne) *tanuvā* (AV *tanvā*, SV KS MŚ *tanve*, RV *tanvas*) *cārur edhū* RV AV SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ 'Be happy in union (or, as a uniter) with (of, to) thy body' (Of course the RV, with an objective genitive, is the original (see §617), but it is interesting that either an instr (AV) or a dat (most texts) may be substituted for this rather unusual form There seems no objection to taking *samveśanas* as a nom agentis, with comms on TB and TA (*samyojayita*), this would not alter the construction

*samyānam nah svebhyah* (AV *svebhīh*, TB *svaīh*), followed by *samyānam aranebhyah* (AV °nebhīh, TB °naih) RVKh AV MS KS TB In AV TB, 'harmony for us with our own men with strangers,' in the others, 'harmony for us unto (= with) our own men' etc The instr is more natural in sense but metrically inferior and probably a secondary lect fac

*ājarasāya sam anaktv aryamā* RV SMB ApMB *ahorātrābhyām sam*

*anaktv aryamā* AV 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night)'

### 3 Other syntactic shifts

§561 More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants. But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances.

*apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah* RV *apo mahī vṛnute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV  
'She (Uṣas) folds away (removes) the great darkness, unto seeing'  
'she, the mighty one, discloses (removes) the darkness with sight'

§562 A somewhat different understanding of the verb seems responsible for the shift of cases in the following

*hasṭīya* (SV *hastena*) *vajrah prati dhāyī durśatah* RV AV SV 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra)'

§563 Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms, other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case

*vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi* TS ApŚ *vācaspatinū te hutasyeṣe prānāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ *hutasya prāśnāmiṣe prānāya*, ŚB *hutasyāśnāmy ūrja udānāya*) ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech'

*yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda* (MS *tayā vidhema*, KS *tasyai te vidhema*) TS MS KS 'Thy arrow with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS)'

*yañ samgrāmān* (TS MS °*mam*) *nayati* (KS *jayati*) *sam yudhe vaśi* (TS MS *sam vaśi yudhe*, KS *sam vaśi yudhā*) AV TS MS KS 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting)'. The change in verb (riming, add to VV 2 §553) conditions the change of noun case

*prati-prasthātūr dadhīgharmenānūdehi* (MŚ *dadhīgharmāya dadhy upakalpayasva*) ApŚ MŚ Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different, MŚ 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge'

*vītam śamitre* (MS °*trā*, KS °*lam*) *śamitū* (MS °*lam*) *yajadhya* TS MS KS 'Welcome (is it) for the immolator, let the immolator sacrifice', TS 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered by the immolator for sacrifice', MS 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice', KS Cf *vītam havih śamitam śamitū yajadhya* VS ŚB, 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahidhara and Eggehnig)

*arvāg devā asya vsarjanena* (TB °*nāya*) RV MS TB The comm on



TB is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl (which varies with the instr after *arvāk*, cf Speyer VSS §39, and below, §574) But doubtless TB misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i.e. to create it?)'.

*tebhīh* (AV VS VSK *tebhyaḥ*) *svarād asunūtīm etām* (AV *asunūtīr no adya*) RV AV VS VSK Followed by *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *tanvāh*) *kalpayāti* (RV °*yasva*) The interpretation is difficult in any reading, see the commentators

*patim surayā* (TB °*yaḥ*, VS *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Mahidhara takes *surayā* as associative instr. A dat or gen seems required, see §622

*saṅūr devāh sāyamayāvabhīh* (ŚŚ *devebhyaḥ śāyamayāvabhyaḥ*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ And the same with *prātaryāvabhīh* (ŚŚ † °*yāvabhyaḥ*) 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning)'. The instr may be suggested by *saṅūr*, if the dative (dedicatory) be taken as the original, but the formula is rigmarole and anything is possible

*namah kṛtsnāyatayā* (VSK °*yatāya*, KS *kṛtsnavitāya*, TS MS *kṛtsnavitāya*) *dhāvate* VS VSK TS MS KS Certainly a dative is required, tho the variations show that the meaning was not understood VS comm struggles with the instr as an abstract noun, dependent on *dhāvate*, he analyzes it as from *kṛtsnāyatu* (*kṛtsnāyatu*) + *tā*, apparently assuming haplogy (or is there a misprint, for °*yatayā*?) The original dat is an epithet of Rudra

#### 4 Case attraction

§564 In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change

*yunajmi vāyūm antarikṣena te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ *yukt- vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere)'. Formal assimilation of *te* to *tena*, influenced by *antarikṣena*

*dṛśā ca bhāvā bṛhatā susūkmanā* MS *dṛṣe ca bhāvā bṛhatā su-ukvanāh* (KS °*kvabhīh*) VS TS KS ŚB *dṛṣe* is infinitival with *susūkṣm°*, and *dṛśā* seems due to formal assimilation apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on *susūkmanā* see VV 2 §240)

#### 5 Corruptions

§565 A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt—  
*aḡhāya bhūma harivāh parādau* (MS °*daiḥ*) RV AV TS MS On MS

('by betrayal') see VV 2 §384, it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant

*dikṣayedam* (KS *dikṣāy°*) *haviṛ āgacchataṃ nah* KS TB AŚ There is no stem \**dikṣa*, and it seems that KS (all *mas* and *ed*) must be an error

[*enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā* KS *idāhna id āharam aśīya* MŚ *ed* by *em*, the *mas* corruptly point to the same text as KS See VV 2 §709 ]

## 6 Phrase inflection

§566 Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs

*ṛtubhiḥ tvārtavariḥ* AV HG *ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyah* AV In two different stanzas, AV 3 10 10 and 5 28 13, one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV 19 37 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman)

*asme kṣatṛāya varcase balāya* RV *saha kṣatṛena varcasā balena* AV In different contexts

*sahasrākṣāya mīdhuse* (NīlarU *vājīne*) VS VSK TS MS KE NīlarU *sahasrākṣena vājīnā* AV The same stanza as in VS etc occurs in NīlarU, but has apparently been influenced (as to *vājīne*) by *vājīnā* of the quite different AV stanza

## 7 Transfer of epithet

§567 The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between *dat* and *instr* seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15)

*yo agnaye dadāṣa havyadātubhiḥ* (SV *°dātaye*) RV SV 'Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations)' So it seems best to take SV, with *havya°* as a noun of agent, as in RV 6 48 2 *dāṣema havyadātaye* If however we take the SV form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558

*vīty arṣa caniṣṭhaya* (SV *paniṣṭaye*) RV SV 'Go with sustenance most desirable', RV The SV is usually understood to mean 'go with sustenance unto praise' (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun If we dared take *paniṣṭaye* as an adjective, it might go with the 'folk' (*janāya*) of the preceding *pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruhe* (SV *°hah*), this would be a genuine 'transfer of epithet'

B *Instrumental and ablative*

## 1 Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§568 Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§569 We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means  
*yās te vīśas tapasah* (TB °sā) *sambabhūvuh* AV TB 'Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy *tapas*'

*payasa* (MS °sah) *śukram amṛtam janūtram*, followed by  
*surayā* (MS KS *surāya*) *mutrāj janayanti* (VS † MS °ntu) *etah* VS MS KS † TB 'By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) *sura*, from urine' Here the original clearly had abl *mutraj* (all texts), but instr *payasa* (all but MS), while the form of the stem *sura* was either instr. or abl., in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form. MS KS are more apt to be original than VS TB.

*surayā* (MS *surāyāh*) *somah suta asuto madaḡa* VS MS KS ŚB TB. The ŚB understands *surayā* as associative instr., so also comm. on TB and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation 'Soma, pressed forth by (MS from) *sura*, distilled unto enjoyment'. This seems supported by Mahīdhara on VS *asutah suraya tvrīkṛtaḥ san yataḥ prajā akhadra* (MS *yena prajā acluda*) *ajayanta tasmai tva juhoma* TS MS KS.

*punsah kartū mātari asiṣikta* JB *punsā kartra matari ma niṣinca* (°cata to be read) KBU 'From (by) a man as creator (father) ye have implanted (implant) me in (my) mother'. On the verb-form see VV 1 §372c.

*tābhya enā ni jvartaya* RV *tābhyaḥ tva vartayamaṣi* KS *tābhīr ā vartayā punah* TS ApMB 'From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back'. The Tait. reading is clearly secondary and poor.

§570 Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present

*śam yajur bhayah* (TA °bhah) VS ŚB TA 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulas'

*pauruṣeyād dawyat* KS † *pauruṣeyena dawyena* TS MS [*yena-yena vā kṛtam*] *pauruṣeyān na dawāt* AV Preceded by *yad idam abhidāsah* KS, *yad idam mābhikocati* TS MS, *yan medam abhikocati* AV

*anyad evāhur vidyāyāh* (VSK IśāU *vidyayā*), *anyad āhur* (IśāU †*evāhur*) *avidyāyāh* (VSK IśāU *avidyayā*) VS VSK IśāU 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance' That the words are felt as abls, nnt gens, is proved by the parallel pādas *anyad evāhuh sambhavāt*, *anyad āhur usambhavāt*, which occur in the vicinity

*svāhā yajñam manasah* (KS \* [2 3] *yajñamanasah*) VS MS KS † (bis) ŚB ApŚ MŚ *svāhā yajñam manasā* (KS °si) TS MS KS ApŚ A verb such as *ā rabhe* (but with the loc *manasi*, *vistṛje*—§607) is to be understood In KS 23 5 *svāhā yajñam manasah* (which certainly should be read also in KS 2 3 for ed *yajñamanasah*, cf VV 2 §819), 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the brāhmana *manasā vai yajña ālahhyate*—a striking proof of the equivalence of the two cases in such expressions

## 2 Instrumental of means and ablative of cause

§571 The ablative of cause is only a slight development of the ablative of source, into which it shades over imperceptibly, and it varies quite as easily with the instrumental of means The following variants seem to contain what may best be classified as causal abls

*tena* (TB *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (°nā) *aviṣtam* (TB *aviṣtam*) RV MS TB Preceded by *yad bahiṣṭham nātivdhe* (TB °vide) *sudānū*, *achidram śarma bhuvanasya gopā* 'By (thru) this (aid, śarma), O M and V, help us'

*bhuvas tvam indra brahmanū* (MS °no) *mahān* RV TS MS KS AŚ 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words'

*pari satyasya dharmanū* (PG *sakhyasya dharmanah*) AŚ PG The PG reading is regarded by Stenzler as corrupt, and we have followed him in VV 2 §143, the context makes it easy to assume a change from *satyasya* to *sakhyasya*, and the reverse change is not easy to understand Yet *pari* is not very easy to construe in AŚ, while in PG it goes very naturally with the abl *dharmanah*, either in

the sense of '(turning away) from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if *satyasya* be read)' In the latter interpretation, the abl of cause with *pari* would be equivalent to the instr

§572 To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablatives were to be accepted as textually sound, they are however all suspicious for one reason or another

*abhī śravobhīh pṛthwīm* RV *uta śravasa* (MS *śravasa* [p p °sah] ā) *pṛthwīm* VS TS MS TA 'And (has spread over) the earth also by reason of his glory' MS like the others has in the preceding the parallel *mahimā* (instr) *divah*, 'over the heavens by his greatness' If *śravasah* be accepted it would have to be an abl of cause, but see VV 2 §991

*hiranyapanar amimāta sukratuh kṛpa* (AV *kṛpat*) *svah* AV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Whitney adopts *kṛpa* for AV, which is read by some mss and comin (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420) AŚ ŚŚ add the ūha *tṛpa svah* for *kṛpā svah*, which should have been recorded in VV 2 §138 Can the anomalous final *t* of AV be explained as due to misunderstanding of a nis reading in which *t* was inserted, interlinearly or marginally, as a substitute for *k* in *kṛpā*, and later taken as an addition at the end of the word? *satyā eṣām āśiṣah santu kāmāh* (SMB *kāmāt*) SMB ApMB HG So Conc, but Jorgensen reads *kamāh* in SMB, with only one ms recorded as reading *kāmāt* Cf §412

### 3 With expressions of separation

§573. The instrumental is sometimes used with expressions of separation or release, of the thing separated from, by analogy with the associative instrumental used after (antonymic) expressions of joining. See e.g. Whitney, *Gr* 283a, Speyer, *VSS* §33. In this way it comes to be interchangeable with the ablative of separation

*tebhīr no adya* (ApŚ *tebhīyo no indrah*) *savitota viṣṇuh* KŚ ApŚ *tebhīo asmān varunah soma indrah* Kauś The verb *vi muñcantu* follows 'May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣṇu free us (today) from these (feters of Varuna)', or the like

*visvā* (MS *vy*) *amivāh pramuñcan manusībhih* (KS Ppp °*śebhyah*, MS °*śānam*) AV Ppp MS KS *mśva āsah pramuñcan manuṣīr bhīyah* VS TS Followed by *śivābhīr* (Ppp VS KS MS *śwebhīr*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (VS TS MS KS *vṛdhe*) All evidence points

to *mānuṣībhiḥ* as the original. The AV comm followed by Whitney supplies *ūtibhiḥ*. But the noun most naturally understood with *mānuṣī* is *viś* or *kr̥ṣṭi*, 'tribe' (see Grassmann, *Wbch* s v). The instr is then probably one of separation 'freeing all diseases from human tribes'. KS Ppp must be interpreted similarly, taking *mānuṣebhyaḥ* as abl, 'from men'. On VS TS see §474. MS has a possessive gen 'freeing (removing) men's diseases'. The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV 6.71.3b, *śvebhīr adya pari pāhi no gayam*, where *śvebhīr* goes with a preceding *pāyubhiḥ* (the context is wholly different). Here *śvebhīr* or *śvābhīr* must be taken either as an adverb, 'auspiciously', or as a noun, 'with kindness'. Note that only AV has *mānuṣībhiḥ* and *śvābhīḥ* in the same case form.

#### 4 Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574 The prepositional adverbs *paraś*, *avas*, *arvāk* govern either abl or instr without difference of meaning. This use of the abl is apparently related to the abl of comparison, cf Speyer, *VSS* §39.

*paro divā* (AV vulg *divo* by misprint, MS *divah*) *para enā pṛthivyā* (MS <sup>o</sup>*yāh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS 'Higher than the heaven, higher than the earth here'. Followed (except in one of the two RV occurrences, and AV which repeats this) by

*paro devebhīr* (MS <sup>o</sup>*bhya*) *asurair* (MS <sup>o</sup>*ram*) *yad asti* (TS *asurair guhāyat*) RV VS TS MS KS

*avaś ca yah parah sruca* (Vait *srucah*, KS *paro divah*) RV KS Vait *arvāk tva parebhyo 'vidam* (VSK *tvā parebhyah*) *paro varebhyah* (TS *tvā parair avidam paro 'varah*, MS *tvā parebhyah paro 'varebhyo 'vidam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer'.

#### 5 In adverbial forms

§575 Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning.

*nīcād uccā svadhanyabhi pratasthau* Ppp TS KS *nīcair uccāh svadhābhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* has distinct ablatival force '(from) below above (nach oben)', or 'below (and) above'.

*ayam paścād* (MS *paścā*) *vidadvasuh* MS KS. In this and the next two the p p of MS reads *paścāt*.

*ayam paścād* (MS *paścā*) *viśvavyacāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB. See prec *maryo na yoṣām abhy eti paścāt* (MS *paścā*) RV AV MS TB. See prec two.

*yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*, v l *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA MahānU *yad ahnāt* (and, *rātryāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA The comm repeats the strange forms *ahnāt* and *rātryāt* (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of *a*-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'

### 6 Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential

*sa budhnād* (AV Ppp °nyād) *āṣṭa januṣābhy* (AV *januṣo 'bhy*) *agram* AV Ppp (JAOS 37 260) TS KS AŚ The instr is doubtless original, note that even Ppp has it 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like The isolated *januṣo* is doubtless due to attraction to the abl *budhnyad*, now taken as an adjective 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached' Otherwise Ludwig

*vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyair* (ApŚ *āntarikṣair*) *patu* KS ApŚ *vāyuṣ tvantarikṣāt pātu sūryo divah* MŚ

*samjagmāno* (KS °nā, MS TB ApŚ °nau) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*) *prthivyā* (ApŚ † °vyah) VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ All but TB ApŚ have two instrs 'uniting with heaven and earth' The subject is the *śukra* and (or) the *manthin graha*, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS ŚB, which repeat the formula with each) TB keeps the instr *prthivyā* (the final *ā* is fused with the next word *ayuh*), while ApŚ (which reads *prthivyā āyuh*) understands an abl (so Caland, less likely gen or dat) both must take *diva(h)* as abl Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend von dem Himmel, von der Erde her' The TB comm understands 'uniting with the earth, as far as (i.e. including) the heaven' *ā divo dyulokasahitayā prthivyā* The secondary TB ApŚ reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VV 2 §991, the variant might also be added to VV 2 §732

### C Instrumental and genitive

#### 1 Objective genitive

§577 In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental Most of our





of meaning, as in the first instance, where the instr is appositional to another instrumental, in phrases of this type the gen may exchange with any other case (§84)

*vasantena* (also *grīṣmena*, *varṣābhya*, *śaradā*, *hemantaśiśirābhyaṃ*) *tvartunā* (KSA °nām) *haviṣā dākṣayāmī* TS KSA 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc) season (with the spring of the seasons), with oblation'

§582 Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering

*tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota* MS *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma)' Others with the acc, §§466, 502

§583 Somewhat less close are

*yad asya karmano 'tyarīrcam* ApŚ HG AG ApMB *yat karmanātyarīrcam* ŚB BṛhU PG 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess'

*sukalpam agne tat tava* (AV *twayū*) AV TS MS KS 'That (part) of thee is easily made good' 'that is easily made good by thee' Addressed to Agni

*anuṣṭup* (also *triṣṭup*, *gāyatrī*, *jaḡatī*, *pañktis*) *tā chandasām watu* (KS *chandasāvatu*) TS MS KS 'May anuṣṭubh (etc) of the meters (with meter) help thee' Formulaic rīginarole

*suḡyotir jyotiṣā* (TA ApŚ °ṣām) *svāhā* VS ŚB TA ApŚ 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights)' As prec

*teṣām chidram pratī dadhmo yad atra* KS *teṣām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam imani*, TS *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS TS ŚŚ *tebhyaḥ chidram apīdadhmo yad atra* MS AŚ 'Of (by) these (33 threads)'

#### 4 Instr-gen of time

§584 The question whether the gen can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively, see §678, and cf especially Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1 79 6 In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the instr We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain

*madhu naktam uṣasah* (KS °sā, TS TA °s) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś The RV *uṣasah* has been taken (e g by Grassmann) as nom pl 'the night and dawns are honey' This is impossible because there is no nom *naktam* (Wackernagel 3 p 234) that form can only be adverbial acc, and consequently

*uṣasāh* is also adverbial. It might (with Wackernagel l c and others) be taken as acc pl, but may at least as well be gen sg, in either case it means practically the same as *uṣasā* (or °*sa*), 'at dawn'

### 5 Case attraction

§585 The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships. We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change

*cakṣuṣāh* (KapS °*ṣā*) *ṇtā manasā hi dhīrah* RV VS TS MS KS  
KapS ApŚ Raghv Vira emends to *cakṣuṣāh*, wrongly, assimilation to *manasā* (Oertel 18)

*viśvavyeśāna ojasā* (SV °*śah*) RV AV SV 'Ruler of all by might' 'ruler of all might' We take it that *ojasā* has been altered to *ojasah* by attraction to *viśvavya*

*samvatsarena savitā no ahnām* (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ 'By the year of days' 'by the year, by the day' The MS form seems to be assimilated to *samvatsarena*, so in the next two. But note that in all three the formal difference consists in loss of a final nasal, and cf VV 2 §307, where these variants might have been quoted: the change may be largely phonetic in character, since the final nasal seems to have been weakly pronounced

*trivṛt no viśṭhayā* (KS *trivṛd viśṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ As prec

*mitrāvarunā śarudāhnām* (MS °*hnā*) *akītnū* (with *varr*) TS MS KS AŚ As prec

*traiṣṭubhena chandasendrena devatayāgneḥ pakṣenāgneḥ pakṣam upa dadhāmī* TS *traiṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ pārśvenāgneḥ pārśvam upa dadhāmī* KS *traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ pakṣenāgneḥ pakṣam upadadhāmī* MS 'With the *traiṣṭubh* meter, with the side of Agni', so TS KS, original. In MS the first phrase is assimilated to the following *agneḥ* 'with the side of the *traiṣṭubh* meter, of Agni'. So also with the meter-names *jāgata*, *gāyatra*, *ānuṣṭubha*, *pāñkta*

*devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvīnor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām sarasvatyā vācā* (VS TS ŚB *sarasvatyāi vāco*) *yantur yantrena abhiñcāmī* VS TS MS KS ŚB *sarasvatyāi vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmī* VS VSK ŚB Assuming that MS KS are original, we have assimilation of *vācā* to the preceding *sarasvatyā*(s) or °*yāi* (§143) and the following *yantur* in

the others If, as is less likely, the gen is original, it has been assimilated to the preceding instr in MS KS

§586 In the next the formal association is of a rather different sort. Here the assimilating force is exerted by the construction of a parallel formula in the vicinity, to which the variant formula is brought into closer parallelism by the change, it is not a question of influence of another word in the same passage. The three formulas here quoted belong to the same context.

*pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya vartanyopānsor vīryena* MS  
*pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS °tryā) *vartanyopānsor vīryena* TS KS

*bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā sukрасya vīryena*  
 TS *bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena triṣṭubhyā* (KS triṣṭubhā) *vartanyā sukрасya* MS KS

*agneṣ tvā mātrayā jagatya* [gen] *vartanyāgrāyanasya vīryena* (KS jagatyā *vartanyā*) TS KS *agneṣ tvā mātrayā jagatyā vartanya* MS

In these three associated formulas, the gens *pāvamānasya* (MS only) and *bṛhadrathamtarayos* (TS only), 'with the hymn of the P' and 'of the B-R (sānians),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel *agneṣ tvā mātrayā* etc. of the third formula, the instr forms (found consistently in KS) are original. The second phrase of all three formulas consists of *vartanyā* modified by an adjectival or appositional instr in KS, and again this seems to be the original form. In the first formula the instr is replaced by a dependent gen in both TS and MS, in the second and third formulas in TS alone. These gens are modelled on the next following phrase, *opānsor* (*sukрасya, āgrāyanasya*) *vīryena*.

## 6 Miscellaneous

§587 In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant.

*vayam nāma pra bravāmā* (KS † °ma, add to VV 2 §446) *ghṛtasya* (TA ApŚ *ghṛtena*) RV VS MS KS TA ApŚ MahānU (All but one ms of MahānU used by Jacob read *ghṛtena*, which therefore should probably be read as in TA ApŚ, tho the comm has *ghṛtasya*) Caland translates ApŚ as if gen, but the agreement of the Tait texts suggests that *ghṛtena* is the true reading of the school, non-sensical as it seems to us. TA comim says the 'name' means the *pranava* (*om*)

*pra yujō* (SV *yujā*) *vāco agrīyah* RV SV Followed by the verb *cakradat* (SV *acikradat*) RV 'let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth' *yujā* may be an adverb (so Benfey), 'the leader of the song has sounded forth together,' or perhaps better a noun, 'the leader of the song together with his associate (the song)'

*sarasvatyā* (TB °*tyāh*) *supippalah* VS MS TB Preceded by *devo devur* (TB *indro*) *vanaspatih*, *hiranyaparno usvibhyām* The instr is associative, and TB glosses the gen by *sarasvatyāh sambandhī*

*rasam parisrutā* (MS °*to*) *na rohitam* VS KS MS TB The instr depends on the verb *vayati* in the prec, felt as a verb of mixing or uniting 'as the red sap with *parisrut*' However, VS comm glosses *parisrutā* with *parisrutah* ('as the red sap of *parisrut*')

*ajo bhāgas* (TA °*bhāgas*) *tapasā* (AV °*sas*) *tam tapasva* RV AV TA 'The goat is (thy) portion (TA portionless), burn him with heat' 'the goat is the portion of heat, burn him' Whitney considers the AV superior, but wrongly, cf Oldenberg *Noten* on RV 10 16 4

*patim surāyā* (TB *surāyat*, VS *suraya*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB See §563

*sam brahmanā* (AV °*nām*) *devakṛtam* (RV AV *devahitam*) *yad asti* RV AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB The instr is associative, with *sam neṣi* (*neṣa*) of prec 'bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods' In AV it becomes a partitive gen with *yad* 'whatever prayers have been', no instr being expressed tho one must still be understood

*vśvā* (MS *vy*) *amīvah pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS °*ṣebhyah*, MS °*ganām*) AV MS KS See §573

§588 Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following

*agnir āyusmān sa tenu tvāyusayusmantam karomi* (KS *tasyāyum āyusāyusmān astv asau*) TS KS PG ApMB 'By this life' 'by his life' The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used

*ayam no nabhasas patih* (TS ApŚ *nabhasā purah*) AV TS GB Vait Kauś ApŚ Followed by *sam sphāno abhi rakṣatu*

*ye barhiṣo* (MS °*ṣa*) *namoukṛtim* (VS VSK MS ŚB *namaukṛtim*) *na jagmuh* (VS ŚB *yajanti* for *na ja*°) RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB

*ya indrena saratham yāti devah* AV *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ See §419

*satyā tū dharmanas patī* ApŚ *satyād ā dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, Vait MŚ *dharmanas pari*, but MŚ mss *dharmanā pari*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

*sam tvā nahyāmy apa* (MŚ MG *adbhir*) *oṅadhībhiḥ* TS MŚ MG *sam tvā nahyāmi payasaṣadhīnām* AV Cf *sam tvā nahyāmi payasā pṛthivyāḥ* (TS *ghṛtena*), which immediately precedes this, see §460 *pūṣā sanīnām* (TS ApŚ *sanyū*), *somo rādhasūm* (TS °*ṣā*) TS KS MS ApŚ MŚ (only the first two words in ApŚ MŚ, delete MŚ in Conc under *somo rā*) In MS KS probably a noun, 'giver', rather than a verb of giving as v Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied 'Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts' etc In TS *ānavṛtran* precedes 'Pūṣan (has surrounded me) with gain' etc

*ghṛtasyāgne tanvī sam bhava* KS MŚ Kauś MG *ghṛtena tvam tanvam* (TS *tanvō*) *vardhnyasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N

*sam it tam rāyā sṛjati svadhāvān* (AV \* *rāyah sṛjati svadhābhiḥ*) RV AV (both)

*āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣānah* (ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) TS TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

*yenu* (AV *yasyu*) *dyaus ugrā* (AV *urvī*) *pṛthwī ca dṛdhā* (TS *dṛdh*, AV *māhī*) RV AV Ppp VS VSK TS MS KS In passing we note that the change from *ugrā* to *urvī* is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of *ugra*

§589 The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following

*ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ* RV AV TS KS *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* LŚ The LŚ *tanvo* is doubtful as to form and meaning Is it gen with *ariṣṭās*, 'without harm to the body' (Whitney *Gr* 290b)? Or abl of source or cause? Or adverbial accus? Or even nom pl ('may we be unharmed bodies, persons')? It may, finally, be a mere error or misprint in the unreliable edition

*nedīyu it sṛnyah* (TS † °*yō*) *palvum eyāt* (AV *ā yavan*, TS MS KS *āyat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N Here *sṛnyah* may be variously interpreted in the RV form, it is often taken as gen, 'may the ripe grain come near to the sickle' But acc pl is also possible, likewise nom sg (stem *sṛnyā*) may be considered (cf Oldenberg, *Nolen* on 1 58 4) The AV makes it a nom pl

*pṛthivyā* (MS \* °*vyāḥ*) *sambhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ See VV 2 p 197

[*vācām indriyenānīṣa* (TS MŚ *vācā mendr*°) TS KS MŚ Read KS like the others, see v Schroeder's note on 31 15, p 18 n 1]

## 7 Transfer of epithet

§590 The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows

*amaṣām cittaṃ prabudhām* (TS KS °dhā) *vi nesat* (KS *naśyatu*) RV AV TS KS 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught.' In TS KS *prabudhā* may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed, or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom'

§591 In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15) *stomo yajñāś ca* (TB *yajñāsya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °tah) RV TB 'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer' Once the gen has been introduced in TB (see §449), *haviṣmatā* is assimilated to it

*uṣṇah sutasya uṣṇā* (SV PB °sah) RV SV PB In SV *oṣas* is made an epithet of *soma* 'of the bull [that is] strength, pressed out', instead of 'pressed out by strength'

*vedam savitrā prasūtam maghonām* AG *vedam prasūtam savitrā maghonā* ŚG Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG the reading of ŚG, with no ms authority To us it seems that AG is not only sound but original 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons' ŚG has secondarily assimilated *maghonā* to *savitrā*, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet 'pressed forth by the liberal Savitar'

*ghṛtasya mbhrāṣṭum anu kukrasoṣṇah* (RV AV VS KS *vaṣṭi śociṣā*) RV AV SV TS MS KS Followed by *ājuhvānāsya sarpiṣah* The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of *sarpiṣah*

## D Instrumental and locative

§592 The variations between instrumental and locative are instructive in showing a much closer association between these two cases than has commonly been assumed Speyer (VSS §75) notes uses in which the locative vies with most of the other oblique cases, but does not mention the instrumental And yet our variants show that they are interchangeable, often with little or no difference of meaning, in a variety of ways

§593 'In the instrumental is put that concept which is associated with the principal concept in the action' (Delbruck, AIS p 122) The locative designates primarily the sphere within which an action takes

place But the sphere of the action may also be regarded as an accompanying concept of the action Conversely, the accompanying concept may be treated as the circumstance within whose sphere of operation the action takes place The occasion (loc) is at the same time the means, cause, or manner (instr) of the action The phrase *marulām prasave jaya* (TS *jayata*) of TS MS KS MŚ means 'in (upon, German *auf*) the impulse of the Maruts conquer' Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS ŚB, with *prasavena*? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say, just as we imagine a Lativist would be puzzled to make a very clear distinction between *in hoc signo vinces* and *hoc signo vinces*

§594 Adverbial expressions of time and place, as well as manner, occur with both cases Distinctions are often drawn between them Thus it is said that the instr denotes the time or place thruout which the action takes place Delbruck uses the terms *Raum-* and *Zeiterstreckung* of such instrumentals To be sure he admits (*AS* p 130), at least for time concepts, that this distinction cannot always be felt, noting that *doṣā, instr*, 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of *uṣasi, loc*, 'in the morning' We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced

§595 We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc, and of locatives of various sorts And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized, so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, rignma-role formulas, either will do as well as the other (§604)

### 1 Time expressions

§596. We have already referred to the use of the two cases in expressions of time, and noted that the distinction made by Delbruck and others is not supported by the variants (§594)

*maghāsu* (RV *aghāsu*, ApG *maghābhur*) *hanyante gāvah* (ApG *gāvo gṛhyante*),

*phalgunīṣu* (RV *arjunyoh*, ApG *phalgunībhyām*) *vy* (RV *pari*) *ūhyate* (ApG *ūhyate*) RV AV ApG Kauś 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalgunī (Arjuni) the marriage takes place' Distinction of meaning is scarcely conceivable

*madhu naktam uṣasah* (KS °sā, TS TA °sī) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś Here *uṣasah* (probably gen sg) is the original, and is replaced by either instr or loc, see §584

## 2 Place expressions

§597 The instr is particularly frequent in expressing the 'way' with verbs of motion (Speyer, VSS §42), but the loc may equally well be used

*samudram gandharveṣṭhām anvātīṣṭhata* (KS † °ṣṭ(huṭhu) *vītasya patma-  
nedūtā* (KS *patmaṇṇ idūtā*) MS KS 'On the path of the wind'  
*avyo vārcṣu* (SV *avyā vārebhr*) *asmayuh* RV SV, and

*avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vāraḥ*) *pari priyah* (und *priyam*) RV SV 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool' The verbs are *pavasva*, *punānah*, *hinvanti*, the subject, *soma*

*drunā* (SV *drone*) *sadhastham abnuṣe* RV SV 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows

*drunā* (SV VS *drone*) *sadhastham āsadat* RV SV VS A<sub>5</sub> prec

§598 And without the concept of motion, in simple expressions of location, the instr may replace the loc

*adhī kṣamī viṣurūpam* (ArS *kṣamā viṣvarūpam*) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB Here *kṣamā*, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr, and is well known in the RV itself It cannot be regarded as dependent on *adhī*, which is not found with the instr (tho it may reinforce the loc, as probably here with *kṣamī*)

*paro yad idhyate divā* (SV *divi*) RV SV Here *divā* is commonly regarded as dependent on *paras* 'beyond the sky' (so Ludwig, Grassmann *Whch*, and Bergaigne 2 187) Yet it may quite well mean simply 'in the sky', with *paras* an independent adverb (so Grassmann's translation), in that case it would be the precise equivalent of *divi*

*tīre tubhyam gaṅge* HG *tīre tubhyam asau* PG *tīrena yamune* (and, *tīrenāsau*) *tava* ApMB Preceded by *viṣṭacakra āsīnās* HG ApMB, *anmuktacakra* (v 1 °rū) *āsīran* PG It seems scarcely



possible to take ApMB *tirena* otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy hank'

§599 The instrumental adverb *guhā* is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local. This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative *guhāsu*, 'in secret places'

*gandharvo dhāma paramam guhā yat* (VS *dhāma vibhrtam guhā sat*) AV

VS *gandharvo nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU

*trīni padāni* (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*)

AV VS TA MahānU

### 3 Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600 We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means. Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place', cf. (*in*) *hoc signo vinces*, §593. As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc. *kumbhe*, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr. 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried. It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough.

*sam u yāh kumbha ābhrtāh* AV *sani yāh kumbhebhīr ābhrtāh* AV

§601 Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*,

MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG. Followed by

*ahir jaghāna* (PG *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG MG *kim*) *cana*. Kīrste

assumes that HG is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc., 'within

the dominion of the white one'. The instr. is indeed had metrically

and doubtless secondary. But *abhyācāra* in the sense of *abhicāra*,

'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV 10.3.2, and there

is no need to abandon it, the more since MG has the loc. of the

same word 'hy (MG *in*) the hostile magic of the white one the

snake has killed no one (nothing)'. The other texts have different

words.

*marutām prasave* (VS ŚB °*vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS

ŚB MŚ. See §593.

*apām uta praśastīsu* (RV † °*taye*, AV VSK °*tabhīh*) RV AV VS VSK

TS MS KS ŚB. Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavatu* (°*tha*) *vājīnah*

The RV original has a dative of purpose (§558), for it the later texts substitute instr or loc, which are virtually equivalent, with the loc, the praising is the occasion and so the means of the becoming strong 'Become ye strong in (by) the praising of the waters' *aiḥṣā vakhibhyo havṣi* (MS KS °ṣā) *svadhāvāh* RV VS TS MS KS 'Teach, O S, (thy seats) to thy friends at (by) the oblation' The oblation is the occasion, and so the means, of the teaching *vairūpe sāmān iha* (MS *adhī*, KS *vairūpena sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema*) TS KS MS AŚ 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the *vairūpa sāman*' The next pāda, which is closely parallel, has an instr (*jaḡatyā*) in all

*meṣam viprā abhīsvarā* (SV °re) RV SV AV Preceded by *nemim namanāi cakṣasā* 'With (in) their song of praise'

*vasūnām tvādhīlena rudrānām ūrnyādityānām tejasā viśveṣām devānām kratunā maruṭām emnā juhomi svāhā* TB ApŚ *vasūnām ādhītau rudrānām karmān ādityānām celasi* (sc *tvā juhomi*) MS 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasus' etc

*ahnō rūpe* (TS *rūpena*) *kūryasya rasmiṣu* (TS † *rasmibhūh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The verb is *gṛhṇōmi* or *ādhunomi* 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun'

*svapnāh svapnādhikarane* RVKli *svapna svapnābhikaraneṇa* AV 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people]' Cf Edgerton, *AJP* 35 438 f

*somasya bṛṣmah surayā* (MS *surāyām*) *sutasya* VS MS KS ŚB TB 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) *surā*'

*svargena lokena samprornvāthām* Vait *svarge loka prornvāthām* (VSK *prornvāthām*, MS *prornvātām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *svarge* (KS † *svarge*) *loka samprornvāthām* (KSA † °*rnvāthām*) TS KSA TB 'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world'

*agnir ukthēna vāhasā* VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir uktheṣv anhasu* AV Contexts essentially the same

§602 Several times, at the end of pādas, the loc sg ending *e* varies with the instr pl *aih* While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (*e ai*, and the light pronunciation of final visarga) are involved, see VV 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added

*bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yaḡārah* (MŚ *yaḡāre*) RV SV MŚ

*mitrāvaruṇā rakṣalam ādhīpatyaih* (AŚ °*tye*) TS MS KS AŚ

*ghṛtavalī savitar* (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyaih*) TS MS KS

4 Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion. There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr. of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group.

*rāyas poṣeṇa* (KS *poṣe*) *sam iṣā madema* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

MŚ ŚG PG 'May we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' Associative feeling is perhaps indicated by *sam*. The meter indicates that KS is secondary

*vivasva* (°*vann*, °*vān*) *ādityarṣa tasmīn* (TS *leno*) *matṣva* (TS KS *mandasva*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB 'Delight in it'

*ny adhur mātrāyām* (KS *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasah* (KS °*sam*) MS KS 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS has an instr. of manner, MS a loc. of situation

*eve dakṣe* (VS MS KS ŚB *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s)'  
Add to VV 2 §706

*sa rāye sa puramdhyām* (SV °*dhyā*) RV SV AV JB Preceded by *sa* *ghā no yoga ā bhuvat* 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality' *puramdhyā* = *liberaliter*

*ṛtena* (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG °*nāv*, MG °*nā*) *adhr roha vanṣa* (MG *vanṣah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG All Knauer's mss *ṛteva*, Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā va*' If he is right, *ṛte* is loc. of the sphere of action

*tvayā* (RV *tvē ā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV 'Worshippers devote themselves to (busy themselves with) thee' Phonetic moments are involved here, VV 2 §911

§604. In some ritualistic formulas the sense of the rignarole is so feeble that one case will do about as well as any other

*prācyām dīṣi* (MS KS MŚ *prācyā dīṣā*, ŚŚ *prācyā dīṣā saha*) *devā ṛtvjo mārjayantām* TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter' In ŚŚ *saha* proves that the instr. is associative, in MS KS it might also be one of means. Similarly the formulas beginning *udīcyām dīṣy*, *ūrdhvāyām dīṣi*, *prācyām dīṣi*, *dakṣināyām dīṣi*, with variant instrs

*svāyām yat tanvām* (*tanuvām*) *tanūm arayata* TS KŚ *svayā tanvā tanvam arayat* AV *svā yat tanū tanvam arayata* KS KSA 'Produced a body in (with) his own body'

## 5 Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining

§605 Special rubrication is deserved by a group in which a verbal expression of joining is used, now with an associative instrumental, now with a locative of goal (cf. the similar use of the accusative of goal, §467). In all but the first case the verb is one of placing or of motion, compounded with the preposition *sam*, in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition

*bṛhaspate †yāmyām* (KS ms *yāmyā*) *yuñgdhi* (*yuñdhi*) *vācam* TS MS  
KS AŚ Von Schroeder emends KS to *yāmyām*, but the instr. is perfectly sound 'yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmī*', whatever *yāmī* may mean

*sam devānām sumatyā* (AV VS MS ŚB *sumatau*) *yajñiyānām* RV  
AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB '(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods'

*sam patnī patyā sukṛteṣu* (TB ApŚ *sukṛtena*) *gachātām* MS KS TB  
ApŚ MŚ 'Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds'

*śwena* (VSK *śwe*) *me sam tṛṣṭhasva* VSK TB TAA ApŚ 'Come together with (in, unto) luck for me'

*aṅgāny ātman* (MS *aṅgaur ātmānam*) *bhūṣajā tad aśvinā* VS MS KS  
TB The verb is *sam-dhā*, see §462

§606 In one variant involving the root *sprdh* 'vie', the two cases are differently used. This root takes the instr. of the person vied with, the loc. of the person or thing striven for. For the exegesis of the variant see VV 2 §109

*spardhante dhīyuh* (TS KSA *dhīuh*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA †  
*sūryena*) *vśah* RV SV TS KSA

## 6 Miscellaneous

§607 There remains a relatively small group in which the instr. and loc. seem to be used in definitely different constructions, often different words are used or the passage is otherwise reshaped

*garbha vet subhṛto garbhinūbhīh* (RV *va sudhuto garbhinīṣu*) RV SV  
KU 'Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women'

*vayam rājabhīh* (AV \* *rājasu*) *prathamā dhanāni* RV AV (both) 'We along with (our?) kings, the first' 'we first among the kings'. It is not clear who the 'kings' are. The p p of both RV and AV read *prathamāh*, Grassmann and Geldner (VSt 1 150) understand *prathamā*, n pl

*samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsraṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu* MS 'Thus Indra, mingler of the fight (*yudhas*, objective gen ?) with his band (instr of means)' MS has distorted the pāda, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660, some AV mss have *samsraṣṭā*) 'Indra, in the mingled fights and bands' or 'when the fights and bands are mingled'

*yathā pṛthivyām agnaye samanamañ evā mahyam samnamah samnamantu* AV *yathāgnih pṛthivyā samanamad evam mahyam bhadrā samnatayah samnamantu* TS KSA † 5 20 The latter seems to have an associative instr 'As Agni with the earth made obeisance' But the mantra is obscure in role, for a different interpretation see Keith on TS Other parallel formulas in the same context

*yat kusīdam apratitam* (MS MŚ 1A °*titam*, 1A Poona ed °*tittam* with v 1 °*titam*, SMB *apradattam*) *maycha* (1S *mayi*) TS MŚ TA MŚ SMB 'The loan which has not been paid back by me' In TS *mayi* perhaps 'the unpaid loan which (rests) upon me'

*mayā gāvo gopatina sacathvam* AV *mayi gavah santu gopatau* AŚ *mayi tisthantu gopatau* MŚ Different verbs For the loc with *santu* cf §671

*mahān mahitve tastabhānah* (KS *mahitvā samstambhe*) KS 1B ApŚ 'Great, taking thy stand on greatness' 'great with greatness on firm foundation'

*śruṣṭi* (SV °*te*) *jātāsa indavah svarvidah* RV SV *śruṣṭi* is taken as instr of an *i*-stem, 'quickly', Benfey understands *śruṣṭe* as loc of an *a*-stem, 'der Satzung gemäss'

*svaha yajñam manasa* (KS °*si*) TS MS KS ApŚ Others with gen, see §570 Different verbs understood, in TS *ārabhe*, in KS *visṛje*

§608 The change seems to be due to case attraction in the following *varśvānarasya tejasa* (MŚ °*si*) TB ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *śrītas tapasya hitam* The preceding *tapasi* has influenced MŚ

## 7 Phrase inflection

§609 What we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts

*varśvānarasya danṣṭrayoh* (and *danṣṭrabhyām*) AV The form with loc is followed by *agner apī dadhāmi tam*, of these two pādas an unmetrical recast seems to be found in *varśvanarasyānam danṣṭrayor apī dadhāmi* AV

*devī devebhīr yajate* (and °*ta*) *yajatrāh* RV *devī deveṣu yajatū yajatra* RV AV MS

*ya te pavtram arcisi* (AŚ °ā) RV VS MS KS TB AŚ LŚ VHDh  
 In all but AŚ followed by *agne vitalam antar ā* In AŚ followed by *kalāśeṣu dhāvati*, which is probably meant to be part of the same formula, in that case AŚ does not intend a pratika of the RV. verse

## 8 Transfer of epithet

§610 We have noted only one instance of this, and in it the original form is an independent word, which is attracted in a secondary text into a form which is an epithet of the adjoining word—  
*adṛṅhathāh sarkarābhīs tṛviṣṭapī* (MŚ *tṛbhṣṣṭubhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ  
 'Thou hast made thyself firm with pebbles over heaven' ' firm with three-pointed pebbles '

## 9 Textually doubtful or corrupt

§611 The few remaining variants are textually doubtful or corrupt  
*tviṣṭim indre na* (MS s p *indrena*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Mere ritual jargon, it does not matter what is read, but MS p p agrees with the others Cf VV 2 §826

*varṣman kṣatrasya* (AV *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakudī* (TS TB Poona ed *kakubhi*, TB Conc *kakubhīh*, MS *kakubbhīh*) *śiśriyānah* (AV TB *śrayasva*) AV TS MS TB Comm on TB *kakubhīr uttamānye* (intending *kakubhy ut*?) One ms of MS *kakubhī* Probably MS like the rest intends a loc, the strange-looking form *kakubhī* would easily suggest an instr pl to a thoughtless copyist Cf VV 2 §400 'Resting (rest thou) on the summit, on the head of royalty'

*samudre na* (and *samudrena*) *sindhavo yādamānāh* RV Read *samudre na* both times, VV 2 §826

*na mānseṣu na snūvasu* ApMB *neva mānse na pīvasi* AV *nava mānsena pīvari* PG The last simulates a voc sg fem *pīvari* This initial corruption brings in its train *mānsena*, dependent on the following participle *āyatam* But the reading hardly deserves consideration

[*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ *tanūs tanvā (tanuvā) me saha* (AV *sahed antāh*) AV (mas) TS TAA Vait PG The vulgate emends AV to *tanūs tanvām me bhaved antah*, but tho the end of the pāda is obscure and doubtless corrupt, we must surely keep the instrumental *tanvā* with the other texts ]

## CHAPTER XXV

### DATIVE AND ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

#### A *Dative and ablative*

§612 Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases. They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical. But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives.

*sa sutrānā svavān indro asme* (AV \* MS *asmat*) RV AV (bis) VS TS MS KS. Followed by *ārāc cid dveṣah sanutar yuyotu* (RV \* *yuyota*) 'May Indra, well-saving, keep very far away from (for) us all hatred'. This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous *asme* in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and *asmat* is unmistakably ablative.

*ud uttamam mumugdhi nah* (MŚ *mat*) RV KS TB MŚ. 'Loose the utmost (bond) for (from) us (me)'. But here *nah* may (with the comms. on both RV and TB) be considered genitive.

*idam aham senūyā abhivuryai* (MŚ °*yā*) *mukham apohāmi* TB ApŚ MŚ. 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army'. But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland, note, further, that the ending *-yai* may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III).

*yāsyā apaśavyā* (etc.) *tanūs tām asyā apajahi* ŚG SMB *yāsyai tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG *yāsyai tām to nāśaya* HG. For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first *asyās* or *asyai* is clearly genitive. The second *asyā* occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for *asyās* rather than *asyai*. It may be meant as ablative ('from her'), but also as genitive ('that [form] of hers'), or even dative (§§151 2). Similarly the second *asyai* of PG may be meant for any one of the three cases.

Only HG has an unmistakable ablative, *ito*. Since this cannot be said to prove the intention of the other texts, their interpretation remains obscure.

§613 There remain only a couple of miscellaneous cases in which real differences of interpretation seem involved.

*ṛṣṭāpūrtam kṛnūtād āvir asmar* KS *ṛṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnūtāvīr asmar* AV  
*ṛṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir* (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvir*, TS TB MŚ  
*kṛnūtād āvir*) *asmar* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ. The  
 original 'make clear his *ṛṣṭāpūrta* for him'. The abl. of MŚ (all  
 mss) is rather surprising, perhaps 'the *ṛṣṭāpūrta* (that proceeded)  
 from him' (abl. of source!).

*yadi varunasyāsi rājño varunāt tvā rājño 'dhikrīnāmi* Kauś *yadi vāruny  
 asi varunāt tvā nṣkrīnāmi* (Rvidh *varunāya tvā parikrīnāmy  
 aham* ) ApG Rvidh *yady asi vārunī varunāya tvā rājñe parikrī-  
 nāmi* GG. And similarly with *yadi somasyāsi* (*saumy asi, yady asi  
 saumī*) etc. In a pregnancy rite 'If thou art Varuna's (Soma's),  
 from King V (S) I ransom thee' or 'for King'. The ablative  
 seems more natural, possibly it was changed to a dative to avoid  
 what might be felt as an implication of hostility to Varuna and  
 Soma. Some of the texts have other similar formulas.

### B Dative and genitive

§614 The intimate relations between these cases are well known, but our variants make them appear even closer than has commonly been assumed, for the Vedic language at any rate. Later Sanskrit allows the genitive to absorb all the functions of the dative, except perhaps that of purpose, see e.g. Speyer VSS §§71 f. Our variants show at least one case (§627) where a gen. seems to replace a dative even in an expression of purpose (cf. Speyer, fine print at the end of §72), and they suggest that in other functions originally pertaining to the dative it is older and commoner than has been supposed. At the same time there are not wanting instances of the reverse, dative forms where we should expect genitives (cf. *tat puruṣāya vidmah* etc., §634). The Prakrit languages, as is well known, have merged the two cases pretty completely, genitive forms as a rule taking over all the functions of the dative except that of purpose, but occasionally, especially in personal pronouns, old dative forms survive, usually with genitive functions, see Pischel *Gr d Pkt Spr* §361, and under the pronominal inflections.

§615 A special complication is the recognized use in Brāhmana texts of the dative ending *ai* of feminine nouns in genitive function, and the



less recognized reverse of this. Undoubtedly the confusion between the endings *ai* and *ās* in feminine nouns goes far beyond anything that is found between other genitive and dative forms, so that we have felt constrained to agree with Wackernagel that some special factor must have been at work in them, this special factor may reasonably be found in the sandhi conditions of final *ai* and *ās*. Accordingly we have inclined to group variations between these endings as formal rather than syntactic variants, in §§137 ff rather than here. Yet since not only *ai* forms as genitives but also *ās* forms in dative use are found, and since some other variants between the two cases are precisely similar to some of these, it is impossible to separate them wholly. To some extent surely the same syntactic confusion is concerned in that formal interchange, and §§137 ff must be considered together with the sections which follow here.

I With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like

§616 We begin with a group of variants in which both dative and genitive are standard from early times, so that the variation is easy and constant at all periods. Cf Speyer VSS §§46, 71

*juṣṭo vācaspataye* (MS °*patih*, KB ŚŚ °*patih*, TB °*patyuh*) TS MS KB JB GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ 'Pleasing to V'

*juṣṭo vāco* (GB AŚ Vait KŚ *vācc*) *bhūyāsam* TS MS KB GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ (2 3 6 18)

*juṣṭam devabhya* (TS *devānām*) *idam astu havyam* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

*janāya juṣṭo adibhe* (SV °*lah*) RV SV. See the context, quoted under *vīty arsa canuṣṭhaya* (SV *paṇiṣṭaye*), §567. SV probably takes the dat with the verb *vīty*, rather than with *juṣṭo*.

*priyam sarvasya pa-gatah* AV *sarvasmai ca vipasyate* AV (the latter preceded by *priyam nā kṛnu* ) Delbruck AIS p 146 says he knows no certain case of *priya* with dat. A whole series occurs in AV 19 32 8

*agnē jihvān suhūr* (KŚ *supur*, VSK TS TB *subhūr*) *devabhyaḥ* (TS TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS KS TB ŚB ŚŚ 'Thou art Agni's tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods' *śivas lokāya tanvo* (KS † *tanve*) *na chi* (KS MŚ † *edhi*, v 1 *chi*) KS MŚ Kauś *śam lokāya tanve* (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

*tasyās* (MS *tasyai*) *tvam harasā tapan* VS † 12 16c, TS MS KS. Followed by *jatavedah śivo bhava* 'Glowing with warmth, be gracious

to her (the *ukhā*), Jātavedas' So VS comm and Griffith, Keith on TS takes *tasyās* as possessive with *harasā* If this be correct for TS it would be equally possible for all the others, and *tasyai* would be a gen in *ai* (Chapter III) But (§141) MS does not favor these gens in *ai*

## 2 With nouns of uniting

§617 Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting *samveśanas* (RV AV °ne) *tanuvar* (SV KS MŚ *tanve*, RV *tanvas*, AV *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV AV SV KS 'TB TA ApŚ MŚ 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV AV 'uniting to thy body'

## 3 Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618 Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive So especially in YV dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed, thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman' *aryanno* (KSA °ne) *lopāsah* TS KSA

*puruṣamṛṅgas candramasah* (TS KSA °se) VS TS MS KSA  
*eny ahnah* (TS KSA *ahne*) VS TS MS KSA

*kṣīpraśyenāya* (TS KSA °nasya) *varṭikā* VS TS MS KSA

*vasūnām* (MS *vasubhyah*) *kapiñjalah* VS TS MS KSA

*samudrāya* (TS KSA *sindhoh*) *śiśumārah* (KSA † *śiśu°*, TS *śinsu°*) VS  
TS MS KSA

*somāya* (KSA *somāya rājñe*, TS *somasya rājñah*) *kulungah* (MS *kulan-*  
*gah*) VS TS MS KSA

*himavato* (VS MS °te) *hastī* (TA *hastinam*) VS TS MS KSA TA

*nīlamgoh* (MS °gave) *kṛmah* (TS *kṛmih*) VS TS MS KSA

*ṛikah* (KSA *ṛiḡah*) *kṣvīnkā nīla* (ṛiṣṇī *te ryanne* (KSA °nah) TS KSA

*ulo halikṣno* (TS *ūlo hali°*) *vṛṣadansas te dhātṛe* (TS KSA *dhātuh*) VS  
TS MS KSA

*viśvebhyo devebhyah pṛṣatān* (MS also °tah) VS MS (bis) *viśveṣām*  
*devānām pṛṣatah* VS

*dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh pitṛnām somavatīm*, and *babhravo dhūmranīkāśāh*  
*pitṛnām barhiṣadām* VS *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrva-*  
*nīkāśān*, and *pitṛbhyah somavadbhyo babhrūn dhūmrānīkāśān* ApŚ

*agnaye tvā* TS 'TB MŚ *īdam agneh* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

*agnīṣomābhyām* (tvā) TS TB *īdam agnīṣomayoh* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

[*pitvo* (VS MS *pidvo*) *nyānikuh kakhaśas* (MS *kakuthas*, TS *kaśas*) *te*

'numatyai VS TS MS *bidvo nyañkuh kaśas te 'numatyāh* KSA  
So Conc , but KSA actually reads 'numatyā followed by a° and  
may just as well stand for 'numatyai, there is no p p ]

§619. Similarly with a copulative verb and a nominal form containing  
the root *dā* 'give' (or *dhā* used as its equivalent, cf VV 2 §§100 ff )  
*devebhyo* (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS *bhāgadhā*) *asat* VS TS MS KS †  
'Be he a giver of portions to the gods'

*asmabhyam su maghavan bodhi godāh* RV VSK *asmākam su maghavan*  
*bodhi godāh* (and *gopāh*) RV

§620 The exact force of the gen in the following is less clear, but we  
are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections  
*medobhyah svāhā* VS *medasah svāhā* VS VSK MS TB The dat is  
simple and regular, but occurs in a different context, there is no  
real variant in the passages containing the gen With it the VS  
comm supplies *devān* as object of the verb *yaj* (the formula begins  
*hotā yakṣud agnim* (VS *indrām*) *svāhājyasya svāhō* etc ) 'let the  
hotar worship (the gods) of marrow with hail' So with the other  
parallel gens (there are no datives in the passage) But TB comm  
supplies a copula, paraphrasing *svāhatur astu*, and this seems  
more likely to be approximately right

§621 Less jejune and formulaic, but not very different in psychology,  
are the following, in which a dative of interest (or a dative which may  
be felt as an indirect object, or even, when the verb is one of motion  
[see the first case], of goal) varies with an adnominal (possessive or  
objective) genitive

*vṛṣne* (KS *vṛṣno*) *codasva suṣtutim* RV TS MS KS Pāda a is *tasmai*  
(KS *kasmai*) *nūnam abhidyaue* KS is anomalous both in using  
the interrogative stem *kasmai* (which seems due to the initial of  
the following stanza, *kam u svid asya senayā*) and in detaching  
*vṛṣne* from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree Its  
gen *vṛṣno* is felt as dependent on *suṣtutim* 'Inspire fair praise to  
(for, KS of) the bull'

*tvam ū* (MS *u*) *su tvam asmākam* (TA Apś *su tvam asmabhyam*) RV  
SV MS TA Apś Mś Followed by *sanim gōyatram navyānsam*  
(*navyānsam*), *agne (agnur) devēsu pra vocah (voca)* 'Proclaim this  
new song of ours (for us)'

*tasya gupṭaye dūmpatī sam śrayethām* AV *tasmai gotrāyeha jāyūpatī*  
*samrabhethām* TA 'For protection of it' 'for it, for the family (?)'  
Comm on TA refuses to connect *tasmai* directly with *gotrāya*,  
probably rightly

*vr̥ṣā vr̥ṣne* (SV *vr̥ṣnah*) *pari pavītre akṣāh* RV SV Preceded by *eṣa sya te madhumān indra somah* 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the hull's, sieve), O Indra'

*vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām* (AV 'āgīr°, AŚ *aṅgīrobhyah*) [*stomam uktham ca cākṣpat*, with varr] AV AŚ ŚŚ

*indrasya tvā bhāgam somenā tanacmī* (VSK *tanakmī*) VS VSK KS ŚB *indrāya tvā bhāgam somenātānacmī* MS MŚ *somena tvātanacmīndrāya dadhi* TS TB ApŚ 'As Indra's portion' 'as portion (curds) for Indra'

§622 The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift, but since they concern the fem endings *ai* and *ās*, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff)

*patim surāyā* (TB *surāyai*, VS *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB 'A remedy for (of, i.e. against) *surā*' VS comm takes the instr as associative, it seems that dat or gen is required, but either of them would be satisfactory

*uttānūyā* (TS °*yai*) *hr̥dayam yad vikastam* (TS *vihṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *sum te vāyur mātariṣvī dadhātu* 'heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine'

*so syai* (MG 'syāh) *prajām muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG SMB † PG Ap.MB HG MG 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring)'

*athāsya* (TS TB MS °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (with varr) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA

§623 The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character

*pra sunvānasyāndhasah* (SV PB *sunvānāyāndh°*) RV SV PB Followed by *maro na vr̥ta (vaṣṭa) tad vacah* 'Let him accept this song of the pressed-out herb (for, on behalf of, the presser of the herb)' In RV *sunvāna* is generally active in sense, e.g. 8.31.16, this is the only passage in which Grassmann assigns passive force to it. Hence the change in SV, which makes it active

*gharṇam śrīnantu prathamāyu dhāsyave* (AŚ ŚŚ *śrīnanti prathamasya dhāseh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ 'For the first drinker' 'of the first drink'

*asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp *mānaveṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst' 'unobstructedly

in the midst of men (Ppp among men, in [their] midst) ' Differing from Whitney, we take *asambādham* as a neuter adverb (§404)  
*indrāya bhāgam pari tvā mayāmi AV indrasya bhāgah surite dadhatana*  
 ApS The gen is apparently felt as possessive with *bhāgah*, §393  
*devo devānām pavtram asi TS MS KS devo devebhyah pavaśva VS ŚB*  
 As in prec, the gen is possessive  
*rāyas pošam (KS tvaśah pošaya) vi śyatu (RV MS TB \* śyatām, AV*  
*MS \* KS śya) nābhīm asme (AV asya) RV AV VS TS MS (bis)*  
 KS TB (bis) ApS 'Let him release (release thou, etc) [our seminal fluid, *turīpam*] as offspring for us (of it) ' Ppp has *asme*, and Whitney calls *asya* 'senseless', but this is too harsh It refers to *turīpam* and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV

§624 In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal *tubhyam*, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f), indeed, even in epic Sanskrit *mahyam* and *tubhyam* seem to be used as gens (Speyer VSS §46 note)  
*tīre tubhyam asau (HG tubhyam gange) PG HG tīrenāsau tava ApMB*  
 Simply 'on thy bank' seems to be the only possible meaning

§625 Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal *me*, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive Naturally *me* is here interpreted as dative of interest, yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens *pitṛnam* etc in any other sense Oldenberg on HG frankly does so, and Buhler's rendering of BDh, 'mayst thou never fail to the (manes of our) fathers,' is hardly more than an evasion of the problem (dragging in a possessive genitive by a very forced ellipsis) In later Sanskrit the gen replaces the dat in just such uses (Speyer VSS §72), and we have little doubt that the unmistakably gen forms of the variant, at least (and perhaps even *me?*), must be so interpreted

*akṣitam asi mā pitṛnām (ApMB maśām, HG BDh also pitāmahanām,*  
*prapitāmahanām) kṣeṣṭhā amutrāmuśmanl loke ApMB HG BDh*  
*akṣitar asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ akṣito 'sy akṣitya*  
*tvā mā me kṣeṣṭhā TS GB Vait MŚ*

§626 Similarly in the next, the dative depends on *prati-bhar* 'bring (as a gift)', and if the gen is textually sound it must be an early case

of the absorption of this dat. function by the gen., as in classical Sanskrit. The SV reads the form *narah* at the end of a stanza, and the next stanza begins with *ā*, but it would probably be over-bold to suggest that it originally read *nara* for *nare*, with sandhi between the stanzas, and that this was later misinterpreted as *narah*. The SV comm. glosses with *narāya*

*apaścāddaghvane* (SV *apaścāda*°) *nare* (SV *narah*) RV SV TB ApŚ

#### 4 Dative of purpose

§627 As has been noted above (§614), the dative of purpose is not usually replaced by the genitive even in later Sanskrit, and when we find it varying with the genitive in the Veda, we can usually see a difference of psychology, as is to be expected. Yet in one case, at least, we find it hard to avoid the feeling that the gen. is the exact equivalent of the dative of purpose. This concerns a series of formulas beginning with *savitā tvā savānām* (*prasavānām*) *suwatām*, and continuing with parallel formulas in which *suwatām* or the like is understood. The dependent nouns (*savānām* etc.) are all genitives in most texts, but in three of the formulas some texts have datives. The dative of purpose is what we should expect in all, and the commentators are hard put to it to explain the gen., Mahidhara on VS supplies *ādhipatyē*, similarly Eggeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc. Keith makes the gen. partitive 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e.g. *rudrah paśūnām*, 'Rudra of cattle!'). PG reconstructs the initial formula thus *agnir bhūtānām adhipatih sa māvatu*, which makes the gen. simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty. We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gen. as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose.

*bṛhaspatir vācām* (VS ŚB *vāce*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*rudrah paśūnām* (VS ŚB *paśubhyah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB PG

*indro jyeṣṭhānām* (MS KS *jyaṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaṣṭhyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG

§628 The other cases involving dative of purpose are few and miscellaneous. In the first the gen. is the object of a verb of ruling; the variant is precisely parallel to those between dative of purpose and accusative of direct object (§§70, 420), except that here the verb requires a genitive object.

*kṣayantam rādhaso* (TS °se, KS *śavaṣe*) *mahah* (TS KS *mahē*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Ruling over (unto) great bounty'

§629 The next two involve the well-known construction of a dative of purpose with a dependent genitive or a second dative, on which see Delbruck *AIS* §§103 and (with infinitives) 54

*rāye* (ApŚ *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā (dānāya samidhīmah)* SV ApŚ 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches)'

*divas* (MS *dive*) *tvā jyotiṣe* TS MS A verb like 'I place' is understood 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light'

*samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai* (also *triṣṭubhe jagatyā anuṣṭubhe*) *chandase 'bhībhūve svāhā* KS *ariṣṭyā avyathyai samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai chandase 'bhībhūve* (ApŚ *gāyatryā abhībhūtyai*) *svāhā* KS ApŚ *samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai* (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*, TS ApŚ *gāyatryās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhah pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS ApŚ om) *'bhībhūṭaye* (with varr) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ On the meaning see Caland's note on ApŚ 14 19 1 'For the *gāyatrī* (etc.) meter, for conquest' 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the *gāyatrī* (etc.)'

§630 The next is not very different, here the dat or gen depends not on another dat but on an acc

*vidā rāye* (AA *rāyah*) *suviryam* RVKh (Scheftelowitz p 135, vs 4a) AA *Mahānāmnyah* 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth' But *rāyah* may also be acc pl, 'wealth (and) hero-abundance', the variant would then belong with §496

§631 In the next it is possible to find the influence of formal case attraction

*akūpārasya dāvane* (SV *nah*) RV SV N Here *dāvane* is an infinitive, 'unto giving, that thou mayst give' SV attracts it to the case of *akūpārasya*, making it a noun of agent (as often in cpds of the type *aśva-dāvan*) 'inexhaustible giver'

### 5 Dative and genitive with verbs

§632. The confusion between these two cases appears in a few variants in which one case is regularly construed in dependence on a particular verb, and is replaced by the other in one variant form Cf Delbruck §110, Speyer VSS §72

§633 Thus, in two *pādas* of one verse, the root *radh* 'be subject to', which regularly takes the dative, has the genitive in secondary texts *divṣantām* (AV *sapatnān*) *mahyam* (TB ApŚ *mama*) *randhayan* RV AV TB ApŚ *divṣantā ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *divṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ (Add to VV 1 §§79, 238, 349) Followed by

*mo aham* (AV *mā rāham*, MŚ *mā tv aham*) *divṣate* (TB ApŚ °to, MŚ °tām) *radham* RV AV TB ApŚ MŚ The verb *radh* is otherwise recorded only with the dat, for which the gen is here clearly a substitute TB comm interprets *mama* as possessive gen, 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel *divṣato*, which obviously cannot be taken so, TB comm takes *divṣato* as abl, *div° sakāśān mo radham mama hīnsām prāpnuvāni*, which is absurd

§634 Conversely, the roots *vid* and *dhī*, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive In the case of *vid*, perhaps the nearly homonymous root *vidh*, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows It is noteworthy that in the same context TA and MahānU present parallel formulas with the regular genitive *tal puruṣāya vidmahe*, *mahādevāya dhīmahī* MS KS TA MahānU Immediately preceded in MahānU by *tal puruṣasya vidmahe*, *sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahī*, in TA by *puruṣasya vidma*, *sahasrākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahī*

#### 6 Phrase inflection

§635 In a couple of instances we find what we have called phrase inflection (§§21-2), that is the use of formulas in different contexts requiring different construction of the nouns in question *punānāya prabhūvaso* RV SV *punānasya prabhūvasoh* RV *varuna mitra dāsusah* (and °se) RV (both) Śāyana and Grassmann take *dāsusah* as gen sg, Ludwig as acc pl

#### 7 Miscellaneous

§636 The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories *pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasah* RV *pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase* ArS *sūryo devo* (KS ° *divo*, so read both times, once ed reads *dcvo*, but there is a v l *divo*, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmana passage of the other) *divṣadbhyo dhātā kṣatrāya* (KS † *kṣatrasya*) *vāyuh prajābhyah* (KS *prajānam*) [*bṛhaspatīḥ tvā prajāpataye juhota*] TS KS (bis) In KS understand *divṣadbhyo* with each genitive 'Let Sūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātar for (those) of royal power' etc In the secondary TS the datives are attracted to the case and construction of *prajāpataye* 'Let Dhātar offer thee for royal power' etc *mayi dohah padyāyāi vrājah* (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG *mayi*



*padyāyāi virājo dohah ŚŚ ŚG PG mama padyāyā vi rāja ApMB*  
 'In me [may] the milk of Padyā Virā] (see Oldenberg *SBE* 29 p 97,  
 note on ŚG 3 7 5) [dwell], most texts ApMB reconstructs the  
 formula 'Shine forth for my foot-water' or the like Used in a  
 foot-washing rite Note that *padyāyāi* is clearly felt as genitive,  
 but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to  
*padyāyā* in ApMB

## 8 Errors

§637 There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable

*tujā janā (ArS jāne) vanam svah AV ArS tujo yujo vanam (ŚŚ balam,*  
 conjecture of Hillebrandt) *sahah AA ŚŚ* Both forms and mean-  
 ings of the words are wholly obscure

*devasya (ŚB \* devebhyas) tvā savituh prasave 'svinor bhūbhūyām pūṣno*  
*hastābhyām ā dade VS TS MS KS KSA ŚB (both) TB TA*  
*Kauś* The dat form occurs at ŚB 14 2 1 6 which quotes VS  
 38 1 incorrectly, VS has *devasya* Note further that the latter  
 part of the formula in ŚB omits the word *adityai* before *rāsnāsī*,  
 tho it is found not only in VS 38 1 but in the same phrase almost  
 immediately following, ŚB 14 2 1 8 = VS 38 3 Eggeling seems  
 right in assuming that ŚB has a mere misquotation of its source,  
 VS, rather than a real variant based on contamination with such  
 phrases as *devebhyas tvā* (see Conc under these words)

[*athā (AV adhā) mano vasudeyūya kṛṣva (AV kṛṇusva) RV AV* Conc  
*vasudeyasya* for RV ]

[*nīṣkā etc yajamānasya loke (KS † yajamānasya santu) AV KS* Conc  
*yajamānasya* for KS ]

### C Dative and locative

#### 1 After verbs

§638 The extent of the interplay between dative and locative in adverbial constructions has hardly received the emphasis it deserves That both cases are used to express the goal of motion and of actions of various kinds is indeed well known (cf Delbruck, *AIS* §§80, 96, Speyer, *VSS* §§76, second part, 81b), and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated Without claiming

precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used

The roots *dhā* and *dā*

§639 In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots *dā* and *dhā*, and pointed out that while both are freely used with *dhā* 'place', the simple root *dā* 'give' is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used) In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, *dā* and *dhā* are often genuine synonyms Moreover the dative and locative after *dhā* are hardly distinguishable in meaning Such a phrase as *yaśo mayi dhehi* PB Vait SMB is equivalent to *yaśo me dhehi* (TA *dhāh*) TA ŚŚ, whether we prefer to translate 'put splendor in me' or 'assign splendor to me' And so with the following variants after *dhā*

*varco dhā yajñāvāhase* (VS ŚB °*si*) RV VS MS KS AB TB ŚB  
*dhehy asmabhyam* (ApŚ *asmāsu*) *dravinam jātavedah* ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ  
*dhattād asmabhyam dravineha* (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca*)  
*bhadram* TS MS ApŚ

*asminn* (TB *asmā*) *indra mahi varcānsi dhehi* AV TB

*āyur yajñāya* (MS *yajñe*) *dhattam* MS TB ApŚ

*āyur yajñapataye dhattam* TB ApŚ *āyur yajñapatay* (sc *dhattam*) MS  
*sudevam indre aśvinā* (MS *indrāyusvīha*) VS MS TB The verb *dadhur*  
follows

*athā nah* (AV *adhā nah*, TS *athāsmabhyam*, RV \* *tad asme*) *śam yor*  
*arupo dadhāta* (RV \* MS °*tana*) RV (bis) AV VS TS MS KS N

But *asme* may be dative

§640 While the preceding instances show *dhā* alone, in the next we find, beside *dha* with both dative and locative, forms of *dā* (or rarely other expressions of giving) with dative (not locative, VV 2 §101)

*ūrjam mayi dhehi* VS VSK MS KS PB ŚB LŚ ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me*  
*dhehi* (TS \* *dhattam*) VSK TS (both) KS GB TB Vait KŚ  
*ūrjam me dchi* (VSK TS *yacha*) VSK TS PB LŚ

*śrotam mayi dhehi* TS KSA † *śrotam me dhattam* (AV MŚ *dāh*) AV  
TB ApŚ MŚ

*cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS *cakṣur me dhehi* (VS ŚB *dchi*, AV MS *dāh*)  
AV VS MS KS KSA ŚB

*āyur mayi dhehi* VS TS ŚB *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS

JB TB ApŚ *āyur me dhātam* TB ApŚ . *āyur me yacha* (ApŚ \*  
*yachata*) MS KS ApŚ (bis) MŚ *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ  
PG *āyur me dāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

*tejo mayi dhehi* AV VS TS KS ŚB TB LŚ ŚŚ ApMB *tejo me  
yacha* (TA *dhāh*, AŚ *dehi* and *dāh*) TS MS KS TA AŚ (bis)  
ApŚ MŚ

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

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

§641 In other cases the *dhā* form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with *dā*, or occasionally with other expressions of giving

*svas te dadāmi* MG *svas* (*suvas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* ŚB BṛhU PG HG

Also with *bhūs* and *bhuvas* for *svas*, and with *bhūr* *bhuwah* *svas*

*saho mayi dhehi* (AV *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS TB Also with *balam*  
for *saho*, and cf next

*ojo mayi dhehi* VS TB *ojo me dāh* AV VS TB

*payo me dāh* (ApŚ *mayi dhehi*) MS ApŚ

*prajām asmāsu dhehi* VS *prajām me dāh* (KS ApŚ MŚ *yacha*) VS  
TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

*udro balam balapatir balam asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu* (TB *yajñe yaja-  
mānāya dadātu*) *svāhā* ŚB TB KŚ Likewise with *sarasvatī puṣṭim*,  
*savitā rāṣṭram*, *pṛṣṭā bhagam* (*visām*), *bṛhaspatir brahma*, *varunah  
samrāṭ*, *soma rājā*, *mītrah kṣatram*, *agnir annūdo*, *tvastā rūpānām*  
(*paśūnāni*)

§642 The compound *ā-dhā* has the same two constructions

*bhūyasam ā dhehi satruṣu* (SV *śatrave*) RV SV

*rāṣṭrāny asmā ā dhehi* (MS *asmin dhehi*) MS KS TB ApŚ

*tāsām tvā jarasa ādadhāmi* TB HG ApMB *tāsu tvāntar jarasy ā  
dadhāmi* AV (Ppp has *jarasa*)

#### Other expressings of placing and giving

§643 Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu* AV *sa no nūṣṭreṣu sudhātām* (intending  
°*tān*) *dadhātu* TB 'May he support thee well supported unto  
(establish us well established in) rule'

*yasmīn* (Kauś *yasmāi*) *bhūtam ca bhavyam ca Kauś* HG ApMB The following verb is *pratiṣṭitam* ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś, *brītāh* in HG and *samāhītāh* ('based, established') in ApMB

§644 Other verbs of giving and the like, including some compounds of *dā*, are used with both cases

*tam devebhyah paridādāmi* ApŚ *tam deveṣu paridādāmi vidvān* AŚ MŚ 'I give him over to the gods'

*astīto nāmāham asmi sa ātmānam nī dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyām gopīthāya* (KS *sa idam dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānam paridade tayoh śraye tayoh parākrame*) AV KS The verbs *nī-dhā* and *pari-dā* are both used with both cases. Here the dat. is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat. of purpose, the loc. by the locs. with the two other verbs

*ihāsmāsu* (MS *ihāsmabhyam*, TB \* *ihā mahyam*) *nī yachalam* RVKh AV MS KS TB (bis)

*sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām* (ŚŚ *prajāyāi*) VS ŚŚ 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring'

*ta āyajānta dravīnam* (MS KS † °nā) *sam asmar* (MS *asmīn*) RV VS TS MS KS 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him. But MS v 1 *asmar*

*rarānas tmanā devebhyah* (VS † TS † KS † *deveṣu*) AV VS TS MS KS In AV the dat. depends on the following *svadayatu*, but in the YV texts it as well as the loc. must depend on *rarānas* (the pāda division is here different from AV, see Whitney's note on AV)

*sam padam magham* †*rayīṣīne na kāmam* (AA *rayīṣam na somah*) SV AA '(Grant) prosperity to him who seeks wealth' Keith understands *rayīṣam* as loc. with copula understood, the sense being the same as in SV. Perhaps a verb like *dhā* could as well be understood

#### Verbs of uniting

§645 Verbs of uniting may take dative or locative as well as instrumental (§59)

*apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś *muñcatam*) AV Kauś *divisadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG *pāpam*) SMB HG ApMB '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy'

*apriye* (AV \* *divisate*, RV *āptye*) *sam nayāmasi* RV AV (ins)

*yad dhā krānā vvasvatī* (SV °*te*) RV SV Followed by *nābhā samdāyī* (SV °*ya*) *nāyusi* (SV °*se*) Apparently both dat. and loc. depend on *sam-dā* 'unite', cf Ludwig 4 p. 193 and Oldenberg ad loc.

Verbs of bringing and the like

§646 In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion

*devebhyo* (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV ApŚ Different contexts  
The variant is included here because the governing word, *havyavāhanah*, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force

*mahyam vātah pavatām* (KS °*te*) *kāme asman* (AV *kāmāyāsmar*) RV.  
AV TS KS 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire'

*yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe* *vi vo made* RV AŚ · *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam evakṣase* SV The governing verb is *vr̥ṇimāhe* 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thee to the sacrifice) Cf §489

*yad vo devāsa āgure* (MS °*ri*) TS MS Followed by *havamāhe* 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing, cf prec

Verbs of saying

§647 It is well known that either dat or loc (as well as acc) may be used of the person spoken to Whether we should render the locs in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question  
*devebhyo mā suktām brūtāt* (ŚB with *ūha*, *vocch*) VS ŚB *deveṣu nah sukto* (VSK *mā suktām*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ *brūyāt*) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *suktām na deveṣu brūtāt* TS

*pra mā* (TS ApŚ *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS °*dhān*, ApŚ °*dhām*, KS *dhavirdā* [read °*dām*?]) *devatāsu* (KS °*tabhyah*) TS MS KS ApŚ

Miscellaneous verbs

§648 The root *sthā* in the sense of 'serve, obey' governs not only the dative (Delbrück *ATS* p 143) but also the locative

*yajasthye sraṣṭhye ca gāthīnāh* ŚŚ *dhṛtyar sraṣṭhyāya gāthīnāh* AB

Preceded by *devatāyā tasthāre*

*devā devebhyo* (MS *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS °*rīyanto*) *asthuh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§649 The verb *jāgr* 'watch (over)' also takes either case  
*yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ *evam asyām sūrikāyām, saputrīkāyām jāgratha* PG *evam asyau suputrīkāyau jāgrata* HG

§650 The verb *ku* 'pour, offer' takes either case, according as the offering is thought of as 'poured in' or 'offered to'

*rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi, kravi, giri-*) *param nāma tasmāi* (VS MS ŚB *tasmān*) *hutam asu* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB

*pr̥thivyām* (KŚ °vyā) *amṛtam juhomi* AŚ KŚ ApŚ

§651. The root *ci* 'pile up, build'

*sahasrākṣa* (VS MS ŚB °kṣo) *medhāya* (TS KS *medha ā*) *cīyamānah*  
VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'Piled up at (for) the sacrifice' Cf  
VV 2 §342

§652 With the root *grah* 'take' both dative and especially locative may be felt as cases of goal

*mayi* (ApMB *mahyam*) *grhnāmi tvām aham* VS ApMB 'I take thee (the oblation) to (for) myself'

§653 With the root *jan* 'produce' the psychology of the two cases is more distinct. The variation in the first instance may be primarily phonetic, cf VV 2 §342

*vaiśvānaram rta ā* (TS *rtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV TS VS MS KS  
PB ŚB

*ajījano amṛta martyeṣu ā* (SV *martyāya kam*) RV SV 'Thou hast produced among men (for man)'

2 With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like

§654 That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning 'pleasing' or the like is recognized by Delbruck *AIS* §79

*supṛito manuṣo viśi* (SV *viśe*) RV SV

*prīyam mā brahmani* (ApMB °ne) *kuru* ApMB HG Parallel *pādas* have locs in both texts. But there is no need to read *brāhmane* or *brahmani* in ApMB (cf Winternutz p xxiv), since the dative is equally sound

*uta śūdra utārye* AV *śūdrāya cāryāya ca* AV VS Both preceded by *prīyam mā kṛnu*

*aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah* MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.  
*dhīrā deveṣu* (KS \* *indrāya*) *sumnaya* (AV °yau, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV  
VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB

*sūyavasini manave* (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA °ye, TS MS KS *yasasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA In RV *manuṣe* is dative, like *manave*, the others (including TA *manuṣe*) have locatives

### 3 Miscellaneous

§655 The remaining variants are miscellaneous

*mayi dohah padyāya virājah* (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG MG HG  
*mayi padyāya virājo dohah* ŚŚ ŚG PG *mama padyāya vi rāja*  
ApMB See §636

- daśame māsi sūlavē* RV RVKh AV ŚB BṛhU ApMB MG *daśa-*  
*māsyāya sūlavai* (ApMB °*ve*) HG ApMB 'In the tenth month'  
'tenth-monthly' (adj.)
- pūṣṇe śarase* (MS † *sarasī*, p p °*sah*) *svāhā* MS TA ApŚ *svāhā pūṣṇe*  
*śarase* VS ŚB KŚ 'Hail to Pūṣan, to the skin of milk (MS  
apparently 'to P in the skin of milk')'
- sam yujyāva* (TS *bahūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV TS *sam sanuyāva varīṣu ā*  
KS *sanibhyah* is dat of purpose (not abl, as Grassmann takes  
it), cf Oldenberg *Noten* on 1 17 2 and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*  
s v ā On the meaning of KS, 'in the waters', see von Schroeder's  
note
- īṣe rāye (rayyai) ramaśva sahasē dyumnāyorje* (VS ŚB †*dyumna ūrje*)  
'*patyāya* (see VV 2 p 429) VS MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ 'For  
splendor, for might' 'for might in splendor'
- tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā* (KS *sakmann*) *ojīsthāya* MS  
KS *tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann* (VS ŚB *śakvana*) *ojīsthāya*  
VS VSK ŚB (see Conc under *āpalaye tvā paripalaye*) *śakmane*  
*śakvarāya śakmanā ojīsthāya tvā grhnāmi* MŚ *sakmann ojīsthāya*  
*tvā grhnāmi* TS *sakmann ojīsthāya* TS GB *śakmana ojīsthāya*  
*tvā* Vait The original (TS KS VSK) has loc of noun, 'in  
strength', the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjeo-  
tives, 'for the strong'
- prthvyām agnaye samanaman sa ūrdhnot* AV *prthvyai sam anamat* TS  
TB
- asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS *asambādham badhyato* (read  
*ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp °*veṣu*) AV Ppp Kuuś See §623
- vāce svāhā* VS etc *svāhā vāce* GB AG *vāci svāhā* TS In the latter  
the context is different and *vāci* depends on the following verb  
*dhāh*, not on *svāhā*
- [*uttānāyai sayānāyai* ŚŚ *uttānāyām sayānāyām* AV RWh by em, but  
mss *uttamānāye sayānāyai*, intending the ŚŚ reading]

## CHAPTER XXVI

### ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

#### A *Ablative and genitive*

##### Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656 The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent. The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive.

*tato mā yajñasyākīr āgachatu* MS KS ApŚ *tasya māśīr avatu vardhatām*  
 AŚ 'From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me' 'may its blessing aid and increase me'

*yasya* (KS *yato*) *deva dadhīṣe pūrvapeyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
 'Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god'

*tato no dehi jīvase* RV TB TA *tasya no dehi jīvase* AV SV Kauś  
 'From (of) it give to us that we may live'

*mā parā seci mat payah* (ŚŚ LŚ ŚG *no dhanam*, ApŚ \* *nah svam*, ApMB \* *me dhanam*) ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ ŚG ApMB (bis) PG HG MG 'Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc) be poured away' The ApMB reference with *mat payah* should be 2 9 14d

*agnir etu prathamō devatābhyah* SMB *agnir aitu prathamō devatānām*  
 AG ŚG HG ApMB 'First from among (of) the gods'

*apāśman* (KS *apāsya*) *nairrātān pāsān* KS ApŚ 'Away from him (KS literally, away his) bonds of destruction'

§657 Once after the preposition *pari* (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen dual forms occur in one form of the variant. They can only be taken in ablatival sense. The variant is instructive for the confusion of the two cases, which is helped by the fact that in the singular the two have identical forms in most paradigms (in the context adjoining the variant *pāda* occur such forms as *gīrēh*, *svasuh* etc.)

*pari sarvebhyo jñātībhyah* HG ApMB *pari pitrōś ca bhṛtōś ca* PG  
 Followed in PG by *sakhyebhyo visjāmy aham*



§658 Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative. The contexts are different.

*bhīṣagbhyo bhīṣaktarāh AV bhīṣajām subbhīṣaktamāh AV*

Case attraction

§659 Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction. *tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad aroh* (AŚ † MŚ *ā mamaroh*) TS AŚ MŚ. Both mean 'until my return', in TS (doubtless the original) we find *mad* by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf. Delbruck *AIS* pp. 90, 431 and our §86). See Oertel 92. *tvam nṛnām nṛpate* (KS *tvam nṛbhyo nṛmano*) *jāyase śucih* RV VS TS MS KS TAA N. Preceded by *tvam vanebhyas tvam oṣadhībhyah* 'Thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS 'and from men, O thou mindful of men')'. KS has *nṛbhyo* by attraction to the case and construction of *vanebhyas oṣadhībhyah*.

B Ablative and locative

1 Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660 The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative, as in

*karkandhu jājñe mudhu sārāgham mukhāt* (MS *mukhe*) VS MS KS TB. 'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth.'

§661 Here there is little practical difference. Likewise, even when no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in *tāh* (VS ŚB *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhāsyā pṛsthāt* (TS KS *pṛsthē*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Followed by *nāvaś caranti* (*nāvo vyantri*)

'The ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull'. Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read *pra* ('forth'), but also in MS which does not.

§662 Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the ablative in such a variant as

*yadā mahah samvaranād* (KS *°ne*) *vy asthāt* RV SV VS TS MS KS KB ŚB. 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclosure' (*mahah* in KS must be nom. sg., in the others it may be this or abl. sg., Oldenberg decides for the latter).

§663 These examples will suggest that the psychology of the two

*cases* generally differs more or less, tho the extent and practical importance of the difference varies greatly, being no doubt least when used with expressions of source or separation or protection For even with a verb of protecting the threatening danger from which protection is desired may be put in the locative, as denoting the state in which the person finds or fears to find himself

*eṣā tvā pātu nirrtter upasthāt* (TA *nirrttyā upasthe*, AV *prapathe purastāt*)  
RV AV TA 'Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction'

§664 The following additional examples occur, we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least

*śivam prayābhyo 'hinsantam* (KS † *ahins°*) *prthivyāḥ sadhasthād* (TS MS KS °*sthe*) *agnim* (TS °*gnim*) *purīṣyam aṅgirasvat khanāmāḥ* (TS KS † °*mī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni' In the same context

*devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvīnor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām prthivyāḥ sadhasthād* (TS MS °*sthe*) *agnim* (TS † °*gnim*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Add to VV 2 §910 Cf prec

*apām yo madhyato* (KS *madhye*) *rasas tam uham asmā gṛhnāmi* KS TB 'I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters'

*vibhrājamānah sarirasya* (MS *sulhasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS 'TS MS KS ŚB TA 'Shining in (from) the midst of the waters'

*divah* (MŚ *divi*) *śilpam avatatam* TB ApŚ MŚ

*tam te* (TS *īdam te tad*) *vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt* (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life'

*bāhucyuto* (VS ŚB *grāvacyuto*) *dhiṣanāyā* (VS TS ŚB *dhiṣanayor*) *upasthāt* (KS °*sthe*) RV VS TS KS GB ŚB Vait MŚ Preceded by *yas te drapsa skandati yas te anśuh* Here it seems that KS must intend a fundamentally different meaning 'The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS on!) the lap of the bowl (two bowls)'

*agnih prātahasavane* (MS MŚ °*nāt*) *pātu asmān* AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ Perhaps MS asks for protection 'from (hostile) soma-pressings', cf MS 4 7 7 102 5 ff, the brāhmana dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savanas of the Asuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies

*ū mā sucarite* (MŚ °*tād*) *bhaja* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Pre-

ceded by *pāhi māgne duṣcaritāt* (VS ŚB *pari māgne duṣcaritād bādhasva*) No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding *duṣcaritāt* is responsible for the ablative in MŚ Yet it can be defended in a way 'Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds'

## 2 With prepositions

§665 Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions *adhi* and *antar* Both cases are found with them, but in different senses, and in the first variant *adhi* with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without *adhi*

*tām te vācam āsya ādatte* (read *ādade*) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG ā (HG om) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* HG ApMB 'In (from within) thy heart'

*tasyāh* (TB *tasyām*) *samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti* RV AV TB ŚŚ N 'From (in) her the seas flow forth'

*yam aśvinā namucē āsurād adhi* (ŚŚ † *namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ Followed by *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* Cf Bloomfield *JAOS* 15 144 ff on the Namuci story Some verb, doubtless a form of *su*, is understood 'which (some) the Aśvins (pressed out) from (in) the Āsura Namuci' The word *dadhi* in ŚŚ certainly contains a corruption of *adhi*

*ye devā deveṣu* (MS KS *devebhya*) *adhi devatvam āyan* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods)' The abl with *adhi* seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen

*samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (RV \* *°pah*) RV (bis) SV In different contexts (cf also *samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (SV *°pe*) *manīṣinah* RV SV

*ya usriyā apjā* (SV *api yā*) *antar asmanah* (SV *°ni*) RV SV 'The cows from within (SV the cows within) the rock'

§666 On the other hand, *ā* with the ablative may mean 'up to' and so may interchange with the loc (and the acc.) of goal with no difference of meaning

*āsya yajñasyodṛcah* VS ŚB *svasti mā sam vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svāhā* AV *svasti mā sampārajāsyā yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ See §523

## 3 In adverbial forms

§667 Adverbially used ablatives have a tendency to pale out, so that no distinctly ablatival function remains They then become interchangeable with locative adverbs or locative phrases

- āre* (TS *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS °*na*) *uta pūruṣaghnam* (TS °*ne*) RV TS  
Both mean simply 'far off', not 'from afar'  
*yās te rudra purastāt* (AG *pūruṣasyām dīkī*) *senās tābhya eṣa balis tābhyaś*  
*te namah* (AG *senās tābhya enat*) AG PG Here there may be in  
the abl a suggestion of 'from the east', but it is hard to be sure of it

## 4 Case attraction

§668 The following (cf also *ā mā sucarite* etc , §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction

- āre asman* (MS NīlarU *asmīn*) *ni dhehī tam* VS TS MS KS NīlarU  
One *ms* and *p p* of MS read *asman* (*asmat*) If *asmīn* is sound it must be attracted to the case of *āre* 'in this distant (place)' instead of 'far from us'

## 5 Phrase inflection

§669 Phrase inflection is found in the following

- (*śīae mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* AV (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasukāc ca yat* AV Both times Ppp reads *agnih samkasukāś ca yah* Caland KZ 34 456 f considers both AV *pādas* 'phrase-inflections' of what Ppp (substantially) reads See §§433, 450

*tṛtīyasyā ito divah* ApMB *tṛtīyasyām ito divi* AV IIG Wholly different contexts

- aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomnah* RV AV ApMB *aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni* AV  
In the first passage the abls depend on *vi vṛhāmī*, the second is followed by *yas* (sc *yakṣmas*) *te parvani-parvani*

## 6 Miscellaneous

§670 A few miscellaneous cases remain

- mā te vyuyoma samdṛśah* AV *mā te vyuyoma samdṛśi* (LŚ † *samdaśa* [iti])  
AA TA AŚ LŚ MG 'May we not be separated from sight of thee' 'may there be no *vyuyoman* (lacuna? TA comm *chudram*) in thy sight' In LŚ a form of *samdṛś* (either °*śah* or °*śe* would be possible) must be intended If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV), this should be added to VV 2 §631

- varṣīyo* (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyasa yajñe yajñapatim dhāh* TS VS ŚB  
*varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatim dhāh* MS KS Addressed to atmosphere 'Being more extended, establish the sacrificer in a more extended sacrifice' 'being more extended than the more extended, establish sacrifice in the sacrificer' The latter is doubt-

less original, the former a lect fac, with a kind of 'transfer of epithet'

[*ardhamāsyam prasūtāt putryāvatah* JB (bis) Both passages have the abl, see Oertel, *JAOS* 19 (2d half), pp 112, 115 ]

C Genitive and locative

1 Locative of position adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning. The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen). Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw, in the first mentioned cases the gen seems clearly possessive

*mayi aśir* (Ppp KS *mamāsīr*) *astu mayi* (Ppp KS † *mama*) *devahūtih*  
RV AV Ppp TS KS 'May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)'

*asmākam* (TS *asmasu*) *santh asīyah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ  
*yad devanam* (VS *deveṣu*) *tryāyusaṃ* VS VSK ŚG SMB ApMB HG  
MG Preceded even in VS by *tryāyusaṃ jamadagneh, kaśyapasya*  
*tryāyusaṃ* (with slight variations in order) VS is isolated and so may be suspected of being secondary. Were it original we might think of case attraction to the preceding gens in the others

*tve rayah* VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *tava rayah* MS MŚ *tava-tava rāyah*  
MS KS MŚ *to-to* (TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rayah* VS TS ŚB ApŚ  
*yat pṛthivyam* (MahānU °*vya*) *rajah svam* TA MahānU 'What *rajas* is in (of) the earth'

*yā te patighnī tanūh* HG *yā te patighnī tanūr* PG *yā te patighny* ŚG *yāsyām patighnī tanūh* ApMB 'What husband-slaying body (form) is thine (in her)'

*dirgham yac cakṣur aditer anantam* AŚ *yad ahuś cakṣur adituv anantam*  
PB JB (See Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases* §48 24R)

*mā tvam harṣih sṛutam mayi* PG *śrutam me mā pra hāsih* RVKh  
*dhruvardhi poṣya* (PG *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV 'Be steadfast in (with, be) me' 'let this woman be mine, prosperous'

*vihāya rogam tanvah svāyāh* (TA *tanvam svāyām*) AV TA 'Abandoning disease of (in) their own body'

*anvātansīl tvayi* (MS °*tānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
'He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine)'

*aḥam praṅd aṅaṅayam pṛthivyām* (MG °vyāh, ApMB *pitṛnām*) RV  
 ApMB MG 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers)'  
*akāḥ su* (TA *sa*) *lokam sukṛtam pṛthivyāh* (VS ŚB °vyām) VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth'  
 The gen may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive  
*yasyā āśas* (KS *imās*) *tanvo vītapṛṣṭhāh* AV KS *yasyā bahvjas* (RVKh  
 VS *yasyām imā bahvjas*, TB *yasya bahvīś*) *tanvo* (*tanvo*) *vīta-*  
*pṛṣṭhāh* RVKh VS MS TB 'Whose (in whom) are smooth-  
 backed forms'

*asamāṭin gṛheṣu nah* AV *gṛhanam asamartya* TS See §486  
*patyau* (ApMB *patyur*) *me śloka uttamah* RV ApMB 'My supreme  
 renown rests in my husband (is my husband's)'

*sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṛṣuh* AV *sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS  
*mānā*, v 1 *manā*, SMB Jorgensen *manav*) *acarkṛṣuh* (varr, VV 1  
 §136) KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG Preceded by *madhūna samyu-*  
*tam yavam* 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the  
 Sarasvatī (river)', AV 'The form *sarasvatya* has been interpreted  
 in all sorts of ways, as gen 'with honey of Sarasvatī' (TB comm,  
 Stenzler, Caland), as instr (in spite of the sandhi, Oldenberg *SBE*  
 29 338), as abl (Jorgensen on SMB), and as dat (VV 1 §136)  
 We now think gen or abl most likely

*tāsu* (sc *dikṣu*) *tvāntar jarasy ādadhāmi* AV *tāsam* (sc *dikām*) *trā*  
*jarasa ādadhāmi* TB HG ApMB 'I establish thee in old age within  
 them (unto their old age, i e unto as long life as the directions  
 possess, so rightly TB comm)'

§672 Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following  
 cases, in which the loc is parallel with another loc, on which the gen  
 depends in the other form of the variant (cf §85)

*asyā* (MG † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG °nyam) AV MG (the latter  
 also has a v 1 *nāryām*) *asyām nāryām gavīnyam* RVKh ApMB  
 'In this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' 'in this  
 woman, in her canal' Assuming that the gen is original, we may  
 see case-attraction in the loc

*śūṣam na madhye nābhyaṁ* (MS °yāh) VS MS TB 'In the middle,  
 (viz) in the navel' 'in the middle of the navel' As prec  
*ye* 'do (MS *amī*, KS *vādo*, VS ŚB *vāmī*, NīlarU *cāmī*) *rocane divah*  
 (NīlarU *divi*) RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB NīlarU As  
 prec The phrase *rocane divah* is standard from RV on, clearly  
 case-assimilation in NīlarU

*pr̥ṣṭhe pr̥thivyā* (AV *nābhā pr̥thivyām*) *nihito dandiyutat* AV VS TS MS  
KS ŚB As prec , Ppp is reported by Whitney to read *pr̥thivyāh*,  
which is standard after *nābhā* (see Conc under this initial)

§673 To these we may append a case in which the loc noun which  
governs the possessive gen is omitted in the variant form, thus com-  
pelling the use of loc instead of gen

*visvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi* TS GB Vait *viśloka viśvadāvye*  
*tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner  
of all (in the burner of all)'

§674 Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen  
depends on an adverb (*madhyato*) which, while abl in form, is essentially  
loc in meaning, Ppp uses a loc of the noun instead of the gen  
*asambādham badhyato* (read *mā*) *mānavānām* (Ppp *veṣu*) AV Ppp  
Kauś See §623 'In the midst of men 'in the midst, among  
men'

§675 The gen after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless  
to be felt as objective in character

*syāma sumnasyādhrigo* (SV *sumne te adhrigo*) RV SV Preceded by  
*ni nedīṣṭhatamā iṣah* 'Let us be nearest to 'hc draught, to (in)  
thy grace'

*tam id ar̥bhi haviṣy ā samānam it, tam in mahe v̥nate nānyam tvat* RV  
*tvām ar̥bhasya haviṣah samānam it, tvām mahe v̥nate* (TB ApŚ add  
*naro*) *nānyam tvat* SV KS TB ApŚ 'Hm they choose alike at  
the small oblation and at the large' 'thee they choose alike for  
(equal to, equally capable of? Caland 'als gleichen für') the small'  
etc For the gen with words of likeness cf Spcyer VSS §70c

§676 Definitely objective is the genitive in the following cases, with  
nouns or adjectives containing verbal force, in which the two forms are  
practical equivalents

*ahh śayuta upap̥ṣk pr̥thivyāh* (TB *vyām*) RV MS TB N  
*nanānulari samrājñi bhava* RV SMB ApMB *nanānduh samrājñy edhi*  
AV 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law' In the same verse  
*samrājñi śvasrvām* (*svasrvām*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB *samrājñy uta*  
*śvasrvāh* AV

*pr̥c̥yām diśi* (AV *pr̥c̥yā diśas*) *tvam indrāsī rajā* AV TS MS KS In  
the same verse

*utod̥icyām v̥trahan v̥trahāsī* TS MS KS *utod̥icyā diśo v̥trahan chatruho*  
's: AV

## 2 After the preposition *antar*

§677 Delbruck AIS p 445 f ignores the construction of *antar* with  
the gen, which is however indubitable, cf §142 In the following

variant gen and loc with *antar* interchange Tho another loc follows, the gen cannot depend upon it

*ukhāyāh* (TS °yaz, MS KS °yām) *sadane sve* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*

### 3 Adverbial uses

§678 In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time On the gen of time see especially Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 79 6

*dive-dive* (AV *divo-diva*) *ā suvā bhūrī paśvah* AV KS TB AŚ ŚŚ *dive-dive* is certainly loc in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §295, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, *TAPA* 62 [1931] 20)

*madhu naktam ulōśasah* (KS °sā, TS TA °sī) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś Sec §584

*aktor vyūṣṭau paritakmyāyah* (and °yam) RV (both) Uncertain, see *RVRep* on 5 30 13 and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg *RVNoten*

§679 The following variant is also obscure and dubious We are inclined to feel that both *parīnasah* and °sī are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately 'with plenty' or 'plentifully' Despite Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc we incline to separate the word from *kasya* But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive Ludwig's interpretation makes it adnominal gen with *dhīyo*, which is perhaps also possible

*kasya nūnam parīnasah* (SV °sī) RV SV Followed by *dhīyo jinvasi dampate* (SV *satpate*)

### 4 Dependent on verbs

§680 Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501)

*papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh* (MŚ °tyām *nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °tīm *nadīm*) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*tava* (SV *tve*) *vrīve sajośasah* RV SV Followed by *devāsah pītm āśuta* Here *pītm āśuta* 'obtained a drink' may be regarded as a periphrasis for 'drank', and it seems to us that the gen and loc are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant, so Ludwig construes *tava*, while Grassmann takes it as possessive, 'thy drink', and Benfey takes *tve* as dependent on *sajośasah* Wackernagel 3 p 462 quotes *tve* here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form



§681 The gen in the following, with root *rā*, seems also to be participative, it may be influenced by the gen in the following clause  
*yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no* (ApŚ *viśobhaginā tasyām me*) *rāsva*  
*tasyās te bhaktvāno bhūyāsmā* KS ApŚ 'Grant us (me) [a share]  
of (in) her'

§682 With the verb *adhī-* 'think on' the gen (or acc) is regular  
In the following variant MG has a loc, perhaps influenced by thought  
of the literal, etymological meaning 'go upon' (*adhī* + loc) It should  
also be noted that the following *pāda* (*yeṣu saumanasam mahat* in MG)  
has a loc which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some  
influence

*yeṣām* (MG *yeṣu*) *adhyeti pravasan* AV VS ApŚ LŚ ŚG HG MG

### 5 Transfer of epithet

§683 Transfer of epithet (§§14-6) is found in the following  
*śuch śukre ahany ojasīnā* (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*,  
AŚ '*hany ojasīnām*) TS MS KS AŚ See §447  
*svasty apsu vṛjane svarvatī* (MG † *vrajane svarvatah*) RV AB MG 'In  
the bright place' 'in the path of the bright one' The original has  
an epithet of *vṛjane*, which MG changes to an independent form  
Some MG mss point to the RV reading

### 6 Miscellaneous

§684 The rest are unclassifiable  
*ava tara* (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaro nadīnām*  
AV Too obscure to make any interpretation of *nadīnām* worth  
giving, see VV 2 §833  
*samsr̥ṣṭāsu yuṣṭu indro gaṇeṣu* MS *samsr̥ṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena*  
RV AV SV VS TS KA See §607  
*agnā u* (ŚB also *agner*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu vaughak* ŚB (both)  
AŚ Ritualistic rigmarole, various case-forms of *agnī* are used in  
mechanical modulations of the formula  
*asūrte* (MS KS °*tā*, KapS °*tāh*) *sūrte rajasi nṛṣatte* (MS *nṛṣattā*, KS  
*na sattā*) RV VS MS KS KapS N *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne*  
TS The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of  
RV 10 123 1, which contains *rajaso vimāne*  
*mā no* (*mā*) *hr̥ṣīj janitā yah pṛthivyāh* (KapS °*yām*) RV VS VSK  
TS MS KS KapS ŚB ApŚ Raghu Vira emends to °*yāh* (cf  
Oertel 19), but the loc can be construed with the following *pāda*

## CHAPTER XXVII

### SINGULAR AND PLURAL

#### 1 *Generalizing singular and plural*

§685 Among the variations between singular and plural (see §§112-7 for a summary), the great majority concern the use of a generic singular, in variation with a plural which may be specific, referring to particular individuals of the class, or may itself be general, including them all. As a rule there is little real difference of meaning between the two forms. The singular tends to think of the class as a whole, the plural of the individuals which compose it. Sometimes the singular seems to be a distinct collective, but more often it merely indicates the genus, without centering the attention upon the individuals which compose it. For instance, as in military language today, 'the enemy' may mean the whole hostile army. Likewise 'the sacrifice', as an institution or type, varies with 'sacrifices' as individual acts (but usually not conceived specifically, rather all 'sacrifices' in general). And so one may say equally well 'good deed', generically, or 'good deeds', 'food' or 'foods', 'praise' or 'praises', 'heroism' or 'heroisms' (that is, deeds of heroism), and so forth.

§686. In some of the cases which we shall feel obliged to list under this heading, it is very possible that the singular may have been felt specifically, of a single definite individual. So notably with the word *agni* 'fire' (§691). At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires). Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740). It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular, and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary.

#### Āmredita compounds

§687 Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun the use of repeated

(*āmredita*) compounds They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus Once a plural *āmredita* varies with a singular modified by the word *viśva* 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent In another case a singular *āmredita* varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like *viśva*, can only mean substantially the same thing

*viśo-vśah pravivśāṅsam īmahe AV viśvasyām viśi pravivśivāṅsam*  
(KS † *pravivśānam*) *īmahe TS MS KS*

*ruho ruroha (TB roham-roham) rohita ā ruroha AV TB*

§688 We now proceed to give the lists containing a presumably generalizing singular in variation with a plural, arranging them under semantic categories, beginning with

§689 (1) *Words connected with the ritual* Among ritual words we find first the 'sacrifice' itself (*yajña*) and its more specific designations (*havya*, *havir*, etc.)

*asman rāya ula yajñāh (KS † yajñah) sacantām TS KS ApŚ yuśmān*  
*rāya ula yajñā asaścata MS*

*yajñan yad yajñāvāhasah AV yajñair vā (TB vo) yajñāvāhasah RV*  
*TS TB*

*tvaśtā rūpāni (AŚ rūpena) samanaktu yajñāh (AŚ yajñam) SB TB*  
*AŚ ŚŚ KŚ*

*bodhāmasi tva haryasva yajñāh (MŚ yajñe) RV SV MŚ* See §602  
*yajñāya śtīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made RV AŚ yajñeṣu śtīrnabarhiṣum vivak-*  
*ṣase SV*

*brahma yajñāh (MS yajñāh) pṛthwīni dhārayanti AV MS*

*devbhīyo havyam (MS MŚ MG havyu) vahatu prajānan RV AV VS*  
*TS MS KS ŚB TB Vait MŚ Kauś MG*

*havya marṣeṣu ranṣyati RV havyam martāsa indhate SV*

*jataveduh prāti havyā qrbhāya AV SMṬ jātavedo havir idam juśasva*  
*AŚ ApŚ MŚ HG*

*agnir havih (AV VS TS MS havyam) śamitā sūdayati (AV vadayati)*  
*RV AV VS TS MS KS agnir havyāni sīśvadati RV agnir*  
*havyā suśūdati RV*

*atandro havyā (SV havyam) vahasī havīṣkte RV SV*

*yajñair juhote haviṣā yajuṣū (TB juhote yajuṣā havirbhīh) AV TB*  
*yajñair vidhema namasā havirbhīh RV AV TS MS KS*

*purā satyād (TB dīṣād) āhutim hanu usyu (TB āhutir asya hantu) AV*  
*TB*

*ya āhutim (JUB ʔtir) atyamanyanta devdh AV JUB tās te guchanti*  
*āhutim (KS ʔtir) gṛtasya TS KS*

- prāra āyusmantas te svadhayāyusmantah* (PG *svadhābhīr āyus<sup>o</sup>*) TS PG  
 §690 The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (*stoma*,  
*prasasti*, *arka*, *uktha*, *brahman*, *mati*, *sūkta*, *yajus*, *sāman*) Here also  
 may be placed the variants involving the words *dhī*, *veda*, *chandas*,  
 and several others that have to do with meter  
*taved u stomam* (SV *stomas*) *ciketa* RV AV SV  
*stomena prati bhūṣati* RV *stomebhīr bhūṣati prati* SV  
*apām uta prasastisyu* (RV † *prasastaye*, AV VSK °*tibhīh*) RV AV VS  
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB  
*tava prasastayo mahīh* (SV °*śastaye mahe*) RV SV  
*yam mitram na prasastibhīh* (SV °*taye*) RV SV  
*ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV *taṁ arkair abhyarcanti vatsam* TB  
*agnir ukthena vāhusā* VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir uktheṣv unhasu* AV  
*vocad brahmāni* (SV *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV SV See §269  
*sam brahmanā* (AV °*nam*) *devakṛtam* (RV AV *devakṛtam*) *yad asti*  
 RV AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See §587  
*idam brahma pīpṛhi saubhagāya* MS *ima brahma pīpṛhi saubhagāya*  
 VS KS ŚB (Eggeling wrongly considered *brāhma* a vocative)  
*ato matīr* (SV *matim*) *janayata svadhābhīh* RV SV  
*imā* (TS *imām*) *rudrāya tavase kapardīne*, *kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe*  
*matīh* (TS *matim*) RV VS TS MS KS  
*sūkta* (KS *sūktam*) *brūhi* VS MS KS TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ  
*ṛksāmābhyām samtaranto yajurbhīh* (TS °*bhyām yajuṣa samtarantah*) VS  
 TS KS ŚB MŚ  
*prastotah sāma gāya* MS ApŚ *prastotah samani gāya* MS TA KŚ  
 ApŚ (MS p p *sāma*)  
*udgātah sāmāni* (MŚ 2 5 4 25, 4 4 11 *sama*) *gāya* GB MŚ (MŚ  
 4 2 10 has *sāmāni*, hut v 1 *sāma*)  
*tatvāya savitā dhīyah* (VS *dhīyam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB SvetU  
*vedasya* (MG *vedānami*) *ndhīpo bhūyāsam* AG PG MG  
*chandānsi* (KS *chando*) *gucha svahā* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*chandasā* (MS *chandobhir*) *hansah śuciṣat* VS MS KS TB  
*gāyatram chando anu samrabhadhvam* MS *guyatram chandānsy anu*  
*samrabhantam* KS ApŚ  
*dvipadā yā catuṣpādā* (VS *yās catuṣpadāh*), *tripadā yā ca śatpadā* (VS  
*yās ca śatpādāh*), *vichandā yā* (VS *yās*) *ca sachandāh* (TS KSA  
*sachandā yā ca vichandāh*) VS TS MS KSA Supply *rc* or *rah*  
*avasyavātā bhṛhatīr nu śakvarīh* (MS KS *bṛhatīr nu śakvarī*, AŚ *bṛhatī*  
*tu śakvarī*) TS MS KS AŚ Followed by  
*imam yajñam avatu* (TS *avantu*) *yā* (TS AŚ *no*) *ghṛtāci* (TS °*cīh*) TS  
 MS KS AŚ *dīśām devy* (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtāci* TS MS AŚ

*vi śloka etu* (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yantri*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)  
*sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrīh*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

§691 The sacrificial fire See above, §686 It is often impossible to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the singular, or 'fire(s)' in general

*te asmā* (KS 'smā) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS v 1 °yo) *dravnam* (KS °nāni)  
*dattvā* MS KS ApŚ

*agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŚB *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasvu* KS  
 ApŚ MŚ *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait The last no doubt refers  
 definitely to the three sacred fires

*agnaye svīṣṭakṛte svāhā* TB TAA etc *agnibhyah svīṣṭakṛdbhyah svāhā*  
 KŚ The latter refers to the three fires

*agnim* (ApŚ *agnīn*) *samādheḥi* MS MŚ ApŚ

*ihava san tatra sato vo agnayah* TB ApŚ *ihava san* (MŚ *sans*, so also  
 TB Poona ed) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB AŚ MŚ

*raudrenānikena pāhi māgne* (VS Vait *pāta māgnayah*) VS TS MS KS  
 ŚŚ Vait 18 8 Followed by

*pipṛta māgnayah* (KS *pipṛhi māgne*) VS KS Vait

*ye agnayo apsu antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye aśmasu* AV *yo apsu antar*  
*agnir yo vṛtre, yah puruṣe yo aśmani* MS KS ApŚ Ppp also  
 intends the latter reading

§692 Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual

*ukhyam* (AV *ukhyān*) *hasteṣu bibhratah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*samudham* (Kauś HG °dha) *ā dheḥi* ŚB ŚG Kaitś SMB PG GG HG  
*asāv etat te vāsah* GG *etat vah pitaro vasah* (VS *vāsa ādhatta*) VS  
 VSK AŚ SMB *etani vah pitaro vasānsi* ApŚ HG The 'clothing'  
 is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the  
 Pitrs

*ā me graho bhavatv* (KSA *grahā bhavantv*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA

*bṛhaspatīsulasya graham gṛhnāmi* (KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*, VS VSK  
 ŚB *grahān ṛdhyāsam*, MS *graham rādhyasam*) VS VSK TS MS  
 KS ŚB

*nir āhāvān* (KS °vam) *kṛnotana* RV TS KS Followed or preceded by  
*sam varatrā* (KS °trān, 1 e °trām) *dudhatana*, same texts

*śṛnwantv apo dhiṣanās ca devīh* (MŚ \* *dhiṣana ca devī*) VS TS MS (bis)

KS ŚB In MS both passages show both readings in the mss,  
 von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages  
*upāstāvah kaluśah* (MŚ °vāh *kalaśāh*) *somo agnih* (MŚ *somadhānāh*)  
 TS MŚ ApŚ

*aṅvānam gṛhnam abhi vāvasānā* RV AV N *trīn gṛhman abhi vāva-*

*kānā* AV Tho the passages are obscure, there is little doubt that *gharma* is a ritualistic word, probably the pot in which the milk is beaten (so Oldenberg *RVNolen*), or perhaps the hot milk itself (Bloomfield *SBE* 42 590 is doubtful which is meant)

[*ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB *kalaśir*, MG *kalaśam*) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann wa*, MG *arayam*) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG But see §412 ]

§693. The drink soma and associated concepts As for *agni* (§691), it is difficult to distinguish the drink from the god who is the drink *ukthaśā yaja somānām* (AA \* KŚ \* ApŚ \* MŚ \* *somasya*) AA (bis) KŚ (bis) ApŚ (ter) MŚ (ter) *om ukthaśā yaja somasya* AA *somasyaḡne* (ŚŚ \* *somānām agne*) *vīhi* AB GB AŚ ŚŚ (his) Varit ApŚ *suta indrāya vāyave*, *somo arṣati vīṣnave* RV *sutā indrāya vāyave*, *somū arṣanti* (SV °tu) *vīṣnave* RV SV The *pāda sutā indrāya vāyave* appears in PB as a *pratīka*, and again in RV followed by *somaso dadhyāśirah*

*te* (RV \*sa) *visvā dāśuṣe vasu, somā* (RV \*somo) *divyāni pārthivā* RV (bis) SV The *trca* containing the plural is surrounded by *trcas* referring to *soma* in the sing It may be suspected (cf *RVRep* on 9 36 4) that the plurals accompany a plurality in the ritual *indra pība sutānām* RV *imam indra sutam pība* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

*ya ājagma* (N °muh) *savane mā* (read in AV *savanemā*, TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ājagmedam savanam*) *juśānūh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

*made susipram* (SV *madeṣu sipram*) *andhasah* RV SV See VV 2 §839 [*pavamāna* (SV °nā, nusprint) *vidhharman* RV SV ]

§694 Other materials offered, including ghee, *medas*, *masara*, *idā*, *purodasa*

*tvām agne pradiva āhutam ghṛtena* (RV *ghṛtaiḥ*) RV TB ApŚ

*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* (A<sup>v</sup> *ghṛtā cit*) AV VS TS MS

*ād id ghṛtena prthivī vy udyate* (AV † *prthivīm vy ūduh*) RV AV MS KS N *ād id prthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī vy undhi* (KS *vyundan*) RV KS

*ghṛtam* (SV *ghṛtā*) *vasanah pari yasū nṛnīyam* RV SV

*srucāyāni juhvataḥ* AV *srucāyena juhvataḥ* TB Poona ed (Conc with Bibl Ind ed corruptly *srucāyena juhvata*)

*visvebhyaḥ devebhyaḥ* (MŚ °bhyaḥ) *usrānām chāgānam meśānām* (MŚ *ch° m° usr°*) *vapānam medasām anubrūhi* (MŚ *medaso 'nubrūhi*) ApŚ MŚ Also with *preṣya* for *anubrūhi*

*candravapayor medasām anubrūhi* (and *preṣya*) ApŚ *hayasya chāgasyaor-rasya candravapānām medaso 'nubrūhi* (and °*sah preṣya*) MŚ  
*medasah* (VSK *medasa*) *svāhā* VS VSK MS TB *medobhyah svāhā* VS  
*asthi majjānam māsarāh* (MŚ *māsaram*) VS MS KS TB  
*sajūr agnir vaṣṣvānara idābhīh* TS *sajūr vaṣṣvanara idayā* (VSK *idayā*)  
 VS VSK MS KS ŚB

*iṣam no mitrāvarunā kartanedam* AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pīrvatedāh* SV  
*avīrjdhāt purodāśena* (VSK °*vrdhota purodāśena*) VS VSK *avīrjdhanā*  
*purodāśarh* (°*līśarh*) VS VSK KS *avīrjdetām purodāśena* (AŚ  
 °*dāśarh*) MS AŚ

*agnim adya hotāram purodāsam* (°*sām*) *grhñann* (*badhñann*, etc.)  
 VS VSK MS KS TB Six items, see Conc

### §695 Priestly personages and the yajamāna

*somaś ca yo brāhmanān* (TA °*nam*) *āvvesa* RV AV TA

*brāhmanah* (MS *brāhmanāh*) *sāntih* MS TA

*punar brahmāno* (AV *brahmū*, Ppp *brahmāno*) *vasunītho* (*vasunūtir*,  
 °*dhūtam*, °*dhūte*) *yajñarh* (*agne*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*gīrbhīr viprah pramatim icchamānah* (TB °*vīprah icchamānāh*) RV MS  
 KS TB (bis) AŚ *dhībhir viprāh pramatim icchamānāh* RV MS

*sa indra stomavāhasām* (SV °*hasa*) *iha sruḍhi* RV SV

*mā te riṣann upasattāro agne* (and, *upasattāro grhñānām sāle*) AV (both);  
*mā ca riṣad upa-atla te agne* VS TS MS KS

*pratu hotus camasah pra brahmanah prodgātñām* (ApŚ MŚ *prodgātuh*,  
 ApŚ also *ūha*, *prodgātñām*) *pra yajamānasya* (ApŚ *add- pra sada-*  
*syasya*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*agnir dāvīnām* (ŚB KŚ *ha dāvīnām*) *visām puratēyam* (MŚ °*yam*  
*sunvan*) *yajamāno manusyānām* ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *agnir dāvīnām*  
*visām purateme sunvanto yajamāno manusyānām* MŚ

*muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim anhasah svāhā* KS *muñcemam*  
*anhasah* TS TB *muñcemān amūn anhasah svāhā* AV

*śravase no maghonah* (SV *maghonam*) RV SV

*tena yantu yajamānāh svasti* MS *tenatu yajamānah svasti* (KS °ApŚ  
*svastyā*) TS KS (ter) ApŚ On this plural see VV I p 258

*nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhuh* RV *nayantam gīrbhīr vanū dhīyam*  
*dhāh* SV See §399

### §696 The dakṣiṇā

*yat pūrtam yās ca dakṣiṇāh* VS ŚB *yad dattam yā ca dakṣiṇā* TS

*dakṣiṇābhyah* (KSA *dakṣiṇāyai*) *svāhā* TS KSA

*rg vasā bhadrathamtare garbhah praisanvīdo jarāyū yajñō vatso dakṣiṇā*  
 (ApŚ *dakṣiṇāh*) *pīyūsah* KS ApŚ

*yajñas ca dakṣiṇā ca* (ApMB °*nās ca dakṣiṇe*) ŚG ApMB

## §697 (2) Divine personages

*yad devā devam ayañanta viśve* RV *yad devā devān havīśdayajanta* AV

Different contexts, no specific god seems to be meant in RV  
*ādityam* (RV VS TS MS ŚB *ādityān*) *viṣṇum sūryam* RV AV SV  
 VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

*nama ādityāya diviṣṭe lokasṛte* (MU °*smṛte*) KSA MU *nama ādi-*  
*tebhyaś ca viśvebhyaś ca devebhyo diviṣṭibhvo lokakṣudbhyaś* ChU  
*vi parjanyaṃ* (TS °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyah srjātām*) *rodasī*  
 anu RV TS MS KS

*dikṣāpālāya vanatam* (TB °*pālebhvo 'vanatam*) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ  
*āmanasya devā* (MS °*va*) *yā* (MS *yāh*, KS *yās*) *strīyah* TS MS KS

*āmanasya devā* (MS °*va*) *ye putrāh* (KS *putrāsah*) MS KS

*āmanasya devā* (MS MŚ °*va*) *ye sajātāh* TS MS KS MŚ 'The  
 god(s) of affection' seem to be nonce-gods, whose number of course  
 is also invented for the occasion

*vratāntām vratapate* (Kauś °*taḥ*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS  
 TA Kauś

*anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām* (KS *dikṣāpatayo manyadhvam*)  
*anu* (ŚB °*patir amanstānu*) *tapas tapaspatih* (KS °*patayah*) VS  
 TS KS ŚB GB Vait. *anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām*  
*anu dikṣām dikṣāpatir añjasa* MS *upa mā dikṣāyām dikṣapatayo*  
*hvayadhvam* MS

*niṣaṅgīne* (HG °*gibhyah*) *svāhā* ApMB HG *niṣaṅgīn* = Rudra, the  
 plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts

*niṣaṅgīna upa sprśata* HG *niṣaṅgīnn upa sprśa* ApMB

*ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt* TS *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS ŚB *ṛtavo 'dhipa-*  
*taya āsan* MS KS Perhaps better to be placed with §709

*vasūnām pavitrām asi* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ *vasoh pavitrām asi*  
 VS KS ŚB KŚ

*vasavaś cātūṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca* AV *vasus cetiṣṭho vasudhātamas ca*  
 VS TS MS KS The latter is original, Ppp agrees with it (JAOS  
 42 108)

*indrāghoṣas* (MS KS °*śās*) *tvā vasubhih purastat pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah*  
*pu° pāntu*, MS *tvā purastad vasubhih pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*indrāghoṣā vo vasubhih purastād upadudhatam* TA The meaning of  
*indrāghoṣa* and the corresponding terms in the next two variants  
 is uncertain, some sort of nonce-deity, or strained epithet of a deity  
 The commentators suggest the gods that are appropriate to the  
 directions named (Agni, Yama, Varuna respectively)

*manojavaś tvā pitṛbhīr* (KS *pitāro dakṣīnatah patu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS



KS ŚB *pitaras tvā manojavū dakṣīnatah pāntu* MS *manojavaso vah pitrbhir dakṣīnata upadadhatām* TA  
*pracelās tvā rudraih paścāt pātu* VS TS KS ŚB *rudrās tvā pracelasah paścāt pāntu* MS *pracelā vo rudraih paścād upadadhatām* TA  
*dhiṣanās tvā devīr visvadevyāvatiḥ* (MS *dhiṣana tvā devīr visvadevyāvati*)  
*pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthe aṅgrasvad* (TS 'ṅgrī') *abhīndhatām* (MS \**abhīnddhām*, \**abhīndhātum*) *ukhe* VS TS MS (bis) KS ŚB Cf  
 VV 1 p 255  
*varūtrīṣ tvā* (KS °*trīs tvā*, TS °*trayo janayas tvā*) *devīr visvadevyāvatiḥ*  
 VS TS KS ŚB *ivarutṛī* (and *varū*°) *tvā devīr visvadevyāvati* MS  
 (bis) Cf prec  
*revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa* MS KS *revati yajamāne priyam dhā a viśa* VS † ŚB † *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhvasata* TS ApŚ The  
 singular, according to ŚB, is Vāc The plural is variously inter-  
 preted of different semi-deified entities  
 [ādakām khādena TS † KSA No variant The word is explained by  
 TS comm as *bhākṣayitri devato*, as if 'eater']

§698 (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like  
*pra no yacha bhūvas* (AV *visam*) *pate* AV TS *pra no yacha* (KS *rāsva*)  
*viśas pate* RV MS KS  
*svastidā viśas* (AV MahānU *visam*) *patih* RV AV ŚB AdB TB TA  
 TAA MahānU ApŚ VHDh  
*janam ca mitro yatati bruvanah* RV *mitro janān yātuyati bruvānah* (TS  
 ApŚ \**prajanam*, TB ApŚ \**janam kalpayati prajanam*) RV TS KS  
 TB AŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ N  
*janāyu vr̥ktabarhise* RV *janaso vr̥ktabarhīsoḥ* RV  
*yakṣma yanti janūd* (AV ApMB *janam*) *aku* RV AV ApMB  
*bhūmir iti tvābhīpramanvate janah* (TS *tvā janū viduh*) AV TS *yam*  
*tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate* VS MS KS ŚB  
*yah samgrāmān* (TS MS °*mam*) *naṣati* (KS *jayati*) *sam yudhe vasī*  
 (TS MS *sam vasī yudhe*, KS *sam vasī yudhā*) AV TS KS MS  
*samsrayāṣā sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS *samsrayāṣasu*  
*yutsu indro ganeṣu* MS  
*trāyatām* (AV *trāyantām*) *marutām ganah* (AV *ganah*) RV AV  
*aśasthā vr̥janam* (SV *vr̥jana*) *raksamanah* RV SV  
*grāmam vajānayo gachanti* ApMB † *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG  
*vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutṛa* RV VS ŚB *vidmā te sadma vibhṛtam*  
*purutṛā* TS MS KS ApMB

- sugā* vo devāh sadanā (N sadanam, KŚ Kauś °rūni) akarma (MS kṛnomi, KS Kauś santu) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N *sugā* vo devāh sadanedam astu KS *svagā* vo devāh sadanam akarma (ApŚ sadanāni santu) TS ApŚ
- ta āvayṭran sadanād ṛtasya* (TS sadanāni kṛtvī, KS † sadanāni rātvī) RV AV TS MS KS (both) N
- yeṣām* (RVKh teṣām) apsu sadas (TS ApMB °dah) kṛtam RVKh VS TS ŚB NtlarU ApMB *ye apsu ṣadānsi* (KS 'psu sadānsi) cakṛre MS KS
- apām sadhṛṣi sūda* TS *apāni tvu sadhṛṣi* (MS † sadhṛṣu) sūdayāmi VS MS KS ŚB
- sadhastheṣu* (RV \* sadhasthe va) maho divah RV (bis) SV
- etam sadhastha* (AV KS °sthah) pari te (AV KS vo) dadāmi AV VS TS KS ŚB MŚ *sadhastha* = loka
- tābhīr vahānam sukṛtam u lokam* (TA vahemam sukṛtam yatra lokah) RV AV TA *vahāni mā* (KS † vahānsi sū) sukṛtam yatra lokāh (KS † lokah) KS TB ApŚ
- jātavedo vahemam* (ŚŚ vahasvainam) sukṛtam yatra lokah (TA lokāh) TA ŚŚ *jātavedo nṛyū hy* (read nṛyasy?) enam sukṛtam yatra lokah JB
- śundhatām lokah pitṛṣadanah* TS ApŚ *śundhantam* (AV śumbhantām) lokāh pitṛṣadanah AV VS MS KS ŚB MŚ
- vi jihīṣva lokam kṛnu* (TA jihīṣva lokam kṛdhi) AV TA *te brahmalokeṣu* (TA °loke tu) parāntakale TA MahānU MundU KaiṇU
- viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanam* RV *vidvān ārodhanam divah* RV KS *yasmīn idam visvam bhuvanam adhi sṛitam* TS *yasmīn visvāni bhuvanāni* (MS visvā bhuvanādhi) tasthuh RV VS MS
- antarikṣasya dhartṛīm viṣṭambhanīm dīsam adhipatnīm bhuvanānām* (MS dīsam bhuvanasyādhipatnīm) VS MS KS ŚB *viṣṭambhanī dīsam adhipatnī bhuvanānam* TS
- tvāṣṭedam visvam bhuvanam jajana* VS TS KSA *tvāṣṭemā visva bhuvanā jajāna* MS
- sa idam visvam* (TS TB *sa visvā bhūvo*) abhavat sa ābhavat AV TS TB *sa visvā bhūva ābhavaḥ* RV AV
- sa visvam* (AV visva) prati cakṛpat (AV °pc) AV AŚ ŚŚ
- na tam vidatha ya imā* (TS KS idam) jajana RV VS TS MS KS N *imu* = bhuvanāni, *idam* = visvam, or the like
- bhūtasya* (PB bhūtanam) jātah patir eka usīl RV AV VS VSK TS MS KS KSA PB ŚB N

*tena* (TS *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AB *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsah* AV  
VS TS MS KS ŚB *roha* = *svarga*

*svargam arvanto jayema* Vait *svargān* (AŚ text, *svagān'*) *arvanto jayata*  
(AŚ *jayatah*) SV AŚ ŚŚ *svargān* (text *svagān*) *arvato jayati* AŚ  
*abhīmam* (TS MŚ † °mām, MS MŚ v 1 °mān) *mahinā* (VS °mā,  
delete MŚ v 1 in Conc) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ  
MŚ

*sa vājī rocanā* (SV *rocanam*) *divah* RV SV

*ye aprathethām amutā yojanāni* (ArS *amutam abhi yojanam*) AV ArS  
*vidānā asya yojanam* (SV °nā) RV SV

*tredhā nī dadhe padam* (AV MS *padu*) RV AV SV VS TS MS KS  
ŚB N The adverb *tredhā* probably suggested the change to the  
plural

*mṛtyoh padam* (MG *padani*) *yopayanto* RV AV TA MG

*parācīm* (RV °cīr) *anu samvatam* (RV °tah) RV AV

*ūrvān* (SV *ūrvam*) *dayanta gonām* RV SV VS

*adhvana skabhñta* (VS *skabhñvantah*) VS TS *vajam ajino jaya-*  
*tādhvānam* (KS °dhvanas) *skabhñvanto yojanā mīmanāh* MS KS  
(The MS passage is entered in the Conc also under *aahvunam*  
etc.) *vājino vajajito 'ihvana* (VSK *vajino vajam jayatadhvana*)  
*skabhñvanto yojanā mīmanah kāsthām gachata* VS VSK ŚB

*āgatya vajy adhvanām* (TS ApŚ *adhvanah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ  
MŚ

*adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me 'smīn pathi devayāne bhūyāt*  
VS *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi bhūyāt*  
PB *adhvano adhiptir asi svasti no 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi stāt*  
(read *syāt*) ŚŚ

*tirah purū cul arnavam jagānvān* (SV *arnavān jagamyāh*) RV AV SV  
*ghṛtasya kulyām anu* TS MS KS ŚB *ghṛtasya kulya upa* VS VSK  
*kṣetrasya* (VS TS KS *kṣetrānām*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

*sumū bhavantūdvato* (TS °vatā) *nīpūdah* TV TS KS

*antān pṛthivyā divah* TB ApŚ *tal antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ

*vavrān anantān* (AV *vavram anantam*) *ava sa padīsta* RV AV

[*atrā* (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA °nāt) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV

AV † TA See §496 ]

*hradās ca pundarīkāni* RV *hrado vā pundarīkavān* AV 'Ponds (and)  
lotus-pools' 'a pond full of lotuses'

*eṣa te janate rājā* MS KS MŚ *eṣa vo janatā rājā* ApŚ This formula,  
used in the rājasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate  
name of the tribe substituted for the collective *janatu*. In ApŚ

the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type *ega vah pañcālā rājā*, and it is possible (as Keith suggests on TS 1 8 10 2 n 6) that their plurals have produced the plural *janatāh* of this formula

§699 (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men), and first, plants

*anturikyāya tvā vanaspataye* (KS °*patibhyah*) KS MŚ

*vanaspatayā ulūkān* MS *vanaspatibhya ulūkān* VS

*vanaspataye* (sc *namah*) ŚG *vanaspatibhyah* (sc *namah*) MG MDh

*vanaspataye svāhā* Kauś *vanaspatibhyah svāhā* VS TS MS KS KSA TB ApŚ

*addhi tṛnam aghnye vśvadānīm* RV AV KŚ ApŚ N *atru tṛnāni* SMB GG, and cf the other references in the Conc under this last quotation, all of which have the plural

*antūm* (AV *antūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ *gabhasti*) *haritebhur āsabhīh* AV KS ApŚ

*dīrvā rohanu puṣpinīh* (AV *rohantu puṣpinī*) RV AV Some mss of AV, followed by comm and SPP, read as RV, and Ppp likewise, as reported by Whitney

*śatamūlā śatāñkurā* TA MahānU *śatamūlāh śatāñkurāh* MahānU

The pādas refer to the *dīrvā*-plant, singular or plural

*avakām* (MS KSA *avakān*, but MS pp *avakām*) *dantamūlāh* VS MS KSA ŚB

*aghadvīṣṭā devajūtā, vīruc chapathayopanī* AV *athurvyuṣṭā devajūtā, vīdu chapathajambhānīh* ApŚ The ApŚ is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows Caland translates as the singular, evidently using the AV readings in part

*adhā* (*athā*) *satakratavo* (°*krutavo*, °*krato*) *yūyam*, see §229a Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing *umba* in pāda a, to this MS KapŚ assimilate the adjective

§700 Animals Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals The word *prajā* is placed in §702 below

*jagatām* (MS KS *jagatas*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

*ā vatso jagatā* (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadāh*) *saha* AV AG PG HG MG

ApMB PG's *jagada* (cf VV 2 §60) is said to mean 'attendant, companion', then 'the calf with its companions'

*gaur āsvah puruṣah pakuh* AV TA *gām āsvam puruṣam jagat* (AV

*paśum*, RVKh *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh AV TA MahānU.  
ApMB HG *gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ

*tvayā gām asvam puruṣam* (HG *gā aśvān puruṣān*) *śanema* AV HG  
*ghṛtenāktau paśūns* (VSK TS KS ApŚ *paśum*) *trāyethām* VS VSK.  
TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

*paśūn* (TS *paśum*) *na gopā uryah pariymā* RV TS KSA  
*oṣadhībhyah paśave no* (KS MŚ ApŚ *paśubhyo me*) *janḍya* (KS MŚ  
ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

*askan gām rṣabho yuvā* KŚ *askan rṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA ApŚ  
*yad amuṣṇitam avasam paum gāh* ('TB *goh*) RV TB See §505  
*upahūtā gāvah saharṣabhāh* ŚB *upahūtā dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ †  
*saharṣabhā*) TS TB AŚ ŚŚ

*nṛbhar yatah kṛnute nirṇajam gāh* (SV *gām*) RV SV *gāh (gām)* = milk  
*vatsam jūtam na dhenavah* (SV *mātarah*, AV *jātam wāghnyā*) RV AV  
SV

*payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām* (TB ApŚ *aghnyāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ  
*payo aghnyāsu payo vatsesu* MŚ

*marutām pṛṣatīr* (VSK *pṛṣatīm*) *garha* VS VSK ŚB  
*andhāhīn* (TS °*he*, KSA °*heh*) *sthūlagudayā* (MS *sthūrag*°, TS KSA  
*sthūragudā*) VS † TS MS † KSA

*rabhīyasa* (MS TB Poona ed °*bhīyānsam*) *va kṛtvī karad evam devo*  
*vanaspatīr juṣatām havih* VS MS KS TB The Hot<sub>1</sub> is to 'make  
stronger' a number of sacrificial animals

*tatratam* (VS KS °*tān*) *prastutyevopastutyevopāvasrukṣat* VS MS KS  
TB In the same passage as the preceding

*bahhravah saumyāh* VS MS ApŚ *babhruh saumyah* VS TS KSA  
*visvebhyo devebhyah pṛṣatān* (MS \* °*tah*) VS MS (bis) *visveṣām devā-*  
*nām pṛṣatah* VS

*akhuh sṛjayā śayandakas te maitrāh* (KSA ms *śayāndakās te maityāh*)  
TS KSA *śārgah sṛjayah śayāndakas te maitrāh* VS MS Von  
Schroeder emends KSA to the TS reading—with doubtful justice  
*kapota* (MS °*tā*) *ulūkah śasas te nṛṭyay* (TS KSA *nṛṭtāh*) VS TS  
MS KSA The p p of MS reads *kapotāh*, but despite this it is  
probably only MS's peculiar sandhi for *kapótah ulūkah*

§701 Human beings General words, such as *puruṣa*, *martya*, as  
well as the word *mṛta* in one variant, also one variant involving a desig-  
nation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (*svaparū-*  
*mā hṛnsīh puruṣam jagat* VS TS MS KS ŚvetU *mā hṛnsīt puruṣān*  
*mama* NilarU

*ajīyano amṛta martyeṣu ā* (SV *martyāya kam*) RV SV

*niveśayann amṛtam martyam* (TB *amṛtān martyānś*) *ca* RV VS TS  
MS TB

*jīvām ṛtebhyaḥ* (read *mṛtebhyaḥ*) *parinīyamānām* AV *mṛtāya jīvām*  
*parinīyamānām* TA

*sunamī kīnāśā abhi* (AV *anu*) *yanu* (MS *kīnāso abhy etu*) *vāharh* (AV  
TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*yā svapantam bodhayati* (HG *svapatsu jāgati*) ApMB HG Sec §548  
§702 Words denoting family relationships, including *sukhi*, and *prajā*  
in its various meanings

*suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ* (VS *prajābhī*, misprint for *\*bhīḥ*, VSK *prajāyā*,  
ŚS *prajābhir*) *syām* (VSK ŚS *bhūyāsam*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ  
ŚS *suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ syāma* (VSK *prajāyā bhūyāsam*) VS  
VSK ŚB

*dive pṛthivyai sam ca prajāyai* (SV *prajābhyaḥ*) RV SV  
*dhātā prajāyū* (AŚ *prajānām*) *uta rāya iṣe* TS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG ApMB

*prajā* (Vait *prajām*) *jīva* TS KS PB Vait

*prajābhyaḥ svāhā* TS kSA TB *prajāyai svahā* TB

*prajāḥ* (AG PG *prajāni*) *pra janayāvahai* JUB AG PG *prajām ā*  
*janayāvahai* AV

*prajāḥ* (KapS *prajāni*) *pṛpartī bahudhā* (RV VS *pupoṣa purudha*) 11  
*rājati* RV SV ArS VS MS KS KapS ApS Oertel 12

*prajāpatir janayati prajā imah* AV *prajām dadatu* (KS *pṛpartu*) *pari-*  
*vatsaro nah* MS kS ApS *prajāpatī ramayatu prajā iha* KS ā  
*nah* (AV *vām*) *prajām janayatu prajāpatih* RV AV MS KS ApS  
MŚ AG SMB ApMB

*prajāpatih prajāyā samraranah* AV VS MS JB ŚŚ MŚ *prajāpatih*  
*prajāyā* (Ppp Vait Kauś *prajābhīḥ*) *samvidanah* Ppp TS KS  
PB TB TA MahānU NṛpU Vait ApS Kauś

*garbham* (ŚS *garbhān*) *dhattam svastaye* TB ŚŚ

*sa nah piteva sūnave* (AV KS \* *putrebhyaḥ*) RV AV VS TS MS KS  
(ter) ŚB The contexts are different

*putram pautram* (ApMB HG *putrān pautrān*) *abhitarpayantih* AV  
Kauś ApMB HG

*piteva putram* (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG *iha*) *rakṣatad imam* (VS  
ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś *piteva putram*  
*jarase ma emam* (Ppp KS HG ApMB *nayemam*) Ppp MS KS  
HG ApMB

*vīram* (VSK *vīrān*) *videya tava devī* (TS KS TA om) *samdṛśi* VS  
VSK TS kS ŚB TA

*vīram dhatta* (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ *vīram no dattu*) *pitarah* AŚ ApS

**MŚ** *vīrān nah pitaro dhalla* V1Dh · *vīrān me pitaro* (also *tatā-mahā* and *pratātāmahā*) *datta* Kauś  
*tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān* (TA *pitaram ca putram*) AV TA  
*svadhā putāmahāya* (Kauś °*mahebhyaḥ*) AŚ MŚ Kauś In the same  
texts with the same variation in number *svadhā pitre* (*pitrbhyaḥ*),  
and *svadhā praputāmahāya* (°*mahebhyaḥ*)  
*praputāmahān bibharti pinvamānah* (TA † °*maham bibharat pinvamāne*)  
AV TA  
*syonam patye* (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu tvam*) RV AV  
SMB ApMB MG N  
*samrājñī svaśure bhava* RV ŚG SMB ApMB *samrājñy edhi svaśureṣu*  
AV  
*o cit sakhāyam sakhya vavṛtyām* RV AV *ā tva sakhāyah sakhya vavṛtyuh*  
SV  
*pratīkṣante svasuro devaras ca* AV *pratīkṣantam †svasuro devarās ca*  
ApMB Change of gender also (§782) As to *devaras* (°*reś*), both  
are plural, one from stem *devr*, one from *devara* (correct Whitney's  
note)

§703 (5) Words meaning 'enemy', 'demon', 'evil', 'sin' (from the Hindu point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloomfield *Atharvaveda*, p 83), 'disease', and the like. It is often difficult to distinguish between 'enemy' and 'demon', as in the case of the words *arati* and *rakṣas*

*ayam satrūn* (KapS *satrum*) *jayatu* VS VSK TS MS KS KapS  
ŚB TA AŚ (Oertel 76)

*bhīyāsam ā dhehi śatruṣu* (SV *satrave*) RV SV

*tādūtnā* (TB Poona ed *tudikna*) *śatrum* (TB *satrum*) *na kilu vvitse* (TB *vvatse*, Poona ed *vvitse*) RV TB

*divsantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ *divsan me bahu socatu* TB ApŚ

*divsatām pātṅ anhasah* RV *duritat pātṅ anhasah* AV The reported reading of Ppp is *divsatas patu* *tibhyaḥ*

*yavayā* (v 1 °*yā*) *dveṣo asmat* MS *yāvayāsmad dveṣam* (v 1 °*ah*) KS  
*yāvayāsmad dveṣah* (TA *aḡha dveṣānsr*) VS TS ŚB TA Kauś

*divsantam* (AV *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV AV *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV AV  
TB ApŚ *divsanś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV *divsanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ

*mā cāham divsate radham* AV *ma tv aham divsatām radham* MŚ *mo aham divsate* (TB ApŚ °*to*) *radham* RV TB ApŚ

*avaham bhādha upabhṛta sapatnān* (KS *divsantam*) KS TB ApŚ

- ye no dvesānty anu tām rabhasva* AV *yo no dvesāti tanūm rabhasva* MŚ  
*yo no dvesāy anu tam ravasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ
- prayutam dvesāh* VS *prayulā dvesāhī* MS KS ApŚ MŚ The VS  
 comm 'hostility is removed' This may be the interpretation of  
 the plural also, or both singular and plural may mean 'the enemy  
 (18) are destroyed'
- mākīm brahmadm̄ṣo* (SB °ṣam) *vanah* RV AV SV  
*turyūma dasyūn tanūbhīh* RV *sāhyāma dasyum tanūbhīh* SV (Ben-  
 fcy's text has *dasyūm* Is this a misprint for *dasyum*? B trans-  
 lates by a singular)
- (*yo nah suplān jāgrato vābhīdāsāt* ) *tām pratīco nṛdaha jātavedah* AV  
 (*agne yo no anī śapatī yaś ca dūre* ) *tam pratyāñcam sam daha*  
*jātavedah* ApŚ
- mā tvā pariṣparino* (TS *pariṣparī*) *vidan* (TS † *vidat*, KS *tvā pariṣparino*  
*vidan mā pariṣparīnah*, MS *tvā pariṣparino mā pariṣparīnah*)  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB
- tvam tām agne menyāmenīn kṛnu svāhā* AV *tam agne menyāmenim kṛnu*  
 TB *tayāgne tvam menyānim amenim kṛnu* TB Preceded in all  
 three passages by a relative clause with *yo abhīdāsati* (AV *abhi-*  
*dāsāt*) and various methods of attack in the instrumental
- ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV
- pra śakṣati pratimānam pṛthivyāh* AV *pra śakṣate pratimānāni bhūri*  
 RV AV N
- amī ye vīratā* (MS °tāh, KS °tās) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV MS KS  
*asau yo vīratā janah* RVKh
- bhettāram bhañgurāvatah* (VSK °tām) VSK TS *hantāram bhañgurā-*  
*vatām* (AV °tah) RV AV VS MS KS The precise nuance of  
 meaning denoted by *bhañgurāvat* is uncertain, 'treacherous' and  
 'destructive' have been suggested
- śaphārujam* (AV °rujo) *yena paśyasi yātudhānam* (AV °nān) RV AV  
*ulārebhānān ṛṣtibhir yātudhānān* AV *ālebhānād ṛṣtibhir yātudhānāt* RV  
 See §495
- yātudhānam kimūdinam* AV *yātudhānān kimūdinah* AV
- amūn kṛtyākṛto jahī* AV *ava kṛtyākṛtam jahī* (Ppp *prati kṛtyākṛto daha*)  
 AV Ppp
- nī duryona ōvṛnān mṛdhravācah* (and °vācam) RV (both)
- yarayārātīh* (MS Kauś °tim, MS p p and KS *yāvayārātīm*) VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB Kauś
- sahasvārātīh* (MS KS °tim) *sahasva pṛtanāyatah* (TS *sahasvārāṭiyatah*)  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB



- sugārhapatyō vidahann arāṭih* (AV *vitapann arāṭim*) AV TB ApŚ  
*alakṣmār* (RVKh Scheft °mīn, 1 e °mīm) *nāśayāmy aham* RVKh TAA  
 Comm on TAA interprets by *alakṣmīm*  
*saṃjñānānu vijahatām arāṭih* TB ApŚ *āprīnānau vijahatā arāṭim* MS  
 KS  
*pratyuṣṭam rakṣah pratyuṣṭā arāṭayah* (MS KS *pratyuṣṭārāṭih*) VS TS  
 MS KS JB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ Kauś  
*hanti rakṣo bādhatē pary arāṭih* (SB °ṭim) RV SV  
*nīrdagdhā arāṭayah* TS TB ApŚ *nīrdagdhārāṭih* MS KS  
*parāpūtā* (VSK *pratipūtā*) *arāṭayah* VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ  
*parāpūtārāṭih* MS KS  
*avadhūtā arāṭayah* (MS KS *avadhūtārāṭih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB  
 ApŚ  
*sahasva no abhīmātīm* AV *sahasva me arāṭih* VS  
*ni mitrayur aratīn atārī* MS KS *vi mitra evair arāṭim atārī* TS TB  
 Different words  
*śīṣite śrīge rakṣase* (AV *rakṣobhyo*) *vrnikṣe* (KS °nakṣe) RV AV TS  
 KS N  
*idam aham rakṣasām* (VSK TS MS KS MŚ °so) *grīvā api kṛtāmī*  
 VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ  
*stjaj dhārā ava yad dānavān han* SV *stjjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han*  
 RV N  
*tam ito nāśayāmasi* RV AV MG *tān ito nāśayāmasi* AV Both *tam*  
 und *tān* refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes  
*apām napūt prativrakṣann asuryam* (MS °kṣad asuryūn) VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB *asuryam* is usually translated 'the demons' power' Is  
 it not rather collective 'the demon(s)', with MS 's variant referring  
 to the individual demons?  
*apa protha* (AV *sedha*) *duṇḍubhe duchunā* (AV *duchunām*, TS *duchu-*  
*nān*, p p °nān) *itah* RV AV VS TS MS KSA *duchunā*, 'mis-  
*fortune*', is perhaps personified as a demon  
*apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah* (TB TA ṛnāni) AV TB TA *apsa-*  
*rasām anudattāṇṛnāni* MS (p p *anu*, *dattānu*, ṛnāni)  
*enānsi cakṛmā vayanī* AV VS MS KS TB *enāś cakṛmā vayanī* TS  
 KS TB  
*cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam* AB *cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā* KS TA  
*yaj kuśīdam apratīttam* (*apratītam*, *apradattam*) *muyi* (*mayeha*) TS MS  
 TA MŚ SMB *yāny apāmitīyāny apratīttāny* (°tītāny) *asmī* TB  
 ApŚ *apāmitīyam apratīttam yaj asmī* AV  
*idam aham tam valagam* (MS KS *tān valagān*) *ut kirāmi* (VSK TS

MS KS ApŚ *ud vapāmi*) *yam* (*yān*) VS VSK TS MS KS  
ŚB ApŚ

*atrivat vah krimayo* (Ppp *atrivat tvā krīme*) *hanmī* AV Ppp *atrivā tvā  
krīme hanmī* TA ApŚ *hatas te atrivā krimih* (GG *krīmh*) SMB  
GG

*tā no amīvām* (TB *amīvā*) *apabādhamānav* MS TB

*apāmīvām* (TB ApŚ *apāmīvā*) *apa rakṣānsi sedha* RV MS KS TB  
ApŚ

*apa snehitīr* (SV *sñihitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adadhrāh*, KS † *nṛmanām  
adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS The meaning of the word *snehitī*  
or *sñihitī* is uncertain, it appears clear, however, that it must be  
something dreaded

*ava devānām yaya heda agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāna*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV  
KS MŚ *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ

*tasmīn pāsān pratimuñcāma etān* MS KS *yam diviṣmas tasmīn prati  
muñcāmi pāsam* TS ApŚ

*ahitih pāsam* (MS KS *pāsān*) *pra mumoktv etam* (MS KS *etān*) TS  
MS KS ApŚ

*druhah pāsān* (TS KS *pāsam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīsta* (AV *prati  
mucītatām vah*) RV AV TS MS KS

*ayasmāyam vicrtā* (KS *viṣṭā*) *bandham etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*ayasmāyān vicrtā bandhapāsān* AV

[*indrānamitram nah paścāt* (VSK °*tram paścān me*) AV VSK KS  
The sole ins of KS reads °*mitran*, and so Conc, but v Schroeder  
is obviously right in emending to °*tram* ]

§704 (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as 'aid', 'sustenance', 'food', 'wealth', 'bounty', etc

*śalam bhavāsy ūtibhīh* (SV VS \* *utaye*) RV AV SV 2 34c VS (bis,  
add in Conc 27 41c with *utaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ

*maghavañ* (°*van*) *chagdhi tava tan na ūtibhīh* (SV PB TB TA ApŚ  
*utaye*) TV AV SV PB TA MahānU ApŚ

*vanemā te abhīṣṭibhīh* (SV °*taye*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ

*sadā pāhy abhīṣṭibhīh* (°*taye*) RV (both)

*vyaciṣṭham annai* (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam dṛśānam* (TS † KS  
*vidānam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*annanām* (MS *annasya*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

*śalam kumbhān asīncatam surāyāh* (and *madhūnām*) RV (both)

*īsam no mitrāvarunā kartanedām* AA *ūrjū mitro varunah pīnvatedāh* SV  
*teṣām īśāni sam īṣā madanti* RV VS TS MS N *sam no mahāni sam  
īṣo mahantām* KS

- rāyo* (AV *rayim*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV *dadhātu me*) RV AV  
*rāyo* (AV *rayim*) *dānāya codaya* RV SV AV Grassmann considers  
*rāyó* genitive singular, Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative  
 plural, and the AV reading, tho its verse shows some corruption,  
 bears out his view
- te asmā* (KS 'smā) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS v 1 *agnayo*) *dravinam* (KS °nāni)  
*dattvā* MS KS ApŚ
- dhattīd asmabhyam dravineha* (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravinam yac ca*)  
*bhadram* TS MS ApŚ
- tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravineha bhakṣīya* TS *tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya*  
*dravnehāgameh* VS *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravnehāga-*  
*myāt* MS *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya dravinam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravne-*  
*hāgamyāh*, ApŚ *dravnehāgameh*) TS KS ApŚ *tasya yajñā-*  
*syēṣṭasya vītasya dravinam māgachatu* KS (for the reading see  
 VV 1 §104u) The first TS passage has the plural, and MS may  
 possibly have a plural, see §346
- ta ā yajanta dravinam* (MS KS † *dravinā*) *sam asmar* (MS *asmān*) RV  
 VS TS MS KS
- dattu asmabhyam* (KS *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ *dattāyāsmā*°, SMB *dattāsmā*°)  
*dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB *dadhatha no dravinam yac*  
*ca bhadram* MS
- aham dadhāmi dravinam* (AV *dravinā*) *haviṣmate* RV AV  
*dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā* (SV *dhanam*) RV AV SV  
*yo devakāmo na dhanā* (AV \* *dhanam*) *runaldhi* RV AV (bis)  
*maho ye dhanam* (MS KS *dhanā*, TS *ratnam*) *samitheṣu jabhṛre* RV  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB
- dadhad ratnam* (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣam puṭṛbhya* (AŚ ŚŚ *dakṣaputṛbhya*)  
*ayunī* (AV *āyūnṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ
- pra rūdhasā codayāte* (SV *rūdhānsi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV  
*somo rūdhasām* (TS °sā) TS MS KS
- pūṣā sanīnām* (TS ApŚ *sanyā*) TS MS KS ApŚ MS
- dyumnam sudatra manhaya* SV *dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya* RV  
*ayam* (AŚ \* *aham*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ \* *jayāmi*)  
*vājasātāu* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ (bis)
- śṛiyam ca lakṣmīm ca puṣṭim* (TAA \* *śṛis ca lakṣmīs ca puṣṭis*) *ca kīrtim*  
*cānṛnyatām brahmanyam bahuputrātām* TAA (bis) *śṛis ca puṣṭis*  
*cānṛnyam brahmanyam bahuputrinam* MahānU
- tayaham śāntya sarvasāntya mahyam dvipade catuṣpade ca sāntim karomi*  
 TA *tābhīh sāntībhīh sarvasāntībhīh samayāmy aham* AV *twayā-*  
*ham śāntyā sarvasāntyā mahyam dvipade ca catuṣpade ca sāntim*  
*karomi* MS

*svāhāgnim na bheṣajam* (MS °jash) VS MS TB

*svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam* (MS °jash) VS MS TB  
*hiranyena varcānri* (KSA varcah) KS KSA

*ataś ca viśvā* (MundU † sarvā) *ośadhayo rasās* (MundU MahānU † rasās,  
 MahānU v 1 rasās) ca TAA MahānU MundU

*divo dhārā* (KS °rām) *asaścata* TS MS KS

*ānandā modāh pramudah* AV *ānando modah pramodah* TB *modah  
 pramoda ānandah* TB

*sugebhīr* (AV *sugena*) *durgam atītām* RV AV SMB ApMB

*atho ariṣṭatātaye* RV AV PB *atho ariṣṭatātībhiḥ* RV AV

*marmānri te varmanū* (TS *varmahis*) *chādayānri* RV AV SV VS TS

*vibhūm kāmānri* (VS *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśiya* (VS KS TB *aśnavai*) VS  
 MS KS TB

*anv aśvair anu sarvena* (TB ApŚ *sarvair u*) *puṣṭaiḥ* VS TB ApŚ In  
 VS *sarvena* is paraphrased by the comm *anyenāpri kāmēna* In  
 TB ApŚ we may have merely the plural of this, or *sarvair* may  
 agree with *puṣṭaiḥ* (so TB comm and Caland) In the latter case  
 this is an instance of number attraction

*pūṣṭā svāhākārāḥ* (TA *svagākāreṇa*, KS ApŚ *svagākārāḥ*) MS KS  
 TA ApŚ

*ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛnasva* VS TS ŚB *hastau pṛnasva bahubhīr  
 vasavyaiḥ* AV TS MS KS

*ūrjām puṣṭām vasu āveśayantī* AV *viśvā rūpānri vasūny āveśayantī* TS  
*sam patnī patyā sukrteṣu* (TB ApŚ *sukrtēna*) *gachātām* MS KS TB

ApŚ MŚ This and the following variants are not quite at home  
 under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere  
*tad anu preta sukrātām u lokam* VS ŚB *tam anu prehi sukratasya lokam*  
 TS KS Cf prec, tho *sukrt* and *sukrta* are distinct words, the  
 phrases in which they appear with *loka* are equivalent

*tābhyaṃ* (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukrātām u lokam* (Kauś *pathy-  
 āsma sukratasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Cf prec

*chandobhīr yajñaiḥ sukrātām kṛtena* AV *brahmanā guptah* (ApMB  
*samprñcānas*) *sukrā kṛtena* HG ApMB Here *sukrt* 'righteous  
 man' is personal in both forms of the variant, which strictly speak-  
 ing does not belong here, cf the preceding three, and see §580

§705 (7) Words meaning act of heroism, power, rulership, majesty,  
 fame, ordinance, and the like

*pra tad viṣṇu* (*viṣṇuh*, *viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryena* (AV *vīryānri*, TB ApŚ  
*vīryāya*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ NṛpU

- ita indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akṛnod devatābhīḥ samārabhya* MS *ita indro akṛnod vīryānu* TS TB *ita indro vīryam akṛnot* VS KS ŚB  
*hanṣā yajñā* (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB  
*svāhā somam indriyam* (MS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS TB  
*rudrasya gānapatyān* (VS ŚB °*yam*, KS °*ye*) *mayobhūr eḥi* VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB In MS probably acc pl, tho in TS abl sg, see  
 §§495, 526  
*ghṛtavalī savitar* (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*tyaiḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ  
 Phonetic in character, as are also the following, VV 2 §706  
*mitrāvarunā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ* (AŚ °*tye*) TS KS MS AŚ  
*sve dakṣe* (VS MS KS ŚB *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB TB ApŚ  
*asme rāstrāni dhārāya* (KS *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS KS *asmīn rāṣṭram*  
*adhiśraya* TS  
*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu* AV *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām* (read  
 °*tān*) *dadhātu* TB  
*tad asyāma tava rudra pranītau* (RV † KS °*nītau*) RV TS KS  
*ut parjanasya dhāmabhīḥ* (MS *dhāminā*, TS TA ApMB *śuṣmena*, KS  
*vr̥ṣtyā*, PG *dr̥ṣtyā*) VSK TS MS KS TA AŚ PG ApMB  
*ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭih* AV *katī dhāmāni katī ye vvasāh* MS  
 See §269  
*etāvān* (ArS ChU *tāvān*) *asya mahimā* RV VS TA ArS ChU *tāvanto*  
*asya mahimānah* AV  
*abhi śravobhīḥ pṛthvīm* RV *uta śravasā* (MS *śravasa ā*) *pṛthvīm* VS  
 TS MS TA  
*vyānaśih* (SV °*śi*) *pavase soma dharmabhīḥ* (SV *dharmānā*) RV SV  
*dyām* (AV *divan*) *ca gacha pṛthvīm ca dharmanā* (AV *dharmābhīḥ*)  
 RV AV TA  
*ā jāgyvir vipra ṛtā* (SV *ṛtam*, PB † *ḥṛtam*, misprint for *ṛtam*?) *matīnām*  
 RV SV PB  
*ṛtam* (RV *ṛtā*) *vadanto anṛtam rapema* RV AV  
*putre putrāso apy avīvalann ṛtam* (AV *ṛtāni*) RV AV  
*vratam rakṣanti visvāhā* AV *vratū dadante agneh* VS TS MS KS  
*vratū rakṣante visvāhā* RV  
*mama vaseṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi* AV *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG  
 ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG  
 SMB PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG  
*kṣatram* (TA ApŚ *kṣatrāni*) *dhārāya* VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ  
*brahma* (MS *asme brahmāni*) *dhārāya* VS MS ŚB  
*naras tokasya tanayasya sātāu* (and *sūtīṣu*) RV (both)

*vāmī te samdṛṣi vikvam reto* MS KS *vīsvasīya te vīsvāvato vīsvā*  
*retānā* TS  
*nīcāḍ uccā svadhayābhī pra tasthau* Ppp TS KS *nīcur uccāḥ svadhā*  
*abhī pra tasthau* AV But the interpretation of *svadhā(h)* is doubt-  
 ful, both as to its meaning and its form, see §474

§706 (8) Words denoting various abstract concepts

*aty acullim aty arātīm agne* (MS KS *atī nṛrtim adya*) VS † TS † MS  
 KS *aty acullīr atī dviśah* AV  
*amīyām cūttam pratilobhayanī* (AV *cūttāni pratimohayanī*) RV AV SV  
 VS N

*mama cūttam anu cūttebhīr eta* AV *mama cūttam cūttanānvehi* HG  
*brāhmanena vācam* (KS *vācāḥ*) TS KS KSA  
 [*vācā mendriyenāvīśa* (KS *vācām indr°*) TS KS MŚ But see §559 ]  
*bṛhaspatir vācām* (VS ŚB °*ce*) VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*śīle ca* (v 1 *śīleṣu*) *yac ca pāpakam* SMB (The Conc records the text  
 as reading *śīleṣu*)

*bhūyo* (AV *bhūyam*) *dadhānā hṛdayesu satraṇah* RV AV  
*sakhā sakhīyur na pra manāti samgīram* (AV °*rah*) RV AV SV  
*indro jyaṣṭhānām* (MS KS *jyaṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaṣṭhyāya*) VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB PG

*pilā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB *vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām* AV  
*namas* (KS NīlarU *namānsi*) *ta āyudhāya* VS MS KS NīlarU MŚ  
 BṛhPDh

*deva santvas tvam dikṣāyā* (KS *dikṣānāni*) *dikṣāpatir asī* MS KS  
*ud rathānām jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ* (TS *jayatām etu ghoṣāḥ*) RV SV  
 VS TS *ud vīrānām jayatām etu ghoṣāḥ* AV

*śrīyo* (AV TB *śrīyam*, Ppp *śrīyo*) *vasūnāś carati svarocīḥ* (TB °*cāḥ*)  
 RV AV Ppp VS KS TB

*asmākena vṛjanenā jayema* RV AV *ariṣṭaso vṛjanībhar jayema* AV  
*sam ākūtir* (RVKh Scheftelowitz °*tim*, Conc. with Aufrecht °*tir*) *namā-*  
*masi* (RVKh Scheft *manamasi*, MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS  
*samānī va ākūtiḥ* RV AV TB AG *samānā vā* (KS *va*) *ākūtāni* MS  
 KS MG

*sampāīyan pañktīr* (AV *pañtīm*) *upatīṣṭhamānah* RV AV The mean-  
 ing of the whole verse is obscure, we suspect meter-names, in which  
 case this would belong in §690 above

*akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS *kūyavam* (MS v 1 *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣitīś*  
 (VS °*kṣitam*) *ca me* VS MS KS

§707 (9) Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or  
 psycho-physical entities

- suśadā yonau svāhā vāḥ* (TS TB *yonim svāhā*) VS TS ŚB TB *sudhīn yonīn suśadām pṛthvīm* (ms °vī) KS See §550
- sam vah sṛjāmi hṛdayāni* (KS °yam, MŚ °yāni vah) KS TB ApŚ MŚ  
*mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi* AV *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG  
 ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB  
 PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG
- prati prāneṣu* (SMB *prāne*) *prati tṛṣṭhāmi puṣṭe* (SMB *puṣṭau*, MS  
*tṛṣṭhāmy ātman*) VS MS KS ŚB TB SMB HG
- prānam* (MS *prānān*, p p *prānam*) *na vṛyam nasī* VS MS TB  
*prānā* (MahānU *prāno*) *vā āpah* TA MahānU All Jacob's mss but  
 one *prānā(h)*
- tvastā rūpāni* (AŚ *rūpena*) *samanaktu yajñāh* (AŚ *yajñam*) ŚB TB  
 AŚ ŚŚ KŚ
- tvastur aham devayajyayā paśūnām rūpam puṣeyam* (MŚ *dev° sarvāni*  
*rūpāni paśūnām puṣeyam*) TS MŚ
- nakṣatrāni rūpena* (TS KSA *pratirūpena*, MS *rūpah*) VS TS MS  
 KSA
- mānsāya* (VS *mānsebhyah*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA
- na mānseṣu na snāvusu* ApMB *neva mānse na pīvasi* AV *navu mān-*  
*seṣa pīvasi* PG The reading of PG is clearly a corruption of AV ,  
 see §611
- śam te parebhyo gātrebhyah, śam astv avarebhyah* VS TS KSA *śam me*  
 (Ppp *te*) *parasmai gātrāya, śam astv avarāya me* (Ppp *parāya te*)  
 AV Ppp
- niśīrya* (MS *praśīrya*) *salyānām mukhā* (MS KS † *mukham*) VS TS  
 MS KS NīlarU *mukha* is used figuratively 'the point(s) of the  
 arrows'
- śiprāh sīrṣan hīranayayih* RV *śiprāh sīrṣasu vītatā hīranayayih* RV See  
 RVRep on 5 54 11
- valmikān klomnā* (VS *klomabhīh*) VS TS MS KSA
- marīcīr viprudbhīh* (MS °*pruṣā*) VS MS

§708 Also the word *tanū*

- kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi* VS ŚB *brahmanas tvā*  
*paraspāyāh* (MS °*pāya*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS
- tena cinvānas tanvo* (TS *tanuvo*, MS *tanvam*) *nī śīda* VS TS MS KS  
 ŚB
- tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato* (ApŚ *tan no vīsvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ  
*tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV
- yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV AV  
 VS

*yat kim ca* (KS *cit*) *tanvo* (TS *tanvām*) *rapah* RV VS TS MS KS  
*ghṛtena tvam tanvam* (TS *tanvo*) *vardhayasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ  
 MŚ N The 'body' or 'bodies' belong to a plurality of persons,  
 hence the secondary plural in TS instead of the generalizing sing

§709 (10) Seasonal and meteorological

*aha* (AV \* *ahar*) *mimāno aktubhīh* TV AV (bis) ArS N  
*sūro ahnām pratarīta uṣasām divah* AV *somo ahnah* (SV *ahnām*) *pratarī-*  
*toṣaso* (SV \* *sāmī*) *divah* RV SV  
*sajūr abdo* (MS \* *abdā*) *ayavobhīh* (TS ApŚ 'yāvabhīh, MS \* MŚ *āya-*  
*vabhīh*, MS \* KS *āyavobhīh*) VS TS MS \* KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ —  
 MS 3 4 4 reads *abdo āyavobhīh*, error or misprint for *abdā āya°* or  
*abdo aya°*  
*samvatsarena savita no ahnām* (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ Case- and  
 number-attraction, see §585 Similar are the two following  
*trvṛṇ no vṣṭhayā* (KS *trvṛd vṣṭhaya*) *stomo ahnām* (MS *ahna*) TS  
 MS KS AŚ  
*mitrāvarunā saradahnām* (MS ° *hru*) *cikītnū* (MS *cikīttam*, KS *jigatnū*,  
 AŚ *cikītvam*) TS MS KS AŚ  
*śaradbhyah* (ŚG *sarade*) *svāhu* TS KSA ŚG  
*ṛtuś ca me vratam ca me* TS *vratam ca ma ṛtavaś ca me* VS  
*samā* (VS KS *samās*) *ca mā* (VS KS *ma*) *indras ca me* VS MS KS  
*samā* (VS TS *samās*) *chundah* VS TS MS KS KS has v l *samās*  
*uṣasah kṛeyasīh-kṛeyasīr dudhat* TB ApŚ (TB Poona ed reads as  
 ApŚ, so read) *uṣām-uṣām sreyasim dheyi usmai* AV  
*hiranyavarnam* (RV *hiranyarūpam*) *usaso vyuṣṭau* RV MS KS MŚ  
*hiranyarupā uṣaso viroke* VS ŚB *hiranyavarnam uṣasām viroke* TS  
 TB  
*raihā asvāsa uṣaso vyuṣṭau* (and *vyuṣṭīṣu*) RV (both) 'At the first  
 light(=) of dawn'  
*jyotīsam na prakūṣate* RVKlī *na jyotīṣi cakusati* Suparn  
*vāta* (MS *vātaḥ*, KS *vātas*) *sṛtāh* VS MS KS ŚB *vātā sṛtāh* TS  
*māsās* (TS *māsām*) *cuturthah* TS KSA Gens  
*mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV *māhī no vata iha vāntu bhūmau* AV  
*abhīpato vṛṣṭyā* (RV *vṛṣṭibhīh*) *tarpayantam* RV AV TS KS  
*dūṣīkābhīh hrādunim* (KSA † *hrad°*) TS KSA *hrādunīr dūṣīkābhīh* VS  
 MS 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes'  
*aśrubhīh pṛṣvām* (KSA *pruṣvām*) TS KSA *pruṣvā aśrubhīh* VS MS  
 'Hoar-frost (we gratify) with tears'  
*vi śloka eti* (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *slokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)



*sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS  
 TS MS KS ŚB ŚvctU In KS, 'as the sun on its path', TS  
 ŚvetU have 'successive suns', i.e. the sun day by day  
*sa śukrebhīh śukvabhī* (TS *śukrena śikvanā*) *revad asme* (TS MS *agnih*)  
 RV TS MS

§710 (11) Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual

*vi te muñcāmi raśanām* AV *vi te muñcāmi rasanām* (TS °nā) *vi raśmīn*  
 TS MS KS MŚ MG

*ā raśmīn* (RV *raśmīni*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB  
*svaśvah*) RV VS ŚB TB

*rathe akṣeṣu vṣabhasya* (KS TB *akṣeṣu vṣ°*) *vaje* AV KS TB *ratheṣv*  
*akṣeṣu vṣabharājah* V1Dh

*āntrām sthālīr* (KS TB *sthālī*) *madhu pinvamānāh* (KS TB *pinva-*  
*māna*) VS MS KS TB

*jāmi bhrvata āyudham* (SV °dhā) RV AV SV The reference is to  
 Indra's weapons

*yah puruṣe yo aśmanī* MS KS ApŚ *ye puruṣe ye asmasu* AV (Ppp  
 as the others)

*ā tvā parīsrutah* (MG *parīsrutah*, PG ApMB *parīsrutah*) *kumbhah*  
 (ApMB † °bhāh) AG PG MG ApMB Cf *pūrnani parīsrutah*  
*kumbhan* ŚB, in an entirely different context

§711 (12) In a number of interesting cases of variation between singular and plural, the plural is of the type known as plurale tantum. Eg *grīvā* is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural. So also *gr̥ha* is the plural 'the apartments of the house', *vāra* in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sieve', *śmaśru* in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard'. In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on a priori grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the plurale tantum rather than vice versa. The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural. In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here, e.g. those involving *lokāh*, *rakṣānsī*, etc. See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class.

*anāgā devāh śakuno gr̥heṣu* (AV *gr̥ham nah*) RV AV Ppp MG

*indrasya grho 'si* AV TB TA *indrasya grhā vasumanto* ApMB  
 PG *indrasya grhāh bhū* ŚG  
*mā te grhe* (SMB *grhesu*) *nīti ghoṣa utthāt* SMB ApMB HG  
*grīvāyām* (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apīkākṣa āsanī* (MS *apīkākṣa āsan*) RV  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB N  
*pra śmaśru* (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV *ūrdhvadhā  
 bhūvat*) RV SV  
*avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV \* *vāraih*) *pari priyah* RV SV (bis)  
*avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyam* RV SV  
*vārān* (SV *vāram*) *yal pūto atyeshy avyān* (SV *avyam*) RV SV  
*astam* (SV *astā*) *rājeva satpatīh* RV SV The plural of *asta* is unusual  
 if not isolated, it is likely to be due to thought of the use of *grha* in  
 the plural  
*apo* (*udno*) *dattodadhīm bhīnta* (*dehy udadhīm bhīndhī*), see §502 Here  
 TS KS have the sing stem *udan*, the others the plurale tantum  
*ap* (acc pl)

§712. (13) Adjectives and pronouns, without clearly expressed noun  
 Here we include cases of substantially equivalent singular and plural  
 forms of pronouns and adjectives, referring to entities not clearly  
 expressed in the context Psychologically they belong with the pre-  
 ceding sections dealing with nouns Thus in the first variant *soma*,  
 singular or plural, is referred to (cf §693) Since the *tṛca* containing  
 the plural passage is surrounded by *tṛcas* with singular, it is possible  
 that some ritualistic plurality is concerned in the change of number  
 (cf *RVRep* on 9 36 4, and *te[sa] vīśvā* etc., §693), yet the mere change  
 in number is, in the light of the numerous other changes of the same  
 sort adduced here, not enough to prove it

*śumbhamānā* (RV \* *na*) *ṛṣāyubhīh* RV (both) SV *mṛjyamānā* (and  
*no*) *gabhasayoh* RV SV (both in each)

§713 So in the next, the 2d person pronouns are addressed to the  
 sacrificial fire or fires, the sing to the āhavanīya alone, the plural per-  
 haps to the three sacred fires (but cf our remarks §686)

*ned eṣa yuṣmad* (TS TB *tvad*) *apacelayātai* TS MS TB MŚ *eṣa net  
 tvad apacelayātai* VS KS ŚB But MS MŚ use singular pronouns,  
 with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza

§714 Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of  
 entities

*atho* (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asi*) *nīṣkṛtīh* (TS *samk<sup>o</sup>,  
 MS *samkṛtīh*, KS *nīṣkṛtīh*) RV VS TS MS KS Addressed to  
 plants, or a plant, plurals occur in the rest of the stanza*

*asmadrātā* (TS *asmaddātrā*, MS ŚŚ *add madhumafīr*, KS *madhumatī*)  
*devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*, TS *adds madhumatīh*) VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ Addressed to *dakṣiṇā*, sg or pl (cf §696), see  
 VV 1 p 256

*mā vo riṣat* (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanitā, yasmai cāham khaṇāmi vah* (Kauś  
*ca tvā khaṇāmasi*) RV VS TS Kauś *yasmai ca tvā khaṇāmy*  
*aham* VS To plant(s)

*gyotizā tvā* (TB \* ApŚ *vo*) *varśvānarenopatiṣthe* TB (both) AŚ ApŚ  
 To the fire

*tanī vo* (MS *te*) *grhnāmy* (MS *grbhñāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS  
 ŚB TA To one or perhaps all five of the cups (*graha*)

*devatābhyaḥ tvā devavītaye grhnāmi* KS *devavītaye* (MS °*vītyai*) *tvā*  
 (KS *vo*) *grhnāmi* TS VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ To the oblation

*adityās tvopasthe sādāyāmi* TS MS TB ApŚ MŚ *adityā va upasthe*  
*sādāyāmi* MS MŚ To the oblation

*āchettā te* (TB ApŚ \* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (*riṣat, mārṣam*) TS MS KS TB  
 ApŚ (both) MŚ

§715 Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular  
 if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker  
 is thinking of the individuals which compose it, cf §836 Thus

*yuvam tām* (SV *ubhau tām*) *ivulra vṛtrahan* AV SV Reference is to

*senā* 'army', but AV thinks of the individual men who make it up

To be sure the AV comm reads *tām*, and Whitney would emend  
 to this, but it seems to us unnecessary

§716 The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring  
 to a plurale tantum, conceived as a single entity Thus

*samudrasya vo 'kṣityā* (VS ŚB *tvākṣityā un naye* (VS ŚB *nayāmi*) VS  
 TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In the same ritual context, referring

to water (*āpah*), hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj school  
 uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing

§717 So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially *anya* and *sarva*,  
 may be used in either number without essential difference (cf also the  
 indefinite neuter, §727)

*anyāns* (TS AŚ *anyam*) *te asmat tapantu hetayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
 AŚ

*anyam asman* (MS *anyāns te asman*, KS *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh*  
 VS TS MS KS If *anye* is sound, it can be nothing but a Prak-  
 ritic acc pl, cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Spr* 425, 433 (and for  
 nouns, 367a)

*sarvam tam bhasmasā* (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tām*

*mṛṣṁṣā* (KS TA *mṛṣṁṣā*) *kuru* MS † KS TA *sarvān ni mṛṣṁṣā*  
*gākaram* AV

*yat tvā kruddhāh pracakruh* AV *yat tvā* (KS *te*) *kruddhāh parovapa*  
(KS mṣ "vāpa) TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ 'If angry ones have  
thrown thee out' 'if I in anger have (KS mṣ if an angry one has)  
thrown thee out' The other texts state bluntly what AV puts  
diplomatically, using the indefinite third person so as not to admit  
in words the sin which it really implies It is the speaker, never-  
theless, who is conceived as the doer of the act, even in AV Cf  
VV 1 §315

§718 Other cases show pronouns or adjectives referring to the per-  
son or persons, not definitely expressed, on whose behalf the rite is being  
performed

*pātānam prāñcam* VS ŚB *pāta prāñcam* (KS *prāñcah*) MS KS  
ApŚ MŚ

*pāta mā tīryañcam* TS TB *pātānam tīryañcam* VS ŚB *pāta tīryañ-*  
*cam* (KS *tīrañcah*) MS KS

*pāta* (*pāta mā, pātānam*) *pratyañcam* (KS *pratīcah*) VS TS MS KS  
ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

*pātānvañcam* (KS "nūcah) MS KS *anvañcam mā pāta* TS TB  
*utālabdham* (AV *utārabdhān*) *spṛnuhi jātavelah* RV AV

*yasyāham asmī purohitah* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *yeṣām asmī puro-*  
*hitah* AV

*pīveva putram* (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG *iha*) *rakṣatūd imam* (VS  
ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś *pīveva putram*  
*jaruse ma emam* (Ppp KS HG ApMB *naḃemam*) Ppp MS KS  
HG ApMB

§719 (14) This brings us to the use of pronouns, singular or plural,  
referring in a more or less vague and general way to the priests and  
their associates In VV 1 §290 we have discussed this type of number  
variant in the verb In so far as nominative pronouns in varying  
numbers accompany singular and plural verbs, there will appear some  
duplication between the following lists and those quoted in VV 1, but  
for the most part the materials are different, tho related psychologically  
'They must be regarded as complementing each other, and must be  
considered together As we saw l c, different persons may be used,  
as well as different numbers Hence we find, here also, cases in which  
pronouns of different person as well as number are used We quote a  
few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf §9)

## §720 First and second persons

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu* (Ppp *pipartu*) AV Ppp *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhātām* (rcad °tām) *dadhātu* TB

*ā tvā* (TB *na*) *svo viśātām* (TB *aśnulām*) *varnah* AV TB

§721 First and third persons Here we find a number of variations between the forms *asmai* 'for him' and *asme* 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704. The shift between *e* and *ai* is very easy. Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading. See also §738 for some formally similar cases.

*asmai* (TB *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam* AV † TB

*asme* (AV *asmai*) *dhātta vasavo vasūni* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N

*asme* (AV *asmai*) *dhārayatām* (MŚ °tām) *rayim* RV AV MŚ Different contexts

*asme* (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin* RV KBU AG PG N

*asmai* (MS *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatām* TS MS AŚ

*supiṣpalā ośadhīh kartanāsme* (AV *kartam asmai*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS

*savitṛā prasavitṛā indrenāsme* (VSK °*smāi*) VS VSK

*asme rāṣṭrāni dhāraya* (KS *rāṣṭram adhisraya*) MS KS *asme kṣatrāni dhārayer anu dyūn* RV TS MS KS *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantām agne* AV Different contexts

*asme* (AŚ *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspatī* RV TS MS KS AŚ Doubtless misprint in AŚ

*yachā nah śarma saprathah* (°*thāh*) RV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB

HG Ap.MB N *yachāsmāi śarma saprathāh* AV TS

*ud enam uttarām* (°*rām*, §814) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait

ApŚ MŚ Kauś *ud asmūn uttarān naya* ApŚ In same verse *prajayā ca bahum* (ApŚ *bahūn*) *kṛdhi* AV VS MS KS ApŚ

## First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722 The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates. Little need be said of them, they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers. Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff, which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms. Their number is, however, remarkable and impressive.

§723 As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number

is more or less inconsistent with the context. The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary. We shall list these inconsistent variants first.

*yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no* (ApŚ *veśabhaginā tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāno bhūyāsma* KS ApŚ. Note 1st plural verb *mayidam indra indriyam dadhātu* VS ŚB ŚŚ *asmāsv indra indriyam dadhātu* TS MS KS MŚ *mayindra indriyam dadhātu* TS TA TAA AG. The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS ŚB ŚŚ.

*bhavatam nah samanasaṁ* VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś BDh *avatam mā samanasaṁ samaukasau* TB. Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB.

*sūryo mā* (MS *nas*) *tebhyo rakṣatu* TS MS KS. Also with *vāyur* and *agnir* instead of *sūryo*. (Delete reference to KS under *agnir nas* in Conc.) The following pāda has 1st plural in all.

*devi vāy yul te vāco* (*yad vāco*) *madhumat* (*madhruṁuttamam*, *°tamam juṣṭatamam*) *tasmīn mā* (KB ŚŚ *no adya*) *dhāh* (*dhāt*) TS KB GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ. A 1st sg verb precedes in all.

*vājo no* (MS KS *me*) *adya prasavāti dānam* VS MS KS. 1st sg pronoun in the same verse in VS.

*vīhi havyam prayatam ūhutam me* (ŚŚ *nah*) AŚ ŚŚ. Both have plural elsewhere in the verse.

*śrotu mitro aryamā bhago nah* (KS *me*) RV VS KS N. 1st sing verb in the verse even in RV.

*śradde śrad dhāpayehu nah* (TB *mā*) RV TB. 1st plural verb in both, here TB is secondarily inconsistent.

*cittarya* (TB SMB *yajñarya*) *mātā* (SMB *mātaram*) *suhavā no* (TB SMB *me*) *astu* AV TB. The AV has *me* in the next pāda.

*vatśvānarah pavayān nah pavitrāh* TA *vatśvānarah pavitā mā punātu* AV. The rest of the verse has 1 sg in both. Ppp intends to read with TA (Whitney on AV 6 119 3).

*ā mā ghoṣo gachati vān nu asām* (TS KS *vān nu asām*, MS *var nu āsam*, p p *vāk, nu, āsām*) AV TS MS KS. Note that TS KS are inconsistent within the same pāda<sup>1</sup>.

*tvaṣṭā me* (SV *no*) *davyam vacah* AV SV Kauś. Plural follows in both *ayam te usmy upa mehy* (AV *na ehy*) *arvān* RV AV Ppp. In the same verse.

*manyo vajrīn abhi mām* (AV *abhi na*, Ppp *upa na*) *ā vavṛsva*, same texts. The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing with *manyu*<sup>1</sup>), RV is the only really consistent text.

*mām dhehi* TS TB TA *asmān dhehi* KSA The latter is emended by von Schroeder to *mām*, because the next mantra has *mayi*. In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable.  
*ā no* (VS *mā*) *jane śraṇayātam yuvānā* RV VS TS MS KS TB Preceded by two pādas with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular

*paratuṁ mṛtyur amṛtam na aru* (ŚŚ SMB *amṛtam mā ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ SMB The two latter texts combine this with a pāda containing a plural

*pātam no* (ApŚ *mā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe* RV MS KS ApŚ Preceded by a plural in all

*svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi* (AV *baladāvā na ehi*) RV AV Singulars in the rest of the verse in AV

*visve devāso adhi vocatā nah* (TS *me*) RV TS And others, §154 RV is inconsistent, having sing pronouns in the rest of the vs., all later texts restore consistency

*dyauś ca nah* (KS TB *tvā*, AV *na idam*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* (AV °*sau*) RV AV KS TB See §488 Plur pronoun follows in AV

*rāyo* (AV *rayam*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV *dadhātu me*) RV AV Plural precedes in AV

*idam aham tam valagam* (*tān valagān*) *yam (yān) me* (VSK TS KS *nah*) VS VSK TS MS KS SB Note *aham* in all

*marutām manve adhi no* (AV *me*) *bruvantu* AV TS MS KS A plural follows in AV

*ādityā rudrā upariṣpṛso nah* (KS °*am mā*) AV KS *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariṣpṛsam mā* RV VS TS Plurals in the context, only the secondary AV is consistent

*abhūn mama* (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau visvavedāh* TS KS PG All have singulars in the rest of the verse

*amitrān no vi vidhyatām* AV *mamāmitrān vi vidhyata* (and °*tu*) AV (both) In different contexts, the sings are inconsistent with their surroundings

*apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ † *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *anāmayaidhi mā rṣāma indo* Kauś

§724 The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context. The long list follows

*agne dakṣarh punīhi nah* (TB *mā*) RV TB

*adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me* VS *adhvanām adhvapate* (ŚŚ *adhvano adhipatir asī*) *svasti me* (ŚŚ *no*) PB ŚŚ

*pāvamūnīh* (°*nyah*) *punanantu nah* (RVKh TB *mā*, MG *tvā*, YDh *te*) SV RVKh TB MG YDh

*upa mā* (ŚB ŚŚ *mām*) *bṛhat saha divā hvayatām* ŚB TB ŚŚ (also with *rathantaram saha pṛthivyā*, and *vāmudevyaṃ sahanṭarikṣena*) *upās-mān idā hvayatām* AŚ

*pari nah* (and *mā*) *pāhi viśvatah* AV (both) Different contexts

*tasya na iṣṭasya pṛitasya dravinehāgameh* VS *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīlasya dravinehāgamyāt* MS *tasya meṣṭasya vīlasya* TS KS  
ApŚ *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya viṣṭasya dravnam māgachatu* (cf VV 1 §104u) KS

*yo nah* (AV *mā*) *kadū cid abhudāsati druhā* (AV *druhuh*) RV AV

*devasyāham* (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save* VS VSK ŚB

*mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhīh* RV *mā me hārdi tvīṣā* (MŚ *hārdim dviṣī*)  
*vadhīh* TS MŚ

*varnam pavitram* (MG *purānam*) *punatī nu* (ŚG *na*) *āgāt* ŚG SMB

PG MG *śarma varūlham* (HG *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt*  
ApMB HG

*āyantu nah pitarah somyāsah* VS *ā me yantu* V1Dh (pratika of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS)

*śivah sagmo bhavāsi nah* TB ApŚ *tvā ca me śagmā cauthi* TB ApŚ

*yad antarikṣam tad u me* (MS † *nah*) *pitābhūt* (VSK *pitāsa*) VS VSK  
TS MS ŚB

*asme te rāyah* MS KS *asme rāyah* VSK TS ApŚ *me rāyah* VS KS  
ŚB KS On *mé* (loc.) see Wackernagel 3 p 462

*imam stomam juṣasva nah* (and *me*) RV (both)

*imam* (HG *etam*) *yajñam pitaro me* (HG *no*) *juṣantām* AV HG

*imam no* (MS KS *me*) *deva savitah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*imān me* (ApŚ *no*) *mitrāvarunau* (ApŚ *°nū*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG  
*ud ullaṃam mumugdhi nah* (MŚ *mat*) RV KS TB MŚ

*ihāsmāsu* (MS *ihāsmabhyam*, TB \* *iha mahyam*) *ni yachalam* RVKh  
AV MS KS TB (bis)

*ṛtena nah* (ApŚ *mā*) *pāhi* MS ApŚ

*upa mā* (Vait *no*) *rājan sukṛte hvayasva* TB Vait

*ūrdhvo nah pāhy anhaso ni ketunā* RV MS KS AB KB TB *ūrdhvo*  
*mā pāhy anhasah* VS ŚB

*ṛtāvari yajñīye mā* (AV *nah*) *punītām* AV MS TB

*evā me astu dhānyam* Ppp TAA *evāsmākedam dhanyam* AV

*ghṛtena no* (MS KS *mā*) *ghṛtapvah* (TS *°puvah*) *punantu* RV AV VS  
TS MS KS ŚB

*cakṣur no* (KS *me*) *dhehi cakṣuṣe* RV MS KS MG

*talo no* (KS *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (VS † KS \* *°āva*) VS TS MS KS (both)  
ApŚ MŚ



- tan ma* (TA *na*) *indro varuno bṛhaspatih* TA MahānU BDh  
*tan ma ācakṣva* (ŚŚ *nah prabrūhi*) *nārada* AB ŚŚ  
*dyaur me* (AV *nah*) *pitā janitā nabhur atra* RV AV N  
*nodasya nāde pari pātu me* (AV *no*) *manah* RV AV  
*ye māmākāh pitarah* V1Dh *ye 'smākam pitarah teṣām barhur asī* AV  
*idam brahma juṣasva nah* (TAA MG and TA v 1 *me*) TA TAA MG  
 MahānU  
*pūṣā bhagam* (AŚ *bhagam pūṣa*) *savitā me* (TB AŚ *no*) *dadātu* ŚB TB  
 AŚ ŚŚ KŚ PG  
*prajāṃ me dāh* VS TS MS ŚB TA *prajāṃ me yacha* KS ApŚ MŚ  
*prajāṃ asmāsu dhehi* VS  
*varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *varco mayi dhehi* VS TS PB  
 ŚB TB ApŚ *varco me dāh* MS MŚ *varco me dhehi* VS TS ŚB  
 ŚŚ PG *varco me dhehi* (TA *dhāh*) VSK MS KS JB TA ApŚ  
*varco me yacha* MS KS ApŚ MŚ  
*prajāni me narya pāhi* MS KS ApŚ MŚ MG *prajāṃ no narya pāhi*  
 ApŚ  
*prajam me naryājūgupah* (ApŚ MŚ v 1 *°jūgupah*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ  
*prajam no naryājūgupah* ApŚ  
*pasūn me śansya pāhi* MS ApŚ MŚ *paśun nah sansya pāhi* ApŚ  
*paśun me sansyājūgupah* (ApŚ *°jūgupah*) MS ApŚ MŚ *pasūn nah*  
*śansyājūgupah* ApŚ  
*annam me* (ApŚ \* *no*) *budhya* (ApŚ *budhnya*) *pāhi, tan me* (ApŚ \* *no*)  
*gopāyasmākam punar āgamāt* MS ApŚ (bis)  
*annam me* (ApŚ \* *no*) *budhyajūgupas* (ApŚ *budhnya*°) *tan me* (ApŚ \*  
*nah*) *punar dhehi* MS ApŚ (bis)  
*tam me* (ApŚ \* *no*) *gopayāsmakam punar āgamāt* MS ApŚ (bis) MŚ  
 Also with *tan* for *tām*, but not in MŚ  
*tam me* (ApŚ \* *nah*) *punar dhehi* KS MS ApŚ (bis) MŚ Also with  
*tān* for *tam*, but not in KS or MŚ  
*brahma tena punihi nah* (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punī-*  
*mahe*) RV VS MS KS TB LŚ  
*ma para seci no dhanam* (ApŚ *nah svam*, ApMB *me dhanam*) ŚŚ LŚ  
 ApŚ ŚG ApMB  
*mā vayam āyuṣā varcasā ca* MS *māham āyuṣā* (KS *aids varcasā*  
*virādhiṣi*) TS KS  
*yah potā sa punatu nah* (VS MS KS ApŚ *mā*) RV VS MS KS ApŚ  
*yah pūtah sa punatu mā* TB (so Conc, but Poona ed reads *potā*)  
*yena tvam deva* (ŚŚ *omī deva*) *veda devabhīyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam*  
 (ŚŚ *tenasmābhyam*) *vedo bhuyah* (VSK *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhi*) VS  
 VSK ŚB ŚŚ

- yo nah kaś cābhyaghāyati* AV *yo mā kaś cābhūdasati* AG PG MG  
*yo no antri śapatī tam etena jeṣam* MŚ *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam*  
*etena jeṣam* TS
- yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā* TB *yo 'smānś cakṣuṣā manasā cultyākūtyā*  
*ca* AV
- yo 'smān dveṣṭi yam ca vāyam dviṣma idam asya grīvā api kṛntāmi* TS  
*idam aham yo me* (KS *nas*) *samāno yo samāno 'rātīyati tasya grīvā*  
*api kṛntāmi* MS KS *idam enam adharam karomi yo nah samāno*  
*yo 'samāno 'rātīyati* TS
- tan me tanvam trāyatāmi sarvato brhat* AV *tan nas trāyatām tanvah sar-*  
*vato* (ApŚ *tan no vśvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ
- vīkve no* (KS *mā*) *devā avasā gamantu* (RV \* VS \* MS KS ApŚ *gamann*  
*īha*) RV (both) VS (both) TS MS KS ApŚ
- vaiśvānaro adabdhās* (AV *no adabdhās*, TA *me 'dabdhās*, MS ApŚ  
*'dabdhās*) *tanūpāh* AV VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB The pre-  
 ceding *pādas*, which show much variation in their enumeration of  
 protectors, show the following number variants
- punah prānah punar ātmā ma* (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūtam*, TA  
*punar ākūtam ma*) *āgāt* (VS ŚB *āgan*) VS VSK MS ŚB TB TA  
 ApŚ HG *punah prānah punar ātmā na astu* (MG *punar ākūtir*  
*astu*) AV MG And the following
- punar manah punar āyur* (SMB *ātmā*) *mū* (MS *nā*, ApŚ *om* the word)  
*āgāt* (VS ŚB *āgan*) VS VSK MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB The  
 texts are consistent thruout in their use of singular or plural
- śāntir no astu* MS *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS  
*śvā tvam mahyam edhi* HG *śvā na ihavīhi* AV
- śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat* ViDh MDh BṛhPDh AuśDh *śraddhā me*  
*mā vyāgāt* ApŚ
- sarvam svīṣtam suhutam karotu* (AG HG † *karotu me*) ApŚ AG ApG  
 HG *svīṣtam suhutam karotu svāhā* (BṛhUK † *karotu nah svāhā*)  
 ŚB BṛhU BṛhUK
- sarvān mac chapathān adhi* AV *asmal su sapathān adhi* ApŚ
- sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā* (HG *nah*) *prīyāh* ApMB HG Followed by  
*abhi rakṣantu mā* (HG *sarvantu nah*) *prīyāh* ApMB HG
- sahasva no abhimātīm* AV *sahasva me arātih* VS
- sā nas samuntam anu parīhi bhadrayā* ApMB *sā mā* (MG *nah*) *saman-*  
*tam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG SMB
- sā nah* (KS *mā*) *supracī supratīcy edhi* (VSK MS KS *supratīcī bhava*,  
 TS *supratīcī sam bhava*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB
- surdṣṭrā iha māvala* (MS *no 'vata*) TS MS KS

*suhavā nā ehi saha rāyaspoṣena* MS *suhavā mehi saha prajayā saha rāyaspoṣena* KS

*sa mām pātu* KS *so 'smān pātu* TS

*deva varuna devayajanam no dehi svāhā* (ApŚ °yajanam me dehi) PB

ApŚ *Ci deva savitar devayajanam me dehi devayajyāyāi* AB

*agnir mā tasmād enasah* AV VS TS MS KS TB TA AŚ ŚŚ KŚ

ApŚ *Kauś SMB agnir nas tasmād enasah* MS KS MŚ

*evāsmān* (KS *evā mām*, AV *tenāsmān*) *indro varuno bṛhaspatih* AV MS

KS *tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih* TS ŚŚ

*mā mā* (SMB *no*) *hinsīṣṭa* VS PB AŚ ŚŚ SMB *Vait*

*mā no* (VS VSK ŚB *mā*) *hinsīj janitā yah pṛthivyāh* RV VS VSK

TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

*mā mā hāsīn* (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito nel* (MŚ *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ °āmi)

AV † KS MŚ *mā no hāsīn metthito nel tvā jahāna* TB ApŚ *mā*

*no hinsīd dhinsito dadhāmi* (some mes om *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi*

AŚ

*yajatrā muñcateha nah* (TB *mā*) AV TB

*yad bhadram tan na* (TB TA ApŚ *ma*) *ā suva* RV VS TB TA ApŚ

*Kauś MahānU*

*yo no* (AV *mā*) *divā dipsati yaś ca naktum* RV AV

*vājo nah* (MS *me*, KS *mā*) *sapta pradīśah* VS TS MS KS In the

same verse

*vājo no* (MS KS *mā*) *viśvair devair* VS TS MS KS

*vaiśvānaro rāsmibhir mā* (AV *nah*) *punātu* AV MS TB

*śam ca no mayāś ca nah* AV *Kauś śam ca me mayāś ca me* VS TS

MS KS

*ubhe ca no* (ŚB *cainam*, ŚŚ *cainam* [*na iti vā*]) *dyāvāpṛthivī anhasah pātām* MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ŚB also has the reading *ubhe ca*

*mā* etc, which it rejects, since *mā* would refer to the hotar, whereas

the *yajamāna* should be indicated. The difference between 1st

and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic

theorizing. However, MS, TB, AŚ, a school contested by ŚŚ,

and the Kānva recension of ŚB read *no*, making no difficulty

about including the officiating priests in the benediction

*ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah* TB *ṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS

TA

*ośadhībhyah paśave no* (KS MŚ ApŚ *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS MŚ

ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

*kalpatām me yogakṣemah* AB *yogakṣemo nah kalpatām* VS TS MS

KSA ŚB TB

- grhān nah pitaro datta* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ SMB GG *vītram me* (MŚ *no*) *datta pitarah* AŚ MŚ *vīrān nah* (Kauś *me*) *pitaro dhatta* (Kauś *datta*) Kauś ViDh  
*gopoṣam ca me* (MŚ AŚ *gopoṣam ca no*, TB † ApŚ *gopoṣam no*) *vīrapoṣam ca yacha* (AV MŚ *dhehi*) AV TB 3 7 2 7 AŚ ApŚ MŚ *tāsām te sarvāsām vayam* (and °*sām aham*) AV (both)  
*tasya bhājayatehu nah* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS TA ApMB *tasyāgne bhājayeha mā* TB  
*tajāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānas ca* ApMB *vardhiṣimahi ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣimahi* (MS MŚ ApŚ † *pyāsiṣimahi ca*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG  
*tan no* (MahānU *me*) *varuno rājā* TA MahānU  
*tan me* (VS *no*) *astu tryāyuṣam* VS VSK ApMB HG MG  
*tan* (GB *etan*) *no gopāya* MS KS GB ApŚ *tan me gopāya* (Kauś *gopāyasva*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś  
*tarpayatu me* (ŚŚ *nah*) *pitṛn* VS ŚŚ ApŚ SMB BDh  
*tasya no* (TS *me*) *rāsva* TS MS KS ApŚ  
*tasmai no* (AV *mā*) *devāh paridatteha* (KS MŚ °*dhatta*, PG °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ † *mśve*) AV TS KS MŚ SMR PG BDh  
*tābhūr no* (MS *tebhūr mā*) *devah savitā punātu* MS ApŚ *tābhūṣ tvā devah savitā punātu* ApMB  
*agnir nah* (VSK *mā*) *pātu duritād avadyāt* VS VSK ŚB  
*agnir nas* (TA *mā*) *tasmād indraś ca* MS TA  
*agne jātān pra nudā nah* (AV *me*) *supatnān* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ  
*agne bhūyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva* (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS *abhi no nvartasva*, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vartasva*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś  
*adhā cid indra me* (SV *nah*) *sacā* RV AV SV  
*anamutram no adharāt* (VSK † *me adharāk*, KS *no adharāk*) AV VSK KS In the same verse  
*indrānamutram* (KS m<sub>3</sub> °*trān*, see §703 end) *nah pascūt* (VSK °*tram pascūr me*) AV VSK KS  
*abhayam mitrāvaruṇāv ihāstu nah* (AG °*varuṇā mahyam astu*) AV AG  
*abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā me* (AV *nah*) RV AV  
*abhīṣṭr* (HG *abhīṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG *ca no grhe*) RVKh HG *abhīṣṭīr yā ca no grhe* ApMB  
*arvācīnam vasuvidam bhagam nah* (AV *me*) RV AV Ppp VS TB ApMB  
*mām* (AV *asmān*) *punīhi* (MS *punāhi*) *viśvatah* (AV *cakṣase*) RV AV VS MS KS

- ahar no atyapīparat* SMB MahānU *ahar mūty apīparah* AV  
*ādityās tasmān no* (TB mā) *yūyam* AV TB  
*ā no* (VS ŚB mā) *goṣu vīkalv auṣadhīṣu* (MS oṣadhīṣu, VS KS ŚB a  
*tanūṣu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*dātr na* (TS KS KŚ ma, MS nā) *ūrjam uta sauprajāstvam* (TS MS  
 KS KŚ *supra*<sup>o</sup>) AV TS MS KS KŚ  
*abhayam vo* (ŚŚ \* te) *'bhayam no astu* (AB AŚ me 'stu) AB AŚ ŚŚ  
 (both) *abhayam no astu* MS KS ŚŚ ŚG *abhayam me astu* (AB †  
 'stu) AB ApŚ  
*āpo asmān* (MS mā) *mātarah sundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*,  
 TS ApŚ *sundhantu*) RV AV VS TS KS MS ŚB AŚ ApŚ  
*āganta pitarah pitṛmān aham yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsam suprajaso mayā yūyam*  
*bhūyāsta* TS *āganta pitarah somyāsas teṣām vah pṛativittā arīṣṭāh*  
*syāma supitaro vāyam yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsmā suprajaso yūyam asmā-*  
*bhīr bhūyāsta* MŚ  
*pūṣā nā ādhāt sukratasya loke* MS *pūyā mādāt* (AV mā dhāt) *sukratasya*  
*loke* AV TS KS  
*bandhur me* (AV no) *mātā pṛthivī mahīyam* RV AV N  
*bodhā me* (TS no) *asya vacaso yaviṣṭha* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*deveṣu nah sukrto* (VSK *deveṣu mā sukrtam*) *brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ  
*brūyāt*) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukrtam brūtāt* (ŚB  
 with *aha*, *vocch* for *brūtāt*) VS ŚB *sukrtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS  
*pra mā* (TS ApŚ no) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS °dhān, ApŚ °dhām, KS  
*dhavrdā*) *devatāsu* (KS °tābhyaḥ) TS MS KS ApŚ
- §726 Of essentially the same sort are a few variants in which adjectives agreeing with the subjects of 1st person verbs vary between singular and plural
- edhamānah* (Kauś °nāh) *svagrhe* (Kauś *sve grhe*) ŚB BrhU Kauś  
*edhamāna sve vase* ApMB  
*jīvā* (TB ApŚ *jīvo*) *jīvantrī upa vah sadema* (TB ApŚ *sadeyam*) AV  
 KS TB ApŚ MŚ  
*devā dhanena dhanam ichamānāh* HG *dhanena devā dhanam ichamānah*  
 AV ApMB The verbs *carāma*, °mi occur in the preceding  
*āyusmān jaradaṣṭr yathāsāni* AV *āyusmanto jarām upagachema devāh*  
 (KS *jīvāh*) KS ApŚ  
*gātrānām te gātrabhājo bhūyāsmā* (KS *gātrabhāj bhūyāsam*) TS KS  
*tvaṣṭrīmantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭrī*<sup>o</sup>, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*<sup>o</sup>) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS  
 ŚB ApŚ *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭrī*<sup>o</sup>, and so TA Poona ed  
 with v l *tvaṣṭrī*<sup>o</sup>) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ Cf §849  
*ihatva santah pratī tad yūtayāmāh* (AV *pratī dadma enat*) AV TB ApŚ

*ihava san niravadaye tat* TS On this variant see Whitney's notes to AV 6 117 1 and 2

§726 And a couple of others of the same sort in which there is inconsistency with the context

*yatkāmīs te juhomas tan no astu* RV AV VS TS KS ŚB ŚB TB  
TAA SMB ApMB N *yatkārna idam juhomi tan me samṛdhyatām*  
TB The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural  
*yac cāham eno vidvāns cakāra yac cāvidvāns* VS ŚŚ *yac cāham eno*  
*vidvānsas cāvidvānsas cainaś cakṛma* MahānU The conun to  
the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying  
*akārṣam* with *aham*

## 2 The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf §807) a tinge of generalization, and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives), which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders (On neuter adverbs see §734)

*kṛṣṭaparyāś* (TS KS °yam) *ca me 'kṛṣṭaparyāś* (TS KS °yam) *ca me*  
VS TS MS KS Preceded by *aśadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*  
'(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation'  
'that which ripens' etc

*ekasūpham aṣṭjyuta* MS *ekasūphāh paśavo 'aṣṭjyuta* VS TS KS ŚB  
In MS ('the whole-hoofed [kind of cattle]') followed by a parallel  
formula, *kṣudrāh paśavo 'aṣṭjyuta*

*āsyat brāhmanāh snapanūr* (ApMB °nam) *harantu* AV ApMB 'Let  
the brahmans bring her bathing-water' With *snapanūr* see *āpah*  
Cf next

*āpah pādyaḥ* ApŚ *pādyaḥ* (Kauś—not HG—*pādyaḥ bhoh*) Kauś  
HG '(Water) for the feet' Cf prec

*hotṛśadanam haritam hiranyayam* AV *hotṛśadanā haritah suvarnāh* TB  
ApŚ With the latter supply *darbhāh* '(grass) for the hotar to  
sit on, yellow, golden' AV feels *hotṛśadanam*, which means the  
same thing, as a neuter abstract 'a seat for the hotar' etc Cf  
*darbhāh stṛṇūta haritāh suparnāh* (KS † *suvarnāh*) KS MŚ

*samṛddhikaranam tava* (HG °karanān mama) PG HG Preceded by  
*smānī lājān ā vapāmy agnau* (HG *vapāmi*, om *agnau*), followed by  
*tubhyam* (PG *mama tubhyam ca samvānanam* 'I cast these ker-  
nels as increase-makers (a making of increase) a harmonizing'  
*tṛmpanu hotrā madhvo yāh svīṣṭāh* (VSK *yat svīṣṭam*) VS VSK ŚB  
Followed by

*yāh supṛtāh suhuta yat svāhā* VS ŚB *yat subhṛtam yat svāhā* VSK In VS ŚB 'Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice' etc In VSK *yat* etc might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb 'let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered' etc But the change was surely suggested by *suhutā yat svāhā* of VS, in which *yat* is a conjunction, 'when well offered with *svāhā*' Most likely, therefore, *yat* is to be taken thus all three times in VSK and the neuters are indefinite 'let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made' etc

*duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV AV *turaś cid viśvam ṛarnaval tapasvān* AV The AV is corrupt, but *viśvam* seems clearly an indefinite neuter

*prajā vikṛnvan* (ApŚ *vikurvan*, MS *prajāh kṛnvan*) *janayan virūpāh* (KS °*pam*) MS KS ApŚ *virūpam* indefinite neuter in KS (probably original), in the others *prajāh* is understood with it *taj* (RV *tā*) *juśasva yaviṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The RV *tā* refers back to *dārūni*, the other texts substitute the indefinite sing *tad*, with the same reference, possibly, but see §737 In different context, *tam ju° ya°* RV

*salakṣmā* (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viśurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS The *pāda* originally (in RV AV) occurs in the Yama-Yamī hymn, the fem adjectives apply to Yamī The YV texts apply it to a wholly different context, by 'phrase-inflection' (§848) Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV text use the indefinite neuter singular 'that what is manifold may become of one sort' (In VS ŚB only this can be intended, as *viśurūpam* shows, *salakṣmā* is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final *a*, VV 2 §§459-60, the comm interprets as neuter) In TS the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc pl 'that ye, manifold, may become of one sort'

§728 So the indefinite *sarvam* 'everything' varies with *sarvān* 'all (men)', but the variant *sarvān*, nom sg, 'heading everywhither', is likely to be more original than either

*amāsi* (SMB *amā hy asi*, ŚG *amo si*) *sarvān* (AŚ *sarvān*, SMB *sarvāmi*) *asi* (SMB *anu*) *praviṣṭah* AŚ ŚG SMB *Καιῖ*

§729 Also *tad* and *tāni*, neuter sg and pl, both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also *yaśmāj jātam [jātā]* etc, §810)

*yas tad veda* (AV \* VS *tān veda*, RV AV \* TA \* N *tā vjānāt*) *sa pituḥ*  
(VS MahānU *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitasa* RV AV (bis) VS TA  
(bis) MahānU N

§730 In substantive use, a pronoun introducing a predicate noun commonly agrees with that noun in number and gender, but may also be neuter singular without regard to the number and gender of the predicate, as in German ('das bin ich, das sind die besten Leute' etc), cf §§776, 812 So

*tad* (VS *tā*) *apah sa* (VSK *tal*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS VSK TA MahānU  
Note that TA MahānU are inconsistent, having the neuter in one of the two phrases, but agreement in gender (and number) in the other VS and VSK are (in different ways) consistent

### 3 Plural of *visva* with singular noun (?)

§731 Twice the text of TS presents the form *visve*, apparently nom pl, where other texts have *visvo* (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS) with a singular (*martah*), both are parts of the same stanza. The TS version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls *visve* 'senseless'. Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait reading moreover Apś has the same. Either it is a Māgadhism, intended as nom sg (cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Spr* §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject. Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS may have so intended, it would be an illogical blend of *visvo martah* 'every man' with *visve martah* 'all men' - The same *visve* apparently with a sing noun occurs a third time in TS, *atha visve arapā cdhate grhah*, §457, q v *visvo* (TS Apś *visve*) *devasya netuh* RV VS TS MS KS AB KB ŚB Aś Apś Mś MG (delete KSA in Cone)

*visvo* (TS *visve*) *raya iudhyati* (TS *vis*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*Other shifts of sing and pl with no essential change of meaning*

§732 With this we conclude the subject of the generalizing singular and plural. There are however a few other variants in which, for one reason or another, singular and plural may interchange with virtually no difference of essential meaning. We shall take them up before proceeding to the cases of real and important change of meaning.

### 4 Elliptic plural

§733 First, an elliptic plural may vary with the singular of one member of the group



*matrah* (SV *mitrās*) *pīnty adruhah* RV SV Preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*, in SV *aryamā* is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural *mitrās*, which means Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman, cf §§746-7

## 5 Adverbs

§734 Adverbial forms, singular and plural, and equivalent in meaning, may vary, or a neuter singular adverb may vary with a plural adjective without essential difference of meaning

*nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthan* Ppp TS KS *nīcar uccāh svadhā abhi pra tasthan* AV

*trīni padāni* (TA MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāya* (TA MahānU *guhāsu*)

AV VS TA MahānU Both *guhā* and *guhāsu* are quasi-adverbial *agnaye vo juṣtān prokṣāmy amuṣmai vo juṣtān* MS MŚ *agnaye vo juṣtam prokṣāmi* TS TB ApŚ *juṣtān* agrees with *vo* = offerings of food, *juṣtam* is doubtless an adverb 'agreeably to Agni' (otherwise Keith)

*bhūyaś ca śaradaḥ śatāt* VS MG *bhūyaśih* (mss °*si*) *śaradaḥ śatāt* AV *sa no nedīṣtha havanāni joṣate* (MS *havana juṣosa*) TS MS *sa no nedīṣtham havanāny āgamat* (and *havanani joṣat*) KS *nedīṣtham* adverb in KS

## 6 Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group

§735 An adjective or participle may variously agree with all the members of a coordinate group of nouns (plural), or with only one, the nearest. In the latter case, however, we may assume that its application to the others is not really excluded. Cf Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2 *King* Thanks, Rosencrantz, and gentle Guldenstern *Queen* Thanks, Guldenstern, and gentle Rosencrantz—The same variation in verb forms, agreeing either with a plurality of subjects or with the nearest one alone, was noted in VV 1 §§353ff

*candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāh* (KS TB Poona ed and comm °*nā*)

VS KS TB *śukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* MS (p p °*nāh*)

The sing agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, the plural with S and the Aśvins. On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf VV 2 §381

*tvaytā viṣṇuh* (MS *viṣṇus tvaytā*) *prajayā samrarānāh* (VS KS ŚB °*nāh*)

AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ ApMB The verb, in the following *pāda*, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS, which has the mantra three times with plural pple, the verb

is twice singular in the edition (but with v 1 plural in one case) See VV I p 262 under *yajamānāya dravinam dadhāta* (°tu) Probably the plural should be read all three times

(*idā sarasvatī mahī*) *bhāratī ṛṇānū* AV MS (*idā sarasvatī bhāratī mahī ṛṇānū* (KS *mahī ṛṇānāh*) VS TS KS *idā sarasvatī bhāratī mahīh* (TB *mahī*) VS TB In the last formula (in which the Poona ed of TB separates *mahī* from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB comm interprets *mahī* as a plural (*mahatyah*), going with all the nouns (!)

*Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning*

§736 The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of 'meaning' in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned, we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects. The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups. First, 'transfer of epithet' the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number. Second, 'phrase inflection' the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word. Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other; the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different. Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved, in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term 'transfer of epithet') seems to have been influential.

7 Transfer of epithet

§737 We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases, see §14 for a general statement. Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number, these will not be repeated here. The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural.

*indrena devash saratham turebhīh* (AV *turena*) RV AV Tho the contexts of the mantra are different, the epithet *tura* is transferred within its pāda from *devash* to *indrena*  
*utsvā rūpāni sambhṛtā* (JB °*utam*) SV JB ŚB LŚ Preceded by *gāya-*

*tram traṣṭubham jagat*, JB makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda

*taḥ* (RV *tā*) *juṣasva yavṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Preceded by *yad agne kâni kâni cid, â te dârûni dadhmasi* (with slight variants) RV refers *tâ* to *dârûni*, the others with *taḥ* refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by *yad*

*niṣkrûtaḥ sa* (TS *niṣkrûto 'yam*, KS MŚ *niṣkrûtâs te*) *yajñvyam bhāgam etu* (KS MŚ *bhāgam yantu*) AV TS KS MŚ Singular refers to *pasupati*, plural to the cattle themselves

*â yat ṛṣṇan maruto vāvaśânâḥ* (MS °*nah*) RV TS MS KS Preceded by *priyâ vo nâma huve turânâm* The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of *ṛṣṇat*, Ludwig makes the plural refer to this' The verse however is very troublesome, see Oldenberg

*îdâno* (KS °*nâ*) *vahnir* (KS °*nam*) *namasâ* AV VS VSK TS MS KS The latter makes the epithet agree with *srucro* in the next pāda, see §399

*uruvyacaso dhâmnâ patyamânâḥ* VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasdyner dhâmnâ patyamâne* AV The YV texts make *uru°* agree with *dvîras*, AV has a false verse division and makes it agree with *dhâmnâ*

*anâdhṛṣṭâ apasyo vasânâḥ* (KS † °*nah*, mss *vamânâḥ*) VS MS KS ŚB *anubhṛṣṭâ apasyuvo vasânâḥ* TS Pischel *VSt* 2 213 has made it probable that the original had *vasânâḥ*, epithet of Varuna in the following pāda In VS MS it is transferred to *îpah* in the preceding, the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift

*mayobhuro vṛṣṭayah santv asme* RV KS *mayobhūr vâto visvakṛṣṭayah santv asme* TA In the latter the adjective is made to agree with *vâto*, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA

*dhanur hastâd âdadâno* (TA °*nâ*) *mṛtasya* RV AV TA AG 'Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man' With Oldenberg on RV 10 18 9 we understand *tvam* in the following half verse (*atrava tvam tha vayam suvîrah* [*suṣevâh*]) of the dead man, TA comm understands it of the widow and makes *âdadânâ* fem sg agreeing with it, we take the pple as *âdadânâḥ* nom pl masc going with *vayam*, cf Oldenberg's remarks, the sg doubtless refers to the son of the deceased

*tâbhṛṣṭâ vâbhṛṣṭâni* MG *tena tvâm abhṛṣṭâni* YDh Preceded by *śahasṭakṣam śaladhâram ṛṣibhiḥ pūvanam kṛtam*, and followed by

*pāvamānīh pūnanū tvā* (with minor variants) YDh has adopted for *tena* the number and gender of *pāvanam*, instead of *pāvamānīh*

§738 In the following, the variant word is in one form of the variant an independent form rather than, strictly speaking, an 'epithet' of another word (§15)

*asme* (ApŚ *asmai*) *karmāne jātah* MS ApŚ 'Born for us for the rite (for this rite)' Cf VV 2 §704, and above §721

*asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata* TS ApŚ *brad asmaī naro vacase dadhātana* VS Keith and Caland assume *asmai* as intended, cf prec But *asme* might at a pinch be interpreted as 'ethical dative' 'O gods, regard the wonder which we tell' The change is really phonetic in character, however

*hṣutpīpīśāmālī jyeṣṭhāh* (TAA °*mālam jyeṣṭhāmi*) RVKh TAA Scheftelowitz reads *jyeṣṭhām*, which is doubtless the correct reading (= Misfortune, eldest sister of Lakṣmī), if *jyeṣṭhāh* be kept it can be construed as an adjective, with the following *alākṣmīr* (for which Scheft adopts the monstrous *alākṣmīn*) If °*mālā* can stand it is doubtless a fem acc pl, epithet of *alākṣmīr* ('stained by hunger and thirst'), the alternative would be to take it as Vedic n pl (for °*mālāni*), °*mālam* would be an independent coordinate noun, 'the stain of hunger and thirst'

## 8 Phrase inflection

§739 This has also been met above, under variations in the cases, cf §§21-2 It is essentially a matter of adaptation of old material to a new context

*adhārācīh parā suva* VS MS KS (sc *yātudhānyah*) *adhārāncam parā suva* AV (sc *takmānam*)

*vīpā vīprasya bhāto vīpaśūtah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU *vīpro vīprasya sahaso vīpaśūt* AV The latter refers, in a new context, to a goat (*aja*)

*viśvāhā dhātām anapasphurantīm* RV VS ŚB ApŚ *viśvāhā santu anapasphurantīh* AV TA 'Ever not shrinking from being milked', of a cow or cows, in different contexts

*trīr varān vṛnīṣva* Kauś *varam vṛnīṣva* ApMB HG Not true variants *sārāh* (RV VS *sīrāh*) *patatrīnī(h) sthāna* (KS *stha*) RV VS TS MS KS *sarā patatrīnī bhūtāvā* AV Reference is to a plant or plants, in different contexts

*indro vah* (AV *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV AV SV VS TS Different contexts

- trir ā dwo vidathe patyamānah* (°nāh) RV (both)  
*yalamānū* (°no) *ruśmibhīh sūryasya* RV (both)  
*ratnam devasya savitur vyānah* (°nāh) RV (both)  
*rakṣohano* (VS ŚB °hano vo) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ \*  
 °vam) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ (bis) In ApŚ 11 12 5, where  
*vaiṣṇavān* is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS and  
 the rest, the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes' In 12 2 15 the  
 skin (*carma*) for the soma-pressing is addressed in a different con-  
 text, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing *vaiṣṇavam*  
 being appropriate Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two  
 adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of  
 the formula, perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring  
 to any 'demon-slaying' entities
- rūyas poṣe yajñapatim ābhajantīh* (TS \* °ti) VS TS (both) MS KS ŚB  
*rodena kṛvatīr* (kṛvaty, kṛvantō) *ugham* AV (ter)  
*saṃjagmāno abhhyuṣā* RV AV SV N *saṃjagmānū abibhyuṣīh* (MS  
*anhrutāh*) AV MS
- kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu* (VS ŚB °ti) VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ  
*ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu* ApŚ MŚ *kas te yunakti* MG Also  
 with forms of *vi-muc*, to different ritual entities
- adabdhena tvā* (KS \* ApŚ \* vas) *cahsuśāvapaśyāmi* VS KS ŚB ŚŚ  
 ApŚ *adabdhena tvā* (ApŚ \* vas) *cahsuśāvackṣe* TS MS ApŚ MŚ  
 MG (delete KS reference in Conc)
- sumṛdīkān abhīṣṭaye* RV TS MS *sumṛdīkam abhīṣṭaye* RV VS BSK  
 TS MS KS ŚB
- tasya vāyam sumatau yajñīyasya* RV AV VS TS MS KS TB  
*teṣām vāyam sumatau yajñīyānām* RV AV VS TS KS MŚ SMB  
 PG N Several different contexts
- yathāham asya vīrasya* RV ApMB *yathūham eṣām bhātānām* (AV  
*vīrānām*) RV AV The sing is said by a woman of her husband,  
 RV *bhātānām* by a king of his subjects, and so AV *vīrānām*, but  
 apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of  
*vīrasya* in the different RV context
- evā trināmānn ahṛnīyamānah* (TS °nāh) AV TS
- ghṛtapruṣā manasā* (TB *madhunā*) *havyam undan* (VS *manasā moda-*  
*mānāh*) RV VS MS KS TB Several different contexts
- anhoṣ cid asmā urucakrīr adbhutah* RV *anhoṣ cid urucakrayah* RV  
*anhoṣ cid urucakrayo 'nehasah* RV
- ado gīrbhīyo adhi yat pradhāvasi* TB *ado yad avadhāratī* AV *amī ye*  
*ke sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG ApMB

- asmabhyam gātuvittamāh* (RV \* °mah) RV (bis) SV As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different
- īśānam vāryānām* RV AV SV TS MS KS JB *īśānū vāryānām* RV AV MS TB TA
- tāns te paridādāmy aham* ApŚ *tām te paridādāmy aham* (TA *paridādāmi*) TA ApŚ
- ya* (AV \* *ye antarīkṣa*) *oṣadhīṣu paśuṣu apsu antah* (KS *paśuṣu āviveśa*) AV (bis) KS
- bhākṣīya te* (and *vo*) 'vaso dawiyaya RV (both) Sing Indra, pl the Maruts
- bhūtyai tvā* (Kauś vah) KS TA ApŚ Kauś Hardly true variants
- tān* (TS \* *tam*) *rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan* (TS \* *dabhat*) VS TS (bis) MS KS ŚB
- mayi vah kāmāharanam bhūyāt* (ŚŚ om *bhūyāt*) VS ŚB ŚŚ *mayi te kāmāharanam bhūyāt* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
- āyātu* (TB \* *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣānah* (TB \* °nāh) VS MS KS TB (both)
- subhūtāya tvā* (ŚŚ vah, HG adds *paridādāmi*) ApŚ ŚŚ HG Hardly true variants
- anehasas tvotayah* RV *anehaso va ūtayah* RV
- ayam vo garbha ṛtvayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayam te yonar ṛtvayah* RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB AŚ MŚ ApŚ JābU Different contexts and probably not true variants
- mayi vo* (TS \* *te*) *rāyah sraquantām* TS (both) MS KS LŚ
- indraghoṣas* (KS MS °ṣās) *tvā vasubhīh purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavaḥ pu*° *pāntu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhīh pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *indraghoṣā vo vasubhīh purastād upadadhatām* TA This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA (with plural acc pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg) to the altar The settings are wholly different, obviously TA has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under *manojavās* and *pracetās* The other two are
- tvāṣṭā tvā rūpāir upariṣṭāt pātu* KS ApŚ *tvāṣṭā vo rūpāir upariṣṭād upadadhatām* TA And
- viśvakarmā tvādityair uttaratah* (MS KS *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB *viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA
- devas tvā savitā punātu* (MŚ GG KhG *savitlotpunātu*) *achidrena* TS MS KS MŚ GG KhG *devo vah savita punatu achidrena* MS KS

*upahūta* (LŚ. °lā) *upahavam te* (LŚ *vo*) 'śīya TS MS KS ŚŚ LŚ  
*akṣans tān* VS KS TB *aghat tam* VS *aghasām tam* MS TB 3 6  
 15 1 The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but  
 related contexts

*mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi* AV *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG ŚG  
*vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG ŚG SMB-  
 PG MG *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG The AV addresses  
 the subjects of a king, the others the guru's śīśya at the upanayana  
*rakṣānsi tayā* (and *tābhīr*) *daha jātavedah* Kauś (both)

*irāmi vahanto* (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānāh* AŚ ApŚ  
 AG ŚG ApMB MG *irāmi vahantah sumanasyamānāh* HG In  
 different contexts, MG refers to the bride But the adaptation  
 of the formula in MG is imperfect, we fail to see how Knauer can  
 defend the correctness of his text as he does

*ayakṣmāya tvā samisṛjāmi prajābhyaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB *ayakṣmā vah*  
*prajāyā samisṛjāmi* KS TB ApŚ Different contexts

#### 9 Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740 Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where  
 there is no formal 'transfer of epithet', the ritual entity designated by  
 the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other  
 individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one  
 or vice versa For example *ṛtena* (MG *ṛteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB MG  
*sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhi roha vansa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG HG  
 ApMB MG, 'mount, O pole, upon the post(s)' or the like The  
 dual form of ApMB HG can have no standing and is best regarded as  
 a phonetic corruption (*v* for *m*, VV 2 §237) The verse is used in  
 mounting the ridge-pole of the house on the middle post (and others-),  
 either singular or plural makes sense, but not dual The plural of MG  
 may be defended, tho KG 11 3 has *sthūnam*, Ppp is quoted by Roth  
 as *sthunā dhī*

#### Other instances

*mahad ādīya bhāratasya* (and *bhāratānām*) ŚB (both) *mahākarma bhara-*  
*tasya* AB The singular refers to Bharata Dauhṣanti, the plural  
 to the Bharata family

*atharvane svāhā* ŚB *atharvahhyah* (sc *svāhā*) BDh Hardly to be con-  
 sidered variants The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva  
 Veda, the singular the ṛṣi Atharvan

*ādityāś ca me sāvitrāś ca me* TS *ādityāś ca mū indrāś ca me* MS Same  
 context, sc in both 'prosper by the sacrifice' In TS *grahah* is  
 understood 'the cup for Āditya (or Aditi)', in MS 'the Ādityas'

*brāhmanas tvā nāthakāma upadhāvāmi* (ApMB °kāmah prapadye) SMB  
PG ApMB HG *brāhmano vo nāthakāma upadhāvāmi* SMB  
Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods,  
plural to them all collectively

*abhayam vo* (ŚŚ °te) 'bhayam no astu (AB AŚ me 'stu) AB AŚ ŚŚ  
(both) The formula with *te* is repeated at each of the three  
altars, and then with *vo* referring to all three as in the other texts  
*idam tān* (and *tān*) *ati srjāmi tān* (and *tān*) *mābhya avanikṣi* AV (both)  
Both in the same litany, addressed to various ritual entities

*eṣa vo deva savituh somah* TS ApŚ *deva savitar eṣa te somah* VS MS  
KS ŚB MŚ Followed by *mā tvā* (TS *vo*) *dabhan* (TS *dabhat*)  
VS TS MS KS ŚB The plural pronoun refers to the gods  
including Savitar

*mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratīkṣe* (with variants) VSK TS KS KB TB  
AŚ ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ AG *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā prekṣe*  
(*cakṣuṣānuvīkṣe*) MS AŚ MŚ Reference to various ritual entities,  
in same context

*utemāh paśya* TS *utemam paśya* MS MŚ In the same context, but  
with different reference, in TS to waters, in MS MŚ to *yajña*  
*devasya tvā* (MS *vah*) *savituh prasave samvapāmi* VS MS TB ŚB  
(Delete reference to MS under *devasya tvā* in Conc) Singular  
refers to rice, plural to rice and water

*anīśitāni sapatnakṣit* VS *anīśito 'ni sapatnakṣit* VS ŚB *anīśitah* (KS  
ApŚ add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīh* MS KS ApŚ Used in the same  
ritual context of various implements, one or several (*śruc*, *śruva*)

*rakṣohanam tvā valagahanam avasīncāmi* (and *avastṛnāmi*) *vaiṣnavam* MS  
MŚ *rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasīncāmi* (and *'vastṛnāmi*) *vaiṣnavān*  
KS *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastṛnam* *vaiṣnavān*  
VS VSK TS ŚB Four holes are referred to, MS MŚ address  
them one by one

*yā* (ApMB HG *yām*) *āhiraṅ jamadagniḥ* PG ApMB HG In the  
same context, singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers  
*pratnam ni pāti kāvyam* RV †*pratnāni* (Conc *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyah*  
KS See §403

## 10 Form assimilation

§741 Among the remaining, miscellaneous variants between singular  
and plural, some seem to involve external form attraction—that is, the  
shift is due to the influence of some other form in the vicinity, altho  
the variant cannot be classified as showing 'transfer of epithet' Thus



*trih sapta mātuh paramāni vndan RV trih sapta paramam nāma jānan*  
ArS Preceded in both by *te manvata prathamam nāma dhenoh*  
'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice  
seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the  
thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow)' The  
change to singular in ArS is due to the preceding singulars

*abhi priyā (SV priyam) divas padam RV SV* It is obvious that SV  
has assimilated the adjective to *padam*. This is a lect fac, the  
sense requires such a construction. The RV *priyā* must be taken  
with Lanman *NInfl* 349 and Oldenberg *Noten ad loc* as acc pl  
neut, sc *padāni* 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven'  
Cf RV 9 12 8

*vāto vā (VSK va vo) mano vā VS VSK ŚB vayur vā tvā manur vā tvā*  
TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ N The pronoun *tvā* refers to the  
horse mentioned in *pāda c (asvam in all)*, *vo* of VSK can scarcely  
have any other reference, the plural may be due to thought of the  
'horses' mentioned in the preceding verse

*kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV vidvano) na vulvan RV AV* See §487

### 11 Change of words or meanings of a word

§742 In the rest different words are used, or else the same word in  
different meanings, requiring different numbers

*urjasvatī rājasvās (TS rajasūyaya, MS KS rājasuyās) citānah VS TS*  
MS KS ŚB '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise  
unto king-creation)' In this *rajasū* or *sūya* as adjective varies  
with the commoner abstract noun *rajasuya* Cf next

*svāhā rajasūyah MS MŚ svaha rajasūyāya citānah TS svāha rajasvah*  
VS ŚB Cf preceding, which comes shortly before this in the  
texts

*drapsas caskanu pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV caskanu prathamam anu dyām)*  
RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Here the two meanings of  
the stem *div* are concerned. RV 'thruout the earliest days', the  
others 'thru earth and heaven'

*tasmat brahma ca brāhmās (TA brahma) ca AV TA* Whatever *brahmās*  
of AV may mean, which is uncertain, TA has a different word  
and means the personalized Brahman

*indrasya hardy (AV hārdim) aviśan manīṣibhīh (AV manīṣaya) RV*  
AV SV 'By the wise (priests)' 'by wisdom'

*jaghāna vṛtram yatur na SV AŚ ŚŚ vṛtram yo jaghāna yatur na AV*  
Obscure, cf Whitney on AV 2 5 3

*prāvanebhīh* (MS KS *pravanena*) *sajoṣasah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
Uncertain, see VV 2 §491

*yo agnaye dadāṣa havyadātībhīh* (SV °*laye*) RV SV See §567

*mitrah satyānām* (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS PG Abstract  
noun adjective

## 12 Doubtful or erroneous

### §743 Doubtful or erroneous variants

*trayastrīṣat tantavo ye vi tatnre* (MS *yam vitanvate*, KS AŚ *yān vitanvate*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ The singular makes no sense, tho MS p p also reads *yam*, it seems as if *yān* must be intended Perhaps it is to be connected with the peculiar sandhi of final *ān* before vowels (in MS this appears as *am*), cf von Schroeder I p xxix [*pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* AV KS (bis) Add KS 30 10, for which Conc has *pari tvā* ]

[*arkam* (TS *bṛhad arkam*) *yuñjānāh svar* (*suvar*) *ābharann idam* TS MS KS Conc *yuñjānah* for TS ]

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

#### 1 Elliptic dual, and devatā-dvandvas

§744 The most interesting group of variants between the dual and other numbers is that which concerns the elliptic dual and double-duals, known to the Hindus as *devatā-dvandvas*. These double dual forms denoting a pair of entities have been explained by Edgerton (KZ 43 110 ff, 44 23 ff) as an outgrowth of the Indo-European elliptic dual, in which a pair is denoted by the dual form of one member alone, an idiom which is still very much alive in the Veda. The first step in the development was the addition to the elliptic dual of the singular of the second member of the pair (*mitrā* [= Mitra and Varuna], followed by *varunaś ca*). We then have an illogical association of a dual and a singular form, referring together to only two entities. There is evidence for the view (Edgerton, l c) that this illogical association existed in Indo-European. In most languages, however, it was supplanted by an association of two singulars, so also to a large extent in Sanskrit. In Indo-Iranian, however, the assimilation of the two forms may work the other way, the complementary singular being replaced by a dual, so that the result is a double dual, e.g. *mitrā-varunau*.

§745 The variants illustrate these rather complicated processes at various points. To begin with, an elliptic dual may vary with the singular of the prior member of the pair. The meaning is then of course different, the singular can scarcely have been felt as including the unexpressed member.

*añghrinā viṣno mā tvāva* (KS *viṣnū mā vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB *agnāvīṣnū ma vam ava kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ. In most texts including KS the pair Agni and Viṣnu are addressed (in KS by the elliptic dual *viṣnū*), while VS ŚB address Viṣnu alone.

*kṣāman* (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS KS *ketunū*) RV VS TS MS KS. See §547. The original *kṣāman* = 'on the earth', KS has an elliptic dual, 'the two earths' = heaven and earth. More commonly *dyāvū* 'the two heavens' is used in this sense.

*tatru paśyema pitarau ca putrān* (TA *pitarām ca putram*) AV TA The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA by the singular 'father'

§746 Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual. In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual, yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain

*dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ °vīm) SV ApŚ

§747 More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undoubtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular, a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulars *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udīthah sūryas ca* VS ŚB There is no reason to emend the ŚB reading with Eggeling and the Conc., *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuna

§748 More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair. The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words

*viṣṇum ayan varunam pūrvahūtiḥ* AV *viṣṇū ayan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tim) VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

*agnim indram vtrahanā huve 'ham* (MS °hanam *huvema*) AV MS *agnī indrā vtrahanā huve vām* TB The double dual *indrā agnī* occurs twice in RV, and the compound *indrāgnī* (often pronounced as four syllables<sup>2</sup>) is common. Note the singular adjective in MS, cf. §757

§749 It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars

*ā mitrāvarunā bhagam* RV *ā mitre varune bhage* SV

*indrāsūrā janayan visvakarmā* TB *indrāh sūrah prathamō visvakarmā* AŚ

*śatam indrāgnī* (AV \* *śatam ta indro agnih*) *śavitā bṛhaspatih* RV AV (both) N Note that AV is metrically bad

*isam no mitrāvarunā kartanedām* AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pūrvatedāh* SV

*ayaś sando marka upavīra ulūkhalah* ApMB † *sandāmarkā* (HG *sando marka*) *upavīrah* PG HG The ed. of PG prints *sandā markā* as separate words

*namo divē namah pṛthivyai* AV VSK TS MS GB TA AŚ I.Ś ApŚ *namo dyāvāpṛthivībhyaḥ* VS ŚB ŚŚ ŚG

§750 The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom-acc dual form in the prior member. Thus also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph

*rṣī bodhapratibodhau* AV *rṣir bodhah prabodhah* ApMB *bodhas ca tvā* (KS MG mā) *pratibodhas* (MG *prati*?) *ca* AV KS † MG ApMB  
Note sing *rṣir* in ApMB, see §757

*śakvaram rawatam sāma* KS *śakvararawate sāmāni* VS TS MS KS  
Again cf §757

*mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh* VS MS TB ŚB TA ŚŚ *mayi dakṣakratū* ApŚ AG HG

*vairūpam ca vairūjam cāparau* AB . *vairūpavairūje anūci* IŚ  
*sarma varūtham* (HG *sarmavarūthe*) *punati na āgāt* ApMB HG But for the separate accents, *sarma-varūtham* of ApMB might be considered a singular dvandva, cf next §

*bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena trīstubhyā* (KS *trīstubhā*) *vartanyā* MS KS  
*bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena trīstubho vartanyā* TS  
*bṛhac ca te rathamtarām ca pūrvau pādaū bhavatām* AB *bṛhadrathamtare te pūrvau pādaū* IŚ

§751 Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives). We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas

*kṣutpīpāsābhyām* (TAA °sāya) *svāhā* SMB TAA GG  
*īṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir* (*kṛnavāthāvir*, *kṛnutād āvir*) *asmat* (MŚ *asmāt*)  
VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ *īṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutāvir asmat* AV  
*īṣṭāpūrtam kṛnutād āvir asmat* KS

*dakṣakratū* (MS ed † °tu, v 1 °tū) *te maitrāvārunah pātu* MS ApŚ  
*jīmūtān hṛdayaupāsābhyām* (VS °sena, VSK °sena) VS VSK TS MS KSA The pp of TS divides *hṛdaya-upasa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahidhara takes the cpd as a tatpuruṣa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva

## 2 Collective singular varies with dual

§752 Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

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*īṣam no mitrāvarunā kartanedam* AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pinvatedah* SV

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Again cf. §757

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VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ *īṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutavīr asmat* AV  
*īṣṭāpūrtam kṛnutad avīr asmat* KS

*dakṣakratū* (MS ed † °*tu*, v 1 °*tū*) *te mastravarunah pātu* MS ApŚ  
*jīmūtān hṛdayaupāsābhyam* (VS °*sena*, VSK °*sena*) VS VSK TS MS  
KSA The pp of TS divides *hṛdaya-upāśa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahīdhara takes the cpd as a tatpuruṣa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva

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nostrils) dual Such variants occur especially with parts of the body, but also with other entities We shall mention first a case which is particularly interesting as presenting a neuter singular collective instead of a fem dual This reminds us of the use of the neuter singular in dvandva compounds, mentioned in the last paragraph, and so far as we know neither this nor any similar form has been noticed heretofore *viśākhe nakṣatram* TS . *viśākham nakṣatram* MS KS † So von Schroeder reads in KS with two mss, one ms *viśākhā*, which must be fem and may be understood as either sing or plu Only one ms of MS has *viśākhe* The constellation is made up of either two or four stars, and its name occurs in sing, dual, and plural, but is otherwise recorded only in the fem gender, cf §798

§753 The other words recorded here keep the same gender in sing and dual

*apānena nāsike* (MS °*kām*) VS MS

*asyā* (MG † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG °*yām*) AB MG *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh ApMB The word *gavīnī* (and *gavīnikā*, AV) is regularly dual, it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen

*ānandam nandathunā* (KSA °*thubhyām*) TS KSA *nandathu* is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context The dual of KS suggests perhaps 'testicles', 'penis' would be more natural and may be intended in TS (comm *guhvendriyam*) A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these

*aṣṭrām tādam pratīnāhā* (ApŚ *tālam pratīnāham*) MS ApŚ Refers to some unknown part of the plow Caland adopts the MS reading for ApŚ, but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing

*punarnasur* (TS °*sū*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS Usually dual

### 3 Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754 Like the singular (*ante*), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body, usually both are comprehensible Thus the word *jambha* or *jambhya* means either 'tooth' or 'jaw' (originally 'crusher, grinder'), in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual

*jambhābhyām* (VS TS °*bhyas*, KS °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (°*rañ*, °*rān*) *uta*  
VS TS MS KS



*javam jañghābhīh* (VS °*bhyām*) VS TS MS KSA The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper, VS must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only

*girīn plāśībhīh* (MS °*kābhyām*) VS TS MS KSA The stem *plāśī* is usually sg or plu, its meaning is quite unknown and the guesses of the comms are not worth quoting

#### 4 Other entities conceived as dual or plural

§755 Besides parts of the body, other entities may be thought of as dual or plural groups. Thus the constellation *phalgunī* is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural

*phalgunīr* (TS °*nī*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS

*phalgunīṣu* (ApG °*nībhyām*) *vy uhyate* (ApG °*ūh*) AV Καιῖ ApG

*marutah sadohavīrdhānah* (TA °*dhūnībhyām*) MS TA *adītiḥ sado-*  
*havīrdhānābhyām* KS The *havīrdhāna* itself is referred to as either sg or dual (cf TS 3 1 3 1), combined with the sg *sadas*, the compound is either dual or plural

*vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā* RV *vi yo rajānsy amimīta sukratuh* RV  
The 'spaces' (*rajas*) are either two or three (or even more) in number

#### 5 Generalizing dual (for sing) and plural

§756 In one group we find dual and plural forms varying in essentially the same way as the 'generalizing singular and plural' forms treated above, §§685 ff. Here, instead of the singular, we find the dual because the 'single' entity happens to be a pair, otherwise the psychological relation between the two variants, and the motivation of the change, is exactly the same. The dual may be a single uncompounded word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound, in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning

*ud eṣāmi bāhū* (MS MŚ *bāhūn*) *atīram* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ

MŚ Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible, but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity

*apochatu* (AV °*ntu*) *mihunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV AV  
The *kimīdins* are apt to go in pairs (§764), the RV dual here is the

substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means *any* pair of demons, or all of them

*ahorātrayoh samdhībhyo jatūh* VS *ahnah samdhībhyām jatūh* MS  
 Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'  
*ahorātrās* (KS TA °trān) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpelām* MS TB 'Day-and-night' 'days and nights'  
*śam ahobhyah* (TS *ahobhyām*) VS TS ŚB KŚ Here the relation is not quite the same, TS has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night', the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights. That *ahan* may mean this is proved e.g. by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day

*utkulānikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam* VS *utkulānikūlābhyām triṣṭhinam* TB  
 Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puruṣamedha. The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities

#### 6 Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757 An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair, cf. the like variation between singular and plural, §735. Some cases of this sort will be found in §750. Also

*yasya dyaur urvī pṛthivī ca mahī* AV *yena dyaur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛdhā* (TS *dṛdhe*) RV VS VSK TS MS KS. Here the original makes *dṛdhā* apply only to *pṛthivī*, TS applies it to *dyaus* also

§758 Similarly an adjective or epithet may vary between dual, applying to a dual entity, and plural, including some other entity  
*vṛṣpānā* (VS °nāh) *sarasvatī* VS MS. The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī

(*āyuskrd āyuspatnī svāihāvantaū*) *gopā me stam ātmasadaū me stam* AV (*āyus tad āyuspatnī* [read *āyuskrd āyuspatnī*?] *svadhāvo*) *gopā nah stha rakṣitārah* KS (*āyukrd āyuspatnī svadhā vo*) *goptryo me stha ātmasado me stha* ApŚ. Explained VV 1 §357

§758a Once a sing., doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet  
*savitur bāhū stho devajanānām vidharanih* (KapS °ni) KS KapS (Oertel 137). Two blades of grass are addressed, KapS surely intends a dual, 'two supporters', KS, 'a support'. The stem *vidharani* is not recorded in the lexicons

§759 Two dual epithets of an adjoining dual noun may vary with two singulars, each then applying to one of the pair

*ugrampaśye ugrajītau tad adya AV ugrampaśyā* (MS text *ugram paśyāc*, VV 2 §405) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni MS TA dūrepaśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni TB* Followed by *apsarasāv*, the epithets agree with this word (AV), or apply to the two individuals denoted by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case)

§760 Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form, is allowed to agree with a singular noun (1), in the other form of the variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular. The variant strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible

*anuvatsarīnām svastim āśāste TB ApŚ anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse MŚ* 'He desires well-being lasting for an anuvatsara' 'I desire well-being lasting for an anuvatsara and for an udvatsara'

§761 Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the dual in MŚ is the dual character of the adjective compound rather than its reference to two entities. The context deals, however, with the *śukra* and *manthin* drafts of soma, and it may be that MŚ thinks of the word as applying to two oblations only (tho the neuter gender makes it impossible to supply *śukramanthīnau* [*grahau*] with it, and in fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts, which are not, of course, offered by the *camasādhvaryus*)

*madhyatahkkārīnām camasādhvaryavo vaśaṣṭkṛtānivaśaṣṭkṛtān* (MŚ °te) *juhuta ApŚ MŚ* 'offer the (MŚ two?) oblations (in ApŚ *somān* is apparently understood) accompanied by *vaśaṣ* and by the secondary *vaśaṣ*'

## 7 Transfer of epithet

§762. As with cases of transfer of epithet between singular and plural (§737), we shall list here only variants which do not involve change of case, these latter being treated above under case variations. Variations between singular and dual are

*te aśya yośane divye* (KS *divyah*) VS TS MS KS The sing of KS agrees with *yonir* in the next *pāda*

*ubhā kavī yuvānā* (PG *yuvā*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ PG *mahā kavī yuvānā* MŚ Followed in PG by *yo no dharmah parāpatat*, Stenzler translates *yuvā* with *dharmah* but observes that the text is corrupt, and Oldenberg abandons it

*dirghaprayajyam aṭi yo vanuṣyatī RV TS MS N dirghaprayajyū havīṣā vṛdhānā MS TB* The latter occurs in a modification of

the RV verse (which MS elsewhere repeats without change), with transfer of the epithet to the dual divinity addressed (originally Indra-Varuna, here Mitra-Varuna)

*visvakarmans tanūpā asī ŚB · visvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah ŚŚ*  
Explained VV 1 §351

*indrasya vām (TB te) vīryakṛto VS VSK ŚB TB* See §521  
*aśvinendram na jāgrvi (TB °vi) VS MS TB* Comm on VS takes  
*jāgrvi* as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR and  
VV 2 §525) In TB it is made to agree with *aśvinā*

§763 Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are  
*navena pūrvam dayamāndh syāma (VS TB dayamāne) VS MS KS †*  
19 13 TB (both) The plural agrees with the subject, the dual  
with *devī* to whom the passage is addressed

*sa visvācīr (KS °cī) abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh (KS °cī) RV VS TS MS KS*  
ŚB The original probably applies to sacrificial ladles, tho no noun  
is mentioned, cf ŚB 9 2 3 17 KS attracts the adjectives into  
agreement with *rodasī* For the phonetic aspects of the change  
see VV 2 §357

### 8 Phrase inflection

§764 Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due  
to adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes all three  
numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms. Thus  
*sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB † °padā bahhūva) ApMB HG*  
*sakhā (PG sakhe) saptapadī (ApMB PG °dā) bhava AG ŚG*  
KauŚ ApMB PG SMB MG *sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma TB*  
ApŚ See VV 1 p 274

*yātudhānam kimīdnam AV yātudhānān kimīdnam AV yātudhānā*  
*kimīdānā RV* Different contexts. Fiends are otherwise known  
to go in pairs (*mithunā* precedes in RV), cf *apochatu* etc, §756  
*tā no mṛdāta idṛse RV SV VS VSK TS KS te no mṛdantu idṛse AV*  
*sa no mṛdātīdṛse RV AV TS MS KS ApMB N*

§765. Variations between dual and singular

*gr̥h̥nāns-(RV \* SV \* °no) jamadagninā RV (both) SV (both) AŚ ŚŚ*  
AG ŚG

*tanvāno (TB °ne) yajñam puruṣeśasam dhīyā RV TB* The latter  
lifts the pāda from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to  
*dyāvūprthivī*

*yajñasydyūh pratiran (KS \* †2 7, MŚ pratirantau) MS KS (both) MŚ*  
Two wholly different contexts in KS, MS agrees with one, MŚ  
with the other

*viśvair devair pṛthīhī samvidānah* RV TS *viśvair devair yaṅīyair  
samvidānau* (TS KSA °nah) TS KSA TB AŚ In TS KS two  
different verses, one adopted from RV, in TB AŚ this single pāda  
is used in a wholly different context

*devī devebhīr yajutā* (and °te) *yajutrah* RV (both) *devī deveṣu yajatā  
yajatra* RV AV MS

*tasyām* (ApŚ *tayor*) *devī abhisamvasantah* TS TB ApŚ *tasyām devair  
samvasanto mahitvā* AV *yasyām* (v 1 *usyām*) *devī abhisamvāntah*  
MŚ Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ

*jyotiṣe tvā* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ *jyotiṣe vām* KS  
ApŚ Different contexts, dual only in one passage of KS ApŚ  
Also *tejase tvā* (vām), *cakṣuṣe tvā* (vām), *varcuse tvā* (vām), and  
*prajābhyaṣ tvā* (°bhya vām), sings in various texts, duals only KS  
ApŚ

*āsūsānā medhapatibhyām* (MS KS °pataye) *medham* MS KS AB KB  
TB AŚ ŚŚ The ūhas *medhapataye* and °patibhyah are prescribed  
in the sequel in AB, see Schwab, *Tieropfer*, 102 Really this  
involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764

*bhadrā te pūṣann* (TA \* *bhadrā vām pūṣanāv*) *īha rātīr astu* RV SV TS  
MS KS TA (both) N Here a whole stanza is adapted to a  
different context in TA The sing is addressed to Pūṣan, or  
according to the TA comm to *samvatsara*, the dual, to *dyāvāpṛthivī*  
The next two occur in the same verse

*śukram vām anyat rajatam* (Poona ed *yaj*°, v 1 *raj*°) *vām anyat* TA  
*śukram te anyat yajatam te anyat* RV SV TS MS KS AB KB  
TA AŚ Svidh N And

*viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvah* (SV °van, TA \* *avathah svadhāvantu*)  
RV SV TS MS KS TA (both) N See prec

*devas tvā* (ApŚ *devo vām*) *savitā madhvānaktu* VS TS MS KS MŚ  
ApŚ

*viśvet tā te* (RV \* *vāmi*) *savaneṣu pravācyā* RV (both)

*stomebhīr havanāśrutam* (and °tā) RV (both)

*dīrgham vām* (and *ta*) *āyuh savitā kṛnotu* AV (both) In different parts  
of the marriage ceremony, sing is the wife, dual husband and  
wife Might perhaps be called a *vikāra* and placed in §769

*patī* (RV \* *patīm*) *turasya rādhasuh* RV (both) KS

*rājantam adhvarānām* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *rājantāv adhvarānām*  
RV

*sāmṛāyāya sukrah* (RV \* °tū) RV (both) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB  
*arvāncā vām* (and *arvāncam tvā*) *saptayo dhvarāśriyah* RV (both) See

*RVRep* on 1 47 8, which calls the sing an ūha of the dual, it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas

*āyur vām* (AV MG \**āyur* (e) *śaradaḥ śatam* AV MG (both)

*anu* (MS *nu*, read *anu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jhivā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS  
KS KB ŚŚ *prati te jhivā ghṛtam uc caranyet* (MS KS °*yāt*, VS  
ŚB °*yāt svāhā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *prati vām jhivā ghṛtam uc*  
(AV \* TS \* †*ā*) *caranyat* (AV °*yāt*, TS °*yēt*) AV (bis) TS (bis)  
MS KS KB AŚ ŚŚ

*catuhśikhandā yuvatāḥ supatāḥ* (KS *supatnī*) KS TB ApŚ *catuhśi-*  
*khande yuvatī karñe* ApŚ In the latter a largely new verse is  
constructed for a different context See next

*ghṛtapratikā* (ApŚ \* °*ke*) *bhuvanasya madhye* TB ApŚ (both) Follows  
the prec

*dṛgham āyuh kṛnotu me* (AV \* ApMB *vām*) AV (ter) JB Kauś ApMB  
*tāv imā upa sarpatāḥ* SV JB *emām anu sarpatā* MS It seems that  
MS has adapted the SV original to a different ritual context The  
interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS is  
obscure, see ApŚ 4 10 4, with Caland's translation, which deals  
with the same ritual With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual,  
*imām* of MS would seem to refer to *idā*

*nīlaloḥitam bhavati* RV AV *nīlaloḥite bhavataḥ* ApMB Whitney says  
that ApMB speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away  
were two (or better, made of two parts) Perhaps the variant  
did originate in that way, but ApG uses the mantra in referring  
not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each  
wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's  
house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding  
rites

*mā tvā vṛkṣah* (TA *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA °*ṣām*, and *bādhetām*) AV  
TA (bis) According to Kauś 82 32 the AV verse is used in  
burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree TA  
uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in con-  
structing the funeral pyre, the 'two pieces of wood' refer to the  
*paridhis* (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre, the verse  
is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and  
west pair

*vidhṛtir asi* TA ŚŚ *vidhṛti sthah* MS

§766 Phrase inflection, variations between dual and plural

*indravantā* (TB °*tau*) *haviṛ idam juṣethām* TB ŚŚ *indravanto haviṛ*  
*idam juṣantām* TB ApŚ

*yahvī rāsya mātarā* RV *yahvīr rāsya mātarah* RV  
*uruvyacasō dhāmnā palyamānāh* VS TS MS KS *uruvyacasāgner*  
*dhāmnā palyamāne* AV  
*puruṣe 'dhi samāhitāh* (and °*te*) AV Both in the same verse; the dual  
 goes with *amṛtam ca mṛtyus ca*, the plural with *nādyah*  
*asme vo (vām) astu sumatis canīṣṭhā* RV (both)  
*agner vo 'pannagṛhasya* (TS \* TB ApŚ \* *vām apanna°*) *sadas sādāyāmī*  
 VS TS (both) MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ (both) MŚ  
*ayam śraīṣṭhye dudhatu nah* (PG *nau*) ŚG PG The dual refers to the  
 householder and his wife, the plural, in a different context, is  
 generalizing or 'editorial'  
*ṛtāvānā (°vāno) jane-jane* RV (both)  
*sam u vām (vo) yajñam mahayam (°yan) namobhīh* RV (both)  
*saha nah sādhuṅkṛtyā* ŚB LŚ KŚ *sahauva nau sukṛtam saha duṣkṛtam*  
*Kauś sukṛtam nau saha Kauś*  
*sam vām (AV MS \* KS \* vo) manānsi sam vralā* AV VS TS MS  
 (both) KS (both) ŚB

### 9 Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767 The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with a change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different. Included are some ritual ūhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting. It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group, we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual ūhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding. —When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff., and when, without such transference, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff.

#### §768 Variations of all three numbers

*tasya te dattām yasya* (and *yayoh*) *prāno 'si svāhā* TS *tasya te dadātu*  
*yeṣām prāno 'si svāhā* TS *tasya te dadātu yasya prāno 'si svāhā* TS  
 Modulations in the same passage. For *yasya* after *dattām*, *yayoh*  
 is to be expected, perhaps a mere error?  
*tuyā devatayāñyiravud dhruvā sīda* VS TS etc *dhruvah sīda* VS  
 ŚB TA *dhruve sīdatam* VS *dhruvāh sīdata* TS Also *tena*  
*brahmanā* etc., see Conc

*āgneyah kṛṣṇagrīvah* VS TS KSA . *āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau* TS KSA  
*kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṣe* (MS *lalāṣe*) *purastat* VS MS *kṛṣṇagrīvā*  
*āgneyāh* VS MS ApŚ All in lists of animals at the *aśvamedha*  
 TS KS have sg and dual in adjoining formulas Probably the  
 plural is a substitute for the dual, but this may itself be a mere  
 ūha of the sing

*yāni gharme kapālāni* TS. MS KS KŚ MŚ In MŚ two ūhas *yad*  
*gharme*, and *ye gharme*

*agnim adya hotāram avṛṇitāyam yajamānah* MS (and the next five  
 items in Conc) *agnim adya hotāram (avṛṇitām imau yajamānau,*  
 and *avṛṇateme yajamānāh* ) ŚŚ See Conc

*agnaye prahrīyamānāyānubrūhi* ŚB KŚ MŚ *agnibhyām prahrīya-*  
*mānābhyām anubrūhi* KŚ *agnibhyah prahrīyamanebhyo 'nubrūhi*  
 ŚB

*asāv (asā) anu mā tanu* (LŚ *tanuḥi jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ  
*amū anu mā tanulam*, and *amī anu mā tanuta* MŚ Ūhas

*punah kṛṇvans tvā pītaram yuvānam* TS *punah kṛṇvantah pītaro yuvā-*  
*nah* MS *punah kṛṇvānā* (KS *kṛṇvantā*) *pītaro yuvānā* VS KS †  
 ŚB We cannot interpret this passage. It seems that the dual,  
 as in VS KS, is probably original, Mahīdhara takes *kṛṇvānā* as  
 plural, for 'nāh' Even such violence helps little

### §769 Dual and singular

*nam jagmāno* (KS 'nā, MS TB ApŚ MŚ 'nau) *divā* (TB ApŚ *dva ā*)  
*prthivyā* VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Same context, but in VS  
 ŚB the formula is repeated, once each with the *śukra* and *manthin*  
*grahas*, while in the others it goes with both together See §576  
 In VS MS KS immediately followed by

*śukrah sukraśociṣā* VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *śukrau sukraśociṣau* MS  
 As preceding, but here KS follows with a separate formula *manthī*  
*manthiśociṣā*, while TB ApŚ do not connect this immediately with  
 the preceding

*kṛṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ *kṛṇotu so adhvarān* (VS TB 'rā)  
*jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB AŚ *so adhvarā* (AB 'dhvarā karatī)  
*jātavedāh* AB ŚB See VV 1 p 263, under *ayād agnir*, also next  
*yakṣat svam mahimānam* VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ *yakṣatah svau*  
*mahimānau* MŚ In same context as prec, *mahiman* pertains to  
 the subject and varies in number with it

*prānāya me varcodā varcase puvasva* VS VSK TS ŚB *prānāpānābhyām*  
*me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ See VV 1 §368

*tasyaḥ (tābhyām, in 11 2 27 read tasmaḥ) namo yalamasyām diśitah*



AV (all three) All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon, practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §765

*veśāya vām* (TS TB ApŚ *tvā*) VS † 1 6, TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Kauś Sing used by TS addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS in addressing both together Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications

*te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye* TS *tā* (VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS N *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV VS MS KS ŚB N In a Viṣṇu hymn, the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣṇu alone in the sing The secondary change to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural

*aśmeva tvam sthūrā* (MG ApMB \* HG \* † 1 4 1 *sthiro*) *bhava* AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB (bis) HG (bis) MG *aśmeva yuvām sthūrau bhavatam* MG Sing fem refers to the wife, dual to wife and husband, in the same context The masc sing is used in a different context

*varunasya skambhasarjanam* (KS °ny) *asi* TS MS KS MahānU MŚ *varunasya skambhasarjanā sthah* VS ŚB Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS 18 27

*eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MŚ *tayā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyūyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ MŚ ApŚ ŚG ApMB HG *ete vām agnī samidhau tābhyaṃ vardhethām cā ca pyūyethām* KŚ (an ūha quoted in KŚ comm)

*āyukṣṛd āyukṣpatnī svadhāvantaḥ* AV *āyukṣṛd āyukṣpatnī (ms °nḥ) svadhāvah* KS *āyukṣṛd āyukṣpatnī svadhā vah* ApŚ The reference seems to be to the sacred fires, so at least in ApŚ, obscure in the others AV continues with dual forms, KS ApŚ with plurals, see *gopā me stam* (*gopā nah stha, goptrīyo me stha*), §758

*ā mātaraḥ sthāpayase jīgatnū* RV AV *āsthāpayata mātaram jīgatnum* AV In RV the 'two mothers' (parents?) are heaven and earth In AV *mātaram* possibly refers to Indra's mother, suggested by Indra's heroic deeds in the following pāda, cf RV 8 45 4, 77 1

*grāvacyuto dhiṣṇanayor upasthāt* VS ŚB *bāhucyuto dhiṣṇanāyā* (TS *dhiṣṇanayor*) *upasthāt* (KS °sthe) RV TS KŚ GB Vait MŚ See Hillebrandt, *VMyth* 2 1, p 426 ff According to H *dhiṣṇā* originally means 'earth' (dual in RV only 'heaven and earth'), then the *vedt* identified with the earth If so, VS TS have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense, the comm makes it refer to the 'pressing planks'

*viṣṇor manasā pūte sthah* (Kauś \* *pūtam aṣi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś (both) GG KhG Refers to two 'purifiers' of *kuśa* grass, or once in Kauś to a single one

*gṛstīk cādhvaryū* (ApŚ °yo, AŚ † °yor) *navatis ca pāsāh* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Spoken by the hotar as he touches the *adhvaryu* and the *agnidh*, in the dual form both are addressed Since the *agnidh* belongs to the class of *adhvaryu* priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic The AŚ probably has a misprint (§369)

*upasrjan* (ŚG *upa sṛjam*) *dharunam mātṛe dharuno mātaram* (LŚ MŚ *mātṛe mātaram dharuno*, ApŚ *mātṛe mātārā dharuno*) *dhayan* VS ŚB JB LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG *upasrjan* (AŚ *upasrjam*) *dharunam mātaram dharuno dhayan* AB AŚ The 'dam' is earth Caland suggests that the dual *mātārā* may mean 'heaven and earth', this may be the intention but it seems inappropriate Obscure

#### §770 Variants between dual and plural

*samprca* (°cah, °cas) *stha* VS VSK KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *samprcau sthah* VS ŚB Also, in same passage

*viprca* (°cah, °cas) *stha*, and *viprcau sthah*, same texts See VV 1 p 259 *etā asadan sukṛtasya loke* TS TB *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etāv asadatām* (pratikāḥ) ApŚ

*srucah sammr̥ddhi* ŚB KŚ MŚ *srucau sammr̥ddhi* MŚ *sruvam ca srucaś ca sammr̥ddhi* ApŚ

*ā mā gantām* (VSK *gantam*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK *ṡyavam*) VS VSK 10 3 12c, TS KS ŚB *ā mā ganta pituro visvarūpāh* MS It is not clear who are meant by the 'parents' or 'fathers' For the added *ca* after a double dual see Macdonell *Ved Gr* p 156 Add to VV 1 §§337, 352

*mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha* AV *madhavyau stokāv* (MS *stokā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS MS Why TS MS should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us Followed by

*sam nas tābhyaṃ* (AV *tebhīh*) *sṛjatu visvakarmā* AV TS MS The interpretation depends on that of the preceding

*svasāro mātaribhvarīr* (AV text °*svarīr*, read doubtless as RV) *ariprāh* RV AV *svasārau mātaribhvarī* (text em °*svarī*, read with mss and Whitney °*bhvarī*) *aripre* AV Part of a mystic verse, it is not clear who the 'sisters', dual or plural, are Ludwig suggests 'heaven and earth' and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, *ā mātārā sthāpayase ṡgatnū*, cf §769 But this would involve the rash assumption that AV is more original than RV

*davyā* (AV Ppp *davā*) *hotārāv ūrdhvam* (VS °*rā ūr*°, KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS °*rā ūrdhvam imam*, AV °*ra ūrdhvam*, Ppp °*ra* [but intending °*rā* since dual verb follows] *imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV Ppp VS TS MS KS 18 17a

§771 In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724, while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker

*yathāyatham nau* (KS *no*) *vratapatē* (KS °*pā*) *vratāni* (TS MS *vratinor vratāni*, KS *vratinām vratāni*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The dual includes Agni (*vratapatē*) and the *yajamāna*, KS's plural either refers 'editorially' to the *yajamāna* alone or to his associates. From the phonetic standpoint this and several others in this paragraph belong in VV 2 §732

*tan* (AV *tatu*) *nau samskr̥tam* AV VS 4 34, KS *tan nah samskr̥tam* TS MS The dual is taken to refer to the sacrificer and the offering addressed (perhaps better to him and his wife?), the plural refers to him and his associates, or perhaps really to him alone

*sā no* (AV *nau*) *nābhīh paramam jāmi tan nau* RV AV The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse. The dual of AV is doubtless secondary (cf Oldenberg on RV 10 10 4), it refers to Yama and Yamī, and is doubtless assimilated to the following *nau*, which has the same reference

*punsām bahūnām mātara syāma* (MG °*rau syāva*) ApMB MG Addressed to the wife by the husband, the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'

*ṛṣabhā janayanti nah* (ApMB °*yantu nau*, HG °*yantu nah*) ApMB (bis) HG *purusā janayanti nah* ŚG Spoken by the husband, as in prec. ApMB has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context

*asthūri no* (*no*, KS *nau*, MŚ † *nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* (VSK *udda satam himāh*), *tigmena nas tjasā* (TS *no brahmanā*, KS *nau brahmunā*) *sam sīśādhi* RV VSK TS MS KS TB MŚ The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs', the plural is 'editorial'. Note the inconsistency of MŚ

§772 Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest)

*idavāsmān* (RVKh Muller, followed by Scheft, *idava vām*) *anu vastām vratena* (RVKh as before *ghṛtena*) RVKh AV *idūsmān anu vastām ghṛtena* ApŚ MŚ

## 10 Form assimilation

§773 In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way, the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation, in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation. Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of *vāyu* are found in the HG form of the following. With cunning inanity, HG makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts. Oldenberg fails to understand HG, not having in mind the MS parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending *vāyo* to *vāyuh*, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns.

*ete te vāyo* (HG *vāyavah*) MS HG *eṣa te vāyo* MS MŚ HG *etau te vāyū* HG *vāyav eṣa* (and *ete, etau*) *te vāyo* ApŚ 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG also O Vāyus, dual and plural)' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun *te* is always singular, even in HG.

§774 Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are *uṣṣanam* (MS °nā) *āndābhyām* VS MS. In the *aśvamedha* 'I gratify the bull (the two bulls) with his testicles'. The bull or bulls are imaginary, transcendental beings, and there is no reason for the duality except the duality of *āndābhyām*. So with the next two, which occur in the same context.

*karnābhyām śrotam* (MS *śrotre*) VS MS. See prec.

*vidyutam kanānakābhyām* (MS KSA *kanāni*°) VS MS KSA *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Cf prec two.

*śrotam* (AV *śrotre*) *te cakre āstām* RV AV. The AV makes *śrotra* dual because of the predicate *cakre*, 'thy two wheels'.

*yena strīyam* (PG *śrīyam*, ŚŚ *strīyāv*) *akṛnutam* (PG °tām, ŚŚ *akurutam*) ŚŚ PG SMB GG. 'By which ye two (Aśvins) made woman (two women)'. ŚŚ's variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Aśvins.

§775 In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality.

*putrah pitarūv* (AV °ram) *avṛṇūtu pūṣā* RV AV. In both texts the reference is to the Aśvins, the singular of AV is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, tho phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237).

*duhāthām gharmaḍughe va dhenū* AV (in Conc preceded by *vāmam*, which belongs to the preceding pāda) *samduhāthām gharmaḍugheva dhenuh* TB The dual entity heaven and earth is compared to a mulch cow, or in AV to two cows, the assimilation in this case is natural enough, and is doubtless the original form.

§776 A special case of this form-assimilation is constituted by the variation in the form of substantive pronouns, which may be either neut singular (indefinite) without reference to the number and gender of the predicate noun, or on the other hand may agree in gender and number with the predicate, the latter is the more common usage in the Veda, and is found in the original (RV) form of the following variant, while secondary texts use a neuter singular (cf §§730, 812)

*mukham kim aśya* (VS *aśyāsīt*) *kau* (AV VS *kim*) *bāhū, kā* (TA *kāv*, AV VS *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA *†pādāv*) *ucyete* RV AV VS TA

§777 Form assimilation between dual and plural occurs in the variant *sā no* (*nau*) *nābhīh* etc., §771, and in the following

*śeṣe vaneṣu mātrah* (SV *mātrṣu*) RV SV 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers' Dual in RV because reference is to the two *aranis*, plural in SV by attraction to *vaneṣu*

*vājīno vājāṅgito vājam* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ *vājīnau vājāṅgītau vājam* MS KS MŚ See the several entries in Conc Two associated formulas, in KS (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf KS 14 7 206 22 f) The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other, both are dual in MS, both plural in VS TS

## 11 Corruptions and errors

§778 The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors  
*devī dvārau* (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed) The plural is equally familiar But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait, and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it The form *dvāro* may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for *dvārau* (VV 2 §732)

*saha nau vratapate* (TS MS add *vratīnor*, KS text *vratapā vratīnām*) *vratāni* VS TS MS KS ŚB The plural of KS is inexplicable, in view of the dual *nau*, the best ms in fact omits *vratīnām*, and so KS should probably be read, *vratīnām* probably crept in in the

- inferior mss of KS from the mantra *agne vratapā punar vratapā  
vratinām vratāni*, which shortly precedes
- tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā* RV. ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā  
śivena* AV The original refers *mandasānā* (dual) to the Aśvins,  
to whom AV also refers in the sequel Apparently *sā*, nom sg  
fem, is due to a stupid misunderstanding of the endings *-ā*, no  
feminine entity can be concerned here
- apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnām* (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA *apsarasām  
anu dattāṅṛnām* MS Phonetic corruption in MS, VV 2 p 122,  
1 p 282
- [*śākhābhyah svāhā* VS TS MS KSA Conc quotes *śākhābhyām* for  
VS TS ]
- [*śrotrāya me varcodā varcase* (MŚ *me varcodāh*) *pavasva* VS VSK ŚB  
MŚ *śrotrāya (me varcodau varcase pavethām)* TS Conc Similarly  
under *aṅgebhyo me* See VV 1 §372a ]

## CHAPTER XXIX

### GENDER

#### 1 Male and female persons and animals

§779 We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118–25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other. They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate, sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none. Thus, first, male and female animals

*hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya* (KS *meṣyā*) *vapāyā* VS KS It is likely that KS uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī. So in the next two

*ayāḥ sarasvatyā meṣasya* (KS *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS KS

*yatra sarasvatyā meṣasya* (KS *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS KS

*ṛṣabhāya* (MS *vṛṣ<sup>o</sup>*) *gavayī* VS MS *ṛṣabhāya rājñe gavayah* TS KSA  
*yad dharino* (TS KSA TB <sup>o</sup>*nī*) *yavam atir* VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB  
ŚŚ Possibly gender-attraction from *śūdrā*, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse

*anūṣur aśvo 'yāmī* (ŚŚ and AV mss *aśvāyāmī*) AV † ŚŚ † *svāṣur aśvah*  
*suyāmī* (ŚŚ *asvā yāmī*) AV ŚŚ

*ākhuh ṣṛjayā śayandakas te matrāh* (KSA ms *śayāndakās te matryāh*)  
TS KSA *śāryah ṣṛjyah śayāndakas te matrāh* VS MS Name of an unknown animal, male or female. The ed of MS follows the p p, the other mss have *ṣṛjayā*

*ajo* (TS *ajā*) *hy agner ajanīṣṭa lokāt* (TS *garbhāt*) AV VS TS MS KS  
ŚB

§780 Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to *ajo* or *ajā*

*so* (TS *sā vā*) *upaśyaj janitāram agre,*

*tena* (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra (agram) āyan,*

*tena* (TS *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AV *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāśah*, all in the same texts

§781 Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female

*śilpā varivadevyaḥ* (MS °vīh) VS MS *śilpās trayo varivadevāḥ* TS  
KSA 'The (three) varicolored (animals) are for the Vīśvadevas'  
The animals are male in TS KSA, female in VS MS

§782 Names of human or superhuman beings, varyingly male and female

*śikāyāñjanikarīm* (TB °ram) VS TB 'An ointment-maker' (female VS, male TB)

*piśācēbhyo budalakārīm* (TB °ram) VS TB

*yātudhānebhyaḥ kañṭakakāram* (VS *kañṭakikārīm*) VS TB Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for 'thorn', which is fem in the compound 'female thorn-worker', masc in the other

*pra devāḥ* (AV *devīḥ*) *protā sūnṛtā* RV AV TS MS Possibly gender-attraction to *sūnṛtā* in AV

*kātyāyanāya* (MahānU °yanyai) *vulmahe* TA MahānU Epithets of Śiva or his consort

*ākṛayāyā ayogūm* VS *ākramāyāyogūm* (Poona ed *ākṛayāyā*°) TB A nonce-deity, *ākṛaya* or °yā

*yamāya* (TB *yamyai*) *vanasūm* VS TB

*pratīkṣante śvaśuro devarāḥ ca* AV *pratīkṣantīm śvaśuro devarāḥ ca* ApMB

## 2 Variation of nouns in grammatical gender

§783 We come now to variants involving shift of grammatical gender in nouns. This shift may be signaled by a change in the form of the noun itself, as when a masculine or neuter *a* stem varies with an otherwise identical feminine *ā* or *i* stem of like meaning, or when an *u* stem appears now with a nominative in *ā* (masc), now with one in *a* (neut). It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders, this is true for instance of many case-forms of the *i* and *u* declensions and of the diphthongal stems. We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word. In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context.

### Masculine and feminine

§784 We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least



historically secondary Thus the word *yonr* is always masc in RV, and the fem is rare in the older language, its origin may be connected with the word's meaning, 'womb', which suggests fem gender Among the variants, MS and KS, the oldest YV texts, show only masc gender, with one exception (the first) in MS

*sapta yonr* (KS *yonnr*) a pṛasva (°vā) gṛtēna VS TS MS KS ŚB  
TB

*svam* (TS † only *svām*, thrice) *yonim ihāsudah* VS TS MS KS

*svām* (MS KS *svam*) *yonim gacha* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *svayonim gacha* MG (with v 1 *svam yonim*, which Conc suggests reading because of the MS reading)

*agne svam* (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*, for *svam*°) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

*dhravam* (TS *dhrvām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*yajño bhūtvā yajnam ā sīda svām* (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ *mā mā* (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣtam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim avisantau* (KS *avisāthah*) MS KS *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim avisantī* (KS TB ApŚ *avisan*) VS KS ŚB TB ApŚ *manam hinsīṣtam svām yonim avisantau* AB

*ebhyo* (Kauś *ābhyo*) *yonibhyo adhi jātavedāh* VS MS KS AŚ Kauś *yasyai* (VSK *yasyā*) *yonr hiranyayī* VS VSK ŚB *atho yonr hiranyayī* TS *yonr yas te hiranyayah* KS

§785 Next the stem *rayi* or *rai* Wackernagel 3 p 216 notes that the word is regularly masc in RV and suggests that the fem is due to influence of *puṣti* or the like

*sa no dadātu tam* (AV *tām*) *rayim* AV AA ŚŚ

*athāsmabhyam sahavīram* (AV VSK MS KS °vīram) *rayim dāh* AV VS VSK TS MS KS HG Wackernagel 1 c mentions *rayim sahavīram* and *sarvavīram* (see next) among the RV phrases in which AV keeps masc gender, otherwise the word is regularly fem in AV But note that this pāda, as a whole, is not Rigvedic *rayim ca nah sarvavīram* (TS † °rām) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV TS MS *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu svāhā* (VSK om *svāhā*) VS VSK ŚB *somo rayim sahavīram ni yansat* KS Cf RV 10 15 11d, and see prec

§786 The stem *dyu* (*dyu*) is regularly masc in the early language, later fem, see Wackernagel 3 p 221

*abhīmam* (TS MS † °mām, MS MŚ v 1 °mām) *mahuvā* (VS °mā, delete MŚ v 1 in Conc) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§787. The word *kalaśa* is regularly masc, in the following ApMB. seems to show a fem form *kalaśir*, but this may be a phonetic corruption for *kalaśair*, cf §412 and VV 2 §701

*ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB °śir, MG °śam) *ayuh* (*ayān*, etc) AV AG ŚG PG HG ApMB MG

§788 We come now to words in which fem gender appears to be regular or at least historically original

*yā* (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB The word *iṣu* is regularly fem in the older language (always in RV)

Here the masc pronoun may have been due to the series of masc *ye*'s in the preceding and following formulas

*avakām* (MS KSA *avakān*, but MS p p *avakām*) *dantamūlaih* VS MS KSA ŚB

*vy amīwāś* (TB °*vānś*) *cātayasvā viṣūcīh* RV TB Both edd of TB *amīwāś*, and comin likewise *amīwān rogān*, finding no difficulty in making *viṣūcīh* agree No masc is otherwise recorded, and in view

of the fem adjective *viṣūcīh* we may assume an ancient corruption *pravāyāhnāhar jīva* VS *pravāyāhne 'har jīva* MS *pravāsi* TS KS Vait (*prāvo 'sy ahnāsi* GB Gastra, corrupt) The masc is otherwise unknown, but MS p p gives *pravāya*

[*ṛtena* (MG *ṛteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB IIG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī roha vansa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG HG ApMB MG See §740]

§789 In the rest we find no criterion to determine clearly the original gender In some cases both seem equally regular, one is a ἀπ λεγ *enam parisrutah kumbhah* AV *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG Other GS texts preserve *kumbhah* which seems to be original in this formula

*dadhi mantham* (ŚŚ *manthām*) *parisrutam* (ŚŚ *parisrutam*) AV ŚŚ *agner akśnah kanīnakam* (VSK °*lām*, TS MS KS °*nikām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

*vṛtrasyaśi kanīnakah* (MS MŚ MG °*nikā* ) VS MS ŚB MŚ MG *mītrasyaśi kanīnikā* KS *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*nakāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ

*śimāh* (VS *śimāh*) *kṛtvantu* (VS \**śamyantu*) *śimyantah* (VS *śamyantīh*) VS (bis) TS KSA † An unknown word, cf VV 2 §§278, 572

#### Masculine and neuter

§790 Among the masc-neut variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun Special attention will be called to these

§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine. Thus, first, the word *asu* as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.) Even Benfey's Glossary to SV gives the gender as masc. Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV, and here it is obviously neuter, the VSK reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility. We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation.

*asum* (SV *asu*) *rinann upah* RV SV

*vyānaś* (KS *apānaś*) *ca me 'sus* (VSK 'su) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS  
*kṛnotu so adhvārān* (VS TB °rā) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB AŚ  
*kṛnutām tāv adhvārā jātavedasau* MŚ *so adhvārā* (AB 'dhvārā  
*karatī*) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB. Nowhere has *adhvārā* been recorded as  
 neuter, but this case is well attested and certain. VS comm. inter-  
 prets *adhvārān*, TB comm. considers the form a loc.!

*grīṣmo dakṣiṇah pakṣah* (MS *dakṣiṇam pakṣam*) MS TB TA. Fol-  
 lowed in MS by *varṣā uttaram* (sc. *pakṣam*). MS unmistakably  
 makes *pakṣa* neuter. Neither BR nor pw record such a usage, Monier  
 Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is  
 not cited.

[*gātum yajñāya gātum* (TA once *gātu gātu*) *yajñapataye* RVKh TS  
 MS ŚB TB TA (both) N. But TA Poona ed. has only *gātum*,  
 which is doubtless the true reading.]

§792. In several cases a masc. noun is made anomalously neuter,  
 apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun.  
*nikāyaś* (MS KS °yam) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. In this and  
 the next it is quite likely that the original form of the variant *pāda*  
 had the variant word in neuter gender, by assimilation to *chandah*,  
 and that the regular masc. form is actually secondary.

*samudram* (VS ŚB °raś) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*vivadhāś chandah* VS TS ŚB *vīvadham* (KS °dhaś) *chandah* MS KS  
*yajñāś* (TA *yajñam*) *tapah* TA MahānU. Poona ed. of TA has *v* |  
*yajñāś*, and so the comm. reads in both edd.

§793. Next words which are regularly or originally, neuter there are  
 several cases of *hārdī*.

*indrasya hārdī* (AV *hārdim*) *āvīśan manīṣibhīh* (AV *manīṣayā*) RV  
 AV SV

*mano me hārdī* (VSK *hārd*) *yacha* VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ *mano*  
*hārdim yacha* MS MŚ. Once (out of three occurrences) the MS  
 p p reads *hārdī*.

*mā me hārdī tvīṣā* (MŚ *hārdim dvīṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ *mā no hārdī*  
*tvīṣā vadhīh* RV. Three miss. of MŚ *hārdī*.

*avakrandena tālu* (TS KSA *tālum*) VS TS MS KSA Regularly neuter, occasionally masc, but BR cite no Vedic instance

*vatso jarāyu* (KS *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣah* AV TS MS KS *jarāyu* is regularly neuter, the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc or fem KS may be thus interpreted, or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter *us*-stems, cf the next

[*svam* (JB TA *punar*) *jarāyu* (TA °*yur*, Poona cd text °*yu*, but note seems to indicate that all mss read °*yur*) *gaur va* AV KS JB TA ApŚ Here the word is accusative, consequently if *jarāyur* be read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter *us*-stem ]

*yānu kṣetrāni yā vanā* AV *yānu dhanvāni ye vanā* (read *vanāh* with two mss) ApMB *vana*, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc in BR, from the Rāmāyana

[*catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādāh* RV VS MS KS GB TA MahānU ApŚ N Conc quotes *śṛṅgās* for GB, but Gastra reads *śṛṅgā* with all mss, and obviously this is the only possible reading ]

§794 In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage

*dhartram* (TS °*ras*) *catuṣṭomah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter *dhartra* in TS

*vyomā* (TS *vyoma*) *saptadasah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ The regular neut gender of *vyoman* is found only in TS Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was *vyomā*, masc by assimilation to *saptadasah* (*stomah*)

*ayam sahasramānavo* (so read) *vidharma* (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ to the subject *ayam*

*nāko 'si bradhrah* (MŚ *bradhno 'si*) *pratiṣṭhā samkramanam* (ApŚ °*nah*, MŚ °*kramanatamam*) KS ApŚ MŚ No masc *samkramana* is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective, but it seems likely that ApŚ assimilates either to the gender of *nāko* and *bradhrah*, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise

§795 We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, tho textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas

*yat sānoh sānum āruhat* (SV *sāno āruhad*) RV SV Both genders in RV

*yeṣu saumanaso bahuh* (MG *saumanasam mahat*) AV VS ApŚ LŚ ŚG  
 MG *eti saumanaso bahuh* HG As an abstract the word would be  
 expected to be neuter, but the masc is otherwise known (e.g.  
 AV 3 30 7) and is clearly primary in this variant.

*adityā uṣṇīṣam aśi* MS TA ApŚ MŚ *indrānyā uṣṇīṣah* VS ŚB  
 Both genders are familiar, probably the neut is primary here  
*akṣitś ca me kūyavās ca me* TS *kūyavam* (MS v 1 *kū<sup>o</sup>*) *ca me 'kṣitś*  
 (VS *'kṣitam*) *ca me* VS MS KS The word *yava* is masc, and  
 is followed by *kūyava* in TS This stem seems to occur only here  
 except that RV has *kūyava* as a demoniac name or epithet (here of  
 course masc) Most likely the majority of texts have the original  
 gender (neut)

[*prajananaḥ* (MahānU °*nam*) TA MahānU So Conc, but both edd  
 of TA read *prujanah*, MahānU has vv II *prujanah* and *prajana-*  
*nah* Either *prajanah* or *prajananam* must be read, both would be  
 regular.]

§796 We may mention here a few cases concerning the masc and  
 neut stems *brahman*, which are properly different words distinguished  
 by shift of accent, in unaccented texts their oblique cases are indis-  
 tinguishable See VV 2 §460 for some of these and other somewhat  
 similar cases considered from the phonetic aspect (*a ā*)

*yam* (MahānU *yad*) *antah samudre kavayo vayantri* (MahānU *vadanti*)  
 TA MahānU Referring to *brāhman* or *brahman*, even in TA  
 other neuter pronouns occur in the context

*ṛtasya brahma prathamata jayñe* TB *bhūtānām brahmā prathamā ha*  
 (msc °*mata*) *jayñe* AV

*tan no brahmā* (TAA °*ma*) *pracodayāt* MS TAA (not TA !)  
 MahānU *brahma* (ApŚ °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā ṛtasya* PB ApŚ *brahmadevī*  
*prathamajā ṛtasya* JB 2 258 (Caland, PB transl 21 3 7 note)

*brahma devakṛtam upahūtam* TS MS TB AŚ ŚŚ *brahmā devakṛto-*  
*pahūtā* ŚB The context is the same and refers to the cow, in ŚB  
 only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the  
 cow, the pple being made fem and the stem *brahman* personal  
 (quasi-fem °) 'she, god-created, has been invoked as *Brahmā*'  
 VV 2 §460 is incorrect

#### Feminine and neuter

§797 Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to  
 assimilation to adjoining words We begin with words which are usually  
 or originally fem

*varṣāś cākṣuṣyah* VS ŚB *varṣāni cākṣuṣāni* TS MS KS The rainy season is meant, the gender is usually fem, but occasionally neut, doubtless because *varṣa* 'rain' is neut in the early language, and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut gender

*ājyam uktham avyathāyā* (TS *avyathayat*, KS *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS °*notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Instead of *avyathā*, which is to be expected, KS uses an otherwise unknown *avyatha* 'firmness' (probably neut, less likely masc) The same with *praugam uktham*, *maruvalīyam u°*, *niṣkevalyam u°*, *vaśhvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc

§798 Due to assimilation to an adjoining word

*niṣīyam* (KS °*yā*) *nakṣatram* MS KS This rare name for the constellation *svāti* occurs as *niṣīyā* in TB (see BR s v) We assume that KS has the 'proper' form and that MS assimilates to *nakṣatram*, as in the next

*vikākhā* (TS °*khe*, KS v l °*khā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS See §752

§799 The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group

*tābhīr yāsi dūtyām* (MS °*yam*) *vūryasya* RV MS *yābhīr yāsi dūtyām sūryasya* TB See Pischel VSt 1 22 The regular form is *dūtya*, but in this variant, of course, the fem is older

*asmākena vṛjanenā jayema* RV AV *ariṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV [*idam tava prasarpānam* (JB °*nā*) RV JB † 3 169c Oertel and Caland emend JB to °*nam*, as the gender of *idam* seems to require]

[*ihi tisro 'ti rocanāh* TB ApŚ *etu tisro 'ti rocanā* AV So Conc There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by *y-*, AV p p to be sure reads *rocanā*, as if neut, which is the regular gender of the word, but the fem adjective *tisro* proves that *rocanāh* fem must have been understood]

§800 Due to assimilation

*viśo yantre* (KS *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātim* KS TB ApŚ The word is in apposition with *devī* (dual fem), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS, *yantre* is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem \**yantrā* as well as from neut *yantra*

*prthivy udapuram annena viṣā* TS *udapurā nāmāsy annena viṣā* MS KS A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS is rather to be expected (*pura* neut), it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS KS (probably original)

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable, mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains *svasti* or °*tih*, in which both genders are known

*paraśur* (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS °*tih*) AV TS The loss of final *visarga* is an easy phonetic change (VV 2 §381), and *svastih* occurs just before, even in AV On the other hand TS may have *svastih* by assimilation to this preceding form

*kyāmbu atra rohātu* RV *kyāmbūr atra rohātu* (TA *jāyatām*) AV TA The word is known only here

*asyopasadyāni mā chaitsīt* ŚB BṛhU *asyopasadye mā riṣāma* ŚG † 3 7 3c, KEMŚ *upasudī upasadya*, probably 'worship', neither known elsewhere

*kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi* VS ŚB : *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °*pāya*, p p °*pāyāh*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS TA (pratīka, °*pāyā* [iti], ApŚ MŚ) Stems *paraspa* °*pā*, as abstracts ('protection') both recorded only here See §152 In the same passages

*prīnasya tvā paraspāyāi* (MS °*pāya*, v l °*pāyās*, p p °*pāyāt*) *cakṣuṣas* MS TA (pratīka ApŚ) And

*divas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS °*pāya*) *antarikṣasya* MS TA (pratīka ApŚ)

§802 Apparently due to assimilation

*varunasya skambhanam* (KS °*ny*) *asi* TS KS MahānU ApŚ Nonce-word, either gender is formally good, KS doubtless assimilates to the gender of *śamyā* 'yoke-pin', which is addressed So in the next, in the same context

*varunasya skambhasarjanam* (KS °*ny*) *asi* TS MS KS MahānU MŚ *varunasya skambhasarjanā sthah* VS ŚB On the dual see §769

### 3 Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'

§803 An interesting little group of cases concerns words which refer to feminine entities and appear in one variant in distinctively feminine forms, while the other variant shows forms that are masculine or at least not distinctively feminine, they may be called 'common gender' forms Thus the acc pl of the 2d personal pronoun is, of course, regularly *yuṣmān* without regard to gender But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form *yuṣmās* is twice used in VS (followed by ŚB) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p 468)

*yuṣmān* (VS ŚB *yuṣmā*) *indro 'vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

*śivam āyanām abhy atra yuṣmān* (VS ŚB *yuṣmāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

§804 Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotrāsanaśin* is once feminized when it is made to refer to *āpah*, fem, in a ritual passage *āpo me hotrāsanaśinah* (AG °*śinyah*) ŠB ApŚ AG

§805 In the preceding the masculine ('common') form is regular, the feminine unusual and analogical. In a couple of other cases the feminine form is regular. Thus stems in the agent suffix *tar* regularly have feminines in *trī* (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p. 202), but in one variant the 'common gender' form is used with a feminine noun *adbhar visvasya bhartṛbhīh* ApMB *adbhīh sarvasya bhartṛbhīh* ŚG. The latter doubtless feels *bhartṛbhīh* as an appositional noun 'the waters, bearers of all'.

§806 Yet more anomalously, MS once uses the masculine form *adhīpati* instead of the fem *adhīpatnī* referring to Aditi. The formula occurs in a list of similar ones with different god-names, mostly masc, so that *adhīpati* is properly found in most of them, this doubtless helps to determine the use of the common gender form in MS. But all the other texts have the 'proper' fem *aditīr adhīpatnī* (MS °*patīr*) *āsīt* VS TS MS KS ŚB

#### 4 The indefinite neuter

§807 A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word 'thing' or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction. Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc or fem form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to. The masc or fem form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case, such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff and will not be repeated here, they belong, of course, equally in this group.—We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal ('such and such a one'), the former impersonal ('such and such a thing'). Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf §§730, 776)—Hirt, *IGGr* 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist.



§808 Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows.

*indrasya* (also *viṣnor*) *dhruvo* 'sī (TS ApŚ *dhruvam asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ A knot (*granthī*, m) is addressed, hence masc in most texts 'Thou art Indra's (Viṣnu's) firm one (firm thing, Keith 'fixed point', Caland 'Festes')

*brahmavānī tvā kṣātravānī rāyaspoṣavānī paryūhāmī* VS ŚB *brahmavānīm tvā kṣātravānīm* (TS KS add *rāyaspoṣavānīm*) *paryūhāmī* TS MS KS MŚ *tvā* refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, *audumbarī* (sc *sthūnā*), and is fem (cf TS 6 2 10 3, and KŚ 8 5 31) In VS ŚB it is made neuter 'thee, a brahman-winning thing' etc Mahidhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for *vānīm* with loss of ending, referring to Pān 7 1 39

*abhī tvādhām sahīyasā* RV ApMB 'upa te *dhām sahīyasām* AV The RV original has a neuter indefinite, 'with that which is stronger, a stronger thing', but really means a plant just like AV, which makes the adjective agree in gender with *oṣadhī*

*ya* (*yas, yah*) *strīnām jīvabhōjanah* VS TS KSA ŚŚ *yat strīnām jīvabhōjanam* Vait The 'antecedent' is *añjīm*, 'the slippery one', referring to the male member, it is masc even in Vait which follows with these indefinite neuters, 'the thing that is'

*agnir ekākṣareṇa* (MŚ KS °*kṣarayā*) *prānam* (MS TS KS *vācam*) *udajayat* (VS ŚB add *tam ujjēṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. And so *aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa* (°*kṣarayā*), *viṣnus tryakṣareṇa* etc, 17 items in same passage With the fems doubtless *vācā* is to be supplied 'with monosyllabic (etc) utterance' The accent (*ék*<sup>o</sup>) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, 'with one syllable') Mahidhara supplies *chandāsā* with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite 'with the monosyllabic (thing)'

*indrasya vajro sī vārtraghnah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApMB *indrasya vārtraghnam asi* VS ŚB Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vāj school, VS ŚB may understand *dhanus*, yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite ('thing relating to the Vṛtra-slayer, victorious')

§809 Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc or fem -

*tad aśvinā paridhattam svasti* TS *tam aśvinā paridhattam svasti* (MŚ *svastaye*) KS MŚ The masc refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference

*sam tam* (KS ApŚ *tal*) *sūcatu rādhasē* (KS ApŚ °*sā*) RV KS Vait ApŚ *tam* refers to soma-drops (*drapsa, anśu*), this is repeated in KS once with the indefinite neuter *tal* Another KS passage adapts the formula to a different context, where *tal* refers to *chidram*, this is repeated in ApŚ

*yām āśān emi kevalī sām me astu* AV *yad icchāmi manasā sakāmah* TB Followed by

*vidēyam enām manasā pravṛṣṭām* (TB *enad dhrdaye nivṛṣṭam*) AV TB The definite 'what desire I go to' of AV is replaced by 'what (thing) I desire' in TB, hence neut for fem in the following *pāda pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnati* RV *pumān enad vayatī udgrnati* AV 'This' in RV refers to *yajña* in the preceding In AV no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and *enad* is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort

*yam āśirā* (VS *yad āśirdā*) *dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS TS In VS, 'what good thing', in TS gender influenced by the following *putra*, which is the specific boon obtained

*yad indro apibac chacibhīh* VS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ *yam asyendro apibañ śacibhīh* MS Preceded by *yad atra sṛṣṭam (ṛiptam) rasinah sutasya* The relative is made masc in MS in reference to *sutasya* (m) which immediately precedes Followed by

*aḥam* (AB AŚ *idam*) *tad* (MS *tam*) *asya manasā śivena* (MS \* *ghṛtēna*), same texts

*deva savitar etam* (LŚ *etat*) *te yajñam prāhur* ŚŚ LŚ *etam te deva savitar yajñam prāhur* VS ŚB The context of LŚ refers to *samīdh* (fem), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing')

*ya etad* (TA MahānU *enam*, MahānU v 1 *etad*) *vidur* (ŚB BṛhU *ye tad vidur*) *amṛtās te bhavanti* ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kṛ ŚvetU 'Those who know this (him, TA comm *paramātman*)'

*tad* (MŚ *tam*) *aḥam manasē prabravīmi* VSK TB ApŚ KŚ MŚ Vait 'I proclaim this (truth, MŚ him, referring to Savitar)'

*kam* (KapŚ mś *kim*) *svīd garbham prathamam dadhra* (KapŚ °*rur*) *āpah* RV VS TS MS KS KapŚ Raghu Vira em to *kam*, wrongly, Oertel 18 In RV etc *kam* is adjectival to *garbham*, in KapŚ substantival, 'what (thing)?' On *dadhrur* see Edgerton, *Language* 10 243f

*tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam* VS ŚB *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS KS It seems that *tam* must go with *lokam*, there is then no expressed object of the verb in TS KS The VS has a lect *fac*, *tad* is the object and refers back to *yad* of the preceding

*eṣa* (MahānU *etat*) *te kāma* TAA MahānU *kāmaut* *te* AV etc The TAA comm supplies *ājyabhāgah*, that on MahānU *havih*, but the latter with *etat* is surely indefinite. The formula *kāmaut te* occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here. In the same passage

*eṣa* (MahānU *etat*) *te manyo* TAA MahānU

§810 In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal. This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one' 'nothing' *ahir jaghāna* (PG *dadarṣa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* AG PG HG ApMB MG 'The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing)'

*ṛtam nātṣeti kim* (GG *kaś*) *cana* TB ApŚ MŚ GG

*māmīṣām* (TS TB ApŚ *maṣām*) *kam canoc chiṣah* RV SV VS TS TB ApŚ *māmīṣām mocī kaś cana* AV *maṣām uccheyī kim cana* AV

*nakī* (SV *na kī*) *indra tvad uttarah* (SV *ṛan*) RV SV AŚ ŚŚ Followed by

*na jyāyān* (SV *jyāyo*) *astī vṛtrahan* RV SV And

*naku* (SV *na ky*) *evā* (SV *evam*) *yathā tvam* RV SV Wackernagel 3 p. 562 considers (*na*) *kī* (found only in SV) a mere corruption. To us it seems clear that it is a deliberate variant, a neuter to RV's *masc*, formed on the analogy of the endingless neut. nom. ace. of *i* stem nouns. See also §820 where both *nakī* and RV *naktis* are adverbial.

*yasmūj jātān na purā kim canaiva* VS *yasmūj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *astī* JB ŚŚ *yasmād anyo na paro astī jātah* PB *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait *yasmān na jātuh paro anyo astī* ('*sti*) VS TB KŚ ApŚ MahānU NṛpU *yasmāt param nāparam astī kim cat* TA MahānU N *tasmād dhānyan na parah kim canāsa* RV TB *yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kim canāsa* TA. Only the forms *jātā na parā* of TA need explanation. The comm. takes them as fem. sg., supplying *prajā*. But more likely they are Vedic neuter plurals (indefinite).

§811 But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing', sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first

*gopāyamānam* (KS *ṇas*) *ca mā rakṣamānam* (KS *ṇaś*) *ca gopāyetām* (*ṇyatām*) KS PG MG 'The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect.' Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (*masc* or *fem*) in all texts except

for this formula in PG MG Parallels in AV 8 1 13 Why PG MG provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear

*avasphūrjan* (MS KS °jad) *hetih* (TS *prahetih*, MS KS *dhetih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder' The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects The following one has *vidyut*, perhaps MS KS have adapted the form of *ava°* in an external, mechanical way to the ending (-t) of this word But *vidyut* is regularly fem (exceptionally neut according to pw, without quoting any occurrence)

*bṛhad* (ŚB *mahad*) *dha tashau bhuvaneṣv antah* RV ŚB AA *bṛhan ha tashau rajaso vimānah* (JB *vimānarva*) AV JB Both 'the great one', masc or neut

*śukro bṛhan dakṣinayā* (TB *bṛhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pīpartu* AV TB The comm on TB understands by *bṛhad* the *sāman* of that name That on AV takes *śukro bṛhan* as *Sūrya*, Whitney, Soma

[*yan* (ŚŚ *yam*) *nah pitā samjānūte* AB ŚŚ Indefinite in both AB 'what (i.e. the situation which) our father approves' ŚŚ might be interpreted 'whom (whatever person, really thinking of *Śunaḥ-śepa*) our father approves' But the ŚŚ comm reads *yan*, clearly understanding *yad* (gloss *yan no 'smākam pitā samjānūte tasmīn ūdeṣe vāyam tīṣṭhāmahe*) It seems that *yam* is only a bad writing for *yan* ]

#### Substantive pronouns in equational sentences

§812 In introducing equational sentences, pronouns may be in the indefinite neuter singular without regard to the gender or number of the noun referred to, or they may agree in gender and number with the latter Cf §§730, 776, where other examples are quoted, and §826

*kā* (TS TB *kim*) *svā āsīt pīrppilā*,

*kā* (TS TB *kim*) *svā āsīt pīsaṅgīlā*,

*kā* (TS TB ApŚ *kim*) *svā āsīt pūrvacittih*, all VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB, the last in ApŚ

*kah* (VS *kim*) *svā pṛthivyā varṣyān* (VS °yah) VS AŚ ŚŚ The answer expected is 'Indra', hence masc *kah* in most texts

#### 5 Adverbial forms

§813 Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs, it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which

makes it the favorite form of adverbs. When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun, altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs. Among the variants we find distinctively fem as well as neut adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs.

§814 We begin with the rare instances of fem adverbs varying with masc adjectives

*ud enam uttaram* (VS TS KS ŚB °rāmi) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ  
*divaś cid antād upamām* (TA † *upa mām*, RV *antān upamūn*) *udānaś*  
 RV AV SV TA Whitney adopts the v 1 *upa mām* for AV Ben-  
 ficcy takes *upamām* as an adverb. See §495

§815 Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives

*āgne yāhu svavidatrebhar arvān* (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvān*) RV AV MS  
 TB N

*yuktva* (so Poona ed of TB for *yuktā* Conc) *harī vṛṣanā yāhy arvān*  
 (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvān*, KS ms *arvāt*, ed *arvāk*) RV MS KS TB  
*prān* (VS TB *prāṅk*, MS *prāk*, p p *prān*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK  
 MS ŚB TB ApŚ

*pratyak* (p p *pratyān*) *somo atisrutah* MS *pratyān* (VS TS MS † ŚB \*  
 TB *pratyāṅk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS \* †10 31b, MS *atisrutah*) AV †  
 (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB  
 ApŚ

*etat tvā deva savitar vṛnate* ŚB *deva santar etam tvā vṛnate* AŚ  
 ŚŚ N

*tam u tvam* (SV *tvā tyan*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV SV Preceded by *yad*  
*dha tyan māyānam mṛgam* SV's *tyan* can only be construed as  
 an adverb. It is due in some part to the preceding *tyam*.

*tam idam* (ApMB *imam*) *vi vṛhīm te* RV AV ApMB 'I here (now)  
 pluck it out for thee' *idam* is an adverb, ApMB makes it into  
 a pronoun agreeing with *tam*.

*svasti nah pūrnāmukhah pari krāmatu* (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*)  
 ApMB HG See §404

*ava tara* (TS *anuttaram*, MS p p *avaturam*, AV *avatturo*) *nadiṣv ā* (AV  
*nadinām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaram* is apparently an  
 adverb. See §404

*tad āsatu ṛṣayah sapta sākam* AV *tasyāsata ṛṣayah* (TS TAA °*āsate*  
*harayah*) *supta tīre* TS ŚB BrhU TAA *tad* seems to be adverbial

*abvnnendram na jāgrvī* (TB °vī) VS MS TB See §762

*tam tvā pra vsāmī sarvaguh saha yan me 'stī tena* AV *tam* (KS †  
*lat*) *tvendragraha prapadye* (ApŚ *praviśāni*) *saguh saha yan me*  
 'stī (*astī*) *tena* KS ApŚ *tat* in KS adverbial

*viṣvak patantu didyavah* RV *viṣvañco asmac charavah patantu* AV  
*dyumad vibhātī bharatebhyah śuciḥ* (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV SV VS  
 TS MS KS *śuci* may be an adverb, but cf VV 2 §381

*tam* (MS *tan*) *nā devā avantu śobhayu* (MS °yī) TS MS TA Per-  
 haps bad writing (*tan* for *tam*)

*tan* (JB *tam*) *mā punsi kartary erayadhvam* JB KBU As prec  
*somah prathamō vivide* RV PG HG ApMB *somasya jayā prathamam*  
 AV 'Soma was the first to marry thee' 'thou wast Soma's wife  
 first'

*ye 'do* (MS *amī*, KS *vādo*, VS ŚB *vāmī*) *rocane divah* RVKh VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB ApMB *ye camī rocane divi* NīlarU *udas* adverb,  
 'there'

§816 A special group under this heading may be formed of the  
 variants involving the pronominal neuter *yad*, used as a conjunction,  
 in variation with masculine forms of the same pronoun  
*arundhatim ye* (ApMB *yad*) *dhruvatam ha ninyuh* ApMB HG '(The  
 ṛṣis) who have led ' 'since (the ṛṣis) have led '

*toke vā goṣu tanaye yad* (and *yam*) *apsu* RV (both)

*nava yat puro navatim ca satyah* RV AV *nava yo navatim purah* RV  
 AV SV

*pūrvō yat* (MŚ *yah*) *sann aparo bhavāsi* ApŚ MŚ

*pru ye* (SV *yad*) *gāvo na bhūrnayah* RV SV

*yad* (MŚ *ya*) *āgachāt pathibhir devayānaih* VS TS KS ŚB TB MŚ

*ya* (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad*) *ṛte* (PB † *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣah* RV AV  
 SV TB TA KŚ MŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB GG

*yena tvābadhnat* (KŚ *mā*°, TS ApMB *yam abadhnata*, MŚ MG *yaj*  
*jagrantha*) *santū suśevah* (AV °vāh, TS ApMB \* *suketah*, MŚ MG  
*satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (his) MG

*viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāh* (KS *vimana yo vyomā*, MS *vimame yo*  
*vihāyāh*, TS *manasā yad vihūyāh*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ N

*yud* (SV *yo*) *devasya śavasā prārindh* RV SV

*yad agne kavayavahanu* TS TB ApŚ *yo agruh kavayavāhanah* (VS KS  
*kavya*°) RV VS KS AŚ

*yud* (LŚ *yam*) *devāso lalāmagum* AV VS ŚB ŚŚ IŚ

*anu yam vsve madanty* (AV \* *anu yad enam madanti* †*viśva*) *ūmāh* RV  
 AV (both) SV VS AA ApŚ MŚ N

*tiṣṭhā ratham* (TB ApŚ *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajra-*  
*hasta* (TB °*tah*) RV VS ŚB TB

*viprā ṡgātham gāyatu yaj juṡoṡati* (AA °*ṡat*) AA ŚŚ *viprāya ṡgātham*  
*gāyata yam juṡoṡate* SV

§817 Feminine adjectives varying with neuter adverbs The first case involves the conjunction *yad*, as in the last paragraph

*andhena yat* (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṡtāsīt* (TA °*tāsi*) AV TA 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness'

*yajñāsyu jhṡvām avidāma guhyām* (MG *guhyaṡm*) RV TS MS KS 'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice'

*viśvair devair anumatā* (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhīh* AV VS TS MS KS SB TA The original fem adjective applies to *sītā* 'furrow' In TA it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc (§849) In KS the connexion is the same, and the neut must be taken as an adverb

*caraty ananuvratā* ApMB HG *vicaranty aputvratā* ŚG MDh *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ See §404

*asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ* MS *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* AV Kauś See §623

*achidrām tvāchidreṡna juṡtam* (KS °*tām*, v 1 °*tam*) *grhnāmi* MS KS ApŚ The fems refer to *surā* Caland on ApŚ would read *juṡtam* (adverb) in KS, and since the best ms reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right But *juṡtām* as fem adjective would be equally construable

§818 And once a fem noun, in the dative (quasi-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb

*tam* (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu sobhāyati* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly' See §437

§819 Neuter adjective varying with fem adverb

*upamam* (SV °*mām*) *devatātaye* RV SV *upamam* goes with *śavah* preceding, *upamām* must be an adverb

§820 In the rest both variant forms seem to be adverbial The only clear case of masc-neut variation here concerns the Rigvedic *nakis*, formally a nom sing masc, but sometimes used adverbially, twice in the same verse SV replaces it by *na ki*, on which see §810 above *nakir* (SV Svidh *na ki*) *devā minīmasi* (SV Svidh *mī*°) RV SV Svidh *nakir* (SV *na ky*) *ā yopayāmasi* RV SV

§821 Once, also, SV substitutes *nakih* for RV (*nū*) *cit nū cit* (SV *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV

§822 We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc - neut variation with the forms *kam* *kim*, altho of course *kam* cannot be, historically, an acc sg masc of the stem *ka*  
*prajāyati kam* (AV *kim*) *amrtam nāvṛnūta* RV AV

§823 As to fem -neut variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs *pratārām* and <sup>o</sup>*ram* (once *santaram* <sup>o</sup>*ram*)  
*pru tāry agne prataram na āyuh* RV MS KS ApŚ *prātāry agne pratārām na āyuh* TS

*jīvatuve prataram* (SV SMB <sup>o</sup>*rām*) *sādhaṃ dhīyah* RV SV SMB  
*indremamī prataramī* (VS TS ŚB <sup>o</sup>*rām*) *kṛthi (naya)* AV VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB

*drāghīya ayuh prataram* (TA † <sup>o</sup>*rām*, MG *prataram*) *dadhanāh* (AV \**te dadhām*) RV AV (ter) TA AG MG *ayur dadhānāh prataram navīyah* AV

*sāmṛōyaya prataram* (ApŚ <sup>o</sup>*ram*) *dadhanah* RV KS ApŚ MŚ  
*adhi kṣamī prataram dīdhyanah* RV AV *asman kṣaye pratārām dīdyanuh* SV

*pra tam* (RV \* *no*) *naya prataram* (TS ApMB <sup>o</sup>*rām*) *vasyo acha* RV (bis) VS TS MS KS ApMB

*samśītam ut santaram* (VS TS KS <sup>o</sup>*rām*) *sam sisadhi* AV VS TS MS KS

§824 Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both variant forms are parts of the pple of a compound verb and are perhaps hardly to be classified here, cf VV 2 §505

*svamkṛto* 'sī KS *svāmkrto* 'sī VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

## 6 Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825 Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the plurality of the nouns, or else they may be masc if the series includes both masc and fem nouns

*tas* (ApMB *te*) *tvā vadhu prajāvatīm* AV ApMB Preceded by *yā ośadhayo yā nadyo yāni kṣetranī ya vana* (ApMB *yam dhanvānī ye vanah*, so read) In AV *tās* follows the gender of the fems of the first pāda, in ApMB *te* follows that of the nearest noun, *vanah* (on which see §793), or is masc as including both masc and fem (see next)

*rohāt kundrñārī golattikā tū apsarasām* (VS *te* 'psarasām) VS TS MS KSA Since *rohāt* is regularly fem, the fem pronoun is expected (with only fem nouns) The masc of VS is apparently due to



taking *rohita* as masc (so VS comm), with a series including masc and fem nouns, a masc pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, *Gram* p 500)

### 7 Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun

§826 When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantive pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf §812)

*namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta uttarah pakṣah LŚ namas te bṛhate yas ta uttarah pakṣah AA namas te bṛhate yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta uttarah pakṣah ŚŚ* *bṛhat* means the *sāman* of that name Similarly *namas te rathamtarāya (rātham<sup>o</sup>)*, and *namas te vāmadevyāya (rājanāya)*, see Conc

(*yadi vrkṣād abhyapaptat phalam tat*) *yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva AV* (*yadi vrkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*) *yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva HG* (*yadi vrkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva ApMB* The neuter *tad* of ApMB HG refers back to *phalam* and keeps its gender, despite the masc predicate *vāyur* The masc *sa* of AV is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho *apām stokah* of the preceding verse may also have been influential

*strīyah satīs tān (TA tā) u me punsa dhuh RV AV TA N* 'Those that are women, they declared to me to be men' The original makes the pronoun agree in gender with the predicate, TA changes it to agree with the antecedent

§827 Somewhat similarly, an adjective epithet in the following variant agrees in gender either with the subject (Agni, so most texts), or with an adjoining noun—predicate of a different clause this time, but one which immediately precedes and is closely associated in TA, the text which makes this agreement

*sampriyah paśubhir bhava (TB ApŚ bhuvat, KS °yah paśubhir) MS*  
*KS TB ApŚ sampriyam prajāyā paśubhir bhurat TA* Subject is Agni in all, the formula *purīṣam asi* precedes in TA and KS, and follows in MS

### 8 Compound nouns

§828 On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751 Peculiar is the case of the dual stem *ahorātra*, for the masc or neut gender of compounds in *-rātra*, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p 40 Note that there is nothing in

the context of the following variant to disprove that *-rātrās* and *-rātre* may be fem (which gender the word has at least in VS 14 30)  
*ahorātrās* (KS TA °trāni) *te kalpanām* VS KS ŚB TA *ahorātre te*  
 (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB

§829 Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadhāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuvrīhi, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies Thus

*ayakṣmayā* (KS °mena) *pari bhujā* VS TS MS KS NīlarU Preceded in all by *yā te hetir mūlhuṣṭama, haste babhūva te dhanuh, tayāsmān visvatas tvam* (with slight variants) Since KS has fem *tayā* (referring to *hetir*) in pāda c, like the rest, the neut *ayakṣmena* of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadhārayā, 'with non-disease'  
*pīvoannān* (VS °nā, MS °nam, p p °nān) *rayivṛdhah sumedhāh* RV VS MS AB TB AŚ ApŚ All texts but VS intend *pīvoannān*, a bahuvrīhi, 'he seeks men with rich food' Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS in the same way, calmly stating that the final *n* of the acc masc is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadhāraya, acc pl neut 'he seeks rich foods'  
*tatrūpi dahre* (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam visokah* (TA Poona ed °kam, v l °kah) TA MahānU *visokah* 'freedom from grief', coordinate with *gaganam*, which is modified by *visokam* 'free from grief'

#### 9 Nom agentis (masc) nom actionis (fem or neut)

§830 Occasionally the same (or virtually the same) word is used either as a noun of agent (masc) or a noun of action (neut. or fem according to formation)

*eya vas taduvācanah* ŚŚ *eya vah saduvācanam* AB Comm on AB paraphrases by *adhyāpanam* and supplies *karṣyati* Better, 'he (shall be) to you instruction in what is right' ŚŚ, 'instructor in that'

*sā* (MS *yā*) *prathamā samskṛtir visvavārū* (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB *sa prathamā samskṛtir visvakarmā* TS TB ApŚ The latter makes a noun of agent out of *samskṛti*

#### 10 Substitution of one noun for another

§831 Sometimes the change of gender in an epithet is due to the substitution of one noun for another, altho the context is in general the same Thus, as between masc and fem

*avacṛṣṭā* (TB ApŚ °*tah*) *parā pata* RV AV SV VS TS TB Vait ApŚ  
AG Followed by

*śaravye brahmasamśtē* (TS °*tā*) RV AV SV VS TS *śara brahmasam-*  
*śtāh* TB ApŚ For *śaravya* TB ApŚ substitute the synonym  
*śara*

*ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto ayman* RV KS ('surrounding it they pene-  
trated into the prison-cave of the kine') *urvīm gavyām pariśadam*  
*no akran* AV (a far-reaching Verballhornung, Whitney, 'they have  
made for us a wide conclave rich in kine')

*gīreh pravartumānakah* RV *gīrer avacarantikā* AV Preceded by *kuṣ-*  
*umbhakas tad abravīt* RV, *kurnū svāvīt tad abravīt* AV The fem  
gender of *svāvīdh* is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the  
dictionaries

§832 As between masc and neut

*yam* (AV TS ApŚ *yat*) *te devī nirṛtir ā babandha*,

*pāśam* (AV TS *dāma*) *grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS ŚB *avicṛtyam*, AV *avi-*  
*mokyam yat*),

*tam te* (AV *tat te*, TS *idam te tad*) *vr śyāmy āyuso na madhyat* (MS KS  
*nu madhye*, AV *āyuse varcase balāya*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB,  
and the first in ApŚ MŚ Here the two synonyms are *pāśa* masc  
and *dāman* neut

§833 As between fem and neut

*yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* AG SMB PG ApMR HG  
*yathedam strīpautram aghanma rudrīyāya* MG The latter has a  
far-reaching reconstruction, *idam* agrees with *strīpautram*

§834 These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets  
apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough More dubious are some  
cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes  
its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one  
form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all A  
simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the  
late RV hymn 6 75 speaks of the bow as 'father of many daughters'  
(arrows?), *bahvīnām* fem, for which MS substitutes 'of many sons',  
*bahvīnām* masc (no one would want many daughters!)

*bahvīnām* (MS *bahvīnām*) *pitā bahur asya putrah* RV VS TS MS  
KSA ApŚ

§835 In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are

in one or both cases often uncertain Masculine and feminine  
*tvam uttamasy ośadhe* RV VS *uttamo asy ośadhīnām* AV The AV  
6 15 1a repeats RV 10 97 23 with change of gender, apparently  
referring to an unnamed plant with masc name (according to the  
cornu, *palāśa*, but Kauś uses barley)

- [*atī dhanveva tān ihi RV AV SV VS dadhanveva tā ihi TA nāhanveva tān imi TA* The TA repeats the verse in the same context, once recording *tā(s)*, fem, which seems to us to make no possible sense. We believe that it has merely lost final *i* by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added.]
- tāsām vīśānūnām (KS vīśānyānām) MS KS teḡām vīśipriyānām (VS ŚB °nām vo 'ham) VS TS ŚB* Preceded in same verse by *yās* (TS *yeḡām*) *tīśrah paramajāh (MS prathamajāh)* Reference is to soma-cups (*graha*), and we do not understand the fem, yet note *tīśrah* even in TS (The TS comm supplies *prakṛtayah*) Keith ignores the point. Perhaps a fem synonym of *graha*, such as *śruti*, is understood.
- jīvam (ApMB jīvam) rudanti vi mayante (AV nayanty) adhvarē (AV °ram) RV AV ApMB* In an obscure stanza used in the wedding rite, see Bloomfield *AJP* 21 411 ff, Oldenberg *Noten* on 10 40 10. The fem of ApMB surely means the bride, it is still problematic who is meant by *jīvam*.
- emām (ŚG enam) kumāras tarunah AV ŚG*, and  
*emām pariśrutah kumbhah AV enam pariśrutah kumbhyū ŚG* The fems refer either to the house (*sālā*) or to the chief post (*sthūnā*), the masc apparently to the latter under its name *sthūnārāja*.
- utemam paśya MS MŚ utemāh paśya TS* See §740
- asyai (TS asmaī) sam datta vīryam (TS bheḡajam) RV VS TS asyai* refers to an herb, into which all herbs are to put their healing power, of course for the benefit of the *yajamāna*, to whom TS refers directly with *asmaī*.
- śvebhīr (AV VSK TS °śvābhīr) adya pari pāhi no gayam (vr̥dhe) RV AV VS VSK TS (both) MS KS TB* The masc agrees with *pāyubhīh* in the preceding in some texts, in others some such masc (or neut ?) word has to be supplied, or else it is an indefinite, quasi-adverbial neuter. With the fem the AV comm supplies *ūtībhīh*, it might however be considered adverbial.
- anu manyatām anumanyamānah (TS °mānā) AV TS* And  
*tasya (TS tasyai) vayam hedasi māpi bhūma AV TS* These two pādas occur in a hymn addressed to Anumatī, to whom the fems refer, the masc forms of AV are well attested but we can explain them no better than Whitney (see his note).
- vīśā (MS vy) amīvāh pramuñcan mānuḡibhīh (KS °ḡebhyah, MS °ḡānām) AV MS KS* See §573
- sam eta tvīśve vacasā (SV vīśvā ojasā) palim dvah AV SV* By *vīśve*

AV undoubtedly means 'all men' Benfey suggests either that *viśvā(h)* is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case masc, or else that *stutayah* is to be supplied with it Ppp is reported by Roth as reading *viśvā*

[*anābho mṛda dhūrta* (MS *dhūrte*, v 1 °*ta*) MS MŚ · (*quārbhava mṛda*) *dhūrta* (KS °*te*) *namas te astu* ('*stu*) KS ApŚ Knauer on MŚ would read *dhūrta* also in MS Rudra is addressed and no voc fem seems possible, if a voc form is concerned it can only be *dhūrta* But *dhūrte* occurs in KS, KapS (4 6 45 1, see Oertel 101), and in two *mas* and *pp* of MS The persistence of the form suggests that *dhūrta* is a lect fac Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun *te*, or some sort of noun form, *dat sg* or *loc sg* ]

[*mānasya patni śaranā syonā* AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG. Followed by

[*devī devebhar nimitāsy agre* AV *devo devebhar vimitāsy agre* HG The fems *vimitā* and *syonā* are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG, Oldenberg adopts the AV readings ]

§836 A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem) to a collective noun such as *senā* 'army', or (in the masc) to the individuals which compose the collectivity Cf §715

*indra āsām* (AV MS KS *eṣām*) *nelā bṛhaspatih* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS The fem pronoun refers to *senāh* 'armies', in the context, the masc to the men who compose them

*yuvam tām* (SV *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV SV As in prec, here *senā* sing

*āmūr aja pratyāvartayemāh* RV VS TS MS KSA *prāmūn jayābhīme jayanu* AV The original *āmūr* probably refers to armies (Geldner) Whitney takes the AV form as *amūn*, referring to the individual enemies, but *pp amūm* (comm *śatrusenām*)

*nama āvyādhrivībhya vividhyantībhyaś* (KS *vividhyadbhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding *senā plu*, the masc of KS to the individual members

§837 Masculine and neuter

*māteva putram bibhṛtāpsv enat* (MS *bibhṛtā sv enat*, TS KS *bibhṛtā sv enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The neut refers to the ashes put into water (mentioned in the context), the masc apparently to Agni, the fire here carried in a pan

*vardhamāno* (TS °*nam*) *mahān* (TS MS *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS °*ram*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB The half-verse accompanying this one in VS 11 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (*puṣkara* or *puṣkaraparṇa*, both neut) on which is laid a lump of clay representing Agni. Our pāda is followed by *divo mātrayā varinū* (*varinnū*) *prathasva*. Mahidhara on VS thinks that *vardhamāno* still refers to the lotus leaf, with 'Vedic' change of gender. With Griffith we must rather understand Agni, in the form of the lump of clay, as addressed. In VS 13 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of the āhavanīya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in the 2d half verse. TS uses neuters, referring to the lotus leaf as in the other half verse.

*ya enad veda sa id enad* (AV *enam*) *arhatī* RVKh AV The neut refers to *hṛtanyam*, the masc. apparently to an unexpressed *manī* or some masc. name of a jewel (Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 669).

*svasty ullarūni* (MS MŚ °*ran*, TS ApŚ °*rāny*) *asīya* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Used in the shaving ceremony, the neut. we take to refer to *śmaśrūni*, with Caland and Henry (otherwise comm. and Keith). The masc. pl. (intended also in MS MŚ) may refer to *keśān*, it is hardly necessary to emend as Schroeder suggests.

*devaśrud imān* (sc *keśān*) *pravape* MS MŚ *devaśrūr etāni* (sc *śmaśrūni*) *pravape* TS HG As prec.

[*viso* (SV *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Followed by *s-*, doubtless phonetic corruption in TB, cf. VV 2 §381.]

[*samśritam kṣatram jṣṇu* (Ppp MS KS TA *kṣatram me jṣṇu*, AV *kṣatram ajaram astu jṣṇuh*) AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TA *jṣṇuh* can only be a blunder, VV 2 §381.]

### §838 Feminine and neuter

*gāthayati pariśkr̥tam* (AV °*tā*) RV AV See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 85 6. Apparently the neut. refers to Sūryā's garment (*vīśah*). AV makes the fem. refer to Sūryā.

*haviṣ* (*havih*) *kṛṇvantah parivatsarinam* (MG °*rīyam*, HG † SMB † °*rīnām*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG Both Kirste and Jorgensen confess inability to interpret the fem., and we can do no better. But its occurrence in two texts, of different schools, is very strange.

[*ya ābadhūva* (PB *āva*°) *dhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*!) VS PB JB ŚŚ Vait. *viśvāh* is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381), the comm. has *viśvāni*.]

### §839 Masculine, feminine, and neuter

*ūrnamrudasam* (*ūrṇa*°) *tvā strūmī* (KS *ūrnamrudah prathasva*, Kauś

*ūrnamradam prathasva*) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *devebhyaḥ*  
VS TS KS ŚB TB Kauś ApŚ Masc in TS TB ApŚ (applying to *prastara*), fem in VS ŚB (to *vedī*), neut in KS Kauś (to *barhis*?)

### 11 Transfer of epithet

§840 The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context. These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case, these will not be repeated here. Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms

*ūlāno* (KS °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS °*nam*) *namasū* AV VS VSK TS MS KS  
See §399

*aṅgāny ahrulā yasya* (TS and vikāra of ŚB *yasyai*) VS TS KS ŚB  
Followed by *tam mātṛā* (KS *tam devās*, TS and vikāra of ŚB *tām devaḥ*) *saṁ aṅgamam* (KS *acikṣan*) The masc (original) makes the pronouns refer to the embryo (*garbha*) of the cow, the vikāra of ŚB contemplates the possibility that the embryo will be female (and belongs with §782) TS, on the other hand, contains a genuine and obvious 'transfer of epithet', making the pronouns refer to the cow herself (who, to be sure, is referred to in the stanza only by second person pronouns)

*tud agnir anumanyatām ayam* (PG *iyam svāhā*) PG HG The simpler, and presumably original, reading is *ayam*, referring to Agni, *iyam* is difficult, Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion, Oldenberg renders by 'N N', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom), the comm on PG makes *iyam* agree with *svāhā* as n pr, 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort)'

*dvāro devīr anv aya viśve* (MS KS *viśvāḥ*) AV VS TS MS KS The masc *viśve* is a coordinate subject, along with *dvāro*, in MS KS it becomes an epithet of the latter

*tām tvam svadhām tair sahopa jīva* ApMB *tam svadhām akṣitam tair sahopajīvāsau* HG Most likely HG is original 'upon that (wave, *ūrmi*, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these' ApMB makes the pronoun agree with *svadhām*

*kasmar* (KS *tasmar*) *deva vaṣad astu tubhyam* VS VSK MS KS ŚB  
*tasmar ca dev vaṣad* TS The voc masc refers to Prajāpati (or

'Ka'), the fem of TS to Pṛthivi (denoted by *uttānāya* in the preceding)

*garbham sravanam agadam akah* (AŚ *akarma*) TS AŚ ApŚ . *garbham sravanīm agadām akarma* ApŚ *ukhām sravanīm agadām akarma* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ MŚ The masc forms go with *garbha*, the fems with *ukhā* (which is clearly understood even when not expressed) *apāsya ye ṛśindh pāsāh* KS ApŚ *apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān* Kauś The fem refers to Nirṛti, preceding, the masc apparently to the *yajamāna*

*indrena dattam prayatam* (TS *dattām prayatām*) *marudbhīh* TS MS KS Preceded by *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* (MS *nābhīm*) The masc pples agree with the last word, the fems with *dhārām*

*mā hnsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam* (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB 'Let them not injure the procession as it proceeds' 'let them not injure the procession and her (the heifer) that is being carried off'

§841 In some of the above the 'epithet' is in one form more or less independent, in a couple of others it is quite distinctly so, that is not really an 'epithet' of another word at all (cf §15)

*pratyāñ ud eṣi mānuṣān* (AV \* °ṣīh) RV AV (both) ArS N Preceded by *pratyāñ devānām vśah* The RV *mānuṣān* = 'humans, men', in AV *sc vśah*

*mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣbhīr arcinah* (TB *taviṣbhīr ūrmibhīh*) RV TB The orig *taviṣbhīh* is apparently a noun, 'with might', TB feels that a form of the adjective *taviṣa* is required, and supplies *ūrmibhīh*, perhaps recollecting RV 6 61 2

§842 Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter

*anāptā yā* (AV *ye*) *vah prathamā* (AV p p °māh) AV KS ApŚ See §552, end

*eṣa vasūni pibdonā* (SV °nah) RV SV The adj is transferred from *vasūni* to *eṣa* (= Soma)

*śambhu mayobhu* (TB TA *śambhūr mayobhūr*) *na hṛde* RV SV TB TA Kauś N Preceded by *vāta āvātu bheṣajam*, the adjectives go with *bheṣajam*, or with *vātaḥ*

*asmīn have puruhūtah purukṣuh* (AV TS °kṣu) RV AV Ppp TS KS Preceded by *uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat* (*yachatu*) Transfer from *mahiṣah* to *śarma*

*kakubham* (*kakuham*) *rūpam vṛśabhāsya* (*rūpam ṛṣ°*) *rocute bṛhat* (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB In VSK *bṛhan* goes with *somah* following



*codad rādha upastutās* (ArS °*tam*) *cid arvāk* RV AV ArS MS TB  
 The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to *rādhas*  
*tad ayam* (MG *idam*) *rājā varuno* 'numanyatām AG SMB PG ApMB  
 HG MG In MG *idam* (with *tad*) replaces *ayam* (with *rājā*  
*varuno*)

*vīduharās tapa ugro* (AV *ugram*) *mayobbhūh* RV AV  
*matāvā kṣūpra* (SV °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV *tam*) *īmahe* RV SV. 'We  
 wish that' 'we pray to [thee] here'

*yenā samatsu sāsahah* (SV °*hih*, MŚ °*hi*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ The  
 original *sāsahah* is a verb form, in SV it becomes an adjective  
 epithet of the subject 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in  
 battles' In MŚ this adjective is made to go with the preceding  
*manas*

*brahmādhiguptah* (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāni*  
 (PG *surakṣitah syāmi*, MG *svarākṣānah*, most miss *svarākṣānah*)  
*svāhū* (MG omits) AG PG MG In MG the first word is  
 attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (*bhūtam bhavi-*  
*ṣyad uta bhadrām astu me*), in the others it goes with the 1st person  
 subject

*dhr̥ṣānam* (AV °*no*, but Whitney translates °*nam*, AA *dūdhr̥ṣānam*)  
*dhr̥ṣitam* (AV °*tah*, but Whitney translates °*tam*) *śavah* AV AA  
 ŚŚ † The masc forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the sub-  
 ject of the preceding *pāda*, instead of to *śavah* The passage is  
 very troublesome

§843 In the next (cf §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an  
 independent word, *amṛto* modifies *panthā(h)*, but MS uses *amṛtam* as  
 an independent noun, 'nectar'

*prānasya panthā amṛto* (MS °*tam*) *grahābhyām* VS MS KS TB

§844 Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter

*upasthāsānām mitravad astu ojah* TS MS AŚ *upasthāsā mitravatīdam*  
*ojah* KS In KS *mitra*° agrees with *āsā*, in the others with *ojah*  
*tebhīr mā* (ApŚ *tābhīr no*, ApMB *tābhīṣ (vā) devah savitā punātu* MS.  
 ApŚ ApMB Preceded by *śatam pavitrā vitālā hy* (MS *vitātāny*)  
*āsu* (sc *apsu*) The pronoun refers to *pavitrā* in MS, in the others  
 to *āsu* (*apsu*)

§845 The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original  
 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15), but the reconstruction  
 of the secondary ApMB is very sweeping It means 'shine thou for  
 my foot-water (*padya*, neut)' In the original, *padyā* is used as an  
 epithet of the noun *Virāj*

*mayi dohah padyāya virājah* (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG *mayi padyāya virājo dohah* ŚG ŚŚ PG *mama padyāya vi rājo* ApMB

## 12 Phrase inflection

§846 In many cases variation in gender accompanies and signals the adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes several pādas, or even an entire verse, is thus readapted. For example, the R̥gveda itself contains a verse which is used twice, once in a woman's charm against feminine rivals, and once in a man's charm for dominion and victory. The two verses are practically identical throughout, but the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other. Hence the variants

*asapatnā* (RV also °*nah*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB, followed immediately in both RV and ApMB by *asapatnah sapatnahā* RV AV *asapatnā sapatnaghñī* RV ApMB

§847 Such a variation may properly be called a *vikāra* in the technical sense. Many of the variants here included are nothing but technical *vikāras* or *ūhas*, often they appear in the same passage, modulated according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV in a single hymn applies the epithets once to *mitrāvarunau*, masc, and once to (*dyauh* and) *prthivī*, fem  
*jarāmṛtyum kṛvūtām samvidānau* (and °*ne*) AV (both)

§848 We find the following variants of this sort, first some in which all three genders appear  
*vānaspatyo* 'si PB ApŚ MS AG *vānaspatyam asi* KS *vānaspatyāsi* MS ApŚ MS

*jāgataṃ asi* MS TA ApŚ *jāgatāsi* MS *jāgato* 'si MS MS Also *gāyatram asi, gāyatro* 'si, *gāyatry asi, trāyṣṭubho* 'si, °*bham asi salakṣmā* (MS KS °*na*) *yad vṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *bahhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *vṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS. See §727

§849 Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted, occur

*tr̥pto* 'ham MS KS MŚ *tr̥ptāham* (v l *tr̥pto* 'ham) MŚ. In the last the words are spoken by the *patnī*, it is a simple *ūha* of the other, recollection of which is responsible for the v l with masc  
*tās te* (TS MŚ *te nah*) *kṛvantu bheṣajam* RV AV TS MŚ PG. Different contexts, perhaps not true variants

*agnim kulāyam abhisamvīśantīh* (ApŚ °*vasānāh*) MS ApŚ *agnim gṛhapatim abhisamvasānāh* TB ApŚ. The entire verse is repeated, with subjects respectively *prajāh* and *paśuvah*

*aido me bhagavo 'janīṣṭhā maītrāvaruṇā* MS *aidī me bhagavaty ajanīṣṭhā maītrāvaruṇī* MS Ūhas, followed by the respective directions. *iti pumānsam jātam abhimantrayeta*, and *iti strīyam jātam abhi°* In the same passages the next four

*citrā citram* (and *citrām*) *asūt* MS,  
*citrāś citrā* (and °*rān*) *asuvan* MŚ,  
*punyā punyam* (MS \* *punyām*) *asūt* MS MŚ,  
*punyāh punyā* (and °*yān*) *asuvan* MŚ

*jyotir viśvasmai bhūvarūya kṛvatī* (and *kṛvan*) RV (both) To Uṣas and Savitar respectively

*tam* (KS \* *tām*) *agne hedah pari te vṛnaktu* VS TS MS KS (both) ŚB To Agni and *māyā*, in adjoining stanzas in KS, the others also have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of *tām* KS has allowed one stanza to influence the other

*tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma* (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāśma*) AV MS KS *tasya te vuyam bhūyīsthabhajo bhūyāśma* ApŚ *tasyās te bhakṣvānah syāma* (MS KS ApŚ † \* *bhaktivāno bhūyāśma*, AŚ *bhāgam aśimahī*) MS KS TB ApŚ (bis) AŚ Different contexts

*tāns te paridādāmy aham* ApŚ *tām te paridādāmy aham* (TA °*dadāmi*) TA ApŚ

*trīr ā dwo vidathe palyamānah* (and °*mānāh*) RV (both)

*tvastṛmantas* (MS MŚ *tvastri°*, ApŚ *tvastṛu°*) *tvā supema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ *tvastṛimatī* (TS ApŚ *tvastī°*, so also TA Poona ed with v 1 *tvastri°*) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ The fem subject is the patni, see §725

*pari tmanā viśurūpo jigāsi* (and °*rūpā jigōti*) RV (both)

*viśvair devair anumatā* (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhūh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Different context in TA, on KS see §817

*indrāya somam suśulam bharantah* (and °*tih*) RV (both)

*asmeva tvam sthīrā* (Ppp MG ApMB \* HG † \*[1 4 1b] *sthīro*) *bhava* Ppp (for AV *āsmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG SMB PG ApMB HG MG The fem to the bride, the masc in different context to a boy

*pari dhatta dhatta no varcasemam* AV *pari dhatta dhatta vāśasarnām* (HG ApMB °*nam*) SMB HG ApMB A<sub>3</sub> prec

*śatāyusaṃ* (SMB °*ṣīn*) *kṛnuta dīrgham āyuh* SMB ApMB HG A<sub>3</sub> prec *āyusmatīdam pari dhatsva vāśah* AV SMB PG MG *āyusmann idam* MG *āyusmān idam* ApMB HG A<sub>3</sub> prec

*upahūto 'yam yajamānah* ( ) TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *upahūteyam yajamānā* TB The whole of the second passage in TB is a vikāra of the other It contains the next six

- devye dhāmann* (°many) *upahūtah* (TB \* °hūtā) TS MS TB \*  
*ullarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtah* (TB \* °tā) TS ŚB TB  
*tasminn upahūtah* (TB \* °tā) MS TB AŚ ŚŚ  
*upahūto bhūyasaḥ havīṣkarane* (havīṣk°) MS AŚ ŚŚ · *bhūyasaḥ havīṣkarane*  
*upahūtah* (TB \* °tā) TS † 2 6 7 5, TB (bis) ŚB  
*viśvasya priyasyopahūlasyopahūtah* (and °tā) TB (both)  
*viśvam asya* (TB \* asyāḥ) *priyam upahūtam* TS TB (both)  
*vṛṣāḥ vṛṣṇyāvan* (Kauś °vatī) AV † Kauś † Different contexts, tho  
 both in rites for virile power, AV addresses the man concerned,  
 Kauś the magic herb  
*irām vahanto* (ApMB *vahato*, MG *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāndh* AŚ ApŚ  
 AG ŚG ApMB MG *irām vahantah sumanasyamāndh* HG See  
 §739  
*īśānam vāryānām* RV AV SV TS MS KS JB *īśānā* (sc *āpah*)  
*vāryānām* RV AV MS TB TA  
*mayi puṣṭim* (AV *puṣṭam*) †*puṣṭipatir* (AV *puṣṭa*°) *dadhātu* (AG  
 †*dadātu*) AV MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB *mayi*  
*puṣṭim puṣṭipatnī dadhātu* KS The latter in a different context  
*yalamānā* (and °no) *rakṣibhīḥ sūryasya* RV (both)  
*rākāyā aham devayajyayā prajāvān* (and °vatī) *bhūyāsam* ApŚ (both)  
 Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining  
 passages In the same the following  
*snīvālyā aham devayajyayā pasūmān* (°matī) *bhūyāsam*, and  
*kuhā aham devayajyayā puṣṭimān pasūmān* (*puṣṭimatī pasumatī*) *dhū*  
*rodana kṛvatīr* (°vaty, °vanto) *agham* AV (ter)  
*viṣūcīm* (and *viṣvañcam*) *vi vṛhāmasi* AV (both)  
*śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah* TB ApŚ *śivā ca me śagmū cardhi* TB ApŚ  
*samvatsarasya śaṣṭhah* (TS \* KS \* *śaṣṭhī*) TS KSA Both in a series  
 of formulas, with the masculines different parts (*avayava*, in) of  
 the shoulder are offered, with the fems various ribs (*vañkri*)  
*vasūni cārur* (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, v 1 *cāyyo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi*  
*(bhṛjāsi, bhajā sa) jīvan* AV SMB HG ApMB See §334  
*sa cakrārasam* (and *sā cakarthārasam*) *viṣam* AV (both)  
*sa jīva śaradaḥ śatam* ŚB BṛhU KBU AG SMB PG ApMB HG  
 MG N Mbh *sā jīva śaradaś śatam* ApMB An ūha  
*samyajmāno abibhyuṣā* RV AV SV N *samyajmānā abibhyuṣth* (MS  
*avihrutāh*) AV MS  
*sa* (and *sā*) *no viśvā atī dviṣah* RV (both)  
*sā* (HG *sa*) *mām ā viśatād iha* (MG *viśatām ihaiva*) ApMB HG MG,  
 and RVKh Scheftelowitz 10 151 3d

sa (and sã) no dohatãm svetryam (MŚ svetryam) TB ApŚ MŚ (both in all texts) Ūhas, in same passages

sumr̥ḍīkām abhiṣṭaye RV TS MS · sumr̥ḍīkām abhi° RV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

yasmād bhūā (bhūto) niṣīdasi MŚ (both)

yantā rāḥ TS KSA TB yantrī rāḥ VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

And, in same passages

yantrī yamanah VS TS KS KSA ŚB TB yantry asi yamanī (TS yamitrī) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ

sa (AV sã) nah sarva trivarūtham vi yansat (AV ni yachāt) RV AV MS KS TB ApŚ

ūrdhvām enām (VS \* ŚB \* LŚ \* ūrdhvam enam) uc chrayatāt (chr̥paya) VS \* TS MS KSA ŚB \* TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ \* ApŚ In same passages the next

athāsyaḥ (TS MS TB °syā, KSA adhāsya, VS \* LŚ \* athāsya) madhyam edhatām (edhatu, ejatu, ejati) VS \* TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait IŚ \*

ut tṣṭha (VS ŚB KŚ utthāya) bṛhatī (TA bṛhan) bhava VS TS MS KS ŚB TA MŚ Followed by

ūrdhvā (TA °vas, VS ŚB ud u) tṣṭha dhruvā (TA °vas) tvam VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

yamena tvam yamyā samvidānā (TA \* °nah) VS TS † MS KS † ŚB TA (bis) The fem of all but TA applies to Nirṛti In the two TA passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed, the form should according to the sense be masc both times Yet once TA reads samvidānottamam (combining with uttamam, first word of the next pāda), for which the comm says samvidānā samvidāna aikamatyam prāptah Here we must either understand samvidānah with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts

amṣtā martyebhyah RV amṣtam martyābhyah TB ApŚ

soruh satī na nīvartate TA uruh san na nīvartate TA Ūhas, in adjoining passages

aniśūāsi sapatnakṣit VS . aniśūāh (KS ApŚ add stha) sapatnakṣayanīh MS KS ApŚ aniśūto 'si sapatnakṣit VS ŚB

bhavati bhikṣām dehi Kauś bhavān bhikṣām dadātu AG

aham vo asmi sakhyāya sevah MS yuṣṁkām sakhye aham asmi sevā AV The next is in the same passage

uttham bṛeyo manyamānedam āgamam AV idam bṛeyo manyamāno vā āgam MS

- ugrā ca bhīmā ca* VS MS MŚ *ugrā ca bhīmā ca* TA  
*apadyamānah pṛthivyām* TA ApŚ *apadyamānā †pṛthivī* TS ApŚ  
*avyathamānā pṛthivyām* (MS v 1 °vī) VS MS KS ŚB  
*adharācīh* (AV *adharāñcam*) *parā suva* AV VS MS KS  
*āśāsānā* (TS \* ApŚ \* MŚ \* °nah) *saumanasam* (TS \* ApŚ \* *svīryam*)  
 AV TS \* KS TB Vait ApŚ \* MŚ \* ApMB  
*edhamānah* (Kauś °nāh, ApMB °na) *svagrhe* (Kauś *svē grhe*, ApMB  
*svē vaśe*) ŚB BṛhU Kauś ApMB *edhamānā svē grhe* (HG *vaśe*)  
 ApMB HG On the m (sg or pl) see §725 The fem is used in  
 a different context  
*nveśanī samgamanī vasūnām* TS *nvesanah samgamano vasūnām* AV  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *rāyo budhnah samgamano vasū-*  
*nām* RV  
*adīr achinnapatrā priyā* (and *achinnapatrah priyo*) *devīnām* KS  
 (both) Ūhas, in same passage  
*etā u tyāh praty adṛśran purustāt* RV *etā u tye praty adṛśran* RV  
*sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (and the like) KS AB JUB ŚB BṛhU  
 AG ŚG PG ApMB MG The fem (original) refers to the bride,  
 the masc to the purohita, whose relation to his king is paralleled  
 to that of wife to husband In the same passages  
*amo 'ham asmi sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB etc *amūham asmi sā*  
*tvam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG  
*svāśasthaḥ* (TS °sthā) *tanuvā samviśasva* TS TB ApŚ  
*asmin goṣṭhe karīṣṇīh* (Kauś °nah, MS *purīṣṇīh*) AV MS Kauś  
 Originally referring to cows, used in Kauś in a new context, refer-  
 ring to *grhāh*

§850 Phrase inflection, masculine and neuter

- tasmīn ma etat suhutam astu prākṣitram* GB Vait *tasmīn ma eṣa suhuto*  
*'stv odanah* Kauś As in §846, an entire verse is here adapted to  
 different contexts Followed by  
*tan* (Kauś *sa*) *mā mā hinsīt paramē vyoman* GB Vait Kauś  
*anādhr̥ṣṭāsa* (ŚŚ °ṣṭāny) *oṣasā* RV ŚŚ  
*bārhaspatyam asī* MŚ *bārhaspatyo 'sī* PB  
*vājī tvā* ApŚ MŚ *vājīnam tvā* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB  
*ado yad avadhāvati* AV *ado* (adverb) *gṛibhyo adhi yat* (conjunction)  
*pradhūvasī* TB *asau yo 'vasarpatī* VS TS MS KS *amī ye ke*  
*sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG ApMB Diff contexts, hardly variants  
*amṛtam asī* VS TS MS etc *amṛto 'sī* SMB Hardly variants  
*ghṛtād ulluṣṭam madhumat suvarnam* (AV *madhunā samaktam*) RVKh  
 AV *ghṛtād ulluṣṭo madhumān payasvān* AV In this and the

next two (same stanza) we have adaptation of almost an entire verse, the masc words refer to an amulet of *darbha*-grass, the neuters to a 'triple' amulet called *trivṛt*, neut

*bhūmīdṛṅho 'cyutakē cyāvayīṣṇu* AV *bhūmīdṛṅham acyutam pārayīṣṇu*  
AV *dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayīṣṇu* RVKh See prec and next

*bhīndat* (AV \* *nudan*, RVKh *ṛnak*, 10 128 10) *sapatnān adharūṅkē*  
*ca kṛvat* (AV \* *kṛvan*), same (see prec)

*akṣitam asī mā pūrṇām* ApMB HG BDh *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā*  
*mā* TS GB Vait MS Cf *akṣitar asī ma* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ  
*taj* (RV *tā*, see §727) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*tam juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV

*tad asman pātu vīsvatah* AV *so asmān pātu sarvatah* AV *so asmān*  
*sarvatah pātu* AV

*tat te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcase balāya* AV *tam te badhnami jarase svastaye*  
AV *tam te badhnāmy āyuṣe* (and *āyuṣe varcase*) AV

*tena* (and *tuis*) *tvam garbhāni bhava* HG (both) *tena* is masc (*garbha*),  
*tuis* neut (*vīryāni*)

*vīṣūcīnan* (VSK °*na*) *vyasyatām* (VSK °*tāt*) VS VSK TS MS KS  
ŚB Diff context in VSK

*satyam* (RV °*yaś*) *citraśravastamam* (RV °*mah*) RV TS KS

§851 Phrase inflection, feminine and neuter

*sam asya* (Kauś *asyar*) *tanvā* (*tanva*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ  
Kaus

*na vī jānamī* (AB *janantī*) *yatarat* (AV °*ru*) *parastat* AV AB IB

*vīṣṭhitah* (AV °*ta*) *pṛthivīm anu* RV AV VS AB TB SMB

*taya* (and *tena*) *sapatnān pari vṛndhi ye mama* AV (both) Modulations,  
in the same hymn

*pṛthivyā adhy udbhṛtam* (and °*ta*) AV (both)

*subhagamkaranī mama* AV *subhāgamkaranam mama* SMB †

§852. The following variants hardly belong here but may be added as an appendix because superficially they look like gender variants. In reality they are variations between (relatively) primary nouns and derivatives thereof. In the first two, *gāyatrī* is the name of the meter, while *gāyatra* is the adjective derived from it, meaning 'of the *gāyatrī* (meter)'. In the third, *gayatra* is the name of the *sūman* so called (fundamentally, of course, the neuter of the adjective just mentioned), while *gāyatrī* may either be felt as adjectival ('the wheel, *vartani*, of the *gāyatra-sūman* [of the *gāyatrī*?]), or as an appositional noun ('the *gāyatrī* [meter] as wheel')

*valsam gāyatrīm anu tā ihōguh AV gāyatram valsam anu tās ta āguh TB*  
*gāyatram chando anu samrabhadhvam MS gāyatrīm chandānsy anu*  
*samrabhantām KS ApŚ (Add to VV 1 §337) The latter means*  
*'the gāyatrī (and the other) meters'*  
*pāvamānasya (TS KS pāvamānena) tvā stomena gāyatrasya (KS °tryā)*  
*vartanyā TS MS KS See §586*  
*pāvamānyah (ŚG °nāh) AG ŚG Sc tpyantu 'The pāvamāni hymns*  
*the (ṛṣiḥ) of the p hymns'*



## **INDEXES**



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